FROM OUTREACH TO ENGAGEMENT: AN ACTOR-NETWORK-THEORY
ANALYSIS OF ATTRACTING SPANISH-SPEAKING PARTICIPANTS TO PUBLIC
PROGRAMMING

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation and analysis of the process of developing new partnerships among public service agencies and making more durable connections with local Spanish-speaking families that seeks to answer the question: *"What forces motivate and demotivate members of this minority community to participate in public programs designed to increase participants' ability to self-direct?"* A conveniently accessed but purposefully selected sample of public service agency employees and Spanish-speaking family members, especially parents and grandparents returned qualitative and quantitative data from more than a year of participant observations and interviewing. These data were coded and then analyzed according to the principles of "translation" as described in actor-network-theory to discover some reasons why certain public programs saw higher attendance from the target population. Factors such as the terms of employment, family demands such as food preparation, access to transportation, and social connections motivate and demotivate minority involvement in public service programming. However, the impact of these factors is altered among individuals and families who self-identify as information and help sources—in their own terms, *fuentes*—for their social circle. These *fuentes* describe what may be termed religious or ethical 'conversion experiences' to their community work, experiences that continue to define their motivating ideals. Some *fuentes* view the recruitment of additional *fuentes* as essential to future success, both in public service agency outreach and in minority community activism, to sustain and to replace existing *fuentes* who grow weary under their responsibilities.

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For the participants in this study, who gave me their time
and shared their dreams and doubts with me.

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morale booster, project manager and funding agency,
transcriber and personal assistant, chef and housekeeper—
devoted dogsbody,
all but amanuensis—
my safe haven, my husband, my love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

PREFACE

I hope that some who read this dissertation will be normal, everyday people who are not academics or scholars. I have tried to make my explanations clear enough for everyone, but I know that sometimes I use words that some may find strange. For that, I apologize. If you want to ask me a question, you can email me at timnah@gmail.com, and I will try to explain clearly.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In community organization work, disappointment is a daily reality. The simple models we create on which to base our outreach efforts seem to fail when it comes to the majority of our target population. We post flyers, we visit homes, we participate in community events, we plan programs, we teach classes—and, always, only a small percentage of the people we contact show up. Even this number dwindles for programs that last more than a few weeks, causing us to wonder: what is it about those faithful few who remain to the end? Are they different in character or interest than those who failed to come or stay, or are there other reasons for the disappointing downward trajectory from initial contact numbers to final attendance? We may conclude that the truth about outreach is that recruitment success and failure are somehow magical; even if we can predict who will come (i.e., those who always come), we have little power to expand this number. But there is another possibility: perhaps we can come to know more about whatever mechanisms might be at work in the lives of those we desire to serve. With new knowledge, we may be on the path to understanding the full dynamic of community organization, allowing us to better predict and catalyze participant involvement.

This dissertation project did not start out with the goal of exploring the community organization dynamic. Instead, it began with a simple outreach program model, which eventually led to a more intensive project. The follow-up to that initial programming attempt is the subject of this study report. This project was begun in the fall of 2006, as an exploration and adaptation of a public library-based audiobook club for teenaged speakers of English as a second language. In early fall 2006, the researcher investigated the original program—"Earphone English"—in Berkeley, California, via observations, interviews, and documentary analysis. The resulting model was to be adapted using action research methods to serve Spanish-speaking immigrant youth at a public library in a semi-rural, Midwestern city during the spring of 2007. That new program was to be investigated in turn via observations, participant-observations, and interviews to discover which program features transferred well and which had to be altered to serve a less urban population of a single ethnic background. The analysis was to be reported as a dual case study comparison featuring within-case analysis as well as cross-case analysis. The methodology was to draw on research and theory in language

acquisition and pedagogy to construct a reliable, well-rounded picture of each case using grounded theory, discourse analysis, qualitative case study, and action research methods.

This study was originally designed to explore and evaluate potential answers to the following research questions:

- How well does the Berkeley "Earphone English" program serve the English language learning needs of its multi-ethnic target group?
- What are the primary issues involved in adapting "Earphone English" for a new, less urban site where there is a single dominant linguistic minority?

Hence, the study was designed to contribute to the original, conceptual, and practical knowledge of diversity issues in library and information science by exploring how a collaboratively designed program serving a minority population may or may not fill the needs of its participants.

As I related in my dissertation proposal,

Many public library offerings for minority patrons have been designed with a Eurocentric view of literacy development and information seeking practices; this study will search out gaps between the expectations of the professional librarian and the needs of the minority population, as well as ways the staff and participants negotiate to close those gaps. The potential for these findings to impact diversity research and practice was great. The literacy development needs of second-language learners are an especially neglected area of LIS research, though the proportion of patrons who speak English as a second language is steadily increasing, especially in small and rural towns (American Federation of Teachers [AFT], 2004), where the library staff and collections may not have a history of effective service to linguistic minorities. This study was intended to illuminate how the literacy of non-native English speakers could be appropriately supported by library programs and collections.

Public libraries in the United States have traditionally structured their collection development and services to support the literacy practices of their patrons. The ideals of professional library service also include the inclusion and empowerment of marginalized groups—especially immigrant groups—via information dissemination (Du Mont, Buttlar, and Caynon, 1994, pp. 26-27).

Now, in the United States, the promotion of literacy in English as a second language for linguistic-minority immigrants may soon become a primary concern for public librarians.

The number of non-native English speakers living in the United States is steadily growing—the majority of them Spanish-speakers (AFT, 2004)—and the potential impact of this growth on the demands made of public librarians should not be underrated. Many public libraries have not kept pace with that growth, due to budget constraints and other impediments. However, this lack cannot be rectified by simply adding more items and programs to our offerings. The term "non-native English speaker" describes a wide range of people of varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds, ages, levels of first-language literacy, and informational needs. Those variations make the goal of delivering culturally sensitive, developmentally appropriate library services into a journey through a minefield of potential failure. (Card, 2006, pp. 10-11)

The warning found in the last sentence, provided as justification for my study, might have served as a predictor of its destiny. Along with my research and programming partners, I lived through just such an apparent failure as I had hoped to help others avoid. As the Midwestern city in which I located the second part of my study did not have any organized group to represent the interests of Spanish speakers, my local partners and I utilized all the usual routes for contacting potential program participants; we contacted students personally through the public schools, we sent literature home to the parents in English and Spanish, we left literature in English and Spanish for distribution at Hispanic/Latino-owned and Hispanic/Latino-patronized businesses, we made home visits, and we repeatedly visited and made announcements at the local Catholic church. Nevertheless—unfortunately for my initial study design—very few Spanish speakers showed up to our program adaptation meetings, and no one at all but the program committee showed up to the program itself.

Some of the comments we had received from a few local Spanish speakers as we were recruiting for the program design phase had seemed to indicate that they considered that other kinds of library programs would better meet their needs. Still, we had received some initial indications of interest from some contacts, and we had hoped to find out

more about their preferences during the Midwest program adaptation phase; and, as the Berkeley program had been such a success at its original sites, we had continued to move forward with the "Earphone English" project plan, hoping to use it at the very least as a place from which to innovate locally appropriate activity. However, after three months of work, our participant attendance was at zero and the study was at a standstill. If anyone had failed to deliver "culturally sensitive, developmentally appropriate library services," it would appear that we had done so.

Now, my research partners at the public library were faced with questions many librarians and other public servants may face when performing minority outreach. "What should we do if our best efforts do not return results? How long do we pour staff hours and budget monies into the pursuit of the inclusion of a minority that does not respond to our invitations to participate?" After reviewing the priorities of each research team member (at this point, the team comprised library staff, local Hispanic/Latino activists, and a researcher, a.k.a., me), we determined that, as the underlying purpose of adapting "Earphone English" was to develop better services for Spanish-speaking families in this community, we should concentrate on finding and offering services they would value instead of pushing a program they perhaps did not fully appreciate. Therefore, we adopted a new research question: "What forces motivate and demotivate members of this minority community to participate in library programs?"

Over time, the programming committee and the institutions we represented formed new partnerships with the local Catholic church, the local state university extension office, and several other Spanish-speaking or Hispanic/Latino employees at various public agencies and institutions. As we developed these partnerships with other public service agencies, they shared with us that they also reported very low Hispanic/Latino attendance at their programs. Their programs and ours were all designed to increase participants' knowledge and skills so that they might direct their own lives more successfully or pleasurably. Thus, our question changed to its final version: *"What forces motivate and demotivate members of this minority community to participate in public programs designed to increase participants' ability to self-direct?"*

Through these partnerships, we prepared and marketed a summer program that did see some attendance from Spanish-speaking families and received a great deal of

positive feedback from all the children and parents involved. Our success was then capitalized upon not only by the library and its official partner institutions in order to lay the foundations of future successful programs, but also by another new inter-institutional partnership, the "Summit" committee, which aims to interest all local public agencies and institutions in deploying their Spanish-speaking or Hispanic/Latino-heritage employees to connect local Spanish-speaking families with their publicly offered services. The final analysis of this study therefore examines not just our attempt to import and adapt "Earphone English," but focuses instead on all the group-making activities involved in (a) our "Earphone English" project, (b) our strategizing, partnering, and trust-building activities that resulted in the successful summer program, and (c) the attempts of the "Summit" committee to interest our existing partnerships in new work, develop new partnerships, and make more durable connections with local Spanish-speaking families.

In other words, this study is an investigation and analysis of the process of developing new partnerships among public service agencies and making more durable connections with local Spanish-speaking families in a small, Midwestern city. As such, it is an exploration of the properties by which communities are organized. Like the structure of water, the formation of such social aggregates is both familiar and mysterious:

> Water is H_2O, hydrogen two parts, oxygen one,
> but there is also a third thing, that makes it water
> and nobody knows what it is.
>
> The atom locks up two energies
> but it is a third thing present which makes it an atom.
> —"The Third Thing," D. H. Lawrence (1964, p. 515).

Like water, social organization is something with which we interact daily, but whose very familiarity makes it difficult to analyze and quantify. It is so much a part of us that we may never be able to see it completely. Also like water, which changes form to ice or to gas, the patterns of social organization alter under changed conditions. These differences offer us an opportunity: with careful attention to what changes and what does not, we can begin to understand the whys and hows of that which we do so naturally—the creation and dissolution of social aggregates.

The Character of the Narrative

Those who read my account of the outreach work and research done in this location may note that the narrative of my account resembles the narratives that may be found in several of the types of extant library outreach literature. Part of the account refers to social network mapping, though the resulting map of human actors is not included in the account (the participating minority community is fractured and divided, and as this account is written primarily for the benefit of that community and those who work with them, I choose not to escalate those private differences by delineating them for the public view). Part of the account is very similar to an environment and needs assessment, as we attempt to find out the characteristics of public programs (including library programs) the target population is likely to attend. Part of the account echoes the reference encounter literature, as it examines personal encounters with representatives of the target population, seeking to determine how a trusting, durable relationship may be established there. Part of the account mirrors the format of narratives of exemplary outreach, in that descriptions are given of outreach attempts and their results (though I relate more details of our frustrated attempts than is common).

Throughout the report, I refer to the minority community and its members as Hispanic/Latino. As I am from the West, I am more used to the term "Latino"; on the other hand, many of the participants in this study tended to refer to themselves as "Hispanic" (or, when appropriate, "Mexican") when speaking with me. Whereas one highly educated participant explained his preference for "Hispanic" very clearly, my impression is that the motivation for this self-naming choice among most of the other participants is that "Hispanic" is what their local majority culture calls them. Many of these participants work in local government or agency offices where the term "Hispanic" is the norm. Upon speaking with me, some participants used the term "Latino"—perhaps because I often used it (careful word choice is difficult when you are thinking and speaking rapidly in your second language), and I may have represented some sort of authority to them. No matter their motivation, I would have attempted to use any single specific term preferred by my participants, had there been only one. Knowing that any overarching name for this minority community will be contested by someone, I have usually used the term that many of these participants finally decided upon for the title of

6

their rallying conference, the "Hispanic/Latino Summit." Where I have used some other single term, it is the term used by the participant offering that information.

Key Terms

In the interest of clarifying the text as much as possible, I provide the following brief glossary of key terms.

Table 1-A: Key Terms

Term	Definition
Fuente	An individual within the minority community who takes on roles of helping, guiding, encouraging, mentoring, teaching, and leadership
Library	In this text, usually a public lending library such as is found in the United States; a city institution dedicated to the gathering and indexing of informational, educational, and recreational materials and to engaging citizens to use these materials through programs and activities. The library is often but not always funded by local tax moneys.
Community	The racially and ethnically mixed population of the target city of the study.
Minority	The Hispanic/Latino population of the city, though primarily only those who speak some form of Spanish regularly and consider it essential; another minority present in the city is African American.
Sociality	Face-to-face interaction.
Oligoptica	Locations of activity, such as buildings or online spaces.
Problematization	Theory of roles and motivators/demotivators.
Object	A physical entity that is not human or animal.
Immutable mobile	A special kind of object that encodes a problematization and allows it to be carried and have power across time and space. In other words, a text.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In my original proposal, I acknowledged that a complete evaluation of whether "language-learning needs" were met with the "Earphone English" program adaptation would have included a direct evaluation of any improvement in language acquisition as a result of program participation. The effectiveness of the pilot of this library program was originally assessed indirectly, via a comparison of students' school-administered standardized test scores from one year to the next. No comparison was made to gains made by other groups, leaving open the possibility that gains were attributable to a variety of causes besides program participation, including subject maturation and school-based interventions. I stated that further research into the effectiveness of the "Earphone English" program should include studies that control for outside influences or nuisance variables so that a clearer picture of the program's actual strengths can be constructed.

Instead of aiming to directly evaluate the effectiveness of the adapted "Earphone English" program in increasing English oral mastery or literacy among participants, I had designed a study that would use grounded theory, qualitative case study, discourse analysis, and action research methods to assess through participant reporting and researcher observation the shape and strength of the social constructs created via the program design for their potential to support the second language learning and acculturation of participants to their American communities. Models of comparison in the study were to be based in prior research and theory in language acquisition and pedagogy. Within these traditions, certain threads of inquiry were most pertinent; these included the outcomes of whole language literacy education, including book clubs; the outcomes of audiobook or readaloud use in whole language applications and with second language learners; and the outcomes of racial or ethnic tensions within educational contexts on the identity development and language/literacy learning preparation of minority youth.

The literature review in my proposal included reviews of the pertinent research to date in these fields. However, a revised research question ("What forces motivate and demotivate members of this minority community to participate in public programs designed to increase participants' ability to self-direct?") requires a revised literature review. The revised review examines key issues relating to three areas of concern treated

in the study report: success with and obstacles to public library and information center outreach to minorities; the roles of information gatekeepers within minority communities; and the opportunities and challenges presented by grassroots organization of minority communities for empowerment.

<div align="center">Public Library and Information Center Outreach</div>

Public library and information center outreach has generated some literature devoted to reporting research. In this literature, library outreach to minorities is presented as a tradition of programming that emphasizes self-directed learning among minority patrons. This outreach is usually an unquestioned public good; therefore, the goal is always presented as performing outreach well. According to the literature on the subject, many large public libraries are performing good and even excellent outreach in urban and rural areas. Much of the literature comprises *accounts of exemplary outreach* (Colorado State Library, 2004; Freeman and Hovde, 2003; Gonzalez, 1999; Güereña, 2000; Hernandez, 1993; Herring, 2005; Hoffert, 1994; Immroth & McCook, 2000; Nedlina, 2007; New York State Library, 2007; Osborne, 2004; Rodriguez & Tejeda, 1993; Tse, 1997; Villagrán, 2001), possibly intended as models, possibly intended to spark others' ideas, almost certainly intended to garner positive attention for their efforts—not that publicizing one's own success is a bad thing; positive publicity is almost always necessary in order to maintain ties to assets and resources that allow one to do one's job. In addition, much of the literature comprises *historical overviews of minority outreach* (Bigelow, 1994; Freeman and Hovde, 2003; Güereña, 2000; McCook, 2000; Pokorny, 2003; Rait, 1984; Scott, 1993; Sharman, 1994), or general recommendations for minority outreach, essentially *policy models* (Alire & Ayala, 2007; Bishop, 2000; Caidi & Allard, 2005; Colorado State Library, 2004; Dempsey, 2007; Diaz, 2008; Gonzalez, 1999; Güereña, 2000; Hoffert, 1994; Immroth & McCook, 2000; Johnston, 1993; Kao, 1993; Lenox, 1993; McCook, 2000; McGowen, 2008; Miraflor, 2005; Nilsen & Yu, 2004; Osborne, 2004; Yin McElroy, 1993; Yu, 2006). A few of the outreach research reports treat *reference encounters* (Colorado State Library, 2004; Güereña, 2000) or *ethnographies* and *environment and needs assessments* (Elliott, 1999; Fisher, Durrance, & Hinton, 2004; Güereña, 2000; Johnson, 2004; Spink & Cole, 2001; Yu, 2006). Some of the most recent of the LIS literature on minority outreach develops or reviews *models of*

<div align="center">9</div>

the social and technological networks through which minorities obtain information
(Agada, 1999; Bishop, et al., 1999; Durrance, et al., 2006a; Durrance, et al., 2006b;
González et al, 2005; Güereña, 2000; Hammond, 2001; Martorell & Martorell, 2006;
Lastra, 2006; Lu, 2007; Moll, et al., 1992; Pettigrew, Durrance, & Vakkari, 1999;
Pettigrew & Wilkinson, 1996; Riffe, Turner, & Rojas-Guyler, 2008; Yu, 2006).

What is known from this literature is that:

- Members of the local minority group should be deeply involved in planning
  and implementation of library or information center offerings. Special efforts
  on the part of center staff to form relationships of trust with minority members
  can fruitfully be focused on developing a cooperatively researched and
  designed theoretical model of minority community strengths and a system by
  which the center programming draws on and highlights these strengths; many
  successful examples rely on the "Funds of Knowledge" approach originated
  by Moll and his partners (1992, 2005).

- The library or information center should partner with other agencies to offer
  programs, materials, and services to minorities, focusing especially on
  partnering with agencies representing the minority's interests, the schools
  attended by minority children, and agencies offering ESL classes.

- The library or information center's usual methods of programs, materials, and
  services publicizing may not work with minority groups; to recruit, trust must
  be built between minority members and library/center administration and staff
  in reference encounters and while publicizing offerings; publications must be
  presented in the language of the minority and must emphasize service of their
  interests.

- The use of technology to provide offerings to minorities should be
  investigated as a viable and necessary component of outreach.

- Library/center administration and staff participation with minority partners in
  community building over time may be the most effective way to bridge the
  trust gap and the gap between needs/wants and available offerings.

It seems to me, especially after performing the fieldwork for this dissertation, that
all of these writers have excellent suggestions and insights. It is apparent that much good

work is being done. What I notice, though, is the dearth of accounts of confrontations with serious obstacles to successful outreach and what happens in the aftermath of those confrontations.

In accounts of library and information work, as in accounts of research, it may be common practice to tell the "good parts" version of how the work was done; this may not be to hide mistakes or inadequacies, but rather to focus on how appropriate results were eventually obtained. But we can also learn much from stories of perseverance in the face of apparent failure. From these stories, we can find reasons to continue outreach efforts when response is slow and the professional and civic atmosphere is charged with oppositional concerns over cultural primacy and the associated use of public monies. Besides the obvious appeal of the "underdog wins out" story that we like to tell to encourage our own and others' efforts against odds, stories of confrontations with obstacles also provide opportunities to learn about the nature of the obstacles that were encountered—not only outside the library, in the external arena that is often considered the purview of outreach, but also inside the library, among the staff and the board. In addition to the library research and practice readership, there may be grassroots minority organizers, agency partnership organizers, and researchers from disciplines such as community informatics who find forces and weaknesses accounted for in narratives of disappointment and recovery whose descriptions may aid them in their own work.

We may also learn from descriptions of outreach circumstances that are outside the norm. Many of the writers of the library outreach policy literature assume the prior existence of minority representative agencies, such as are often found in intensely urban areas where minority populations are already established and organized. At the other end of the spectrum are those who attempt to serve rural, migrant minorities. The community described in this dissertation is neither intensely urban nor rural; instead, the primary location of this outreach is a small-to-medium-sized library serving a small city in the Midwest. While the demographics of the area and the town itself are slightly different than the majority of other cities in the Midwest—this has a slightly higher percentage of Hispanic/Latino residents—the population appears to be highly representative of small cities in largely rural Midwestern areas, with a historical reliance on agriculture and factory industry for economic growth. One distinction that must be made, however, is

that, where many towns and cities are cutting back on library budgeting for collection development and services, this city is constantly expanding its library-based offerings. This can-do attitude is evidenced in the library's technologically modern facilities, its spacious and gracefully appointed building (ten years old but still more up-to-date and visually pleasing than are many larger libraries), and its retention of one of the only full-time audio-visual librarians in the United States. Additionally, within the past five years the library recruited an African American focus group to assist library staff in revamping collections to better serve the African American community in this city and the surrounding area.

In spite of its virtues, the this library has no history of successful outreach to Spanish speakers or to any linguistic minority. A recent mandate from the city's progressive mayor and community advisory committees establishes outreach to minorities by city agencies as one of the key foci of the next few years. With this mandate in mind, the public library director, the main children's librarian, and the audio-visual librarian all enthusiastically embraced the possibilities encapsulated in the creation of an "Earphone English"-based audiobook club at their site.

Hispanics/Latinos have become our fastest growing ethnic minority and our largest linguistic minority, and the proportion of Spanish-speaking patrons who speak English as a second language is steadily increasing, especially in small and rural cities (AFT, 2004). The ongoing effects of this process are visible as the city described in this study attempts to adapt its resources and services to meet the needs of these new potential library users. As neither an intensely urban nor an intensely rural area, the situation of this city is not represented by the majority of the extant literature on library outreach; as a semi-rural city with a steadily increasing proportion of Spanish speaking residents, it shares characteristics with many other small cities that may also be experiencing such an increase and an associated gap in services. An account such as mine may be of interest both as an anomaly and as an example of what may occur.

Information Gatekeepers in Minority Communities

In any kind of information center outreach, much can be accomplished by identifying and allying with the minority community's already functioning information gatekeepers. These individuals are those to whom less well-connected others go for

information and help to access required resources. Gatekeepers choose from all the information and resources at their disposal which options to offer the seeker; thus, through gatekeepers, the range of choices is narrowed from the wide variety that exists to a few that may serve the immediate need of the less well-connected other (Shoemaker, 1991).

To those trained in library and information service, this definition may seem unproblematic. However, Barzilai-Nahon (2008) notes that, while the term "gatekeeper," coined by sociologist Kurt Lewin (1947, 1951) has been used since the late forties to denote individuals with control over access to motivators for social change, "there is a lack of agreement on who *network gatekeepers* are and what *gatekeeping* is; and why should it matter?" (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008, p. 1493). For example, as Barzilai-Nahon reviews the traditional literature of information science, management, and communication, she identifies several subjective factors that influence how information is selected by a gatekeeper (personal judgment and trusted status of the gatekeeper; visual nature, size and number, and clarity of information sources; external constraints such as cost of access, time required for access, mechanical production of information, and availability of assistive technology), who a gatekeepers is and how that person functions in the organization or network (structure of institutional environment, including whether there are opinion leaders and if group consensus or market pressure is a factor in information seeking; functional roles of gatekeepers in a flow of information; established policy governing behavior; the threshold value of information; and professional standards); and what sort of information is moderated via certain types of gatekeeping activity (non-visual, hard-to-access, lower immediate value, less newsworthy, less culturally accepted information is more likely to experience gatekeeping) (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008, p. 1495).

Barzilai-Nahon's contribution to this literature is a formal theory and base vocabulary by which network gatekeepers and their varied activities can be identified. In her base vocabulary, a *gate* is a way into or out of a network or part of a network. *Gatekeeping* is the moderation of information flow through a gate. *Gated* is an identifier for an individual, group, or other network section to which information flow is moderated by a gatekeeper. A *gatekeeping mechanism* is any formal means by which gatekeeping is

accomplished, including material and theoretical constructs (tools, methodologies, etc.). A *network gatekeeper* is some body or unit that has discretionary power over information flow through a gate.

While Barzilai-Nahon supplies descriptors of specific types of gatekeeping activities and gatekeeping mechanisms, the inquiry into motivating and demotivating factors that is described in the present study did not examine the processes of community gatekeeping activities in such depth. Nonetheless, Barzilai-Nahon's descriptors of the authority and functional dimensions of gatekeepers are noteworthy here. In her theoretical model of information gatekeeping, gatekeepers are identified by their authority through their positions in government, industry, institutions and social networks, and families or personal domains. They are also identified by their functional dimensions as infrastructure providers, owners of authority sites ("An authority site is a professional term in the data-analysis field that refers to a site that is linked to by many other sites"), and designated or self-chosen administrators and moderators (p. 1499).

If they lack formal structures to confer gatekeeping status, minority communities develop informal structures to do so, including information and referral traditions and the reliance on bilingual children as translators. Information and referral traditions may center on recognized community leaders such as patriarchs and matriarchs, or on recognized leadership institutions such as churches and schools. Technology such as radio or television may provide information as well as direction to information sources. Volunteering or word of mouth referral also plays a role (Courtright, 2005; Metoyer-Duran, 1993; Patterson & Marsiglia, 2000). Abrahamson and Fisher (2007) offer a model of such "lay information mediary behavior" that includes actors who create information needs, the resulting information seekers, the lay mediaries, the information systems and professional mediaries, and the other stakeholders who may be affected by lay mediary behavior, including networks of all kinds. Their model delineates information seeking stages; contexts; characteristics; motivations; cognitive, affective, physical, and social factors; needs; system and sources; and effects of information seeking using lay mediaries. Abrahamson and Fisher describe their model as "general," and so it is; I find Barzilai-Nahon's (2008) general model to be better articulated and more concrete, and just as for describing lay gatekeeping as for formal/professional gatekeeping.

The information and referral traditions of a library or information center may be highly formalized; in a minority community, while traditional designations of authority (such as age, sex, or marital status) may usually establish credibility and reliability, the escalated value of any information available via a potential gatekeeper may be enough to give that individual status that is otherwise "undeserved." One example of this potential is in the practice frequently reported to me in this study of reliance on one's bilingual children to translate for parents in contacts with majority-culture institutions such as schools, hospitals, and stores. When the parents rely on the children in this way, children are placed in a position of some authority; they choose the words by which their parents come to understand the situation at hand. Sung (1987) describes the result as a reversal of parent-child roles. Chu (1999) encourages library and information center staff to respect and support these children's gatekeeper roles by providing appropriate information to them for their families. While in some minority communities, bilingual teenagers have expanded their family information gatekeeper roles into community activism (Berg & Schensul, 2004; Bishop & Molina, 2004; Ramos-Zayas, 2003), teenagers have not yet taken on any roles of minority community authority outside their own households in the city described in the present study.

Fuentes

The "gatekeeping" I observed among the target minority community both corresponds with and differs from aspects of these gatekeeper models. Individuals did function as information gatekeepers according to the Barzilai-Nahon model as they represented their employers or served as translators. In contrast, these same individuals regularly took on a variety of helping behaviors that do not correspond fully with any of the models offered above: behaviors such as guiding, learning together, advising, mentoring, encouraging, accepting new responsibilities on an *ad hoc* basis, cooperating, and voluntarily assuming temporary or long term leadership roles. These behaviors characterize a community role that some of these individuals identify as a *fuente*—a fountain or a resource for others. *Fuentes* are not solely gatekeepers, though they may also function as such.

15

Grassroots Minority Community Organization

While public library and information center outreach is often structured to support self-motivated learning by minority members, grassroots organizing for minority empowerment emphasizes active participation in organizing work by minority community members, resulting in different models of behavior and expectations. A primary difference rests in the location of the center of power; in institutional outreach to minorities, though it may be assumed that minority patrons are "in charge" of supplying their own informational needs with the help of center resources and staff, that supply process is nevertheless greatly predetermined by the structure, process, and priorities of the center itself. In order to obtain access via the center, individuals must comply with the center's procedural rules. In grassroots community organizing, the structures, processes, and priorities that determine how and which resources may be obtained are the primary object of negotiation, and so existing norms in these areas are *being contested* while new structures are *being theorized* and/or *being created and tested*. Established institutions may bestow or withhold privileges in relation to individuals' compliance; grassroots organizers, on the other hand, may begin from a point of a lack of access—the goods that are desired are not the goods that the organizers can immediately supply. Those who have somewhat greater access than others may not share that access in a way that other organizers consider equitable. Thus, that which ensures compliance with established institutions may become a point of divisive contention in grassroots movements. Just as individuals may be barred from information and resource access within institutions or groups because of gender, race, class, ability/disability, religious affiliation or beliefs, residential location, or other markers of difference or alliance, so these types of indicators may also be used to bar individuals or groups from access to information and resources within grassroots organization movement (Berryhill & Linney, 2000, 2006; Bond, 1999; Heller, 1990; Maton & Salem, 1995; Pilisuk, McAllister, & Rothman, 1996; Speer et al., 1995). Such barriers to access as a result of intraminority differences became a key point of contention in the community organizing activity described in the present study.

Especially in multiethnic communities, some identity indicators, such as race, nationality, language, or gender may be present in multiples within individuals or small groups; a single mother may behave and speak in an adult, "white" way at work but take

on markers of youthfulness and minority ethnicity in the home she shares with her parents, siblings, and children. Inclusion of these multiple identities may require inventive processes to broaden acceptance of difference within an organizing movement (Harrell & Bond, 2006; Jackson, 1993; Lee & Calvin, 2006; Riger, 1993). Where grassroots organizing enables access, the rewards can be great. Cordero-Guzmán (2005) points out that immigrant community-based organizations can help individuals encounter and establish legal residency with family members, facilitate adaptation to and use of social services; serve as go-betweens and advocates for immigrant communities with public service institutions and granting agencies; and maintaining relations between immigrant communities and their countries of origin.

Where community-based organizations already exist, they may provide library and information centers with useful and appropriate connections between the resources such centers provide and the minority communities in question (see "Public Library and Information Center Outreach," above). In multiethnic communities where such grassroots organizations do not yet exist, the trust and access to information about that minority community that are necessary in order to provide appropriate programming and services may be yet to be developed. The latter was the case in the target community at the beginning of this study.

