LiCS

Literacy in Composition Studies

2015

Volume 3, Number 3

LiCS MISSION STATEMENT

Literacy in Composition Studies is a refereed open access online journal that sponsors scholarly activity at the nexus of Literacy and Composition Studies. We foreground *literacy* and *composition* as our keywords because they do particular kinds of work. We want to retain Composition's complicated history as well as FYC's institutional location and articulation to secondary education. Through literacy, we denote practices that are both deeply context-bound and always ideological. Literacy and Composition are therefore contested terms that often mark where the struggles to define literate subjects and confer literacy's value are enacted. We are committed to publishing scholarship that explores literacy at its intersection with Composition's history, pedagogies, and interdisciplinary methods of inquiry.

Literacy is a fluid and contextual term. It can name a range of activities from fundamental knowledge about how to decode text to interpretive and communicative acts. Literacies are linked to know-how, to insider knowledge, and literacy is often a metaphor for the ability to navigate systems, cultures, and situations. At its heart, literacy is linked to interpretation—to reading the social environment and engaging and remaking that environment through communication. Orienting a Composition Studies journal around literacy prompts us to investigate the ways that writing is interpretive as well as persuasive; to analyze the connections and disconnections between writing and reading; and to examine the ways in which literacy acts on or constitutes the writer even as the writer seeks to act on or with others.

LiCS seeks submissions that interpret literacy at a time of radical transformation in its contexts and circulation. We are open to a wide range of research that takes up these issues, and we are especially interested in work that:

- provides provisional frameworks for theorizing literacy activities
- analyzes how literacy practices construct student, community, and other identities
- investigates the ways in which social, political, economic, and technological transformations produce, eliminate, or mediate literacy opportunities
- analyzes the processes whereby literacies are valued or legitimated
- examines the literacies sponsored through college writing courses and curricula, including the range of literate activities, practices, and pedagogies that shape and inform, enable and constrain writing
- considers the implications of institutional, state, or national policies on literacy learning and teaching, including the articulation of high schools and higher education
- proposes or creates opportunities for new interactions between Literacy and Composition Studies, especially those drawing on transnational and cross-cultural literacy research

Special Editors' Introduction to Issue 3.3

The movement of people and information across national borders is rapid and widespread. By some estimates, over 230 million people worldwide are currently living outside the countries of their birth, keeping in contact with homelands, forging new migratory networks, and navigating new circumstances through writing (UN 2013). Literacy research in composition studies has begun to respond to this context through increased attention to the global, the international, and the transnational. This special issue seeks to forward this emerging area of interest, asking how writing motivates, influences, or restricts the travels of people: What does the transnational movement of people mean for literacy? And what does literacy mean for the transnational movement of people?

Often defined as a set of skills and resources, literacy has figured prominently in debates about immigrants' national integration. Some have called for migrants' swift assimilation through literacy, others have pointed to the value of migrants' diverse literacy legacies, and still others have examined how their literacies change in new national contexts.

But if we think of literacy more materially, as skills and resources made possible by the technology of *writing,* it becomes clear that literacy plays a role in more than migrants' incorporation within nations. It also shapes their movement among them. Writing can facilitate transnational communication and network migration via the postal system and Internet. And writing is a key tool in migration policy, as nation states use immigration documents, such as visas and passports, to allow some migrants in and to keep others out. Writing does not, of course, act autonomously in transnational realms. People leverage their writing and educational credentials to move across national borders, and they use writing to negotiate the emotional and cultural complexity of such movement. In this way, writing becomes a resource for understanding literacy's imbrication in larger political trends as well as a resource for everyday people who are swept up in mass global movement. Writing, in other words, shapes and is shaped by transnational lived experiences and the infrastructures that govern transnational mobility. The central question this special issue answers is how.

This issue does so via careful qualitative studies of diverse contexts: Filipina labor migration, a bilingual after-school program serving Mexican-origin youth, online and digital spaces employed by Arab migrant families, a college-affiliated Intensive English Program, South Korean college student spaces, and government-sponsored filmic literacy programs in the Americas. We believe these studies—set in schools, communities, and families at key moments in literacy history—offer some principles of transnational inquiry for literacy studies in composition. Here we lay out an analytic to help guide understandings of everyday transnational literacies.

DEFINING OUR TERMS

This issue uses *transnational* to indicate systems of social relations that move literacy across borders. We understand transnational to be an optic or analytic that traces how individuals build social fields across real or perceived borders to accommodate and resist difficult circumstances (Glick

Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton) with sustained activities over time and across space (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt). The transnational does not analyze spaces "out there" beyond borders but examines how cross-border connections—kinwork, affective ties, or long-distance nationalism—occur among spaces, inclusive of the US.

And transnational is not a synonym for international or global, in that the term captures the effects or consequences of global change and people's incorporation of these effects and consequences into their daily lives. For example, changes in the global economy have created a transnational existence—"the feeling that one might or must always be moving"—for many (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 9), and the fluidity of modern global migration (as opposed to previous forced migrations like the slave trade) creates for migrants more restrictions or bureaucratic burdens like visa restrictions and increasing smuggler fees. In other words, this optic examines why boundaries and borders exist at certain historical moments for some but not for others (Levitt and Khagram), emphasizing the relations among mobile and immobile people, scales, activity, arguments, and ideologies.

This issue uses *movement* to draw attention to how writing is imbricated in labor migration, forced or chosen movements of refugees, back and forth travel of international students, and cross-border connections put into motion by family and community members. While much contemporary movement is a continuation of centuries-old trade, religious, colonial, military, and industrial activity, the "massification" of movement after the early nineteenth century is of a different intensity and quality: changing transportation and communication technology enables frequent and close contact; homelands more closely manage their migrants' remittances and citizenry by encouraging, for example, dual citizenship; and some contemporary migrants, compared to previous historical migrations, tend to be more highly skilled and better financed (Foner; Moya and McKeown). Thus, though transnational movement is an ordinary rather than exceptional human experience, movement is a vibrant conceptual framework, shedding light on connections or processes previously overlooked.

In particular, *movement* sheds light on how everyday writers (students, workers, government officials, bureaucrats, community stakeholders, family members, and others) and everyday writing (school essays, government publications, course curricula, digital communication, letters, among other kinds of writing) move, and how such movement matters.

PRINCIPLES OF TRANSNATIONAL INQUIRY FOR LITERACY STUDIES IN COMPOSITION

1. The transnational is a way of looking at literacy.

This special issue asks readers to approach transnational inquiry not in terms of data collection but in terms of data analysis. That is, we argue that to do transnational work, what matters most is not what researchers look at but *how they look*.

First, the authors in this volume often view the *US itself a transnational space*: For example, even predominantly white institutions in the Midwest, such as the university in Kang's study,

reveal the consequences of transnational movement for literacy. Kang describes Korean university students negotiating the education-driven migration of their pasts and their geographical, racial, and institutional positions in their present moment. Through what Kang terms "localization," students reconnect with Korean literacy at the same time as they face the demands of dominant academic monolingualism. In other words, the legacy of transnational movement animates US spaces, with consequences for literate production.

Researchers in this issue also call attention to how *educational institutions* can be viewed transnationally. Rounsaville's work on Intensive English Language Programs (IEPs), (what she terms "stopovers within the transnational landscape of higher education") reveals how linguistic trends can drive the internationalization of higher education more broadly. By analyzing institutions transnationally, Rounsaville charts how international students' valuing of English literacy is as contingent as their temporary placement in a "stopover" institution, which may or may not lead to further formal education, in the US or elsewhere. Educational institutions, that is, mediate governments, economies, and people making their way in the world. In their role amidst these complex global players, education institutions demand transnational analysis.

Finally, the articles in this issue suggest that the transnational is a way of looking at movement *across space, time, and communities*. Lagman, for example, engages in a unique multi-sited ethnography (Marcus) that tracks Filipina labor migrants both in the Philippines and the US. Her insights show how their state-sponsored literacy training prepares (or fails to prepare) them for the formal and informal demands of their occupations, ultimately serving as a site of contestation between migrant, state, and foreign employee. Likewise, through a careful analysis of archival materials, Olson and Reddy track the movement of literacy materials across space, time, and political regimes, as cartoons sponsored by the US government about the importance of literacy are broadcast into the neo-colonial context of Latin America, reinscribing ideologies of literacy that reinforce hemispheric hierarchies. A transnational way of seeing also hones in on people's use of writing to navigate changing contexts. That is, literacy's imbrication in movement, a transnational analytic reveals, does not end when one arrives at a destination and learns a dominant language. In the extracurricular spaces of families (Al-Salmi and Smith) and after-school programs (Alvarez), for example, language and literacy reverberate out into communities, who are continuing to use writing to bridge the here and the there.

In sum, to study transnational subjects or a non-US site does not necessarily make a study *transnational.* Instead, the transnational inheres in an analysis of movement and of traces of that movement that animate even local sites of everyday literate practice.

2. Transnational inquiry connects micro- and macro-level social practices.

Transnational inquiry in research on literacy in composition studies also accounts for the interaction of macro- and micro-level social practices. Literacy research that includes these scales highlights the relationality of migration-specific writing activity and globalized cultures, pressures, or ideological shifts. Historians Jose Moya and Adam McKeown, for example, say the interaction of "macrostructural trends and microsocial … networks," rather than "the actions of institutions at the

national and colonial levels" alone, created mass migration after the eighteenth century (31). Such a focus on micro/macro connections—which can occur not just in bottom/top spheres but across various scales—can reveal the "constant tension" in the dialectic between immigrant and emigrant movement and between border breakdown and subsequent reification (Waldinger 37). In fact, for many scholars, the relationship of grassroots activity to macro-level processes is constitutive of the term transnational. Capturing the interaction of multiple scales in research requires the methods elaborated above, including approaches that follow the flows and stoppages of movement beyond national, cultural, or language boundaries. It also requires a general stance toward transnational research as the analysis of links between the observed social phenomena and the always-shifting conceptual frameworks of transnationalism.

In this special issue, all of the articles account for the interaction of micro- and macro-level social practices in literacy, but several especially trace practices across scales and spaces. For example, Kang examines how layers of local and global contexts cohere in practices of "localization." She interviews and observes students, administrators, staff, and faculty in and out of classrooms and analyzes on- and offline institutional documents to account for global forces pressing in on college campuses in the US during a specific historical stage. As she says, she draws out "the salient historical, national, institutional, and ideological contextual layers that flow through local and global boundaries and co-exist specifically for a particular group of students at a particular locality at a particular time in history." Her insistence on particularity shows the role micro-level practices play in the making of the local even as they are informed by institutionally common global macro-level forces.

Further, Lagman's article shows how these forces meet up in affective relationships between migrant workers and the state. By examining female migrant workers' experiences of government-sponsored literacy training initiatives, Lagman shows how "the pressures of global capital, experienced in state-managed transnational labor migration from the Philippines, create a context for literacy learning and practice where emotion, cognition, and embodiment work together in the everyday survival of precarious migrant life." In this way, the context for literacy is always in-the-making. Lagman traces the movement of literacy not among bounded spatial or chronological contexts, but among a "continuous series of affective attachments and detachments" between the citizen negotiating everyday literacy demands and the state endorsing certain literacy ideologies.

Olson and Reddy's article on "Literacy, Filmic Pedagogies, and the Hemispheric Projection of US Influence" connects literacy across scales even in the title. As the authors trace literacy pedagogies in films produced by Disney and a US government office across classrooms and offices in the US, Ecuador, and Brazil, and among office documents and Latin American news articles on the project, they find that literacy films "carried the assumption of US expertise in modern life outward to the 'other American republics.'" Their analysis stands at the intersection of hemispheric, historical, and daily literacy contexts as the "particulars of literacy and pedagogy were subsumed to ideologically inflected matters of modernity, development, and efficiency" exported from the US via Disney in films still circulated and viewed today.

3. Transnational literacy transforms the curriculum and extracurriculum.

Understanding where literacy and its instruction takes place has been one of the enduring

questions in the study and theorization of literacy. While much scholarly attention in recent years has focused on what Anne Ruggles Gere has called the "extracurriculum of composition," those sites beyond formal educational institutions and systems of schooling, we have also seen a broadening of how literacy is taken up and applied in Deborah Brandt's concept of literacy sponsors, who are "any agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support, teach, and model, as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold, literacy—and gain advantage by it in some way" (19).

In the work included here we see discussions about the complex movement across, between, and within locations where literacy instruction, formal and informal, takes place and is sponsored by a variety of agents. For example, in his examination of the Mexican American Network of Students (MANOS) Alvarez unpacks a complex brokering of relationships between schools and families in this space beyond school where students receive structured mentorship and tutoring to complement their formal literacy in school. Similarly, Rounsaville analyzes how spaces on the periphery of higher education institutions mediate student access to literacy by arguing that IEPs are a multilingual space that can help to shift forms of literacy discourses and move students toward a more complex understanding and use of the literacy resources they bring to their academic writing.

Kang suggests that *localization* provides an extracurricular [or co-curricular] space for identity construction. Here we see an interesting concentric relationship where the Korean Student Association exists not simply in relation to or on the periphery of the campus but in fact coincides with the university in creating the students' sense of belonging and acting. The focus on the development of digital biliteracy in immigrant mothers by Al-Salmi and Smith shifts our attention from formal or semi-formal institutional locations of literacy instruction to the activity that occurs at home when mothers and their children utilize digital and online technologies to facilitate communication with family and friends in their home countries. We see not only transnational movement but also intergenerational movement as literacy facilitates relationships between parents and children and between grandchildren and grandparents and maintains connections to home cultures. Transnational literacy in these cases exists within and beyond formal schooling and yet moves in ways that expose a more complex web of relationships beyond formal and informal, curricular and extracurricular.

4. Transnational inquiry moves beyond but still considers language.

While the study of transnational literacy should not be conflated with nor limited to the study of multilingualism, considering language adds crucial dimension to an analysis of transnational writing activity that is rarely standard. Languages also are strong markers of identity for writers, so including language in analysis can reveal how writers make sense of their own practices or how they position themselves across multiple cultural, linguistic, and political contexts.

For example, both Rounsaville and Kang's articles on college-level contexts show writers establishing cultural ground from which to write through their language choices. Kang's participants use Korean on banners and posters and in email communication for cultural affiliation. But this language is treated as unsanctioned on campus and troubles the students' attempts to create a home away from home in the US. Instructor and staff assumptions about the effect of Korean on students' writing also shifts how South Korean international students experience college—they receive

clear messages in feedback and grades about how judgments of their English and Korean literacies are judgments of their character. In Rounsaville's piece, students' full language repertoires are all but ignored by their institution. But in her analysis, Rounsaville shows that students' multiple Englishes point back to a landscape of global politics taking root in the immediate literacy context of the IEP. This representation of writers' full, if uneven, language repertoires is the crux of Rounsaville's argument; she shows how the institution privileges certain global Englishes and acts as a mediator of a broader transnational political economy.

In Alvarez's article on a community after-school program, language is central to how participants perceive their life aspirations in New York City. Alvarez narrates the young writers taking "bilingual liberties" based on their awareness of audience, showing their proficiency in using language for rhetorical positioning. Language use is vital throughout the piece as an avenue for understanding social class inequality, interpretation of meritocracy in the US, and constructing *superación* narratives as self-reflexive projects. Alvarez claims that, against the pressure for monolingual English in school, bilingual literacy practices facilitate crucial intergenerational dialogue about life in the US, and argues that considering the "linguistic power in local communities" can open up literacy researchers to richer qualitative detail in their studies of transnational communities.

In composition studies, we are committed to examining the role of writing in lives, histories, and classrooms. How, then, is writing implicated in transnational movement? Taken together, the articles in this issue provide three answers: First, writing imparts ideologies across national borders (Olson and Reddy). Second, writing moves among languages and social worlds (Alvarez; Al-Salmi and Smith; Rounsaville). Finally, writing mediates state policies, standardized curricula, and neoliberal exigencies (Kang; Lagman; Rounsaville). As a result, writing indexes and participates in the larger trends that perpetuate the global movement of money and people. Writing, an economically entrenched form of communication (Brandt, 2001, 2015), produces, transforms, moves. It is these capacities that link it, in ways that have yet to be fully explored, to the transnational movement that characterizes our historical moment.

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CONTENTS

Moving Labor: Transnational Migrant Workers and Affective Literacies of Care

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KEYWORDS

literacy, affect, labor migration, brain drain, skills training, care work

Do not argue with your employer. Do not talk to other maids. Do not show a temper or long face when scolded by your employer. Contact your agency whenever you have problems and don't rely on your friends.

> —Code of discipline in a household service worker training, in Julien Brygo's "Filipino Maids for Export."

Any social project that is not imposed through force alone must be affective in order to be effective.

> —William Mazzarella, "Affect: What Is It Good For?"

A 2006 advertisement from the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority shows two figures flying in mid-air. They have the bodies of comic book superheroes complete with costumes and capes. The photographed heads of two women have been cut out and placed to appear on top of the superhero bodies—on one body is the face of then Philippine president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, and on the other is the face of Mary Joy Buñol, a participant in the Supermaid program of the Philippine government. One of Buñol's hands extends in a power fist, a frying pan in her grasp; Buñol's other hand holds a spatula. Cutting across the middle of the ad is the word "SUPERMAIDS!" in large block letters, and beneath this is a group of 36 nameless women. Only their heads and shoulders can be seen, and each woman wears the same uniform—the same professional white shirt and the same pleasant generic smile. Underneath these women, the ad says, "Looking for personable domestic help who cannot only cook and clean, but also save your children from a fire?"

This ad, which appeared in a widely read newspaper in the Philippines, was meant to promote the government's new skills training program. The Supermaid program provided professionalized training for domestic work abroad, including training in first-aid,

emergency evacuation procedures, and effective communication in the workplace. In the ad, Buñol is lifted up as the ideal maid and the ideal worker hero, or *bagong bayani*[1] (new national hero), a phrase used by the government to refer to the one to two million workers who work abroad annually and provide the over $21 billion in remittances that aid in national development.[2] The ad explains that the twenty-three-year-old Buñol was from a poor "far-flung" province but after the training was able to gain a position working for a royal household in Malaysia. The skills training course, the ad claims, has moved her from the marginal outskirts of the poor into the cosmopolitan sphere of royalty, providing an intimacy with the global elite that she wouldn't otherwise have—from "remote to promote," the ad claims. It's a fairy tale, a myth, a hero story, as Buñol is seen hovering triumphantly next to Arroyo. It is meant to remind future overseas workers of the potentials of skills training, as well as the hopeful future promised in the government's labor migration program. It's unclear to whom the question "looking for domestic help…?" in the ad is directed, since the advertisement circulated in Manila and encourages the reader to "Enroll now" with a list of class locations. With this in mind, it seems more like a promise than a question—an assurance that through this particular kind of education, a maid could, in the eyes of her employer, be more than a maid.

In this article, I explore the role of literacy education in facilitating state-managed transnational labor migration. More specifically, I show how the pressures of global capital, experienced in state-managed transnational labor migration from the Philippines, create a context for literacy learning and practice where emotion, cognition, and embodiment work together in the everyday survival of precarious migrant life. While government training initiatives like the Supermaid program are marketed as programs of professionalization and neutral skills training, my ethnographic research with Filipino migrants shows that migrants experience these moments of literacy acquisition more strongly as moments of affect management or "the ritual and/or professional coordination of affect" (Mazzarella 298). It is clear in the Supermaid advertisement that as much as these programs promise some kind of neutral transferable skill to achieve professionalization, these programs rely on affect management for their success. In other words, migrants must buy into the hero story and understand their literacy acquisition as a practice of national heroism. Migrants must look up at the individual hero who "beat the odds" instead of looking across at the similarly skilled and equally educated "undifferentiated pool" of "waste labor"—the nameless women below Buñol—perpetually hoping and waiting for their own opportunity to beat the odds (Watkins 88). But as the first quote in the epigraph shows, the actual everyday activities that are part of being a national hero include affective disciplining. As I will illustrate, the Philippine state has used literacy education historically as a way to prompt migrant workers to look up at heroic possibilities and take their own individual responsibility for the rights and protections that the state, in its role as temp agency nation, cannot offer abroad. By doing so, the state deflects the anxieties surrounding transnational migrant work and conceals the emotional toll experienced in the many daily traumas of migrant life.

Considering female migrant care workers[3] as a particular example, I explain that as care labor practices have become more professionalized and standardized with growing government intervention in the last two decades, care work also became more constrained in the types of affective states permissible in the workplace. In their own experiences as Filipina care workers both on the job

and in securing employment, my participants revealed that practices of affect management became integral to their survival, requiring critical literacy and higher-order thinking. In contrast, labor practices often considered high skilled, such as learning new languages, communication strategies, and information management, were experienced as rote and mechanical and looked more like lower-order thinking. My claim is that forwarding affective literacies as essential to the transnational migrant experience blurs the distinction we often place between high-skilled and low-skilled work that shapes migrant trajectories and creates a "vector" of skills that controls transnational migrant labor today (Raghuram 81). This reversal of the high-low skill categorization also reframes literacy practices in a context that goes beyond the individual classroom or workplace. Instead, I believe literacy indexes an affective relationship between migrant workers and the Philippine state. Continuing to use affect as a framework, I suggest that we understand the transnational movement of literacy as taking place through a continuous series of affective attachments and detachments between the state and worker citizen. As I will illustrate, affective literacies do not move in the same way that literacy scholars understand literacy-as-texts to move or in the same way that migration scholars imagine the movement of literacy education in "brain drain" research. While literacy-as-texts circulate through institutions, networks, or linkages (Dingo; Vieira; Queen), and brain drain considers literacy as a possession that can be carried from point A to point B, resulting in the loss of human capital from one country and the gain in another, I claim that the transnational movement of affective literacies—literacies as they are performed and experienced through the body—take place through affective attachments and detachments from the nation-state. I illustrate how state educational projects like the Supermaid program are one means by which the Philippine state creates emotional and legal ties with its workers, thus strengthening the role of state authority in the migration process.

Researching literacy in the temp agency nation

When I began my ethnographic study of Filipino migrant workers in 2013, labor migration numbers had reached an all-time high; the previous year, the Philippine state had deployed over 1.8 million workers and received $21.391 billion in remittances that accounted for more than ten percent of the GDP (Magtulis). I began my research interested in brain drain and the ways in which literacy was transferred transnationally because of this flow of labor. Brain drain has been defined by economists and policy makers as a phenomenon in which large numbers of highly-skilled workers leave a developing country for work in a developed country, thereby taking their literacy education and its value with them. Since brain drain describes the movement of "skilled labor," I focused my research on those defined as skilled workers in the brain drain literature: college-educated (and in the Philippines, mostly English-speaking) migrants over the age of twenty-five.[4] I interviewed Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) or temporary contract workers who usually work in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, or Europe, as well as *balikbayans* (nation returnees), a term generally referring to permanent migrants living in North America (Rafael 206).

My study was transnational in design. I conducted interviews in a metropolitan area of the Midwest, as well as a province in the Central Luzon area of the Philippines where I interviewed future and current OFWs, as well as *balikbayans*.[5] Those whom I interviewed in the Philippines

were in various stages of departure and arrival—some were in between work contracts; others were preparing to leave or had been home from overseas work for several years. I conducted twenty-five audio-recorded semi-structured interviews (Fontana and Frey 645) with migrant workers, asking about their educational histories, vocational training, and process of migration, as well as the activities they conducted at work. Of these migrant workers, eight identified as care workers, and I draw on their narratives for this article. I focus in particular on two female care workers—Luz, whose experiences were representative of participant responses, and Maria, whose experiences I analyze as a "telling" case study and who demonstrated a unique awareness of affect management (Mitchell 239). To supplement interviews with migrant workers, I conducted seventeen interviews with key informants in the labor migration process, including labor recruiters, government workers, and college educators and administrators. Finally, I conducted a systematic collection of Philippine government documents, migrant online writing, media coverage, and other written artifacts related to labor migration.

During my research, I quickly discovered that the divisions between "skilled" and "unskilled" work in brain drain didn't hold up. A handful of the skilled, college-educated adults I interviewed, including some of the care workers I describe in this essay, were working abroad or were going to work abroad in so-called unskilled or semi-skilled occupations in the service sector. In addition, the migrant workers I interviewed who were working in occupations categorized as skilled (e.g., those in professions such as nursing, education, or IT) often described their work in ways that were embodied and emotional, not solely cognitive. To investigate my questions, I took with me an understanding of literacy as situated social practice, in which (contrasting functional definitions of literacy) literacies acquire meaning from the cultural context where they are embedded (Street 1). I also brought with me an understanding that a macro-view of literacy can be researched by examining the material tools and the social actions surrounding individual literacy use, and that these can be gleaned from collecting oral histories or literacy narratives in which participants articulate their memories of literacy learning (Brandt, *Literacy* 9). During my interviews with migrant workers, I asked my subjects about moments of reading and writing, looking for sponsors, technologies, artifacts, or any writing and reading to appear in their migration trajectories. Although reading and writing existed throughout descriptions of subjects' experiences, they were often not the most important moments, nor the moments filled with tension and complication. Instead, I found myself drawn to how migrants described their work tasks and the emotions that they used to explain them. In describing their work activities, migrants described intense intellectual engagement, but they described this in forms that often went beyond textual representation. Taking a closer look at how these women were trained to work and what they did at work convinced me that there was more to understanding their literacy practices than simply considering how or what they were reading and writing.

Affective literacies

The work of writing studies scholars on emotion, affects, and embodiment provided me with the means to understand the emotional undercurrents underlying the work experiences of my participants. In researching forms of embodied work, Mike Rose and Catherine Prendergast argue

that literacy researchers and educators need to embrace a more nuanced "multidimensional model of intelligence" (Rose 215) that takes into account an "ever-developing understanding of the complexity of learning" (Prendergast 5). This includes, they argue, the intellectual work of the body. Rose argues for a way of valuing labor practices that does not separate the work of the hand from the work of the brain, and Prendergast, researching literacies in a scientific research lab, calls us to reconsider the ways that our focus on writing eclipses the importance of embodied practices critical to successful learning in the sciences, including "manual dexterity necessary to conduct experiments, the ability to tolerate long hours of working both independently and with others, and the capacity to pursue projects over long periods of time" (3). These scholars remind us that the brain and the body are inseparable and interconnected in everyday practices of learning and labor. Similarly, Elisabeth Johnson and Lalitha Vasudevan, examining the extradiscursive practices of high school students, argue that critical literacy must go beyond "verbo- and logo-centric" definitions to recognize how texts and responses to texts are embodied and performed (34). They claim that "everyday texts invite affective responses that exceed logical, rational, verbal, and written responses" (34). Scholars of rhetoric have also questioned the division between emotion and reason (Gross; Edbauer, "New"; Trainor; Worsham) and have argued that emotion can be traced in the subtexts of schooling, that emotion is a means of persuasion, and that emotion is an "analytical, performative, and rhetorical act" (Micciche 2). In particular, scholars have used the term "affective literacies" to describe embodied and emotional responses to texts and spaces of learning (Amsler; Cole; Rice, "Big Time"). I build on this history of scholarship that takes seriously the intellectual work of emotions and the cognitive work of the body. I've found in my research that migrants generate affective responses to text and that the discursive practices of the state seek affective resonance to do their work. But I also posit that affect management is itself literacy work.

While scholars of affect[6] have traditionally held a sharp distinction between affect as sensory experience and as symbolic mediation, William Mazzarella argues that sensory experiences and the symbolic mediations they become remain in constant dialectical relationship, making affect and language difficult to separate. As he argues, social projects must "speak both of [Brian] Massumi's 'languages' concurrently: intensity as well as qualification, mimetic resonance as well as propositional plausibility" (299). In other words, the work of affect is in fact the work of mediation. It is for these reasons that I situate affect management as a literacy practice. As literacies are concerned with processes and practices of symbolic mediation as well as the politics of language and schooling, affect opens up an additional dimension to representation that links symbolic practices to a larger network of sensual corporeal life. Importantly, affects are not just individual but emerge from a shared sense experience, illustrating that, as Teresa Brennan reminds us, "there is no secure distinction between the 'individual' and the 'environment'" (6). Affect is "both embodied and impersonal" (Mazzarella 292) and "presubjective without being presocial" (291). This sense that affect is beyond the individual is what I believe connects affect management to critical literacy work.

As I will illustrate, affect management is the means by which migrants practice critical literacy when professionalized literacies and intellectually constraining workplaces offer little room for critical engagement. By critical literacy, I mean literacy that is used as a means of both "*self-authoring*

one's place in the world" (Hernandez-Zamora 9, italics in original) and conveying or expressing a "particular way of being that belies, subverts, and exposes social norms and imbalances" (Johnson and Vasudevan 36). While lower-order thinking demands only routine or mechanical application such as tasks of memorization, critical literacy contains higher-order thinking—knowledge transformation, interpretation, evaluation, analysis, and manipulation of information "to achieve a purpose or find possible answers in perplexing situations" (Lewis and Smith 136). I will argue that in the case of Filipino migrant care workers, practices involving the production, circulation, and management of affect looked more like higher-order thinking processes. In contrast, work that was deemed high-skilled by the state, such as language acquisition or communication training, was experienced more as tasks requiring lower-order thinking. This reversal of high-low categories that I am suggesting not only opens up our understanding of what literacy practice looks like but can also influence how labor is valued in migration policy. As the flow of people globally becomes increasingly understood along a vector of skills, controlling who can move and where and when, the destabilization of skilled-unskilled labor categories could substantially change how we understand the transnational flow of labor at large. Migration scholars recognize that skills pave the way for migrant movement. As Parvati Raghuram explains, "skills have become one of the most significant vectors in contemporary migratory regimes" where certain countries have opened up their borders for the highly skilled while limiting immigration opportunities for the less skilled (81). Importantly, Raghuram claims that "skills provide migration policies with a thin veneer of gender, class, and race neutrality" (93); therefore, she encourages scholars to strip away this veneer through critical examinations of the "modes of governance" that have produced skills (93). One way to do this, Raghuram argues, is to examine more fully the ways that skills production is mapped onto and folded into trajectories of skilled migration—that is, to examine how skills are valued and produced in both sending and receiving countries. My research contributes to this effort by pointing to the ways state-sponsored skills training, and the affective lessons migrants take from them, function to fulfill and at times subvert the high-skills/low-skills divide. While affective literacies are a part of everyday migrant life, there is a need for policy that acknowledges and values the emotional and embodied dimensions of human capital. As Deborah Brandt has written about the knowledge economy, "Government analysts continue to ponder the costs and benefits of human assets, including literacy, in the knowledge economy. However, the costs and benefits to humans has been much less explored" ("Writing" 194). An attention to affective literacies offers what I hope is a step toward a fuller and more complex understanding of the human dimensions of human capital.

Transnational Attachments: Affective Literacies and the Nation-State

In this section, I provide an overview of transnational labor migration as it is facilitated by the Philippine state, focusing in particular on the growth of literacy education by way of mandatory vocational training for female care workers in the mid-1990s and early 2000s. In this discussion, I examine two trends in migrant education that signal the contact and collision that characterizes the

affective relationship between the Philippines and its migrant citizens: first, the state's move to be an agent of caring feelings; and second, the state's attempt to train care workers in a professionalized and standardized form of care work. This professionalized training curriculum, while intended to upgrade the skills of workers, was experienced by migrants as rote and mechanical lower-order thinking activities. But that does not mean migrants were not intellectually engaged in higher-order thinking tasks. The politics of care and protection that surrounded these standardized trainings point to an affective landscape where migrants did their critical work. It is on this affective landscape that migrants engaged in knowledge transformation and critical thinking activities that included negotiating an ongoing relationship with the state.

As the world's largest source of temporary contract labor (Tyner 10), the Philippines has been labeled a "temp agency to the world" (Diamond) and a "labor brokerage state" (Rodriguez, *Migrants* x). Since 2006, the Philippines consistently has sent over one million workers abroad each year, resulting in ten percent of its total population or about twenty-five percent of the adult workforce working abroad (Calbay 34). In 2013, the top destinations for migrant workers included Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Qatar, and the most commonly deployed occupations were "service workers," including domestic workers, nurses, waiters, bartenders, hairdressers, caregivers, and caretakers. Of the 464,888 workers who were new hires in 2013, an overwhelming majority—164, 396—were domestic workers. In comparison, the second largest category was nurses at 16,404 (DOLE). In their research on the government structure supporting this labor migration, Robyn Rodriguez and Anna Guevarra explain that neoliberal practices of the state—which include depending on remittance money as a means for development; maintaining economic ties to workers abroad; negotiating with labor-receiving states to formalize outflows of workers; and actively marketing workers as a flexible, highly-skilled, and well-educated workforce— are all part of a "labor brokerage strategy": "a neoliberal strategy that is comprised of institutional and discursive practices through which the Philippine state mobilizes its citizens and sends them abroad to work […] while generating a 'profit' from the remittances" (Rodriguez, *Migrants* x). This strategy functions through a long history of colonial and neocolonial practices shaping infrastructure and economic possibilities in the Philippines as well as through a world-wide racialized and gendered labor market ready to accept cheap, flexible, and expendable labor. As Martin Manalansan succinctly puts it, "Filipinos are the pawns in the game of global restructuring of capital" (215). This kind of relationship to the global labor market and to the nation-state creates a particular set of relations between state and citizen—even while workers engage in life abroad, they are intimately tied to the Philippine state and in fact understand their overseas work as an enactment of a kind of "migrant citizenship" (Rodriguez, *Migrants xix*). Dwindling rights and protections under neoliberalism shape this citizenship and forward such national hero narratives as *bagong bayani*.

Female labor grew in larger numbers and began to outpace male labor in the mid-90s, particularly in the service professions. As a result, a discourse of anxiety began to circulate around the loss of maternal care from families and the resemblance of this labor flow to trajectories of human trafficking. In order to deflect this anxiety, the state created mandatory training programs for those seeking employment in vulnerable occupations. The Supermaid program is just one of

the government-facilitated training programs to come out of this emotional response to a growing and vulnerable female workforce. Importantly, the program was announced during the same national press conference that addressed the Philippine government's difficulty in evacuating over 30,000 migrant workers from Lebanon during the 2006 Lebanon War.[7] The Supermaid program was presented as a means to give repatriated migrants a pathway to other work opportunities, and in particular opportunities that would place them in the "higher-end" of domestic work that was believed to lessen the risk of violence and abuse. At the time of this press conference, stories circulated in the local media about two Filipina maids who jumped out of the windows of the high-rise apartments where they worked when their employers refused their evacuation. In order to erase the image of abused bodies plummeting downward to death, the government redirected affects toward an alternative image—that of a hero-worker like Buñol whose skilled body can rise upward above trauma.

The transfer of care: "From the heart and into their hearts"

The Lebanon evacuation not only reminded Filipino citizens about the vulnerability of domestic workers abroad, but it also highlighted a glaring contradiction in government rhetoric: If Filipino migrant workers are heroes, then why do they need to be rescued? To deflect attention from appalling working conditions and a migration infrastructure that allowed such conditions, the state began to position itself more strongly as a caring body and the worker as a rational and skilled body. To say that the nation "cares" means seeing the nation as a "subject of feeling" and also "generates the nation as the object of 'our feeling'"—we feel cared for by the nation, we care for the nation (Ahmed 13). To present itself as a subject of feeling, the state claims that it offers migrants protection "from the heart" (Philippine, *2011* 5). The most effusive example of these caring feelings can be seen in the 2011 Annual Report from the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), the government agency that facilitates and manages transnational labor migration. The newly appointed POEA Administrator Carlos S. Cao Jr. promised to "bring the heart of God" into the overseas employment program and declared that in administering the overseas migration program, what matters most is not "migration expertise and vaunted experiences of many years" but "dealing with [migrant workers] from the heart and into their hearts through various acts of kindness both small and big, while serving their needs." While knowledge was presented as the means for migrants to rise above trauma, for the state it was emotion that mattered, not knowledge. Cao further explained that the administration's efforts to reform migration policy are physical and emotional. The administration, he argues, "actively participated in putting teeth, flesh and muscle, as well as heart and soul" into the implementation of Republic Act 10022 (Philippine, *Omnibus*), a recent piece of migration policy that claimed to bolster protections for migrants (Philippine, *2011* 5). Rather than imagine the state as a rational and mechanical bureaucratic entity, Cao positions the state as a vulnerable working body. Just as migrants experienced the pain of labor, the state also felt pain in doing work on their behalf.