Miller (2004) questions the depth and directionality of the trust and access established between community researchers and the refugee communities they may study, warning that such relationships may be both flimsy and majority-serving, resulting in the gathering of false data from communities "that have developed a self-protective insularity in response to their experiences of marginalization and oppression" (p. 217). However, the development of a self-protective insularity may occur in a variety of marginalized communities, not just those of refugees. In institutions such as public libraries and information centers, where models of outreach may rely heavily on the initiative of patrons to self-direct, that self-protective insularity may not just keep such marginalized patrons out of the library, which may appear to be a center of majority activity; this insular behavior may also be used as a rationale for anti-outreach prejudice among library administration, boards, and staff, who argue against "overhelping" those who appear not to want such help. Because insular minority communities require so

much work and such different behaviors than have been required to serve other, more accessible populations, the formation of those initial bonds of trust and access between minorities and the library may be resisted with great determination by library personnel. Some such resistance was met with in the library that partnered with me on this study; though somewhat mitigated, that resistance on the part of some personnel was still in effect at the close of the study term.

The Theoretical Lens: Actor-Network-Theory

Now ye may suppose that this is foolishness in me; but behold I say unto you, that by small and simple things are great things brought to pass; and small means in many instances doth confound the wise. (The Book of Mormon, Alma 37:6)

In order to focus the study report as closely as possible on answering the research question ("What forces motivate and demotivate members of this minority community to participate in public programs designed to increase participants' ability to self-direct?"), I have chosen actor-network-theory (ANT) as the theoretical/philosophical lens through which to approach, organize, and interpret the data. ANT does not simply look at the context within which such choices to participate are made; ANT posits that the participation or lack thereof simultaneously creates and is reality itself (no division into "participant entity" and "context"), and that the trail of action illustrates the motivating and deflecting power of all the entities that create that reality. This attention to all motivating action means that ANT looks closely at the "power to affect" of some behaviors that other paradigms might assign to the realm of "context."

Alternatives to ANT

Freirean Pedagogy

A Freirean pedagogical theory could arguably be applied in this study instead of ANT. Freirean principles (Freire, 1970/2000) assert that oppressed peoples become more empowered as they become self-aware and self-valuing and take action to direct and own themselves, against the objectifying gaze of the oppressor. The activity described in this study is efforts to achieve and share such empowerment. Freire says that all knowledge must be cooperatively contextualized by the students in conjunction with the external

experts during the course of true education. One of the key principles learned by program organizers in this study is that decontextualized knowledge has very little power to move minority families to action; minority parents want public programs that have to do with their everyday lives, interests, and needs. Additionally, the minority individuals in this study who were actively engaged in developing programming to share knowledge with others were more likely to engage in helping activity on other fronts, possibly demonstrating that community engagement is liberating and leads to further action. Finally, Freire claims that one does not liberate people by objectifying them, essentially alienating them. One of my primary takeaway principles from the early part of this study is that organizing an investigation around abnormal activity (i.e., interruptions of daily schedules or normal family vehicle use) is a way of alienating one's target population. I alienated and objectified them by trying to make them do what I wanted instead of asking them what they wanted.

On the other hand, I found that I could not take what the participants wanted as gospel, primarily because there were many participants, all with their particular priorities, and I could not serve them all equally. Their various knowledges might overlap, but I could not negotiate consensus. As Bartlett (2005, p. 360) has pointed out, Freirean pedagogy assumes that those to be liberated share a common knowledge. To some general and superficial extent, this may be true, but I also found many distinctions between the participant worldviews I would have expected to be similar. In short, Freirean pedagogy was not chosen for the theoretical lens for this study because its model of knowledge making and sharing did not fully match what occurred in the course of the study, though it provided valuable insight. ANT mirrors more exactly the actual investigation process and therefore offers more possibility for accurately reporting what was learned.

Asset-Based Community Development

Asset-based community development is another viable approach that has much in common with Freirean pedagogy. This development theory emphasizes community change that is motivated and organized from within and that draws on the strengths of the community membership rather than focusing on their deficiencies. Their weaknesses are thus addressed through goal-oriented and hope-driven application of their strengths.

Relying on appreciative inquiry into the gifts and dreams of the members of the community, relationship building within the community as well as with external individuals and agencies, participatory engagement in problem solving and in government, and economic development focusing on using the community's own resources (Bohach, 1997; Capece & Schantz, 2000; Cunningham & Mathie, 2002). This theory could be fruitfully applied to aspects of the inquiry described in this study, especially to my relationships with the Commissioner and her daughter.

However, there are many points at which the activities described diverge for long periods from the asset-based community model; one key obstacle to applying this model during the program organizing process was the rudimentary nature and slow growth of the relationships between the target families and me and my fellow organizers. We simply did not have strong enough relationships to make very much community-motivated organizing happen during the time allotted for the study. A follow-up study could explore over a longer period the possibilities suggested by this theory. This theory, too, supplies a strong model for activity that, if applied to this case, could mold the account into describing a more developed version of asset-based community building than was actually in place here.

Community Organizing Theory

Community organizing theory speaks directly to certain of my long term goals in this city. Community organizing has historically been concerned with the development of strong social ties, economic strength, self-motivation, self-help, and self-government, and the increased ability to provide a community presence that attracts positive attention and considerations from the local government (Biklen, 1983; Smith, 2009). These were indeed some of the goals that moved me to do the work here. However, the theories of community building—and there are many local ones—appear to treat a more farsighted, long term project that I was capable of maintaining here. While community organizing shares many of the same long term goals with me, my work only covers a small section of such a process, and thus requires a finer lens to unpick and understand it.

Behaviorist Theory

Behaviorist theory (Hauser, 2006; Graham, 2007) has much in common with actor-network-theory. Both theories focus on the physical evidence of the processes under inquiry. Both emphasize the power of events and material changes external to an organism in moving that organism to action. Both are interested in types of association—behaviorism in associations of event and response, ANT in assocations between physical entities. But behaviorism is interested in finding laws of causation to describe how and why associations are made, whereas ANT concerns itself with individual, particular causes of association. ANT also includes inanimate objects as potential actors, while behaviorism treats the psychology of organisms. Therefore, behaviorism excludes a potentially large number of actors that I wished to consider in my study, and it is concerned with discovering the general where I am concerned with discovering the particular.

Why ANT for this Study?

ANT is a powerful lens through which to study a case when what is desired is an account that comes as close as possible to accurately representing that trail of action, therefore highlighting the actively forceful (or weak) entities involved. Most theoretical frameworks that are applied in social science require the researcher to assign entities to roles *a priori*—for example, an investigation of the environment and needs of users relies on a framework that designates some entities as environment and some as active users of information, i.e., context and participants. This *a priori* assigning of roles relegates certain potential forces to less impactful (and therefore less noticed) roles without giving them the chance to show what they can do. This eliding of entities is not always a bad thing; in a relatively stable network of actors, one that is very like many other, deeply studied networks, a theoretical framework allows the researcher to ignore what has already been determined to be less impactful and focus on the phenomena that stand out. However, in a situation where events do *not* fall out according to plan, attention to all potential forces can show up activity that the *a priori* imposition of a fixed theoretical framework may have caused us to miss.

Though actor-network-theory has raised many eyebrows over the course of its 30-year existence, it has found a respected place in critical theory. It does what it sets out to

do: it works to fill a gap in our knowledge. Critical discourse analysts Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2001, p. 19) describe a view of critical theory that includes many levels of analysis, including epistemology, structuralist and individualist perspectives on general social theory, middle-range theory, micro-sociological theory, socio-psychological theory, discourse theory, and linguistic theory. Their purpose in listing all these categories of analysis is to explain how critical discourse analysis uses all of these theories in one way or another. Actor-network-theory is able to work at all of these levels as well, except that ANT seeks to describe what CDA seeks to explain. This is one example of how ANT serves the work of inquiry—it calls the basic work of finding out what is there equally important as the work of projecting what may exist in one location onto another.

The primary strengths that ANT has to offer the present analysis are:

- The focus on attending first to what is actually present in the data, as opposed to testing a theory against the data;
- The attention to material transformations of enactments of power into new ties and practices; and
- The ability through these foci to open opportunities to reassemble social collectives in more equitable or desirable ways.

The implementation of the original study design showed considerable gaps in our knowledge of all three of these points; however, our subsequent innovation gave rise to much information that is highly pertinent to each. Fittingly, ANT provides a philosophical lens that serves both the purpose of the activity under observation as well as the purpose of the observation itself.

Limitations and Opportunities Offered by ANT

The attention that ANT places on the multiplicity of actions and realities makes it very difficult to tell one story all the way through. There is an embedded interest in ANT in pursuing tangents, pursuing the line of action, much as if the actors were billiard balls in play—the cue hits one ball, which hits another, which hits another, and so on until the active ball disappears down a pocket. The attention is always on the active ball. What happens to the balls or cue when they are not directly involved in play is mostly irrelevant. Thus, an ANT investigation may not be able to provide a "whole picture" in

the way that we may be used to reading these pictures; it does not focus on a few central players and tell their story in the linear way of a more traditional narrative. What I find is lost as a result of this attention to tangent is deep characterizations of the actors in the study. The human activity is there, but deep inquiry into the mental or emotional lives of these actors is excluded from the account. While I find it interesting that an ANT account can provide thorough and reasonable explanations for all the activity under study, without delving into psychology, I still consider more psychological examinations a useful source of additional information.

Neither is ANT very good at providing useful analyses of embedded procedures when all is going well. Because it relies on surprise, beginnings, fault, or failure to bring actors to light, ANT is suited for investigations into disruption rather than continuation. These strengths are described in the section, "What ANT Is Good For," below.

The Philosophical Premises of ANT

Actor-network-theory (ANT) was initially the brainchild of a few French and British philosophers and sociologists but is now informing and informed by work across a wide range of disciplines. Law (1997), one of the key summarists of ANT work, resists the temptation to make more than superficial generalizations about ANT, pointing out that a core ANT premise is that the individual cannot be made general, either by qualitative or quantitative means, without betraying the former's reality.

Social scientists Calás and Smircich (1999) place ANT among a family of recent theoretical and methodological (essentially, paradigmatic) trends drawing on postmodern and poststructuralist theory open new spaces for meaningful research with new possibilities for political and intellectual impact. ANT has much in common with semiotics, phenomenology, and ethnomethodology, among other traditions (Latour & Woolgar, 1979/1986; Calás & Smircich, 1999; Latour, 2005/2007). It is concerned first and foremost with the processes by which both meaning is made and the material world is performed; and, as befits a movement with postmodern, poststructuralist roots, it attempts to avoid overlaying assumptions on the data that might impede the researcher's, reader's and participant's ability to come to grips with the actual phenomena at hand. However, Latour (1993) clarifies that ANT is nonmodern rather than postmodern; it

draws heavily on philosophical and theoretical perspectives that emerged prior to modernity, and so does not react against modernity so much as sidestep it.

ANT asserts that performance establishes meaning and that such performances are the means by which power is enacted. While ANT agrees that some individuals wield more power than others, it does not agree that these asymmetries of power are unchangeable or arbitrary. Rather, ANT asserts that power asymmetries come only at great effort, that there is no such thing as "social capital" that is not enacted through such effortful performance, and that the asymmetries that result from effortful performance always demonstrate a tendency to revert to a former state or to seek new geometries. This tendency to betray one's organizer by seeking new alliances stems from the fact that, in this existence at least, no alliance is perfectly representative of the interests of each of its members. The members, called "actors" or "actants," seek always better representations of their interests, and thus demonstrate their ability to collude with or hold apart from an invitation to be organized and put to use—this ability is termed their "agency" (Callon, 1980; Callon & Latour, 1981; Callon & Law, 1982; Latour, 1988, 2005/2007).

In part due to its recognition of the unique character of each actor/actant (Latour, 1988), ANT affirms the uniqueness of any particular phenomenon to be studied and asserts that, in all human knowledge-making, generalization is possible only through analogical leaps—not *logical* in the traditional sense at all—by which key characteristics of one phenomenon are judged to be sufficiently similar to another phenomenon as to make it worthwhile to *take the chance* of applying strategies derived from the first situation within the second (Latour & Woolgar, 1979/1986).

As Calás and Smircich point out (1999, p. 663), ANT does have some points in common with Foucoult's ideas of "power/knowledge," and "actants" who carry out power plays within a field of action that ANT refers to as the "network." In fact, it is those power plays which *are* the network. This network is not a social phenomenon, particular to social aggregates such as "society"; rather, the network is the making of those connections between humans and non-humans which create and remake those social aggregates. In ANT, there is no such thing as "social stuff" from which ties are made, though ties may be substantial and durable (Latour, 1988; Latour 2005/2007). Rather, Latour explains, "social, for ANT, is the name of a type of momentary

association which is characterized by the way it gathers together into new shapes" (Latour 2005/2007, p. 65). He reaffirms, "I am going to define the social not as a special domain, a specific realm, or a particular sort of thing, but as a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling" (p. 7).

Latour points out that social ties connect more than human actors. Shifting interpersonal ties to other kinds makes the network more durable and less local (Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 1988; Latour, 2005/2007). In essence, networks are performed by making connections with materials, human and non-human, and these connections can leave traces that make visible and durable the effects of thought, emotion, or speech. That which is invisible and immaterial is of little interest in ANT because such "things" cannot be tested or proven, and, having no body with which to resist or enact manipulation, may be said to be inert in this material world, if it exists here at all (Latour & Woolgar, 1979/1986; Latour, 1988; Latour 2005/2007).

It is foundational to ANT that we as actors can only know what is real by interacting with other actors (such as people, things, processes, and ideas) and finding out what resists our manipulations. Reality is defined as "that which resists." Pure logical analysis, separate from experience with resistance, cannot produce knowledge (Latour, 1988). ANT implies that primary experience and therefore knowledge is gained via our senses. There is knowledge we derive from our own experience, and there is knowledge we derive from experiencing the transmission of knowledge from others, though this transmission is always faulty (Callon & Law, 1982; Law, 1997). But because no thing is or can completely replace any other material thing—no thing can ever *be* any other thing and fully experience what it experiences—we are always limited to knowing only what we ourselves can sense, including the material representations of conclusions about reality reached by others, such as may be presented in an academic paper. We are limited to only that information (all of which, even "raw data," is persuasive of perspective) about other entities which is delivered to us via our attempts at manipulating/resisting those entities as we touch, hear, see, taste, or smell. Thus, our *knowledge* about reality is always the result of *a choice to believe.* We choose a meaning for what we experience, or we accept a meaning we think is offered by someone else. Our reasons for belief are motivated by that which we are willing to understand. There is no knowledge without

belief or trust; there is no belief or trust that is not motivated by one's circumstances and interests. Essentially, ANT says that belief is knowledge (Latour, 1988).

Describing the Network

ANT calls the aggregates/asymmetries by which both knowledge is created and power is brought to bear, "networks"—networks that are not *established* in the static sense but rather are performed, over and over again else they disintegrate. A network is performed via a process called "translation"; this term refers to a translation of terms, of identities, and of interests into a new entity or entities distinct from the old, sometimes indistinguishable as individual units working as a whole . . . until something happens to interrupt the performance of the network

There is considerable overlap in ANT between the idea of "network" as something the analyst creates in order to make sense of the data and "network" as a process to be studied by the analyst (Calás & Smircich, 1999). For example, the process of writing this dissertation is an attempt to create a network of connections between previously disparate ideas; the process of fieldwork in preparation for the dissertation was an attempt to create a network of people, ideas, and materials. A description of these processes provides an introduction to some primary principles of an ANT analysis. All of these primary principles are derived from the foundational documents of ANT (Callon, 1980; Callon & Latour, 1981; Callon & Law, 1982; Latour, 1983; Callon, 1986; Latour, 1987, 1988).

A Primer on ANT Analysis

My research process is a series of clear examples of what ANT calls *translation,* i.e., the translating of two or more actors' actions and goals into a tenuous hierarchy of identity and process that may or may not result in the achievement of anyone's goals ("translation" and its components, detailed below, are first identified in Callon, 1980; Callon & Law, 1982; and Callon, 1986). If sufficient results are not obtained from this temporary partnership, it will be dissolved and new partnerships will be formed in pursuit of better results. The actors in a situation are defined by a process called *problematization,* in which one actor presents a map of the situation that limits the field to be acted upon and assigns roles to everyone and everything within that field. Many

actors may attempt problematization of a field; the actor whose problematization is accepted and acted upon by the others is the defining actor, or the translator. There is no partnership until a provisional consensus is reached; however, every such consensus is provisional, and new problematizations may be introduced at any time by any actor.

The actors in my research process may include:

- Me
- My committee, who sometimes act as one but sometimes act as individuals
- GSLIS and other UIUC departments/schools, as well as the UIUC Graduate College and the overall UIUC administrative infrastructure, all of which place demands upon my research and writing choices in order for me to obtain my degree
- The dominant trends of thought in the fields I sampled as potential suppliers of theoretical foundation for my dissertation, as well as the scholarly journals, publishing houses, Internet publishing venues, librarians and database compilers, and all others who made these writings accessible and others inaccessible to me during this time
- The individuals who participated in my study and the institutions they represent
- Physical facilitators and impediments to my research and writing, such as my car, my mobile telephone and service provider, my health and related costs, my computer and recording and transcribing equipment, the locations at which I was able or unable to meet with study participants

Each of these actors allows and prevents certain avenues of interaction, thus assigning roles to the other actors and facilitating or preventing alliances and betrayals in the pursuit of goals. If I problematize the situation in pursuit of my degree, I assign the following roles:

Table 2-A: Dissertation Actor Roles

Actor	Role
Me	I want to master the research process; fulfill my responsibilities at school, in my fieldwork, at home, and at church; graduate and get a good job; physically maintain myself; and keep my significant relationships healthy.
My committee	I accept GSLIS and UIUC's definition of my committee as guides and advisors, but also judges/gatekeepers.
GSLIS and other UIUC departments/schools, as well as the UIUC Graduate College and the overall UIUC administrative infrastructure	I turn to my credit these demands upon my research and writing choices in order for me to obtain my degree; as I demonstrate to future employers my ability to obtain victory over these demands, I increase my marketability as an employee.
The dominant trends of thought in the fields I sampled as potential suppliers of theoretical foundation for my dissertation, as well as the scholarly journals, publishing houses, Internet publishing venues, librarians and database compilers, and all others who made these writings accessible and others inaccessible to me during this time	I determine that I am responsible to GSLIS/UIUC only for treating the knowledge that is accessible to me via these informative channels.
The individuals who participated in my study and the institutions they represent	I can assign these actors roles as research partners, data suppliers, theoretical examples, obstacles, etc., as suits my purposes. (Being "the researcher" is a dangerous role).
Physical facilitators and impediments to my research and writing, such as my car, my mobile telephone and service provider, my health maintenance and related costs, my computer and recording and transcribing equipment, the locations at which I was able or unable to meet with study participants	I identify these physical factors according to the work they may do for me, to obtain my desires or to explain my disappointments.

As I problematize, I attempt to interest these actors in taking on these roles. *Interessement* is the process of intervening between these actors and their previous commitments or interests, and achieving their dedication to my problematization. I may interest my committee members, GSLIS, UIUC, and the individuals and institutions who participate in my study in helping me obtain my degree by presenting my research ideas to them in ways that demonstrate how, by helping me, they may help themselves achieve their own goals. I interest physical factors by obtaining legal ownership of the technology or official permission from an institution or person to work on the premises (which I obtain under the auspices of a previously recognized desirable partner, which may be a generic solvent consumer, the University of Illinois, the local public library, or the local Catholic church), and offering to use what for me are the strong points of these physical factors while avoiding their weak points. I interest informational sources in much the same way as my so-called physical factors, be they online databases or trends of thought, by identifying myself with recognized allies and offering to use their resources for those of my own purposes to which they most easily lend their strength. If these actors accept my problematization, thus provisionally accepting my authority to define the field of negotiation, they are *enrolled.* If my problematization holds throughout the achievement of my goals, I have effectively *mobilized my allies into a network,* with myself as the head for the purposes of that network, via interessement and enrollment. If the problematization fails to hold, it is because the allies I identified and roles I assigned did not accurately represent either the composition of the actors or their functional priorities. I can reproblematize, but so can any other actor, including those I excluded from the field with my original problematization.

I may interest a large group of potential allies by appealing to their current lead actor or to the effective summation of the whole. In other words, functioning networks of actors can be treated in problematization as single actors—at least until those networks cease to function. In fact, most single actors are really networks of enrolled actors (again, this observation applies to actors as diverse as a human skin cell or the elected American president). Networks come to be treated as single actors via *punctualization,* or the orienting of all associated actors behind a single point of interaction or *obligatory passage point (OPP).* If I succeed in writing a coherent dissertation, I have made myself

the OPP for access to those actors I have interested and enrolled in order to "make sense" of them. I have become "the expert."

A fully successful translation of allies into a network perhaps always results in a punctualization, for the translator has organized all the disparate factors into a new entity, of which she is the head or OPP; in order to interact with other actors in an extended network, all enrolled actors must pass through the group identity assigned and filled by the translator/OPP. In this way, numerous actors become represented by a single actor; the single actor speaks for everyone in the translated network, and everyone whose being is translated by that network chooses not to or is not able to speak to disrupt this representation. External actors must also treat with the group identity in order to interest the whole . . . that is, while the translated network lasts.

And that translated network always fails eventually, because each individual actor (who is also a network) will at some point recognize that its goals may be better served via another network, and will leave to pursue those ends. According to ANT, all organization is both *translation* and *treason*—because no organization (i.e., translated network of actors) is fully representative of its members, it is treasonous of their interests. Therefore, all organization and all creation carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction, for the members will always seek the fulfillment of their own needs and wants in the end. They will stray, and the network will fall apart.

This temporary translation process is what I set out to accomplish when I prepared during that "full academic year" to perform my dissertation research, though I did not think of it that way at the time. It is what I expended huge amounts of energy to achieve over the past two years, traveling across the country and spending hundreds of hours reading, talking, presenting, listening, observing, innovating, partnering, and negotiating. If my translation holds together, I graduate. Perhaps my translation will be used at my fieldwork site by others to leverage actors into new practices of power. But the persistence in form of all I have translated into a network will exist only on paper and in the social practices which continue to identify me as the OPP for that network. The network that dissertation represents—the field it purports to make sense of—has already shifted its loyalties and reassembled itself. All that are left are the traces of its former existence, viewable in the occasional use of the ties I worked so hard to create.

What/How an ANT Analysis Investigates

An ANT analysis holds in remembrance certain sources of uncertainty that multiply the possible actors in any situation and that should not be closed down too soon: group membership, the origin of present forces or weaknesses, whether objects function as mediators or intermediaries, whether knowledge is made of facts or of matters of concern, and the risk inherent in attempting to account for all of these as an analyst (Latour 2005/2007).

Uncertainty in Group Formation

First, there is no assumption that a group is a stable entity; rather, groups are considered dynamic, constantly reforming aggregates of actors. In other words, there is "no group, only group formation" (p. 27). An actor may or may not belong to any number of groups, because the formation of those groups is always in progress; the actor is constantly being wooed by or wooing others to one group or another. At least to begin with, group membership is not a given. The material impact of the effort to include and exclude members makes it possible to trace group formation. The analyst only discerns groups or the possibility of groups when the actors have defined such groups. Keys to tracing controversial group formation include:

1. Groups are made to talk via spokespeople: groupmakers, group stabilizers, etc.

2. Anti-groups are mapped as competing ties are identified by the actors.

3. New resources are aggregated in order to make boundaries durable by bringing the force of actants to bear on others, or by leaning on the resources of established or accepted groups.

4. Professionals with all their specialized tools are interested and made to act, usually as spokespeople (Latour, 2005/2007, pp. 30-33)

Latour affirms that the social ties that form social aggregates do not simply exist of their own virtue; they are performative. Without the work to form and continually reform the group, there is no group; stability requires "vehicles, tools, instruments, and materials" (p. 35)—none of which are social skills. If the performed group persists when the originating performance stops, it is because "*other* actors have taken over the relay" (pp. 37-38).

<u>Uncertainty in Agency</u>

Second, no actor is considered the sole originator of an action. The flow of information about possible actions is often materially traceable, and actors are considered to be users of these traceable inputs, which Latour refers to as "plug-ins." Hence, actors may carry and transmit the messages or forces they receive without transforming them (as explained earlier, these actors are *intermediaries*), or they may transform or translate the messages or forces into messages/forces that serve other interests than those by which the actor received them (these actors are *mediators*). An ANT analysis is interested in discerning as many mediators as possible, and is free to ignore all intermediaries, as they do not affect the processes under investigation.

Because the agency that is shown in action is not positively and wholly attributable to any particular actor, an ANT inquiry is always moved by the information about agency offered by the informants themselves, their definitions and explanations. These definitions and explanations are often presented by actors in the form of *panoramas* (Latour, 2005/2007, pp. 187-190) or *panoramic statements,* which function as *problematizations.*

The following points should be taken into account when mapping out controversies over agency:

1. Agencies are named as part of an account, *doing* something. Even abstract agencies, such as "family values," will have some material impact if they have any real force in the world being described.

2. Agencies are given a figure or shape of some sort.

3. Agencies are opposed to other competing agencies.

4. Actors present their ideas about agencies accompanied by the actors' own explicit theories of those agencies' action and impact. (pp. 52-58)

<u>Uncertainty in the Agency of Non-Humans</u>

Third, an ANT analysis acknowledges the potential that objects hold to mediate messages or forces, either by right of their own unique characteristics as a receiver and transmitter of force, or by right of their use by humans to extend the reach of human agency. Latour notes that the course of action "would probably zig-zag" between human and object" (2005/2007, p. 75), for material objects shows the social only intermittently,

as they are interacted with by humans; therefore, the ANT account only pays attention to the material while it does social work.

Also, objects switch easily from being mediators to intermediaries. A non-human may be treated in one part of an ANT account and completely ignored in another, where it has ceased to enact social ties. In fact, it is this very ability of objects to switch easily back and forth between mediator and intermediary status that makes their social work easy to overlook in the first place. To make objects doing social work visible, the ANT analyst must pay close attention to the sites of innovation, learning, process breakdowns, records, and fictitious exploration of possible crises, as described above.

Additionally, action cannot be a priori limited to a particular time and space, for those material mediators which give form to that time and space are acting or began acting elsewhere. A persistent problem in social science is how to connect local power with global conditions, and global powers with local conditions. However, when we allow for actors that are not human, "another set of connections appears . . . ." Latour gives the example of a classroom scene, in which many of the identifiable forces originate far away in time and space, and from which the results of the classroom action may also have far-flung impact (2005/2007, p. 193). Thus, ANT connections traverse time and space to trace the impact of actors; the term "site" is in ANT a place of beginning inquiry, not a place in which to remain.

Latour refers to "sites" where much social work is performed as *oligoptica:* they are a few places where little (comparatively) is seen, but where that which can be seen has far-reaching impact (pp. 175-183). Latour explains that "An actor-network is traced whenever, in the course of a study, the decision is made to replace actors of whatever size by local *and* connected sites instead of ranking them into micro and macro. The two parts are essential, hence the hyphen" (2005/2007, p. 179). The question of where are these oligoptica, in which the structuring effects of society are actually produced, is key in an ANT account (p. 175).

In arguing for the elevation of non-humans from "contextual factor" status to full actor status, Latour blames academic disciplinary disputes for the creation and maintenance of artificial domain boundaries between the study of humans and the study of non-humans (2005/2007). He asserts that the reliance of much of social science on the

explanation that "society makes society happen" is a mistaken explanation for the otherwise "powerful insight" that we live in a world that has already been constructed by other actors *using and being used by non-human actors,* which make the previous actions of humans longer lasting and more extensively impactful (pp. 193-194). Thus, objects function as part of the power hegemony and should be studied as such. In a high-quality ANT account, "power and dominion are explained by a multiplicity of objects given a central role and transported by vehicles which should be empirically visible"; power and dominion cannot be transported over distances of time or space outside such material containers (p. 83).

An especially potent carrier of power across time and space is the sort of object Latour refers to as an *immutable mobile,* a piece of knowledge put into a form that can be circulated from one human to another, such as a map, a picture, or some other text (pp. 223-227). The adjective "immutable" may apply only so long as the form is, in fact, unchanged sufficiently to carry the knowledge it was originally formed/informed by. Latour reminds us that "There is no in-formation, only trans-formation" of knowledge from one immutable mobile to another; the immutable mobiles are the material traces of its transference (p. 149).

Uncertainty in Knowledge-Making

Fourth, an ANT analysis resists assuming the stability of facts. This does not mean that otherwise accepted, relevant facts are totally discounted, but rather that their authority is kept in a holding pattern until it can be verified during the investigation. ANT holds that it is always possible that previously accounted for entities may take on new functions at any time, and will need to be newly accounted for. Therefore, the ANT analyst examines every material, social function to see if anything new can be learned from or about it. In this way, what may usually be considered reified facts are invited to display real characteristics that may lead to the development of different knowledge than was previously accepted (Latour 2005/2007).

ANT considers this different knowledge to be a reflection of the multiplicity of reality, not the multiplicity of interpretation. In other words, the physical world (including humans) is constantly being reorganized; different descriptions of its functions

may very well arise from multiple real ways of being, not merely from different interpretations of a single reality (Latour, 2005/2007).

Uncertainty in Accounting

Finally, an ANT account explores the uncertainty in taking account of what is present. ANT recognizes that any account of such a multiplied reality is a risky account. However, in addition to the difficulty of adequately describing a multiplied reality, ANT acknowledges that all text is a constructed problematization—all text is a force that attempts to order the world, or at least the human perception of it.

An ANT account also openly acknowledges that there is always the possibility that it has missed something, or that the processes it describes have now changed. The problems that an ANT analysis may appear to resolve may perhaps be fruitfully reexamined. In other words, the rhetorical power of the analysis to reform the world is acknowledged and therefore potentially lessened. ANT considers that the actors, not the analysts, are those who have the most right and responsibility to reassemble society in their sphere, and thus in an ANT account, "the concepts of the actors [must be] allowed to be stronger than that of the analyst" (*sic,* Latour 2005/2007, p. 30) In order to maintain that balance of power, ANT uses an infra-language, not a meta-language—one that is "strictly meaningless except for allowing displacement from one frame of reference to the next" (Latour, 2005/2007, p. 30). This infra-language is the description of translation given early on in my introduction to ANT in this volume.

Therefore, an ANT analysis first *takes into account* and then *puts into order* (Latour, 2005/2007, p. 257). The account is motivated and formed by the first four sources of uncertainty; then, having followed and described the material traces of forces/weaknesses made evident by holding fast to these sources of uncertainty, the ANT analysis also attempts, even if weakly, to reassemble the social network of humans and non-humans by performing the work of association via the construction of a text that is a uniquely adequate account for the many actors of many kinds at work in the network under investigation.