Domestic workers were therefore encouraged to understand the formation of the Supermaid program, and other government sponsored vocational trainings, as acts of caring by the government. This caring came in the form of skills training. The Migrant Workers and Overseas Filipinos Act of 1995, or Republic Act 8042 (Philippine, *Migrant*), put the mantra of skills as protection in place.

Section 2(g) of RA 8042 established, "The State recognizes that the ultimate protection to all migrant workers is the possession of skills. Pursuant to this and as soon as practicable, the government shall deploy and/or allow the deployment only to skilled Filipino workers." Just as the Supermaid program was a response to tragedy surrounding female care workers, RA 8042 was signed into law just a few months after the execution of Flor Contemplacion, a Filipino maid working in Singapore who had been accused of killing another Filipina domestic worker and the child under her care. Many Filipino citizens believed that the Philippine government should have intervened, as evidence surfaced that indicated Contemplacion's innocence. When the government did not intervene, the public was outraged. Filipino scholars suggest that the public outcry over Contemplacion's death forced the state to address the issues of migrants' rights and protections head on. As Rodriguez explains, "RA 8042 signaled a new kind of relationship between the Philippines and its migrant citizens" ("Migrant Heroes" 342). In 2010, RA 8042 was amended and replaced with RA10022, which was broadly understood as a policy that increased the state's regulatory functions in all areas, including the dissemination of skills. The amended Section 2(g) of RA10022 presented a slightly different function for skills and emphasized the government's role in skills training. The revised statement reads: "The state recognizes that the *most effective tool for empowerment is the possession of* skills by migrant workers. *The government shall provide them free and accessible skills development and enhancement programs.* Pursuant to this and as soon as practicable, the government shall deploy and/or allow the deployment only of skilled Filipino workers" (Philippine, *Omnibus*, emphasis added). This new law codified the already ongoing practice of government-sponsored skills training, making clear that it was the state as a welfare state and caring body that was providing the means for migrant workers' empowerment. The slight gradation in the function of skills as "the ultimate protection" to "the most effective tool for empowerment" is telling—to be protected and to be empowered are not the same thing. Using skills as protection implied a defensive position; only vulnerable people need protection. But empowerment was the proactive responsibility of the strong individual to possess. Through these policies for implementing vocational training, the state became a caring body, eschewing its image as rational unfeeling body. In response the migrant care worker became less a caring and vulnerable body and more a rational, skilled, and empowered body. What I am attempting to illustrate here is that this responsive back-and-forth dynamic points to a different framework for understanding how migrant workers become mobile bodies. Unlike the "transfer of care"[8] of the "care drain" narrative proposed by migration scholars, this transfer of care not only moved from one country to another, but moved through the collision and contact between the state and its worker citizens (Hochschild 17).

Care training: "You have to be paient and work from the heart"

Just a few months after the Lebanon evacuation, the POEA issued a series of memorandum circulars regulating the training of domestic workers that became known as the Household Service Worker Reform Package of 2006. The Reform Package, which the POEA claimed to "professionalize and minimize the vulnerabilities" of Household Service workers, made government assessment and skills training mandatory for household service workers by including a minimum age requirement

of twenty-three as well as requiring completion of a National Certificate II (NCII) course, which established basic competencies for household service work, and a Language and Culture Familiarization training, which taught basic language and cultural practices of specific destination countries, including training in Arabic, Hebrew, Italian, Mandarin, Cantonese, and English (Orbeta). Changing the title of the occupation from domestic worker to "Household Service Worker" was the first step in professionalizing this kind of care work; in the NCII course, domestic workers were referred to as "household managers." In 2009, the Language and Culture training curriculum was made part of a larger four- to six-day Comprehensive Pre-departure Education Program for migrant household service workers, which would include basic life support and first aid training as well as a stress management course (ILO). We can see here that the Philippine government attempted to intervene in the skills regime by shifting its "unskilled" workers into a slightly more skilled category through professionalized training. But this professionalism was taught more through affective disciplining than through knowledge creation.

In their research on the impact of the HSW Reform Package, Graziano Battistella, Jung Soo, and Maruja M.B. Asis conducted a comprehensive survey to determine just what migrants were learning from these trainings. They found that these mandatory trainings did not increase the knowledge and understanding of government regulations and that the competency and language requirements were widely criticized as being income-generating programs for the government rather than adding any valuable knowledge. While Battistella, Soo, and Asis recommend that the migrant education program be reinforced with improving information campaigns, I would suggest that the issue isn't that migrants are not learning but that they are understanding these programs as part of their ongoing contentious relationship to the state. In other words, the meaning they find in this work is not in the memorization of procedures but in how their work as caregivers or domestic workers positions them in a particular relationship to the state and in a particular kind of trajectory abroad. In the trainings, it is not content per se that is taught but a kind of unfeeling, rational, professional disposition promoted by the curriculum of the state.

The state's brand of professionalism was taught through mechanized and rote work tasks in both NCII courses and pre-departure orientations. As Beatriz Lorente explains, the language and communication tasks taught in these courses were those that required the simple transfer of information, including "filling out forms and recording information" (198). Lorente writes that the assessment criteria suggests, "the communication skills that are considered to be valuable are 'passive'; they are not about constructing or questioning knowledge or procedures" (199). According to the standard curriculum for the Household Service Worker NCII course, competencies achieved in the course include: participating in workplace communication, working in a team environment, practicing career professionalism, and maintaining effective relationships with clients/customers. In the Workplace Communication module, some of the competencies covered included parts of speech, sentence construction, effective communication, communicating with the employer, technical writing, and recording information. When assessing communication performance, trainers ensure that "[s]pecific relevant information is accessed from ***appropriate sources***; […] Appropriate ***medium*** is used to transfer information and ideas; Appropriate non-verbal communication is used;

Appropriate lines of communication with superiors and colleagues are identified and followed; […] Personal interaction is carried out clearly and concisely" (TESDA, emphasis in original). As is evident in the curriculum, language skills and communication goals are talked about in the same language as business interactions such as teamwork, processing requests, and setting up work plans. Thus, this curriculum re-frames the home in which migrants would be working into a place of business. The home is not seen as an intimate space where care takes place, but one of standardization, measurement, and distance. By setting up the domestic workplace in this way, the migrant body is disciplined to be unfeeling and rational as well.

However, scholars of domestic work have explained that what distinguishes domestic workers from other service workers is the intimacy of their relationships to their employers—they are employed directly by the families they serve and often share living space with them, at times perhaps sleeping in their children's bedrooms. They are intimate with the dirt and the bodies, as well as the dynamics and dysfunctions, of a family. As close as domestic workers are to family dynamics, being "one of the family" also makes them susceptible to abuses like overwork and unpaid back wages. While standardized communication practices made up the formal and official curriculum of the classroom, affect management made up what education scholars might call the "hidden curriculum" (Trainor 4). According to government officials, the minimum age requirement of twenty-three was meant to ensure that domestic workers were emotionally "mature" before going abroad. They hoped that this age requirement would reduce cases of homesickness and reduce the costs of repatriation. The Language and Culture Familiarization training was described as equipping overseas workers with basic knowledge in the language and culture of the receiving country "to ensure a harmonious relationship with the foreign employer and better job performance, hence [helping] them cope with the new working environment" (Samante). These affective discourses trickled down to the labor recruiters who were involved in matching migrants with foreign employers. Omar, the owner of a labor recruitment agency that sends household service workers to Bahrain, told me in an interview that when he hires agents whose job it is to recruit workers from surrounding provinces, his criteria was that "they must have a background in psychology," not business or marketing. The most important part of the recruitment agent's job, he explained, was ensuring that workers were emotionally prepared to work overseas, since it is labor recruitment agencies who often bear the costs of repatriating workers who do not fulfill their contracts. Most often, Omar said, he tried not to hire women who had already worked in professional occupations, because it was difficult for them to do the menial tasks of household work without complaint. He said, "we screen applicants properly" so that they do not "create a problem" once they are abroad. Thus, these state entities and state partners understood that it was not certified content knowledge that would make a migrant mobile, but one's ability to manage affect in the work place.

The "emotioned rules" of professionalized training can be seen in migrant accounts (Trainor 26). Luz, a fifty-one-year-old married mother of three, completed a one-month certificate course in 2012 for caregivers going to Israel that included two weeks on caregiving techniques and two weeks in Hebrew language instruction. Before taking this course, she had worked since 1983 as an elementary school teacher and was, at the time of my interview with her, waiting for her work visa to go to Israel.

In our interview, she detailed for me the various skills she learned in her training: "how to take care of a baby, how to change a diaper, how to give them a bath, how to give an elderly person medicine." Despite having children of her own that she raised and caring for her elderly parents before their deaths, she said that the trainings were "very difficult" and emphasized that memorization was the main skill she used. During testing, a demonstration was put on by a trainer, and after this demonstration she had to follow and memorize the procedures. One by one those in the class had to go in a room and then perform the tasks as three trainers watched intently for mistakes. When I asked Luz what skills she thought were needed to be a caregiver based on the trainings she received, she said, simply, "Follow the rules. Oh yes, just to follow the rules and regulations. Just like that." It was not content knowledge, but the disciplined ability to mechanically repeat gestures, discourses and dispositions that were necessary. It was not care, but unfeeling professionalism that mattered. Luz later explained that the thing that qualified her for the job and made her appealing to employers was not her skills training but her "old age," explaining "Israelis like the old age. Like me. Because [older workers] are very *matiyaga* (patient)." Luz illustrates here the underlying lessons learned from the curriculum: this professionalism was essential precisely because employers expected and wanted a worker who would not be quick to show emotions. In his article on the Supermaid program, Julien Brygo describes meeting an instructor for the program who claimed, "Many employers are looking for domestic workers who are polite, respectful, patient and quiet. Here we try to get them used to the excitable temperament of Hong Kong employers. You have to be patient, and work from the heart." While employers have an "excitable temperament," care workers must respond with the appearance of no temperament. We can see that while professionalization was promoted as the skill that would empower heroic workers, these tasks were experienced as lower order thinking—as Luz put it, pure memorization. In the experience of workers and recruiters in the migration processes, the more valuable, critical, and higher-order skills were those that played out in the affective landscape.

AFFECTIVE LITERACIES: AFFECT MANAGEMENT IN THE MIGRANT WORKPLACE

In order to illustrate what higher-order thinking tasks looked like in this affective landscape, I detail the workplace experiences of Maria, a former Filipina domestic worker who worked in Hong Kong and Singapore between 1992 and 1999. Maria worked during the period when the state was beginning to standardize migration and training processes and can thus give us insight into how migrants experienced these initial forms of standardization and the affect management that came along with it. I see in Maria's actions two primary moves that show her affect management and reveal processes of higher-order thinking—first, Maria practices what Manalansan has called "disaffection" or the channeling of affects while outwardly appearing "unmoved," and second, what Brennan calls "discernment," a process that includes considering the history of her emotions, where they come from, and how they connect to the feelings of others. Both disaffection and discernment include knowledge transformation, the combination of new and existing information to evaluate situations and solve problems as well as self-authoring practices that position one in the world or that offer

critical stances toward existing structures and ways of being. I explain that Maria's claim that she is "just a maid" and not "more than a maid" is a way of holding the state accountable, of creating a history of her literacy's gains and losses, and of tracing her literacy's transnational attachments. In the end, I suggest that Maria is offering an alternative emotional reading of *matiyaga* (patience) that provides her a separate rhetorical space of possibility to manage her relationship with the state.

Disaffection: "That's why my employer loves me"

When I met with Maria, she had just come from a long day of teaching math to fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. She took an hour-long jeepney ride from a neighboring province on an afternoon where the heat and humidity felt even more oppressive than usual. But instead of being exhausted she spoke quickly, with intensity and passion, not at all hesitant to speak in English (a task which caused many of my participants to speak with hesitancy). During our interview, I learned that Maria graduated college with a degree in civil engineering and worked initially as a field engineer in construction in Manila. But after a few years, and after getting married, she and her husband decided that she should study to be a teacher in order to get a job in the small town in which they both grew up. Maria spent the next year taking twenty-one units of education courses but failed her first attempt at the teaching licensure exam. Finding work in the province proved difficult, so she eventually decided to work abroad as a domestic worker. Maria, like Luz and like many of the participants in my study, had more education than what was required for her job, and would be considered by economists as part of a transnational flow of labor called "brain waste"—a subset of brain drain. She worked in Singapore for two years and then spent the remainder of her time abroad in Hong Kong, where there was a higher salary and better working conditions. She stayed there until she left through the Balik-Turo program, a short-lived government program that offered domestic workers in Hong Kong an opportunity to return to the Philippines with guaranteed jobs as teachers. The program was presented as a strategy to reverse brain drain.

Maria explained to me that in Hong Kong she worked for a family that included one young daughter, who was attending international school, and her parents. She often helped the daughter with homework, which included both English and Cantonese reading and writing tasks. When her employers were busy, which often was the case, Maria explained that she would "give the child lessons." Because the child's international curriculum was partly in English, Maria could assist her with homework, but when assignments were in Cantonese, Maria would ask the daughter to translate in Cantonese for her so that she could help. Maria explained:

> I told her, okay, you translate in English and then you translate in [Cantonese] so that I can help you, because if you talk to me in [Cantonese] I just only understand, but I cannot talk, cannot speak [in Cantonese]. So that time, the daughter told me, "okay *Tita* (Auntie), the English is like this." So I [helped] her in English and she wrote like that. Then at that time, the daughter became excellent in school.

This glimpse of Maria's work life illustrates that Maria performed what are considered professional activities, including literacy tasks like teaching, translation, and tutoring.[9] Maria's knowledge of teaching—how to guide children step-by-step through assignments and how to overcome their

gaps in knowledge and language to complete tasks—makes this labor possible. We can also see that the labor is affective, as the daughter uses the affectionate term "Tita" meaning aunt or auntie, to address Maria. And Maria feels perhaps what she is not supposed to feel—pride over her work as the daughter became "excellent in school." These skills, texts, languages, and affects blur together in her multidimensional practice of labor. However, these literacy tasks had little economic value for her, as she hid her education as a teacher from her employer and did not tell the parents about the lessons she was conducting with the child. Maria explained that there was no need to reveal this to her employer because her job was to be a maid, or domestic helper (DH). She explained that the mother didn't learn she had training in education until the daughter started to excel in her schoolwork. Here Maria describes what happened when the mother learned she was a teacher:

> And then [the mother] learned I am a teacher. "Why did you not tell me?" [she said]. Why should I? Because there is no relevance. I am your DH. What, are you going to change something if I tell you that I am a teacher? I am your DH, so there's no need. So I did not tell her, but that's why she learned that I am a teacher.

Maria explained, and brought up several times in the interview, that one of the important skills of being a DH in Hong Kong was not talking back to your employer and no longer thinking of yourself as a professional when you worked as a DH. She even referred to herself as a "maid" since she believed that "domestic helper" and "nanny" were euphemisms that were "nice to hear." Maria described her mentality this way:

> I'm a maid there [...] if you are a maid, do not tell yourself that 'I am a professional.' You are a professional in the Philippines, but you are a maid here. I know I'm a DH so I did my work well. Because I am a DH, I will not put in my mind, oh you are a professional so you can answer back to your employer. So that's why my employer loves me. Because I do my job very well.

As Maria explains it, her job was to manage her emotions—to not answer back to employer and to not consider herself in equal status to her employer. Her "work" was to do this remembering, to remind herself that she was a maid. This is how she "did [her] work well." She explained that this was a strategy she was taught in her training program before she was deployed, where she received lessons on "how to be a good DH": "If your boss is angry, don't answer back," and "eliminate your envy" of other Filipinos who have secured additional part-time work.

The decision to understand her job as just a maid and not a professional is in direct contrast to what government programs like the Supermaid program promoted. Augusto Syjuco, then head of the government agency that facilitated the Supermaid program said the program would make maids more than maids: "'They are not just maids. They are really very well trained now,' he said. 'If there is someone injured among the family they work for … how to get out of a fire in a high-rise building, all these are part of our upgrading program'" (qtd. in Javellana-Santos 86). He promised that the program would allow Filipino migrants to transcend the boundaries typically placed on domestic workers, providing them both higher pay and pride in their work. But Maria realizes that to think of her professionalized literacy abilities as a kind of capital did not do much for her in Hong Kong and certainly did not allow her to transcend the limitations of her position. When she decides not to tell

her employer of her training as a teacher, she understands that her literacy practices were embedded in an affective economy that valued her emotional performance over her professionalized skill set. In fact, she considered her literacy history as a trained teacher and engineer as potentially damaging since it might direct her emotionally to feel pride and cause her to be tempted to think of herself as more than a maid. This reminder of how she is defined by the state and by her foreign employer provides the direction for her to re-channel her pride and delay her anger. This practice of affective management mirrors what Manalansan has labeled disaffection: "an affective orientation that inclines towards a managed, if not studied, refusal to unleash or display emotional states publicly" and a "strategic emotional flow combined with self-possession" (217). While outwardly, Maria appeared "unmoved" (Manalansan 218) by the employer's question, inwardly Maria was affected, moving from the angered "Why should I?" to the challenging "What, are you going to change something?" to the more disciplined "You are a professional in the Philippines but you are a maid here. I know that I'm a DH so I did my work very well." The mantra "you are a maid here" provides for Maria a map of the affective states permissible in this workplace structure as it has been laid out by the state—a reminder that she is not in the home but in the professional space the state encouraged them to imagine. We might also consider the many cognitive steps required for Maria to do this work of disaffection: keen awareness of the environment, judgment, assessment of risks and priorities, interpretation of behavior, inference of "mood and motive," and a "big picture systematic view of things" (Rose 203, 210). It is important to understand that this is how Maria kept her job and made sure that her employer treated her well, or "loved" her, as she called it. Maria explained that when your employer doesn't love you, you'll suffer physically. She said "if your boss is not so good, your food sometimes is only twice and sometimes once a day. How can you do a job if your stomach is empty and you have a headache because you are starving?" Maria explained then that being able to appear unaffected—withhold pride and anger—while displaying composure, and still performing domesticity and care, is what made it possible for her to survive.

Discernment: "You are a professional in the Phillipines, but you are a maid here"

As part of her affect management, Maria provides us a short glimpse of her past. She said, "I'm a maid there […] if you are a maid, do not tell yourself that 'I am a professional.' You are a professional in the Philippines, but you are a maid here." I believe that Maria's statement "but you are a maid here" is not an attempt at erasure of her past, but rather a kind of active reflection that helps make sense of the anger that she is feeling and the situation that is causing her anger. In saying "you are a professional […] but you are a maid here," she brings the past (you are a professional) into the present (you are a maid here) and holds these two identities alongside each other. This disconnect between the past and present allows her to make sense of her feeling and to understand where her anger comes from—from the directive that she must forget the past in order to be in the present. Maria makes the same comparison of past and present again in this description of her pre-departure training experience:

> Sometimes your boss is angry. Do not answer back [our trainer said]. But then sometimes Filipinos are hard-headed. And they do not want to. You know, sometimes we think we are

bossy. You know that? That feeling? Because sometimes you are a DH, but in the Philippines you are not so, you are not like that. So maybe your perception is not so good.

When Maria says "sometimes you are a DH, but in the Philippines you are not so, you are not like that," she describes a constant back and forth between the identity she must take on as a DH—an overseas migrant worker in a subservient position with few rights and protections—and who she is in the Philippines—someone who is and can be "bossy." When she says "sometimes we think we are bossy," she describes a pride that comes back and that can't completely be erased—an affect that can't be removed. This practice of reflecting on where one's present emotions come from and how emotions connect to you to others is what Brennan calls discernment, a conscious examining that happens during the transmission of affect. Discernment, Brennan argues, is a simultaneously cognitive and affective practice involving an indistinguishable enmeshment of thought and feeling. It includes reviewing the history of one's own feelings and following "an essentially historical procedure in order to recover a truth" (121). This is the realm of critical literacy and of higher order thinking—taking old information and combining it with the new to transform knowledge, solve a problem, or come to a resolution.

This discernment process, where Maria brings her past and present together to recover a truth, can be seen in her narratives. When Maria describes her interactions with her employer about her teaching experience, she relates the event first as it happened (the mother asked "why did you not tell me?"), but the rest of the event she relates through an imagined interior dialogue. She did not actually say aloud "Why should I? Because there is no relevance. […] What, are you going to change something […]?" to her employer, but is conveying a response she gave in her mind at the time or perhaps a response that she would give now if she could. It was not a history as the "way-it-really-was" (172) but what David Eng would call history as affect that reveals a history as "what-could-have-been" (184). These feelings of anger about her inability to take pride in her work and the inability of her intelligence to be valued as it should were more "true" to her than the unfeeling mask she put up to perform that state's version of the docile worker. Maria makes a similar rhetorical move in describing her response to the pre-departure training. While the trainer says "do not answer back" when your boss is angry, Maria conveys a history as it-could-have-been when she says "but then sometimes Filipinos are hard-headed. And they do not want to." This is not a history-as-it-was, or something that was actually said in the moment of the training, but reflects an affective response that wasn't captured in the historical happenings. She traces it here when she says "you know that? You know that feeling?" She attempts to connect the disconnected, tracing her affective memory to the scene of her actions and to the feelings of others. She effectively engages in knowledge transformation in order to self-author a place in the world where her feelings are not erased and her words are not silent. This echoes what Eng has said about affect's productive relationship with language: "affect might come to supplement history as the way-it-really-was by providing another language for loss [.…] This appropriation of memory's affective valences ultimately works to expand the signifying capacities of language and to endow forgotten creatures and things with new historical significance and meaning" (172). According to Eng, this allows Maria to keep the past actively alive. Maria's anger finds justification and resonance as she remembers her history as a professional. This

affective positioning again shows a stark contrast to the affect promoted in government educational programs—instead of looking up toward the triumphant hero rhetoric, Maria looked back to her past and, as I will argue next, looked across to the other migrant workers in similar positions.

Matiyaga: "Filipinos are hard-headed"

Discernment shifts the contexts of emotions. Instead of imagining emotions as self-contained in the individual, they point outward to the environment. By understanding the affective moves of disaffection and discernment, we can complicate a virtue like *matiyaga*, a characteristic that the Philippine state uses to market its care workers abroad and discipline their emotions in training. In my interviews with migrant care workers, I asked about the skills that they thought made Filipinos attractive on the global labor market. They all responded that patience, or *matiyaga*, was perhaps the care worker's most valuable skill. Luz, for example explained that she obtained her job with her Israeli employer because Israeli's liked older workers who they considered *matiyaga*. Rose, a woman who trained to be a caregiver in Europe, claims that "Filipinos have this tender loving care aspect [….] we have more patience than other nationalities, we love the employer, we treat them as our relative even though they are just our employer." Rose echoes a sentiment often expressed by the Philippine state when they market their workers abroad: *matiyaga* is an expression of love in the pseudo-family relationship care workers are often encouraged to have with the families they work with. If a maid is patient with her employer's demands, this affect is based on the internal feelings she holds for her employer. However, Maria's experience reveals that migrants practice *matiyaga* in ways that are more complex than these traditional notions of patience articulated by the state and by foreign employers.

The *bagong bayani* figure, the hero, is always about moving forward, and in order to do so erases from the past the tragedies and violence that brought the hero into being. Evgeny Dobrenko has written, for example, that the Soviet hero-worker mythologized through Soviet realism was brought into being through the concealment of violence: "this heroism wants to *forget the violence that engendered it*" (217, italics in original). But for Maria, the rationalization for withholding emotion was not an erasure but an intentional remembering. In her reflection on the circumstances of her patience, on why she needs to be patient and how she came to this position, she is able to remember the anger and traumas that engendered them. She creates an affective archive of her literacy's gains and losses. In our interview, Maria connects feelings of anger with other moments in her migration trajectory—anger when she attempted to come back to the Philippines through Balik-Turo but had to battle with the government for months before they honored the letter promising her guaranteed teaching position. Anger toward the fact that women still go abroad for domestic work and that her own daughter is now working abroad as a nurse in Saudi Arabia. She tells me that there were over one thousand women who applied for the Balik-Turo program, and only three hundred were able to gain teaching positions. Still, there are hundreds of thousands of women in Hong Kong and Singapore and thousands of other professionals who did not have an opportunity like Balik-Turo. Anger is a memory that resonates to other experiences in her life and the lives of other migrants, and anger propels her to action as she tell me "maybe you can ask the government, you can write a message […] that I interviewed an OFW [and her] dream is no more DH […] The government,

they do not want to open their minds. You can do that. I will thank you that, and I will read your message or read your wakeup call to them and then one day, the government will do something about it." Affect, Maria shows, can connect us and can "move" people to action (Jacobs and Micciche 3). This is critical literacy work, work that "belies, subverts, and exposes social norms and power imbalances" (Johnson and Vasudevan 36). In allowing for memory, recollection, comparison and detachment, the discerning process of *matiyaga* allows for an alternative rhetorical space to bring the past into the present, offering what Manalansan calls a way to "open up social and occupational spaces for themselves," a possibility for not only surviving the day but "moving on" to the next one (220). Maria describes Filipinos as collectively "hard-headed"—a phrase that invokes the mind, the corporeal experience, and the senses. Here Maria provides a different figuring of the migrant body—different from the soft vulnerable worker or the unfeeling rational being. Hard-headedness indicates an unwillingness to let the affects circulated by the state—affects that promote silence and submission—permeate. It is a figure that is neither hero nor waste labor, but strong, intelligent, and feeling.[10]

NOTES

[1] Importantly, the *bagong bayani* has historically been a feminized figure linked to sacrificial suffering and victimhood (Cruz; Rafael).

[2] Figures are from 2013. Since 2006 there has been a steadily increasing rise in migrant numbers—2006 saw deployment numbers reach one million for the first time. By 2009, deployment numbers reached over 1.4 million, and in 2011 they reached over 1.6 million. Over this seven-year period, migrant deployment numbers increased 72.8 percent (Philippine, "Compendium"; Philippine, *Empowering*).

[3] Care work, as Vivanne Zelizer defines it, features labor that offers "sustained and/or intense personal attention that enhances the welfare of its recipients." This excludes work that offers impersonal provision of welfare or intimacy that does not enhance well-being (269).

[4] To define my initial research parameters, I followed the definition of "skilled worker" offered by Michael Clemens as an adult over twenty-five and educated beyond the secondary level. English is commonly spoken in the Philippines and college-educated adults often have several years of schooling in English as a subject. The Bilingual Education Policy of 1974 made Filipino and English the media of instruction in schooling. English is also considered an official language, often used in official transactions, government, and higher education (for more see Lorente; Bautistas and Bolton). Despite this, my participants did not "feel" fluent in English, again reinforcing the affective nature of language, and openly expressed this during interviews. As Carly, an elementary education teacher of English preparing to leave for Kuwait, put it: "I like English but English doesn't like me."

[5] I chose to interview in both locations, as *balikbayans* and OFWs create two different cohorts of transnational labor. In general, large numbers of *balikbayans* migrated in the 1960s to 1980s as professionals in fields such as nursing. OFWs began migrating in large numbers in the 1970s, but the numbers in the early 2000s are unprecedented. I chose the metropolitan Midwest and Central Luzon as research sites mainly for ease of access. However, these were rich sites for theoretical and historical reasons as well. The Midwest has been home to one of the country's larger Filipino populations outside California, as many migrated to work in area hospitals (see Choy). Central Luzon is the area of the Philippines with the third largest number of transnational migrants. The province in Central Luzon where I focused my research has long been a "global" place—the area is close to two former U.S. military bases, including Clark Airbase, which is now Clark Freeport Zone, home to outsourcing centers for companies like AOL.

[6] Among scholars of affect, there are varying ways of describing the relationship of affect to attendant concepts like emotions, feelings, moods, sentiment and desires. Here, I follow Teresa Brennan's framework that affect can be defined as the "physiological shift accompanying a judgment" (5). In Brennan's definition, affects are "material, physiological things" that have some relation to cognition and judgment (6). In other words, affect includes cognition; it is not separate from it. Affect scholars like Massumi, Ducey and Rice argue that there is an important distinction between affect and emotion and claim that affect consists of preconscious intensities, and that emotions are the work of representing affects at the symbolic level, including language and narration. However, here I align with Mazzarella, who understands affects and symbolic mediation as connected through a dialectical relationship.

[7] The evacuation of migrant workers during the 2006 Lebanon War highlighted the dangerous and unstable working conditions for Filipino migrants abroad. For more on the evacuation of Filipino migrant workers during the 2006 Lebanon War, see Balana and Avendaño; Docena; and Uy.

[8] See Hochschild's work on the "care drain" (17)—a term which she uses to describe the transfer of maternal care from poor developing countries to the families of rich countries, ultimately creating

a "global heart transplant" (22).

[9] Labor recruiters would often market this skill of domestic workers who had professional educations—"a maid and tutor at the same time" was something they used to promote the "added value" of Filipino workers who were the "Mercedes Benz" of the world's domestic workers (Guevarra 138).

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Brokering the Immigrant Bargain: Second-Generation Immigrant Youth Negotiating Transnational Orientations to Literacy

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KEYWORDS

emergent bilingualism, immigration, translanguaging, translingual literacies

This article draws from six years of longitudinal qualitative research into how emergent bilingualism affected family literacy practices at the Mexican American Network of Students (MANOS) K-12 afterschool program, a grassroots, immigrant community program in New York City.[1] Focusing specifically on the writing of three second-generation Mexican American mentees at MANOS, I will describe how the commonalities of the immigrant bargain narrative established these students' views about goals and the merits of education. The immigrant bargain describes an intergenerational class-based expectation that working-class immigrant parents' sacrifices be redeemed and validated in the future through their children's achievements in US schools (Smith 194). The immigrant bargain is a transnational migration narrative that legitimizes language-minoritized, first-generation parents' high hopes that their children learn English and work hard in school while also exposing second-generation youths to their parents' immigrant and language minority status in the US mainstream. When understood with empathy and genuine respect for rich and strong family values, the power of the storyline can potentially prompt educators to organize literacy assignments seeking autobiographical and community "funds of knowledge" while aligning potentially diverging academic aspirations among immigrant families (González, Moll, and Amanti 277).

Language differences, histories, and family lives impacted how MANOS mentees perceived their life circumstances in New York City in relation to their parents' circumstances in Mexico. Marisol, Nansi, and David, the three MANOS mentees of focus in this article, shaped their understanding of migration and transnational identities in relation to education in Mexico and in the United States, but for their literacy practices, their dual range of perspectives did not decrease all constraints. Immigrants develop a dual frame of reference, or "bifocality," in which they "constantly compare their situation in the 'home' society to their situation in the 'host' society abroad" (Vertovec 974). Through immigrant bargain sacrifice narratives, second-generation youth both identify with how hard life can be for their parents while also comparing their own struggles to that of their parents (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, and Holdaway 21). The immigrant bargain and the promise of the self-actualized American dream understood as upward mobility within a meritocracy both predicate an intense work ethic with promises for future success. MANOS parents tactically employed the

immigrant bargain to reaffirm their authority in educational matters for their children, promoting family involvement in this way. Literacy researchers, mentors, and educators unversed in the immigrant bargain's power for probing the bifocality implicit in the narrative must recognize how the intergenerational story both motivates and constrains students to establish attitudes and goals toward US schooling as they envision their families' transnational trajectories.

The diversity of perspectives and literacy uses associated with immigrant bargain is impossible to capture in a single writing event. For instance, the immigrant bargain is completely different for 1.5-generation students, those born abroad but raised in the United States who share characteristics of both first and second generation (Harklau, Losey, and Siegal 4). Nevertheless, this sample of three MANOS students gives qualitative detail to local literacy practices with transnational frames of reference. Ethnographic research into literacies of transnational communities contributes to theories of localizing intergenerational situated activities and practices among communities negotiating textual agency across languages, ideologies, institutions, and nations.

Literacy researchers must challenge the individualizing trap of meritocracy. Assessed through examination or achievement, meritocracy is a system of individual advancement through structure. The individualist rhetoric of meritocracy combats all notions of literacy as a social practice for community building and instead affirms an all-out competition where rivals allegedly have an equal opportunity to literacy and upward mobility. A critical literacy approach opens literacy events to reading the gaming of merit, making explicit the structured inequalities of the meritocratic system while also challenging dominant literacies and the status quo.

The immigrant bargain is a story about what motivates students, about the stories of family and sacrifice. When implicit messages about the immigrant bargain become miscommunicated in families, however, meeting parents' expectations can create aspirational pressures for children. Afterschool mentorship, though, offers one way of realistically aligning the trajectories of parents and children while brokering communication between generational, linguistic, and cultural differences, and what *echándole ganas* (moving forward) in an individualist meritocracy means among communities. My contention in this article is that writing about the immigrant bargain builds dialogues of intergenerational confidence, of *confianza,* for community building and local literacy engagement by recognizing the dignities of students' "hybrid" literacy repertoires and identities (Bartlett and García 50). As a community fund of knowledge, *confianza* "provide[s] children with contexts for learning that are dynamic and built around multifaceted relationships" (Monzo and Rueda 74). For literacy teachers, a culturally sustaining pedagogy engaging these storytelling practices could potentially reshape how we think about writing assignments that involve and sustain immigrant family histories and literacy narratives, increasing access to collaboration and meaningful involvement with homework or enacting agency in the making of the family story. These migration narratives support intergenerational bonds between children and elders because the stories of adult sacrifice involve helping the young.

As the writing produced by three MANOS elementary school students demonstrates, literacy projects that explore students' abilities, aspirations, imaginations, and community social consciousness are culturally relevant for transnational communities. The projects by MANOS mentees scrutinized

New York City's connections to Mexico, and Mexico's to New York City, reflecting on values about education in both nations. Afterschool and family literacy program organizers, youth mentors, and school counselors especially should consider how the transnational immigrant bargain offers a space for intergenerational dialogue with immigrant parents about forming academic motives and goals *with* rather than *for* children, even despite the monolingualized, academic power of English.

MANOS, THE MEXICAN AMERICAN NETWORK OF STUDENTS

The informants in this article participated in a larger six-year ethnographic research project at MANOS. The three students were among the 22 participating MANOS mentees, in addition to 11 volunteer mentors and 10 parents of Mexican-origin at the MANOS community-mentoring program in New York City.[2] MANOS offered evening afterschool homework tutoring services six hours each week free of charge. MANOS was located in the damp basement of a Catholic church in one of the city's outer boroughs. For ten years, the grassroots program mediated between local Mexican immigrant families and the larger Mexican community in New York City, as well as between families and local institutions, primarily New York City public and charter schools. MANOS operated as a safe space for immigrant parents to discourse with one another about school policies and experiences, as well as to participate in their children's educations openly in their home language. MANOS mentors not only aided mentees with homework in English and Spanish, but also simultaneously helped parents navigate the educational system, offering bilingual "institutional networks of support" for immigrant families (Louie 161), subsequently moderating stresses on parent-child relations and facilitating parental involvement in children's educational endeavors.

Research data for the entire project consisted of the following: digitally recaptured images of texts produced by MANOS mentees, parents, and mentors; photographs; and transcripts from semi-structured and structured in-person and written interviews. Over the course of six years of research at MANOS, I collected over 3,000 pages of field notes and interview transcripts, 85 minutes of video footage, 160 hours of audio recordings, 500 photographs, and 300 photocopies of student homework.[3] I categorized transcribed interview and homework sessions, field notes, and essay and creative writing assignments as texts. I categorized photographs and homework copies as artifacts. From the families, I also requested and collected as many pieces of writing as possible, treating these as literacy artifacts in order to examine both the varied occasions for formal and informal literacy practices in the families and the different genres represented. With certain pieces of writing, I conducted group interviews with participants involved in compositions about their recollections of the events surrounding the makings of specific texts. I categorized video and audio data according to situated moments of literacy practices. I digitally recorded homework tutorials involving mentors, parents, and children. From each of these categories of artifacts and media, I triangulated interviews and texts and analyzed them according to narrative units I defined as "translanguaging events" (Alvarez 327), bilingual communicative situations involving communication about a text in practice. Translanguaging events are narratives that represent emergent bilinguals engaging their bilingual repertoires in social situations. Such moments of translanguaging occur as dynamic bilingual

enactments of translanguaging in shared situated contexts for literacy in communities (García 119). Translanguaging events are illustrative of the potential to "read" situations as narratives for theorizing literacy practices. The translanguaging event later in this article shows students creatively and critically strategizing articulations of the immigrant bargain.

The theme of the immigrant bargain became more present during translanguaging events as I noticed elements of it reported to me by youth during homework sessions. For this reason, I decided to investigate how the immigrant bargain affected youth and parents at MANOS. The single translanguaging event I focus on in this article illustrates students writing about the immigrant bargain while also articulating transnational social inequalities. Responding to a photograph of students at a poorly funded school in Mexico, MANOS students compared education and opportunity there with the United States, while exploring their own situations and experiences with social inequality in New York City.

CONFIDENCE AND COMMUNITY

A wealth of mentorship research (Hirsch Hedges, Stawicki, and Mekinda; Rhodes; Rhodes and Lowe; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova; Smith) argues that dedicated commitment between non-familial adults and youth can have positive impacts on the academic outcomes of children and adolescents, especially in low-income urban areas. MANOS mentors helped bridge relationships between the local Mexican families and the traditional, English-dominant schools, despite existing without any direct connection to any school. MANOS brokered several connections, first among the ethnic enclave and next with mentors from around the city, all geared toward maximizing the potential for contact, both in time and commitment. Time and commitment were what truly created a sense of validation and support, but also *confianza*, a sense of trust, of confidence resulting in the ease of two-way discussions about schools and the community (Zentella, *Building* 179). *Confianza* was the social glue that maintained the integrity of the MANOS program and was indeed validated in the friendships forged between MANOS mentors and families. A bond of *confianza* on MANOS's part meant that informed parents were a requisite for educational success—the better informed the parents were, the more likely they were to become further involved in establishing consistent educational expectations with their children and sharing mentorship.

My inquiries about why Mexican-origin students in New York City weren't achieving as highly as their immigrant classmates began with examining the systems of merit and assessment, then finding potential points of intersection between school and family behavior codes. The system of meritorious work ethic, I realized, mirrored similar ethical arguments in the immigrant bargain narrative among MANOS families. MANOS parents, children, and mentors brokered and negotiated the immigrant bargain as opportunity narratives between families and in the community, which sometimes required thinking about merit from a larger perspective.

As a researcher witnessing the bilingual aptitude and eagerness for learning in the MANOS community, I questioned popular local accounts about what supposed educational achievement gaps for Mexican-origin youth in New York City really measured. According to Kurt Semple's 2011 *New*

York Times article "In New York, Mexicans Lag in Education," two-fifths of Mexican students in New York City would not graduate high school and only one in twenty would pursue college educations. Compared to New York City's major immigrant groups, Mexicans seemed to be faring the worst educationally as "41 percent of all Mexicans between ages 16 and 19 in the city have dropped out of school." Semple argues the roots of the problem are undocumented immigration status and lack of parental involvement. He writes, "Many Mexicans are poor and in the country illegally. Parents, many of them uneducated, often work in multiple jobs, leaving little time for involvement in their children's education."

Semple's statistics are compelling, but his rhetoric is demeaning and also misguided. The dropout statistic, unfortunately, is actually higher. Semple also doesn't account for differences between Mexican-origin and Mexican American students in New York City. Sadly, according to New York City Census data analyzed by the Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies Latino Data Project, 48.6% of Mexican-origin people age 25 or older did not graduate high school in 2010 (Bergad 39). These 2010 numbers further aggregated, however, reveal that 15% of US-born students of Mexican origin do not graduate high school (40)—a staggering 33% achievement difference between Mexican immigrant and Mexican American youth.

Children born in the United States to immigrant parents fared significantly better than newcomer students; however, Semple's article lumps both groups together. The numbers themselves are a bit misleading, since presumably the first generation would have had partial education in Mexico or perhaps would not have interacted with US schools. Nevertheless, the low high school completion rates of newcomer Mexican immigrant youth are deeply troubling on their own. Semple's rhetoric about parents' involvement clearly becomes his focus for blame, reinforcing the meritocracy paradigm, placing blame in the wrong place and evoking a dangerous stereotype of inept parenting. As the immigrant bargain narrative proves, attrition is not a cultural or familial problem but is due to more systemic social constraints such as racism, poverty, and irregular legal status.

Semple, like too many others, blames parents for student performance, and also for migration, without recognizing that the playing field was not equal for Mexican immigrants of all ages, parents and children, and that within families parental involvement is not the problem. The immigrant bargain naturally played out in all families, but within the Mexican communities, the immigrant bargain's pressures for upward social mobility drew on the parental sacrifice and work ethic. This of course was where the need for MANOS mentors in the community became an important: to mentor potential disconnects in Mexican families, by aligning narratives and offering access to resources for educational opportunities and shared community strengths.

Without a doubt, immigrant families face educational predicaments, largely stemming from the negotiations between home minority languages and that of the dominant institutional language. The support and cultivation of English literacy through the MANOS program emphasized the community's efforts to engage with the dominant institutional language while maintaining the integrity of the language they used to communicate in personal relations. One element that was shared across all the MANOS community's stories of migration and individual educational travails was a common narrative of family survival and perseverance. In English and Spanish, MANOS

students were familiar with these tales. The compositions of MANOS mentees Marisol, Nansi, and David demonstrated that familiarity and illustrated how social class and language were deeply intertwined. The translanguaging event and its resultant texts vividly illustrated how these MANOS mentees voiced the immigrant bargain and a schooling orientation favorable to making their parents proud. Within the city's Mexican communities, the immigrant bargain's pressures for *superación*, upward social mobility, found few models from which to draw (Gálvez 22). This was of course where the need for sponsoring mentors in the community became an important resource to rectify disconnects in Mexican families, by aligning experience with *superación* aspirations and offering trust as resources for educational mentorship communities.

THE IMMIGRANT BARGAIN

Thirty-three-year-old María and her four children had been members of MANOS for two years. The family had moved to the east coast six years before, after living near her sister's family in California for ten years. María's younger brother lived in a Little Mexico *barrio* in New York City and he convinced her that work opportunities and treatment of immigrants were better in New York than California. She was born in a rural area of Morelos, Mexico, which she noted was the reason why she had only two years of formal schooling. Her father died when she was young, and her mother supported María and her six siblings as a migrant farm worker throughout the central and northern Mexican countryside, following harvest seasons. María noted that she and her siblings also worked to contribute to the family income. She immigrated to the United States when she was sixteen years old. She worked cleaning offices and apartments in Manhattan.

María's first language was Mixtec, an indigenous language to Mexico. She learned to speak Spanish in Mexico growing up, but Mixtec was the language of her small home community in Morelos. During her twenties, she learned to read and write Spanish in California where she simultaneously had been learning more spoken and written English. Her children were soccer enthusiasts, and her daughter Gina demonstrated a remarkable commitment to helping her mother. Gina always translated bills, report cards, and, generally speaking, anything written in English deemed important. "Because I have to help her, because for some of the stuff in English she don't have anyone to help her. And she helps me too," Gina said during an interview.

María mentioned to me that she wished she would have had the opportunity to go to school like her children, but she had to work at an early age to help support her widowed mother. As a child, her family lived as migrant farm workers in Mexico for several years, before María and her sister and brother migrated to the United States. She recounted, with tears in her eyes in front of all her children during an interview that "*mis propios paisanos se burlan de mí por el simple hecho de no saber escribir mi nombre, pero yo nunca tuve la oportunidad de ir a la escuela, y solamente hablo un dialecto*" (My own Mexican people look down on me for the simple fact that I don't know how to write my own name, but I never had the opportunity to go to school, and I speak only a dialect). The *dialecto* she described was her home language Mixtec.

For María, it seemed natural that she would experience discrimination against her Mixtec

roots abroad, but it made no sense to her to receive similar treatment from Mexicans experiencing similar discrimination from the United States mainstream. Mixtec speakers face structural racism in the linguistic market of Spanish in Mexico and the United States, and this was one reason why she referred to her language as a dialect. Her family's economic conditions limited opportunities to study, despite her intense desire to attend school. Her children—also in tears—had heard this story before. All were mindful of the hardships their mother lived through as a girl, her educational history, and the social and language challenges she still faced in New York. María's children, like most MANOS mentees, were sensitive to the narratives of their parents' educational hardships. They also understood that their parents rhetorically used their personal history narratives in order to teach their children important lessons about living responsibly and studying hard. Parents used the immigrant bargain to teach their children about the difficulties of life and migration and as a means to pressure them. The pressure was certainly effective, as the tears in the room proved.

The MANOS parents by and large all subscribed to the immigrant dream of upward mobility for their children, as sponsored through educational success and persistence. Immigrant parents attempted to strike compromises for responsibly maintaining their children's high motivation for their schoolwork, persuading their children to take their studies seriously by invoking the immigrant bargain. According to Robert C. Smith, such a bargain occurs in most families—immigrant and nonimmigrant alike—but for immigrant families, the "life-defining sacrifices of migration convert it into an urgent tale of moral worth or failure" (126). The second-generation successes justify the first-generation's sacrifices, but failures produce a "burden of shame" in family economies of "moral worth." Smith claims, "children understand the implication that their parents, who overcame long odds, would have done better, and they judge themselves harshly" (126). The potential for shame, as Smith argues here, stems from children comparing themselves to their parents and not meeting their expectations or, alternatively, for not valuing their parents' struggles and being *sinvergüenzas*, or sham*eless*.

Vergüenza, or shame—being either with or without shame—organizes intergenerational power dynamics in Mexican and Mexican American families, maintaining conservative patriarchal relations of belonging (Díaz-Barriga 258). The power dynamics of *vergüenza* for immigrant families, however, speaks to a family struggle and group work ethic, and the *sinvergüenzas* are those who don't pull their weight. The pathos of the immigrant bargain and its rhetoric of *vergüenza* obliged MANOS mentees to value hard work, to "grow up" and affect (even temporarily) a certain level of emotional and intellectual maturity while being mindful of their parents (Orellana 21). Yet for MANOS families, the immigrant bargain did not disempower parents or restructure family relations. MANOS parents still retained power in their families, even in the midst of competing English discourses that sometimes undermined their authority. Rather, MANOS parents tactically employed their migration narratives to empower their children and to legitimize their expectations that they work hard in school. The MANOS parents' messages about *vergüenza* and education rang loud and clear, and for the MANOS mentees the stories moralized a family-oriented work ethic.

As with any message, however, the immigrant bargain may be interpreted differently than intended and is dynamically impacted by power structures. Though first-generation parents use the

rhetoric of the immigrant bargain to motivate their children, some immigrant youth interpret the immigrant bargain as confirmation that, in order to be successful, they must not be like their parents, and they experience a pressure for assimilation and mobility that encourages them to dis-identify with their parents and their families (Portes and Rumbaut 113). As noted in Semple's *Times* article, the public realm further encourages dis-identification with parents as reactive youths note the public's perceptions of their parents as immigrants. Second-generation youths who ascribe to these nativist perceptions choose to differentiate their ethnic identities away from their parents and see themselves as parts of mainstream society, abandoning the strengths of their families. The strengths of intergenerational learning can promote academic motivation and translanguaging literacies that connect to the real practices and contexts of students navigating the immigrant bargain.

WRITING ABOUT OPPORTUNITY *EN CONFIANZA*: A TRANSLANGUAGING EVENT

All the MANOS parents surveyed in this study had faced life struggles their children had yet to completely fathom but which their children had glimpsed in family narratives. As they aged, children became more familiar with the stories of their parents' migrations from Mexico. At early ages, nearly all MANOS mentees could offer accounts of their parents' lives in Mexico, their difficult migrations, and their economic hardships in the United States. These migration narratives of the parents supported an intergenerational bond between children and elders because the stories of adult sacrifice involved helping the young. MANOS mentees appreciated the sacrifices the migrating generation had performed in order for the next to gain a better footing in the United States, and, subsequently, in life.

Several of the MANOS mentees had traveled to Mexico to spend time with family during school vacation months. All the parents in this study hailed from small towns on the outskirts of larger cities and maintained connections there. During summer months, it was not uncommon for some MANOS youth to visit for several weeks. For these youth who traveled to Mexico, the contrasts between what they identified as rural homeland and urban New York City were compelling: "New York is crowded, and over there isn't a lot of people next to each other. And then Mexico there's animals like donkeys. And it's very, very hot," said 11-year-old Luis about his parents' village in the Mexican state of Puebla. Teenager Sara said of her parents' village further west in Puebla that "there's a lot more poor communities. And I feel like we live in a better situation than they do, and it's sometimes—like—wow, you really don't see that a lot. The Mexicans over there think that we're lucky we live in a big city, that we have lots of opportunities, and that we have nicer clothes."

When speaking of Mexico, whether having been there or not, MANOS mentees constantly emphasized its social conditions, especially what they deemed as its poverty in relation to the United States. Whether having first-hand experience with life in Mexico or not, however, the MANOS youth all internalized a comparative transnational framework for understanding the social relations between Mexico and the United States, even to the differences between clothes and wealth. They also became aware of how these relations played as the backdrops in ongoing family narratives

of migration and their social class positions within the American mainstream. The "third-world" poverty in Mexico, compared to the urban poverty in *el norte* (the north), New York City, led MANOS parents to juxtapose their lives' stories with their children's, rhetorically embedding children into their transnational family narratives of *superación*. MANOS mentees sometimes subscribed to these narratives, regarding themselves as individual links in immigrant family chains of class progress, and sometimes questioned them. Social aspirations encoded into these stories moralized their parents' obstacles as sacrifices for better lives for future generations, but aspirations also compelled them to bargain their positions in families and their work ethics. For students, thinking and writing about such bargains involved in these familial sacrifice narratives parse how second-generation students consider how difficult life could be for immigrants while also opening spaces for building trust and opening dialogues with students and communities.

In order to practice their writing, Carlos, MANOS's program director, invited a group of three MANOS elementary mentees, born in the US to immigrant parents to respond to an image from the Spanish language newspaper *El Diario de México* (24 Oct. 2008) about children at school in Veracruz, Mexico (see Figure 1). There was no accompanying article for the image. The caption emphasizes the hope of children in Xalapa despite what appears to be minimal institutional support. Judging by the handwritten English caption added by Carlos, the image and text either communicate a sense of hope amid suffering or project a sense of thankfulness for schooling in the United States.
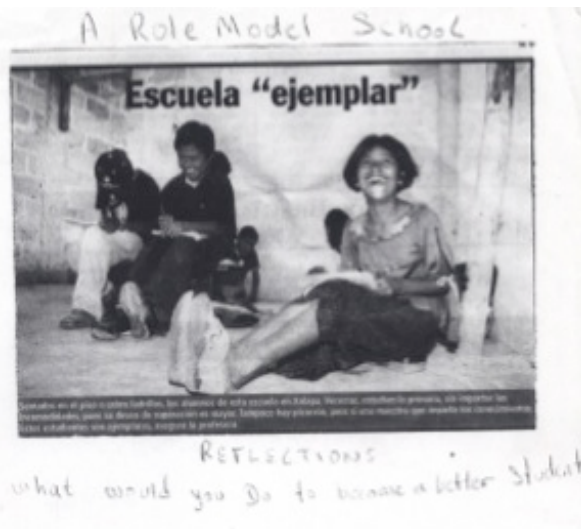
Fig. 1. MANOS mentees responding to image of Mexican school.

Carlos read *El Diario* every day on his commute to MANOS from his day job, and he sometimes contributed articles about his activism for the newspaper. When he saw the image, he said it reminded him of schools in rural Mexico he attended before emigrating from rural Puebla, and he wanted MANOS students to see students like themselves in different conditions, an intentional and explicit appeal to the immigrant bargain rhetoric of *superación* narratives. He cut out the photo, pasted it on

a piece of paper with the message "A Role Model School" above the image, and added a subtext below it asking for "Reflections," with the question, "What would you do to become a better student?"

Carlos maintained the original caption printed by the newspaper on his improvised assignment. The caption for the photo reads:

> *Sentados en el piso a sobre ladrillos, los alumnos de esta escuela en Xalapa, Veracruz, estudian la primaria, sin importar las incomodidades, pues su deseo de superación es mayor. Tampoco hay pizarrón, pero sí una maestra que imparte los conocimientos. Estos estudiantes son ejemplares, asegura la profesora.*

> Sitting on the brick floor, the students at this school in Xalapa, Veracruz study, not minding the uncomfortable conditions because their desire for achievement is greater. They don't have a chalkboard, but they do have a teacher to impart knowledge. These students are exemplary, assures the teacher.

Carlos made photocopies and distributed them to the students at MANOS one evening while they worked on their homework. He interrupted different homework sessions as he distributed the photocopies.

"What would you do?" he said to the groups of mentees, parents, and mentors.

The image produced intense reactions from everyone, but since homework was the priority, Carlos told them to keep their photocopies, and people who wanted to talk about the image could do so in a group discussion after they finished their assignments.

Since I had finished tutoring a younger mentee with her homework, I volunteered to organize the response group. With what Carlos had produced, I envisioned a writing activity. I gathered writing materials when Carlos approached with three MANOS mentees.

"¡*Ya vámonos!*" he said.

I led the group of three mentees to a circle of desks in a corner to work on writing about the image and its text. I knew the students well, fifth grader Marisol, age 11, and fourth graders Nansi and David, ages 10 and 9. They had been taking part in my larger MANOS study.

When the group of MANOS mentees thought about how to respond to the image of students in Xalapa, they weren't exactly sure what to write about. We read the text in Spanish together aloud, and we collaborated on a translation with quick negotiation, as it seemed the students had fewer questions about vocabulary than about the location Xalapa. They also asked if they had to answer the question that Carlos wrote as a caption. As I didn't want to limit students to that question, I told them to write and just let the picture tell them what to write. Looking at the photocopy again, I realized that the question was in English, and the caption in Spanish. I realized the question implied an English response. I realized I had to add a caveat about bilingualism.

"In English or Spanish, use both or either one to answer it."

My "both or either one" was indicative of my open orientation to the informal assignment recognizing the *confianza* of the space and moment for translanguaging, for using all the available tactics in the students' bilingual repertoires. Mentees collectively interpreted an image from a Spanish-language periodical portraying the educational conditions of poverty among a group of

smiling students squatting on the brick floor of their classroom in an alternative space. The MANOS mentees were free to answer the question *en confianza*, meaning in the form they found most suitable for the situation. This of course included and encouraged language mixtures and creations that were part of their everyday literacy practices.

Nansi asked if she had to write an essay.

Marisol and David groaned.

I told all the three mentees they could write how they wanted, but just to write their ideas about the image, and write it as nicely or as badly as they wanted; *en confianza*, it was only practice. The only catch, I told them, was that they would have to read what they wrote aloud.

"In English?" asked David.

"English or Spanish," I said. "*Inglés o español.*"

"*Vamos a leerlo después de terminarlo*" (We will read it after we finish it), said Marisol.

The following figures were the results produced by the students and which they read aloud after writing for approximately twelve minutes (MANOS was soon closing that evening, and we needed time to hear each version). Nearly all of the students wrote personal responses to the image that delved into the rhetoric of the immigrant bargain, narratives of family *superación*, and differences in educational opportunities in Mexico and the United States. The juxtapositions of Mexico and the United States illustrated and reaffirmed the bifocality of reference for these MANOS mentees.

Figure 2 is the first text from MANOS mentee Marisol. The transcription to Marisol's response in Figure 2 reads:

> This picture affects me by getting educated the right way. I am glad that I go to a good school. If I was rich or had money I would change everything. I would bring chairs and tables books and a lot of supplies so they get educated more. There happy that they getting educated because some people don't get educated. I feel like we got opportunities because we're in the USA, and we don't care about school and the kids in the picture are happy and there sitting on the floor getting educated. *Ellos les estan echando ganas y nosotros si estamos ahi no le echamos ganas.* (They are making the effort and if we were there we wouldn't make the effort.)

Fig. 2. Response to Figure 1, composed by Marisol.

Marisol wrote that "I feel like we got opportunities because we're in the USA, and we don't care about school," making a forthright comparison between the youth in the photo and youth in the United States. For her, the youth in the photo seemed happy with their meager schooling conditions. She reverted to Spanish to further clarify and summarize her point: "*Ellos les estan echando ganas y nosotros si estamos ahi no le echamos ganas*" (They are making the effort and if we were there we wouldn't make the effort). The comparison between "there" and "here" and the resources that provoked a sense of appreciation for what one had was another common hallmark of how the immigrant bargain was legitimated by parents to their children, and how it figured in social class dynamics in conjunction with nation status. Her final sentence in Spanish more or less summed up the idea that "we"—those born here—don't appreciate what we have, and we should work harder, like these students who have little. This was the message of many MANOS parents. Her audience in Spanish would get the overall point of what she had interpreted in more detailed English: class comforts deaden one's sense of appreciation for privilege. Though the public school she attended in the neighborhood was in no sense one of the best schools in New York City, Marisol felt she couldn't complain when examining the school in Xalapa from the image.

"If they came to MANOS, they would be happy, too," she said. "Because here we have desks too and teachers to help us."

MANOS mentees often referred to homework mentors as "teachers," and here was one instance when Marisol saw their pedagogical assistance as institution-like, at least with what she recognized

as a lack of infrastructure with the Xalapa school. What struck me about Marisol's text was the use of Spanish as coda at the end of her writing. At the end of her text, she code-switched (Zentella, *Growing Up* 41, 81), producing a translingual text which is something she wouldn't be encouraged to do in standardized essay examinations at school. Marisol clearly took bilingual liberties because of her awareness of audience for this composition. Her call to action voices a rallying cry within the immigrant bargain rhetoric, envoicing the words of parents arguing for recognizing privilege and repaying their gratitude through hard work and vergüenza. In her coda, she ends the last phrase with the first-person plural nosotros, transitioning from the first-person singular "I" throughout the text. In Marisol's last phrase, she pinpoints her authority to speak as expert in this negotiation because it's something she has lived. Through her sense of authority in writing on the subject of the immigrant bargain and her authority to effectively communicate bilingually with her audience, Marisol enacts meaning as she maximizes the interaction with her full translanguaging repertoire both on the page and in her performance.

When Marisol arrived at the last sentence of her composition and her use of Spanish, Nansi asked for clarification as to whether what she just read was a translation or written. Marisol showed Nansi her written text, and Nansi was impressed that Marisol knew how to write Spanish so well.

After Marisol, the group moved to MANOS mentee David, age 9. Figure 3 is the text he composed. The partially damaged text reads:

> They are happy because they are learning somting and they want to be somting on ther life and i feel like if i was the president i will send mony to Mexico so tha they could buy tables and chair and books so the kids could learn somting on there life. I think some kids don't have the mony to buy clothes and feel sad that in New York they have olat of things and they think that got every fucking money in the world and i hate when they are making fun of other kids that don't hafe money [damaged portion of page missing].

Fig. 3. Text responding to Figure 1, composed by David.

Fourth-grader David's response drew some linguistic controversy to the study group. David's composition provoked the greatest response from his audience because of his use of the swearword "fuck." He first read his response in English, watching to see how I would react when he arrived at the expletive. Four additional sets of eyes did the same after he said it. I nodded and asked him to continue. He did so. David's language choices—particularly marked language choices—expressed a certain kind of force or ownership of the narrative, and I didn't want to censor that. I knew David, and he was not a student prone to swear in front of me.

After he finished it in English, David read it over and translated sentence-by-sentence into Spanish, with some help from Marisol and Nansi. When he translated his composition, he didn't use a Spanish equivalent for "fuck." He used the English expletive, because the emphasis was the same for him in either language. Marisol and Nansi laughed as he said it and immediately looked to see how I would respond again, perhaps in disbelief that I didn't censor David. I wanted to learn from him, and I didn't want to waste an opportunity for our group to engage his text.

As for the swear word, I let the mentees know that I understood that word was used around them and that they would use that word amongst themselves. They also had to understand, though, that using it at the improper time could be offensive to audiences.

David nodded and said, "But I get mad about this stuff." He justified his use as natural during the informal stage of writing, but also as an emotional response to the content of his composition.

I assured the MANOS mentees I wasn't going to get anyone in trouble and I would permit the word in this composition because it wasn't a school assignment. For school, this would not be permissible, I said.

"Well, I know that," David said.

The use of "fuck" in David's composition effectively utilized the informality of the writing exercise. And as a rhetorical move, he complemented it with the pathos of arguments behind the severe class antagonisms found most distasteful in the social relations between the wealthy and poor in the United States. Again, he offered a solution to the issue when he hypothetically positioned himself as a politician or an individual endowed with the institutional power to make social changes. But when David reached the point of class antagonism, just like with Marisol, the final sentence resonated with a burst of pathos: of a young person who couldn't stand to witness social inequalities between two people who were—by all measures—equal. David chose to use New York City as one example of wealth and he contrasted this with what he saw in the image. To take this informal writing an additional step further—again beyond the informal and the impromptu—I would have encouraged David to use his writing to question why real politicians allowed such schools to exist for poor children.

When David finished reading his composition and after he demonstrated the freedom in the informality of the assignment by finding room to swear with impunity, he aired his grievance a bit further when I asked what rich students he was referring to.

"The ones that have a lot of things. They show off and make kids feel bad."

"They bring nice cell phones to school," Marisol said.

Cell phones and clothing signified wealth and status among the MANOS mentees at their schools around the neighborhood, as they did with MANOS students who travelled abroad to Mexico.

Though expensive electronics were not permitted at any of their schools, the mentees reported that students brought them to school anyway, mostly to show, especially just off school grounds before and after school.

David explained that he had recently seen a few older students bullying his classmates outside his school. The image touched a nerve. I asked if he thought students at that school in Mexico also had their own ways of bullying.

"No, I don't think so because they don't have books or paper."

Social status was only operational in the United States then, or in ways particularly identifiable and salient through the semiotics of consumer goods like cell phones or name-brand clothes and shoes owned by some and not by others. Poverty was an equalizer in this sense, but it must be remembered that a photo juxtaposing one of the elite educational classrooms of a private school in the Lomas de Chapultepec neighborhood of Mexico City would have possibly reframed things in an interesting way for the mentees. Within the contexts of their schools, MANOS students didn't report feeling significantly poorer than their peers, but they knew their families were not as wealthy as some of their classmates' families.

The group appreciated David's efforts and we each thanked him for sharing his honesty and using the writing as an opportunity to express his frustrations. Bullying and class differences were something the MANOS mentees identified with and sometimes experienced.

Fourth-grader Nansi Montez composed the text in Figure 4. The partially damaged transcript reads:

> That they wish they could have tables and then that they wish that they could have a school to learn or to have better grade or notebook as well. The studonts wish they could have a school like we go on right know. The kids are laugh and sitting on the floor and it might be cold and they are happy to be on skool and than like some people go tosit on the floor like if there poor and can oford a better skool that thats where imagration is and how they real want to change. If I was a govermant of Mexico and I would put tables chairs more teachers so they could learn more about reading, math, science, and computer as well. How [damaged portion of page missing] because they can't oford for a real great skool or uniform or can't afored shoos or sneakers as well. They talk about there life and maybe they want to speak english as well. I really feel bad for people like they let you study or not they hite you with something.

Fig. 4. Text responding to Figure 1, composed by Nansi.

Like her MANOS fellow mentees, fourth grader Nansi's text entertained the idea of social change and also how redistribution of resources for schools should be more equitable. She had a vision for what school for the youth in the photo should or could be like, and how she would contribute if she were able to first succeed herself. She also turned the tables on the governments that allowed youth to attend schools in such decrepit conditions. That was something the caption of the actual photo didn't question. That caption pointed to the heroism of the Mexican youth to suffer and strive to move ahead (*deseo de superación*) despite constraints. Nansi didn't look to the victims; she instead looked to causes and she looked to institutions. She also said the students in Xalapa wished they were in the positions of students in the United States receiving an education with more resources. Turning toward the immigrant bargain, we can see the logic at work where those Mexicans living in poverty worked harder than those who live comparatively wealthier. This view led to either a sense of debt to be paid for parents' sacrifices or a re-evaluation of one's work ethic in a comparative framework. Nansi points to the image of Xalapa as reason to leave Mexico, as the site "where imagration is" and

the motivations for immigrants for opportunity and the dignity of "change."

After Nansi read her composition, Marisol began a round of applause, followed by David, Nansi, and myself. I asked why she had started clapping and had cheered the rest of us on.

"Because she was the last one, and we all said good things."

I had to agree. I think Marisol wanted to show support for her friend whom she noticed was a little nervous reading to the group.

I asked Nansi why she thought the children would want to learn English.

"So they could get good jobs and go to college and make their parents happy," she said.

I reminded her that the children in the photo were in Mexico.

"But in Mexico you have to know English too, my dad and my uncle told me that."

She confirmed this with David, who was nodding.

"*Sí, claro, mejor*" (yes, of course, it's better), he said. He added that being *bilingüe* (bilingual) was an asset there. According to the mentees, between Mexico and the United States, bilingual speakers of English and Spanish had linguistic capital in each direction, but English, especially its connections to the dominant institutional character of the United States, had more value across borders.

The compositions from the group of MANOS mentees broke down the dual-frame of reference that immigrant youth imagined as class differences between Mexico and the United States. In all instances of the texts produced, these mentees' projections of poverty in the rural areas mixed with projections of advantage through the markers of US-style schooling. For each of the distinct compositions of the MANOS mentees, the image first called attention to the immigrant ethic that was appreciative for the opportunities available in the United States, in comparison to the limited opportunities of Mexico. Secondly, however, they also pinpointed fundamental social class inequalities that contributed to their own interpretations of meritocracy and living the immigrant bargain's pressures for *superación*. The image of school poverty in Xalapa, however, displaces attention from larger social inequities that permit such poverty to exist at all levels of public schooling across the globe. For some of the MANOS parents, the image in the photograph from *El Diario* is closer to what they experienced in terms of their access to schooling in Mexico. The *superación* narrative drove many of them to migrate to New York City, and these stories formed the bases of aspirational goals, narratives for *echándole ganas*, for children and future generations. *Echando ganas* was the phrase used by Marisol in her composition, and I found that synonym also common to the vocabulary of the transnational immigrant bargain from both parents and children.

LITERACY AND MENTORSHIP

There were a few mentors at different points during MANOS's history who criticized the literacy engagement at MANOS as nothing more than tutoring focused on schoolwork. These mentors envisioned a more sustained engagement outside of school without school necessarily being the subject, or at least not the primary subject. The line for them between tutoring and mentoring was firmly distinguished. Yet, these volunteers admitted that it was of crucial importance to help with schoolwork, so they therefore began to blur the line between tutors and mentors. Homework

literacy was the common need among families involved at MANOS, and this was what really brought neighborhood parents together in a shared community venture aimed at securing academic support and mentoring. The unique institutional affordances of a grassroots community afterschool program and the potential for mentorship through dialogues and writing about the immigrant bargain narrative complement each other and support students.

Families were thankful to mentors, and mentors were validated by what they saw as a family struggle toward something greater, *echándole ganas*. Twenty-eight-year-old MANOS mentor Cristina identified with the struggles of immigrant parents and saw them as her own, so she was glad to help out by sharing the experiences she had growing up in similar circumstances as the MANOS families, who were struggling to make ends meet in one of the most expensive cities in the world. She added that the MANOS families were active in their critiques of how MANOS functioned, or that they had a "say" in how things ran. MANOS of course invited parent critique, in order to—as Cristina said—identify the "real needs of the community we serve." The shared interactions within the community not only opened discussion about educational possibilities and how to navigate schools and afterschool programs, but also on how to take steps toward academic achievement and college attendance.

The educational expectations of immigrant parents and children could be brought into alignment with assistance from trusted mentors. Most MANOS mentors were first-generation college students with sustained involvement with the community who were familiar with its rhetoric of the immigrant bargain. Like MANOS parents, mentors also emphasized the obstacles they faced on the road to college, and the importance that going to college would have for mentees, as well as for their families. Yet MANOS mentors were also familiar with pressures to succeed academically despite limited ability of parental involvement. Nineteen-year-old mentor Leti expressed her position as cultural mediator at MANOS:

> As a daughter of immigrants I understand the situation that both the children and parents in this mentoring program go through. My parents always wanted to be more involved in school activities, but the language was a serious barrier for them. At MANOS I provide the help that my parents were never offered. I love most helping out children. It's important that our youth learn to value education at a young age and become empowered to promote positive change in our world.

Leti identified with the predicaments of both second-generation children and their parents, which pointed to larger educational issues concerning bilingualism and community engagement. As a mentor, she showed support for families through her cultural sensitivity and empathy. Leti was one member of a team of MANOS mentors who anchored the interplay between family, educational support, and institutional guidance. As Leti indicated, MANOS's educational outreach model opened lines of communication between volunteer mentors and families about the schools and their opportunities. Culturally sensitive mentors like Leti brokered the immigrant bargain between MANOS families facilitating alignment between the aspirations and goals of parents and children. MANOS mentors also became supportive literacy brokers in the lives of the youth and parents who looked to educational success as a life necessity. They mediated parental expectations,

youths' aspirations, and the realities of miscommunication in families. MANOS mentors cultivated a community through academic participation closely allied to Mexican identity, thereby encouraging a sense of value for the immigrant bargain as a political tool for—and the everyday reality of—immigrant families.

MANOS demonstrated how a safe space outside of a school context promotes open discussion about education for students and mentors to dialogue about the immigrant bargain and schooling. Understanding the emotional and linguistic levels involved in the immigrant bargain deepens the complexity of how adults empathize with second-generation youths grappling with their family migration narratives and academic-professional aspirations. For the children of immigrants, *superación* narratives are equally self-reflexive projects. Their personal aspirations, however, sometimes come with heavy expectations from the preceding generation. Children use the immigrant bargain as a way to either motivate themselves to try harder or as an additional way to distance themselves from their immigrant identities when plagued with survivor guilt. Unfortunately still salient, this discourse is a historical remnant of an assimilative melting pot American dream assuming that family connections and home languages will evolve or progress toward English as the generations work forward to realize increased opportunities for *superación*, eventually achieving their aspirations. While this may inevitably be the case, the social pressure to deny the strengths of family happens down at the level of accent.

When examining educational statistics for the children of immigrants, certain trends emerge nationwide. For example, there is increased probability for second-generation children to grow up immersed more in English than their parents' home language. There is also the greater probability that bilingualism would, by the third generation, lead to monolingual English dominant literacy (Montrul 182; Portes and Zhou 88-89). This intergenerational trend toward monolingualism asks us to consider how immigrant language-minoritized parents remain connected to their children's educational literacy growth. How can parents maintain high expectations, model literacy practices, and stay as integral and connected through bilingualism if their command of English gets classified as "deficient" by monolingualized educational standards?

However, for 36-year-old MANOS mother Victoria, who had undocumented status, her son's English literacy took precedence. Learning English, she said, was her nine-year-old son Marcos's way of defending himself in case something should happen to his parents. When speaking of her reasons for being strong and continuing to work despite feeling tired or ill, Victoria turned to some of the realities she faced as an undocumented immigrant with a son who is a US citizen. According to Victoria she continually reminded Marcos that,

> *le digo a él que el que de verdad piensa, pues estudia. Dice que quiere ser un buen estudiante. Que va a tener algo. Una carrera, dice. Le digo que tengo que ir a trabajar y tener mucha fuerza porque si voy a trabajar, le digo, entonces puedo darte lo que necesites, mijo. Te apoyaré, le digo. Hasta en este lugar, le digo, a menos que los de migración nos echen pa fuera, y en ese caso, pues nos iremos.*

> I say to him that the one who thinks, studies. He says he wants to be a good student. That

he will have something. A career, he says. I tell him that I have to go to work and have lots of strength because if I go to work, I say to him, then I can give you whichever things you want, my son. I will be here, I say to him. Even here I say to him. Unless immigration kicks us out, and in that case, we will leave.

Marcos flipped through a Spider Man coloring book as his mother said this. In later interviews with Victoria and Marcos, I came to learn more about how Marcos and his family viewed literacy education, and how his mixed-status citizenship from his parents was something he knew a great deal about. Through living in a mixed-status family, Marcos had understood the outlines of immigration and the threat of his parents' deportation for years. Over those same years the details had become more familiar, and he had become increasingly more knowledgeable of the potential consequences deportation would have on his family. In situations like Marcos's, the immigrant bargain took on a different guise, not only again between nations, but also distinct in a Mexican variety guised in "illegality" or permission to undertake the American dream in the first place.