Plasma

       A perfect ANT account describes all mediators (actors that translate power into new forms) relevant to a particular site of intervention or observation. Latour himself recognizes that there is no such thing as a perfect ANT account, and even good ANT accounts are few and far between (2005/2007). Still, even that perfect-but-impossible ANT account would leave large gaps of knowledge where mediators did not demonstrate any work performed. Latour calls these gaps in the map provided by an ANT analysis the "plasma," for these gaps are full of entities that may become actors or that may be brought to bear by an actor at any time to increase its reality, its ability to be discerned, its force. These gaps by no means represent empty space; they are merely the analyst's honest acknowledgement that there exist unknown, presently invisible entities which may affect the dynamic under observation at another time or place.

What ANT Is Good For

       Latour specifies that ANT attempts to continue the work to date of social scientists by examining new social aggregation or breakdowns in social aggregation, for these sites are where the processes of creation and destruction of associations are most easily discerned (2005/2007). These sites—locations at any level, great or small, where material processes demonstrate how society is constantly reformed—can be assigned to five categories:

1. *Innovations,* in which old materials are used in new ways;
2. *Distances* of time, space, or skills, where human beings approach materials clumsily and the functions of the materials themselves are made evident;
3. *Breakdowns,* in which former intermediaries cease to perform their assigned functions;
4. Artificial reconstruction via *records* of crises that birthed material innovations;
5. Fabricated or *fictitious* exploration of possible crises in which innovative associations with objects may come or may have come to be—i.e., thought experiments. (Latour 2005/2007, pp. 80-82)

By focusing the attention of the researcher on material translations of force in these volatile circumstances, ANT intends to produce knowledge of the real resistance and weakness that act in response to force. This knowledge can then be used to guide interference in existing social aggregates to produce material differences in the dynamic of power.

<p style="text-align:center">Actors and Agency: Criticism of ANT</p>

The ANT emphasis on describing how power asymmetries are formed has drawn criticism from other social scientists who perceived that ANT emphasized too much the ability of an individual actor to develop control over other actors, or conversely, to remove itself from under the purview of an attempted controller; these scientists appear to be concerned about the political ramifications of such an emphasis on "free will" (for example, Amsterdamska, 1990). Another ANT premise which has drawn fire is its categorization of non-humans as actors with agency (as in Collins & Yearley, 1992).

ANT's response to both these criticisms has been to clarify that agency is not a single, easily identifiable characteristic, always enacted with complete awareness of one's intentions and fully performable by each actor; rather, agency is discernible only inasmuch as it is performed by complying with or resisting the interference of another actor. Such a definition of agency includes within the field of potential actors all material entities with which interaction can be undertaken, because only these entities can be observed to comply or resist, whether they do so intentionally or not (Latour, 1988; Callon & Latour, 1992). In reference to the question of intentionality, Latour points out that "there might exist many metaphysical shades between full causality and sheer inexistence," continuing to assert that ANT

> simply says that no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of a better term, we would call *non-humans*. (2005/2007, p. 72)

Thus explained, ANT's inclusion of non-humans within the list of actors involved in a given situation is simply an attempt to avoid *a priori* exclusions.

Latour does make a distinction between "actants" and "actors." Actors are those entities which participate in the action under investigation; actants are those actors which

put other actors in motion to achieve certain ends (p. 55). In making this distinction, Latour not only allows for but positively insists on the phenomenon of cooption of one's will by external interests. He reaffirms that each actor is really the punctualization of a network—thus, "actor-network"—and that this reality "represents the major source of uncertainty about the origin of action" (p. 46). Therefore, ANT persists in calling anyone and everything an "actor," aware that this designation both reveals and hides the true nature of those entities/processes which are named.

ANT's consistent response to critics of its interest in the processes by which actors gain representation rights over other actors is consistently that such processes must be studied in order that these asymmetries may be interrupted and "reassembled" (to use Latour's term) in more equitable ways (Callon & Latour, 1980; Latour, 1988; Callon & Latour, 1992; Latour, 2005/2007).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

ANT does not prescribe which methods to use to investigate reality. I collected data as a participant-observer and organizing partner in meetings, interviews, and programming efforts to determine and meet the information needs of the Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latino families in the area during 2006-2007, and through a series of hour-long interviews in the fall of 2007, when my participant status was at an end.

I collected this data from a sample of socially helpful minority community information *fuentes*, public service agency employees interested in serving the information needs of the community, and minority community members who sometimes but do not always choose to use the resources provided by the *fuentes* or the agency employees. This sample was purposive, in that these participants were selected on purpose for the qualities of their roles and their activities. It was also a sample of convenience, for in every case I had to work with what I could get, and I accessed these individuals always through channels of institutional practice or through established community relationships. This means that there were a great many individuals and families within the target population whom I was not able to work with or even make contact with. Essentially, I sampled many of the most active local *fuentes* and some of their non-*fuente* connections; i.e., people with whom they have a trusting relationship, usually one in which the *fuente* is a source of aid for the connected person. I had no opportunity to induce into the study individuals and families who were not closely connected with a trusted institution or a *fuente*. These unsampled Hispanics/Latinos may be demonstrating information seeking or providing behaviors in similar or different ways than those I noted in my study.

Aggregating and Coding the Data

To log the study events and procedures; I used my day planner; my personal notes about meetings, phone calls, email, and interviews; and digital audio and video recordings of meetings and interviews, which were later transcribed. To categorize items by date and according to the coding protocols listed in the table below, I used QSR NVivo 8. For drafts (essentially, sketches) of relevant events, I kept a handwritten journal, and over the course of the study I wrote several papers and reports describing the work to date, which I drew from for this ANT account.

39

Table 3-A: Coding Protocol—ANT Account Draft, Interview Transcripts, and Notes

Category	Definition	Examples
Oligoptica	Places where organizing activity occurs	Buildings, programs, meetings, group members who represent a group whose organizing work is performed in a central location (thus, the Commissioner always represents the Commission, which uses City Hall; the Commissioner is a stand-in for the oligopticon that is City Hall; parents and families represent a home)
Immutable mobiles	Texts/maps that identify partners, enemies/obstacles, and resources	Lists, charts, mission statements, letters, email, television or radio programs (are possibly distributed by recording), pictures, songs
Other objects	Any object used for groupmaking that is not an immutable mobile	Telephones and other machines, "transportation," pots and pans, garden plants, guitars and drums, etc.
Sociality	Face-to-face interaction	"Met," "visited," "told" (if face-to-face)
Panoramic or problematizing statements	Uttered or written statements that identify partners, enemies/obstacles, and resources	Usually prefaced by a clause such as, "I told them that . . ."; these can *concurrently* be coded as immutable mobiles

The data was coded according to this protocol in order to provide easily discernible tags that indicated which entities function as actors; in other words, which entities have motivating or demotivating power (meaning the power to inspire, deflect, force, repress, invite, or shut out action on the part of another entity) within the purview of this account and the related documents. The coding also shows where this action tends to occur and what the actors are theorizing about who is acting, as well as what action is

taken and how and why that action occurs. Analytical memos, summing up the primary information that was coded, were written immediately after each document was coded, and these memos were electronically linked to the documents they describe. Then, the coded ANT account, interview transcripts, and notes, and the analytical memos were copied and pasted together into a roughly chronological narrative highlighting the findings—in other words, *highlighting the actors that moved us throughout the course of the study*—by means of word choice and organization. (Chronology is not necessary in an ANT account, as action often crosses time in unexpected ways; chronology is adhered to, to some degree, in this account in order to facilitate reader comprehension.)

   I must reiterate here that an ANT account does not include all entities involved in the events that it describes, for many entities simply carry action instead of engendering action by others (intermediaries vs. mediators); rather, an ANT account seeks to highlight *mediators*—the entities doing the "moving and shaking"—by eliding all *intermediaries*—those entities which have not been shown during the inquiry to be mediators.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ANT ACCOUNT

The Organization of the Narrative

As described in Chapter Two ("A Primer on ANT Analysis"), I function as the obligatory passage point (OPP) for the actor-network described in this account. I tell this story as I see it, though I attempt to give due credence to other participants' reports. I function as the OPP in another way, as well; for the time period during which this fieldwork was undertaken (2006-2007), I was the contact through which many other actor-networks in this city had access to one another. I had problematized, interested, enrolled, and mobilized them in pursuit of certain goals, and they in turn used me as a connecting link between themselves. In this way, I provided an oligopticon from which much motivating action originated.

Nevertheless, motivating action that moved local individuals and institutions to partner with me was already underway before I began any problematization work at this site. This motivating action took place in the lives of my future partners and in my own experience prior to meeting them. These efforts to determine and serve the needs of the Spanish-speaking community in this city are problematizations—essentially, they are groupmaking efforts, in that they attempt to include as participants those who otherwise do not participate much or at all in public programs. I describe these city-organized problematizations, which began in 2001, chronologically along with the problematization activities with which I was personally involved, as my own efforts drew on the resources of the network the city was attempting to create.

Before I Got There: The Study Site

By the time I targeted their city for my study, my future partners on the city's Human Relations Commission (housed in City Hall) had already offered several public workshops aimed at serving the informational needs of Spanish speakers. The director told me that the Commission had been organized by the mayor to address inequalities in access to local government, education, and health resources because complaints had been made by minority individuals to the city offices that their access or services were restricted.

These city-offered workshops for Hispanics/Latinos were sometimes presented with titles that clearly identify their intended audience as immigrants ("Immigration: Rights and Responsibilities," etc.) and sometimes with titles that may have been less interesting or persuasive to their intended audience.

> COMMISSIONER: People are interested in immigration. You have something about immigration, they are going to come. (January 24, 2007)

These programs were advertised in newspapers and through flyers posted in the "Mexican store" downtown (i.e., immutable mobiles) and in announcements at the end of the Spanish-language mass at the local Catholic church (sociality). The workshops themselves involved oral presentations with some visual aids, question and answer sessions, and handouts (sociality, technological objects, and immutable mobiles). A lapse of more than 6 months between such programs had sometimes occurred. The Commission also performed a survey to discover how Spanish speakers conceived of their own informational needs.

Of the public workshops offered by the Commission, earlier efforts saw good participation but later efforts did not; the director and the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner both told me that attendance at city meetings by Hispanics/Latinos had severely decreased over the past four years.

The director attributed the decrease in attendance to minority members' fear of being separated from their families in Immigration raids on public programs, especially since the negative media attention to immigrants has increased since September 11, 2001. She sees interviews with people on TV who talk about their experiences with heightened aggression or prejudice toward them since 9-11 and concludes that even documented immigrants are having trouble. Therefore, she believes that the television news programs are some primary demotivators to participate among Spanish speakers.

The Hispanic/Latino Commissioner believes that internal factions within the Spanish-speaking community are to blame for decreased attendance at Commission-sponsored events, citing occasions when certain faction leaders have refused to cooperate with other leaders, including some occasions when she or her daughter has been treated coolly or without consideration or trust. She believes that those Spanish-speaking families who rely on a faction leader for access to information and resources will follow

the lead of that *fuente* in choosing to support a program or activity through their attendance. Essentially, these more marginalized families and individuals are afraid of losing access to information and resources that is provided by that *fuente*.

As I review the results of the survey performed by the Commission, I notice that even among those individuals who were accessible to fill out a survey, i.e., probably those individuals with some direct, regular, personal contact with a *fuente*, only one in five individuals reported learning about health programs at schools, churches, or community centers. One in five reported acquisition of that information through hospitals and community health centers. Acquisition of information at these sites could have been through sociality or by picking up immutable mobiles such as flyers or pamphlets. One in four reported hearing about such programs on the Spanish-language television or radio (immutable mobiles via technological objects); one in five found the information in magazines and newspapers (immutable mobiles). One in ten received information through a home visit (sociality). It looks as though the chances of receiving any information at all about health programming through any of these channels is low. It is possible that low attendance at programs is a direct reflection of a lack of accessible information about these programs.

On Monday, April 23, 2001, the Human Relations Commission, in partnership with the county-based state university extension office and the local Spanish-language serving Catholic church, offered a free workshop titled, "Immigrants: Their Rights and Responsibilities." This workshop was held 6:00 p.m.-9:00 p.m. at the local Catholic church. Special topics included "Legal Issues," "K-12 Education," "The Workplace," and "Healthcare Services." No registration was needed. The press release, dated a week earlier on April 16, 2001, stated that bilingual interpreters, childcare, and refreshments would be provided and gave a phone number for more information. More than 50 Hispanics/Latinos attended (Hispanic/Latino Commissioner, personal communication, October 15, 2007).

On Monday, February 11, 2002, the city Human Relations Commission, the university extension office, and the local Catholic church offered another free workshop 6:30 p.m.-8:00 p.m. at the local Catholic church. This workshop, titled "Immigration: Getting to Know Your City Services," included discussion on special topics such as "City

Services," "Parks & Recreation," "Rental Housing Issues," "Police Outreach Programs," "Racial Profiling," and "Traffic Stops by the Police." No registration was needed. In the press release, dated two weeks ahead, on January 30, 2002, it was stated that bilingual interpreters, childcare, and refreshments would be provided, and a phone number was given for more information (press release, January 30, 2002). More than 50 Hispanics/Latinos attended (program organizer, personal communication, October 15, 2007).

Between 2002 and 2006, a survey (an immutable mobile) was designed and implemented among the Hispanic/Latino population by the Hispanic/Latino Advisory Committee to the Human Relations Commission. The survey results were analyzed and reported on by the National Center for Rural Health Professions in April 2006 (I cannot give the citation information without compromising the anonymity of the study site). The Hispanic/Latino Advisory Committee comprised members from the community college, the county health department, the school district, the local Spanish-speaking Catholic congregation, the local hospital, and the state public health department. They surveyed "more than 100 local Hispanics about their health care," beginning with ESL students at the local community college and expanding the subject population as needed among friends and relatives until 117 forms had been filled out (Commissioner, personal communication, February 23, 2007). The surveys were collected without personally identifying information, and the respondents were informed that no one would know who had said what on the surveys (press release, August 23, 2006).

Of these 117 surveys, 94 were administered in Spanish; 69.2% of the respondents were male and 30.8% were female. 86.2% of those surveyed had children—averaging 3.11 children per respondent—and 60.4% of these respondents worked outside the home. 76.4 % said they were married, 13.6% single, 3.6% divorced, and 4.5% in a free union. 50% of those surveyed lived in rural areas before coming to the United States, and the mean number of years spent in the U.S. since immigration was 15.82. The average age of those surveyed was 37.57 years. 71 respondents hailed from Mexico, 2 from Cuba, 1 from Colombia, 38 from the U.S., 1 from Nicaragua, and 2 from Puerto Rico. Of the 117 respondents, 25 had only a primary school education, 60 a secondary school education, 24 a university education, and 2 post-graduate education. Six respondents did not give

information about their education. As many of these respondents had the opportunity to participate based on their close relationship with Committee members, these numbers do not necessarily reflect the real Hispanic/Latino demographic in [city] at the time, but they may provide a good picture of who is connected to those in some position of social power. Even with these connections, 41.9% said they preferred to receive information about health care through the mail; the response options were non-exclusive and were marked by respondents as follows:

Table 4-A: Survey Participant Contact Preferences

	Valid %
Health programs in Spanish at schools, churches, and community centers	21.4
Hospitals and Community Health Centers	18.8
TV-Radio in Spanish	24.8
English classes (ESL Programs)	12.8
Magazines and Newspapers	20.9
Mail	41.9
Home visits	11.1
Other	

The technological objects television and radio were not separated in the responses; however, in my own home visits with local Hispanics/Latinos at varying times of day I have noticed that they have nationally broadcast Spanish-language television on almost all the time, often lowering the volume (somewhat) for a visit but not turning the TV off until they feel the purpose of the home visit cannot be completed without their full attention. This preference for constant televised media lends credibility to the Commission director's idea that Spanish-language televised media (immutable mobiles) demotivates community members to participate in public programming. At the least, there is great opportunity for such media messages to be received in these homes.

The survey asked additional questions, such as, "How often do you go to the doctor? How often does your family go to the doctor? Where do you and your family go when you need medical attention? What kind of health insurance do you have right now?

What kind of health insurance does your family have?" and continued with questions about health problems, medicines, home remedies, substance abuse, and satisfaction with and obstacles to medical and dental care. 41.2% held no health insurance themselves, while 22.2% of spouses and 12% of children had no insurance. 28.8% had no insurance for regularly required medication, and 6.8% said they did not take any regularly required medication because they could not afford it. Insurance and medication both are obtained through immutable mobiles, i.e., money or credit and signed legal documents. 27.4% said they feared their health professionals did not understand their illnesses because the respondents did not speak English (sociality). 7.7% were afraid of repercussions of seeking health care related to their immigration status. 33.3% reported no problems getting medical attention.

The Committee determined that the survey results showed an even greater need for help with dental care among the respondents, as 43.6% held no dental insurance and 40.2% called dental care "too expensive." 14.5% did not know of a dentist who accepted Medicaid or Kidcare (coverage for these is obtained through immutable mobiles). In response to this need, the Committee asked for and got a $5000 grant from the [university] National Center for Rural Health Professions to pay for dental care for 100 Hispanic/Latino children through a local low-income center (immutable mobiles). The grant also paid for Spanish-language training to center workers, i.e., sociality (press release, August 23, 2006).

With that grant money, the Committee created $20 vouchers (immutable mobiles) to hand out to parents along with dental supplies at the Catholic church after a Spanish-language mass. However, the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner relates that this effort did not go as planned, in that the families with most need for these vouchers were not those that attended the event:

> COMMISSIONER: But we have tried, like one time we had a meeting at [local Catholic church] in the gym, and we thought we could pass out these $20 gift certificates for the dentist. But the people that we targeted, they were not the people that came. So we have to find some way to contact them so they can come. (January 24, 2007)

Considering that the Commission had to rely on existing network connections in order to get all the surveys filled out, I find it surprising that those network connections were not sufficient to contact the families who provided the data from which the need for vouchers was determined. It is possible that increased negative television messages about immigrants and/or rifts between minority faction leaders during the time elapsed between the completion of the survey and the voucher activity at the Catholic church could have demotivated the most marginalized families from attending that activity.

Another possibility is that, filling out a survey, however painful, may be seen as the honorable performance of a favor for one's *fuente*, while accepting a voucher to mitigate the cost of dental services may be viewed by these parents as a public admission that one cannot support one's own family, and thus would be avoided out of pride. In November 2006, the priest at that Catholic church told me that, in his experience, Hispanic/Latino parents and public service agencies may have very different ideas (or problematizations) about the needs of Hispanic/Latino families and how these needs may or should be served by agencies. Public programs that aim to serve family needs may also be perceived by parents as criticisms of how parents are taking care of their families.

Analysis. The available data regarding the public programs offered by the Commission and the attendance at these of Spanish-speakers offers four possible sets of motivators/demotivators of attendance:

1. Fear of Immigration raids carried out at public programs, motivated by immutable mobiles received via Spanish-language television, in the form of media messages presenting the perspective that the majority of the United States and its government are actively anti-immigrant, with specific coverage of Immigration raids and their negative impact on Spanish-speaking families.

2. Fear of decreased access to information and resources in the form of translation services, rides, informational flyers, and information about programs (i.e., sociality, immutable mobiles, and other objects) currently available through a *fuente*, should one or one's family be perceived to associate themselves with an adversary *fuente* by attending any program promoted by such.

48

3. Lack of information about such programs, via immutable mobile (flyers, TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, mail) or sociality.

4. An aversion to taking handouts in the form of immutable mobiles (vouchers), demonstrating a preference for a competing problematization that emphasizes:

    - The satisfaction experienced by those who provide sufficient financial support for their families without agency aid.

    - The filling of some other need than the one filled by the vouchers.

    - Independence from external attempts to regulate how the family's needs are filled.

Was this Site a Good Choice for this Study?

In this city, there were opportunities for me to partner with institutions and help them partner with each other. On the other hand, as a community outsider I had limited contact with the target population here. Additionally, as a transient (we all knew before I started that I would be there for a year or two only), my leadership opportunities were limited to whatever I could cooperatively start and then hand over to local institution gatekeepers or *fuentes*.

As a small Midwestern city with a historical dependence on industry and agriculture, this site is typical of many small cities currently experiencing an upsurge in their minority language populations. Efforts that succeed or fail here may offer valuable insights to others grappling with their own small city challenges.

Small city libraries, in particular, may benefit from examining the findings of this study. Two of the three program starts that are studied here began with the public library, and the third benefited from the partnership of the library director and Children's Librarian and their attendant resources. The frustration the library director expressed with regard to educating much of her staff and her library board may comfort or challenge others in similar circumstances. I hope it will provide impetus for problem-solving activity for the persuasive reeducation of other individuals who stand as obstacles to community-oriented library outreach.

Perhaps the most useful aspect of this study is just that: the finding that community oriented outreach was much more successful than library oriented outreach. Outreach that serves the needs of the librarians or the board serves the library but not the

community. Some negotiation of the gatekeeper role of librarians—a change in perspective about one's role and purpose, a willingness to share or abdicate authority—may be in order if true community-oriented outreach is to occur.

Before I Got There: My Preparation for this Study

As I was the OPP (obligatory passage point) for the network under investigation, my motivations for organizing it the way I did are of some moment, as my problematizations determined to a degree who did and did not participate. Those motivations had roots in my employment in public librarianship for youth, my missionary experiences in Venezuela, my relationships with certain of my siblings, and my formal educational training and preparation for the study itself.

I had begun to work in the public libraries in the fall of 2001, when I finished my master's program (in creative writing for children and young adults) and moved to the Bay Area. One of my professors in the master's program, a successful children's book author, had told me that the majority of good children's authors he knew worked as children's and young adult librarians for their day jobs. This arrangement allowed them to keep tabs on trends in the professional writers' market while also interacting daily with their literary audience to determine and serve those children's reading needs and interests.

In pursuit of this ideal, I obtained part-time work at three small public libraries in Marin County. Full-time work was unavailable to anyone who did not hold a master's in librarianship. Eventually, encouraged and mentored by the professional librarians I worked with, I started a second master's in library and information science (LIS). I found that many aspects of the professional goals and ethics of librarianship resonated with me, particularly the ideal of making self-motivated educational materials and programs available to everyone. However, the libraries I worked at in Marin County served a wealthy elite, so I had little opportunity there to explore my interest in serving the underserved, though the presence of several Spanish-speaking *au pairs* whetted my desire to do so.

That sympathy for the underserved was born in 1994-1995, when I worked as a full-time, volunteer (unpaid) missionary for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Venezuela. Venezuela is a multiethnic, multiracial country due to many cycles

50

of immigration there from all over the world (during World War II and the oil shortage of the 1970s, for example). While I worked there, I was told by local citizens that Venezuela had the reputation of maintaining the best public educational system in South America, and that public education was free and mandatory until the early teen years. Still, the gap I saw between rich and poor in education and the resulting economic status was tremendous. Some families I visited lived in conditions similar to a middle class household in the United States, while many had metal roofs, cement floors, and outdoor plumbing. Most of the LDS Church members I knew lived inbetween, with tile floors and indoor plumbing. (Interestingly, even the families with dirt floors and outdoor plumbing had indoor wiring, televisions, and VCRs. Often, their excuse for not coming to church meetings was that "someone had to stay home and guard the TV" from being stolen by their neighbors.) For most people, workdays often lasted 12 or more hours, and physical labor was the norm.

Much of the work I did in Venezuela involved reading and writing in Spanish with investigators of the Church who were considering conversion. As a highly literate person from a family of readaholics, I was surprised and appalled to find that, even in a country with a supposedly good educational system, using a language that was written more or less phonetically, many, many people could not read or write well. (Obviously, at that time I had had little experience with nonreaders in the United States.)

Several times in my missionary work there, a person of a more humble background was deterred from studying the gospel with me because his or her employer had taken a dislike to the Church. These individuals were told by their employers to stop studying with me or they would lose their jobs. This threat always prevented further study, no matter what the employees' personal feelings were about the Church. These unfortunates were never those who had good reading and writing skills. Thus, in Venezuela I learned that reading and writing were powerful tools, not only for increasing one's mental facility, but also for obtaining financial and religious freedom.

This conclusion was reflected at home in the States by the educational and professional attainment available to me and some of my siblings, who had done well in school, compared to the lack of opportunity for my other siblings, who had abandoned formal education as a path to achievement. In my work as a missionary, I also learned

how to work with individuals to provide day-to-day scaffolding to develop their motivation for self-improvement and dedication to community involvement. Following the pattern of non-domineering helpfulness that I learned as a missionary, at home I learned to support my siblings' efforts at self-improvement without being pushy or bossy.

The classes I took in LIS showed me that public and school librarianship were potentially effective ways to offer self-motivated educational opportunities—in a loose way, educational scaffolding—to the otherwise underserved, but I soon found that the traditions of library service were entrenched, and in youth services (my area of expertise), they were based more on "best practices" traditions than on research. Where they were based on research, that research was often borrowed from the field of education, which performes very different practices in very different venues for very different goals than does much of LIS. As I tend to be more interested in doing things for pragmatic reasons than because of tradition, I decided I was more interested in figuring out the whys and wherefores of effective library service than I was in taking on the traditional duties of a public or school librarian. I knew I needed more education in order to tackle those questions, so I decided to research LIS issues rather than pursuing a career in librarianship.

Soon thereafter, I moved to Illinois and applied to the LIS Ph.D. program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (which I had discovered by searching the Net with Google). As my initial training had been in literature and librarianship for youth, I intended to begin researching youth librarianship issues; after several months using the print and online resources of the university library to research the possibilities of a study into the effectiveness of summer reading programs, I decided a more focused topic was preferable.

Before I moved to Illinois, I had interviewed public librarian Francisca Goldsmith in Berkeley, California, about her achievements as a librarian. She told me about the "Earphone English" program, which she had developed in partnership with an ESL teacher at the local high school, and she invited me to contact her if I wanted to serve as a research partner. In fact, this was the encounter that had started me thinking about doing an LIS Ph.D. in the first place. After my review of summer reading program literature had convinced me that summer reading programs were not a topic I wished to research

for my dissertation, I remembered Goldsmith's description of the "Earphone English" program. I used the Internet and the university library to look up all the documentation on the program I could find, then contacted her via email and began preparations for research. As the courses I wanted were not offered through GSLIS during the semesters I needed them, my advisor at the time told me to find those courses in other departments. I spent more than a year taking courses from the School of Education in second-language acquisition, qualitative methods, quasi-experimental design, and statistics.

I began the year 2006 with a quasi-experimental, mixed-method research design. However, by midsummer of that year my advisor had told me that I must work only with qualitative research tools, and that my research goals must drastically change in order to comply with others' philosophical stances. The research model I had learned in my classes in the School of Education stood directly in opposition to the research model embraced by people on whom I depended for support. The key point of conflict, it seemed, was the role of the study participant in the knowledge-making process. In my mixed-method model, the participant served primarily as an informant. Though the benefits of the research were intended to improve the condition of the participants, this subordinate role for participants was unacceptable.

This change in my research design was difficult for me to accept out of hand. As stated, I prefer to make decisions for pragmatic reasons, and I did not get the opportunity for an adequate discussion of these reasons. Nonetheless, the reality I had to deal with was that I needed professorial support in order to complete the doctoral degree. My original design, though strong, was complex and would have been difficult to carry out alone. I determined that the best choice was to seek explanations on my own for altering my study design, hoping to find some theoretical foundation upon which I could reconstruct my study.

As I searched for a qualitative theoretical model to replace my former, modernist-leaning model, another professor recommended I read Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970/2000). In it, Freire emphasizes that knowledge about the world must be cooperatively created by all different kinds of experts: academic and professional experts *and* local citizens, who are the experts of their own experience. From the day I entered the doctoral program, I had been informed of and accepted the supposition that, during

my studies there, I would become "the expert" on a particular phenomenon. It would be that expertise that I would demonstrate and defend in my dissertation. The process of becoming an expert was one of careful personal control of circumstances, careful personal control of data gathered about those circumstances, or careful personal control of the interpretation of that data. However, Freire offered me the opportunity to change that philosophical stance to include many perspectives in the process of developing and sharing knowledge.

Taking advantage of the freedom to move forward that Freire offered me, I altered my study design to embrace partnering with my study participants in the adaptation process of "Earphone English" and the associated analysis of that process. I had originally prepared to perform my dissertation research studying, first, an existing, innovative public library program for second-language learners of English, and then the creation at a new site of another instance of this program, suited to the needs of the local population. In California, I studied the original versions of that program, "Earphone English," as it existed at the Berkeley middle and high schools. Among the multinational, multiethnic, multilingual student population of Berkeley, "Earphone English" was a resounding success—especially, I found, because participation in this audiobook reading club was usually tied directly to the students' ESL schoolwork and grades (immutable mobiles determining access to goods and services). The proposed transfer site in the Midwest was chosen for its difference from the original sites, but also for its similarity to many sites where public and school librarians would confront for the first time the challenges of offering services to an English language-learning youth population (Card, 2006). Would this program be perceived by the librarians, teachers, parents, and youth to be as useful in the new location?

Analysis. My preparation for this study was motivated by my experiences (sociality) with individuals whom I cared about in Venezuela and in my own family relating to education and literacy (using immutable mobiles). I had been able to assist some of them to achieve life changes they found valuable; essentially, their conversion to a religious or education-informed paradigm was paralleled by my conversion to an interpersonal and community service paradigm. I found the sociality of that work fulfilling in the extreme, as the changes in behavior and outlook I worked to help others

achieve were tied in my mind to tangible improvements in their personal welfare (access to objects and immutable mobiles)—especially as dedicated converts usually acquired middle class economic status within a few years after joining the LDS Church, possibly due to receiving Church-based training and socialization in personal and family education, fiscal responsibility, and self-sustainability practices (via immutable mobiles and sociality). I could visualize how these individual and family improvements affected the welfare of their friends, relatives, working and educational associates, and descendants, eventually impacting to some positive degree their communities and their countries. These experiences fostered my idealistic desires to share with the underserved the benefits and opportunities provided by literacy. In the Midwest, I felt I could best serve the Spanish-speaking community, as I speak, read, and write Spanish (and so can use sociality and immutable mobiles in Spanish), and as the influx of Spanish speakers to this area gives rise to many opportunities for public programming innovation (sociality using immutable mobiles and other objects).

Due to my sociality with my professors and also my reading of immutable mobiles obtained through the university library's technology, my research problematization had changed from a focus on quasi-experimental study to an interest in the individual experience and how that informed collective knowledge. However, I still leaned heavily on the idea that I should be "in charge" of the activity I studied. Additionally, though I had worked with and studied the practices of public librarianship to youth, I did not share the dedication maintained by many librarians I knew to the United States version of the public library as a universal public good, worthy of existence on its own merit. I saw the public library as a means to an end—publicly available materials and scaffolding for self-motivated learning in the individual, family, and public interest—and traditional library practice as viable only inasmuch as it fulfilled that end.

Beginning the Study

In order to establish the network I needed in order to carry out my study, I used technological objects (computers, telephones, automobiles), immutable mobiles (email, handouts, flyers), and sociality. I used these tools to present and persuade others to accept my problematization of their needs and how cooperating with me would serve those needs.

In the spring of 2006, I contacted the local library director by email to see if the library would participate in a study of a program serving the English language literacy needs of the local Spanish-speaking families. She responded by email, saying that their the library's strategic plan (problematization) "calls for us to expand our services to teens and to the diverse cultural groups in our community" (personal communication, April 11, 2006). She expressed strong interest in participating in the study and offering the program, saying they would like to get more Hispanics/Latinos to use library services. I visited their library and met with the director, the Children's librarian, and the Audio/Visual Librarian to problematize further—i.e., to discuss preparation options, including the purchase of technology, and plans for the implementation of the "Earphone English" program in the fall.

In August 2006, I problematized for alliance with city officials and access to city resources. I met with the library director and the Children's Librarian of the local library, as well as with the mayor, the head of the mayor's Human Relations Commission, the primary Hispanic/Latino Commissioner, and a community college Spanish teacher and one of her adult (white) students. At this meeting, I provided paper documentation of the growing movement of Spanish speakers to rural and semi-rural parts of Illinois (of which, these attendees were already aware) and a textual description of the "Earphone English" program. The mayor and the head of the Human Relations Commission expressed their support, and the primary Hispanic/Latino Commissioner said she wished to become personally involved with the project and would also involve her adult daughter.

The Spanish language teacher was less supportive; the head of the Human Relations Commission had asked her to come, and she herself had invited her student, but she had evidently not understood the purpose of the "Earphone English" program before that evening's meeting. Upon hearing my motivation for the project—when I lived in Venezuela several years previous, I had seen for myself the barriers created by a lack of literacy in the primary language—she seemed displeased to have been asked to participate in the program, and so I did not follow up afterwards to secure her involvement. My best guess is that, as an educated, upper-middle-class Mexican woman living in a small U.S. city, she may have been weary of dealing with the supposition that all Spanish speakers are illiterate, and she may have assumed that my desire to serve the

English language development needs of Spanish speaking children arose from such a misconception. Looking back, I consider that my decision not to pursue her involvement may have been a mistake; I do not know what connections or resources she may have been able to bring to bear for the success of the library program.

As I left soon thereafter to work in California for a month on the "Earphone English" program there, I did not meet with any local residents during September 2007. During this time, I applied for and obtained permission through the university's Office of School and University Research Relations to contact local school principals for access to their students. The Office authorized and obtained a police background check on me and then permission from the school district for me to have access to their students. The majority of this exchange occurred via email (immutable mobiles and technological objects), though some conversation took place over the telephone (technological object).

On Wednesday, September 27, 2006, the Hispanic/Latino Advisory Committee of the Human Relations Commission offered a "Health and Dental Awareness Fair" at 6:00pm at local Catholic elementary school. In the press release, given a month ahead on August 23, 2006, a phone number was given for more information ahead of time. There was not good attendance at this event (program organizer, personal communication, October 15, 2007).

After returning from California that fall, I met at the library several times to problematize the program design and program run of "Earphone English" with the Human Relations Commissioner and her adult daughter (whom the Commissioner was actively fostering into taking on a *fuente* role) and with the aforementioned library staff, including a staff worker from the Children's Room who was a former high school teacher and who was training to become a high school counselor. We discussed who would be responsible for what, how to contact local families about the program, and when and where to hold the program. To plan our activities, we referred often to the library's printed schedule of room reservations, as well as our own text-based planners and calendars.

We also discussed how to open the program design to the local children and their parents, who might not be familiar with the idea of collaborative program development. In truth, none of us were sure what to expect, in terms of role fulfillment. We spent most

of our meetings talking in order to define our own roles and plan how to communicate to the families what exactly their roles would be in the design and implementation of the program. What we knew for certain was that we wanted between 3 and 12 children to attend, and we wanted their parents to be involved with the design process as well.

The Hispanic/Latino members of our program staff pointed out that November and December were busy months for Hispanic/Latino families, due to many traditional, holiday-centered, Hispanic/Latino community and family activities, so we would have more success if we started the program in January. I discovered later that the activities offered for Spanish speakers at the Catholic church are organized by another *fuente* and her husband ("Catholic Church Congregation Organizer and Husband").

Because I wanted as much data over as long a time as possible, I wanted to give the program at least a semester-long run. Therefore, we planned to invite families to attend two program planning meetings at the library, one in late December, after Christmas, and one in January.

During this time of preparation in the fall and in January, the program staff and I visited the local Catholic church several times to meet people, pass out flyers in Spanish and English, and announce that the program was starting. We noticed that the Spanish-language mass was altered to include many of what appeared to us to be folksongs, performed by a small band of guitarists, a drummer, and a singer who led the congregation in song. Later, in the fall of 2007, when I interviewed the Catholic church Spanish-language activities organizer, she explained that she and her husband had convinced the previous priest to sing folksongs as part of the Spanish-language service.

> CATHOLIC CHURCH ORGANIZER: And [owner of "Mexican store"], you met her, you know. She is the one that was kind of helping the community there. She—and then that's when I started doing something, you know. We were very good friends. Then she stepped out, you know, and I would always say, don't hide. So—but then he [organizer's husband] started playing music, and—and we started singing in church, because it's too boring. 'Cause you go to Mass, and it's like long, and it gets boring. But he learned to play [musical instruments] here. He did not know how to play anything, and then he played—now he plays everything. But you know, we wanted people to enjoy coming. I would never tell

58

my priest that: you were too boring, that's why we started singing. And then you know, we went through a training, because we wanted to serve the community even more. We did not want to give them the wrong information, so we took a training in [nearby city]. And for two years we traveled to [nearby city], and—and—

INTERVIEWER: Training in church information, or—

CATHOLIC CHURCH ORGANIZER: Yeah, yes. On leadership, and you know, especially the leadership ministry and evangelist station. So we finished that, and we didn't do much except we have—we formed a prayer group. That was 20 years ago. And it's improvised. You know, pray for me. It grows, and it gets small, and you know it [inaudible]. We don't call lists, we don't call—*¿cómo se dice?* We don't call names.

INTERVIEWER: Call roll.

CATHOLIC CHURCH ORGANIZER: Call roll, you know. So people come, and—and don't come. It depends if they have the time, and they're not too tired. And so when we were learning all this stuff we, *como se dice? Empezamos tambien a connectarlo* [we began also to connect it all together]. You know, we have the catechism of the Catholic church, and the Bible. And then plus all the information that we had, and we thought, wow, they need to know, you know. So they can't go to [nearby city] on their own, so might as well get them here and implement it.

What this organizer describes is a pivotal problematization: these Hispanics/Latinos are using familiar and valued objects (musical instruments) and immutable mobiles (folksongs, the catechism, the Bible) in order to increase the attendance (sociality) and the ecclesiastical knowledge of the Spanish-speakers in the congregation. Additionally, the current priest deliberately includes Hispanics/Latinos in leadership roles at Spanish-language mass (sociality that communicates a visual problematization, with certain Hispanics/Latinos as authorized network passage points). Regular attendance at these meetings was reported by the organizers to be generally good.

The Children's Librarian attended several Spanish-language prayer meetings at the church on her own to provide childcare (sociality) and experience with the use of audiobooks and CD and tape players (immutable mobiles, objects) in the hope of interesting the children and their parents in attending the "Earphone English" program at the library. Also, in November 2006 I met with the priest to introduce myself and our program, so that he could vet us and allow us to make announcements at the end of their Spanish-language mass on certain Sundays. By recognizing his authority and responsibility as the leader of his congregation, and by offering him the opportunity to take on a leadership role in recruitment for our program as well, I hoped to interest the priest in accepting my problematization of the role of the "Earphone English" program and therefore the public library in extending opportunities for self-motivated learning to Spanish-speaking families.

First, the priest asked about the public library's policy on unmoderated Internet access for children, in this way putting forward his own problematization of community and family roles and responsibilities. I shared what I knew about the library's policies and equipment and gave him the director's phone number so that he could get more information.

At this meeting, the priest told me that, in his experience, parents and agencies may hold very different problematizations about the needs of Hispanic/Latino families and how these needs may or should be served by agencies. Public programs that aim to serve family needs may also be perceived as criticisms of how parents are taking care of their families. He suggested that the inclusion of some fun activities in the program might help to emphasize the service (i.e., nonthreatening) nature of public programs, allaying any concerns that the library was trying to take over the roles of the parents.

The priest told me a number of times during later months that he was very supportive of the "Earphone English" program. Eventually, he took to making the announcements about our program himself, to lend greater weight to the program's potential benefit to the families in the congregation.

As we passed out flyers (immutable mobiles) at the Spanish-language mass services on various Sundays, corroboration of the priest's warning showed up in two alternate problematizations offered by a few individuals. Some told us that they would

prefer a Spanish-language reading program for their children, because they consider that their children speak and read English well, but the children are forgetting their Spanish. Some told us in confidence that a program like "Earphone English" would be better for the adults, though the adults would be too proud to come. I gave out flyers at the church, but also left some flyers at local Mexican-owned restaurants for the employees and at the local "Mexican store," which may be the *de facto* center of Hispanic/Latino life in this city, for community insiders told us repeatedly that "everyone goes there."

Accepting these locally-produced problematizations and reformatting "Earphone English" to fill the roles they offered may have provided us with the motivating power necessary to get more Spanish-speaking families involved. At the very least, adopting some aspects would have demonstrated our dedication to listening to the needs of the minority community members as they perceived them, emphasizing our trustworthiness and dependability. However, we did not have the material resources (immutable mobiles) to respond in this way. There are very few audiobooks available in Spanish, much less unabridged in both text and audio and written for children or youth. The library had already spent its materials budget for this program on materials for the English-language version of "Earphone English." The suggestion for an audiobook program for adults was a good idea, but it was paired with the offputting warning that no one would come, and besides, it was the Children's Librarian, not the Adult Reference librarian, who was my primary partner from the library staff.

Additionally, my research (via immutable mobiles and technological objects unavailable to the parents) into second-language acquisition told me that it was likely that, though the children's English might be much better than their parents', they still could benefit a great deal from additional, semi-structured exposure to formally composed text, combined with opportunities for discussion of the text with other listeners/readers. The problem lay in the fact that I could think of no polite way to explain to these parents that their children's English was probably not as good as they thought it was. However, many of the children and youth I would speak to about the "Earphone English" program in the coming weeks would express interest and even enthusiasm. Perhaps they would be allowed to attend based on interest or enthusiam alone.

In the end, after discussing the opportunities and obstacles presented by these problematizations, we told those who asked that we would keep their suggestions in mind for future library programs, but that we would proceed as planned with "Earphone English" for now.

On Wednesday, December 6, 2006, a free workshop (sociality) was offered by the Hispanic/Latino Advisory Committee from 6:00pm-7:30pm at the local Catholic church. Titled, "Immigrants: Their Rights & Responsibilities in 2006," this workshop was run by the director of the Immigration Project, a non-profit provider of immigration legal services. Special topics included "Information, Counseling, and Referral," a state-wide toll-free telephone-based service giving answers to immigration questions; "Immigration Application Support"; "Assistance for Immigrant Crime Victims"; and a "New Americans Citizenship Initiative." Information was also given by other presenters about "good oral health practices and how to access oral health and medical services from" a local low-income provider. As advertised in the press release, free vouchers for dental exams (immutable mobiles) were given out at the workshop. Bilingual interpreters, childcare, and refreshments were provided, and a phone number was given for information ahead of time (press release, November 9, 2006). This workshop was advertised in much the same way as had been done for workshops previously, through immutable mobiles and verbal announcements shared at locations of habitual sociality by Spanish-speakers, i.e., the Catholic church, the "Mexican store," etc.

I attended this meeting to make an announcement about "Earphone English" and hand out flyers and registration forms (immutable mobiles). About 30 Hispanics/Latinos attended (sociality), but the organizers later told me that most of these had traveled in from a nearby town, to which the Catholic priest traveled once a month to hold another Spanish-language mass (sociality with immutable mobiles and other objects). The library director and Children's Librarian also attended this workshop. At this event, the Hispanic/Latina staff member of the county office of the university extension told the library director that she would like to partner with the library to offer programs for kids. As we already had plans underway for "Earphone English," the director kept the staff member's card (immutable mobile) but did not immediately follow up on her offer.

At this workshop, I also met a young Spanish-speaking mother with several daughters, whom I started telling about the wonders of library cards (immutable mobiles). The mother told me (in Spanish), "Oh, my daughter already has one." In fact, each of the daughters and the mother had a library card, and they said they went to the library regularly. I surprised and pleased, because my information up until then, given by community insiders, had been that most Spanish-speaking families did not use the library. I gave this family flyers for the "Earphone English" program (immutable mobiles), which they did use to call my mobile phone (objects) and set an appointment for a home visit (sociality) with me in January.

During December 2006 and January 2007, I visited the local public middle and elementary schools to invite children to come to the "Earphone English" program (sociality). To arrange these visits, I first sent email (immutable mobiles via technological object) to the principals, then in some cases used the telephone (technological object) to communicate the basics of the study to them. Once I had obtained their permission for me to talk with their students on campus, I brought English- and Spanish-language printed descriptions of the program to the schools for the students and their parents (immutable mobiles). I had the schools' front offices call the children out of class in some cases, and in others I visited each class and talked with the students in ones and twos (sociality). I made sure to ask the students what sort of refreshments they wanted at the program (other objects), so that they would get the idea that their input was desirable. Many children said they wanted to come.

I sent registration forms (immutable mobiles) home with the students for their parents, to be returned to the school if they wanted an informational visit from me and a local, Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latina. I specified that I also speak Spanish. I left many additional forms at all the local Mexican restaurants owned by persons of Mexican descent, to be shared with their Spanish-speaking patrons or employees (the front desk workers at one of these restaurants told me that most of their customers were Caucasian and most of their employees were Mexican). Two forms were returned via the front offices of the public schools, one from the family I had met at the Immigration Fair.

Analysis. During this period, I used immutable mobiles to amplify the persuasiveness of my problematizations to city and library personnel and to Spanish-

speaking parents and children, and also to extend my reach to Spanish-speaking parents whom I could not meet in person. Using immutable mobiles emphasized the authority of the networks represented in the texts I referenced, i.e., statistics describing the growth of the Spanish-speaking population in the area, the need of bilingual children for social and literacy support, etc. I also used objects such as automobiles, telephones, and the infrastructure that provides the Internet and World Wide Web to facilitate communication in pursuit of interessement and mobilization of allies. These tactics worked extremely well to interest and mobilize those I found to be obligatory passage points (OPPs) of institutions such as the public library, the city government, and the local Catholic church. All of my program organizing partners except two were interested and mobilized in this way.

One who could be considered a partner who was not interested through my use of immutable mobiles was the Catholic priest. I obtained initial access to him through sociality and through the use of telephones, and his cooperation with my problematization was obtained through sociality. However, I suspect that his cooperation would have been withheld had the public library's established technology policy (made authoritative and referencible by its incorporation into an immutable mobile—i.e., policy statement) and use of technological objects (computers) been shown to operate according to a problematization he found unacceptable.

The only other partner who was not interested and mobilized via immutable mobiles was the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner's daughter. Her partnership was obtained via sociality with her mother, as described in the following section.

The Open-Attendance Planning Meeting

Now that I had interested and mobilized my institutional allies as I wanted, I pursued further operations to interest and mobilize Spanish-speaking parents and children. These effort saw some early success, but also provided indications that other tactics might be necessary.

In December 2006, we used telephones and flyers (flyers provided partially by me, using my printing quota at the university, and partially by the public library) to invite our contacts (those who returned the forms, as well as friends of the Commissioner and the Human Rights Commission director) to a planning meeting at the library. We invited

parents as well as children because we problematized for the parents to participate as mentors in the program, as a way of drawing on their cultural and personal knowledge and increasing their self-confidence and their stature in relation to the library, which we thought might be an intimidating place for them.

Three parents and two children came to this meeting, among them the Commissioner's daughter and her own young daughter; the family I had met at the Immigration Fair did not come. The other parents and child had heard about the program by word of mouth (sociality) from the Human Relations Commissioner or had read about it in the flyers (immutable mobiles) I left in the local "Mexican store." The owner of the "Mexican store" was one of the parents who came to this meeting, and she contributed many suggestions, demonstrating her own problematizations relating to language-supportive public programming.

Some of the comments made by the Spanish-speaking parents at this meeting included the following problematizations:

- Public transportation is not good in this city, so rides are necessary (use of objects such as automobiles and buses).
- It is always good to have food at the programs/meetings. Chips and salsa are good; so is pizza, especially for children (use of objects, i.e., refreshments).
- Nobody wants to write anything down for the study! They will happily be interviewed, however (competing problematization in which writing is undesirable, for whatever reason).
- Most Spanish-speaking parents think children' English is great, many do not think children need more help. They do want their children to learn Spanish, and some of the children want that, too. However, some children do not want to be labeled as "outsiders" and so are shy of being tagged as Spanish speakers. Also, many parents are not very literate in any language, or may feel their first responsibility is to the family and they do not feel comfortable giving time to participating actively in program development.
- When the children don't have access to their own heritage language, that's the real tragedy.

65

- It would be strange and uncomfortable if I, a white outsider, made home visits by myself; to overcome this obstacle, the Commissioner and her daughter volunteered to come with me when I do home visits.

A conversation in January 2007 with the Commissioner, after the Commissioner's daughter and I had visited a family together, illustrates why it may have been important for an outsider such as me to partner with an insider for these home visits.

RESEARCHER: They trust her [the Commissioner's daughter] more than they trust me. That was something that I wanted to point out, that when we were on our way out of there and she said, "You did such a good job, you didn't need me." But she validates my showing up.

COMMISSIONER: You know when I was first working with the school district, my boss said we need to make some home visits. And I said okay. But he said, you need to go with me. Because you know they are not going to open the door to a white "gringo" man when their husband is not home. So you also have to know that there is a lot of cultural things, like the husband is very jealous of the wife, like "Who is that? How come she is coming to my house?"—like that.

In this problematization, the wife avoids contact with outsiders in order to avoid conflict with her husband, who is protective of his family's welfare and/or his wife's personal contacts. The presence of a known community insider gives the wife a rationale she can use to deflect or defuse her husband's concerns.

The Commissioner and her daughter also problematized at this planning meeting in December 2006 that it was hard to get local Spanish-speaking women to attend programs because often it is the husbands who know how to drive (possessing sociality-based training and an immutable mobile carrying legal information, i.e., a license), or the family does not have a car (technological object), so they have to get rides with someone else (using sociality or the telephone). Often these women are deterred from leaving the house because their husbands will say, "You don't have to leave for this meeting. You aren't going to do anything important there. You won't change the world by talking" (competing problematization).

If this problematization is in fact offered by the husband, he could be positing one or more of the following:

- The activities of women can be reduced to words, which have no power to affect material reality.
- The activities of Hispanics/Latinos are irrelevant against the overwhelming inertia of "how things are."
- Community activism external to the home is not the purview of women.
- Family members' energy is best used in support of the family's immediate material welfare.

(Later, in January, the Commissioner pointed out that the husband may not actually believe all the implications of his own problematization; his attempt to deter the wife from leaving the house may be motivated by concerns as simple as his desire to have his wife around that night to make him dinner or to take care of the children.)

In response to this competing problematization, I said, "Yes, we are [going to do something important]."

The Commissioner and her daughter both said, "Yeah, but the men don't understand that."

I problematized, "Well, we'll tell them. We'll do something good; we're going to change the world. At least the world around here. And then the men will have to change their minds."

Unfortunately, my problematization did not address the potential difficulty of getting the mothers to attend meetings at the public library in the first place. This was a recurring source of weakness for me throughout this organization attempt: I relied on warm, regular sociality and on problematizations focused on producing long-term, possible change in access to objects and immutable mobiles as motivators in situations where competing problematizations procuring immediately required objects and immutable mobiles were already functioning as much more powerful demotivators from alternative action. (Translation: I was asking them to step outside their usual ways of doing things in order to help their children in ways the parents did not consider necessary, taking the time they normally would have spent performing tasks that have a proven track record of establishing home comforts.) This is not to say that my problematization and sociality did not perform work; however, some repositioning or reallocation of objects

and immutable mobiles will likely be necessary to effect a change in the existing networks of Spanish-speaking families.

As we continued with the December planning meeting, the Commissioner's daughter suggested that the questions I had about things we need to decide about the program would be good things to ask in the home visits:

- "What days of the week are good for you?"
- "How can you get to the program? Do you have a car? Can you give other people rides, or is there someone you can get a ride from?"
- "Do you have other friends or family who would be interested in knowing about this or talking about this?"
- "Are you going to volunteer to help with this program? Are you going to share what you know with these children?"

The Commissioner's daughter problematized that by asking these questions, we find out if people are really interested. I understood this from my experiences as a missionary for my church. I had learned that it is much easier for people to say yes to something than to actually do it and that getting specific commitments for job roles makes the commitment concrete. Additionally, by asking these questions, we would be asking parents to identify whether these resources (time, transportation, knowledge, sociality) were already irreversibly committed to competing problematizations.

At this meeting, the Children's Librarian put out a great many books and materials reflecting Hispanic/Latino culture. The Commissioner's daughter was touched and amazed to see that they had so much to offer. She said, "I had no idea that you had this many books. I usually don't come to the library. I feel embarrassed about that. But I'm going to start coming now" because she had a daughter who was two at the time and she wanted her daughter to get a really good start. She said, "I'll start coming now, and I'm so glad I know that you have all these things." The librarian's use of objects and immutable mobiles carrying personal significance for the Commissioner's daughter motivated the Commissioner's daughter to reproblematize the institutional resources she could draw on to support her daughter's education.

Upon being congratulated at the December meeting on her diversity-minded collection development and materials display, the Children's Librarian tried to downplay

her contribution to this meeting by saying that she was only one of the librarians. However, my problematization indicated that parents would be more likely to cooperate with me and with the library if they felt confident in their own ability to draw on library resources, such as the librarians' professional knowledge. Therefore, I told everyone there that she was "the boss of all the other children's librarians," so that the parents who had attended would know that she was an information gatekeeper they could rely on.

We problematized other library services that might come out of a successful "Earphone English" program run, such as bilingual preschooler programming. The Commissioner's daughter was very interested by that. We discussed the possibility of a program in which Spanish speakers would teach Spanish to English speakers and English speakers would teach English to Spanish speakers. We talked about the need for literacy help in Spanish for the adults as well as for the children. The attending parents asked if we were planning on providing that literacy help in Spanish. I said we were hoping that something like that could grow out of the present program. The parents affirmed that there was a need for a Spanish-language literacy program for adults. The library director and I attempted to interest and mobilize these parents by problematizing that these other programs would be next in line if "Earphone English" received good attendance. The meeting closed on a positive note, as the Commissioner and the parents who attended promised to spread the word about the "Earphone English" program among their friends and relatives.

Analysis. My previous *interessement* and mobilization of institutional allies provided many of the objects and materials with which to distribute the immutable mobiles I used to extend our reach as program organizers to communicate with Spanish-speaking parents. However, this use of objects and immutable mobiles only resulted in the attendance of one Spanish-speaking parent: the owner of the "Mexican store." My *interessement* and mobilization of institutional allies also resulted in the deployment of an individual human being, the Commissioner, who provided a sociality that resulted in the attendance of two of the three parents who attended our meeting. The Commissioner had talked in person (and perhaps over the telephone) to communicate a problematization to her daughter and with another Spanish-speaking mother (whom I interviewed later in the fall: "Individual, married female with young and adolescent children"). Still, I cannot

attribute that mother's attendance at our open-attendance planning meeting solely to the Commissioner's sociality, because that mother had made significant sacrifices of time in the past in order to attend an ESL course at a local school:

> COMMISSIONER: [Married female with young and adolescent children] actually has two kids that it is hard to find someone who will care for them. They are very, they move around a lot [the kids are energetic and so it is hard to find a sitter for them]. But she gets involved, she was going to the second language class at the school when they had it there.

That mother did tell me in my interview with her that she had found out about that ESL course through the Commissioner, but the choice to continue attending was her own:

> She thinks it would be good to have more English language classes for parents; she got involved in one that the Commissioner told her about a couple of years ago, and even though it was hard—she missed meals a lot, because her schedule was hectic as a school-attending mom—she says she learned a lot and she still uses it, especially to help her kids with their homework as much as she can. (interview notes, October 15, 2007)

This mother's willingness to make such sacrifices in pursuit of an educational goal suggests to me that she has already embraced or developed a problematization that includes herself as an active and effective participant in extracurricular education for future achievement, and that this role may sometimes take precedence over the preferences of family members that she stay at home to provide immediate gratification of family needs and desires. The fact that she perceives that this achievement role is still available to her should she choose it suggests to me that her husband has accepted this problematization as well and does not offer demotivating interference.

The Commissioner's daughter experienced *interessement* at this open-attendance planning meeting between her previous behavior with regard to her daughter's informal education, and also with regard to her own role in the community. The objects and immutable mobiles supporting Spanish language literacy that were displayed by the Children's Librarian convinced the Commissioner's daughter that the public library could function as a valuable resource to support her daughter's development. This in turn signified that the public library might be more than a "white" establishment, which the

Commissioner's daughter confided in me later was an idea she still struggled with. She admitted later in the spring of 2007, after working with us for a few months, that she was still more likely to approach the single African American library staff member than any of the white staffers, simply because that staffer was also a minority. Still, this *interessement* experience at the library, plus her mother's support and past example of community activism (sociality), was sufficient to convince the Commissioner's daughter to become an organizing partner in the "Earphone English" program, with plans to continue as a parent mentor throughout the course of the program, as her work schedule allowed.

Here at this open-attendance planning meeting, we again were presented by Spanish speakers with competing problematizations as to what sort of programming their community really needed from the library. We did see that accepting these locally-produced problematizations and reformatting "Earphone English" to fill the roles they offered may have provided us with the motivating power necessary to get more Spanish-speaking families involved. However, the library director, the Children's Librarian, and I considered that our material resources (objects and immutable mobiles) simply would not support an abrupt change in course at this time. We had already done our best to provide immutable mobiles for use in the "Earphone English" program that would speak to the minority community's own experiences (I had interested a university professor known for researching minority children's book clubs in order to obtain a text purchasing list earlier in 2006). We continued to problematize that the other kinds of programs suggested by these parents could be implemented if attendance at "Earphone English" was sufficient to warrant the development of Spanish-language programming; as the children's response to the idea of "Earphone English" was usually positive, we hoped that their prospective enjoyment would be motivator enough to make that attendance happen.

Interview with the "Mexican Store" Owner

After this meeting, I made arrangements by phone to come to the "Mexican store" owner's home and interview her in early January. She and her husband own and run the store together, which is in the center of the recently renovated downtown. The owner has *fuente* status in the local Spanish-speaking community and speaks, reads, and writes in both English and Spanish. Still, for her convenience, we performed the interview in

Spanish. The following is a paraphrasing of her own words during our interview, which she allowed me to record.

Table 4-B: "Mexican Store" Owner

Participant	Race/ Ethnicity	Primary Language	Gener -ation	Sex	Family	Document Type
"Mexican Store" Owner	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, young and adolescent children	Summary from recording

She has been in this city about 20 years. She is originally from Zacatecas, Mexico. She has four children, two that are now teenagers and two that are little. The four speak English and Spanish, but the smaller children speak more English; well, really they speak only English.

She has not seen that her children need any extra help with English, but there are others that do because they come directly from Mexico and they need something more to learn the language, and for that the "Earphone English" program would be good, because it is important for these kids to have some help because they cannot communicate at school when they do not speak the language.

In general, she believes that "Earphone English" is a good program [she means "Earphone English" using Spanish language texts] because there are children, especially the little ones like hers, who speak only English, and one wants them to be able to speak Spanish because they are Hispanics. To have something in Spanish for them would be great. The best would be to have this library program in two forms, so that those that need to learn English can do so and those that need to learn Spanish can do so. She also sees [volunteering or participating in] the program as a good opportunity for the Hispanic teenagers to get to know each other, because they see each other at school and around but they don't know each other well. This would also give them the opportunity to develop a sense of responsibility for the Hispanic community and to understand what the needs of Hispanic community members might be and how they can help, such as going to the doctor, needing a ride or a translator.

The obstacle for the kids that speak both Spanish and English is that they have to go to the bilingual school, because the schools closest to where they live do not have bilingual staff to help them. For the teenagers, if there was a bilingual program [such as "Earphone English"?], it would be a great advantage for them, because they could demonstrate that they are bilingual, and it might motivate them to attend school more regularly.

I ask if her teenaged kids had a good experience growing up here. Do they experience any prejudice? Do they have friends of all races/ethnicities? She responds that she does not think her children feel bad. They have friends the same as everyone. Her oldest daughter has had a French class where she could bring items showing Mexican culture, and everyone brought something from their own culture. She thinks, if anything, they feel they have something special in this culture that they share.

She thinks her oldest children have most experience with the library, because when they have to write reports for school they go there to take out books or movies or things for class. The family has not gone to any library programs together. I ask what kind of program the family would find interesting. I suggest author visits, movie programs, video game programs, storytelling programs, dramatic performances—these are programs that the library has held for young people in the past. She answers that maybe, they would be interested. What happens is that one cannot attend, or something or another happens and one does not end up going. Like maybe there is a notice of a program put out for patrons in their store, and family members see the paper, but they do not go. It is not that they are not interested, because they *are* interested, but for one reason or another they do not go.

Some of the life activities of the family are planned in advance and some are spontaneous. There are activities at church or at school. Like, her daughter might have an activity at school or a meeting after school or something like that. Through the school, the teenagers have lots of activities.