For educators, it's important to understand the complexities of how the immigrant bargain and survivor guilt deepen the familial responsibilities immigrant students face. Educators aware of its importance can connect with students and mentor them in meaningful ways, even if not of the same racial or ethnic group (Louie 170). Finding commonalities among immigrant bargain narratives for children and parents means sometimes untangling perceptions of how language, social class, and nation affect power relations and constitute social categories and stereotypes. The cross-generational immigrant bargain needs to be approached with sensitivity by educators and agencies dealing with immigrant families, as it is a site of potential conflict among children and parents negotiating their distal and proximal relationships to English and the immigrant bargain. Likewise, school districts should further invest in neighborhood programs like MANOS that perform vital services by mentoring families to meet their academic and developmental needs (171). These services are obviously indispensable and in preciously short supply in New York City's low-status immigrant communities.

Building on the strengths of students and families like those at MANOS means finding links between the profound resources of universities involved in literacy research, community outreach, multilingual teacher training, and student mentorship programs for future teachers. Building sustainable links could potentially mean longitudinal fieldwork to gain rich qualitative data for literacy analysis and for theorizing pedagogical methods. As the translanguaging event about the immigrant bargain demonstrates, narrating situated literacies as dynamic social practices that broker, shape, react to, and redistribute linguistic power in local communities opens literacy research into richer qualitative detail into the expansive literacy repertoires of students and communities. Finally, connecting research to expressive literacy projects for students turns to the literacy gifts of immigrant communities as sources of pride and identity.

NOTES

[1] All research was conducted with Institutional Review Board approval. All names of organizations, neighborhoods, and respondents in this article are pseudonyms.

[2] I include myself as a participatory mentor in the project.

[3] Because of limited resources combined with my limited expertise, several photocopies of materials produced at MANOS are poor quality reproductions, as in two of the fragmented versions of student writing offered as examples in this article. Students always kept original texts they composed.

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Arab Immigrant Mothers
Parenting Their Way into Digital Biliteracy

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KEYWORDS

A growing body of research addresses children's development of literacy in multiple languages (I. Reyes), including the role family support plays in children's biliteracy development and sociolinguistic contexts (Bauer and Gort; Gregory). The great importance of the focus of this research—children's literacy learning—has understandably led literacy researchers to conceive of adult literacies primarily as what parents and elders contribute to their children's literacy development and academic success. Perhaps for this reason, little empirical research has explored the topic of how the adult literacies of parents are shaped through their participation in their children's emergent biliteracy. In this study we focus on the transnational literacies of immigrant parents and how they are influenced by using digital technologies to support their children's biliteracy. Using a qualitative case study design, we investigated the Arabic-English biliteracy development of Arab immigrant families in the US Southwest. The purpose of the study was to understand immigrant mothers' biliteracy skills in the new circumstances in which they were producing and interpreting written texts (Vieira 28-29). Unlike digitally-mediated technologies and strategies intended for explicit, directed language learning and teaching (e.g., Kern), here we focus on the participants' uses of digital technologies as they supported their children's language and literacy development in a new country and communicated with family members and friends in their countries of origin and other international contexts. We sought to answer the question of how mothers' literacies are shaped through the overlapping processes of helping their children become literate in Arabic and English and of helping their families stay in touch with family and friends in their home country via on-line and digital technologies. The study contributes to understandings of the literacies of Arab immigrants and literacy development through interpersonal relationships, and it generates pedagogical implications for adult educators working with Arabic-speaking immigrants.

THEORIZING THE DIGITAL LITERACIES
OF IMMIGRANTS

The larger study from which these data are taken approached the biliteracy development of Arabic/English bilingual children from the framework of Digital Biliteracy. This construct was proposed by the first author (Al-Salmi, "Digital Biliteracy as a Social Practice") to describe the ways transnational immigrants employ digital technologies to bridge distances and to optimize children's learning about their family language, literacies, and cultural heritage while living in a geographical location distant from their home country. Drawing on work by theorists in New Literacy Studies (New London Group), multimodal literacies (Jewitt and Kress; Walsh), digital literacies (Casey and Bruce; McLean), and situated learning theory (Lave and Wenger), digital biliteracy explains how immigrants construct new identities and acquire new languages through participation in sociocultural activities via digital technologies, which they use as a means to relate to others who share their language and culture. As transnational agents who are engaging in enacting and maintaining interpersonal relationships, individuals expand their literacy repertoires by "moving" ideas that are embedded in digital texts and multiple languages, becoming, as a consequence, "digitally biliterate."

In the present study we continue to view digital biliteracy, like other forms and instantiations of literacy, as an outcome of sociocultural processes, but we are also interested in literacy and texts as having dimensions of materiality and exchange that are shaped by the experience of transnationalism. Having spent parts of our scholarly lives researching and teaching outside our nations of origin, and having helped our own children develop biliteracy across national boundaries, we became interested in: how transnationals produce and interpret text; the nature of the tools, materials, and skills with which they read and write the texts they need in their daily lives; and the sources and destinations of the texts with which they are engaging.

More broadly, we are interested in the intersections of these dimensions and how Arab immigrant mothers learn how to develop and navigate these tools and skills and become "confident about using digital literacy" (Barton, Ivanic, Appleby, Hodge, and Tusting 55). In their discussion of literacy designs and social futures, William Cope and Mary Kalantzis use Edmund Husserl's concept of "lifeworld" as the setting for the transformation that individuals experience as they become adult members of a particular group or community. In this sense, the lifeworld is the basis of cultural reproduction. They write: "The lifeworld is just there; it is what we unreflexively expect to be there because we know it is always there; it is the world in which our everyday understandings and actions have some purchase. It is the ground of our everyday lives" (206). For immigrant parents, however, the experience of living and raising biliterate children transnationally requires thought and action that go well beyond "unreflexive" "cultural reproduction." Precisely because the "ground of everyday life" cannot be taken for granted in new national and linguistic circumstances, transnational parents develop new cultural understandings and attendant literacy forms and literacy practices. In the following sections, we describe what the mothers who participated in our study have experienced as transnational subjects.

ARAB IMMIGRANT MOTHERS
AS TRANSNATIONAL SUBJECTS

One of the challenges contemporary immigration patterns present for the field of literacy studies regards the influence of transnationalism and globalization on previous understandings of who is reading and writing what and for what purposes. We use the term transnationalism to refer to the movements of people, media and texts, languages, and goods across national borders, particularly movements that are sustained over time and flow in both directions (Jiménez, Smith, and Teague). Although literacy is a relative late-comer as a lens for understanding transnationalism (Lam and Warriner; Darvin and Norton), it is well established in the research literature that the development of literacy by the kinds of immigrants we now call transnationals (Hornberger and Link; Smith and Martínez-León) involves both the revision and adaptation of previously known literate forms and practices, including what New Literacy Studies scholars describe in terms of "Available Designs" (Cope and Kalantzis) and the development of new literacy forms and practices that arise from the opportunities afforded by the immigration experience. In this article, we understand transnational literacies as "the written language practices of people who are involved in activities that span national boundaries" (Jiménez, Smith, and Teague 17). Scholars of transnationalism are questioning the role of the nation-state in the identity formation of contemporary immigrants, including proposals urging researchers to move "beyond the container theory of society" (Levitt and Glick-Schiller 1008). While the English and Arabic texts with which our participants engaged remind us that digital literacies are not contiguous with national boundaries (for example, the importance of the Quran as a text that links Arabs from diverse nations), the notion of crossing and re-crossing national boundaries is a fundamental dimension of the transnational life worlds we explored in the study. Crossing national boundaries was facilitated by the transnational digital activities and texts with which the participants engaged with extended family members. Belonging to a particular nation-state motivated the participants to initiate and sustain digital transnational activities in order to protect their identities as Arab speakers and as mothers of Arab-speaking immigrant children. As we will see, maintaining Arabic and religious beliefs were strong motivators in maintaining participants' transnational activities, with national affiliation apparently secondary to Islamic religious identity.

Nadia Behizadeh claims that "writing is defined by texts people create for authentic contexts and purposes" (127). Here we are concerned with the digital literacies consumed, interpreted, and written by our participants for two purposes very dear to them: their children's education and staying in close touch with family outside the US. We also kept in mind Néstor G. Canclini's observation that while immigration often means the end of formal schooling, literacy learning continues, often in new forms corresponding to the immigrants' transnational circumstances (169).

Children's development of biliteracy in English and Arabic is a major concern of most Arab parents in the United States. The challenges of helping children develop literacy in Arabic while living in the US are characterized by limited access to books and printed materials in Arabic, a greatly reduced number of television and radio stations broadcasting in Arabic, not to mention the

low number of primary schools teaching Arabic (Alshaboul; Callaway; Palmer, El-Ashry, Leclere, and Chang). In addition to these material resources, the family's plans to return to the home country or to stay in the US complicate parents' and teachers' views on the importance of becoming literate in Arabic. For families planning to return with school-age children, one concern is whether US-educated children will be confident with the academic and religious texts they will encounter in their home country. Examples from Hana and Marwa throughout this study illustrate a greater concern for their children's English language development than for Arabic literacy development, because they believe their children will be able to develop literacy in Arabic when they return to their home country. For families planning to stay in the US, academic literacies will likely shift primarily or exclusively to English, but literacy in Arabic is essential for reading the Quran and for staying in touch with family and friends from home. Over the course of the study, Aseela, Kawthar, and Fatma emphasized the importance of their children's Arabic literacy development to enable them to understand Islam and appreciate the Arabic language, and as a means for communicating with loved ones in their home countries. It is important to point out that for many Arab immigrants, including three of the mothers who participated in this study, the decision to stay in the US or return home is not fixed and immutable, but rather one that fluctuates in rationale and timing as circumstances and conditions change in both communities.

THE PARTICIPANTS
AND HOW WE LEARNED FROM THEM

This study emerged from a larger research project that investigated the emerging digital biliteracy of Arab pre-kindergarten children. That study (Al-Salmi, "Digital Biliteracy: Digital Technologies as Homes for Arab Immigrant Children's Biliteracy Development") used a qualitative case study design to explore the role digital technologies played in the Arabic and English literacy development of young immigrant children in an Arabic/English bilingual school and in family contexts in a city on the US-Mexico border. In documenting the literacy growth of five emergent bilingual children over a one-year period, we observed the remarkable effort and creativity that the mothers of the case-study children invested in fostering their children's biliteracy learning and school success. As we came to know these immigrant women from Egypt, Palestine, Mexico, and Libya we became fascinated by the new forms of information they encountered and the learning in which they were engaging as transnational mothers. In this article, we present examples from the same five case-study families, but our focus here is on the literacies of the mothers of the case-study children. We chose to focus on mothers, because they were the primary educators in these households, as women are in many Arab families. Between the ages of 25 and 38, Aseela, Kawthar, Fatma, Hana, and Marwa are the mothers of children spanning 1 to 10 years old. They are among the millions of people worldwide who are currently living outside their country of birth and who are using literacy to remain emotionally close to physically distant family and friends (Mihut) at the same time that they are navigating new life circumstances.

Data for the study were collected by the first author, an Arab/English bilingual who, like our

participants, was raising bilingual children in a Southwestern city on the US-Mexico border at the time of the study. Participants were selected to represent two distinct groups of Arab immigrants: those who plan to return to their home country and those who plan to reside in the US permanently. We used these selection criteria in order to compare members of the two groups in terms of their uses of digital technologies to support biliteracy. Each participating mother was interviewed at least three times, with some interviews taking place in the participants' homes and others in familiar sites such as the community center and the school playground. The first author conducted the household visits and interviews in Arabic, except when the participants wanted to use English. The first author's background as a native speaker of Omani Arabic and Standard Arabic allowed her to conduct and transcribe interviews in three different regional dialects of Arabic (Egyptian, Palestinian, and Libyan). The second author is a biliteracy scholar who has taught Arabic-speaking students in a multilingual school in Kenya. We share a background in applied linguistics and teaching English as an additional language with adult students. Thus, we were sensitive to the linguistic differences between the participants' regional varieties of Arabic and Standard Arabic and the language of reading, writing, and education in the participant's home countries, as well as to the challenges encountered by adult immigrants learning to read and write in English and by parents raising transnational children.

Participants' background

Aseela: *"I found myself learning new words."*

Aseela moved to the United States after she got married at the age of 28 and travelled to El Paso to live with her husband, Yazin, who first moved to El Paso in 2000 to study for a Master's degree in computer science. After graduating, he decided to stay in the city for a couple of years in order to establish himself economically. Like her husband, Aseela is college educated; she holds a bachelor's degree in finance from a university in Egypt. They have three children: Farah is 10, Ahlam is 7, and Ali is 4 years old. All three children were born in the United States. At home, Aseela, Yazin, and their children use an Egyptian variety of Arabic, yet the children use English to communicate among themselves. Aseela and her family have always planned to return to live in Egypt, but the political and economic situation there has been holding them back. As we will see, our interviews with Aseela demonstrate that her frequent interactions with digital technologies afforded her a space to learn new words and develop literacy in English.

Kawthar: *"I wanted to know the meaning of the story and the words in case they ask me."*

Kawthar moved to the United States in 2002 from Jordan at the age of 24, when she married her husband, Ameen. Ameen moved to El Paso in 1988 after about 6 months in Ohio taking intensive English language classes. Currently, Kawthar is a senior-year BA student in nursing, while Ameen has a BA in business from a local university. Kawthar's husband doesn't have a stable job. He is currently a taxi driver in El Paso but is searching for a job more closely related to his studies. Kawthar's 3 daughters—Lama is 3, Zahra is 7, and Dana is 9—were born in the United States. Kawthar and her husband Ameen use a Palestinian variety of Arabic to communicate with their daughters at home. They sometimes use English as well, which is the main language their daughters use to communicate

among themselves. What impressed us most about Kawthar's story was her desire to become aware of the content of digital materials that she reads to her children and how this motivated her own literacy development in English.

Fatma: *"I wish I had the digital technologies they have today when I was a child."*

Fatma moved from Mexico to Phoenix, Arizona when she was 6 years old. She met her husband, Malik, in Chicago when she was 24. Malik moved from Egypt to the United States when he was 23 years old. Fatma and Malik's shared reasons for settling in the United States were to seek better economic and educational opportunities for their family. Fatma is a convert to Islam, while Malik was born Muslim. Both Fatma and her husband are college educated. Fatma has a BA in psychology and her husband has an MD. Fatma's 3 children—Ameer is 1, Manal is 4, and Ahmed is 7 years old—were all born in the United States. At home, Fatma speaks Spanish with her children, and their father speaks Arabic with them. They regularly watch Arabic and English cartoons and educational programs. At the time of the study, this trilingual family was not planning to look for jobs outside the United States, but they realized that they might do so in the future. Fatma realizes the role that digital technologies has on her children's literacy development in Arabic. An Arabic learner herself, she expressed the wish that she had been able to access to such learning technologies when she was a child.

Hana: *"Contacting my family members was a good way to keep Arabic alive."*

Hana came to the US in 2007 at age 19 with her husband, Munther, in order for him to take English Language classes that were a prerequisite for his Masters degree. After a year in Oregon, they moved to El Paso, where Munther enrolled in an engineering Masters program and then in a PhD program. Hana dropped out of school when she was 16 and got married a year later. Her two children—Azan is 5 years old, and Magid is 4—were born in the United States. Hana's family intends to go back to their home country, Libya, after her husband finishes his studies. They consider themselves temporary residents in the US and look forward to going back to their country. Hana believes that life in Libya is better economically and culturally, because her husband has a good job there. In addition, she thinks that living in Libya will provide her children with better opportunities to learn about their culture and socialize with their cousins. Hana reported that she adopted a digital approach as a way to keep Arabic alive in her household through digital communication with her family members in Libya.

Marwa: *"I feel embarrassed when I talk to my mother and Jehan starts to speak in English."*

Marwa and her husband, Yasir, are from Libya. They immigrated to the United States in 2011 when she was 24 years old. Marwa and Yasir came to El Paso in order in order to pursue graduate degrees. Marwa is taking intensive English language courses in order to pursue a Masters degree in mechanical engineering, while her husband is doing a PhD in geology. Marwa indicated that life in Libya is economically better than in the United States. Marwa has two children: Jehan, who 3 is years old, and her brother Ismail, who is 2 years old. Jehan was born in Libya while her brother was

born in the United States. Marwa affirms that her husband's job as an academic in Libya provides a good income that affords them better living circumstances, and that is why they do not intend to stay in the United States. Our conversations with Marwa revealed that although she and her husband encourage Jehan to speak English, she recognized the powerful role of Arabic as a medium to keep transnational communications alive with their immediate and extended family members in Libya.

Having introduced our participants, we discuss our findings in the remainder of the paper in terms of three main themes: (1) participants' backgrounds with digital literacies; (2) digital literacy practices related to children's learning Arabic and English; and (3) digital literacy practices related to communicating with family and friends in the home country. We analyze these findings in light of our theoretical framework and conclude with recommendations for further research and implications for adult literacy education with Arab-speaking immigrants in the US.

MOTHERS' BACKGROUNDS WITH DIGITAL LITERACIES

Prior to their experiences parenting young children in a new country, the participating mothers' backgrounds with digital technologies seem to have been quite limited. The mothers reported limited knowledge about the use of the Internet, computers, and tablets largely because their schooling and university education did not feature the use of such devices. Middle and low socioeconomic status mothers indicated that they first learned to use a smartphone after they came to the United States. All mothers also mentioned that they first learned to use the computer and the Internet when their children started school. The children relied on their mothers to explain something they did not understand, do a project assigned by their teachers, or simply listen or watch a clip they viewed at school or play a game their classmates told them about. For instance, Aseela did not know how to use a digital device when she first came to El Paso. In fact, she did not have a computing digital device at home at the time her first child started to go to school. Soon afterward, her husband bought a desktop computer and showed Aseela how to turn it on, use the mouse, and go online to find the websites where their daughter had homework to complete. This new type of learning was hard for her, but Aseela realized that "[She] had to learn how to do it in order to help [her] child. [She] wanted to make sure she is learning and is doing her homework right."

The mothers who participated in this study took care of household responsibilities and were the primary caregivers for children, while fathers provided for the families economically through employment outside the home. However, we found instances in which the need to use digital literacies to raise biliterate children interrupted or complicated the traditional gender division of family labor. This notion frequently came up in interviews, as mothers spoke of their limited background with digital technologies and described the role that fathers played in helping them learn to use computers and how to navigate literacies online. In addition, fathers were responsible for "digital matters" such as purchasing hardware and software, helping mothers and children learn to use them, and fixing these devices as needed.

The participating Arab mothers reported that their English language skills were limited before they started to surf the Internet and use digital devices in order to assist in their children's education. Aseela stated that she wished she could "learn English in a way to be able to understand what [she] read, or communicate with non-Arabic speakers." In the same way, Marwa expressed her desire to improve her English proficiency because, as she puts it, her low "TOEFL score has been an obstacle" preventing her from achieving her goal of enrolling in and completing a Masters degree in Mechanical Engineering. According to these mothers, their limited English skills were a primary reason they were not using digital devices and the Internet. They did access some Arabic websites, but they reported that their access was very limited because they did not want to "go through the stress of looking up the meaning of technical English words" (Hana) or "trying to sign up on websites before accessing their content" (Aseela). With initial help from her husband, Aseela taught herself to operate a computer in order to go online and understand what her daughter was expected to do in the online homework. Her task was hard, but her persistence paid off and she "started to learn more vocabulary, but most importantly [she] learned how to use the computer."

In contrast, Fatma, a Spanish first language speaker and a fluent English language speaker, reported that she was not very interested in digital technologies at first. However, she was very interested in learning Arabic and thought that finding materials online could support her children's Arabic language development as well as her own. As her children grew closer to school age, she found digital devices to be important tools for identifying and finding sources to support her children's education, which led her to sign up for educational websites and download educational materials in English.

DIGITAL LITERACY PRACTICES RELATED TO CHILDREN'S LEARNING ENGLISH AND ARABIC

In this section we present findings on the ways our participants' digital literacy practices were shaped by the work they did to support their children's learning in and out of school. For purposes of simplicity, and to capture possible differences of language modality, we begin with the digital literacy practices motivated by or related to children's learning of English and then describe the practices related to Arabic literacy development.

English literacy development

In their efforts to support their children's biliteracy in English, the participants made use of digital technologies in order to offer their children extra practice to succeed in school. In addition, these mothers used digital technologies to support their children in doing their homework, but they found that they first needed to understand the meaning of English words in order to guide their children in doing homework—in paper and digital formats—and to check that they had done it right.

The mothers' journeys in the online sphere were full of literate instances. Aseela reported: "my English has improved a little since I started to look up definitions of words that my child asks me

for their equivalence." She commented that she became able to carry on simple conversations with non-Arabic speakers and interact with them with greater confidence. Interestingly, Aseela told us that when she began to socialize with non-Arabic speakers, she was able to befriend some of them and was occasionally invited to their homes. She attributed her greater confidence in using English in these new settings to "looking up meaning of words . . . . [She] would remember these words when [she's] trying to say something in English and [she] feels good about it." Kawthar also felt that her online quest added to her vocabulary development and ultimately improved her speaking. She describes her English development as a result of helping her children: "looking up meanings online but also reading to my children . . . . I learned to read English better because at times my children ask me to read English stories to them, so I try to find the stories online, read and understand them before I read to my children. I wanted to know the meaning of the story and the words in case they ask me."

Motivated by a strong desire to keep abreast of her children's education and find a variety of materials to support their education and interests, Hana found that her "spelling and typing speed improved." Hana credited this improvement to her frequent use of search engines to identify television programs and videos her children could view online. She noted, "I had to do it several times a day in order to help my children find the cartoons they want to watch and stories they like to read."

Arabic literacy development

Aseela's son's desire to explore and the availability of a desktop computer at home were compelling reasons for Aseela to start her quest in the digital technology world. She described her journey as learning "how to use the search engines in order to help my child find definitions of words he would ask me for their equivalence in English. [She] found [her]self learning new words as a result of that." Aseela began to add more to her own vocabulary log by translating words between Arabic and English, mainly using Google as a search engine, but also using Google Translate as a medium for translation. Kawthar reported that she "learned how to sign up to certain websites like Engrade.com and StudyIsland.com in order to check [her] child's progress in school and follow up with her assignments. [She] had to figure out meaning of many words to do that." Kawthar's efforts to help her children with homework led her to navigate digital technologies and access websites, and ultimately to overcome the linguistic challenges she encountered as an adult learner of English.

Similarly, Hana wanted to assist with her children's English language development. They asked her if they could use the same website that they were using at school, ABCmouse.com. Trying to read more and launch the website, Hana discovered that she "needed to sign up for an email because the website they wanted to use required an email. [She] had to navigate through steps to do that and translate new English words into Arabic." Surprisingly, Hana told me that in the past, she refrained from signing up in forums, even Arabic language sites, because they required an email address. Yet when her children asked to use an educational website at home for the purpose of learning, Hana was motivated to learn the steps to do both, signing up for an email and going through the steps to create a trial account. She said, this "required that I look up so many words on Google Translate, but now it is easy for me to sign up. I tried it once and it is not that hard once I knew what I was doing."

Writing development

As parents of very young children learning Arabic and English literacy in and out of school, the participants developed interesting strategies for promoting their children's literacy development in Arabic. These strategies included watching content and using platforms: cartoon broadcasts in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and regional or local dialects of Arabic (mostly the Egyptian dialect); educational programs in MSA; social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp; and email in addition to regular phone calls over the internet using Skype, Viber, Dingtone, and Tango. In implementing these strategies to foster their children's literacy development, the mothers typed Arabic words into search engines in order to identify and locate the materials they were looking for. They wrote Arabic words using Google Search and YouTube to find learning materials (in English and Arabic) for their children.

The mothers' choices of materials to provide their children were influenced by what they had watched during their own childhoods. Aseela confirmed her choice: "I specifically wanted them to watch 'Al-Manahil' and 'Abla Fathela.' Those were programs we watched when we were young and learned a lot from them." Although Kawthar wasn't able to locate these programs because she did not have the Arabic keyboard on her computer, she said, "If I can find those cartoons we used to watch as children, those would be great to teach them Standard Arabic." The mothers reported that they found these cartoons, programs, and social networking sites to greatly advance their children's Arabic literacy, especially their Arabic speaking skills, choice of words, and ability to write using MSA without inserting words from local or regional Arabic varieties. On that note, Aseela explained how her children resorted to her in order to write in Arabic: "when my children want to post a response on Facebook, they ask me to help them write what they want to say in Arabic. They mostly think in English and do not find the equivalent words in Arabic" without her guidance.

Hana's experience with translating words throughout the process of signing up for an email and searching for children's material on the Internet affected her Arabic proficiency. She discovered that the Arabic words that she encountered online were different from the local Arabic words she used in everyday life. For example, Hana reported that she did not know the meaning of the word "inqur" (انقر) , which is the equivalent of "click." However, when she translated it to English and then translated the English word "click" back to Arabic, she understood what the word meant. She credited these additions of new MSA words to her writing log with improving her understanding of Arabic words and her ability to write in Arabic.

KEEPING ARABIC PRESENT IN THE HOME: INTER-GENERATIONAL, TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNICATION VIA DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES

A second motivation for the mothers' growing familiarity with digital forms of literacy in Arabic was a desire to stay in touch with family and friends in the home country in order to emphasize the importance of the Arabic language. All five mothers regularly engaged in one or more of the

following online literacies: Skyping, texting, or calling family and friends, or communicating with them through Facebook, YouTube, or other social media platforms. They spoke of using these online encounters as opportunities to support children's proficiency in Arabic. For example, Kawthar described her children's literacy development in Arabic as largely spontaneous, unplanned on her part but encouraged by her mother:

> I encourage my children to talk to their grandmother, who in turn encourages them to speak Arabic. They hesitate at the beginning because they are concerned they might not be able to convey a message right. However, their grandmother tries to involve them, bringing up topics they like to talk about. In fact, even when they throw in a word in English, their grandmother asks them what it means.

Hana made a similar point. She described the limited time that her children spend on the phone with their grandmother and grandfather in Libya to be worthwhile; as she said, "contacting my family members was a good way to keep Arabic alive in my children's minds. They try to talk and you can see them thinking about how to respond." Hana was delighted to see that there is a way to keep Arabic present at home and to encourage her children to try to speak it. She added, "we are going back home and Arabic is what everyone speaks there. I do not want them to feel left out, it is important that they speak Arabic now." She added, "when I talk to family in Libya, I ask my children to talk to them too. They speak a little Arabic but not much; but that helps them remember there is this language called Arabic."

Marwa also used Internet calling via Skype to keep Arabic present at home. She explained her desire to have her children hear Arabic and understand it, even if they do not speak it well. She described how Jehan and her grandmother living in Libya communicate using Skype: "I use the computer to Skype with my family, [and] Jehan would talk to my mother in English and my mother doesn't understand anything and calls me to help translate what she is saying. But at least [Jehan] hears Arabic, even if she can't speak it."

In fact, Marwa badly wanted her daughter to speak Arabic. She shared the feeling of shame she experienced when Jehan was unable to express himself in Arabic; she said, "I feel embarrassed when I talk to my mother and Jehan starts to speak in English." Marwa noticed that Jehan tries to speak Arabic, but when she is unable or when her grandmother doesn't understand her English, she looks for objects around her to explain what she wants to say. For instance, during one observation in the family home, Jehan attempted to tell her grandmother that she wanted a doll with a red dress. She wasn't able to say this in Arabic and her grandmother seemed unable to understand what her granddaughter was saying. Without being directed by her mother or grandmother, Jehan went to her closet, took out a red dress, and then she went back and brought her teddy bear. She held them both up to the camera to show to her grandmother and said, "doll and red dress. Not bear, doll." This incident, involving digital technology and transnational communication among female members of three generations, illustrates the affordances that digital technologies can provide in bridging geographical distances and, at the same time, making possible intergenerational communication and creating at least the potential for language development. Through digital technologies that were largely new to them, the participants were able to maintain and build social relations with

geographically distant family members. Furthermore, by engaging with digital technologies, these transnational mothers provided a platform that made it possible for them to develop their literacies in two languages through a sociocultural process mediated by digital technologies and situated in a meaningful context (Lave and Wenger).

In general, it seemed that the mothers' intention to provide Arabic materials at home was to keep Arabic alive so their young children could hear and understand it, and in the hope that they would eventually learn to speak and write in it. Kawthar commented, "Communicating with extended family members helps them understand that even if their mother and father can understand what is said in English, other family members might not . . . so they always remember that it is an important language." Thus, communication with family served not so much as practice in using Arabic, but rather as a reminder to children that Arabic is an important language, one they would need to know to keep in touch with family.

During the process of parenting their children into Arabic through digital technologies, the mothers found themselves writing in Arabic and thinking about different ways of speaking in Arabic. Children's questions and inquiries provided them with learning experiences that they did not initially foresee for themselves. Aseela, for instance, described her intention to use digital technologies to support her children's literacy development in Arabic, as well as an unexpected change in her own Arabic writing ability,

> When I found digital technologies had a positive impact on my children's English language development, I wanted to provide my children with Arabic language development in the same way. Frankly, that helped improve my typing in Arabic as well because I was writing in Arabic and trying to remember what I used to watch when I was young.

In addition to increased writing speed in Arabic, Aseela's knowledge of Arabic was broadened to include standard and regional/local varieties. She commented that her search for the cartoons that she watched when she was a child had also "refined" her Arabic, because she "had to select the words to type, and the words had to be standard Arabic." The emphasis on using MSA words in doing digital searches stems from the abundance of local varieties and dialects of Arabic used in different Arab countries, and sometimes within the same country. As a result, most materials that are available digitally and that can be accessed online are most easily located when searching with MSA words and terms. Aseela's constant search for just the right word in standard Arabic (in order to locate the right material she was looking for) seems to have increased her literacy abilities in Arabic.

Hana noted a similar experience—trying to find the cartoons that her children wanted to watch on YouTube—and commented on unanticipated benefits to her own language and literacy abilities. She stated, "the way they say it in English pushes me to translate it to Arabic, but then I usually search using my own dialect and nothing comes up. It was a good way to make me go back to think in standard Arabic." According to Hana, experiences like this one also helped in communicating with Arab people from other countries who spoke different dialects. Marwa also spoke of watching cartoons and TV programs produced in different Arab-speaking countries with her children. These experiences "made her remember the old days and kind of polishes her Standard Arabic and pronunciation after a long time of not using or hearing it." In contrast, Fatma, whose first language

is Spanish and who is learning Arabic as an adult, figured that helping her children learn Arabic has helped develop her literacy in Arabic, although not to the same extent as her children. In seeking to provide her children with material in Arabic by looking up books and cartoons online, she found herself "trying to write in Arabic because it was a key to find books in Arabic for [her] children."

Literacy in Arabic and English: What digital technologies could have done!

Reflecting on their children's digital biliteracy development, several participants expressed regret they had not had access to similar resources as children. The mothers reported growing up in homes with only one (or two, in the case of Egypt) national television channels, and that these broadcasted a very limited number of cartoons and other programs for children, almost exclusively in Arabic. Looking back at their own non-immigrant childhoods, the participants observed that learning a new language at a young age through digital technologies conveys many advantages. For example, Aseela commented, "After I learned to use the computer to provide my children with practice in English and Arabic, I feel like I wish I had this technology when I was a kid. It is amazing how children can absorb [language] just by watching TV, cartoons and playing games." We found such comments indicative of the mothers' wishes that they had possessed the digital resources for learning English during their own childhoods, but also increased recognition that it is not "too late" for adults to learn English and that their own language acquisition was supported by their use of digital technologies, especially by practicing and learning with their young children. Similarly, Hana noted that after her children pushed for the use of digital technologies at home, she began to use digital technologies more frequently and to appreciate their value. She explained, "I'm using digital technologies more often now and enjoy it a lot. In addition to keeping me in touch with my family I'm learning English, which is good to help my children with their schoolwork. I envy them. I feel would have learned a lot if I had the materials they have now." In addition, Fatma expressed that learning a language at a young age is a positive opportunity that she wants to provide for her children. She described the role of digital technologies as essential to learning Arabic. Although she is already fluent and literate in Spanish and English, Fatma described the task of learning to read and write in Arabic as daunting:

> It has so many levels. I do not even know when I will get to an advanced level. It's really hard and complicated. Like especially with the Quran, like one word has so much meaning that even if you look it up in the dictionary you won't get the right one and just reading the translation we are missing so much meaning. So if you want to understand it you have to really know Arabic. When I think of all of this, I wish I had the digital technologies they have today when I was a child. That would have made a difference to my proficiency Arabic now.

In Fatma's view, Arabic is complex and difficult to learn. She questions when she will reach an advanced level of proficiency, and she describes the limitations of a more conventional resource for language learning—the dictionary—for reading a key Arabic text. Considering the digital technologies available today, specifically those used by her children at school and home, Fatma believes her own abilities in Arabic would have benefitted from them.

IMPLICATIONS AND DIRECTIONS
FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In this study we used a digital biliteracy framework to focus on Arabic-speaking immigrant mothers' literacy development around two aspects of their lifeworlds as transnationals: raising and educating children bilingually in a new country and remaining in touch with family in the home country. The study thus addressed two topics—how immigrant parents' own literacies are shaped by helping their children become biliterate, and the literacies of Arab immigrants in the US—that have received little attention from scholars, and which, we believe, hold implications and suggest directions for further research. We conclude with a discussion of three compelling areas for literacy and composition researchers interested in exploring digital biliteracies with Arabs and other immigrant groups in the US.

Our findings raise questions about the intersections of literacies in motion and transnational movements with contemporary understandings of motherhood, parenting, and, by extension, gender. While our focus on Arab immigrant mothers "parenting their way" into digital biliteracy has emphasized the learning that resulted from helping their children learn, Al-Salmi ("Digital Biliteracy: Digital Technologies"*)* observed uses of literacy to accomplish other tasks associated with parenting, including creating shopping lists, recording family events on a wall calendar, and writing and sharing recipes. This last category was especially productive; the mothers we studied showed us examples of recipes they had written down as friends dictated them, digital photos of handwritten recipes as well as favorite recipes they searched for and found online. Future studies could address how mothers employ the digital technologies needed for keeping family health and immigration records and for maintaining the family home. Based on our study, we speculate that the confidence to undertake such tasks may begin with the skills and interests first developed by helping children. Similarly, a comprehensive portrait of the digital biliteracies of Arab immigrant women will depend on looking through lenses other than that of motherhood (e.g., in their interpersonal relationships as children, sisters, but also as students, workers, etc.).

In terms of family literacy, the role played by Arab immigrant fathers is a worthy area of study. While fathers' contributions to young children's biliteracy development might be less frequent than those made by mothers (Clark), we noted that the fathers in our participating families played key roles in obtaining, setting up, and maintaining digital devices, as well as in teaching mothers how to use them. Given their high levels of formal education and participation in work outside the home, we believe that Arab immigrant fathers hold forms of knowledge and practice digital and print literacies that may differ in important ways from those we have described for mothers. Likewise, fathers' contributions may be evident at different points in their children's literacy trajectories and may vary depending on the gender of their children. Finally, we wonder about the gender roles of female and male Arab immigrant parents that are represented through literacy. For example, in the larger study, "Digital Biliteracy: Digital Technologies," Al-Salmi noted a clear preference among preschool girls and boys for colors (pink and blue, respectively) they associated with gender norms and voiced in their selection of cartoon and video characters. How do such expressions of gender roles

among immigrant families compare with those among non-immigrant Arab families? Considering the potential of the transnational experience and of digital technologies to provide children with access to alternative, non-traditional discourses, we believe that these are worthwhile questions for research.