I ask how the public programming or even just the life in the city in general can be improved for all people. She responds that if one could meet with others in some place and talk about the challenges and opportunities they have, not just Hispanic people but in general . . . but both her husband and she both work, one in the day and one at night, so

there isn't time to attend such a meeting as a whole family. The teenagers also work or they are in the house, or they suddenly remember that they have an appointment at the doctor or something, so there is always something that comes up and these are the reasons they cannot go to meetings or programs. The church is the place that everyone goes on Sundays. When meetings are over, they all talk and get to know each other, and they exchange greetings; it is when one "hangs out." Because there is no other place they can go to do these things; or there is always something else that comes up. They [Hispanics/Latinos] know they can go to church and do these things. She thinks the school is where the young people get together most and "hang out" and exchange greetings [perhaps implying that this is the best place to contact the youth or to have program meetings].

In order to improve the life of the city, it takes each person to understand the needs of the community and take action to improve life there. She hopes people attend the program and that the program could be successful. Because if people don't go to the program, like in every effort, nothing will happen.

She advises me that people who don't know what this is about might not want me to visit their houses because it is strange, and they might think that the kids will not like it. But if I can tell them really what it is about, then the kids can try it and if they like it they can come back.

Analysis. The problematization offered by the "Mexican store" owner is that her children and others like them who grow up in the United States will need no extracurricular scaffolding to support their mastery of written and spoken English. Recently immigrated children should be the primary target audience of this program. She sees the "Earphone English" program as a possible way to introduce Hispanic/Latino teenagers to the responsibilities and rewards of minority community service; she sees that a Spanish-language version of "Earphone English" could be valuable in that it could reintroduce children and youth to their heritage language and give them the scaffolding to master it. She does not see that her children have been burdened by racial or ethnic tensions at school or in the community. (This does not mean that she does not think such tensions exist; rather, she seems to believe that her children have thus far been unscarred by any such tensions.)

74

In her lived problematization, the public library offers resources most useful to the teenagers as they prepare research reports for school. She observes that the teenagers spend a lot of time at school, perhaps indicating that the schools are the place to recruit teenagers to help with or participate in the program. Adults and families use the Catholic church as a social center, especially the time right after the Spanish language mass on Sundays.

Even though her family never attends programs at the library, and even though her own children may not need programs like "Earphone English" either for language mastery support or for the public endorsement of the minority community they may provide, she still problematizes outreach programs such as "Earphone English" as a way to mitigate or address racial or ethnic inequities. She recognizes that the actions of individual parents, youth, and children affect the access to information and goods that the minority community may enjoy as a whole.

The Recruiting Home Visit

In January, the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner's daughter and I made arrangements by phone for a visit to one family who had returned a form, but a meeting time could never be settled on by phone for the other family, and I eventually stopped calling them. The family we were able to visit was the family I had met at the Immigration Fair the previous October.

When we arrived at their home at the time appointed (around 7 p.m. on a weeknight), the mother was still out doing the family shopping. However, her adult daughter and the daughter's husband (neither of whom was known to me) stayed to talk with us until the mother came home. This younger couple had a baby and a young child, and after several minutes of strained, embarrassed chitchat, they asked several questions about library services, library-owned Spanish-language materials, and other educational opportunities for their children and for themselves, including the pros and cons of paid child daycare in order to allow the parents to attend classes or work. This trend—that after a strained beginning, recipients of home visits consistently asked my companions or me direct questions about how to obtain access to resources for themselves and their families—continued throughout my research in that city.

About the same time the mother returned home, the father also returned; the mother sat with us in the living room, along with the young couple and their children, and the older elementary school-aged girl in the family, who was the child most interested in "Earphone English," also came to sit with us. The father remained in the kitchen, apparently getting his dinner from the pots on the stove, and then retired to another part of the house without spending any time with us. My visit companion, the Commissioner's daughter, confided in me later that this pattern often prevails among "very Mexican" families; the father is expected to provide the wherewithal for family expenses, and the mother is expected to guide the children's learning and deal with the school.

At this meeting with the mother and with the student who wished to attend the program, I attempted to explain as clearly as possible what the purpose of the program was, how the collaborative development of the program would ensue, and what would be expected of each party involved. I went over the flyer that had been sent home and I also shared with the mother the consent and assent forms that would need to be signed if her child took part in the study aspect of the "Earphone English" program, assuring her that participation was voluntary. However, the forms themselves were so long and complicated that she quickly gave up trying to read them, instead responding quietly to my explanations of the forms.

I also asked about the family's arrangements for transporting their child to the program, explaining that the library was willing to arrange transportation if the family was unable to do so. This question stopped the conversation cold, and we all sat there in embarrassed silence. It seems to me that my question was equated with asking about whether the family was self-sufficient enough to take care of the needs of their own children, and while they might discuss such challenges at length with friends and family, my position as outsider (educated, middle-class, Caucasian, perhaps inescapably a representative of oppression and prejudice) made such an inquiry extremely offensive. (On the other hand, it could just have been a stupid question, as I had had to move my car to make room for the family car a few minutes before when the parents had gotten home with the groceries.) We smoothed over the disruption as best we could: I said, "What a question, right?" and we all laughed uncomfortably.

We made a point of chatting with this mother and her children at local Catholic church meetings thereafter. Still, the child never afterward came to a library program as far as I knew, though several months later the mother did initiate a conversation with me at church—after I had offered a "hello"—to explain (uncomfortably) that they had just been too busy to get their daughter to the program.

Analysis. I obtained contact with this family via sociality at the Immigration Rights Fair the previous October, and also by way of the public school, where I met the older elementary school-aged girl and sent recruitment forms (immutable mobiles) home with her. We used technological objects (telephones) and I used my planner (immutable mobile) to schedule a home visit (sociality enabled by technological object, i.e., my car).

The visit itself was a mixed experience. Our interaction with the adult daughter and her husband appeared to provide them with information they considered potentially valuable with regard to public services or programs that could support their continuing education and access to informational resources. However, we had no personal contact with the father, and the lengthy release forms may have intimidated the mother. My question about the family car was perhaps mistaken, perhaps rude.

The obstacle of the difficult-to-read release forms may have encouraged the mother to problematize that the library-based program was just too difficult or too complicated to get their daughter involved with at that point in time. The question about the car may have lent credence to the problematization that the library was attempting to position this family as needy outsiders, whereas the parents may have preferred to see themselves as resourceful survivors or as fully integrated members of a classless, color-blind society.

The Orientation Meeting

In January, after the school and church visits, we held an orientation meeting at the library to start the program, problematizing that we would incorporate ongoing, cooperative program revision by staff, parents, and children into the week-to-week activities of "Earphone English" after settling in with a core group of participants. We called all our previous contacts (technological object), made announcements at the Spanish-language mass (sociality) and handed out flyers there (immutable ojects), and posted flyers in all the restaurants. No one came to this orientation meeting.

I did find out many months later, during my interviews of local residents, that a small group of parents and children had come to the library to attend the meeting, but they either came on the wrong date or time, or they were unable to find the meeting room where we waited. The woman who told me this—a friend of the Commissioner—was part of that group, and as she does not speak much English, it is possible that the group did come at the correct date and time and was simply unable to find out from the English-speaking circulation desk staff or the reference librarians where they should go for the meeting. However, we stationed members of our own program organization group in the library lobby for fifteen minutes before the scheduled meeting and for half an hour after it was supposed to have begun, and we saw no Spanish-speaking families at all that evening.

As we sat at the meeting room table and ate the refreshments we had prepared for the families who had not come, we program staff problematized that this blockage should be considered only a setback, all the while wondering whether this is a sign we should not continue at all.

The Commissioner commented that many Spanish speakers do not know what the library has to offer:

> COMMISSIONER: You know, like you wanted to get them a library card. But if they don't know how to read and write, why they going to use the library? That's their thinking. And you have movies here, you have all kinds of things, but they don't think that way.

Her suggestion problematizes that a lack of literacy among Spanish-speaking parents leads them to consider that the library, which they may think offers only books, is not a place they will find any resources they can use.

The Commissioner also commented on our continuing difficulty in persuading parents to participate in the program, especially mothers:

> COMMISSIONER: And if her husband is there in the evening, he probably doesn't want her to leave the house without taking care of him before. Because that's the woman's responsibility: the husband and then the kids. So he wants the meal and everything ready, so she has to have everything ready before she can go out.

Here, supplying the material needs of the family by preparing the evening meal takes priority over any external activity.

     The Commissioner and her daughter and I further discussed the tensions that we perceived during the home visit described in the previous section.

> COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: I'll be honest with you, Timnah, maybe it might be, I feel, like when we went to that one home, I feel that they are, like the parents that were there before we met the parents that we were going to meet, sometimes they're very shy or they feel like you're a very respectful [sic] person, like they think you're very high up here, and they feel really intimidated by . . . and I tried to make them feel comfortable, like no, we're not here to make you feel like this, we're here to want to share something with you so your kids can, and that's why I started talking to them about HeadStart, because their little one is about the same age as my daughter. I wanted him to feel comfortable and his wife to feel comfortable, that we weren't here to say, "This is the best," you know.
>
> COMMISSIONER: That "this is what you're supposed to do."

This comment mirrors the problematization offered by the Catholic priest, that Spanish-speaking parents may resent outreach from agencies that they perceive as a criticism of their parenting skills. The conversation continued:

> COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: Right. But I think that a lot of parents are intimidated. You know. Because this is all new to them. In my personal opinion, I think that a lot of Hispanic parents don't put a lot into the education of their children. It's more like, that's the last thing. Because if the parent is not a parent that has gone to school higher than middle school or elementary school, it's, I don't think it's that they don't want their kids to succeed, but it's hard to have their kids come to them and say, how do you do this [i.e., asking for help with homework]? You know what I mean? And I think that that's the problem with, like maybe we just need to educate the parents to not feel intimidated. Because the children don't have the problem. Like the little girl that was there, she wanted to [participate in the program]. I think it's her mom that was just overwhelmed with, you know, when you gave her the papers that she just looked at, and she was just, "Oh, this is for *them*—"

COMMISSIONER: "What am I doing?"

COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: Yeah, "What am I doing?" You know what I mean?

RESEARCHER: Yeah, you know I saw her at church the next Sunday, and she looked at me and nodded and said hello, and gave me kind of half a smile, but there was restraint there. She looked at me like, "Hi, I'm not sure I want to know you." And I thought, maybe she won't be coming [to the program]. But I talked to her on the phone and she said, "Oh yes, yes, yes." But of course she wouldn't tell me if she felt uncomfortable.

COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: But it's not you.

COMMISSIONER: But it's not against you. Because I had the same problem with her myself. You know, it's like she say, they feel intimidated.

RESEARCHER: Did you go there for your job?

COMMISSIONER: No, it's because I know the community. Which isn't my job. I do a lot with these people. One of the main things, they're not educated. Probably the highest grade they went to school was third grade.

This problematization indicates that the Spanish-speaking parents may consider that activities requiring "white" or literate entrance practices effectively exclude them and their children, or that Spanish speakers are unwelcome or unusual at such activities.

RESEARCHER: So maybe just the papers I gave her, in and of themselves, just the papers were really intimidated. All the writing.

COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: I don't think they really understand, like in our community, like releases [release forms]. But I'm not saying that you were wrong because you had to do that. You know? You had to do that. Like in the place where I work there are release forms, and I'm sure you do them too. They just don't understand why. They think it's so easy. Like if they call [public health agency], they say [to the Commissioner], "I want you to talk to my friend here and tell her what you need to tell her about me." Well, she can't do that. You have to have a release signed. They don't understand that. They think it's easy for you to pick up, like if I tell you, you can call [library director] and tell her what I told

you, and you can tell her and you can tell everybody what's going on with me.

[laughs] Like I said, it's just the education part of everything.

This problematization posits that the idea of a release form may seem unnecessary or overdone to Spanish-speaking parents. It may indicate a lack of trust. At the least, it may be a marker that this activity will be run by different rules than other activities in which a family may normally participate.

COMMISSIONER: And it's another thing too, like you know in Mexico, so these people, that's where they're coming from, right? Most of everybody. We don't have all these releases, we don't have like physical therapy, we don't have a library, only the ones who get higher education, they can go to the library and get books and all that, so all these things are new for them and it's so hard for them to get the idea of what we want to do, you know? So we can tell them, but we need to start probably with the parents.

Here, the Commissioner is indicating that we only have access to the Spanish-speaking children through the permission and support (through transportation, etc.) of the parents, who only have their experience by which to gauge the usefulness and accessibility of public programs and institutions such as the library.

COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: And that's where it's—that's probably going to be a hard thing, and I'm going to tell you why it's really hard, because a lot of parents work. And if Mom and Dad are both working and they're working split shifts, that's going to be your hardest problem.

RESEARCHER: So that means it will be hard to get both of them, or it means it will be hard to work out a schedule, or what?

COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: I think it's going to be hard for them to work out a schedule and it's going to be hard for us to bring them in. You know what I mean?

Essentially, not only would scheduling and transportation have to be taken into account in any reproblematizing we might do to facilitate the participation of Spanish-speaking families in library programs; we would also have to reproblematize to intervene in the parents' own problematizations, to reassign the roles of parents, public service agencies,

and extracurricular education so that our library-based outreach would be valued and accepted.

> RESEARCHER: So having parents come to the library is something that's going to be really, really difficult.

> COMMISSIONER'S DAUGHTER: I think it probably will be.

Unfortunately, that last prediction would prove to be the case.

By now, it was late January. The Commission members, their family and friends, the public library and I had given a considerable number of staff hours to implementing my study and the library has spent $3500 on materials to support "Earphone English" (Children's Librarian, personal communication, April 20, 2006). Yet, we had very little to show for all our effort, and the library director was scrambling to defend her investment in the project to her staff and governing board (library director, personal communication, January 24, 2007).

We were at a crossroads. In order to ensure continuing program support from the library board, we needed to demonstrate progress. However, our progress consisted in discovering what did not work as an incentive to Spanish-speaking families to participate in library programs—promises in English and Spanish, in text and by word of mouth, of free food, fun, educational support, and participatory program development. We did not even know why these incentives had not worked. Such promises could usually be depended on to elicit some response from regular library users; why not from these potential or infrequent users?

What was keeping them away? Was it a lack of transportation? Did we schedule the meetings at inopportune times? Is the library too "white and middle-class" an institution to be trusted by an ethnic and linguistic working-class minority? Had we offended anyone by our recruiting methods? Or did these families consider the "Earphone English" program itself to be irrelevant to filling their own needs and desires?

What we had gained, more than anything else, was the knowledge that the models of recruitment we came with—derived from experience with academia, professional "best practices," church fellowship and teaching, international travel, and grass-roots organizations—did not match the dynamic at work thus far in this location. We knew that

we did not know anything that we could identify as useful for accomplishing our goal of connecting Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos more closely with the public library.

How could we come to know what we did not know? How could we find out what was actually going on and how we could interfere with that dynamic to achieve our own ends? If that was even possible, how could we stall the library board and the other administrative bodies until we can produce results they will find acceptable? And how could I make sense of this disaster in a way that could be defended as a dissertation?

This was not what academic research was supposed to be. Not only had the adaptation program effectively tanked, I had found that it was both impossible and intolerable for me to prod my local partners—participants in my study—to spend time writing down their thoughts about our work. All had been very ready to pitch in and work with their might to bring about success with the "Earphone English" program, but writing about it was of no interest to them. To tell the truth, I sympathized. It was hard even for me to know what to write about when all our efforts seemed to yield no positive results. The outlook for my dissertation had never looked more bleak.

My own scholarly crisis aside, I had made commitments to my local partners in fieldwork, and they and I had cemented our partnership by offering up our time, thought, money, materials, and even by taking on risks to our external relationships. I had also made commitments to the leadership of the local Catholic church and to the children I contacted and their parents. As I had presented to them the "Earphone English" program, I had verbally affirmed my commitment to improving services for Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos in that community. No such improvement had yet been experienced by those families. In short, I was tied by my academic and personal associations to the possibility of producing some measurable change in access for these families. Those ties made it imperative for me to find out what I could about what was real and could be engaged with to effect a change in access here.

I knew that I could not find out what was real on my own. While I had entered the doctoral program expecting to become an expert via personal control of materials and perhaps people, I had later been confronted with persuasive reasons to position myself otherwise in the inquiry process. It was because of Freire that I had attempted to partner with local participants in the adaptation process of "Earphone English." Now, because of

Freire (2000), I knew that any inquiry into the local situation that I performed on my own would be limited to finding out that which I could know on my own, which—given the barriers to access I experienced because I was non-local, academic, white, middle-class, non-Catholic, and a second-language speaker of Spanish—would not amount to much. I needed to extend my reach by somehow persuading more local, Hispanic/Latino adults to accept that I belonged in their topography and could be trusted (as a program organizer) with their children's safety and (as a researcher) with the adults' observations about their own circumstances, as it was the adults who controlled their children's access to the library and its resources.

Analysis. The problematizations offered by the Commissioner and her daughter to explain the lack of attendance at our orientation meeting after the relatively positive closure of our open-attendance planning meeting included the following:

- A lack of literacy among Spanish-speaking parents leads them to consider that the library is not a place they will find any resources they can use.
- Supplying the material needs of the family by preparing the evening meal takes priority over any external activity.
- Spanish-speaking parents may resent outreach from agencies that they perceive as a criticism of their parenting skills.
- Spanish-speaking parents may consider that activities requiring "white" or literate entrance practices effectively exclude them and their children, or that Spanish speakers are unwelcome or unusual at such activities.
- The idea of a release form may seem unnecessary or overdone to Spanish-speaking parents. It may indicate a lack of trust. At the least, it may be a marker that this activity will be run by different rules than other activities in which a family may normally participate.
- We could only have access to the Spanish-speaking children through the permission and support (through transportation, etc.) of the parents, who only had their experience by which to gauge the usefulness and accessibility of public programs and institutions such as the library. If the parents did not problematize the library as a valued ally, they might not support their children's attendance at library programs.

- Not only would scheduling and transportation have to be taken into account in any reproblematizing we might do to facilitate the participation of Spanish-speaking families in library programs; we would also have to reproblematize to intervene in the parents' own problematizations, to reassign the roles of parents, public service agencies, and extracurricular education so that our library-based outreach would be valued and accepted.

The validity of these problematizations could only be tested by acting in accordance with them, to see if the real networks we were attempting to breach resisted or complied with our overtures in the expected ways.

In order to test these problematizations, we would have to reproblematize our own network in ways that it seemed none of us already had a model for. In fact, the associations that created our actor-network as a programming organ of the library, the city, and my university education were at the point of dissolution, as our original problematization to fulfill our personal and institutional needs and desires appeared to be unrealizable without further risky investments of time, effort, money, and materials (sociality, immutable mobiles, and objects).

Reproblematizing the Actors

At a planning meeting soon after the disappointing orientation meeting, we program staff decided together to keep trying to (a) find out what was actually going on in the Hispanic/Latino families' lives that kept them from attending library programs, and (b) interest those families in beginning to attend. This reproblematization of our organizing efforts essentially changed the focus of my dissertation study from the implementation and examination of "Earphone English" to the achievement of these two goals, in the hopes of determining possible avenues for building relationships of trust with the Hispanic/Latino community and turning non-users of the library into users.

Building Relationships of Trust

Building relationships of trust was a goal I felt very comfortable pursuing, as it allowed me to draw on the training and experience I had received some thirteen years before as a missionary for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In ANT terms, this approach to building relationships of trust involved reproblematizing both the

human and the nonhuman actors. Using this approach, I had been instructed and had learned firsthand that, in order for trust to flourish among human actors across established network boundaries,

- real friendships had to be built (regular, dependable, pleasant sociality that communicated that participants were valued potential allies) and
- real work had to be done (realignment of associations with immutable mobiles, objects, and other actor-networks).

That work had to effect perceivable changes that the target population would value—essentially, competing problematizations had to be satisfied sufficiently to allow the (often similar, but more extensive) goals of the obligatory passage point (OPP) to take precedence. Thus, the loyalty of the OPP to the welfare of the potential allies was demonstrated, not just stated. Demonstrations of loyalty invited problematizations that realigned these former strangers as allies in pursuit of similar goals.

In order to build those relationships of trust, we knew we had to gather more information about Hispanic/Latino family needs and wants in order to present ourselves as trustworthy. We had to find out what we might have done wrong and right up to that point, so that we could then plan small events at which we could provide meaningful service, gradually building a reputation for dependability and honorable intentions.

As we strategized and schemed over ways to connect with the local Spanish-speaking, Hispanic/Latino population, I turned to Deweyan inquiry to structure this phase of our investigation (Dewey, 1910/2005). Dewey's process appealed to me because it acknowledges the chaos within which problem-solving inquiry is performed (chaos I had come to know well), and it provides tools with which to engage with the chaos and discover solutions—i.e., actions that can be taken to achieve a desired outcome.

My partners and I were in the thick of chaos. We had a problem, and we needed a solution. Dewey provided very basic tools with which to structure our inquiry, tools so basic that they were unlikely to blind us by presuming to already know what constituted the obstacles to resolving our problem. Dewey's inquiry model guided me (and I tried to guide my partners) through testing possible solutions to our lack of success, recognizing that every apparent failure was actually an opportunity to learn more about what was real.

With our new focus in mind, in February and March 2007, the public library staff, Hispanic/Latino Committee representative, her daughter, and I began to gather information via interviews and casual conversations to figure out how to solve the problem of few to no Spanish speakers attending "Earphone English" or other public library programs. I asked questions of community insiders while visiting the Spanish-language mass and the Catholic priest who leads the mass, and while participating in planning meetings at the library and at the homes of the Commissioner and her daughter.

Analysis. The analysis for this section is primarily represented in the form of a chart demonstrating the interim problematization I developed as we were learning about our target population. During this learning process, I asked community insiders about the constitution of Hispanic/Latino and Spanish-speaking families and their primary interests and concerns. The answers to those questions led to the development of the following chart, depicting generations of Hispanic/Latino immigrants and their needs and wants as I perceived them at this time. I checked this chart with the Commissioner and her daughter, who approved it.

Table 4-C: Generations of Hispanic/Latino Immigrants—Needs and Wants

Cultural Influences:	United States ⟷	Mexico
Time in US:	+/- 30 years	+/- 20 years
Age Range:	40-60 years	40-60 years
Languages:	Spanish/English	Spanish/English
Literacies:	Spanish/English	Spanish/English or (Spanish?)
Concerns:	Rights and privileges Latino participation in larger community Recognition of existence/identity by larger community Education and economic advancement of Latinos **Rising generation**	Education and economic advancement of Latinos Rights and privileges Latino participation in larger community **Rising generation**
Time in US:	Born in US (Chicano)	Born in Mexico, recently moved to US
Age Range:	20-40 years	20-40 years
Languages:	English/(Spanish)	Spanish/(English)
Literacies:	English/(Spanish?)	(Spanish?)
Concerns:	Identity Recognition of existence/identity by larger community Rights and privileges Education and economic advancement of Latinos Latino participation in larger community **Rising generation**	Rights and privileges Education and economic advancement of Latinos (Recognition of existence/identity by larger community?) **Rising generation**
Time in US:	Born in US (Chicano)	Born in Mexico/born in US?
Age Range:	0-20 years	0-20 years
Languages:	English/((Spanish))	Spanish → English
Literacies:	English/((Spanish))	English/(Spanish?) (Identity?)
Concerns:	Identity Personal (and family) development (Rights and privileges?) (Recognition of existence/identity by larger community?)	(Recognition of existence/identity by larger community?) (Rights and privileges?) (Passing?) (Personal [and family] development?)

Note: Other groupings do exist, such as grandparents who have lived all their lives in Mexico and speak no English; the groupings included in this table are those that have been thus far identified and invited to participate by the project partners in ▮▮▮▮▮.   3/17/2007

88

In this table, the existence of six different polarizations of Hispanic/Latino individuals, all of them connected to each other by blood and marriages, is posited along a continuum representing the interests of these individuals as informed by their experiences in Mexico or the United States. Their time in the United States, their age, their language literacies, and their concerns are shown, as best we could guess at them with the information available to us. The problematization represented by this chart helped us identify possible openings at which to renegotiate the associations between these individuals and other entities within their actor-networks.

For example, it seemed likely that older Mexican immigrants with several decades in the United States could be interested using programming that seemed to them to address a concern for the welfare of the rising generation. That idea of "welfare" could include English language mastery, but also access to the local resources of the majority culture such as mentoring of high school students toward college study, and knowledge and acceptance of their own heritage language. It was possible that we could interest these parents and grandparents in reallocating family resources to support their children and grandchildren in attending library programs by emphasizing how the library programs could directly and positively impact the children's welfare in any of these ways. Additionally, because the Commissioner and her daughter had warned us that it could be very difficult to get many of these adults to personally connect with the library, but they already had connections with other trusted public service agencies, such as the public schools and the Spanish-language newspaper, we looked for opportunities to partner with those trusted agencies and perhaps sneak the library into a position of trust by using their resources and appearing to shelter under their authoritative umbrellas, much as we had already been attempting to do with the local Catholic church.

Analyzing the Opportunities

In light of these possibilities, we brainstormed and pursued these new ways to connect the library with local Hispanics/Latinos, especially those whose primary language is Spanish. On March 14, 2007, I posted this "state-of-the-study" report on an internal wiki at my school. This report is a problematization of the human and institutional actors as we analyzed them at this time:

The [local] Public Library is in the process of developing outreach programs and procedures to the local Hispanic/Latino community, an effort that began with the attempted implementation of an Earphone English program based on the audiobook discussion program of that name developed by Francisca Goldsmith of the Berkeley Public Library to serve the English language learning needs of the immigrant youth from many nations who attend school in Berkeley. The program adaptation was proposed to the [local] Public Library by Timnah Card as part of her dissertation research, which began as a project to evaluate and report on the adaptability and potential usefulness of the Earphone English program for small urban or semi-rural sites with a growing Hispanic/Latino population.

Some interesting possibilities have opened up in [city] as the first attempt at program adaptation and implementation belly-flopped (no families from the Hispanic/Latino community showed up), not the least of which is the opportunity to find out and report on the differences in social and civic structures between Berkeley and [city] and how these might support or impede the development of boundary-crossing relationships between the library and its staff and the still-marginalized Hispanic/Latino community. Of even greater interest is the potential to develop library programming and collections in partnership with Hispanic/Latino community members in such a way that relationships of trust, commitment to the ethnic and larger local communities, and the ability to lead groups and to foster in new group leaders develop among the Hispanics/Latinos themselves.

Library and research staff and Latina volunteers are currently learning to use some planning and evaluation tools offered by Chip Bruce in his Border Learning Spaces project as well as the tools outlined in Joan Durrance and Karen Fishers' *How Libraries and Librarians Help* (2005).

Projects in progress:
- Focus group (Mexican, young parents)
- Focus group (Chicano, young parents)

- Library card issuance and library materials checkout at local Catholic church
- [city] High School Hispanic/Latino/Chicano students (working with high school librarian) writing content for Spanish-language [local] newspaper

Projects in preliminary stages:
- Earphone English at [local] Middle school (Fall 2007, during lunch once per week)
- Latino/Chicano students on newly formed Teen Advisory Group
- Focus group members migrating to new Hispanic/Latino Advisory Committee (not yet formed)
- Latino/Chicano library staff or volunteers involved in development of programming and collections
- Latino/Chicano library board member

Possible future projects:
- High school students documenting local Hispanic/Latino/Chicano history or current activism
- [local university]-TV collaboration with high school students (Latino/Chicano and African American), along the lines of the project on the Champaign County-based Douglass Park Drum Corps, to create community sense of self and to identify and disseminate funds of knowledge re solidarity, organization, mobilization of resources → activism
- Series of once-a-year programs/activities celebrating Hispanic/Latino/Chicano heritage and culture, perhaps correlated with the religious/cultural holidays observed locally
- Regular school-based booktalks and storytelling visits incorporating discussion/celebration of (aspects of) Hispanic/Latino lives
- Collaboration between local African American and Hispanic/Latino activists (and perhaps library staff) to share funds of knowledge and systems of support

Analysis. Essentially, we were attempting to reorient existing connections between public service agencies, such as the public schools and the Spanish-language newspaper, and Hispanic/Latino families to include the public library as a trusted ally. If we could not breach the existing associations at the family end, we would try the agency end.

Attempting Partnering

In order to help me investigate opportunities to make durable connections between the public library and the local Hispanic/Latino youth, my husband independently searched the Web and found contact information for a former editor/publisher of a small, Spanish-language newspaper for this city. I made contact by email and phone with this woman and asked if the paper would be republished soon and, if so, whether she would allow some of the high school students to participate in the reporting and content writing for the newspaper. She agreed willingly to the inclusion of the high school students in the paper operations, but due to personal issues, did not follow through on republishing the paper.

Next, I visited the local high school, where the school librarian arranged for the Spanish teacher and three of her Hispanic/Latino students to meet with me and the Children's Librarian to discuss the possibility of the students publishing their own Hispanic/Latino newsletter instead of working for the newspaper. Such a student newsletter could be distributed at the library as well as at school. The students appeared enthused and began to brainstorm story ideas, assign roles, and fix deadlines before the close of the meeting.

We invited these students to participate on the library's Youth Advisory Group, but none of them chose to do so. I also invited the owner of the local "Mexican store" to propose to her daughters that they serve on the Youth Advisory Group, but nothing came of that.

The Children's Librarian did visit the local Catholic church several times with selections of materials she thought would be of interest to Hispanic/Latino families. She brought over in her car the forms and equipment for library card issuance and library materials checkout, and a rolling book truck for display, but her efforts saw little response from the congregation.

Also, though we had laid plans for the focus groups comprised of first- and second-generation Hispanic/Latino, young parents, we soon found that our time was taken up primarily with organizing a new program for the summer, though I continued working with the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner and her daughter in regular meetings at their homes to try to organize a Latino Partnership early in the summer. The daughter was also invited to run for the library board, but she declined, as she worked full-time and was a part-time student at the community college, as well as the mother of a young child.

In August 2007, the teacher at the middle school told us by email that she was temporarily overloaded with new assignments at work, and our further attempts to contact her by email and phone met with no response.

Analysis. The World Wide Web was a source of potentially useful information during this phase, as it provided contact and background details for potential partners that allowed me to contact them. However, in the case of the newspaper editor, it was also a substitute for face-to-face meetings that could have provided more impetus to partnership.

The institutional nature of the public school was both a facilitator of partnership with the library and a deterrent to partnership. The beaurocratic structure of the high school gave us clear authority figures to connect with, as well as space to meet and materials to use in future projects. These authority figures also made themselves available to the students as mentors in the project we suggested. On the other hand, the many professional demands placed upon the middle school teacher precluded her further partnership with us.