A second area for future research concerns the relationship between digital biliteracy and transnational identities in Arab communities. Our study took place in a small, relatively recently formed Arab immigrant community in the US Southwest, far removed from larger, more established diaspora communities in other regions of the US. We have emphasized people and their texts crossing national boundaries, and in part this is due to our focus on individual mothers and families as units of analysis, rather than on the collective social networks of a particular example of chain migration. The digital literacies of Arab immigrant mothers and their families in large diaspora communities may be quite different (Callaway; Wei). We might expect, for example, that the more elaborate social networks in larger immigrant communities could support greater opportunities for informal learning from female peers with expertise in reading and writing in Arabic or English, or knowledge of digital technology. Similarly, the two areas of mothers' literacy and writing explored here—support for children's biliteracy development and staying in touch with family in the home country—would presumably take different configurations. Would greater access to Arab language print media and to greater numbers of Arabic speakers, characteristic of Arab communities such as those in Michigan, New York, California, and Washington, DC influence parents' linguistic and literate choices? It may be that greater availability of print resources, television stations, and radio programming in Arabic would limit Arab immigrant parents' use of internet literacies as input for children's language and literacy development, but we speculate that more widespread Arabic language vitality might also generate more interest in digital literacies produced in Arab nations beyond the US. Similarly, studies of digital biliteracy in Arab immigrant communities of different sizes in the US and Europe would provide valuable points of comparison with studies of the digital biliteracy development of non-immigrant Arab mothers in their countries of birth. Comparative studies along these lines would add to understandings of how digital literacies impact transnational identities and vice versa.

Finally, as this study has shown, Arab immigrant parents actively seek to maintain their native language for the purposes of maintaining intergenerational family ties, fostering their children's knowledge of Islam and Quranic literacies and other core culture traditions, and preparing children for Arabic language schooling in the event of an eventual return to their home country. In contrast to their parents' desires and family language policies, in most of the participating families, children understood spoken Arabic but responded to their parents primarily in English. However, as researchers have asserted, parents' insistent use of the first language in daily family discourse makes it possible to improve children's proficiency in the heritage language (Eilers, Pearson, and Cobo-Lewis). We welcome new research in Arab immigrant communities that focuses on the factors influencing young children's resistance to or acceptance of Arabic at home and school. While familial factors, such as the number of siblings in the household, birth order, and the number of years between children's ages, are likely (Gregory), we believe that digital literacies offer immigrant families new

and unprecedented opportunities to maintain Arabic. In closing, we believe that research closely documenting the effects of such factors on language development and literacy socialization among immigrant parents and children is much needed. We hope the present contribution will encourage colleagues to join us in considering these important questions.

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Taking Hold of Global Englishes:
Intensive English Programs as Brokers
of Transnational Literacy

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KEYWORDS

As editors of this special issue suggest, this moment in time is marked by the rapid and widespread movement of people, with writing becoming profoundly linked to the lives and infrastructures that govern transnational mobility. Institutional studies are valuable for exploring these intersections because formal institutions—such as schools, churches, and workplaces—are primary sites where literacy becomes localized at the intersection of lived experience and established ideology. While a great many educational institutions now take part in the complex network of global English language learning—public universities, K-12 schools, community colleges, and MOOCS—I ask what an institution expressly created to respond to and spur the transnational movement of English language learners, the Intensive English Programs (IEPs), can reveal about how literacy is taught and learned transnationally.

According to the Institute of International Education, an estimated 110,870 international students attended one of 500 American IEPs in 2012-2013. Those students were just some of the 800,600 international students who matriculated to US universities and colleges in 2012-2013. Clearly, a substantial number of young adults have transitioned through and encountered forms and norms of English enacted within IEPs. These types of institutes are integral stopovers within the transnational landscape of higher education, and they operate within transnational social fields of education as part of the "set[s] of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed" (Levitt and Schiller 286). As such, they serve as one in a series of institutional brokers wherein learners position themselves and are positioned in relation to versions of English literacy at both the global and the local levels.

A few select studies of transnational literacy have included telling examinations of writers moving through such formal institutions from this type of trans-institutional perspective (Duffy; Farr; Guerra; Lorimer Leonard; Rounsaville; Vieira). While each of these studies contributes to a growing understanding of how literacy is enacted in and transformed by institutions, none provides an exclusive or sustained focus on English language institutes as "regimes of literacy" (Blommaert) that feed the internationalization of higher education, which is of growing interest to those in composition studies. Christiane Donahue, for example, explores the significance of this growing

reality and suggests that "[t]o understand the question of internationalization for composition, we need to situate composition in the larger context of current internationalizing activities and discourses about these activities" (215). Further, Bruce Horner, Samantha NeCamp, and Christiane Donahue suggest casting a wider net around what contexts to include in the "linguistic terrain" (272) of writing studies research as a critical move in countering the English-only ideal in composition scholarship. Regarding student literacy, Terry Myers Zawacki and Anna Sophia Habib note that the increasing numbers of international students at US institutions of higher education requires consideration of "what new or different questions we in writing studies should be asking about where and how we can attend to students' language development" (651).

Considering the exigencies mentioned above, in this paper I suggest that research into institutes at the periphery of US higher education, such as Intensive English Programs (IEPs), broadens the field's linguistic terrain to situate US-based composition as one of many actors across the transnational landscape of higher education. Specifically, I examine how the transnational political economy of English literacy is negotiated discursively at one US-based IEP (Northwest IEP) through teacher and student talk. Drawing from a discourse analysis of teacher interviews and student inter-group conversation, I find that, in addition to the difficult and time-consuming tasks of language learning, students in my study were involved in and recipients of another, much less visible type of literacy management: the ongoing valuing and defining of each other's prior literacy-related knowledge. Crucially, the discursive construction of students' prior literacy positioned students' Englishes as variously against one another as well as in contrast to an American English ideal. In this way, students' relationships with literacy were constructed vis-à-vis their and other students' prior access to global Englishes as well as against standardized English norms. Thus, Northwest IEP did more than situate students in relation to privileged English literacy. That institution also served as a broker for the shifting status and subsequent privileging of global Englishes. This dynamic gives insight into how multilingual and transnational spaces like Northwest IEP mediate the broader transnational political economy of English literacy through the local sparring of Englishes as lingua franca.

CAPTURING LITERACY TALK
THROUGH INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

This study draws from an institutional ethnography of an English Language Program located in a mid-sized, urban US city (Northwest IEP), and the study is informed by both institutional ethnography (Smith) and institutional case research methods (Grabill). In accordance with both Dorothy Smith's and Jeffrey Grabill's methods for conducting institutional research, I collected and studied curricular, administrative, and technical documents (current and archival), literacy history and discourse-based interviews with students, and institutional history and discourse-based interviews with teachers and administrators. Crucially, institutional ethnographies study social processes, not institutions or people themselves, and these ethnographies foreground texts (written and verbal) as active mediators that inform people's everyday lives. Smith argues that institutional ethnography is motivated first by the desire to discover how the everyday, lived experiences of those

comprising an institution's daily life are given sense, value, and meaning as they are coordinated through webs of textual and social relations. In this way, institutional ethnographies resist "generaliz[ing] about the group of people interviewed, but [rather] find and describe *social processes* that have generalizing effects" (DeVault and McCoy 753, emphasis added). In my case, the aim of this project was to understand how internationally mobile student writers' literacies were localized across transnational educational contexts and to examine how these transitions impacted literacy and literacy development.

Importantly, my own past relationship to Northwest IEP informed my initial curiosity about how institute students, teachers, and administrators were enmeshed in international and national exigencies. As an ELL instructor at Northwest IEP during the days and months immediately following September 11, 2001, I observed the once bustling school's student enrollment decrease substantially as classes were cut, teachers were given reduced course loads, and the school struggled to adapt to the US State Department's newly stringent visa regulations for international students. Although I had left this school by 2006-2007, during those years enrollment again began to increase, and the school started its slow reversal of fortunes; this change was largely due to a partnership brokered between Northwest IEP and the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Higher Education as part of a broader educational exchange strategy between the United States and Saudi Arabia. This radical decline and acceleration in Northwest's student population indicated to me that this school, and IEPs more generally, could provide special insight into literacy's treatment and transformation at the intersection of local literacies and global influences.

The portion of my study presented in this article examines English literacy as it is discursively constructed in a local context in order to glimpse moments of transnational processes as they are grounded through student and teacher experiences. Following traditions of discourse analysis (Fairclough; Gee; Johnstone), I examine how everyday language-in-use helps constitute the social world of literacy at Northwest IEP. To do so, I look at how discourse categories—such as perceptions and values about prior knowledge—are constructed and enacted through teacher interview comments and students' interactional talk. Such an analysis is based on the assumption that "[w]e use language to convey a perspective on the nature of the distribution of social goods, that is, to build a perspective on social goods" (Gee 12).

Specifically, analysis of teacher talk identifies values within the interview data that index teachers' orientations toward student literacy. Analysis of interactional talk between students draws on conversation analysis and helps reveal how ownership over prior literacy-related knowledge is negotiated, constituted, and contested in interaction. All interviews first underwent basic transcription, in which talk was rendered in writing without concern for fine details. In coding these original transcriptions, processes of literacy valuation became prominent in both teacher and student talk; initial analysis of student-talk, in particular, showed students defining literacy's worth through dialogue. To look more closely into this preliminary finding of student talk, I used methods from conversational analysis to re-transcribe four separate segments of a focus group interview. Conversation analysis accounts for how social status (like the attribution of viable English literacy experience and skill) is made through discourse in a situated performance. Coding was governed

by the principle that: "conversational interaction may be thought of as a form of social organization through which the work of the constitutive institutions of societies gets done—institutions such as the economy, the polity, the family, socialization, etc." (Schegloff 230). Working from this assumption, I assigned codes to "displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles" (Bucholtz and Hall 594) as displayed through turn-taking, volume, overlapping talk, silences, laughter, repetition, and so on.

Discourse and conversation analysis reveal how speakers and writers both construct perspective through language as well as how they discursively create hierarchies, which become constituted as social facts. Ultimately, it is within this dialectical shifting discourse complex of both teacher talk and student-to-student conversational exchange that I explore how "'distant' literacies are 'taken hold' of in specific local ways" (Street 328) within the context of global migration.

TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMIES OF NORTHWEST IEP

Important global discourse contexts for understanding how versions of English literacy are contrasted and enacted at Northwest IEP include trends in national and international politics and the global English Language Teaching (ELT) industry. Positioned across the transnational landscape of higher education, IEPs are intimately bound to the shifting political economies that result from the interaction of these global processes.

IEPs were political entities from the start. The first intensive English school in the United States—the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Michigan—opened in 1941 through State Department and Rockefeller Foundation grants and was intended to teach English to Latin American students whose presence at US colleges and universities had increased due to Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy of 1933 (Matsuda). The founding and evolution of the first IEP at the University of Michigan points to the important link among politics, economics, and trends in international student migration.

Current trends are no different and can be linked, in part, to a range of interlocking policy shifts that resulted from the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C. Policies related to international student migration were impacted strongly by these attacks. While some migration policies were new to the post-9/11 era in international student travel, many were simply more exacting extensions of prior policy. SEVIS (Student and Exchange Visitor Information System), for instance, an online reporting system that tracks data on all nonimmigrant student visitors, began as a policy discussion after the 1993 World Trade Center Bombings but was accelerated after 9/11. The implementation of SEVIS became law as part of the USA PATRIOT Act (2001) and the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act (2002), with all institutions housing students or scholars on F, M, or J visas being required to comply as of January 30, 2003 (US Immigration and Customs Enforcement). US-based schools, and IEPs especially, saw a decline in international student matriculation during that 2003-2004 academic year; it's possible that the difficult process of implementing SEVIS contributed to this downshift. Despite this overall slowdown,

however, student enrollment in IEPs seemed to stabilize by the 2005-2006 academic year, although enrollment of students from the Middle East remained low (Wennerstrom 103). In overall monetary resources, "US universities said they lost about $40 million a year in tuition from Middle Eastern students after 9/11" (Knickmeyer).

Additionally, a crucial turn in IEP enrollment that matters for the story I tell is Saudi Arabia's scholarship program, which was initiated through the King Abdullah Scholarship Program (KASP) in 2005. KASP came about due to an agreement between King Abdullah and President George Bush, and its implementation resulted in a dramatic increase in Saudi students in US higher education. The stated mission of the program is "[t]o prepare and qualify Saudi human resources in an effective manner so that they will be able to compete on an international level in the labor market and the different areas of scientific research, and thereby become an important source of supply of highly qualified individuals for Saudi universities as well as the government and private sectors" (qtd. in Taylor and Albasri 110). Included in the scholarship are students' educational costs and funds for air travel, living expenses, and additional tutoring as needed (Taylor and Albasri). One stipulation for eligibility is that students pursue a course of study "chosen by the Saudi Arabian Government based on perceived need of the government and economy" (Taylor and Albasri 110). While KASP was an educational exchange, it was also a foreign policy agreement as Bush and Abdullah sought to reaffirm ties after 9/11 (Knickmeyer). Thus, Saudi Arabian student enrollment in IEPs began to increase as students won scholarships to attend American IEPs. According to the Institute of International Education, Saudi Arabian students moved from number 18 in 2004 to number 1 in 2013 in terms of the highest percentage of students attending an IEP. The 2012-2013 academic year saw 38,165 Saudi students enroll in a twelve-week language program, which was 30.3% of the overall number of students enrolled in a US-based IEP. Chinese students were the second largest group, making up 14.3% of total enrollment. Japanese students were the third most enrolled, with 8.9%. Prior to the increased enrollment of Saudi and Chinese students, IEPs served primarily Korean, Japanese, and Taiwanese students. These trends correspond to both historical and current student enrollment at Northwest IEP. According to Northwest IEP teachers, at the time of my study in 2013, nine out of ten students were from Saudi Arabia. The rest of the student body was comprised primarily of Japanese and Chinese students.

In addition to their imbrication in global political and economic processes, IEPs are also tied to the business of teaching English worldwide. This is especially true for IEPs that are monitored by the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA), a transnational entity that seeks to regulate English teaching by "promot[ing] excellence in the field of English language administration and teaching." With this oversight, IEPs are more likely to align themselves with broader trends in TESOL best practices because participating schools are assessed via this criterion. In this way, IEPs are imbricated in the contemporary global context of English language and literacy education as they help constitute the diffused infrastructure that circulates English language and literacy norms worldwide (Pennycook; Phillipson).

Even though CEA regulates English teaching internationally, it would be a mistake to think it homogenizes the experience of English language learners. Studies that document the range of

influences across a variety of language learning contexts—factors as diverse as class size, workload, national educational policies, local ideology and attitudes towards literacy, and access to material and pedagogical resources—foreground how cross-contextual TESOL practices are both uniform as well as highly situational (Leki; Ruecker, Shapiro, Johnson, and Tardy). Specifically, national context often influences how English language exposure and acquisition is experienced at the local, classroom level. For example, although Japan (Sasaki), China (You), and Saudi Arabia (Faruk) all have infrastructures for and long histories with the systematic teaching of English, students' experiences with English literacy in each of these national contexts are culturally and historically specific (Manchón; Muchiri, Mulamba, Myers, and Ndoloi; Prendergast). Crucially, the history of how English was localized within each of these national contexts often resulted from a complex historical process of British and American imperial expansion and domination coupled with a community's local uptake of English (Canagarajah; You).

Not only do IEPs connect with English teaching worldwide through their recruitment efforts, their curriculum, and their linkages to the business of teaching English; they also serve students who bring their own versions of English, which tie to economic, educational, and political policies within those students' home countries. Both the schools and the students have English histories of their own that are deeply tied to the shifts, pushes, and pulls of migration patterns and migration policies as well as to the global business of teaching English. Certainly, the continual movement of so many diverse students through IEPs, as motivated by political and economic shifts, suggests a rich, complex, and contradictory site of literacy knowledge as prior context interacts with current practice.

ENACTING THE ECONOMIES OF TRANSNATIONAL ENGLISH LITERACY

How exactly do students experience these political, economic, institutional, and national forces? How do these transnational political economies impact students' literate lives? In the next two sections of this article, I begin to tackle these questions by examining how the teachers and students that I studied discursively constructed the meaning and value of prior literacy-related knowledge through talk about literacy. From this dual analysis, I suggest that the local construction of student prior knowledge mediates these broader trends and patterns in international student mobility. Importantly, the construction of student prior knowledge by different institutional actors reveals distinct aspects of the intersection of transnational political economies and students' literate lives. First, analysis of teacher talk pointed to how such transnationalized educational spaces converge—through teacher discourse—in ideological orientations toward student literacy that reference locally available and globally accrued discourses of a standardized English literacy. Second, conversation analysis of student talk revealed that prior experiences with global Englishes made available an additional set of literacy norms for student writers to negotiate and enact. The multiple discursive constructions of prior knowledge at Northwest IEP suggest that versions of English serve as powerful discourse terrain that come to mediate students' lived experiences with literacy.

Teacher talk

Teachers' prior encounters with student literacy, in concert with the standardized literacy criterion of Northwest IEP, help explain how the discursive construction of prior knowledge is mediated by the transnational political economy of English literacy. As I will discuss in more detail later, I evaluated teachers' indexical ordering of students' prior knowledge in reference to Northwest IEP's curriculum as well as across the diverse student body. Analysis revealed that historical trends in international student mobility helped shaped teacher assumptions about student preparedness. Prior to the dramatic increase in Northwest's Saudi student population, the majority of the students attending this institute were from Korea, Japan, and China. During interviews, veteran institute teachers talked often about having grown "used to" the learning styles, skills, and approaches to English literacy brought by the previous dominant student demographic. They also spoke about how the growth in Saudi students challenged them to reassess pedagogical strategies, which was often a slow process. What I suggest is that teachers' assumptions of what counted as strong literacy skills or proper literacy values developed, in part, through extended teacher-student interaction with a very particular study body. Teachers had developed habituated responses to student literacy, which coalesced as frames from which much student literacy was judged. Dramatic shifts in student demographics, like those that characterized Northwest IEP, put this dynamic into stark relief.

Teachers' construction of students' prior knowledge was also informed by Northwest IEP's literacy curriculum, which is part of a broader, global English language teaching sector. Thus, the values, purposes, and meanings discursively assigned by teachers to student writing at Northwest are tied to how English is taught internationally. Northwest currently adheres to the communicative language teaching method. Even though this model is not universal to all IEPs, it does represent a dominant trend in second language teaching (Ellis and Shintani). At Northwest IEP, curricular documents usefully explain this model as involving the following elements: "Teach in a variety of ways, contexts and tasks; Focus on teaching skills and strategies that students need to meet the course goals; Teach grammar in context as a micro skill (strand) for course outcomes, NOT as formulas to be memorized and repeated on worksheets or tests; Be aware of 'teachable' grammar moments that bring all aspects of language together holistically" (Northwest IEP Faculty Handbook). Meredith Jones, a veteran teacher, translated how the communicative model works in classroom practice:

> Communicative, as I've always understood it, is of course you can give rules, you can explain, but it should always come within the context of some kind of an activity, a process activity or an authentic situation, maybe a role-play, definitely something active. Something within context because sometimes grammar as it's done in tests is not very authentic. What we go for is authentic use that can also be used in a testing situation.
>
> [Students] are exposed in their text books to the more formulaic grammar, but it's always been really clear to me at [Northwest] that grammar of course is important, as is pronunciation, but what we're looking for is a natural, authentic use of it, not just something that's formulaic.

Students are taught grammar in the context of specific student learning outcomes based on a "skills-based syllabus," which develops content "based on specific skills needed to succeed in a university

or workplace setting" (Northwest IEP Curriculum). Unlike curricula that teach for specific situations—like calling a landlord, negotiating a bill over the phone, or talking to a friend about your vacation—"skills-based syllabi group linguistic competencies (pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and discourse) together into generalized types of behavior, such as listening to spoken language for the main idea, writing well-formed paragraphs, giving effective oral presentations, and so on" (Northwest IEP Curriculum).

As a discourse context, the literacy norms of Northwest IEP proffer value on certain skills, genres, and practices over others, which become sources of interpretation for how to construct student literacy. Some of the most influential approaches to literacy teaching are as follows: Often, grammar is linked to written forms through the assumption that specific grammar points are best realized within particular genres. Certain genres are privileged over others and represent the most suitable types of writing for a tiered curriculum, the end goal of which is to introduce students to writing in workplace and university settings. In the case of the upper level reading, writing, and grammar courses just described, cause and effect and argument are the dominant genres within this discursive order. In addition, the acquisition of oral and written languages are distinguished through the curricular structure (with speaking and listening often taught separately from reading and writing), and with some forms of grammar designated as better for spoken versus written expression. In cases of more advanced academic writing, literacy learning reflects an additive model wherein smaller units add up to form the whole. For example, when building an essay, students are encouraged to construct the larger assignment by piecing together constituent elements such as vocabulary, meta-discursive terms most fitting for the genre (as a result; because), and predetermined paragraph moves (introduction; cause paragraph; effect paragraph; conclusion). The effect here is that any holistic rhetorical meaning is built from distinguishable and isolatable linguistic and discourse features. A guiding principle across the curriculum is that language acquisition should be targeted toward future domains of activity like schools or workplaces.

Furthermore, teacher construction of students' prior literacy knowledge often targeted the level of form, grammar, and sentence structure, which were in turn linked to the broader values about literacy just discussed. In the following interview comment by teacher Julie Morrow about Saudi Arabian student literacy, grammar errors, such as "run on sentences," "capitalizing," or "periods at the end of the thought" are typical writing difficulties that get linked to broader value-laden constructs such as "so verbal and so expressive" and lack of discipline when writing.

> Morrow: The Saudis are so verbal and so expressive and want to put that on paper, but it results in a lot of just run on sentences and really no discipline in writing, or really feeling the need for discipline, or capitalizing at the beginning [....] or put a period at the end of a thought [....] Just to kind of reign in, and get the discipline of a sentence. I feel like I'm still at sentence level learning, and they want to write essays, and don't realize essays are made up of good paragraphs, which are made up of good sentences.

I see the construction of student error in this comment as informed by the literacy standards of Northwest IEP. From my previous discussion of Northwest IEP's curriculum, it is clear that grammar for speaking and grammar for writing are distinct. But, as Morrow notes, Saudi students' writing is

like speaking; she draws on the limited and unorthodox use of periods and capitalization to suggest this. What is also noteworthy about this comment is the reference to how "essays are made up of good paragraphs, which are made up of good sentences." This sentiment stresses an additive model of literacy learning in which writing expertise develops from vocabulary to sentences to paragraphs and is finally realized in the essay form. This movement mirrors assumptions about literacy that are seen in both the curricular structure—what should be learned as students advance in levels of instruction—as well as in how components of writing are defined and linked. This additive model again indexes the overall literacy ideology of the institute, which separates literacy and orality; connects writing with structure, discipline, and set systems; and associates speech with free-form expression.

Teacher Lisa Carroll's comments help develop these points:

> [Saudi students'] writing is like speaking. It's long run on sentences that go on forever with lots of excessive pronouns, "this guy, he … he does this …" and "I talked to my mother, she …" Like you would when you're telling a story. Everything is in the present tense: "Yesterday, I went to the store and the guy tells me …" Like we do when we're telling a story … We naturally tell a story in the present tense. In writing we typically don't do that. If we're writing something that happened in the past, then we write it using the past. I think their culture is so verbal. You'll see a lot of signs of that in their writing.

To this teacher, persistent use of present tense, excessive pronouns, and run on sentences index a verbal culture because their writing acts are "like you would when you're telling a story." Additional comments by Carroll indicate what a verbal culture indexes: "It doesn't seem like literacy is a very big part of their culture . . . . It seems like they don't read novels. Maybe they don't read a lot of storybooks to their kids. I don't know, but that's my feeling. They have this totally different culture about reading and writing." This orientation to the written text shows Saudi students being positioned at the periphery of IEP's literacy norms.

In this multilingual space, instructors at Northwest IEP teach students with varied prior experiences with English literacy, with some students bringing skills and practices that more closely adhere to the local curriculum. As Morrow intimated, "it's a little difficult, because an Asian student and a Saudi student come with such different baggage. I feel like that is the big challenge, especially of a mixed classroom where you have the Asians who know how to write a sentence, who know grammar errors." At times, at Northwest IEP, prior access to English literacy through a home country's English language infrastructure, for example, has the potential to become a source for internal stratification between student groups in the present. Different perceptions of student preparation by teachers, as evidenced in "how to write a sentence" and "grammar errors," distinguish between students (and countries and cultures) that are a "challenge" (Saudi students) and those that are a more "natural" fit (Japanese students) for the aims and mission of the particular institute. Teacher comments about Saudi and Japanese student literacy reveal how this institution's local orientation toward students' prior knowledge is constructed against standards of English literacy as expressed in the local curriculum as well as teachers' own assumptions—acquired, I suggest, through historical trends in student enrollment.

In the analysis presented here, teachers attribute indexical meaning to students' prior knowledge vis-à-vis the standard language and literacy ideologies of Northwest IEP as well as the accumulated experiences they have gained through having taught students with certain literacy backgrounds. Importantly, constructing students' prior knowledge within this terrain accentuates the role that both global Englishes as well as standardized English play in the arbitration of literacy learners in such a multilingual space. As Jan Blommaert stresses, orders of indexicality "organise inequality via the attribution of different indexical meanings to language forms (e.g. by allocating 'inferior' value to the use of dialect varieties and 'superior' value to standard varieties in public speech)" (73). Particularly salient to how indexical meanings about literacy were organized at Northwest IEP—through teachers' enactments of students' prior knowledge—were current student demographics, current curricular practices and teachers' perceptions of student literacy in relation to those practices, and students' differential access to prior English literacy. Students' interactional talk about literacy, which I now discuss, unfolds at the nexus of these material and discursive factors.

Student interactional talk

Not only does the cultural and linguistic capital perceived as available through prior access to English learning inform how teachers compare and contrast students' prior knowledge, but these forms of capital are also enacted in student-to-student conversations. To illustrate and develop this point, I present a set of microanalyses from a focus group interview with four male students who represent Northwest IEP's typical cross-section of student country of origin: China, Japan, and Saudi Arabia. At Northwest IEP, these particular configurations of students bring with them histories of speaking and writing that have to function within Northwest IEP's own peculiar history, curriculum, and teacher population.

Initially, the overall aim of the focus group interview was to provide students with an environment in which they could respond to each other's experiences with learning English at Northwest IEP. My original research design did not include a focus group session, but through interviews with individual students as well as teachers, it became clear that the literacy knowledge of the specific configuration of students at Northwest IEP was important to the current cultural milieu. In particular, teachers' comments clearly indicated that students' prior knowledge impacted their interpretations of the literacy curriculum. My previous interviews with individual students indicated that their literacy learning was being impacted by students' own sense of their sociolinguistic positioning vis-à-vis English literacy as it was organized at Northwest IEP. Thus, the focus group interview was initially conceived of as an opportunity for students to discuss their attitudes, motivations, and values for learning English and English writing and how those intersected with their experiences at Northwest. I hypothesized that the group exchange would give a fuller and more complex vision of the literacy culture at Northwest IEP as students interacted with each other in conversation.

However, what this focus group revealed was something quite different. Rather than presenting a clear vision of Northwest IEP's writing culture, students used this opportunity to sanction or delegitimize their own and each other's prior writing-related knowledge. Specifically, the following exchange shows how these students attempted to attribute indexical meaning to fellow interview

participants' prior writing-related knowledge. The following analysis discusses students' attempts to assign meaning about the legitimacy, purity, and usefulness of prior knowledge. I focus on a series of conversational segments, all of which are pulled from a two-minute and fifty-two second stretch of conversation between Hiro (Japanese), Bo (Chinese), Aasif (Saudi Arabian), Hazim (Saudi Arabian), Ling (Chinese), and myself. Ling, my research assistant, facilitated this focus group interview. As I will show, each turn in conversation offers a slightly different orientation to the discursive construction of students' prior knowledge: all together, this exchange moves between power struggles and alliances, as students trended between opposition, ambivalence, and consensus.

Transcript 1: "English is most important subject"[1]

1. Hiro:	=hmmm (7.0)
2.	English is most important subject
3.	of exam to enter university=Japanese university
4.	so a::h hmmm
5.	every high school student ha::ve
6.	English (word) book and grammar book in the:: like train or bus
7. Bo:	I think similarly in China
8. Ling:	How about in:: Saudi Arabia=
9. Aasif:	[((shaking head)) No:::
10.	°we do we don't have ( ) the public transportation°
11. Ling:	h h u h h huh hhah hah
12. Bo:	h h u h h huh hhah hah
13. Hazim:	h h u h h huh hhah hah
14. Hiro:	h h u h h huh hhah hah
15. Bo:	(you guys) are too rich
16.	[°h h u h h huh hhah hah°
17.	to use public transportation
18. Aasif:	[bu::t bu::t bu::t °actually°
19.	we (study) that in uni- in the school
20.	uh middle and uh high school (3.)
21.	°we we we:::° (5.)
22.	we have (.2)
23.	((looking to Hazim))
24.	some studying in English
25.	and actually our books are:: changing now::
26.	to English
27.	like ah Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics
28.	they are changing to English
29. Bo:	[°wow°
30. Ling:	[°mmm°
31. Ling:	the whole subject is taught in English?
32. Aasif:	ye::ah but there is a few Arabic words
33.	tends to be tends to be there
34. Bo:	[°high school°
35. Aasif:	but the numbers and signs
36.	x and y and everything is in English now=
37. Bo:	high school
38. Aasif:	yeah high school and uh::=

39. Ling: middle school=
40. Aasif: middle school yeah
41. Bo: when did you start learning English
42. Aasif: huh ((looks directly at Bo for the first time))
43. Bo: when did you start learning English=
44. Aasif: <u>when did I start studying English</u>
45. Bo: Yeah
46. Aasif: uh:: the primary school
47. Bo: [mmm
48. Aasif: <u>sixth</u> grade
49. Bo: °uh-huh°
50. Ling: °yeah°
51. Aasif: [yeah I started A B C
52. Ling: that's early right ( ) middle school =
53. Bo: °yeah° ((mumbling to himself))
54. Ling: some of my students they start to learn English in Saudi Arabia↑ when they
                  were like uh
55.   <u>three years old</u>
56. Aasif: [°yeah°
57. Bo: °mmm::°
58. Ling: I was surprised=
59. Hazim: =it's a private school
60. Ling: private school
61. Aasif: o::h
62. Hazim: yeah yeah ( )
63. Bo: [three <u>three year old</u>
64.   <u>private</u> school
65. Hazim: private school but in the public school
                  I think

"English is most important subject" is a nearly three-minute exchange between Hiro, Bo, Ling, Aasif, and Hazim in response to my prompting question: What part of your previous experiences help in your studies of English at [Northwest IEP]? Hiro initiated this discussion by talking about the prominent role of English in Japanese high school education. Bo's response to and agreement with Hiro's point that all students have "English (word) book and grammar book in the:: like train or bus" (line 6) initiated the remaining contestation about prior knowledge while also bridging those two men's prior experiences. Bo aligns his experience with Hiro when stating "I think similarly in China" (line 7), which prompts Ling to pose the same question to Hazim and Aasif, who have not yet joined in this line of talk. Of note is Aasif's rejoinder. Rather than take up the topic of English education, he intimates that "°we do we don't have ( ) the public transportation°" (line 10). The whole group responds to this statement with laughter, which shores up the salience of that comment and supplies an opening for Bo's thinly veiled slight that "(you guys) are too rich to use public transportation" (lines 15-17). Aasif attempts to take back control of this conversational turn by talking over the last word in Bo's statement, but it takes him several seconds to gain his footing and offer a complete response. His struggle to refocus the conversation around educational backgrounds rather than economic resources is evidenced through his stammering; the quiet, almost hushed volume of his utterances; the length of pauses between utterances; and a vexed look directed at Hazim.

At this point in the conversation, the legitimacy of students' prior knowledge had been both acknowledged and elided. Bo's comments played an important role in this process as he first showed solidarity with Hiro's literacy history but then appeared uncooperative in helping Aasif elaborate his prior knowledge. In this way, we see an attribution of legitimacy and a strong refusal to claim any similarity with Aasif, and, by extension, Hazim. Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall have referred to this phenomenon as adequation and distinction, which is a relational process of building similarity and difference in conversation. These authors state that "adequation relies on the suppression of social distinctions that might disrupt a seamless representation of similarity, [while] distinction depends on the suppression of similarities that might undermine the construction of difference" (600). Thus, Bo positioned himself as sufficiently similar to Hiro while stressing a resonant difference between himself and Aasif, despite any similarities they might have—like both being English language learners. This dynamic of adequation and distinction shifted slightly as Aasif gained confidence in his description of English literacy education in Saudi Arabia; this confidence was indicated by the completeness of his thoughts, the shorter intervals between words, and his increased volume. At the end of Aasif's explanation, both Bo and Ling encouraged and acknowledged his brief description with their indications of interest and approval. This brief exchange ended with a conversational repair.

As the conversation continued, the ongoing struggle to provide indexical meaning to prior knowledge resumed and was manifested through patterns of interruption and the stressed repetition of words and phrases within the conversation. Both of these mechanisms indicated that the boundaries of who has ownership over the meaning-making trajectory of the conversation were being contested. For instance, a second interesting exchange between Aasif and Bo occurred after the initial power imbalance in the conversation seemed to have been restored. At that moment, the conversation revolved around the timing of when English is first introduced in the Saudi school system. Bo both interrupted (line 34) as well as finished Aasif's sentence (line 37) by re-stating "high school." What is interesting here is that Bo continued his line of questions even after Aasif and Ling had a brief exchange in which Ling aided Aasif in responding to Bo's repetition of "high school." This interlude did not influence the conversation's trajectory, and Bo continued to ask, but now much more pointedly, "when did you start learning English?" This direct question shed light on Bo's previous refrain of "high school," which I take to be a shorthand version of the longer question, "when did you start learning English?" Aasif finally acknowledged the question, which was indicated by his looking at Bo (for the first time in the whole conversation) and his own forceful repetition of Bo's question just before he responded by saying "the primary school" (line 46). I view this exchange as a contest over who has the right to authenticate Aasif's language learning experiences. Interruption in talk is considered a "violation of participants' rights and obligations in talk" (Coates 179); at the same time, Aasif's assertive repetition of Bo's question had the effect of re-establishing his authority over the telling of his own story.

Finally, the vacillation of authority over Aasif's prior knowledge was extended to a discussion of who might validate Saudi students' prior English experience more generally. I turn now to the last segment of this excerpt. The group responded to a statement by Ling that "some of my students

they start to learn English in Saudi Arabia: when they were like uh:: <u>three years old</u>" (lines 54-55). This series of exchanges is interesting with regard to how Bo picked up on and repeated two ideas: that children as young as three learn English, and that this age group learns in private schools. While Bo's repetition of these phrases could be interpreted as a clarifying move, the prior unfolding of this conversation suggested otherwise. A possible reading, given the context of this conversation, is an intratextual link to the earlier exchange about Saudi students being too rich to take public transportation. Even if Bo did not intend to make these links, the subsequent change in topic—the students beginning to joke about Hazim's age and how long ago he must have learned English— indicates this was a moment of unease for the group.

The students' discussions about prior knowledge ended at this point, although they returned to this topic at several other points throughout the focus group. In later conversations, the larger dynamic of how the value and ownership of prior knowledge gets negotiated in talk continued. In other words, this type of interaction was a pattern that animated other instances of students' prior knowledge talk. During these conversational segments, the push and pull over who gets to authorize prior knowledge occurred through a series of turn-taking dynamics that revolved primarily around interruptions of talk, overlapping speech, or the filling in or repeating of words or phrases after a pause in conversation. While these are common mechanisms for either violating or aiding in all conversation, the prevalence of this type of conversational dynamic can be especially pronounced for beginning language learners as speakers search for appropriate vocabulary to represent their point. Despite the perhaps accidental, unconscious, or even pragmatic engagement in such turn-taking dynamics, the occasions of the turns nonetheless became sites where control over the conversation's trajectory and meaning took place. As such, these were moments where power was managed and negotiated at the local level.

Ultimately, through talk, students "ascribed (and rejected), avowed (and disavowed), displayed (and ignored)" (Antaki and Widdicombe 2) claims about their own and each other's prior knowledge. The fact that students were able to shift meaning about prior knowledge through micro turn-taking mechanisms such as interruption and overlapping talk indicates how prior knowledge was available as a discursive resource that students could use to leverage their own status as an English speaker in relation to other students. This analysis also indicates how, even if an institute proffers a stable value on student literacy, prior knowledge can still be an active site for students to vie for momentary agency over their place within the complex of global Englishes. Through such moments of construction and contestation, literacy value was informed by, but not reducible to, the political economies of international student mobility as they intersected with specific personal and institutional histories.

CONCLUSION

Scholars such as Paul Kei Matsuda understand IEPs as literacy brokers that mediate students' access to privileged forms of standard English writing and speaking. In this way, IEPs act as containers of linguistic difference (Matsuda, "Myth"). While Northwest IEP did fill this role, I argue that this was only one in a shifting complex of brokering roles. On the one hand, through teachers' discursive

construction of students' prior knowledge as indexed through curricular norms and shifting demographics, Northwest IEP brokered students' access to privileged forms of English writing and speaking. Significantly, as my discourse analysis of teacher and student talk revealed, Northwest IEP also brokered the construction and valuing of its international students' access to and right to access types of global Englishes. It is no accident that I found that *prior* knowledge was a site for such discursive brokering, as it is on this terrain that students and teachers are able to index the diverse materialities and experiences of a transnational English education.

Ultimately, recognizing IEPs as brokers of competing and shifting forms of literacy discourse, as seen in both teacher and student talk, challenges assumptions that students' primary or only literacy struggle when enrolled in such institutes is to learn the dominant skills, practices, and cultural imperatives of Western academic discourse, although these remain strict criterion against which students are judged. In addition to these standard-language ideals, students also participated in another distinctly transnational type of literacy management in which the value and status of their literacy was measured and ranked vis-à-vis other students' access to English as global lingua franca. Thus, for the students in my study, literacy—as constructed in both teacher and student talk—was framed through a kind of ongoing ambivalence in relation to English as lingua franca; through such talk, literacy shored up meaning temporarily, but that meaning-making required continuous discourse work—everyday work that was likely exacerbated by the sheer numbers and types of histories that moved through Northwest IEP.

NOTES

[1] In this transcript, I have used a notational system developed by Gail Jefferson and based in Conversational Analysis. Here, pauses in speech that could indicate a possible completion of a turn are marked by line breaks. Pauses longer than half a second are measured in seconds and represented numerically, e.g., (.7). An underline indicates words spoken at a higher volume while degree signs represent lower volume speech, colons are used after vowels to indicate audible extensions, and difficult-to-decipher words are signaled with blank space inside parentheses. I have used a left square bracket to represent overlapping talk. Gestures and other body movements are placed inside double parentheses.

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Tensions of Local and Global:
South Korean Students
Navigating and Maximizing US College Life

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KEYWORDS

internationalization, linguistic diversity, US higher education, study abroad, student organization

In the spring of 2012, the Korean Student Association (KSA) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) planned an ambitious series of events to celebrate Korean culture and Korean students on campus. One Saturday night, to commemorate and publicize "Korean Week," the KSA hung a banner from a statue of the university's Alma Mater.[1] Shortly after the banner was hung, it disappeared. The following day, while another banner was ordered, the staff attached a small South Korean flag and an American flag in the hands of the statue. But even before the KSA could process what had happened, let alone notify authorities, these flags were gone. Below the statue, in the chalk graffiti that celebrated Korean Week, there were new words—"I hate"—written inside the Korean flag.

Although I had expected the members to be very upset by the incident and even concerned about their personal security and broader acceptance in the university community, Kyung-Won, who had spent so many days creating the banner, had quite a different response. "Not really," she said when asked a week later if the literal hate speech worried or offended her; on the contrary, she found herself "fascinated." Her immediate response, she admitted, was "Wow! It was stolen?" delivered not with disappointment but with animation. Surprised, I asked her why. She explained:

> I was *a part of* something big that happened at the university. I know that vandalism itself isn't a good thing but it became a [significant/talked about] issue. It was in the DI [*Daily Illini*, the independent student newspaper at the University of Illinois] and it was on TV. And just the fact that I was **a part of** it, it makes it so exciting!

Her reaction was not one of anger or resentment but one of excitement and delight, brought on by a sense of affiliation and association with the university where she had been enrolled for three years. Ironically, as she saw it, the event did not isolate her as a racial or language minority but finally gave her recognition as a member of the university community.

This incident, along with others, signals two realities faced by many Korean students during their college years in the United States. First, despite claims that the university is a global campus that embraces diversity, the Korean students I worked with found that racism, segregation, and language discrimination were a reality of their campus lives. And second, despite their large presence at this campus,[2] these students had experienced themselves as basically invisible—so much so, in fact, that even this negative incident could become, for some, a welcome change from the status quo.

Much as Ralph Cintron explored how Mexican-American gang members in an Illinois town worked rhetorically through various linguistic and semiotic means to "create respect under conditions of little or no respect" (*x*), this article illustrates how the KSA, under conditions of "no respect," worked to build, reestablish, and preserve Korean identity at the University of Illinois, to create conditions of respect and legitimacy through what I call literacy and rhetorical practices of *localization*. By *localization,* I am pointing to the active (but not necessarily intentional) ways in which individuals respond to multiple layers of local and global contexts in taking up a particular stance to being in their locality. In other words, literate practices become a means of responding to the exigencies that emerge at the locality, the active making and shaping of the locality. The KSA and its staff members foster their "Koreanness" not only through widespread and sometimes surprising use of the Korean language in a Midwestern town dominated by monolingual English speakers, but also by institutionally rebuilding Korean social practices and networks that have become strained over their many years of study abroad.

Ever since the social turn in Literacy Studies over two decades ago (Gee; Street), literacy scholarship has recognized literacy as a situated social practice that varies from one context to another and one culture to another. Complementing and evermore complicating this theory and earlier ethnographic work on situated literacy practices (Heath), literacy studies have attended to multilingual issues within a framework of globalization (Barton; Canagarajah; Duffy). More recently, scholars (Lorimer Leonard; Vieira) have complicated how and why literacy practices travel across borders with multilingual users. They have helped us see the fluid and entangled forces that both destabilize and shape literacy practices and complicate understandings of local and global (Blommaert *Sociolinguistics*; Latour, *Reassembling*; Lemke; Prior and Shipka). This paper explores what literacy and rhetorical practices of *localization* looked like for the KSA and its members enrolled at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. In the following sections, to make sense of these practices and the relationships, I draw out more of the salient historical, national, institutional, and ideological contextual layers that flow through local and global boundaries and co-exist specifically for a particular group of students at a particular locality at a particular time in history. For my transnational participants, I argue that these contextual boundaries are fluid, messy, and scattered: depending on where the transnational individual stands (physically, ideologically, emotionally) these contexts are both discretely and simultaneously local, global, and somewhere in-between.

TRANSNATIONAL LIVES AND LITERACIES

This research is a part of a larger project that examines the literacy and rhetorical practices of South Korean undergraduate students who had *jogi yuhak* (i.e., Early Study Abroad, ESA) experience in English-speaking countries—including the United States, Canada, Australia, Singapore, and Malaysia—prior to their matriculation at a US college. These students (henceforth post-*jogi yuhak* students) were part of a transnational educational migration trend prevalent in Korea beginning in the early 2000s.[3] Although the phenomenon has been gradually losing momentum since 2010, according to the Ministry of Educational Science and Technology (Korean Ministry of Education),

the number of pre-college students who left Korea for study increased from just over 2,000 in 1995 to a peak of over 29,000 in 2006. And these numbers do not count the many students who accompanied parents temporarily working or studying overseas.

The steep rise in *jogi yuhak* has been a product of the unique conditions of contemporary South Korea: the nation's relentless pursuit of neoliberal economic advancement within the global economy mixed with an already deep-rooted "education fever" and "English craze" fueled *jogi yuhak* among countless middle- and upper-class Korean families.[4] As scholars in diverse fields have shown (e.g., Kang and Abelmann; Kim; Park and Bae; Song) and as my study finds, the experiences of *jogi yuhak* students are not homogeneous, instead evidencing multiple trajectories of mobility that operate within and beyond South Korea. Still, a common goal for *jogi yuhak* in student accounts in interviews and everyday encounters is to acquire language capital, a fundamental requirement in joining "global elites." Yet, what that joining would mean is neither consistent nor transparent. For students, then, their English literacy is tied to a neoliberal promise that with more English, their lives will be economically and personally improved. However, the extent to which this promise is being fulfilled appears to be questionable.

Using a "rhetorical approach to literacy" (Duffy 42), this article portrays how post-*jogi yuhak* students "use language and other symbols for the purpose of shaping conceptions of [their] reality" (Duffy 41). Specifically, this article demonstrates how the KSA and its members' rhetorical literacy practices have been influencing, and have been influenced by, the transnational and institutional conditions they inhabit physically and psychologically. As it does so, particular attention is paid to the ecology of literacy development that shows how literacy is "tied up with the particular details of the situation and that literacy events are particular to a specific community at a specific point in history" (Barton 7). In order to understand the literacy and rhetorical practices of post-*jogi yuhak* Korean undergraduate students within the dynamics of the KSA, the university, and the larger local and global context, this research employs a mix of ethnographic, archival, and autoethnographic methods. In addition to my own experience in various teaching and administrative capacities on campus, I have examined interview and observation data of the KSA staff and university administrators and also conducted rhetorical analysis of institutional (KSA and UIUC) documents (e.g., websites, brochures, reports) collected from 2011 to 2013, with most focusing on the 2011-2012 academic year. Through these data, I was able to identify various contexts and forces that influence, and are influenced by, the research participants' literacy practices.

This article engages with several different literatures. Most significantly, it comes into conversation with scholars in the field of New Literacy Studies, specifically the emerging research on transnational literacies (Duffy; Berry, Hawisher, and Selfe; Prendergast; Vieira). Like most ethnographic studies on transnational migrants, this study provides empirical evidence of a conception of literacy as not only a locally situated social practice.[5] It also further expands the perspective by addressing the literacy practices of non-immigrant individuals, individuals having less investment and/or stakes in US citizenship, whereas many studies examining transnational literacy practices of migrants within the US have focused largely on the immigrant experience. More importantly, it further complicates the notion of literacy contexts by presenting the contexts influencing and being influenced by literacy

practices as fluid and scattered variables determined by particular circumstances of the transnational individual. Therefore, depending on the perspective and circumstance of an individual, the local is the global and the global is the local. This analysis then suggests how local and global forces converge in situated practices, further questioning the all-too-tidy division between the local and the global.

In addition to examining the broad contexts of past and present national/Korean economic, educational, and social conditions as well as the specific contexts of (English) ideologies surrounding the *jogi yuhak* project, the rest of the article further combs out the entangled literacy contexts and practices of *localization* of post-*jogi yuhak* students at the University of Illinois. The following sections, although distinct in their organization, portray the blurriness of boundaries and the messy relationships among various contexts (e.g., institutional, ideological) and practices of localization that stem from tensions within the dynamics of the dispersed local and global. Drawing attention to the contradictory qualities imbued within the contexts and practices, I argue that within such contextual layers, the students are rereading the institutional, national, and global landscape and reframing their own and our understanding of the term *globalization*.

THE "DIVERSE" UNIVERSITY

With *Brown v Board* and *Regents of the University of California v Bakke*, the US Supreme Court made it clear that the United States had a compelling interest in creating an integrated society of learners. In the wake of these decisions and the social movements that led to them, many institutions of higher education have made *diversity* a key term in their institutional discourse. Throughout the decades, the University of Illinois, a land-grant institution, has espoused this agenda of ending segregation and incorporating a "diverse" student body. In the words of the university's Diversity Values Statement,

> As the state's premier public university, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's core mission is to serve the interests of the *diverse* people of the state of Illinois and beyond. The institution thus values *inclusion* and a pluralistic learning and research environment, one which we respect the *varied* perspectives and lived experiences of a *diverse* community and global workforce. We support *diversity* of worldviews, histories, and cultural knowledge across a range of social groups including *race*, ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, abilities*,* economic class, religion, and their intersections. (emphasis added)

With this statement, the Inclusive Illinois-One Campus, Many Voices initiative, and the Chancellor's Campus Commitment to "prohibit discrimination and harassment [...and to ensure] a truly diverse, welcoming, and inclusive community of students, scholars and staff," ("Campus Commitment.") the University of Illinois embraces the integration of its campus community as a priority. Yet the ethos of honoring diversity has not always manifested in policies or programs that support the linguistic needs of international students.[6] Since the inception of "Students' Right to Their Own Language," a 1974 National Council of Teachers of English resolution that called for literacy teachers and scholars to affirm the dialects and language patterns mostly of African-American students, there have been no professional documents or policy that so much as acknowledge "language diversity" within the

student body. Furthermore, language or linguistic discrimination is omitted from the long list of discriminatory items under "campus conduct" on the university's Office of Diversity, Equity, and Access website.[7] Given the recent soaring enrollment of international students, adding to the already linguistically diverse student body, the failure to institutionally and publicly recognize language as a possible site of discrimination is particularly noteworthy. Attending to "the problem of self-segregation" in her book *The Intimate University*, Nancy Abelmann argues that (self-)segregation at the university is not merely "a matter of cultural comfort" (3). Rather such "comfort zones" at a college are negative because college is supposed to be about valuing diversity. Thus, comfort zones oppose this aim, in effect "thwarting personal and academic growth" (5). But, as Abelmann further argues, there are larger forces behind the phenomenon—the zones are not solely the choice of the students but also the product of race and racism. Extending Abelmann's argument to international students in general and the KSA and KSA members in particular, I argue that students' segregation, self and otherwise, is driven by the lack of tolerance for language diversity at the university—by an unfavorable academic and social campus atmosphere suffused with monolingual ideologies and limited literacy support.

At the University of Illinois, all incoming first-year students are required to take one to three sequenced composition courses. International students in particular, depending on their TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language)/IELTS (International English Language Testing System) and/or ACT scores, are channeled into one of three course options: ESL writing courses (ESL 113, 114, and 115) provided by the Department of Linguistics; Rhetoric courses (Rhetoric 100, 101 and 102, 103 or 105) offered by the Department of English; or Oral and Written Communication courses (Communication 111 and 112) offered by the Department of Communication. After the students complete whatever course or courses are required in their first year, they are on their own to seek language and writing assistance during their remaining years in college.[8] For many English as additional language (EAL) learners, this composition track, while typical to US colleges and universities, is insufficient to "succeed" or, according to Hyun Jung, "survive" in academics throughout college. During a writing group specifically for Korean undergraduate students,[9] Hyun Jung, a senior majoring in psychology, talked about the lack of writing/language support at the university:

> When I took the Rhetoric class, truthfully you really can't ask about things like grammar. I was afraid the natives [speakers] would say something like why is she bringing that up here. So [even if I had a question regarding language] I would just forget since I would have other classes to think about. Even if there was something to ask the [Rhetoric course] instructor. I mean things I want to ask might be about content but there are times when I want to ask "how do you articulate" an idea [that I can't in English]. You know, for natives that's not that difficult. [Because for them] translating the idea to English is not difficult. It's the making the logic that is difficult. So, during office hours, the instructors usually expect you to have questions about the reading but not about grammar or how to express things. I think the expectations are different [for the instructor and the student]. And because I know what the expectations are, I talk about the reading with [the instructors] and they tell me to take the language and grammar issues to the [university's writing center].

As Hyun Jung reveals, what is lacking is not only the number or type of language courses but also the instructors' understanding, training, or aptitude for supporting EAL learners in their classrooms. These accounts point to the many tangible and intangible factors that indicate the insufficient support and unwelcoming academic climate that exists at the university as some of the forces interacting in literacy and rhetorical processes of *localization*. As I further elaborate in the following section, this kind of unfavorable climate at the UIUC has been escalating as the university seeks to further "diversify" the campus by bringing in an unprecedented number of international students but without sufficient preparation by university administrators, faculty, and staff.

"PUTTING OUT FIRES"

In the past decade, the atmosphere at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for international students has suffered with the university's lack of preparedness for dramatic demographic change in the undergraduate student body. In the name of internationalization—but as many suggest in response to the reality of deep cuts in state funding—many public higher education institutions are "diversifying" and "globalizing" their campuses by increasing the number of international undergraduate students. University administrators at public institutions have been seeking more out-of-state students, and international students in particular, to shore up school revenue. Since the mid-2000s, higher education institutions across the US have admitted unprecedented numbers of international students, primarily from such South Asian countries as China and South Korea. According to Open Doors (2014), with growth (mostly in the undergraduate population) over the past seven years, there are now 40% more international students than a decade ago, with a record high of 819,644 in the 2012-13 academic year. Exceeding the national trend, the number of international students at UIUC increased 105% in the last nine years (from 4,807 students in 2005-2006 to 9,871 students in fall 2014). The most noticeable increase has been in the number of international undergraduate students, which reached 5,332 (16.4% of the entire undergraduate population) in Fall 2014, a 370% increase from 2005-2006 when there were only 1,440 international undergraduate students;[10] this increase gave UIUC the second largest number of international students in the US for the past four consecutive years, trailing the leader, the University of Southern California, by fewer than 40 students in 2012-2013.

With this huge increase, international students have been included, surely but passively, in UIUC's existing discourse on diversity: the university has used this growing population figure to tout both its diversity and its internationalization and globalization efforts. However, it has taken limited measures to effectively integrate the diverse population into academic and campus life. Thus, it is evident that UIUC was, and many claim that it still is, far from full and true integration, as the university faculty, staff, and students have not been adequately prepared to take on such a daunting task. According to UIUC's enrollment records, there had long been a steady growth in the number of international students (particularly in graduate programs). Nevertheless, the first steep increase that began in Fall 2005 caught various units, departments, and programs by surprise. The first impact was felt by ESL writing courses, according to Dr. Randy Sadler, the director of ESL Writing Courses

program. Just two weeks before the 2005-2006 academic year was to begin, Dr. Sadler recalled in our interview, someone in the "upper office" telling him something to the effect of, in his words, "I just want to make sure you guys are ready for the rise in the international student population which is going to start happening this fall." He reported that this late and informal "check" was actually the first warning his program received, leaving almost no time to adapt. He remembers his office scrambling to find instructors and teaching assistants to teach ten newly added ESL writing course sections. And although the numbers continued to multiply, it was not until Fall 2011 that some departments, units, and programs came out of their respective corners to tackle the "problem" of international students. In that year, a series of cross-disciplinary (e.g., ESL Issues Campus Meeting) and in-college (e.g., LAS: International Education Symposium) meetings were called. Despite efforts to come together and seek opportunities for long-term collaboration, the few meetings and email exchanges ended with merely the recognition that everyone on campus, especially departments and programs with strong writing components, were struggling through difficult times, coping with whatever resources they had. The meeting made it clear that many were feeling furious at the failure of top administrators to properly support and prepare them for the soaring number of students from overseas.

In an interview with me, Dr. Alan Mette, a professor and Executive Associate Director of the School of Art and Design, recalled that he definitely felt the impact of the surge in international students. Dr. Mette, who also taught Art History, a requirement for all incoming freshman at the College of Art and Design, noticed that a significant number of international students were failing courses like his with heavy writing requirements, such as weekly journals and three to four short and long writing assignments. He remarked that there had always been international ESL "individuals that needed more assistance" in these courses, and that that had been manageable when there were only a handful. But now that these students constituted up to 15 to 20 percent of the class, instructors and teaching assistants were struggling. He lamented that, while needing to be just as prepared for the course as before the rise of international students, he "felt like [he] was putting out fires rather than being proactive" due to the lack of preparation. Enrolling all these students and not being prepared for their needs, Dr. Mette argued, was "really unethical," elaborating that it is "wrong inviting and accepting a group of students and they're paying a great deal of money to be here much, more than our domestic students." He also worried that the sudden increase of students that need "extra help" might reinforce the stigma that they are "bad writers," where the unpreparedness on part of faculty has been the actual root of the "problem."

The shortage of staff and resources to attend to the rapidly increasing number of international students was a concern echoed by various administrators in both Student Affairs and Academic Affairs. Through my campus outreach work at the university's writing center, I had the chance to meet and collaborate with many of the administrators across campus who had been directly impacted by the large number of international students in their respective units and programs. Andi Cailles, an assistant director at University Housing, explained during an interview, "We just don't have the staff […] [or] the resources to match the demonstrated need [much less] the anecdotal [one]." Many others, in units such as the university's counseling center and career center, echoed this frustration,

finding themselves overwhelmed with the "extra work" added on to their existing duties.

Since Fall 2013, towards the conclusion of data collection for this study, there have been many initiatives to improve the transition, orientation, and support services for international students. In an interview with me, Nicole Tami, the Director of International Student Integration at the time,[11] stated that UIUC has put efforts into substantially increasing and improving services for international students in collaboration with campus units and registered student organizations across campus. Despite such recent top-down efforts of the university, my experience in the university writing center, with the KSA, and on campus suggest that much more needs to be done to cultivate a welcoming and nurturing academic and social environment for the ten thousand international students and to promote true integration and diversity for all university members. More importantly, all participants in this process need to meticulously define and redefine what "promoting integration and diversity" is for them and others as well as what that might look like. But until then, these post-*jogi yuhak* students are finding ways to make the most out of their college lives in seemingly "segregated" ways as they continuously redefine and make sense of globalization through their own transnational educational journey.

TRANSCENDING AND PERPETUATING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Throughout Korean Week, as the KSA successfully implemented all the planned events, much talk and speculation surrounding the issue of "racism" on campus continued to surface with the disappearance of the KSA banner. The KSA staff members speculated on possible culprits of and motives for the offensive act: a domestic student who was bothered by the increasing presence of Asian students on campus; a domestic student who was offended by a foreign national flag being hung up on "his" Alma Mater; a disgruntled Korean student with bitter sentiments against the KSA. A local TV broadcasting station also aired the incident as its headline for the evening news and alluded to hate crimes on campus, noting that, at least officially, none had occurred for several years. Despite all the commotion over the who's and why's of the incident, talk of potential racism gradually faded amid the busyness of the week.

A semester after the disappearance of the Korean Week banner, I discussed the KSA with Kyung-Won. In our dialogue, she talked about how she had been addicted to KSA work, how she would constantly check her email inbox for more work orders and how she would think of ideas for the KSA at the oddest, most unexpected times. But this, for Kyung-Won, was a positive aspect in her college life. Later in our conversation, she mentioned how lucky she feels to have joined the organization.

> K: The KSA is a place where I can do something. It's where opportunities are. It's a platform where I can feel free to do what I want.
> Me: But why not other RSOs or clubs?
> K: I think it's because of culture and language. I know that there are clubs that Americans run. But even if I go because there is a "subject" that I like. Regardless, I think there will be *a limit* to how much I can participate.

Me: Why?

K: I still feel that I have *limits* in expressing. For example, I'm doing a project with an American girl now [for class]. But whenever I meet with her, I work as I feel the *limit*. It's even hard to explain [ideas] in Korean, so to do it in English is harder. I think and organize as I talk but then to do that in English is so hard. Too many times I stumble with the [English] language. The KSA is comfortable, no language wall. Can speak out when I want to. So I like it.

The sense of freedom to be and act afforded her by the KSA conferred emotional benefits as well: at the end of the conversation, Kyung-Won mentioned how people (Koreans mostly) posted praise on the KSA website for her unique and professional design of the K-Card discount card (see Figure 4). She explained that such acknowledgments are an important motivation for her and also a stimulus for her to devote endless hours to her work at the KSA. As an Industrial Design major, she went on to declare that she had never felt so proud and that despite the indifferent atmosphere at the university described above, she ultimately felt she had made a good choice to attend the university. A senior in fall 2013, she felt that she was really a "member of the university."

Another striking aspect of the KSA, taken as a given in Kyung-Won's reflection, was the dominance of Korean language usage, not only in backstage planning but also in public events. The decision for Koreans to use the Korean language in a Korean club might seem obvious on its face. And to those familiar with the hierarchical Korean society and culture and the complex honorific/hierarchical indexicals native only to the Korean language, it might seem obvious that Koreans might refrain from using English, which cannot express these honorifics, among other Koreans. To some extent, these assumptions hold. However, it is important also to consider the various other large and small factors that play into the students' rhetorical and literacy practices. One of them is the English ideologies held by Koreans in general and *jogi yuhak* students in particular within the national (Korea) and global context.

Joseph Park, in *The Local Construction of a Global Language*, argues persuasively that Koreans hold three English language ideologies:

- *Necessitation*: This ideology views English as a valuable and indispensable language.
- *Externalization*: This ideology views English as an external language, or as a language of an Other, treating it as a language that is incongruent with and opposed to the identity of one's group…
- *Self-deprecation*: This ideology views Koreans lacking sufficient competence to use English meaningfully, despite the abundance of English education they receive… (26).

I identified all three language ideologies among the post-*jogi yuhak* students in my study. For *externalization*, students remarked that there would always be someone in the group who would frown or cringe at the person speaking English. When I asked Woo-Bin, a staff member of the Public Relations Team of the KSA, why Korean students do not use English among other friends, he asked rhetorically, "Why would you speak English when you can speak *our* language? That would make

that kid look arrogant" (emphasis added).

The most salient of the three ideologies, however, was that of *self-deprecation*. As noted earlier, the majority of the Korean undergraduate population have had three or more years of studying abroad before enrolling at UIUC, giving rise to the notion that they possess a fairly good grasp of everyday spoken English and even of American and Western culture in general. Most Korean undergraduate students in the study, however, felt they lacked the English competency that they should have acquired from many years of studying abroad. As a result, many saw themselves as having failed to live up to one of the main goals of the *jogi yuhak* project, namely, mastering English and thereby becoming global elite citizens—a project premised on the belief that earlier is better for language acquisition. Because they have not yet, in their minds, accomplished the goal of "doing English well,"[12] they hide their English language from others, fellow Koreans in particular, as much as they can.

This self-deprecation ideology related to English prevailed in Soo-Jin's adherence to the Korean language in the KSA and also among her Korean peers in general:

> If I try to use English I feel a wall somewhat. Also, I get conscious of how [Korean peers] will think of my English. Since such thoughts come endlessly, I become very careful when speaking. So [I think to myself whether] this is something that I can say in English or not. Because I would hate to be looked down upon. I don't want people telling others things like "I spoke with her in English once and she really sucks at it." That's why I purposely use Korean instead of English.

Soo-Jin, the director of the LET[13] Team, a junior majoring in journalism and a reporter for the campus newspaper, the *Daily Illini* (DI), felt that she had reached only "50% to perfection" with English competence, and like others interviewed and observed, refrains from speaking English around Korean peers for fear of evaluation and criticism. So in the students' everyday literacy practices among Korean peers, English words and phrases sporadically crop up in casual settings but in most other situations, Korean, which comes naturally and with less psychological burden, is invariably the language of choice.

Kyung-Won's experience of English as a limiting factor in college life, Soo-Jin's anxiety over acquiring "perfect" English, and Woo-Bin's allegiance to Korean language use all reflect the converging language ideologies shaping post-*jogi yuhak* students' literacy and rhetorical practices. The shifting and reshaping of ideologies within the dynamics of multiple local (e.g., the university, US race relations) and global (e.g., Korean ideologies, neoliberal ideals) contextual layers are reflected in the contradictory literacy and rhetorical practices of localization, where their actual practices of Korean language and culture override the pursuit of "doing English well" and thus becoming global elites. Like the ideas and ideals of language and language use, I further elaborate on the abstract aspects (e.g., feelings, sentiments) around the students' experience with English language use in the US that influence their literacy and rhetorical practices.

As much as students talked about why they did not use English among other Koreans, they were equally forthcoming, if somewhat more unsure, about the detriments of English use to their interactions with native speakers, both within and outside academia. With the racist implications

of the banner incident during Korean Week, I became curious about students' perceptions of and experiences with race and racism in their college lives. When I asked if they had encountered any other racial discrimination on campus, most were ambivalent toward or even uncertain about the concept of racism and its long history in the US Kyung-Won searched her memory and shared with me an incident that had occurred to her and her Korean friends at a train station in Chicago. When her party attempted to complain to the ticket office, the responding agent suddenly called someone from the back room to explain the issue since "they don't seem to understand English." Kyung-Won said she felt mortified and explained to the person that they understood everything and it was the agent who was not understanding. But after her account to me, she adjusted her thoughts and reflected, "I'm not really sure though. Now that I talk about it, it seems like we were treated that way because of our English. Maybe we just sounded different to [the agent]." Woo-Bin, one of the staff members of the PR Team, was so unacquainted with the idea of racism that he asked me, "Isn't it something like white people looking down on nonwhite people?" After giving me a few examples of what could be racism he went on to say, "I'm not sure. It's such an American thing."

While most students in the study were rather distant from or unfamiliar with issues of race and racism, they were more attuned to and sensitive toward bias and discrimination surrounding language—treatment that, they indicated, they experienced on a daily basis. Soo-Jin, who defined racism as "being treated differently than others," angrily narrated an incident in a course in the previous semester that she felt was "unfair": an instructor gave another classmate a better grade when it was "so apparent" she had put in much more effort all semester, while the other "white girl" had missed classes and assignments. When I asked if the professor was known for racial discrimination, Soo-Jin answered, "No. Since there are no other Koreans [to compare with]. I'm just ranting but [I] don't really think [he is a racist]. I just came to that conclusion because I don't understand why [she got a better grade]."

When Kyung-Won's previous three years in college are put into perspective, her earlier comments about finding achievement and fulfillment in the KSA become especially striking. Kyung-Won had declared that, entering school, she had no doubts about "succeeding" in college because she had adapted so well to her three years of high school in a small rural town in Arkansas, where her English advanced more than she had ever hoped. This rapid growth convinced her that she would ease right into a US college. However, that was far from the reality. Kyung-Won's first year, as she remembers it, was a "complete disaster." She was failing most of the "challenging" courses and barely surviving even in subjects she liked and had assumed would be easy. She felt that she could not say a word in class or group discussions out of the sense that her professors, instructors, and classmates were not as patient as her friends from high school. For a group project in an art studio course during her sophomore year, Kyung-Won recalled, her "White" group members gave most of the petty and behind-the-scenes tasks to her while they were recognized and credited for delivering the presentation in "perfect English" in front of the class. Kyung-Won confessed that she felt "invisible" and that her "English somehow was not ready for college." Her self-esteem was so low and she became so depressed that she eventually took a year off and spent time at home in Korea with family, exploring and regaining confidence.

Indeed, many post-*jogi yuhak* students that I have met with during my years of research and beyond associated negative, disappointing, and embarrassing moments in their college lives with their perceived English incompetency. Soo-Jin knew too well the importance of the English language in her college life. During our numerous conversations and also through my observations of her various life events, Soo-Jin used words such as "상처 (hurtfulness)" and "창피함 (embarrassment)"[14] when a newbie got the promotion she felt she had earned, when a peer at the *Daily Illini* newspaper identified her as speaking "the worst English [of anyone] that I know," and when she received a B on a paper that, in terms of content, was not even worth a C: Soo-Jin thinks the instructor gave her a better grade because the instructor overlooked the content issues blinded by the language issues.

In the field of second language acquisition, teaching, and learning, scholars have defined the causes, roles, and solutions of anxiety among students learning a second (or third, fourth, etc.) language in a classroom (e.g., E. Horwitz, M. Horwitz, and Cope; Kitano; MacIntyre and Gardner). However, less is known about language anxieties students experience in their campus lives outside of the classroom. The psycho-physiological symptoms such as anxiety, underachievement, humiliation, etc. hinder the language-learning experience of second language learners (E. Horwitz, M. Horwitz, and Cope). Such emotional and psychological burdens are common and prevalent among the students that I have met through research as well as through various writing courses and at the university's writing center. However, these symptoms are not yet acknowledged within the university's official institutional discourse.

The burdens felt by the post-*jogi yuhak* students at UIUC are created and compounded by the academic and campus climate: a climate where the students do not enjoy adequate literacy support, a climate influenced by a "tacit policy of 'English-Only'" where "the 'norm' . . . is a monolingual, native-English-speaking writer writing only in English to an audience of English-only readers" (Horner 569), a climate where international students are constantly identified with and by their English language "deficiency." The only possible outcome in such a climate is the perpetuation or exacerbation of existing deep-rooted monolingual assumptions and a self-deprecating linguistic ideology. For these students, "doing English well" was "doing English like a white person," an unattainable ideal, embodied throughout their transnational journey. This sense among students that their English was not strong enough and that it was not an appropriate medium for most communication with other Korean students meant that Korean became quite a dominant language in the KSA. This is all the more why the KSA and other Korean islands provide a comfort zone, a place where Korean language use is valued, for Korean undergraduate students. The lack of respect, and consequent injury to self-worth, in the university waters is relieved on the KSA island, where limits due to language are less of an obstacle in fulfilling a college life.

KOREAN ISLAND IN AMERICAN WATERS

In the previous section, I explored the students' own experiences with, and ideologies of, language and literacy as one of the key factors influencing the literacy practices of *localization* and why Korean undergraduates hold that priority so enthusiastically. This section explores how, despite

the KSA leadership's recognition and call for more campus integration and despite the students' own preliminary goal to acquire "perfect" English through such integration, KSA activities and programs eventually fostered more exclusiveness, localizing Korean culture and language. To the Korean undergraduate students at UIUC, these literacy practices of exclusionary activities were actually their attempt to strive towards inclusiveness, as Kyung-Won attested in the previous section, to finally becoming a respected member of the campus community. The KSA ended up engaging with an interesting and complex set of contradictions as desires for greater integration with the university community clashed with desires to build cultural and communicative practices. The KSA and its members were engaged in activities that promoted exclusiveness as they honed their own notion of inclusiveness by taking up a particular kind of US-college-student identity that would pave a way to return home to Korea.

The KSA was one of approximately 1100 registered student organizations at UIUC and one of seven registered student organizations of Korean students on campus during the period of my research in 2011-2013. With over 100 staff members, the KSA at UIUC prides itself for representing the world's largest Korean student population in a higher education institution outside of Korea. The KSA has adopted a rather sophisticated and rigorous organizational structure that resembles that of a Korean corporation rather than of a campus club. In the 2011-2012 academic year, the KSA, under new and centralized leadership, evaluated, revamped, and for the first time documented its mission and purpose within the university and the larger Korean community. Among the issues addressed, the new leadership was particularly concerned with the problem of self-segregation among Korean undergraduates on campus. In the *2011-2012 Academic Year Business Plan*, one of the ten objectives listed was to "pull international students out of the Island," or [섬 *sum*], a metaphor for the various small and large Korean groups or enclaves. To "help achieve ideal/good learning and experience," the KSA pledged to "[provide] opportunities and information for students to volunteer and build relationships/networks with the American mainstream society and the various ethnic groups in the community."

With this proposal to tackle the problem of self-segregation, according to their 2011/2012 annual report, the KSA leadership bore two broader missions in mind: one, to comply with the US college institutional ideals of personal growth through the experience of *diversity* and, two, to comply with the ideals of the transnational educational migration project of many Korean undergraduate students. This gesture outward was also signified in the KSA's membership qualifications: "the KSA membership is open to Korean students, Korean immigrant students, and *all UIUC students who are interested in the Korean culture and Korea*" (emphasis added) (*KSA 2011/2012 Annual Report* 5). Despite such explicit recognition of the need for and value of outreach, however, the organization went forward with practices that perpetuated the "problem" of self-segregation by existing as a comfort zone for so many. Throughout the 2011-2012 academic year, despite tactics and encouragement from the top leadership (who were well aware of and worried about this phenomenon) to connect with the various groups and university administration, most events and efforts by individual teams within the KSA centered on cultivating a stronger Korean circle, which led, for example, to promoting and practicing Korean language and culture within the circle.

In spite of many events and efforts to build unity and solidarity, the fact is that the Korean language was clearly dominant in all of KSA's modes of communication to its members and the public through media such as email exchanges, the KSA website (http://illinoisksa.org/xe/) and Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/illinoisksa). Thus, the KSA has been increasingly promoting exclusiveness rather than inclusiveness. In addition to the Korean language, various visual texts and designs used in these media were permeated by distinctively Korean themes and forms. The KSA emblem, the K-card (a discount card), and other displays on the organization website are mostly of traditional Korean letters and motifs, some dating back to the Josun Dynasty of the 1500s (see figures. 2-5). For example, the KSA emblem (see fig. 2) and the K-Card (see fig. 3) were designed with early versions of the Korean alphabets; the KSA emblem, in particular, uses Korean script—ㅈ, ㄹ, ㅅ—to denote the English letters K. S. A. The red dot, a vowel letter in the very first version of the Korean Writing system, was used to mark it clearly as the Korean alphabet from the 1500s.