The high school and middle school students themselves expressed some interest in working with the library—at the high school level, even some enthusiasm—but did not follow through. I have no information on the reasons for this. Neither do I have any information on why the families at the Catholic church did not engage more actively with the Children's Librarian when she visited; language barriers, differing social customs, and racial tensions could all have played a part.

Institutional Partners

In the course of our investigation that spring into the reasons for limited Spanish speaker attendance at our program, many public institutions serving this geographic area

unofficially reported to us low Hispanic/Latino program attendance and/or use of proffered public resources. Among these institutions were the mayor's Human Relations Commission, Public Health, the Rehabilitation Office, Community Action, the local public library, and the local community college.

According to a chart I made at the time, our partners and informational resources as of April 7, 2007, comprised the following:

Table 4-D: Partners and Informational Resources

Groups	Partners/Informational Resources
UIUC	• me • my dissertation committee members
[city] Public Library	• library director • Children's Librarian • Children's Room staff member • A/V librarian
[city] staff	• head, Human Relations Commission • Hispanic/Latino Human Relations Commissioner
[city] Hispanic/Latino community	• daughter of Hispanic/Latino Commissioner • owner and editor of Spanish-language newspaper • owner of local Mexican goods store • factory worker, contacted at Catholic church, who wanted to tutor young people
Local university extension office	• Hispanic/Latina university extension staff member
Local Catholic church	• priest • events facilitator and planner for Spanish-speaking population
[city] High School	• school librarian • Spanish teacher • students
A local middle school	• possible partnership with teacher who might like to incorporate "Earphone English" into the lunchtime activities at her school
Berkeley, CA	• "Earphone English" program staff and former participants

In preparation for expanding the chart to include the resources each partner brought to the network, I asked the program staff to identify the resources they were able

to draw upon for our outreach effort. I modeled what I wanted by listing the resources I could draw upon, from my material assets to my former groupmaking experience and certain personality traits. The program staff did attempt to do this, but had so many other demands upon their time that this chart was never completed. During these spring months, besides working on other projects related to our employment, we program staff were also training ourselves to use the planning and evaluation tools offered by Chip Bruce in his Border Learning Spaces project as well as the tools outlined in Joan Durrance and Karen Fishers' *How Libraries and Librarians Help* (2005). Time was at a premium.

Though I didn't report it in any documentation at the time, that spring I was also reading Stephen M. R. Covey's *The Speed of Trust* (2006), as well as some other material on management strategies, in order to quickly obtain information about groupmaking that I might be able to use to focus our efforts at the library. Covey's explanation of the reasons for trust (integrity, intent, capability, and results) and how trust is established among former antagonists did give me a set of criteria by which to identify possible reasons why certain Spanish-speaking families did not regularly use the library:

- they did not trust that the library was a safe place for them, where they would be treated honorably;
- they did not trust that the library staff was interested in stocking materials for Spanish speakers;
- they did not believe that the library had anything they would find interesting or useful;
- they knew of no one like themselves who was a regular library user—even those connections who were regular users perhaps did not publicize that fact.

Through my questions and observations at these sites and among these partners and informational sources, I determined that the Hispanic/Latino community in this geographic area is informally perceived by both outsiders and insiders as insular, though internally fragmented; this insularity may be the result of nationally and internationally impactful political tensions and the continual Spanish-language television news coverage of government raids on undocumented Mexican immigrants in the United States, as well as community informational practices among the local Hispanics/Latinos themselves.

The primary trusted source of information among local Hispanics/Latinos, as reported by five local Hispanic/Latino activists employed by public-service agencies, including the Commissioner and her daughter and the extension staff member, is word of mouth among friends. These activists communicated that, as many of the local Hispanic/Latino families maintain or comprise strong connections with undocumented immigrant individuals, the overlay of ethnic discrimination and political mistrust created by the long history of mistreatment of Hispanic/Latinos in the United States and the current negative focus on illegal immigration fosters gossip among Hispanic/Latinos that characterizes public agency programs as prime locations for government anti-immigrant raids. This gossip has been reported to the local activists as a key reason for the lack of Hispanic/Latino attendance at public programs specifically directed at serving Hispanic/Latino needs.

Analysis. My program staff partners cited their institutional responsibilities as deterrents to participating in the process of self-analysis. It is also possible that some reluctance to "toot one's own horn" may have cause them embarrassment at the prospect of writing down their strengths and resources for the rest of the team to comment upon. A lack of time due to professional responsibilities also limited the time the program staff could give to learning how to run a library-based study.

The information I gleaned about the folkways and motivators/demotivators among local Hispanics/Latinos suggested that trustworthiness is a primary requirement for an information source, and that different sources are trusted for different modes of access. The idea of family connectedness can endow individuals with trustworthiness in ways inaccessible to outsiders. There is a reliance on oral communication, also, and a difficulty with written text.

Reproblematizing the Library Program

My fellow program staff and I determined that we needed to sidestep or overcome the deflective power of this gossip mill in order to ensure Hispanic/Latino attendance at library programs. We also needed to sidestep or overcome an apparent Hispanic/Latino parental disinclination to participate or allow their children to participate in publicly offered educational opportunities, whether this disinclination sprang from a limited understanding of the need for continuing educational scaffolding, from heavy parent

work schedules and limited financial or transportational resources, or from the ongoing babysitting duties of middle grade Hispanic/Latino children while their parents are at work.

In early March of 2007, the library director had remembered that the Hispanic/Latina staff member at the university extension had offered to partner with the library to offer programs for kids. She found the card that staff member had given her last December and contacted her by email. In late April and early May, this staff member met with library staff and me to plan the summer program. As a community insider and a public institution employee, this staff member had determined that certain ploys attracted greater attendance from Spanish-speaking families. Together, we planned a summer reading program for children at the public library, running from June 8 to August 17, 2007, drawing on existing extension office curriculum and a modification of the original "Earphone English" plan.

In order to circumvent the obstacles that we had previously identified and that the extension staff member was able to clarify for us, we as program staff needed to create adequate trust between ourselves, our institutions, and protective Hispanic/Latino parents that the parents would not only allow their children to participate in the program, but that the parents would provide regular transportation for their children themselves, in spite of the limits on family resources this aberration in normal behavior would produce, and in spite of the parents' natural mistrust of strangers as adequate caregivers for their children. In order to create that trust, we needed to demonstrate alliance by serving the families' own perceived needs in an accessible, respectful way that cooperated with the families' own cultural traditions of socialization. We determined that the program staff must provide procedural support in Spanish as well as in English. We had to design the program to fit with parents' work schedules and to appear to be (and to actually be) fun. We had to support the inclusion of all children within a certain age range who are commonly assigned to babysit or to be babysat during program time, while freeing the older children from babysitting responsibilities sufficiently to relax and enjoy being children themselves. As program staff, we also had to stealthily include educational content and activities that would allow the participating children to build information and skills mastery as well as a positive sense of self; we hoped that, as a result of this

97

program experience, the children and their families would associate these good results with the library, with the extension office, with the university and other institutions of higher education, and potentially with education in general, increasing the likelihood that these families will become more empowered to achieve economic and political parity and more fully integrated with the community at large through these portals in the future. We had to achieve all these results without overloading the resources of the staff or their parent organizations and while documenting and analyzing the efficacy of their administrative decisions. Ideally, all these goals would be accomplished in such a way that bonds of trust and collaboration between the participating agencies and also between them and other local public and private institutions, as well as informally organized groups, would flourish, providing a more robust social infrastructure for the support of future outreach to underserved groups in this area.

In response to these needs, we designed a summer program that would be both exciting and educative for children of all backgrounds, ages 5 and up. The program was held Friday mornings from 9 a.m. to noon during summer vacation at the local public library, which has meeting rooms, materials, and a large, grassy, outdoor play space. The program activities comprised three types (life skills, recreation, and reading). The children were assigned to one of three groups by their ages: five to six years old, seven to nine years old, and ten to twelve or thirteen. These groups were rotated through the activity types during the three hours of each program meeting, spending one hour at each activity type. Snacks and activity materials were provided by program staff. Based on the public interest demonstrated in other library and university extension office programs for children, we considered it unlikely that children older than thirteen would attend, and this proved to be the case.

On May 23, 2007, we delivered to the local library board a mission statement describing these determinations and our new program, in order to encourage their support of our efforts. As described in this report,

> This collaborative program is an opportunity for children to learn to enjoy reading and for families to come to rely on the public library and the extension office as entertainment, education, and information resources. The partnership between the library staff and these particular representatives from the extension office and the

university provide an exceptional opportunity to extend effective and appealing outreach services to the Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latino families of this city, who in the past have sparsely attended the programs and services of most local public institutions. [The extension staff member] is Hispanic/Latina, is integrated into the local Catholic, Spanish-speaking congregation (the largest social group of Hispanics/Latinos in the area), and claims Spanish as her primary language, she is uniquely situated to serve as the key liaison with the local Spanish-speaking, Hispanic/Latino community. Timnah Card also speaks Spanish and has experience organizing programs, training staff, and building relationships of trust among Spanish-speaking families. [The Children's Librarian]'s extensive experience constructing and deploying library resources for children and families in [this city] empowered her to apply her skills and library resources to connect the children with books and other literacy materials in ways that built trust and self-esteem among the participants. This program, run by these staff, creates and takes advantage of an opportunity to connect powerfully with Hispanic/Latino families and develop within family members the belief that they are empowered to use public resources and that they can trust in the goodwill, the efficacy, and the utility of library and university extension services. Additionally, this offering adds yet another interesting program to the library's extensive repertoire and extends the contact pool and community involvement of [the extension office] and of [the university], while sharing the workload and allowing all partners to benefit from a collaborative approach to problem solving.

Overall, the library board remained supportive of our efforts, though one board member expressed concern in a conversation with the library director that the program meetings we had offered earlier in the year had received low attendance (library director, personal communication, May 2007).

In May, we advertised this new program in English and Spanish through flyers sent home via the public schools and distributed by hand by Spanish-speaking program staff at the local Catholic church. The flyers listed a contact phone number at the extension office and, for Spanish-speakers, gave the Hispanic/Latina staff member's cell phone number. 75 children were signed up by phone on the first day of registration, and

many more parents called who wanted their children to participate (extension staff member, personal communication, 22 May 2007). Between 20 and 25 children attended the program each week, including 3 Hispanic/Latino children from 2 families. We ended with an evening "fiesta" that most of the children attended, including those of one Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latino family.

So many parents had wanted to register their children for this summer program that we were unable to accommodate all of them. We held a one-day version of the program in July for the children who had not been admitted to the regular program, and the extension office and the library committed to offering another round of the program after school in the fall of 2007. This additional program series was held with great success, and the program is offered again this summer as a joint effort between the library and the extension office.

Analysis. We at the library had brainstormed a great many projects in order to fill the void of participation at "Earphone English." We followed up on these ideas until a lead provided an opportunity for full partnership with an established agency that could bring its own resources to the table. Then, the promise that this partnership could provide us with measurable success that we could take pride in, share with the library board, and, for my part, write up in my dissertation, moved us forward, and we left most of our brainstormed ideas to follow up on another time.

The summer program was successful in that we were able to match the insight we had gained through our own research and the extension office staffer's personal knowledge of programming for the Latino community with the target community in such a way that some few of them actually did change their behavior to participate in our program. The summer program was also a success because we did not limit it to serving Hispanics/Latinos only. This openness provided the program with impressive attendance numbers (good for the library board and the extension office director). I also consider that, if we had limited the program to Hispanics/Latinos, at least one of the families who did attend would have chosen not to, as the mother has expressed a dislike of being singled out as a minority.

Prior to this summer program, the public library and I had attempted outreach to the Hispanic/Latino community several times over seven months, with little direct impact

on Hispanic/Latino attendance at library programs. Nevertheless, other benefits did result from our prior outreach activity, such as a first-time-ever visit to the public library from the lower grades of the Spanish-language friendly Catholic school to the public library to familiarize the children with its offerings. Also, the priest at this church has asked the Children's Librarian about the possibility of the public library providing paid library services to the Catholic school in the future.

Program staff have also surmised that the library's initial efforts at outreach, combined with the priest's publicly articulated support of these efforts, have achieved some level of name recognition for the library among Spanish-speaking families. The library intends to parlay this name recognition into greater program attendance and services use by Hispanics/Latinos via this program and the resulting partnerships.

The county-based university extension office has continued to see a few Hispanic/Latino participants at its publicly offered programs, but its primary success in community outreach thus far has been via partnerships with other public institutions. To the extension office staff, the partnership that supported this summer program seems an effective opportunity to increase name recognition and trust not only among Hispanic/Latino families, resulting in higher Hispanic/Latino attendance at extension office programs, but also among local public agencies and institutions, ideally resulting in greater opportunity for future collaboration.

One of the most positive results of our hard push for effective outreach during this year is that, in early fall of 2007, the library was able to draw on the contacts we made to fill a staff vacancy in the Children's Room with a Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latina, whom we had met in our visits to the local Catholic church. The new staff member served well and faithfully, inviting many of her friends and family to the library, until a family emergency caused her to move to Texas in the late spring of 2008.

Problematizing for Minority Community Solidarity

The Latino Partnership

During the early summer of 2007, I had begun work on a local Latino Partnership with the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner and her daughter at their homes, as well as with the Hispanic/Latina extension staff member and another, male, Hispanic/Latino staff

101

member at another public-service agency. Here again, Covey's explanation of the reasons for trust and how trust is established among former antagonists was useful, as it began to illuminate the problem of the fractured minority community in this city. Many of the unification attempts the Commissioner and others had described to me had been small, organized events, fronted by one or another Hispanic/Latino community leader. Often, those that followed an opposing leader would not attend these events, or parents placed attendance at other, conflicting activities at a higher priority for the well-being of their families. Low Hispanic/Latino attendance at events organized by a public-service agency might be explained by a mistrust of the government or any similar infrastructure; low attendance at events organized by their own people might also be explained by a lack of trust. We intended this new Latino Partnership to overcome those internal issues of mistrust. We wanted our Latino Partnership to function much like the Champaign County Latino Partnership. During the spring, I had attended two of the Champaign group's regular meetings; the Commissioner and her daughter had attended one of their community programs with me, and we were all enthused by the cooperation we saw there. Our perusal of the online interface of a Champaign-based partnership of African American women, called SisterNet, was also inspiring, though we discussed the possibility that the lack of literacy in English and/or Spanish and the small number of Hispanic/Latino families with Internet access may be barriers to effective online groupmaking among these families.

Our reasons as organizing partners for desiring to form a local Latino Partnership like that of Champaign County stemmed from several realizations. First, the public library could not by itself serve all the informational needs of the Hispanic/Latino community. To ensure as full an exchange of information as possible, we needed to form a collaborative group of information providers to this population. Second, even if public agencies could serve many needs, it was preferable that Hispanic/Latino community members function as representatives and sharers of information among their own people. The problematic lack of trust that perhaps existed, at least between Spanish-speaking families and public agencies, might be mitigated if community members functioned as go-betweens. Third, in order to establish the trustworthiness of these go-betweens, we

102

needed to form an organization whose intentions and means were obviously and consistently *inclusive* and *selfless*.

Throughout my investigation, trust was repeatedly mentioned to me as a key to organizing among Hispanic/Latinos. My graduate assistantship at the university that spring involved work with a bilingual technology education afterschool program at a middle school near the university. My supervisor on this project was that county's extension staff member affiliated with the 4-H program, an educated Hispanic/Latina in her twenties who had previously worked as a community program organizer in southern California. When I related to her the problems we were having in the first city getting Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos to attend our program meetings, she said we needed to find the right person; in her experience, when the appropriate *fuente* was recruited as a program organizer, many, many people who trusted that person would then attend (K. Mendoza, personal communication, May 21, 2007).

At one of our local Latino Partnership meetings (May 24, 2007), our only male Partnership member, who works at another public service agency, related what he had learned from his attempts to mentor Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latinos in the area. He has organized many successful parties and programs through his agency, and he has mentored individuals in English language learning and other educational pursuits. This Partnership member said first that, when one works with Hispanics/Latinos, one must observe the social niceties—i.e., when you go to build trust or do anything official with Hispanics/Latinos, you must spend the time just "hanging out" first. You will not get any work done until you "hang out." All the other Hispanics/Latinos at that meeting—the Commissioner, the Commissioner's daughter, and the extension staff member—agreed that you have to show yourself friendly, and being face to face is key. Social interaction on a level as equals is a way of showing humility, as is talking through the issues at hand, discussing these directly with them and asking for their opinions, and not expecting people to do their primary communication through text.

That Partnership member also shared with us that, sometimes, in order to encourage individuals to take advantage of English language classes, he offers to personally accompany them to the first class session. After that, they must continue on their own. In this way, this Partnership member discreetly acknowledges that attending a

class for the first time, in a previously unknown place such as the community college, can be intimidating even for a full-grown man. As he spoke, I was strongly reminded of how important it was, when I was a missionary, to find congregation members to befriend new investigators or converts. Investigators or converts who did not find friendship in the congregation nearly always left the church or became inactive in their membership.

His comments on the methods of mentoring resonated with a telephone conversation I had with the Commissioner's daughter earlier that spring (April 2007), in which she shared with me how her participation in our organization efforts was positively changing the way she thought of herself and what could be accomplished in her community. She spoke eloquently of the difficulty inherent in growing up as a minority, and how much she wanted things to be better for her young daughter. Her own mother's efforts to mentor her into community activism and this woman's resulting participation in community work were life-changing in a way that strongly reminded me of the conversion experiences of the people I taught about religion when I was a missionary.

That fall, in my interview with the male community college professor, we discussed this correlation between my missionary experience and the experiences that had been related to me by the Partnership members. He had just mentioned that by far the most effective way he had found to build durable relationships between the college and Hispanic/Latino, Spanish-speaking families in the area was to meet personally with the whole family. This approach resulted in far better retention of contacts than any kind of approach via text. I then told him why I understood the success of the face-to-face approach:

> INTERVIEWER: I'm also smiling because or another reason why I'm making the connections and seeing the same strategies as being potentially effective as you are seeing being really effective is that my background is Latter-day Saint which is very oriented on proselytizing. We do a lot of studying of what is most effective, how we can do this better. Some things that come up that they taught me when I was training to be a missionary 15 years ago are holding true for something like this which in a way is like proselytizing. It's not to a religious organization, but it's to a different way of participating in the community.
> PARTICIPANT: It's an ideal. You're preaching to an ideal. That's what it is.

INTERVIEWER: And it involves a social conversion as well as a conversion to an ideal. So some things that seem to be holding true are a certain number will come in from random sending out of information and from whatever way but by far the most effective method for contacting who are interested in participating and providing the support through which they can make a real change that lasts are face-to-face contact, long-term relationships, building trust.

Trust had repeatedly surfaced as a key issue in the minority community under study. That spring, the Commissioner and her daughter repeatedly described the fractured condition of the local Hispanic/Latino community, which they characterized as the result of having "too many chiefs and not enough Indians" (Commissioner's daughter, personal communication, March 2007); too many individuals wanted to lead in too many different directions. (Some general evidence of the variety of perspectives and influences present in this community may be found in the constant negotiation of self-naming through the period of the study: participants from *extremely* similar backgrounds variously identify themselves as "Hispanic," "Latino," "Chicano," "Mexican," or they declare, "I'm not Mexican, I'm from Texas!") These leaders were all, to some extent, self-identified and self-motivated, though they all drew additional authority from their association with some public-service agency, such as the Catholic church or a city or government office. All of the leaders with whom I worked or whom I interviewed during the study have sacrificed many hours of personal and family time to community service, and all express altruistic desires for their community. Having so many leaders gives the local Spanish-speaking families the opportunity to bond with whichever leader most closely matches their own activities and interests. However, it also means that, while this fracturing of loyalties persists, much information can only be reliably passed through these self-identified, self-motivated leaders. As a result, if the leaders do not work together, many who trust in them will not have access to the advantages provided through other leaders.

During the month of March, the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner's daughter, who also works at a public-service agency, related to me that an African American co-worker was running for the local school board. The African American community had worked hard over the years to become unified and mobilized in the pursuit of their own interests; the daughter's co-worker was able to take advantage of the community's pooled

resources to advance her own candidacy for the school board through many campaign posters and much positive publicity. She was elected that spring, becoming the first African American school board member in that community.

There are no Hispanic/Latino school board members. As noted above, there are no Hispanic/Latino library board members either, though the library is actively seeking minority members for its board and advisory committees. The Commissioner and her daughter expressed to me their admiration of the cooperative efforts of the African American community—not just in this board race, but in establishing an African American community center and many community oriented programs—and their wish that the Hispanic/Latino community could be similarly organized, represented, and established.

As they related to me their wishes, these two women described a Hispanic/Latino Center in its own building, hosting several activities each week by age group or for mixed ages, organized, run, and maintained by Hispanics/Latinos in connection or collaboration with outside partners. These activities would support individual, family, ethnic community, and integrated community development for health, economic growth, happiness, life mastery, and unity. All of this would be paid for by Hispanic/Latinos or the payment would be arranged and negotiated by them. The organizational framework of these activities would be such that program participants would be fostered into the work of program design and management. A primary desired result of the organization and establishment of such a center would be that Hispanics/Latinos would see that they had a real place and role in the larger community, and they would participate in integrated community politics and civic negotiations. Hispanics/Latinos would serve on the school board, the library board and library staff, and in a protective and nurturing Hispanic/Latino business coalition such as the one created and enjoyed by the Puerto Rican community in Chicago, which I had visited and then described to them.

Some attempts at organizing public-service agencies to serve Hispanic/Latino needs had already been made. The Commission and the extension office had created a list of volunteer translators and distributed the list to the police department, the courthouse, the public defender's office and the state attorney office. The contact information was all routed through the Commission Director's office. The Director later commented, "The

list just didn't get used. That was kind of frustrating because we put a lot of work into that" (interview, October 2007).

Also, on April 20, 2007, the library's business manager had also given me a copy of a list of contacts for the Partnership for Unmet Needs, a coalition of local agency employees who met regularly at the library to share information about resources, much as the Champaign County Latino Partnership did, but without a specific focus on helping Hispanics/Latinos. Additionally, in my investigations that spring, I had found that many agencies had Hispanic/Latino, Spanish-speaking employees; these employees are often loosely allied with one of the many self-motivated leaders of the local Hispanic/Latino community and usually do not communicate with each other beyond the small talk made at ad hoc social meetings. They are also extremely busy, for their alliances with these leaders tag them as information and transportation resources, and they are often asked by individuals, families, or organizations to take on yet more responsibility for serving Hispanic/Latino interests in the area.

With the idea of drawing on the partnerships already established by these organizations, the Human Relations Commissioner, her daughter, and I tried to organize Latino Partnership in the city of the study, using the telephone and face-to-face meetings to recruit members. Our library program partner, the extension staff member, eagerly participated in several of the five or six Latino Partnership meetings at the Commissioner's daughter's home in late spring early summer. Another agency employee, a well-respected man who was known among Hispanics/Latinos for his dependability and trustworthiness, also attended. In early May, the Commissioner's daughter and I arranged by phone for a visit with one of the Hispanic/Latino staff in her office at the local community college. This woman had collaborated with the Commission in the outreach activities from 2001 on, and we wanted to find out if she was interested in participating in the Latino Partnership. She wished us well, but expressed her frustration at how difficult it was to develop trust and unified action within the local Hispanic/Latino community, pointing out that the primarily Mexican population was prone to categorizing her and other community activists as "other" and "untrustworthy" because the family heritage of these activists was Spanish-speaking but was not Mexican (personal communication, May 3, 2007). Later in the year, this woman was pivotal in organizing a Hispanic/Latino

Summit at the community college, which is described later in this account. In my fall 2007 interview with this community college staff member, just after the Summit, she shared the following with me, referring to our meeting in the spring:

> PARTICIPANT: . . .What I found out and you and I talk early on—
>
> INTERVIEWER: Uh huh.
>
> PARTICIPANT: —what I find out all these agencies have little programs but they never put them together.
>
> INTERVIEWER: Uh huh.
>
> PARTICIPANT: That's all that we did. We put them all together.

Her comments indicates that our spring meeting with her had supplied at least part of the idea or the reasoning behind the organization of the Summit.

Our provisional Latino Partnership ceased having regular meetings in June 2007. We had begun to establish a program and goals, but were unable to continue with development and implementation of a program due to the Partnership's members' heavy time commitments to their families and jobs. By this time, the extension staff member and I were working hard on the library summer program, so I told the Partnership members by email and phone that we would try again at the end of the summer. However, I reminded them, I was an outsider and would be leaving the area by December at the latest; whatever would be done with relation to the Partnership or other pro-Hispanic/Latino interests would have to be organized in such a way that it did not depend upon my involvement. Later in the summer, I became engaged and then married, and my new husband got a job north of Chicago. I moved north with him, using my car to commute to the library program once each week until the end of the summer program in August 2007.

Analysis. Mistrust along family lines among Hispanic/Latino community members makes unifying partnerships within the minority community difficult. Mistrust of government and potentially across racial lines further complicates the partnership opportunities. Also, the financial responsibilities of adults make their time precious; much time is spent at work. Whereas the Latino Partnership was intended to overcome the issue of mistrust by creating a new way of being trustworthy, the nascent organization itself did not have the motivating power to keep potential members active at the expense

108

of their work or home lives. For these *fuentes* and me, the examples of other, more successful efforts such as SisterNet, the Champaign County Latino Partnership, and the target city's own African American activists provided us with motivating ideals and ideas, but for the unique situation in this city, a differently structured way to partner and unify Hispanics/Latinos was needed. That way to partner and unify could likely rely heavily on face-to-face friendly interaction and the slow growth of interpersonal relationships.

Additionally, there is concern expressed in this section over recruitment—to partnerships and to active roles in community work. Whereas the Hispanic/Latino Summit described in a later section provides a relatively pain-free way for institutionally employed *fuentes* to partner with each other across family lines, it does not provide an infrastructure for mentoring others into taking on *fuente* practices and responsibilities. The ideas presented in this section suggest that a more regular, durable, personal process is needed there. The Hispanic/Latino Commissioner and her daughter provide an example of *fuente* mentoring in progress.

The Hispanic/Latino Commissioner and Her Daughter

In addition to their inspiring work on the nascent Latino Partnership, the primary Hispanic/Latino Commissioner and her adult daughter both played pivotal roles in the development of the successful summer program through their participation in the library's attempt to launch "Earphone English." These two dedicated women also provided the majority of my preliminary information about the habits and preferences of the local Spanish-speaking community. Later in the fall, when I interviewed many of the program partners as well as local Spanish-speaking or Hispanic/Latino heritage parents, I did not interview the Commissioner or her daughter, for they had already shared with me during our weekly and biweekly meetings their opinions, hopes, and fears on all the topics I covered in the later interviews. With their permission, I recorded these meetings. Summaries of their commentary as given in those recordings are provided here. Also, their primary characteristics as participants are included here in a table similar to the one provided with the other participant interviews. The Commissioner's table entry is shaded to indicate *fuente* status. As of the period of this study, the Commissioner's daughter was beginning to practice the fellowshipping of Spanish speakers that results in *fuente* status,

but had not yet established herself within the community as a *fuente* to whom one would automatically go for information or help.

Table 4-E: The Commissioner and Her Daughter

Participant	Race/ Ethnicity	Primary Language	Gener-ation	Sex	Family	Document Type
Hispanic/Latino Human Relations Commissioner	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, adult children	Transcript, summary, and notes
Commissioner's Daughter, married with young child	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	2nd	F	Married, young children	Transcript, summary, and notes

Hispanic/Latino Commissioner

The Commissioner was born in Mexico to a Mexican mother and a Hispanic/Latino American father. When the Commissioner was young, she emigrated to the States from Mexico, where she lived with her mother, to live with her father, who was a migrant worker. They lived in Texas for a while before moving to this area. The Commissioner is married to her original husband and has two adult children, a daughter and a son. Both children have married and produced children.

The Commissioner and her daughter explain that in local Spanish-speaking families, there are very traditional, dominant male family structures. Traditionally, women do not work in offices or travel around in cars by themselves or with other men than their husbands, because that makes them look like "loose women." The Commissioner blames this attitude a lot on Mexican and United States TV and movies. She points out that in Mexico, the image of Americans is that we are all sexually licentious (our movies and TV shows give that impression).

The Commissioner was the one in her marriage to learn English because she was the one who had time, so that meant that she was the one that got the office jobs. Her husband has always been supportive of her employment outside the home. She now works full time at a public health agency.

While the Commissioner's children were young, she got a job at one of the local schools, working in the front office. For that job, she was required to travel around the

city in a car with a male boss to visit parents, and she says that there was gossip in the Spanish-speaking community about that, but she disregarded it.

There are primarily two different economic classes of Spanish speakers in this area: there are people descended from or related to migrant workers, and recent immigrants are usually from the countryside in Mexico; then there are people who run the restaurants and are more visible in a middle class way, and these are often from Mexican middle class to begin with. The Commissioner and her daughter both say that there is gossip in the community that may escalate perceived class differences into demotivations to partner for the good of the community. In other words, individuals' or families' jobs or possessions may be a source of division within the community.

In a meeting with the mayor of the city, the library director, and others in August 2006, the Commissioner described how her daughter had worked hard all through high school, and, close to graduation, had visited the school counselor to find out how to prepare for college. The counselor told her not to worry about college, as she would spend her life working at McDonald's. Shaken but undeterred, her daughter then went to the community college counselors, only to find that she had taken none of the prerequisite classes in high school and must spend several months catching up before she could begin to prepare for a career.

In order to make up the loss of the school counselor's help, the Commissioner and her husband immediately organized and provided transportation for their daughter and several of her high school friends to take a trip to a state university campus, where they toured the facilities and sought information on how to apply. The Commissioner's daughter was accepted to this school and did attend one year of courses there before deciding to drop out of school to work and get married.

The Commissioner has tried several times over several years to organize the local Hispanic/Latino community, Spanish- and English-speaking, to create racial/ethnic solidarity through projects such as decorating a float for the city's Independence Day parade, but has had little success getting people to attend. She is very frustrated about this and is inclined to discount any little successes she may have.

Analysis. English language acquisition determines who has what employment opportunities, but the demands on one's time from employment severely limit the

opportunity to learn English. Once English is acquired, one can become upwardly mobile to some extent, though class differences from Mexico continue to dominate in this country. The acquisition of English by a member of a Spanish-speaking family in this city automatically confers some *fuente* status and responsibilities on the speaker. Straddling the two worlds—the majority community and the Spanish-speaking or Hispanic/Latino minority community—can require courage, as functionally necessary social practices from one world can be frowned upon in the other.