According to the design team, much research and learning of Korean traditional cultural artifacts had to be undertaken before the final designs could be achieved. The Korean language and visuals did not come "naturally," according to Jin-Hyuk, the director of the Internet Team responsible for posting announcements and responding to posts and inquiries. Jin-Hyuk spoke of having to "train" his team members, who were all post-*jogi yuhak* students, to write "proper" Korean, explaining that "the students who attended high school in other countries did not have the vocabulary or the cultural aptitude to do the job right. It's been a few months and they are now getting the hang of it." It is not only the traditional texts to which they were reoriented: the re-acculturation of these students extended to the highly traditional Korean visuals created and selected to represent the group. In recognition of the *jogi yuhak* transnational education that, to some extent, led students away from Korean culture and language, the KSA aimed to re-acculturate students to Korea so that there is a pathway home. *Localization* then is a very specific set of practices in this case that are adapted to the resources and contexts of the UIUC campus but oriented primarily to Korean forms of life.

Among the numerous activities and events organized and hosted by the KSA, perhaps the most notable has been Career School Illinois (CSI), a four-session series designed to provide programs for Korean undergraduate students pursuing employment in Korea upon graduation. With the objective to prepare students for re-entry, the four-day, three-to-four-hour sessions (usually held in the evenings or weekends) were strategically organized and dedicated to such practical topics as "Intro to Current Korean Job Market" and "Understanding the Korean Corporate World" and to such rudiments of job training as how to take Korean aptitude tests, draft personal essays, and deliver group presentations in Korean. The first page of the 35-page KSA record of the CSI sessions lists information regarding several Korean companies and states the four "Employment *Realities* of Current Korean Study Abroad (International) Students" (emphasis added). The use of the word "realities" in Korean indicates the recognition of daunting career prospects. Summarized, those realities are: 1) that the US employment rate of international students after graduation is only 10%; 2) that most US companies are reluctant to employ international students due to the costs of and challenging process of supporting visas for employment; 3) that most UIUC international students and Korean students in particular, return to their respective countries upon graduation; and 4) that

despite the need and efforts of the students, Korean study-abroad students have neither a suitable environment to prepare them for employment nor an understanding of the Korean corporate world.[15]

Addressing these "realities," the decision by the KSA's new leadership to overhaul the group's prior organizational structure with a more sophisticated and rigorous structure resembling that of a Korean corporation rather than a campus club was not accidental. According to Un Yeong Park, then the KSA president, the intentional and rigorous transformation was brought on by the specific and concrete goals of not only "supporting the Korean undergraduate students by bringing out them out of their respective hiding places" at the university but also "helping the students to be more competitive in the job market back home in Korea after they graduate." Although the organization's Career Development Team was responsible for career related activities, the activities of the entire organization were geared towards cultivating and training the students to reenter Korean corporate society. The way the team was structured (with the director, co-director, and staff members), the implementation of budgeting management teams, the hierarchical reporting system, the strict use of titles and honorific registers, and the building of active alumni networks were all aimed at reconnecting students with Korean culture and Korean society.

The decision to focus on Korean job preparation and to restructure the KSA as a modern Korean enterprise came primarily from Park's observations and experiences during and before his time at the University of Illinois. Park recalled that in the early 2000s, when he served as an executive at a prominent headhunting company in Seoul, returning study-abroad students were hotly desired by companies in Korea, presumably for their acquired "globalness" and their English language. However, this demand soon subsided with the companies' realization that these graduates from US colleges were not adjusting to Korean corporate culture, which is extremely competitive and austerely hierarchical. The companies gradually came to see that US university graduates with *jogi yuhak* experience were more likely to quit than endure the severe environment and, most of all, that their English, according to Park, was "not as impressive" as they had imagined. When Park began working as a graduate assistant at UIUC's career center, he was surprised that Korean undergraduate students were not coming to the career center to seek help, despite their well-published struggles with career development. Park was also disappointed that the university could furnish no one to specifically help international students at the center, suggesting, if not outright indifference, at least an obliviousness to the students' particular needs and wants.

The CSI, which has grown in popularity among Korean undergraduate students since its founding, seems to have filled this vacuum. Beginning in Fall 2012, six programs have produced more than 150 students who have completed the program and earned their certificates. The demand for the CSI is increasing with more sessions, more students, and more transnational outreach/networking activities connecting UIUC/KSA and Korea.

Most of the students covered in my study began their transnational journey strongly aspiring to participate in the US workforce as "global citizens" upon graduation. As these hopes gradually but significantly faded as they moved from freshman to senior year, the students increasingly looked for alternative paths to global citizenship. However, when they realized there are no options other than to return home, they also realized that they had not been properly prepared for the competitive

workforce climate in Korea. Through programs like CSI and other activities on a large and small scale, the KSA is laying a path for the students to renew their cultural ties and re-integrate into Korean society.

The KSA has come to offer a thread of hope for students returning home to Korea. As the vision of a Korean student body integrating into the campus community and, ultimately, into US society writ large became a vision of repatriation, so has the integrative goal of pulling students out of the Korean island in central Illinois been replaced with the goal of building a richer, *more* Korean island as a stepping stone back across the Pacific. It is this *localization* of Korea—of Korean language, culture, and job preparation practice—that has become the guidepost for many post-*jogi yuhak* students at the University of Illinois and that has begun to build a framework for respect and identity at a university that otherwise has offered an uneven degree of welcome, recognition, and specialized support.

CONCLUSION

In the name of globalization, in their early years in life, many Korean students embarked on a journey abroad to be trained as global citizens, to be equipped with broader, more heterogeneous perspectives and with advanced skills in the global language, English. After years devoted to this *jogi yuhak* pursuit, the Korean undergraduate students' actual literacy and linguistic practices show that they are contradictorily engaged in rhetorical practices of *localization* rather than globalization. In other words, it is not the idea of globalization or becoming global elites that is driving the students' daily practices, but this idea of *localization*, specifically of re-building their Koreanness, their Korean credibility, and their Korean social network.

In the name of internationalization and globalization, many universities actively recruit various social, cultural, and national groups while simultaneously erasing their presence on campus in order to represent, in Prendergast and Abelmann's words, "a safe, secure, and only incidentally diverse community" (37). Part of the fallout from these conflicted efforts to value and devalue student diversity is that, once groups of learners have arrived, they may be rhetorically isolated, provided insufficient resources, and confronted with barriers in the academic and social climate to integrating into the university. As these groups become socially, culturally, and academically segregated, they are left to navigate a dubious space that is both welcoming and exclusionary.

Korea's *jogi yuhak* students' literacy and rhetorical practices of *localization* offer a particularly complex example of this general phenomenon prevalent in many universities across the US As an organization, the KSA has thus emerged in a very complex and challenging ecology. It is an organization firmly rooted in the particular microenvironment of UIUC. It would not exist without the contexts of a global US research university and its attendant complications: dominant monolingualism, depleted state funding and rapidly increasing international undergraduate enrollments, and limited academic and social support systems for this growing international, mostly Asian, body of students.[16] It is further predicated on participants whose study-abroad experiences have attenuated their home language, literacy, and culture. The KSA, then, has worked to fill the

void left by this institutional failure. Redirecting the rhetorical and literacy practices of the students more toward Korean language and culture, it has taken stock of their struggles and, accordingly, recalibrated its own mission: to act for students as a home away from home, a place in which to ground a particular kind of mobile identity as college students in a US university. The students are negotiating their liberal or rather neoliberal college dreams through seemingly Korean ways of language and literacy, ultimately redefining the meaning of globalization (by scrambling to adapt to the conditions that they haven't sought out) and paving their return to Korean society.

Work in composition studies and applied linguistics has addressed the increasingly multilingual, transnational, and transliterate character of academic worlds (e.g., Canagarajah; Horner, Lu, Royster, and Trimbur; Lu; Lillis and Curry; Matsuda). When concerning international ESL learners in academia, however, research has mostly confined its attention to common threads among international students within the classroom walls, with a pedagogical focus. That is to say, under labels such as "international students," "ESL learners," or just "foreigners," these students have been considered one large homogeneous group in need of homogeneous language support. To understand the limits of such a blanket approach and to avoid deficit ideologies that focus primarily on what international students lack in language and literacy, my work goes beyond this focus by illuminating the extracurricular literacy and rhetorical practices of Korean undergraduate individuals with particular transnational experiences within the larger institutional, national, and global contexts. The KSA and its members' practices of *localization*, practices at times contradictorily evolving within layers of multiple and fluid contextual boundaries, foregrounds the idiosyncrasies of literacy and linguistic practices that we should expect in all students.

I have considered how the strikingly transnational trajectories of this early group of students have ironically reinforced quite traditional language ideologies. This paradox, which has led to focus on building national identities in the home language, complicates both the learning of English for academic purposes and social adaptation to the wider culture of the university. As the literacy experiences and needs of international undergraduate students, and post-*jogi yuhak* students in particular, differ from those of traditional international graduate students in US higher education, they complicate already established notions and remedies for academic success at the university. This understanding of the complexity of multilingual backgrounds complicates singular notions of international students and suggests the need for institutional and pedagogical awareness of literacy varieties when institutions are experiencing an unprecedented increase in the number of international undergraduate students. The post-*jogi yuhak* students today foreshadow the more complex transnational trajectories that we should expect of international (and national) students in an increasingly globalized world. This academic version of the superdiversity that Jan Blommaert has analyzed in European urban spaces calls for new approaches and remedies to support academic success in higher education.

APPENDIX

Fig. 1. KSA staff members hanging the second banner (smaller than the first one) three days after the first banner was vandalized. Courtesy of KSA.

Fig 2. Korean Student Association emblem representing Roman alphabet (KSA) with traditional/early version of the Korean alphabet.

Fig. 3. Front page of an electronic card for the lunar new year. Literally written "New Year" in traditional Korean calligraphy (you can see the brush strokes).

Fig. 4. Korean K-Card issued in the 2011-2012 academic year. The card was a discount card, which was sold to anyone and could be used at various stores in the University community.
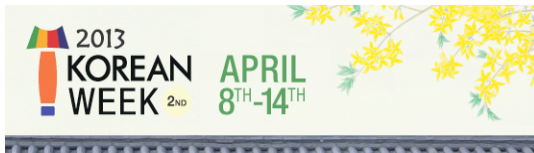
Fig. 5. Two website designs used in the KSA website: The first shows the title on a traditional Korean fan of traditional Korean colors and patterns. The second shows part of a rooftop with flowers from a tree hanging over in the right hand upper corner.

NOTES

[1] Alma Mater, which has presented the motto of "Learning and Labor" since its unveiling in 1929, is one of the most widely recognized symbols of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Located near the center of the campus, the statue has been used for displays representing various university and community events and is a very popular site for graduating students to take pictures each spring.

[2] According to the Division of Management Information at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, there were 802 Korean undergraduate students (with F1 Visas) in Fall 2014. Although the population is slowly decreasing from its peak of 999 students in Fall 2010, Korean international students continue to be the second largest international student population at the university, following Chinese international students.

[3] The Early Study Abroad phenomenon was present even before the 1990s and has also become prevalent in other East Asian countries like China and Taiwan. See Min Zhou's 1998 article "'Parachute Kids' in Southern California" and Pauline Hsieh's 2007 dissertation, "Taiwanese Parachute Kids."

[4] *Jogi yuhak* is considered a personal and familial strategy of investment for a wide spectrum of South Koreans, as a means of accumulating capital to function more effectively in the globalizing and ever more competitive world.

[5] Brandt and Clinton note that "more is going on locally than just local practice" (338).

[6] The university's commitment to diversity might also be questioned in other areas given. For example, controversy around the Chief Illiniwek (an American Indian mascot for athletic events) mascot misappropriating native American cultural figures and rituals lasted for more than two decades before the university retired it as a mascot in 2007. More recently, the controversy over the (non)hiring of Steven Salaita compromises the university's vow of diversity.

[7] For more information, see the Code of Conduct at the University of Illinois University ("Code").

[8] There are "advanced composition" courses, but these offer uncertain support for literacy development. An advanced composition course can be anything from a general education course with some attention to writing to an intensive capstone course, depending on the student's major.

[9] Since Spring 2011, as a staff member of the university's writing center, I have organized writing groups for Korean and Chinese undergraduate students, facilitated in their respective languages.

[10] For more information, see UIUC Student enrollment data ("UIUC.")

[11] In response to the increasing demand for support for international students, new positions across campus, including the Director of International Student Integration, were created in Fall 2013 to manage and facilitate International Student Integration at the university. With Director Nicole Tami's departure in summer 2015, the position and duties have disappeared from Illinois International's bio webpage ("Illinois International Leadership").

[12] This is directly translated from the Korean phrase "영어를 잘하다 (*yeongyulul jarhada*)," which connotes speaking English like a native or rather white English speaker.

[13] The acronym stands for "Language Exchange Table." Only the acronym is used in the KSA because the words themselves lost their literal meaning as the team expanded its activities beyond teaching English to Koreans (mostly to non-UIUC students) in the community. The English language conversation classes are only one of many activities that include volunteer and outreach initiatives.

[14] Soo-Jin also used words such as *loneliness, discomfort, wall, obstacle, low self-esteem,* and *limitations* over numerous interviews and conversations during fieldwork.

[15] Although not discussed in this paper, it is interesting to note that the CSI documents contain no suggestions that language issues are a factor in the low employment rate in the US.

[16] I should stress that, based on my readings (e.g., Stephens) and my experiences talking with faculty and students from other universities, I do not believe the situation I am describing is at all unique to the University of Illinois. However, Illinois may have reached a particular pinnacle of Korean student response to these conditions.

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"The Advantages of Knowing How to Read and Write:" Literacy, Filmic Pedagogies, and the Hemispheric Projection of US Influence

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KEYWORDS

In his December 1940 "Arsenal of Democracy" fireside chat, Franklin Delano Roosevelt warned listeners that Axis aggression posed a grave threat to the American hemisphere. One year later, the United States experienced that hemispheric risk first hand at Pearl Harbor. Halfway between those two attention-calling moments, the demands of hemispheric security precipitated a less military sort of action: an educational partnership aimed at enacting Roosevelt's call for a democratic arsenal that would defend not just the United States but the whole of the Americas. Starting in June 1941, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) and the Walt Disney Company made a series of films projecting good neighborliness and benign development southward across the hemisphere. The partnership resulted in animated features, good-will tours, and training filmstrips, all aiming to "strengthen the bonds between the United States and the other American Republics" at a time when such bonds were critical and in doubt ("Memorandum" 1).

While the feature films *Saludos Amigos* and *The Three Caballeros* are the best-known outcomes of the partnership between Disney and the OIAA, the educational films they produced circulated nearly as widely. Those films, which Disney later described as "edutainment," combined audience appeal and instructional purpose to address matters of health, development, literacy, and history (Van Riper 2). However, they were above all concerned with promoting hemispheric union. Some even carried tellingly "American" titles (e.g., "Health for the Americas" and "Reading for the Americas"), and their narration was often well salted with the language of American values.

Matters of transhemispheric movement infused almost every aspect of the Disney-OIAA films. In service of the OIAA's goals (and Disney's commercial interests), the films and their creators traveled widely, strengthening bonds with allied American republics and seeking to entice more recalcitrant ones. The films themselves were shown in classrooms from the United States to Argentina, from Guayaquil, Ecuador, to Rio di Janeiro, Brazil. Walt Disney animators, US-based educators, and OIAA employees traversed the Americas gathering sources and promoting US interests. Latin American artists and musicians and their creative work traveled northward to enrich the American visions

that Disney and the OIAA circulated.[1] Latin American political elites and civic leaders welcomed OIAA delegations and sent reactions north to the Office of the Coordinator. Articles published in Latin American newspapers made their way back to Washington, DC, where they were translated and placed in the files of the OIAA. In the midst of all that circulation, caught in the glare of inter-American cooperation and US technical expertise, the average Latin American appeared resolutely immobile, a subject always in need of education and development.

That contrast between a mobile, modern United States and a stagnant Latin America is poignantly visible in the materials at the heart of this article: the archives of a Disney-OIAA literacy and hygiene project that flourished briefly toward the end of World War II. While the OIAA and Walt Disney touted their goal of reaching every Latin American citizen with film-based literacy training, their depiction of those recipients as passive and a-modern marked them always as literacy's others and, consequently, as America's others.

Engaging that Disney-OIAA literacy project, this essay illuminates how literacy and film served the US government as "navigational technolog[ies]" that directed and constrained access to modern mobility (Vieira, "Consequences" 27). Produced in a moment when literacy, democracy, and development were tightly linked in popular discourse and literacy scholarship, the Disney-OIAA literacy films carried the assumption of US expertise in modern life outward to the "other American republics" (e.g., Bromage, Gross, Lynde). Literacy became [US] American property in much the way that Prendergast sees literacy emerge as white property within the United States (7-8). Ultimately, though US officials imagined filmic literacy linking the Americas through common values, their always pre-existing claim to literacy simultaneously reinscribed familiar hierarchies that placed the United States at the head of the hemisphere.

In addressing how themes of movement and stagnation pervade the Disney-OIAA literacy project, we call attention to the intertwined possibilities and consequences of literate mobility. We build on scholarship in literacy studies and transnational rhetorics, approaching the Disney-OIAA literacy campaign as a matter of both educational practice and political purpose, as a means of projecting both local skills and wide-ranging ideological import (e.g., Vieira, "American by Paper"; Brandt and Clinton; Lorimer Leonard; Dingo, *Networking*; C. Olson, "Contradictions of Progress"; L. Olson,). Recent discussions of literacy's consequences have moved us productively beyond the terms of the literacy myth and into the question of literacy's social and material effects on those relegated to the category of "illiterate" (e.g., Brandt; Mortensen, "Figuring Illiteracy," "Reading Material"; Prendergast; Prendergast, and Ličko; Stuckey; Vieira, "American"). Extending that conversation into Latin America, we suggest that under a developmentalist frame, literacy education creates literacy's others even as it seeks to extend literacy. In that paradigm, literacy moves and prevents movement; it circulates and constrains access to circulation.

The coming pages offer first a general overview of the OIAA and its partnership with Disney, highlighting the hemispheric spirit mobilized by both organizations to serve US interests. Then, turning to the 1943-45 Disney-OIAA literacy project, we examine the specific literate mechanisms of that transnational nationalism. As OIAA staff, Disney animators, literacy experts, and local respondents discussed the goals and implementation of their work, the particulars of literacy

and pedagogy were subsumed to ideologically inflected matters of modernity, development, and efficiency. Ultimately, the "advantages of knowing how to read and write" so touted by the films became advantages that accrued primarily to those in the North and in each American republic who were already established as *letrados*, *modernos*, and *Americanos* (Alstock).

HEMISPHERIC UNITY AND MOVING PICTURES

The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was created by executive order on July 30, 1941.[2] The agency, housed within the Office for Emergency Management, was headed by Nelson A. Rockefeller through the bulk of World War II.[3] In response to the threat of Axis economic, cultural, and political influence in Latin America, the OIAA was charged to "formulate, recommend, and execute programs in the commercial and economic fields which, by the effective use of governmental and private facilities, will further the commercial well-being of the Western Hemisphere" and promote the "effective realization of the basic cultural and commercial objectives of the Government's program of hemisphere solidarity" (Roosevelt, "Executive"). Concerned, as Roosevelt had suggested in the "Arsenal of Democracy," that Axis intervention anywhere in the American hemisphere would pose a significant threat to US security, the OIAA was to promote political stability, commercial cooperation, and democratic solidarity throughout the Americas. Through propaganda campaigns, "Coordination Committees" staffed by US citizens living abroad, and educational projects, the OIAA amplified Roosevelt's Good Neighbor message across the continent. After the war, responsibility for Inter-American Affairs was absorbed into the State Department, and the OIAA ceased to exist. In the intervening years, the OIAA was a small but far-reaching agent of hemispheric influence. It facilitated both "softer methods of persuasion and attraction and harder strategies of coercion to achieve given foreign policy goals" (Cramer and Prutsch 806).

While the activities that fell under the OIAA's responsibility shifted over time, the agency's most consistent role was rhetorical coordination. Throughout the war it maintained "a watchful eye on Axis nationals and sympathizers, particularly in the media and communication sector" (Cramer and Prutsch 791). While the agency had some covert responsibilities, "information and propaganda was … one of its most important assignments throughout the war" (794). The OIAA "employed some two hundred journalists, editors, translators, visual artists, photographers, and clerks, and it turned out a large variety of publications, including posters, pamphlets, comics, journals, and magazines" (794). It also "employed some of [Communication Studies'] foremost researchers to gauge public opinion in Latin America and to devise propaganda strategies to achieve specific objectives" (802).

In 1942, Rockefeller extended the OIAA's responsibilities outward in a public call to educators for a "union of our intellectual forces" to produce "an American renaissance of unlimited possibilities" that would engulf the entire American hemisphere (Rockefeller 143). That project demanded a broad-based effort to educate people in the United States about their Southern neighbors. Rockefeller asserted, "We need the aid of parents … the assistance of Boards of Education and of our schools and colleges" to increase the US public's awareness of Latin America (Rockefeller 143). Reaching audiences in the other American republics required an equally wide-ranging effort. So, the OIAA

was given a mandate that included responsibility for facilitating activities among "such fields as the arts and sciences, education and travel, the radio, the press, and the cinema" in order to disseminate a [US] American message across the continents (Roosevelt, "Executive"). The collaboration with Disney at the heart of this essay was just one part of that dissemination, but it was a particularly natural partnership given the Walt Disney Company's own interest in education, its global reach, and its fascination with American values.

Walt Disney believed that film could provide social benefit and argued regularly that its capacity for entertainment was a natural aid to education. After the war, he reflected that "[t]he generation that used the motion picture to help train its fighters and its workers into the mightiest nation in history, is not apt to ignore the motion picture as an essential tool in the labor of enlightenment, civilization, and peace" (Disney 125). Though that "essential tool" could not operate on its own—"educational pictures merely offer a new tool for the educator's kit"—it was inextricably and evocatively tied to modernity (Disney 122). Because of the exigency of war, Disney asserted, "we have been compelled to reject any move that had no purpose, any method that was cumbersome or slow, any means that could not guarantee results. The watchword was to retain whatever was efficient and swift, and to cast off whatever was not effective" (Disney 119). The motion picture, under this rubric, was a model for modern education. It "took a leading part in all phases of wartime education—propaganda and information as well as training. It explained and supported ideas, it showed with impartial fidelity the course of events, it made hidden phenomena visible, and it demonstrated the way to control them" (Disney 119). For Disney, films' capacity for unveiling truths, circulating knowledge, and connecting people was unmatched and synecdochally connected to modern power. Added to the toolkit of the United States, films gave greater heft to the prowess of the emerging superpower.

The OIAA was not the first or the only US government agency to contract with the Walt Disney Company during the war years. Disney produced training films for the armed services, propaganda films for circulation within the United States and abroad, and edutainment shorts for the civilian population. By 1943, government and military contracts accounted for ninety-four percent of Disney's output (Roe 15). Walt Disney was a fierce advocate for [US] American values and a savvy businessman. His relationship with the US government served both purposes. Disney films projected "the unmixed blessings of technology, the exceptional status of the United States, the benevolence of authority figures and the virtues of submitting to them" (Van Riper 2). These ideas were "preached, openly and explicitly, in Disney edutainment films" (Van Riper 2). The films fit neatly into a worldview where US values and US good will were paramount.

American ideals of capitalist success and business efficiency also permeated Disney's relationship with the OIAA. In a prefatory interview appended to the 1942 documentary *South of the Border with Disney* that showcased that partnership, Disney notes that the films they produced needed no government subsidy: "that little thing went out and it did a heck of a business and the United States government didn't have to put up one nickel … it was actually a good will tour for the government" (*South of the Border*). Disney's claim to have needed no subsidy is questionable, given that the OIAA paid for Disney's expenses and equipment for the good-will tours. At the same time, OIAA officials recognized the larger benefits accruing from collaboration with the Walt Disney Company, thanks to

the font of good feeling that Disney and his work could provide and that the United States desperately needed in Latin America. Both Disney's tour and the films he produced would tether "Disney's good will and prestige which are unique the world over" to the interests of the United States of America (*Project Authorization,* 4). That effort to provide a pleasing Disney facade to US government activities wasn't always successful, but it was a key strategy in disseminating [US] American visions and [US] American interests widely across the hemisphere.

"READING FOR THE AMERICAS"

Disney and the OIAA formalized their shared motion picture work starting in the summer of 1941. Their effort to combat illiteracy in the other American republics began somewhat later, on the suggestion of Dr. Enrique Sánchez de Lozada, a Latin American exile who had organized previous social campaigns in his native Bolivia and was hired by Rockefeller as a speechwriter and regional expert. Interested in promoting education and development in Latin America, de Lozada recommended in October 1942 that the OIAA embark on a literacy campaign in cooperation with the other American republics. De Lozada was specifically interested in film's ability to disseminate literacy more widely than traditional methods made possible, and the OIAA turned to Disney "in view of the high calibre of the training films and materials produced by the Walt Disney Studios for the Army and Navy" (de Lozada 1).

The next step in the process—a seminar on literacy education held in May and June 1943 with educators from both Latin America and the United States—examined an array of possible teaching methods, including the use of audio-visual material. De Lozada's original proposal had been to include "about ten Latin American illiteracy experts" and "an equal number of outstanding teachers and technicians in the United States" (de Lozada 1).[4] It is unclear from available records exactly who ultimately participated in the seminar, but it is possible they included some of the experts who later advised the project: Mexican teachers Eulalia Guzman (who directed a Mexican literacy campaign in 1923), Estele Soni (Director of the Escuela Cristobal Colon), Guadalupe Cejudo (Supervisor of Schools in Mexico City), and "Professor Piña" (an "adult education specialist … of Indian extraction"); US educators Dr. Mildred Wiese, ("authority on the teaching of adult illiterates in the US"), Dr. George Sánchez ("professor of education, University of Texas"), Eleanor Clark ("representative of the Motion Picture Division"), Dr. Antonio Rebollado ("Professor of Education of Highlands University, New Mexico"); and Puerto Rican professor Dr. Ismael Rodríguez Bou (Superior Council of Education, University of Puerto Rico) (de Lozada 5; Cutting Personnel-9).[5]

Based on the outcomes of the Summer 1943 seminar, de Lozada urged a joint Latin American-US literacy project in which films were "the central device … strengthened with related printed material, recordings and slides" ("Adult Literacy in the American Republics," qtd. in de Lozada 1). Even in that early articulation, the use of film was believed to promise greater efficiency (it would reduce the need for specially trained teachers) and access to modernity (in addition to teaching reading and writing, the films would "impart some practical simple improvement in the students' knowledge of living") (de Lozada 1-2).

Over the next year and a half, Disney and the OIAA put together a panel of advisors; produced a series of four films designed to teach reading, writing, and hygiene; and prepared a testing program intended to assess the effectiveness of the films. The six films to be shown as part of the testing program included two shorts drawn from the "Health for the Americas" series—"The Human Body" and "The Unseen Enemy"—and four made specifically for the "Reading for the Americas" project— "La Historia de José" and "La Historia de Ramón," each in two parts. In the reading films, new Disney characters José and Ramón taught reading and writing through their health and hygiene choices. José, a light-skinned, clean-shaven, well-muscled young man who OIAA employee Ryland Madison describes as "the strong, aggressive, alert type of person," "eats well" and so learns well. On the other hand, flabby, dark-skinned, mustachioed Ramón, as the title of his second film declares, "is sick." His "inferiority complex" and insipid personality combine with bad hygiene habits to leave him well behind the accomplishments of his adept, healthy, educated counterpart (Madison, "Can Films" 3). As the films introduced their main characters, descriptions of their actions "flashed on the screen a whole sentence at a time" and then were "repeated slowly by the sound device" while the audience joined in (Albornoz 28). The goal was for audience members to recognize the written words as they spoke them aloud and then associate those words with the Disney characters and their actions while also picking up basic health habits.

It is worth noting that this manner of teaching Spanish-language literacy was itself both a source of controversy and a point of pride for the Disney-OIAA organizers. Their commitment to film as a vehicle for technical modernity influenced their pedagogical choices, particularly the decision to teach reading using the "modernized global method," rather than the phonetic method used by Latin American educators.[6] In that method, Madison explains enthusiastically, "whole sentences are first learned, then broken down into individual words, rather than the phonetic system of teaching whole vowels and letters to develop word pictures" ("Can Films" 1). This emphasis on modern pedagogy— in both method and medium—did not go unquestioned, however. In a memo written after an April 1943 trip to Mexico, John Cutting—who appears to have been an OIAA staff member—criticized the choice of the global method as blatantly disregarding Latin American expertise in the teaching of their own language. Cutting explained, acerbically, that "the Ministry of Education in Mexico is using the method they are … not because they are living in the Dark Ages and are ill-informed about modern teaching methods; but because they have found that definite results are achieved by the work they are doing" (7). Despite such objections, however, the film program proceeded with the global method. As accounts of the program make clear, Disney and OIAA staff saw that pedagogical approach as part of a new and more efficient style that was linked inextricably to the equally modern efficiency of the motion picture.

To corroborate that belief in pedagogical and technological innovation, OIAA staff turned to a wide array of mostly US-based experts in education and literacy to evaluate the quality of the "Reading for the Americas" films. Those outside consultants—university professors, literacy educators with international experience, and executives from educational film programs—consistently supported OIAA claims that film was well-suited to literacy instruction and applauded the methods. In addition to providing the entertainment and motivation presumed to be necessary for the program's

prospective students, they argued, film's sequential nature fit well with the requirements of reading pedagogy. Dr. William S. Gray, described in OIAA material as an "authority on the teaching of reading," for example, emphasized that each film should be devoted to "a specific step in the teaching of reading" (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 2). He offered to send a list of these steps and their proper order, presenting learning to read as a universal process that would proceed in an orderly and linear fashion. Film equally linear and orderly form provided an ideal medium through which to disseminate that step-by-step literacy.

Film also appealed to experts like Gray and Dr. Mildred Wiese because it allowed the teaching of reading to be systematized and standardized in classrooms across Latin America. While official, public-oriented documents produced by the OIAA emphasized the role of Latin American educators in developing and implementing literacy instruction, internal discussions among OIAA staff and the US-based consultants they engaged showed substantial skepticism about relying on instructor expertise. They tended to position the films themselves as the central vehicles for literacy learning, with instructors playing only a limited role, typically restricted to guiding discussion of material presented by film. Moreover, these US-based experts tended to have a dim view of the training and ability of Latin American teachers. They noted, for example, that one of the benefits of films in which the steps for learning reading were presented sequentially was that "the teacher learns the methodology as she teaches" (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 1). These pedagogical experts preferred, in other words, to trust the authority of US-made films rather than fallible teachers to correctly transfer literacy knowledge to students. Inherently modern and literate, film, it seems, could be relied on to carry accurate, systematic instruction throughout the Americas.[7]

Equipped with what they believed to be cutting edge technology and pedagogy, the staff of the Disney-OIAA literacy pilot project headed south in the summer of 1944. They showed the six pilot films to large audiences in Mexico, Honduras, and Ecuador. Eleanor Clark and Dr. Rodríguez Bou were the primary OIAA point people for the testing phase, traveling to Latin America in July 1944 to make preliminary arrangements. They were joined in Mexico later that year by Dr. Ryland Madison—representing the health and sanitation division of the OIAA—, Dr. Antonio Rebolledo—professor of education—, and Daniel MacManus—a Disney animator ("Regarding" 1). Over the course of a three week testing period in Mexico, the films were shown to "nearly 5,000 people," including army conscripts, school children, and adults and children in a manufacturing town and a rural area (Madison, "Results" 1). These communities were chosen because they made up "a representative cross-section of Mexico" (Madison, "Can Films" 3). Before the film screenings, audiences were tested on both general health knowledge and literacy skills, with the same tests repeated after the films were shown. For the group of conscripts, both sets of films were shown repeatedly, with the health films screened three times and the literacy films four times (2-3).

Subsequently, the testing program moved to Honduras and then to Ecuador. There is little information available about the Honduras pilot, but the tests in Ecuador were well documented by the OIAA, largely thanks to their positive reception in the Ecuadorian press. There, the Disney-OIAA group collaborated with a literacy-training program operated by the Ecuadorian Journalists Union (UNP, Unión Nacional de Periodistas). That partnership aligned the developmentalist interests of

the United States with those of Ecuador's elites, and may be responsible for the glowing terms in which Ecuadorian journalists portrayed the pilot's success. In Ecuador, the films were shown to some 6,500 people in fifteen provinces ("6.500"). For showings in Quito, the audience included military conscripts, indigenous laborers, and convicts—not a representative sample of the population, but certainly indicative of how the OIAA and their Ecuadorian partners pictured the population of illiterate American others ("New Method").

Early reports on the success of the pilot project were overwhelmingly positive. The Mexican portion of the testing concluded on September 15, 1944, and a memo from Madison dated September 16 eagerly asserts that "both the Health films and the Literacy films have been successful far beyond our expectations" ("Results" 1). Madison describes the audiences as "tremendously enthusiastic" and goes on to explain that Mexican government officials present at the screenings were similarly impressed ("Results" 1,3). A month later, a newspaper article published in Ecuador touted the efficient pedagogy that film provided, noting "This new method makes the teaching of reading easy because it does not require the illiterate person to submit to the slow process of learning to read letter by letter." The article praised the project as, "one more method available to incorporate large groups of literates into the great group of civilized people in the world, thus fulfilling a dictate of humanity and social service" ("Important Motion Pictures"; "Demonstration"). After the testing finished in Ecuador, an article that circulated first to US diplomats and then to potential English-speaking tourists described the success of even just one film session as a "personal miracle" for the attendees (Albornoz 28). Those enthusiastic celebrations of the literacy project spoke readily to the existing assumptions of US audiences. They relied on a synecdochic movement in which acquisition of literacy and hygiene stood in for a larger encounter with the progressive energy of [US] American life. That such skills were attained through the bright light of film only amplified the power of that synecdochic modernity.

MOVING LITERACY,
IMMOBILIZING LATIN AMERICA

Perhaps not surprisingly, the "Reading for the Americas" project inspired copious amounts of writing in its short life. OIAA and Disney staff, US and Latin American educators, and Latin American journalists and diplomats all helped the Disney-OIAA films move across the hemisphere through the words they composed about it. These interlocutors, though speaking to varied goals and audiences, consistently imagined the literacy project in service to modern development, national pride, and hemispheric union. Because the film-literacy project provided an opportunity to spread US American assumptions about hemispheric unity and democratic progress across the hemisphere, it also did important work in furthering the larger aims of the OIAA. In internal reports, public presentations, and local responses literacy education was imagined as a means of performing American unity. It tied governments together and fostered human development. It gave elites across the continents a common role and a common challenge framed in terms amenable to the interests of the United States. Access to literacy and the panoply of opportunities that literacy supposedly

opened became synonymous with access to American promise and American progress.

This celebration of filmic literacy followed a consistent pattern, often recycling language across formats and purposes. Three elements of that pattern are particularly evocative for our purposes and will be easily recognized as familiar tropes by literacy scholars: 1) Discussions of the literacy project repeatedly presented illiterate adults as permanently childlike yet lacking the vigor of childhood, tapping into available assumptions about literacy and development. 2) The project made an essential link between matters of hygiene and the acquisition of literacy, binding them together as concomitant matters of modernity and American-ness. 3) Assessments of the program attributed near-miraculous effects to its use of motion pictures, imagining them as not only effective but life-changing—mimicking in a safer, more democratic and capitalistic way the effects of revolutionary fervor. Taken together, those three elements tightly linked acquisition of literacy to capacity for movement—in both a rhetorical and a circulatory sense. Through them, illiteracy stood stagnant and immobile, and the benefits of literacy accrued inevitably to those already understood as mobile. Whether withheld or extended, literacy served notions of economic development, consumption, and docility that privileged the interests of the US government, US companies (like Disney), and Latin American elites eager to align with them.

Childlike learners

In texts outlining the film program, adult Latin American literacy learners are frequently imagined as childlike, and film as uniquely capable of grasping and maintaining their attention. As one memo explained: "Adult illiterates, after a hard day's work, cannot be attracted, and their interest cannot be sustained, unless we offer entertainment as an inducement. This is proven beyond any doubt … by the numerous attempts made in different countries to carry on literacy campaigns, which campaigns have failed invariably, because the ways and means through which they were carried on were tiresome and uninteresting to the adult illiterate" (Clark and de Lozada 2). Latin American literacy learners would not, in other words, pursue education for its own sake. Rather, they must be enticed and rewarded with pleasure, receiving literacy with sugar coating.

While that same memo's authors emphasize that their students will be adults, and so explicitly object to the use of teaching methods designed for children, the "Reading for the Americas" films were not precisely "adult" in style. Disney's animation gave even adult characters a childlike look, and the films' sing-song narration assumed an audience of ingénues. Even more tellingly, OIAA memos and public relations materials repeatedly depict adult literacy learners as lacking maturity: unable to help themselves, awed by the light and sound of film, easily swayed for good or ill, and limited to a basic level of learning. Following a pattern well established for treatment of Latin America's racial others, the Disney-OIAA literacy films approached their audience as adult children or, at least, as childlike adults (O'Connor). Acquisition of literacy wouldn't change that status.

The panel of literacy experts attending the May 1945 screening of the health and literacy films at the University of Chicago, for example, imagined literacy learners as recalcitrant children whose attention must be carefully attracted and monitored. These experts—education professors, a professor of Spanish, and a member of the board of directors for an educational film company—were

enthusiastic about film as a vital tool for motivating adult illiterates. A memo from Eleanor Clark summarizing the discussion lists the use of music and color to "increase the student's enjoyment'" as a particularly salient point of agreement among the experts. Remarking on the special problem of motivating Latin American literacy learners, Dr. Paul Witty, Professor of Education at Northwestern University and former director of the US Army Literacy Program, noted that "he was not faced with the same incentive problem with students in the Army as we are with our prospective students." Military discipline, a classic marker of manhood, distinguished his students from the resistant, petulant Latin American. Film, however, would bring those childish students to attention, the Chicago experts agreed (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 3).

Latin American newspaper accounts of the pilot project likewise emphasized this image of the childlike illiterate entranced by the modern technology of film. Referring to the "pedagogical problem of holding the student's interest," one Ecuadorian newspaper article reported that "the attention of the adult student is completely monopolized by the pictures" while others used the language of hypnosis to describe how susceptible adult literacy learners were to the power of film (G. Vacas 3; "Important Motion Pictures").

Beyond problems of motivation, discussions among OIAA staff and their US-based consultants also consistently highlighted the childlike limitations of their chosen students. The health films, for example, were designed "to arouse interest and awareness rather than teach detailed facts" on the assumption that their audience had neither the patience nor the intellectual capacity to retain complex or abstract information. Clem Thompson, an authority on adult illiterate education who attended the Chicago showing, emphasized the need to provide students with a limited kind of material. He recommended that motivation for learning be "very concrete and immediate to the life and livelihood of the student" (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 3). Thompson was not alone in that emphasis on the thoroughly concrete orientation of literacy learners. Other respondents similarly characterized illiterates as lacking the ability to think in abstractions. They recommended that "the vocabulary presented in the first films should consist principally of nouns, as they are easily picturable" (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 1). Two Chicago participants commented on the difficulty that abstract topics, such as "health," would pose for adult literacy learners, recommending instead that films approach more practical topics, such as the cure of a specific disease (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 1, 3). Making a parallel assumption, articles describing the pilot project illustrate the response of literacy learners using examples that are striking in their childish simplicity—from an actual child who announces that spitting on the ground spreads tuberculosis to grown men who laugh with delight at recognizing a word or suddenly know to wash their hands (Madison, "Can Films" 4; Albornoz 28, 27).

Though the pedagogical point of these admonitions was to eschew the abstract in favor of the applicable, the frequency with which such commentary circulated makes clear that focus on the simplistic was not simply a matter of educational best practices. It also indexed the enclosed and stagnant world in which literate Americans believed their illiterate compatriots lived. Comments from one participant in an internal OIAA viewing of the films are indicative of a general presumption of Latin American limitation in comparison with US development. He noted that the one commonality

among their prospective students was the fact that they had "no foundation of scientific facts on which our modern medicine is based" and so could not progress far in their learning (Harrison 2).

Even when the illiterate subjects of the literacy pilot tests developed new skills through the program, their learning was still presented by experts and journalists in terms that reinforced a sense of dependence and limitation. The causes of such progress were rarely located in learner's own intellectual movement. An article published in *El Comercio*, one of Quito's leading newspapers, portrayed health and literacy instruction delivered through film as having a transformative effect because it essentially took over its subjects. The unhygienic bodies of illiterate Quiteños filling the room for the showings "emitt[ed] an acrid odor" that reeked of stagnation and lack of modern understanding. As those bodies were inhabited by the modern technology of film and the power of literacy, however, they were transformed: "they spoke the words in a firm and cheerful voice as if the first gleam of intelligent comprehension was shining from their dull eyes" (G. Vacas). It is hard to escape the impression that the light coming from the eyes of those odiferous literacy learners was emitted not by their own minds but by the film projector located in the back of the room.

And yet, in hortatory celebrations of the value of literacy, its *imagined* impact on students remained powerful. Madison, in his September 1944 report, claimed that "the audiences have not only thoroughly understood the material presented" but have also "been quick to adopt the new thoughts presented to them" ("Results" 1). Literacy, represented in the familiar terms of the literacy-orality divide, might just eventually move those childlike audiences from concrete to abstract thinking. That movement, in turn, offered the possibility of moving adult illiterates from childish dependency to adult citizenship. Another article in *El Comercio*, for example, explained that the Ministry of Education supported the program so that "it may continue to make progress in its work of teaching those Ecuadoreans who have not yet been able to take their places as well-prepared citizens" ("New Method"). Similarly, a letter celebrating the program that was sent to Nelson Rockefeller in 1944, describes the films as "a valuable addition to the protection of the health of the people who live in a primitive state as far as hygiene is concerned, in these countries of South America" (Vallejo Larrea and Arellano Montalvo).

Such dramatic movement was always placed just beyond the grasp of the actual students profiled in these reports, a common move in developmentalist literature of the time (A. Kim Clark, "Racial Ideologies"; Prieto). That did not deter the effusive celebration of literacy's potential within the Disney-OIAA project, however. Its task, after all, was less tied up in the specifics of reading and writing and far more concerned with the unification of a modern hemisphere. The shape of that larger orientation is particularly visible in the next element persistently present in discussions of the literacy project: the intimate connection between literacy and hygiene as synecdoches for modernity.

Hygiene & literacy

OIAA materials initiating the literacy project do not to offer an explicit justification for linking health and literacy. Instead, from the beginning of the project the two were assumed to be naturally intertwined. In fact, though disseminating literacy across the hemisphere was ostensibly the central objective of the project, OIAA officials imagined the health material as more essential than the films

explicitly teaching reading and writing. A letter sent to Dr. Rodriguez Bou in 1945, for example, reminds him that "the health films can be shown without the literacy films, but not the literacy films without the health films" (Black).

This emphasis on health information as a necessary vehicle for transmitting literacy education invokes, of course, the well-worn notion that reading and writing are not themselves content areas. It also, however, reveals the underlying assumptions about civilization and development that drove the OIAA's efforts in Latin America: both literacy and health serve primarily as indexes for modernity. "This modern means of teaching by movies" would directly transmit both health and literacy knowledge to illiterates, shaping them into modern subjects (Madison, "Can Films"). Lacking that, the a-modernity that suffused the illiterate, unhygenic majority of Latin Americans separated them from the assumed spheres of American-ness—democracy, consumption, and modern life itself— and made them a troublingly internal American other.[8]

From official reports to newspaper accounts of the Disney-OIAA project, the belief that literacy and hygiene were deeply imbricated in the broader experience of modernity was inescapable. Indeed a drive toward American advancement consistently took precedence over the specifics of literacy learning itself. A July 1945 report to the OIAA and the Inter-American Educational Foundation (IAEE) by the Conference on Community Education in Latin America with Special Reference to Literacy, for example, framed its work in terms of three overall objectives. The first two placed literacy within a frame unapologetically focused on American progress, as literacy training aimed "to raise the standard of living and to promote enlightened public opinion" and "to develop inter-American understanding" ("Report of the Committee").[9] Similarly, an article published in Guayaquil, Ecuador asserted that access to literacy would "kindle a light" in the mind of the illiterate person and so "[open] up a new horizon in his life, and as a final result, [add] a really useful member to the community as a whole" ("Campaign"). Individual literacy mattered, in this sense, to the extent that it moved a larger public body toward active citizenship and consumption.

A memo from OIAA staff coordinating the pilot project explains, for example, that the project they propose "is not to be a literacy program in a narrow sense, but in a broad sense. Learning to read and to write will be the basis of instruction, but the subject matter … will enrich the adults' lives." "Literacy in a broad sense" was, in other words, an ideological project. And so, literacy expanded to contain "instruction on health habits, agricultural techniques, crafts, and other subjects relating to the world in general, and the students' environments in particular" (Clark and de Lozada 1). Accessing literacy opened learners to an enriched life and incorporated them into a larger public body.

Ultimately, efforts to increase access to health and hygiene were not simply humanitarian activities. Rather, improved health and hygiene were fundamentally linked to democracy and prosperity. As one OIAA staff member explained in a memo about a parallel hygiene campaign in Ecuador: "A nation sick physically is sick economically, politically and socially" and so "is neither a good source of materials efficiently produced nor a good market for goods from other countries" and furthermore, "cannot be a democratic nation cannot hope for the political stability [sic] needed for optimum international relations" (F. Adams 1). In a similar, though more progressive tone, Dr.

Rodriguez Bou suggested to the UNP in Ecuador that while "all can learn," "we cannot expect all to learn with equal quickness and speed. People who are sick, ill-nourished individuals, alcoholics, those accustomed to receiving orders and to having others think for them, cannot react as promptly as those who eat properly, live well, and fully enjoy what the undernourished produce" ("Excerpts"). Illiteracy was an infection that putrefied modern life, a contagious form of public ill health. It infested the public body and prevented it from accessing social, political, and economic benefits. Persistent illiteracy and lack of hygiene enervated key American values such as democratic participation and capitalist consumption.

Latin American elites, aligning themselves with American modernity and education if not with the United States, used similar language to discuss the value of literacy and hygiene instruction. A letter to the OIAA from Ecuador's UNP asserted the efficacy of the Disney films for changing audience members' behavior, noting that "the day following the showing the students arrived clean and with quite a different appearance from that of the previous day" (Vallejo Larrea and Arellano Montalvo). Likewise, an article about the project by Miguel Albornoz, an Ecuadorian diplomat, suggested that literacy changed a smelly, dirty man into a model subject: "he very obviously had a bath. Moreover, his fingernails and hair had been trimed [sic]. Rafael also wrote to the local paper, saying that at last he felt like a man, and he would urge all his friends to become literate" (27). These students, becoming clean and learning to read, remained subject to surveillance by outside elites who placed their own literacy and modernity always one step ahead of that attained by literacy learners. Illiterate Latin Americans were, in other words, caught in the same double bind that A. Kim Clark identifies trapping indigenous Ecuadorians in their political organizing and Catherine Prendergast illustrates with regard to African Americans and education in the United States: already identified with a category presumed deficient, they are unable to escape the mark of deficiency. The status travels with them no matter how much literacy they acquire (A. Kim Clark, "Race" 201; Prendergast 33).

Across internal memos and published reports, literacy and hygiene were fundamentally connected to modern life for the OIAA. And yet, literacy learning and hygiene education simultaneously calcified a category of Latin American others fundamentally separated from modernity. Always positioned as literacy learners, the majority of Latin Americans remained just outside the realm of equal participation. Institutional factors, political investments, and racist structures that blocked access to effective education and undermined anti-poverty efforts ensured that those other Americans stayed profoundly other. Their lack of movement toward healthful literacy reinvigorated US American and elite Latin American assumptions of distinction and reinforced the sense that those always literate elites held a higher claim to modernity, progress, national responsibility, and—in a word—Americanness.

The miraculous effects of film (and literacy)

While depictions of adult literacy learners emphasized their permanent childishness, their persistent failures of hygiene, and their inevitable lack of modernity, discussions of the Disney-OIAA literacy program celebrated its scientific maturity, its technological brightness, and its powerful

ability to transform its subjects. Literacy learners presented in reports and news articles were passive, immobile subjects energized by the activating force of motion picture literacy. If they were moved by their encounter with the films, it was motion picture technology that inspired them, not their own learning. The effects of motion picture literacy were sure, grounded in modern teaching methods and crafted by the leading experts in educational film. That scientific confidence that pervades accounts of the program was based, however, on an untested faith in the miracle of film and of American ingenuity. One Ecuadorian author, in his laudatory account of the pilot program, recognized as much, not only describing the literacy project as "a profoundly revolutionary experiment in pedagogical technique" but also emphasizing its use of "that magic realistic art … that is, motion pictures" (G. Vacas).

OIAA records for the literacy program exude confidence about the ability of film to convey literacy and health information, but they are generally vague on specifics. Vacas may have been the only one to literally invoke the "magic" of film, but other accounts share his sense that there was something special but unknowable about the power of motion pictures. Anecdotal accounts of similar projects and their success sit alongside supportive commentary from US based experts in literacy, education, and film. The scholars and business consultants participating in the University of Chicago screening, for example, were in unanimous agreement about the films' capacity to "play a valuable part in the stimulation of literacy among adults" (E. Clark, "Literacy Film Showings" 1). Likewise, the OIAA official who introduced the "Reading for the Americas" films at a screening for OIAA department and division heads expressed a vague hope for the potential of film to directly transmit literacy and health knowledge, noting that "direct learning through pictures might be possible" because "extensive tests in South America have shown that this is possible" (Harrison 2).

Accounts of the testing program emphasized two aspects of films' power. First, and most consistently, they noted the motivational effects of motion pictures. Moving pictures moved illiterate adults to interest in learning and thus in modernity. As a report from the Conference on Community Education in Latin America with Special Reference to Literacy put it in July 1945, "the Literacy Program ought to seek to bring to bear upon the available resources of the community the content of modern science with a view towards integrating the rural folk of Latin America with the larger world" ("Report of the Committee" 2). Film, like literacy, motivated development.

Early discussions of motion picture literacy also, however, celebrated the potential for film to directly transmit literacy and health knowledge, suggesting that the films would have an almost instantaneous impact on the lives of their audiences. As an article published in Guayaquil, Ecuador explained it, teaching by film "instills the knowledge not only into the mind of the learner but into his consciousness as well" ("Important Motion Pictures"). The immediate efficacy of the films was similarly described in a report by Gustavo Vallejo Larrea, President of the UNP, who noted that "we can vouch for the results obtained with the teaching of hygiene," because of the participants changed appearance the following day (Vallejo Larrea and Arellano Montalvo).

Perhaps because of that pervasive, near-magical faith in film, early reports from the pilot program emphasize affective response and anecdotal evidence. Although the project authorization characterized the testing program as "an opportunity to measure scientifically the teaching

effectiveness ... of the Disney health films," initial reports sent back to the OIAA emphasized audience reaction as a telling measure of efficacy. Madison reported that "everywhere they were shown, the films elicited the greatest interest and enthusiasms" ("Can Films" 3). Recounting the screening for Mexican army conscripts, Madison claimed that they were "elated over the showings" ("Can Films" 2). Clark, similarly, describes a Puerto Rican woman in New York who "chuckl[ed] with pleasure at her success" in reading aloud with the films (E. Clark, "Summary" 4). Madison presents as typical the example of an old man in El Salto, who requested the films be shown again because they have "shown me how easy it is to read" ("Can Films" 3). Albornoz similarly reports the gratitude of "one old peon" who "said sturdily that his employers could not fool him on the payroll any more" after he had seen the films a few times (28). Such reports assume that film and literacy, offered together, could effect change so wide-reaching that it needed no proof other than audience reaction. In fact, there were no plans to formally assess literacy learning for the proposed Brazilian portion of the testing program, as the experts asserted that "it will be possible to observe the reaction of illiterates to those teaching films on a purely subjective basis" ("Regarding" 1).

These overwhelmingly positive early reports reflect great confidence in the power of film and US ingenuity to fluidly and efficiently move Latin American audiences toward literacy, cleanliness, and modernity. They authorize and evince the pervading OIAA assumption that the United States was essential to the forward progress of Latin America. In this view, the United States alone had the technological capacities and economic wherewithal to project literacy into the lives of its southern neighbors. This inevitable success would come relatively easily, spurred forward by whole sentences, efficient methods, and the transformative light of the motion picture.

ENDINGS AND CONTINUITIES

Those visions of motion picture miracles came to a rather abrupt end. When the results of the test project were finally calculated several months after Madison's confident reports, they were not encouraging. Although scores in both test groups increased "significantly" on health and reading, direct instruction by teachers was markedly more effective than the films were. Students taught by a teacher scored higher in all areas, and the testers concluded that "a teacher is probably better than films alone" (Holland 1). However, despite these rather discouraging results, and against all evidence to the contrary, the report insisted that "we are very sure that films are a useful teaching instrument" (Holland 1). Faith in the power of film was resilient.

Still, a December 19, 1945 meeting of the Board of Directors for the OIAA-affiliated Inter-American Educational Foundation (IAEF) effectively spelled the end of the film program. The Board expressed concerns about the expense of the project and concluded that "there are not, therefore, sufficient funds available to carry out the project, even had the results of the testing been favorable to film" (Holland 1). The revised approach to literacy they advocated emphasized cooperation with the successful literacy campaigns already underway in Latin America. Although these new efforts would be made in cooperation with local authorities, the United States would retain a central role in creating and distributing instructional materials, including printed materials, film strips, and (once

again) motion pictures, reinforcing its identity as the central location from which literacy should be disseminated.

Even in light of the disappointing test results, IAEF discussions still characterized film instruction as valuable for its ability to engage students, and the December 19 report described the motion picture as "a useful and attractive medium for creating popular interest in, and information about, an educational problem like that of literacy" (Holland 4). What persisted beyond the film literacy program, in other words, was a vision of American elites—US experts and Latin American program coordinators—united by their informed action against the pervasive stagnation of illiteracy and poor hygiene. Film, it seemed, just ought to be powerful enough to move those stubbornly un-modern masses forward.

Latin American coverage of the Disney-OIAA program likewise emphasized inter-hemispheric cooperation for progress as the ultimate effect of literacy training. One article remarks on Dr. Rodriguez Bou's ambition to "see a united America in which democracy will no longer be the privilege of only a few individuals." It notes as well Rodríguez Bou's desire "to leave bonds of real solidarity among our educated classes who likewise think and dream as he does of a better, more united and prosperous America" ("Effective"). Similarly, a report from Honduras specifically invokes American foreign policy to characterize the benefits of the film literacy program, noting that "we have been receiving in full measure benefits of the Good Neighbor Policy, translated into important material and cultural accomplishments." These articles, alongside letters written by government officials and Army leadership, were collected and archived at the OIAA. As Latin American elites allied themselves with the rhetorical aims of the program, their voices became part of the official record celebrating the modern impulse of motion pictures.

However, this cooperation came at a cost. The conversations generated by the Disney-OIAA literacy program reinscribed the otherness of those Latin Americans not already possessing literacy. Without literacy, they lacked access to literate movement and literate affiliation; the hemisphere connected by filmic literacy simultaneously wrote literacy learners out. As one newspaper article from Ecuador tellingly suggested, those without literacy lived within America yet separate from it: literacy training "[helped] the people of Ecuador escape from the disgrace … of having two million illiterate inhabitants" ("New Method"). The language of the article begs two questions: who are those two million inhabitants if not Ecuadorian people? and What does it mean for a people to be inhabited by illiterates? Seemingly, the more attention paid to illiteracy, the more experts who circulated intent on studying it, the more technology developed for eradicating it, the more fully were Latin American "adult illiterates" separated from the image of America. While the literate, modern hemisphere moved forward, those without literacy remained stuck behind. Like the audience in rural Ecuador described by Albornoz, they were transfixed by moving pictures, tantalizingly close to the health and modernity promised to those who gained "the advantages of knowing how to read and write," but never quite able to claim those advantages for their own.

NOTES

[1] The feature films Disney produced in its collaboration with the OIAA—most notably *Saludos Amigos* and *The Three Cabelleros*—highlight easy movement from the United States to Latin America and celebrate warm American connections. See, for example, the hop-skip-jump depictions of plane travel from the United States to Brazil and the immediate connection between José Carioca and Donald Duck in *Saludos Amigos*. It's worth noting as well that travel among the other American republics is shown as more risky— the sketch about Pedro the airplane's trip across the Andes in *Saludos Amigos* is laden with myth (the personified threat of the mountain Aconcagua) and difficulty (the height and frigidity of the Andes). See Dale Adams, "*Saludos Amigos*," for more on Hollywood and FDR's Good Neighbor policy.

[2] The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs took over the work of its predecessor agency, the Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics, which was established in August 1940 by the Council of National Defense. In 1945, the agency's name was changed once more, to the Office of Inter-American Affairs. The records of the agency held at the National Archives are under that final title, and for consistency's sake, we also use that acronym to refer to the agency throughout its existence.

[3] The Coordinator position was almost certainly designed for Rockefeller. The name of the agency was changed to omit the "Coordinator" just before Rockefeller left the office, and the executive order creating the OIAA specifically states that "[t]he Coordinator shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to … expenses incidental to the performance of his duties" (Roosevelt "Executive"). Surely only someone with the independent wealth of a Rockefeller could have undertaken such arduous public service without remuneration.

[4] From the perspective of our interest in assumptions of US modernity, there is something telling about de Lozada's choice to describe Latin Americans as "illiteracy experts" and US Americans as "outstanding teachers and technicians."

[5] Cutting's memo to Walt Disney, though stapled into a single document, contains three separately paginated sections—an overview of concerns related to the literacy program, a "Memo on Personnel," and a "Diary." When referring to the document, we will give pages as "Memo-#," "Personnel-#," or "Diary-#" for maximum clarity.

[6] At least one Latin American educator left the project in light of this choice, feeling that her expertise had been ignored. She later publicly criticized the pilot project during its time in Mexico (de Lozada).

[7] As forthcoming work by Kelly Ritter suggests, this sense of film's ability to control the space of the classroom and promote not only literacy but also uniform American values was not limited to films with an international mission. Educational films made for US classrooms evince similar assumptions and serve similar ends (Ritter).

[8] For more on this question of the nation and its internal others, see chapter four in C. Olson, *Constitutive Visions*.

[9] The Inter-American Educational Foundation was one of five subsidiary corporations spun off from the OIAA to [facilitate] the undertaking of larger-scale operations that required close cooperation with Latin American authorities and were financed through bilateral funds or dependent on longer-term budgetary commitments" (Cramer and Prutsch 788).

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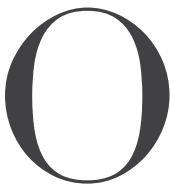Clark, Eleanor, and Enrique de Lozada. "Adult Literacy Program (Basic Adult Education)." Memo to

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Trans-ing Our Way through Matter and Meaning

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Our conception of the transnational has shifted dramatically over the last twenty years, as the research reported in this special issue readily demonstrates. When I first invoked the term in *Close to Home: Oral and Literate Practices in a Transnational Mexicano Community*, an ethnographic study of undocumented Mexican immigrants and their children in the late 1980s, I used it to describe a social network scattered across two research sites located in an isolated village in Mexico and a sprawling Mexican immigrant community in Chicago. My focus was on the linguistic relationship that bound them together socially and culturally across vast expanses of physical space, one best reflected in the everyday conversations they shared and the letters they wrote to one another. Although I examined how discursive practices shift generationally and as a consequence of travel across two nation states, the research sites rather than their literacy practices informed my conception of the transnational.

As this special issue confirms, conceptions of the transnational in composition and literacy studies are still grounded in "systems of social relations that move literacy across borders" (VI), but the focus has been amplified to include studies of the ways communication technology has complicated their formation in both localized and globalized contexts that involve individuals from migrant and immigrant, as well as international, communities. As a consequence, researchers are now able to study how individuals entangled in transnational circuits use technological advances that were not in place when I collected data for *Close to Home*. In this special issue, for example, Laila Z. Al-Salmi and Patrick H. Smith insightfully examine how parents use digital technologies to participate in and "support their children's developing biliteracy in Arabic and English" in the course of shaping their own adult literacies (48). The growing interest in transnational inquiry has also made it possible to develop the series of principles that the editors use to frame the studies in this special issue. In the rest of my reflection, I will engage three of these principles (space does not allow me to do more) to illustrate our changing perspective on the transnational as framed by the editors and to ponder the ways in which the essays in this special issue complicate it further.

While I empathize with the contention that the transnational is not a research site but "a way of looking at literacy" (VII-VIII), I would argue that it is necessarily both and more. This is vividly demonstrated in Karen Barad's work when she argues that "both the phenomenon and the embodied concepts that are used to describe [it] are conditioned by one and the same apparatus" (174). In other words, the apparatus (the theoretical or methodological tool) is not external to the phenomenon itself (the literacy practices being studied). There is always an irreducible connection between matter and meaning reflected across any research site, the data collected, and the apparatus (or way of

looking) used to access the site and interpret the data. In her fascinating study of a failed effort by Korean students to establish a translingual and transcultural space at the university they attend, for example, Yu-Kyung Kang uses the theoretical/methodological concept of *localization* to highlight the contradictions that students faced as a consequence of experiencing a very different "local" than the one experienced by non-Korean students unwilling or unable (it's a two-way street, of course) to enter the third space Korean students collectively established on campus.

Moreover, while "transnational inquiry connects micro- and macro-level social practices" and "the relationship of grassroots activity to macro-level processes is constitutive of the term transnational" (VIII-IX), I would argue that we have to be careful to disrupt this binary by acknowledging the ways in which meso-level social practices inform a transnational perspective as well. There is indeed a vast territory available to researchers between the micro (local) and the macro (global) that is potentially elided when we focus our energies on the endpoints of the continuum that micro and macro set up. This special issue is rife with examples of meso-level practices and processes, among them the contexts in which Kang conducts her study and which she describes as "both discretely and simultaneously local, global, and somewhere in-between" (87). In her article, Angela Rounsaville also meticulously destabilizes the micro/macro binary by treating the Intensive English Program she is studying as an institutional third space where "the transnational political economy of English literacy is negotiated discursively" through teacher and student talk at an institute situated on "the periphery of US higher education" (68).

Finally, it is true that we must locate language at the very center of any analysis because it inevitably informs the varied patterns that transnational literacy practices take, but as I argue in a forthcoming book (Guerra, *Language)*, language is inextricably tangled up with such other dimensions as culture, identity, and citizenship. For this reason, I believe that a singular focus on the transnational must be disrupted by a parallel focus on the translingual and the transcultural. In his examination of the *immigrant bargain* as a transnational migration narrative that legitimizes the high hopes parents have for their children, Steven Alvarez painstakingly engages in this process by unpacking a translanguaging event during which a student produces a translingual text. On the other hand, Kang's study vividly illustrates how the translingual and transcultural sometimes fail to flourish by highlighting a university's inability to establish a truly diverse campus environment because, like most institutions of higher education, it is not yet prepared to address the dramatic demographic changes taking place in this country.

If we hope to complicate our analysis and interpretation of the transnational, we need simultaneously to acknowledge and to extend the work of the various scholars in this special issue by continually expanding our earlier *and* present conceptions of this particular "way of looking" (VII) in ways that tactically and strategically serve our theoretical, research and educational needs. The payoff, as the introduction and articles in this special issue demonstrate, will not only provide us with greater insight into the challenges our students encounter in translingual, transcultural, and transnational contexts; it will also inform the theoretical perspectives and the methodological tools we develop and use, as well as the research sites we select, when we work to better understand the varied ways in which language and cultural differences intersect in a transnationally volatile world.

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Book Review   *Literacy, Economy, and Power: Writing and Research after Literacy in American Lives,* edited by John Duffy, Julie Nelson Christoph, Eli Goldblatt, Nelson Graff, Rebecca S. Nowacek and Bryan Trabold

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> Learning to read and write has taken place amid convulsive changes in economic and social life, educational expectations and communication technologies. This has been a time when the meaning of what it is to be literate has seemed to shift with nearly every new generation.
>
> —Deborah Brandt, *Literacy in American Lives*

Since the 1980s, Deborah Brandt's work has helped shape the interactions between composition and "New Literacy Studies" (NLS). NLS defines literacy not as an independent variable but as a varied set of social practices that need to be examined against their cultural, political and institutional contexts, often with ethnographic methods that can provide "thick descriptions" of literacy in action. This ethnographic framework has been adopted widely in studies of translingual literacies and the rhetorical dynamics of global political economies and locally situated collective action. Converging trends in studies of literacy, composition, and rhetoric led to the founding of *Literacy in Composition Studies* in 2013. *LiCS* was created to examine "the implications of Literacy Studies research, theory, and practice for Composition Studies," and it has featured leading contributors whose work has helped bridge literacy and composition studies. Several of those contributors are included in *Literacy, Economy, and Power: Writing and Research after Literacy in American Lives*, which examines the broader impact of Brandt's work on converging trends in composition and literacy studies.

Those convergences are clearly apparent in the varied concerns of the contributors to the volume, including Cynthia Selfe, Eli Goldblatt, Bruce Horner, Min-Zhan Lu, Ellen Cushman, and Anne Ruggles Gere. The contributors highlight how the shared concerns of literacy and composition studies have been shaped by changes in literate technologies, community literacy partnerships, research on marginalized rhetorical traditions, work with teaching and teachers, and transnational studies of literacy such as those included in this issue of *LiCS*. These varied areas of study have been shaped by ethnographic models and methods that reject universalistic conceptions of literacy and renew rhetoric's concern for collective action and situated, provisional, and contested interactions. While modern rhetorical studies tended to assume the stance of individual orators and writers, the interrelated trends in NLS and composition studies have been more broadly concerned with the political economies and collective capacities of literacy. From this perspective, individual agency

is identified with the forms of subjectivity that circulate within and across prevailing ideologies to define what is expected of citizens, aliens, and others who challenge such categorical distinctions.

The rhetorical potentials of these trends in composition and literacy studies were notably set out in 2001 in Brandt's *Literacy in American Lives*, which won a trifecta of awards—the MLA's Mina P. Shaughnessy Prize, the CCCC Outstanding Book Award, and the Grawemeyer educational award. The Grawemeyer has been awarded to other figures who have had the same sort multidisciplinary impact on literacy studies as Brandt, including Mike Rose and Shirley Brice Heath. Like Heath and Rose, Brandt published richly detailed ethnographic studies of how people acquire and exercise the powers of literacy. Brandt introduced the concept of "sponsors of literacy" as a reference point for her studies of the social and ideological dynamics at work in the learning of literacy, not only in the classroom but in kitchens, churches, and prison cells. Brandt's case studies extend over multiple generations and diverse backgrounds to track how literacy has evolved in settings ranging from family farms and rural communities to varied workplaces and community programs. As with the work of Heath and Rose, Brandt's studies have provided insights into how literacy is learned and exercised in ways that often reproduce and sometimes challenge institutional, racial, and economic hierarchies.

Literacy, Economy, and Power is divided into three broadly defined sections. The first section includes important historical studies by Ellen Cushman, Rhea Lathan, Carol Mattingly and Morris Young. Cushman's and Young's studies of the history of Native American rhetorics have been quite influential, as has Mattingly's study of nineteenth-century women's literacies. Lathan's work follows up on her dissertation research to examine the community educational work of civil rights activist Bernice Robinson. These wide-ranging studies share a guiding concern for Brandt's concept of sponsors of literacy. With Brandt's concept as a point of departure, these and other chapters in the collection advance converging lines of research that develop theoretical concepts through grounded studies. Such collaborative modes of inquiry are relatively rare in rhetoric and composition, for many publications in our area do not include the sort of systematic attention to related scholarship that is expected in better bounded fields of study. Cushman examines Elias Boudinot as a key sponsor of literacy in the Cherokee nation's efforts to establish a literate language and constitute a print sphere of deliberate discourse that would strengthen their claims to sovereignty against Andrew Jackson's efforts to force them off their ancestral lands. Young provides a complementary study of how the conversion narrative of Obookiah contributed to missionary activities in Hawai'i while also aiding indigenous peoples' efforts to represent themselves in their own terms. Other dimensions of these complex dynamics are examined in Mattingly's reassessment of traditional assumptions about how Protestant individualism fostered schooling in literacy in ways that the communalism of Catholicism did not, and in Lathan's analysis of how the African-American genre of testifying functioned as a sponsor of literacy in ways that complemented efforts to acquire and exercise rhetorical agency.

The second set of articles in *Literacy, Economy, and Power* include several that use Brandt's concept of literacy sponsors to develop case studies that include studies of translingual literacies such as those examined elsewhere in this issue. Drawing on interviews in contemporary Zanzibar, Julie Nelson Christoph contributes to the ethnographic work that Brandt and Heath used to challenge top-

down models of education that ignore the informal networks that shape the acquisition and exercise of literacy. Christoph's concern with intersubjective forms of collective agency is complemented by Kim Donehower's analysis of how rural US communities are sustained by associational groups that strengthen people's shared sense of place and purpose. Donehower works closely with Brandt's research in ways that are also advanced in the co-authored chapter by David Jolliffe and Brandt's former student Eli Goldblatt. Their chapter provides a useful case in point for considering how the convergence of literacy and composition studies has been facilitated by work in community literacy programs and related outreach activities in writing programs. Goldblatt and Jolliffe draw on their work in these areas to examine how institutional hierarchies are reproduced in the interactions among college students and the "neighborhood kids" whose literacy they "sponsor." Goldblatt and Jolliffe's study is aptly complemented by Michael Smith's examination of how these dynamics play out in English education. Smith's *Reading Don't Fix No Chevys* is an outstanding example of how literacy studies can help professors and teachers of literacy expand their shared understanding of students' nonacademic literacies.

The second section of the collection also includes two pieces that develop the more theoretical dimensions of ethnographic studies of literacy. Building on their influential work with translingual literacies and the political economies of composition studies, Bruce Horner and Min-Zhan Lu argue for "a model of literacy as translation that highlights the . . . labor of readers and writers," particularly work that creates "friction" challenging the "flow" of commodified forms of literacy through global political economies. Horner and Lu critique foundationalist and accommodationist models for failing to come to terms with the hybridized dynamics of monolingual forms of literacy. A very different theoretical take on Brandt's work is developed by Paul Prior's analysis of how phenomenology has figured into the intersubjective modes of knowledge identified with New Literacy Studies, and more generally with ethnographic methods of inquiry. Prior provides a detailed analysis of what he characterizes as Brandt's "phenomenological/ethnomethodological approach," examining the development of Brandt's work against broader "sociohistorical frameworks" to consider the contributions of phenomenology to understanding the provisional and recursive dynamics of literacy in action.

As with the rest of the collection, the final section of *Literacy, Economy, and Power* includes studies that readers of *LiCS* will find very helpful in reflecting upon broader developments in literacy and composition studies. Drawing on their influential programs of work, the final contributors examine Brandt's contributions to the sort of converging lines of analyses that move research programs forward in a substantive way. In their chapter, Cynthia Selfe and Gail Hawisher, who have had a formative impact on how composition studies made sense of computer-mediated literacies, generously acknowledge Brandt's interview studies as having had a pivotal impact on their turn to oral histories of how people acquire, deploy, and transform digital literacies. Harvey J. Graff spends less time with Brandt's work than his own contributions to interdisciplinary studies of literacy, and Anne Ruggles Gere also uses her "Afterword" as an opportunity to reflect upon how her own work has developed in tandem with Brandt's and broader changes in literacy.

This collection is full of useful theoretical categories, overviews of shifting trends, and thick descriptions of the pragmatics of literacy in action. Literacy and composition studies have converged with the emergence of interactive technologies that have shifted our standpoint from the reader before the page to the writer at the screen. Brandt's work has helped us to understand that the shift from a readerly to a writerly standpoint has involved historic changes in literate technologies, epistemologies, and economies. Those changes have taken on global proportions as we have become more attentive to the circulation of literacy and languages across national boundaries. This movement is discussed in Leonard, Vieira, and Young's introduction to this special issue on the transnational turn in literacy and composition studies. The transnational frame of study can be seen as an extension of the ethnographic impetus that shaped the emergence of "new rhetorics" and "New Literacy Studies." This special issue amply documents the potentials of following through on the lines of research that Deborah Brandt helped to set out, and which *Literacy, Economy, and Power* examines. Transnational studies move beyond monolingualist idealizations of native speakers to identify hybridized identities and forms as the norm, not the exception. Studies of globally engaged and locally situated forms of collective action have renewed rhetoric and pluralized literacies in ways that are well represented in *Literacy, Economy, and Power,* and in this and other issues of *Literacy in Composition Studies*.

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