The Commisioner cites with great energy her daughter's experience with the high school counselor and the transition from high school to college. She does not name this as a motivating experience toward *fuente* work in general, but she does name it as a motivator to work with the library and with me on the projects we have in process. She doesn't want anyone else's child to go through what her child did. She sees that the institutional and minority community practices already in place do not serve the rising generation's needs. She wants to change the way institutions and families do things so that the children can become educated, have professions and good jobs, and be recognized as full, respected members of the city community. Thus, she is motivated by anger and hope and by ideas of what is and what may be. At the most basic level, she is motivated by love for her children and grandchildren.

Commissioner's Daughter, married with young child

Unlike many second-generation Hispanic/Latinos in the area, the Commissioner's daughter speaks Spanish without great difficulty and is able to communicate in both languages with ease. She does not consider herself much of a reader. After one year of study at the state university, the Commissioner's daughter dropped out of school and married a white man, divorcing him several years later; she later married a Mexican immigrant. She has learned determination not to let any man or any group take advantage of her. She has a preschool-aged daughter. After several years outside of school, she is now enrolled in a degree program in the local community college for a professional career.

I told the library assistant assigned to the "Earphone English" program in a planning meeting with her in late November that I had recently met the Commissioner's son and that he, as well as the Commissioner and her daughter, see this program as an

112

opportunity for activism. "They're concerned about their children; they don't think they got a level playing field when they were in school. It's not that they want to go around burning buildings or anything like that. They appreciate the opportunities that there are in middle class America. They want to make sure their children have more of that than they had."

The Commissioner's daughter talks with her Spanish-speaking friend, who is another mother, about daycare or preschool for her young children, who are growing up without any home-based education support in English and are having trouble in school. However, her friend thinks using daycare or preschool is bad mothering (the Commissioner's daughter tells me this is a common misperception among Spanish speakers; if the mother uses outside childcare, she is assumed to be shirking her duties). The Commissioner's daughter sees how the friend is not able to help her young children prepare for schooling provided in English, and there is nothing there to fill that gap if she will not enroll her children in childcare or preschool.

Because Spanish-speaking parents must rely on their children to translate for them, these parents think their children's English is great, and most do not understand why their children would need more help. They do want their children to learn Spanish, and some of the children want that, too. However, some children do not want to be labeled as "outsiders" and so are shy of being tagged as Spanish speakers. Also, many parents are not very literate in any language, or may feel their first responsibility is to the family and they do not feel comfortable giving time to participating actively in program development, whether because of time or transportation constraints, or a reluctance to step outside their normal activities or social network.

The Commissioner's daughter worked in a mental health services office for the first several months of the study. In May, she began working part time as well at the restaurant where her husband works. Her daughter requires some special attention, and she herself is enrolled in a degree program at the local community college; the resulting time overload made it impossible for her to participate in the summer program at the library with the university extension.

Analysis. Current conventional ideas about mothering from the majority and minority communities clash in the life of this young mother. Ideas of "good mothering"

and "bad mothering" are cited as motivators to/demotivators from action (using daycare, attending school, taking part in the Latino Partnership) for her and her friend. The gradual transition in a family from being "Mexican, Spanish-speaking" to being "Mexican-American, English speaking" that she observes causes great upheaval in the relationship of parent and child, as children pick up English faster than their parents do and are caught in the conflict over their potential to "pass."

The Hispanic/Latino Summit

In September 2007, I received a phone call and then a letter from the community college staff member that the Commissioner's daughter and I had visited in May. While the library and extension office's summer program had been seeing success earlier in the year, certain of the Hispanic/Latino employees of the local community college decided to act on their administration's recently stated interest in recruiting more Hispanics/Latinos for community college classes. They parlayed the administration's goals into an opportunity to use college resources to organize an informational forum for the Spanish-speaking community, which they called the "Hispanic/Latino Summit," at which employees from many different local agency offices could show posters and give presentations on their organizations' services. As a liaison between the Hispanic/Latino community and the public library, I was invited to attend. I confirmed by phone that I would be glad to attend, but I also made sure the community college staff member knew that I did not work for the library, but that the library director and staff should also be invited and would be glad to present on their services at the Summit.

The Summit was held on the top floor of the community college on Saturday, October 13, 2007, and lasted several hours. More than 10 local agency offices sent staff to represent them in information booths, with posters, and with presentations. Lunch was provided by a local Mexican restaurant. About 30 people attended who were not agency employees or otherwise professionally connected with the conference. This was a far smaller number than had been hoped for; excuses/reasons for not attending given by Spanish-speaking parents later included such concerns as the long duration of the conference and whether they were expected to stay the whole time, the early start to the conference (earlier than noon on a Saturday—when both parents work, Saturday morning is a time to rest and relax with family), and the fact that many of their children were

participating in a soccer tournament that day. Nevertheless, the organizers decided to consider their first Summit a success, not least because many of the Spanish-speaking agency employees had not previously known which of their acquaintances also worked for public-service agencies, and were very glad to find out that there were so many people to call on for help and information. Hence, the Summit was indeed a success in terms of beginning to establish a regular network of known, dependable activists and information sources that could reasonably depend on established agencies for paid time and materials used to serve Hispanic/Latino needs.

Analysis. The Hispanic/Latino Summit provided institutionally employed *fuentes* with neutral ground on which to gather and share their skills and resources on equal footing. It also provided motivation to do so by initiating partnerships through the administrators who managed these *fuentes* at work; thus, the terms of employment dictated cooperation with the goals of the Summit. Additionally, the Summit continues to be held only twice each year. Thus, the overall commitment of time and effort on the part of the participating *fuentes* is slight.

A Note on Oligoptica

Throughout this account, partnering was more visibly effective when it was accomplished between agencies. Institutions have great resources of materials and staff to deploy. Perhaps most importantly, institutions have oligoptica—buildings or spaces to meet in and get work done. The qualities of these oligoptica determine what work can be done there; the Hispanic/Latino Summit staff achieved one sort of participatory success by using their community college campus for the event; other sorts of participation have been brainstormed that rely on the use of the local mall or other venues. The questions are always, "What do we want to have happen? Will the physical nature and location of this space help us or hurt us?"

Another, special kind of oligoptica is the family home. In my experience in this study, the Hispanic/Latino family home in this city is an almost sacred space, not that religious rites are performed there, but that it is consistently the place where these minority adults are the majority and hold authority. It is in this way separate from the rest of their world. I experienced a great deal of reserve from the non-*fuente* individuals I tried to and succeeded in interviewing, until I spent some time with them in their homes.

Then, that initial reserve was broken. Almost without fail, I was invited to come back anytime.

<center>The Fall 2007 Interviews</center>

During October and November 2007, I interviewed program organizers and local Hispanic/Latino adults to find out what they thought about public programs and the possibility of and responsibility for positive community change. Most of the Hispanic/Latino adults I wanted to interview were Spanish speakers. Having learned that it is unlikely that members of the Spanish-speaking families would give me their time without some endorsement from someone they know and trust, I asked the university extension staff member, who appeared to me to have many trusting relationships in the Spanish-speaking community, to help me find people to interview who may not have come to publicly offered programs in the past. She and her husband, a fluent Spanish-speaking Caucasian, came to the Spanish language mass at the Spanish-friendly Catholic church and introduce people to me so that I could invite them to be interviewed and make appointments with them.

The extension staff member made sure to target some of the families she had tried to recruit earlier in the summer for the library summer program. These families had heard announcements about the program, had been personally contacted and invited to the program, and had taken home documentation about the program, and none of these families had signed up their children for the program.

We waited outside the chapel to catch the families as they came out of mass after exchanging pleasantries with each other in the church lobby. All of the individuals that the extension staff member approached and introduced me to said that I could interview them later in the week, though one would need to be called and interviewed by phone later on, as his daughter was celebrating her *quinceañera* [fifteenth birthday party] that weekend, and the family was swamped with preparations. (When I called the number he gave me a few weeks later, the number had been disconnected.)

While we waited for more people to exit the church, I sat on the bench next to an older Hispanic/Latino man who had sat there by my books. I introduced myself, and he said he was the husband of the new public library Children's Room staff member. We conversed about how important it was to go out in the town and *platicar* [chat, converse],

<center>116</center>

how that practice was how relationships and friendships are built, as well as community feeling. He said that the churchgoing members need to do that more, because many people do not go to church, but have a *quinceañera* at the church and they all would come and the church would be full. He seemed very sad about this lack of community feeling and seemed to think that the lack of *saliendo de la casa para platicar* [going out of the house to converse, hang out with the neighbors] was at the root of the problem.

I interviewed many of the agency representatives that attended the Summit, as well as several individuals whom I contacted via their *fuentes* or through contact information given when they registered for public programs. The following table describes the people I interviewed and specifies whether the resulting document was a transcript (from an audio recording) or notes (indicating that they did not give me permission to digitally record the interview, but allowed notetaking). Where relevant to the investigation, the participants' personal characteristics and marital/parental status have also been included. Cell shading indicates *fuentes* for the Hispanic/Latino Spanish-speaking community.

Table 4-F: Interviewed Participants

Participant	Race/ Ethnicity	Primary Language	Gener -ation	Sex	Family	Document Type
Library Director	White	English		F		Transcript
Children's Librarian	White	English		F		Transcript
New Library Children's Room Staff Member	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, adult children	Transcript
Local University Extension Staff Member, married female with children	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, young children	Transcript

Table 4-F, continued

Participant	Race/ Ethnicity	Primary Language	Gener -ation	Sex	Family	Document Type
Female Community College Staff Member	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, adult children	Transcript
Male Community College Professor	Hispanic /Latino	Bilingual	1st	M	Married, adolescent children	Transcript
Human Relations Commission Director	African American	English		F		Transcript
Catholic Church Congregation Organizer and Husband	Hispanic /Latinos	Bilingual	1st	F & M	Married, adult children	Transcript
Low-Income Public Health Agency Staff Member	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married	Transcript
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, young children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latino	Spanish	1st	M	Married, young children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Spanish	1st	F	Married, young, adolescent and adult children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Spanish	1st	F	Married, young and adolescent children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Spanish	1st	F	Married, young children	Transcript
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	English	2nd	F	Married, young and adult children	Transcript

The Importance of Oral Explanation

Nearly all the Hispanic/Latino individuals who were not *fuentes* would not allow me to record the interviews. This reminded me of how difficult it was for the Commission to get Hispanics/Latinos to fill out the surveys about health needs several years before. The Commission Director and the Hispanic/Latino Commissioner had both commented to me that few people were willing to fill out the surveys.

I found while interviewing several individuals who are not listening-fluent in English that if I handed them a piece of paper with a lot of writing on it, even if it was only one piece of paper, in fourth-grade level Spanish, they would take a long time to read it, and then they would not allow me to record. I wondered if there was a trust issue; perhaps it was more than the language barrier. I thought, "I come in and I have privilege. I'm in command of the situation and so they don't want to give me more power." I had been offering them the courtesy of allowing them to tell me if they did not understand the document, so I could explain it orally to them, and no one had requested a readaloud.

By this time, I had interviewed most of the participants who were not listening-fluent in English. However, I had one last interview in which I could try a different approach. This interviewee was a woman who, by all external indications, would have responded exactly as did many people I had interviewed previously. This time I said, "OK, so here's this paper, I'm going to go over it together with you and at the end, I'm going to ask if you want to sign it. If you sign it, then that means that we can interview, and if you put your initials on it that means I can tape it. And I'd really like to tape it because then I can make sure that I understand what you said and that I didn't miss anything. I can go back and listen to it later. Nobody else is going to hear it, and I'm going to destroy it afterwards."

Then I said, "So, let's go through these paragraphs." This participant had started to try to read the disclosure document, but as soon as I started to explain it paragraph by paragraph, she sat back and just looked at me and listened. She did not try to read the document, which was in fourth-grade level Spanish. Then she let me tape, and she was very forthcoming in her opinions.

I learned from this experience that these participants would not tell me, "I don't understand this, by the way. You handed it to me, I know it's in Spanish, I still cannot

read this." They especially would not admit this weakness to a stranger in front of their English-literate children, for whom they function as authority figures.

<p align="center">*Interview Summaries*</p>

The following summaries are taken from the analytical memos linked to each interview document. All quotes are from the source documents. As I functioned primarily as a participant-observer throughout most of my work with this population, many times we theorized together during the interviews. My comments are clearly marked as my own.

<u>Library Director</u>

In our interview, the library director confirms that the library staff and board had developed their strategic plan in 2005, including a goal to reach out to more minorities and to focus on Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos in particular. In 2006 I got in touch with them and started a partnership. The library director says that I brought language skills and willingness to make social contacts that was invaluable.

Our ongoing key questions with regard to the library are: How do we get the family to use the library? How do we work with the schools? The free time of the school employees is nearly nonexistent. It's a continual process of negotiation.

We discuss our decision to change direction and how we found the extension staff member to partner with. I state that the extension's interests and ours matched; they needed a place, and they needed extra staff support and help and sharing of expertise.

The director has learned about working with the Hispanic/Latino community that it is just as huge an endeavor as building a new library, if not more, speaking of building partnerships and trust so people will make things happen so the new library can be planned and built. The immigration issue and the English-language primacy issue make things much more difficult; there is always difficulty and resentment when dealing with a new immigrant population in the United States, and she wishes people would get over it.

She has found by trying to brush up on her Spanish that it is hard to learn a language after work every day, and it must be harder with children to take care of. She tries to get her staff and other people to see that; she trusts that people really want to learn

English in order to be competent and self-reliant in this country, but it is hard to learn a non-primary language well, and there are a lot of economic and other barriers.

> PARTICIPANT: [speaking of staff attitudes] Yeah. It's kind of like: "Why should I bend over backwards for them? They're coming to my country; they should learn my language." It's a big issue. . . . And sometimes when I talk about, you know, put yourself in their place. Go learn a language at night after working all day and tell me how long you think a person should be expected to, allowed to speak their own language until they can learn this language. . . . [Tells about a cousin who is sure that her brother was held back a grade in Arizona so that his school could fit a number of new Mexican immigrant kids into the grade above him.] Maybe the heart atrophies first.

Also there is the fact that a lot of trust-building with Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos has to start where they congregate, which is at church on Sundays, and a lot of smaller libraries (in other cities or counties) do not have the staffing hours to attend there; also the staff might be unwilling to go, as it is something outside their normal duties. The local Catholic priest, who is Caucasian, had to learn to trust the researcher, too, over time.

We discuss the "minefield" of communicating across cultural and linguistic boundaries, and talk about mutual forgiveness and being willing to let your weaknesses show. We also discuss how hard it is for the Hispanic/Latino parents who do not read, and how to make it easier for them to handle text without being blunt or rude. We talk about building trust by making home visits and by spending time "shooting the breeze" before getting to the business end of things. I say the primary job of the library staff, besides providing the materials and programs, is to show themselves to be friendly.

The transition from being a library non-user to a user covers a much greater distance than she had previously thought. I suggest that the library staff cannot do it all for the group; the group has to do most of the work for themselves. The director affirms, however, that the library can make contacts and build trust in the way libraries do, especially by working with the children; most people who are cut off from library use by something like illiteracy will make a tremendous effort if they are doing it to pass a gift onto their children or grandchildren.

Perhaps the key is a shared vision.

The new library employee has been an enormous boon (she translates the newsletter into Spanish and publicizes library events among her contacts), but the director wants to make sure they get someone else Hispanic/Latino when that woman goes.

The director wants to know what discourages the Hispanic/Latino community as immigrants in this country; what their expectations are, if the school system is strange, if they feel out of their depth. I tell her what I know. I talk about the *fuentes* and my theory that other Hispanics/Latinos need someone they know to take them by the hand and make opportunities available on their doorstep and show them how to take hold of those advantages; but also that the *fuentes* need to foster in new *fuentes*, because these few cannot do it all. The director says sometimes it is hard to let go of the control.

She describes also her African American staff member, whom the Commissioner's daughter said she was most likely to approach at the library, as a member of another oppressed minority. The director says this staff member is beginning to get her friends interested in developing the local African American community history at the library. The director says that that is the sort of thing that needs to happen with the Hispanics/Latinos. I say I wish the second- and third-generation Hispanics/Latinos would help the immigrants more.

We also discuss how hard it is to import credentials into the United States, and how the library almost didn't hire the Hispanic/Latino staff member because she didn't put down her post-high school education (which she received in Mexico) on the application. Her higher education was discussed in the job interview, which is why she was eventually hired.

Analysis. Problematization of potential partners involves a great deal of sociality, especially where boundaries of language are concerned. Library staff attitudes about their roles as staff and as privileged community members can preclude certain useful kinds of sociality. The basic skills of public librarianship are useful in outreach, though, especially when outreach is directed at serving the children of the target population. Having a minority insider on staff is a tremendous help in facilitating minority access through sociality and text. However, potential staff members from minority groups may not know

how to present their qualifications appropriately during the hiring process, and so additional conversation may be necessary to understand their true strengths.

Children's Librarian

The participant feels that the public library is a valuable resource that could be a great help to members of the Hispanic/Latino community. She feels that everyone should have access to information they need and such information is empowering.

The participant prefers to start programs small and to adjust them based on feedback.

She feels that lack of Hispanic/Latino participation in library programs can be partially attributed to fear or embarrassment about lack of certain skills or knowledge. She feels that programs will be more successful if they go to where Hispanics/Latinos are and continue to be present where Hispanics/Latinos gather until success is achieved. The library can benefit by collaborating with and picking up ideas from other agencies.

Hispanics/Latinos appear to be more comfortable dealing with minority staff, including the recently hired Hispanic/Latina staff member at the library. The personal relationships which exist outside of the library and word of mouth marketing may be the most effective tools in getting Hispanics/Latinos to use the library.

Analysis. The belief in the usefulness and goodness of information motivates this staff member to take pride in her work. The geographic location of outreach is important in creating access. Partnerships across institutional boundaries are desirable to improve library practices and increase impact of library programs. Minority staff can provide bridges of sociality with minority patrons. This staffer seeks not so much to reorganize existing minority or library practice as to ease the two closer together.

New Library Children's Room Staff Member

This participant enjoys helping people, and along with the Catholic Church program organizer, has become a central figure that Hispanics call on for help. She remembers first arriving in the U.S., not being able to speak English, and not having much help, so she wants to provide that help for new immigrants today. She feels that Hispanics often do not know what resources are available and she likes to "spread the word." She believes that not knowing English and fear of the unknown are two factors

that keep Hispanics from attending programs. Other difficulties include conflicts with important activities, like the soccer tournament that occurred the day of the Summit. She thinks that some Hispanics have trouble engaging in the community beyond their own family, but that such interactions are important.

The participant's children and grandchildren do not speak much Spanish, and she feels that has kept them from being well integrated and involved in the Hispanic/Latino community. The participant and her husband feel that personal friendships are important to community participation and involvement.

Personal opportunities for the participant to help others have increased in the last few years, since she retired from her first career. She feels that every agency does good for the community and that having staff who can speak Spanish and putting out materials in Spanish are both important. As much as agencies do, there are Hispanics that cannot get help due to program restrictions, and the participant wishes that that were different.

Analysis. Pleasure in helping motivates *fuente* behavior, as do memories of personal hardships as a new immigrant. Information is a facilitator of personal agency. Language dependency and fear are demotivators to participation in public programs, as are schedules that emphasize preexisting priorities. Sociality is a powerful entry to reorganizing family practice. Employment can take up the time that would be otherwise spent in *fuente* work. The idea of any of her people who is not receiving adequate care or opportunity disturbs her.

Local University Extension Staff Member

The participant was pleased to cooperate with local public library for the summer program. Spanish language materials are key, since language can be a barrier, especially for mothers in Hispanic/Latino families. The local Catholic church is an especially valuable place to contact Hispanic/Latino families. Personal contact is extremely important in the Hispanic/Latino culture; it is necessary to forge personal ties before engaging in business activities and people will be drawn into programs through existing relationships. Building the necessary social relationships takes time and can move slowly, but reaching a single person is worth it, as they may teach or affect others.

There are many obstacles to engaging Hispanic/Latino people in programs. It can be difficult to reach the participants, as many do not listen to radio or read the newspaper.

Transportation is often a problem, due to work schedules, the limited number of cars in a family, and location of programs. Literacy and comprehension are also challenges when dealing with written materials; often, a verbal explanation of documents or procedures is more effective than written explanation.

Analysis. Institutional partnerships are opportunities to do more or to do it better. The Catholic church is an important partner in reaching this minority group. Sociality is more important than perhaps any other tool of reorganization. Texts especially are offputting to this group.

<u>Female Community College Staff Member</u>

This participant has lived in the city for about 30 years and has worked with the community college and has been involved with several different groups seeking to promote the interests of minorities. She sees that having one big group to work together can be very helpful, because then there is not so much opposition from outside saying that this group or that group shouldn't have all the attention. There is a strong feeling in the community that minorities shouldn't have special treatment, and she is aware of that because of the backlash by phone and email they get after news stories are aired or published locally on TV or in the newspaper about work they do with minorities at the community college. Also, if the little groups are not connected to the big groups, they do not know what each other are doing. In little groups, too, a single person has the power to keep information flowing to or away from the people he/she represents (they trust what you tell them, that this is how things are); this often leads to abuses of power without people even realizing that is what they are doing.

There are a lot of little factions in the Hispanic/Latino community here; she thinks there will be in any minority community. The key to working together well is to avoid getting personal about differences, not listen to gossip, focus only on the goal of common good, and be very clear whenever temptation to gossip or take sides arises that you are not interested in that, you are interested in working for the good of everyone, and you will take all the help that is offered in the same spirit.

She is passionate about the uses of education in eradicating racism and territorialism (this is not a white country, it is an everyone, everyplace country), because you cannot force people to understand just because you want them to; she is also

125

passionate about the uses of education for developing a sense of self-esteem and developing individual capability in minorities but especially in women, whom she feels are often oppressed by their husbands and fathers or by cultural attitudes. She gives examples of how this oppression is evident, including the following passage, in which she describes talking with a woman who refers to her husband as "*mi señor*," which can be translated as "my husband," but also as "my lord" ("*el Señor*," the proper noun, is commonly used to refer to God the Father or the Lord Jesus Christ):

> PARTICIPANT: I met somebody one time and she said *mi señor*, you know talking about her husband and—
>
> INTERVIEWER: Oh yeah.
>
> PARTICIPANT: I am talking, "*mi señor me dice.*" ["my husband tells me"]
>
> INTERVIEWER: Yeah.
>
> PARTICIPANT: And I remember looking around, I said, *mi señor*. I said *mi señor es Dios*. [my lord is God]
>
> INTERVIEWER: Uh huh.
>
> PARTICIPANT: *Mi señor no es mi marido. Y ella se reía de eso y decía, nunca me ha dicho eso. Yo digo, mi señor, yo digo mi señor, estoy hablando de Dios. No estoy hablando de mi marido ni de su marido ni de un hombre ni más.* [My lord is not my husband. And she laughed at that and said, no one has ever said that to me before. I say, my lord, I say, my lord, I am talking about God. I am not talking about my husband, or about your husband, or about any man anywhere.]
>
> INTERVIEWER: [laughing]
>
> PARTICIPANT: [pretending to be the woman of whom she is speaking] *"Mi señor me dijo que será ésto, mi señor, mi señor me dijo que ésta no iba a ser, mi señor me dijo ésto y el otro." Y yo digo, Dios le dijo ésto? Y ella reía.* [seriously now:] *Pero, porque así es, como, "mi señor."* You know? ["My *señor* told me that this should happen, my *señor*, my *señor* told me that this shouldn't be, my *señor* told me this and the other." And I say, God told you that? And she laughed. (seriously now) But, that's why I make a point of questioning her, like, "*mi señor*."]
>
> INTERVIEWER: It's a new idea for her when you say that to her.

PARTICIPANT: Yes, that's only like 25 years ago that I met her—

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

PARTICIPANT: And she was an older lady and she had her sister and they were nice people, nice, nice, nice people. She used to be a worker in the fields and you know she was working in a can company.

INTERVIEWER: Uh huh.

PARTICIPANT: But you know it was like they were very, very comfortable and she would say, well, *mi señor*. She would say, "I know, not God." I go, *mi señor* is God, you know, not your husband.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

PARTICIPANT: And I think it leads to *mande*. [the practice of commanding]

INTERVIEWER: Uh huh.

PARTICIPANT: That phrase what they would call *mande*. I've never had anybody to call me, *"Mande."* I have to — "What do you want? Tell me how can I help you?" And so a completely different background.

This participant thinks that one of the great gifts the U.S. has to give people from other countries is education. Her own background is different than most in that her family had money and believed in education as the way to make your place in life, and there were very strong women in her family. She was also taught to stick together with her brother and sisters; they were punished together when one of them did something wrong while they were together. Also, she was taught very firmly to respect everyone. She saw a great deal of backbiting and gossip in the church when she was young, and how it ruined people's lives, and she is bitter about that. She does not trust the Catholic church to be a good influence intrinsically because it is run by people, and people want power. She is very angry about the priests and the child abuse, and also about how the priests were involved when the communist military coup took place in her home country, Chile.

PARTICIPANT: And then you know I do presentation sometimes about communism and how it affects the country and I have seen many times the idealism of that is wonderful. . . . But it will never work because we're human beings and we all want power. We all want more than somebody else.

She also points out the traditional extent of the Church's and the school's authority in the home, which is often equal to that of the parents.

She says that when she talked with Commissioner's daughter and me last spring about the Latino Partnership, that gave her the idea for the Summit. She describes again how people at different agencies didn't know about all the services there were available, and didn't know each other worked there. Many people want to participate next year, too, who couldn't this year, from Chicago and even from out of state.

She was able to get the Summit going through constant contact with people representing the agencies, via letters, email, lunch meetings, etc.—constantly getting them the information.

The local media is sometimes insensitive; they ran an article about the Summit with a picture that had Caucasians but no Hispanics in it. She heard many complaints about that.

It was called the Hispanic Hispanic/Latino Summit because people self-name and self-identify differently. Someone who was helping wanted it to be the Mexican Summit, but the interviewee said, "No way." They worked and planned and thought it out to be as inviting as possible for everyone, regarding the time of day, etc. Still, you learn from what you've done and what works and what doesn't.

She talks about giving families tours of the campus and showing them all the things they need to do in order to take classes and get funding for childcare, and then they do not sign up.

I talk about my theory of small networks and the importance of personal ties in getting people to do things outside their comfort zone; probably most people will not try something new or go somewhere new unless someone they know and trust organizes it or goes with them or gives them a ride.

She sees that people have a tendency to do what they've always done, to accept their place in the system. But she also thinks that everyone has a choice, all the time, and you have to give them the chance to change, no matter how many times they have disappointed you.

Analysis. In her opinion, large groupings are more effective than small groupings at achieving community reorganization, especially as factions are such a problem here. A

shared vision is the most powerful unifier, if individuals will give up their own petty grievances to focus on the goal. Her ideas about education, injustice, accuracy, community and interpersonal loyalty, and women's rights all motivate her to take action over and over again, against the odds and in spite of the continual disappointment. An abiding belief in human agency keeps her going.

<u>Male Community College Professor</u>

This participant is here in this community because the community college offered him a good deal and a good position in a small-sized town, which is what he and his wife wanted for their growing family. He grew up in Milwaukee, where his family moved to after immigrating from Cuba. His parents hadn't attended college, but they expected him to do so; he was expected to get good grades, though his parents never attended parent-teacher conferences, because they felt embarrassed there; they couldn't speak the language well. One of his cousins got engaged to a girl whose parents guided him through the college application process, and that cousin guided the rest of the cousins to do it. This participant didn't know how to get scholarships or grants back then, and so he worked his way through school without those helps.

He has worked in Hispanic/Latino recruiting at his other jobs, but says it was fairly superficial work; activities and awareness rather than community participation and mentoring. He is interested in mentoring, especially. He sees that the most durable connections are made through face-to-face interaction with the whole family, rather than with one or another member of the family. Flyers do not seem to make an impact. However, his response to moms of young children who want to attend classes at the community college is to give them information rather than personally helping them through the process of applying for funding, childcare, etc.

He has taught a class on Spanish medical terminology and phraseology several times at the hospital and the low-income health services center for professionals working there, including security guards and receptionists as well as doctors, etc. The classes were very well attended.

His involvement comes from how he was raised: Hispanics and family help each other; that is how it is. He is Buddhist, though his family is socially Catholic. As a

Buddhist, he remembers that nothing is permanent, but he sees he has a responsibility to ease human suffering. He doesn't get attached to causes.

> INTERVIEWER: So what you do instead is you make connections with people, try to improve the human condition in the ways that your talents and your experiences best suit you for?

> PARTICIPANT: I think that's a great way to sum it up. Yes.

He sees the community college as an affordable, accessible doorway to much opportunity for advancement for the Hispanic/Latino families in the area.

> In response to the question, "Is it worth all the effort?" he says:

> PARTICIPANT: I know there's hope in that. I hope so. There's just too much to gain to give up on it. I think there's just too much at stake and the reward is too high on trying to help out.

> INTERVIEWER: What reward is that?

> PARTICIPANT: Intrinsically for me, it's seeing Hispanic folks making a difference in their lives and in other lives. Again, to be able to lead more autonomous lives and —

> INTERVIEWER: To be empowered?

> PARTICIPANT: Exactly, to be more empowered in society. And to be then concerned about more those higher level, esoteric, intellectual things as opposed to "Am I still going to have a job next week?" and "How are we going to make it to the next paycheck?" and "Are we going to meet this month's rent?"   It frees a person's mind then to pursue higher level things."

> *Analysis.* Employment is a primary factor in his community involvement.

However, ideals that he saw implemented through sociality and exchange of objects in his youth motivate him to attempt similar helping here and now. He is more likely to help in personal ways than in large, cause-oriented ways due to his perspective on the nature and purposes of existence.

Human Relations Commission Director

This African American participant says that, in her experience, insider leadership is essential for community minority work, and that is why she made sure to find a Hispanic/Latino to serve in a representative position on the mayor's Human Relations

Commission. Insiders have knowledge of issues of concern and also the ways and means by which work can be done. Insider knowledge is essential for problematizing that interests the minority community. Insiders also function as interpreters. This participant tries not to be the one in charge when she is not a community insider, though she is a strong partner.

Partnerships with other organizations are also essential, because these organizations have resources for deploying individuals to represent them, for extending reach through immutable mobiles (such as flyers, grants, and mission statements), and for obtaining and using other objects and oligoptica (centers of activity, such as buildings) to achieve the goals of the problematization. However, this participant thinks that when there are too many partners involved, the real issue gets lost.

The university extension offices locally and from Chicago have been key partners. All initial partners got involved because "they thought there was a need." However, local city government offices ("the police department, the courthouse, the public defender's office and the state's attorney office") have not used the phone list of interpreters that was painstakingly prepared for them by this partnership.

A major problem is overload of team members in an organization or of organizational partners. Also, there are many parts of the community that require attention, and the group has responsibilities and interests beyond those of one part of the community. Resources can be spread too thinly.

This partnership started the survey project because they had other civic projects to work on, so the surveys were a kind of timeout. The Hispanic/Latinos in the local community did not want to fill out the survey. It took a couple of years to get the survey completed in sufficient numbers for statistical significance to be determined. Surveys were pushed via her own team members, and some team members themselves filled out the surveys. People who filled out the surveys are mostly connected with team members.

Besides internal factions, 9-11-01 is the primary demotivator this interviewee considers responsible for the decline in Hispanic/Latino attendance between 2002 and 2006. She sees interviews with people on TV who talk about their experiences with heightened aggression or prejudice toward them since 9-11. Even documented immigrants are having trouble.

Four high school students have spoken with the committee and with a representative from the school district about their concerns, the high dropout rate of Hispanic/Latino males (leading to fewer dependable husbands), lack of guidance from counselors for minorities to go to college, and that their parents do not want to come to parent-teacher conferences because of the language barrier. School district is concerned about Hispanic/Latino kids and is in continuing communication with the committee about this, and may be arranging for intervention.

Also, in this interview we conjecture about how parents cannot give guidance in education when they have not gotten the educational experience they are supposed to be guiding their children through. The participant mentions that she thinks there is a cultural bias among Hispanics/Latinos toward work instead of extended education, and I reference the local priest's affirmation to me in an earlier meeting that the Hispanic/Latino parents see work that supports their families financially as a source of pride. The participant mentions that Hispanic/Latino youth may fear being told that they are "acting white" if they prioritize school over work.

We discuss the need for educational mentors, especially male mentors, because the fathers of these children will likely see female mentoring as interference between them and their sons, whereas male mentorship may be viewed as a favor, especially if it is done in such a way that the father is treated as an authority figure. In order to work with existing cultural bias, males must be given educational opportunities first, in general, so that the females can get in there too.

She thinks that the process of getting organized and integrated and obtaining access is similar for African Americans and for Hispanics/Latinos. She draws on her experience as an African American in this community in order to help her guide efforts with Hispanics/Latinos.

Triumphs are in getting minority leadership as partners. The people who are leaders have been where others are and know what it is like, and they want to give back. Someone helped them, and they are helping others now. Also, they are still in contact in their families with many who haven't made it yet.

Challenge is in getting more minority leaders to be partners. The core people are wearing out from being used so much. She wonders about apathy among those who could serve but are not serving. She wants at least another good seven people.

When asked why she performs this work that can be so draining and discouraging sometimes, she replies:

> PARTICIPANT: But, you know, I just believe in helping your fellow man, and I don't like for anyone to be mistreated because of their ethnicity. That's what it really boils down to. Just believing in the human race, no matter what race you are or culture you are. And when you see that there is a problem with certain things, you have to help. That's what I believe in. You have to believe in that in order to do this job. [laughs]

Analysis. Because she believes insider leaders can problematize more effectively than outsiders for community reorganization, she seeks out opportunities to hire or recruit minority leadership for outreach efforts. Because she considers that institutional partnerships provide oligoptica, objects, and immutable mobiles to extend a program's reach, she seeks these out as well. She believes that care must be taken to keep partnerships from overloading the central cause of the outreach, however. This implies that she does not seek out more partners than she believes will be beneficial.

Even a successful product of an organizing effort, such as the list of interpreters, can be devalued and its reach stopped when others fail to use it. Additional outreach failure may occur when team members are overloaded. A cultural bias may prejudice minorities against higher education and toward employment. Male mentorship may aid in changing this trend.

Catholic Church Congregation Organizer and Husband

This couple believes that the Summit was a good thing, even if many families didn't come, because a lot of Hispanics/Latinos who are working at public agencies turned up to represent their agencies, and many of the dedicated workers didn't know they existed. Now, they have had a chance to mingle and talk and discuss goals and issues of concern at the Summit, and hopefully they will all be able to accomplish more.

Hispanic/Latino professionals should get out in the community and be role models to the rising generation. It is their community (racial/ethnic) duty.

This couple was raised in a "Catholic family," meaning their local church and school, and they have made a habit of being involved with community service through church all their married lives. They feel reaching out to others to help them is your Christian duty. The priests have been very helpful, especially the old one, who learned Spanish and learned to play the guitar and starting having mass in Spanish (he made Hispanics his teachers in preparing for this); and, he relied on this couple, who convinced him to put Spanish language music in the mass so it would be more interesting to attendees. They also appreciate the current priest, who is old but tireless. This couple plays and sings in the mass. The trust placed in these people by the priests is something the couple treasures.

They see that, through the music classes they have given and the church service they do, that they have been able to motivate several young people to continue their education. They want these successful young people to be mentors for the rising generation, and they want newly moved-in professionals or older professionals to do the same. I said, "The way to be a role model in someone's life is to be present there," and they offered examples of how they are present in others' lives.

They got involved in the YMCA, some of the first Hispanics to do so locally, and they got other families involved by passing around the applications and the information, and now many families' kids are involved and some of the fathers are coaching and might become referees.

9-11 and other immigration issues are a real problem. This view is an opinion told to them by others, but also it is something they see themselves, though they maintain that their town is still a safe place to live and people will only get sent away if they make trouble, and that is how it should be. They take issue with the fact that some troublemakers are legally here and others who are honest and just want to "feed their families" and contribute to society are considered illegal.

This couple tries to pass along information in an informal way, respecting family schedules and not calling roll in their prayer meeting so as not to embarrass anyone who cannot make it that day due to other responsibilities.

The wife said, "I think you need to provide service as much as you can, when you can, because then there will be a time that you won't be able to do it, even if you want to."

Analysis. Ideas of racial belonging motivate this couple to perform *fuente* work. These ideas are strongly associate with the Catholic church. To this couple, being leaders or helpers within the Hispanic/Latino community is very close to the same as being Catholic. The authority of the Catholic church gives them motivation to act as *fuentes* in their community.

Low-Income Public Health Agency Staff Member

The participant states that that, generally speaking, Hispanics know what health care programs and assistance are available, but also indicates that providing information about programs is an important activity and that she often encounters Hispanics who are not aware of the organization for which she works. Personal contacts and relationships are key methods by which she finds Hispanics who need assistance. She is motivated to help because she did not have access to such help when she was younger, and she wants to offer something better to new immigrants. She feels that in-person explanations of programs and repeated reminders could yield increased participation by Hispanics.

The participant feels that violence and drugs in the schools are key obstacles to achievement by young Hispanics in the community. She thinks that many parents are also involved in drugs and that drug treatment for the parents is necessary to help the children and family. She feels that people begin to abuse drugs and alcohol because they do not feel loved by the people around them, parents especially. The participant's Catholic faith is a comfort to her when facing difficulties, and she thinks faith can provide comfort and meaning to those dealing with drug and alcohol abuse. She feels that if people know that someone cares about them and that God cares about them, that knowledge can give them what they need to make positive changes.

Analysis. The idea that information increases personal agency and may positively impact welfare motivates this woman to work at her job and informally advertise the services provided there. She uses sociality to perform her professional work and her *fuente* work. She problematizes that sociality is key to greater engagement with the Hispanic/Latino community.

Objects such as drugs and alcohol are a particular concern. She theorizes that addictions of this sort are an obstacle to individual, family, and community health and well-being. She is comforted by the idea of God as a loving being and is thus motivated to show love to others in the hope that they will be moved to positive life changes if they can also feel this security.

Individual, married female with young children

This participant feels that home is the center of family life. Programs by public service agencies should serve the whole family and provide opportunities for fathers to interact with children and help them learn. Work is a necessary source of goods that provide for the family. Work can interfere with the sociality of the family with each other. Public service agencies can be a helpful to families, but primarily in a recreational or educational role. She has not thought about the social reassembly that programs may help to achieve, but thinks that if that social goal of the programming were made more explicit, more Hispanics would attend those programs.

Racism is prevalent at work, at stores, at medical offices, at library, in the White House. It is important not to class everyone as "Mexican," and it is important to be able to speak Spanish as a demonstration of national pride as a Mexican. Respect is key to social stability. The government (national and city) is responsible for teaching people to be respectful. In other words, the government must recognize its responsibility to teach people mutual respect, because honest people are too busy working to take care of their families to prepare the kind of public announcements that need to be made about respect. Laws are or should be a source of fairness.

Analysis. In this problematization, public programs are a recreational or educational support to family life and only have place in the schedule when other, more important concerns—such as employment—do not preclude them. Institutions such as government are given greater authority to regulate individual action than are other individuals or smaller groups. The racism of others is a motivator to anger and defensive behavior for this woman.

<u>Individual, married male with young children</u>

This family has moved a lot for the father's work; therefore, his work determines where the family is organized. Both parents work. The children's elementary school is the family's only source of regular news. The parents organize their non-work time around being present for the children. The father believes that public programs can help children grow up to be fully developed, independent, less self-centered, educated. Programs should directly relate to the individual's daily life and should be fun. The father may not have time to participate in programs due to work responsibilities.

The mother says that all people are equal and there is no difference between races. The mother seems offended at the idea of programs solely for Hispanics/Latinos. The father has responsibility to speak for the family; or, as I saw happen in my visit with them, the father is actively supported in his leadership role by the mother, who clarifies his role by assigning activities to him.

The father says that whites are more honest program organizers than Mexicans, at least as far as he has seen. He has had no interaction with African Americans. In the U.S., there is a stronger tradition of honesty and respect for laws and rules. However, in Mexico, the Mexicans should have the job of organizing programs. It is best to have bilingual staff if the program is in the U.S. but they would like Spanish speakers to attend.

Organized sports activities are the most likely to draw the husbands and fathers to participate positively and to not become (or to recover from becoming) drunks and drug addicts, to draw them into recognizing their rights and responsibilities as community members. He continually gives his time to this sort of endeavor, functioning as an organizing leader in sports wherever he works.

Analysis. Work is a primary motivator/demotivator for this young father. The life of the family, including their place of residence, revolves around the employment of him and his wife. His *fuente*-type activities also revolve around work. This man theorizes that the United States is a more law-abiding country than is Mexico, and so he trusts American program leaders more than Mexicans, though he affirms the right of Mexicans to lead themselves in Mexico. Translation help is apparently an apolitical good.

Individual, married female with young, adolescent, and adult children

        This participant feels that home is center of family life. Work is a necessary center for supporting family life. She uses the library a lot. She is a dedicated Catholic and attends the local Catholic church. School is very important, but the teachers are not doing as much as they should. Public programs can be of great use to families—there are several, including psychological services, of which she has a vague idea but also in which she displays an almost desperate interest—but she does not have the information she needs to make best use of what they offer. Cost is also prohibitive, as are work schedules and the associated use of the car. She does not have a driver's license, so she is dependent on her husband and children to take her places she cannot get to on foot or by bus.

        Parents have the primary responsibility for teaching their kids how to take care of themselves and how to behave. Work can interfere with good parenting.

        Her young, teenaged son was recently beaten up by a group of white and African American youths, while she and her younger son were just out of sight at a playground near their house. Her family called the police and told them what happened, but the police said they could not do anything at that point and recommended that they call again if there is any further trouble. Now her children are scared to go out and so is she. She thinks psychological services could be of use to her children and to herself, so that they can be brave again.

        Racism begins with the bad behavior of individuals.

        Analysis. Home life motivates all external activity, including work and school. Individuals are the primary actors in this problematization; obstacles are other individuals, as well as objects, immutable mobiles and facility with them, and the location of oligoptica.

Individual, married female with young and adolescent children

        This participant believes that home is the center of family activity, but school is a close second. She is a friend of the Hispanic/Latina Commissioner, and evidently finds out about many activities through her, though I note that she may also hear about many programs through announcements at the Catholic church, where she is an active participant.

She says she would change the fact that when she goes to the hospital, she has to bring her oldest son to translate for her. His schedule and hers do not always make this easy; plus, then he has to be privy to the discussion about payment for services rendered.

At the schools, she'd put in some translation services at the middle school. She says she thinks the other schools (higher and lower) have translators already. At the middle school, she cannot participate in parent-teacher conferences or help out much, because she doesn't speak the language. She likes to help out, she does go and do that, but she feels she cannot help as much as she would like because she cannot *communicarse*. [make herself understood] She also feels she cannot help her kids as well with their homework if she cannot communicate with the teachers.

She supports her son in his desire to go to college. She would like there to be more help for kids to go to college—money help and guidance counselor/mentor help. She says the counselors at school do not try as hard to promote college to the minority kids. Her oldest son wants to go and always talks to her about scholarships, but she said that *a veces, uno no tiene para aplicar*— [sometimes, one doesn't have the wherewithal to apply]

She said she wished the community college class catalog came in Spanish, because she cannot understand any of it.

She thinks it would be good to have more English language classes for parents; she got involved in one that the Commissioner told her about a couple of years ago, and even though it was hard—she missed meals a lot, because her schedule was hectic as a school-attending mom—she says she learned a lot and she still uses it, especially to help her kids with their homework as much as she can.

I asked if it is her scheduling issues that keep her from participating in programs, if there is an obstacle, and she said yes.

She finds out about public programs in the offices of the public agencies and institutions she frequents, such as WIC, Public Health, the hospital, etc.

She also had an idea that the library could offer cooking classes, for dinner items or especially for desserts and pastries, so that the kids and the dads could learn to cook and then could take over for the moms a couple of nights a week so the moms can attend programs and do other things. She thinks a dessert-making class would go over big—they

used to have them in her community in Mexico—and she thinks it would be great to combine a class like that with English language learning: one hour *repostreria* [dessert making], one hour English class.

She wants to know if there are special Sunday school or catechism type classes for kids at the Catholic church, because she would eagerly send her four kids. She says they learn all kinds of bad things from people on the street, and she wants them to be learning some good things too. She sent her oldest boy when they lived in Mexico, but she has never heard any announcements or seen any notices about any classes like this at the Catholic church.

She says she thinks that community change comes as a result of the combined efforts of many people in the community; yes, there are some people with power, but if they try to make changes and nobody shows up to help them, they cannot get anything done. She cited her experiences attending programs and events organized by the Commissioner, at which only a few core people attended. She said when nobody comes, they aren't supporting the efforts of the few. We agreed with each other that everybody has some time to give, even if it is just a little time. If people choose to do something different with their time, that is often their choice, not their necessity.

She says she goes out of her way to be neighborly to her neighbors, to look out for them when things go wrong at their houses, because those things have gone wrong at her house as well. She says they look after her kids and she looks after theirs just the same. Because of this trust, she feels good about letting her kids walk around in the neighborhood, as long as she knows that is where they are.

She also says that she likes getting people work; this makes her feel good, because she knows what it feels like to look for work. She says she has gotten work for many people because "*ando aqui y alla trabajando*" [I go here and there, working] and so has had a great deal of opportunity.

She tells me that she was one of several parents and children who attempted to attend our last "Earphone English" meeting (the one no one but the staff attended), but they must have gone to the wrong place because they couldn't find us.

Analysis. Family welfare is a primary motivator for this woman, but she recognizes that her own education benefits the family, and she does not assign a "bad

140

mother" label to her desire to spend some evenings out of the home and reassign some family duties. Differences in linguistic ability have altered the balance of authority and privacy in her family, and this change is unwelcome. However, opportunities to increase her own English mastery must be geographically accessible and the scheduling must be considerate, or other family demands will trump this one. She theorizes difficulty where she has little information, i.e., how to prepare her son for college.

Because home life is so important, she suggests that public programming that directly supports aspects of minority home life will be most welcome.

She is motivated to *fuente*-type work by the memory of needing help herself and the pleasure of filling that need for others.

Individual, married female with young children

This participant says she cannot leave the house to do just anything, for English class or other things, because she has to take care of the kids and prepare the food, and she lives outside town, so it is a real trip to come into town; it takes a big part of her day. The kids' schedule makes it difficult, too, because they have soccer and school and other things. And it is also difficult to learn the language (meaning English).

She would like to see changes in the workplace, where people do not lose their jobs just when they go on their earned vacation because the owners do not want to pay them for vacation time. Also, considerations for pregnant women, and that pregnant women wouldn't lose their jobs because they cannot lift so much weight. They should have other things to do so they can keep their jobs.

Also, the doctors do not have translators, and even if you get someone to come help you, they often forget. This has happened to her a lot, that the translator forgets or has something else come up, and there she is at the doctor's for her appointment, and the doctor doesn't know what happened, and so they treat her without respect because she cannot communicate with them to tell them what happened. Also she can understand some words but she cannot speak English, so she cannot ask the doctor questions, and she really feels the loss of that communication.

She would really like for there to be childcare services where she could feel comfortable leaving her kids for a part of the day so she could run errands or take classes

or work. Not all day long, because it is the responsibility of the parent to stay with the children, but some help would be nice.

She has heard of a nutrition class from the extension staff member in an announcement made at the Catholic church, and she went up the staff member afterwards and asked her what type of food would be covered, but she didn't follow up on that because she didn't have time for the drive, etc.

If she did go to a class that was nearby and at a good time for her, she would like it to be a clothing sewing class, or a cooking class, like a dessert cooking class. She had a six-month clothing sewing class in Mexico before moving here, but that was a long time ago, and she has forgotten what she learned there.

She thinks maybe activities for everyone to work in teams would be good. (I do not know if she is referring to sports or other organized activities.)

She is passionate about needing homework help classes for the kids from when they are little up to when they are big and getting ready for college, because she already feels that she cannot help them, and that worries her.

She thinks that the drive to improve things for Hispanics has to come from inside the individual person, and that some people who are in a position of strength, like working in an office, think they are so important and do not think much of more humble/poor people. They do not think of helping each other.

In order to have things change, Hispanics need to work together in the way she has heard they do in another city, where the teachers have classes so the mothers can graduate high school. There, they have a nursery/childcare right there on campus, so you do not have to take your kids somewhere else and drop them off, and it is all free. This arrangement (especially the nursery, which apparently is run by the mothers) is something they have organized together, to take care of each other and cooperate.

Analysis. Here again, the responsibilities of home and family are placed in opposition to the requirements of participation in public programs. Objects such as vehicles and practices such as family, school, and work schedules are obstacles to participation. She does not mentally connect participation in public programs with racial or minority community welfare; however, she has an idea, derived from stories she has

heard from another city, that Hispanics/Latinos can create better community services by working together.

Her "good mother/bad mother" paradigm insists that she spend significant time with her children every day, but she is open to the idea of professional help through daycare so that she can accomplish other goals for the family, including work and perhaps language classes. This woman also believes that programming that directly supports existing family practice will be most welcome.

Individual, married female with young and adult children

This participant is a second generation (U.S.-born) Hispanic/Latina. Being raised in the United States and not speaking Spanish well, she and her family feel somewhat disconnected from the larger Hispanic/Latino community composed of many recent immigrants that speak primarily Spanish.

She actively supports her children in schoolwork and activities. Neither the participant's parents nor her first ex-husband felt such participation was important. Her second husband did feel that college was important but did not know what was required in order to prepare for college. The participant observes that more Hispanic/Latino parents are involved in their children's school than in previous years. She feels that providing opportunities for children to ultimately have a better life should be a top priority for Hispanic/Latino families. The participant feels like programs and information resources could be better advertised as many people, including her, do not know what programs are available or where to find information about community service opportunities, scholarships, and the like.

Analysis. Linguistic facility both motivates and demotivates individuals to community participation. Just as the Spanish-speaking parents felt their deficiency in not speaking English in the larger community, to some extent this woman feels excluded from and disenfranchised within the minority community by her lack of Spanish. Her concern for her own children has motivated her to take action to help them, and she wants others to do the same. The lack of information is theorized as a primary obstacle to minority participation in public programs.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

As an investigation and analysis of the process of developing new partnerships among public service agencies and making more durable connections with local Spanish-speaking families in a small, Midwestern city, this study has sought to answer the question: *"What forces motivate and demotivate members of this minority community to participate in public programs designed to increase participants' ability to self-direct?"* The project began as an attempt to import, adapt, and study a public library program for English language learning immigrant youth, titled "Earphone English," which initially did not attract participants at the local site. This blocked research effort led in turn to an investigation of the group-making activities involved in (a) the local "Earphone English" project, (b) the strategizing, partnering, and trust-building activities that resulted in a later, successful summer program for the target population, and (c) the attempts of another organizing committee to interest the partnerships of the first project in new work.

The study relies on a purposive but also convenient sample of public service agency employees and Spanish-speaking family members, especially parents and grandparents. These individuals were selected based on their involvement and/or lack of involvement with public service programming that targets Hispanic/Latino families, to provide insight into their motivations and demotivations for such involvement. The data was collected via participatory observation and interviews over the course of more than a year of outreach work.

The qualitative analysis draws on actor-network-theory (ANT) to trace the associations between the human and nonhuman factors that are active in the data. The primary goal of an ANT analyst is to identify mediators, physically present themselves or present via a physically tangible intermediary, to answer the question of who or what has the power to determine social assembly. In this way, ANT attends first and foremost to the physical interactions among people and objects, tracing the associations to determine who or what may also be acting through them to achieve other ends. When these associations are traced and mapped, intervention may be attempted or planned to reassemble the grouping in more equitable or desirable ways.

In this analysis, it has been found that factors such as interpersonal connections, competing problematizations, technological and other objects, and immutable mobiles function as motivators and demotivators to minority involvement in public service programming. However, the impact of these factors is altered among minority individuals who self-identify as information and help sources—i.e., gatekeepers—for their social circle. Such *fuentes* (capitalized in this account for all who function as minority gatekeepers for the target population in the target city) provide insight into possible ways to interest and develop new *fuentes* from among the youth and parents of the minority community. Rifts between *fuentes* that normally act to fracture the minority community actor-network have been shown to be overcome to some extent through the use of the same forces (immutable mobiles and sociality, including professional practice) that lend these *fuentes* their power in the first place.

Answering the Questions: The Gifts of Engaging with Uncertainty

I have explained that an ANT account is motivated and formed by the first four sources of uncertainty: uncertainty in group formation, in agency, in the agency of non-humans, in knowledge-making, and in accounting. What is not accounted for in any ANT account are the vast resources that have not been brought into play by the actors described in the account, which Latour refers to as "plasma." In the process of paying attention to these uncertainties and retracing the associations, I have come to the following observations related to uncertainty in this case, relating to specific aspects of the questions, "What is present in the material data?" "How is material transformed into power in this data?" and "How may such material power be transformed again into new ties and practices?"

Interpersonal Connections: What Is a Group?

The first principle of uncertainty in ANT is uncertainty in group formation. Who and what are associated in what group formations? This study finds that ethnic/racial groupings, professional groupings, and new groupings are rife with uncertainty, making unified action both temporary and costly to achieve. Family groupings among Hispanics/Latinos can be an especially powerful source of their motivation/demotivation for participation in other kinds of groups.

145

Ethnic/racial grouping. "Hispanics/Latinos" are not one group with one obligatory passage point (OPP); neither are "Mexicans," "Chicanos," or "immigrants," whether they are "first generation" or "second generation." Due to variations in ancestry, can be very difficult to determine whether a single person is first- or second-generation. Assigning group membership by birth location does not address how early in life the person immigrated, how many years a person has since spent in the United States, the person's reason for immigration to the States, the person's priorities for self, family, and community, or the person's religious or spiritual beliefs, regardless of affiliation.

It is reported that Hispanic/Latino individuals sometimes choose not to engage in group activities with the local minority community; these are always described as educated professionals who did not grow up in the area. On the other hand, some educated professionals who moved to the area are very active in the minority community. One *fuente* expressed resentment of the Hispanic/Latino professionals who withhold their support from the community, especially mourning the loss of male role models for the teenagers and young adults.

Professional grouping. Institution personnel are not united in a common goal, no matter what the professional standards and mission statements say. Institution personnel are held together more by the mediating power of the immutable mobile (salary, health benefits, employer recommendations, performance reviews) than by that of any ideal. In fact, as demonstrated at the public library in this study, the imposition of an ideal as a guiding force behind professional activity may be a reason for division within an institution. However, the unifying power of the immutable mobile can motivate personnel to overcome idealogical differences if sufficient pressure is applied (such pressure may be more useful if it is a negotiation rather than coercion). Institutional employment of minorities often coincides with *fuente* status, though a cause-and-effect relationship is not determinable at present.

New groups. New groups may be more likely to persist if they are able to align the associations with their component actors to match/support/replace and not conflict with previously existing, high-priority associations. Requiring actors to expend resources in the formation of a new group without replacing or minimizing some other kind of previously existing resource expenditure will result in the eventual dissolution of the

group, as those actors return to their previous associations or find new ways of serving their goals and needs without exceeding their capabilities. For example, my partners who allied with me by way of their employment in public service institutions—the library, the university extension office, the local Catholic church—could to some extent rearrange their associations to include working with me to achieve mutually advantageous goals without losing ties to their income or losing sociality with their family members. My partners who allied with me by way of our sociality alone eventually had to cease active partnership with me in order to maintain or increase their incomes and family ties.

Families. Family groupings among local Hispanics/Latinos are reported by community insiders to be extended and marked by intermarriages with or pairings between members of other local Hispanic/Latino families. The responses to one survey of the members of this population connected to minority *fuentes* suggest that marriage rather than "living together" is the most common choice of these parents, where both parents are present in the home. Also common are intermarriages or pairings between citizens, immigrants with legal papers, and immigrants without legal papers. Rarely, a local Hispanic/Latino marries or partners outside the ethnicity/race. Family groupings within the minority community may engage in somewhat tribal activity, when one extended or nuclear family designates another as a threat or an enemy and refuses to interact with them to some extent. This tribal activity can be exacerbated by the behavior of community outsiders, but it can also be overcome to some extent with relation to community organizing.

fuentes share information with the network of their family and friends, as well as with others introduced to them via their work or by a family member or friend. Other than the information offered through the public schools and local churches (usually the Catholic church), the information afforded through these family or amicable connections is reported to be the only kind of information that is considered "vetted" by minority community members who are not *fuentes* themselves. This dependence on *fuentes* may strengthen the tribal bonds described above, while the *fuentes*' own human failings and their dependence on their employment for much of their own information access introduces uncertainty into the focus, depth, and agenda of the information the *fuentes*

share. Individual education and employment may alter the balance of dependence and status within a family or tribal group.

Summary. The uncertainty evident in the groupmaking efforts described in this account complicated and often appeared to block the formation of new groups. Groupmaking efforts, therefore, may benefit from minimizing uncertainty by relying on the motivations and demotivations inherent in the institutional structure—i.e., by using the professional connections and resources of *fuentes* and their non-Hispanic/Latino allies to engage them as partners and to deploy them in pursuit of the realization of the problematized new grouping. This is exactly the leverage the organizers of the Hispanic/Latino Summit used to form, achieve, and continue their biannual local minority services conference. Such professional connections and resources depend heavily on the unifying and recruiting power of the immutable mobile.

Competing Problematizations: Who or What is Acting?

The second principle of uncertainty in ANT is uncertainty in agency. No actor is the sole originator of any action, but action is assigned and made possible through problematizations. Problematizations are carried out by intermediaries at the insistence of the mediators. What are the panoramic statements/problematizations? Which actors actually function as intermediaries and which are mediators? This study finds that commonly accepted problematizations about Hispanic/Latino marriage and family roles, the community roles of public service institutions, and the roles of *fuentes* in this community do not adequately describe the negotiation of problematizations that occurs within these potential actor-networks.

Marriage and family roles. Several community insiders make passionate arguments for a problematization in which the Hispanic/Latino father determines how his wife will behave and which associations she will form. In this problematization, the husband and sometimes the wife are the intermediaries for Hispanic/Latino culture or for the precepts of the Catholic church. It could also be argued that the wife is the intermediary for the husband, who is the intermediary for the culture or the church.

However, none of the individuals I worked with or interviewed described their own marriages according to this model, nor did they perform their marriages in that way as far as I was able to observe. The actual performance of role assignment had more to do

with the spouses' associations with employment, education, technology, the needs of children, and other interests than with such panoramic statements as "it is the mother's/father's job to . . . ." This is not to say that no reference to such "standards" was ever voiced, but merely that where such a standard was invoked, other associations—such as the requirements of employment or the family's need to be fed on time—were always invoked to either strengthen or weaken the force of that standard in the argument.

In several cases, these other associations were invoked as reasonable causes for abandonment of the traditional Hispanic/Latino marriage roles that may be perceived to be assigned by culture or the Catholic church. In this study, it is reported that one wife learned English because she was the one with time to be educated while the husband worked to support the family; over the next several decades, she became the primary breadwinner because she became bilingual and had greater earning opportunities. Or, more subtly, the researcher observes that a wife assigns her husband his duties as head of the household and energetically redirects his, her, the children's, and outsiders' behavior so that her husband must act out the role she has assigned to him. This wife is no intermediary but is instead a mediator, as she strategizes and negotiates with her immediate reality in order to achieve her particular problematization of family life. The Hispanic/Latino spouses included in this account—some new immigrants, some with years in the States, some born with U.S. citizenship, some "Mexican" in heritage, some from other countries—assign marital roles differently among themselves; there is no single standard.

The roles of public service agencies and institutions. As noted above, institution personnel are held together more by the mediating power of the immutable mobile (salary, health benefits, employer recommendations, performance reviews) than by that of any ideal, and the imposition of a professional ideal may be a reason for division within an institution. As the alliances of personnel to particular ideals are negotiated, the role of the public service agency in the community is also negotiated, becoming conflicted and multi-faceted. Additionally, the information provided by and for these institutions (verbally or by immutable mobile) is always shaped by some external agency, such as a federal government office, a granting agency, or a research institution. If this information is acted on locally, the representations distributed by a few individuals in

specific locations, with specific alliances, can effect material changes in actor-networks and their functions and roles at the local level. Here again, the immutable mobile (publications, mission statements, accounting records) holds great potential to shape action across distances of time and space.

Fuente roles. As noted above, institutional employment of minorities usually coincides with *fuente* status. *Fuentes* are reported to be a primary source of "vetted" information within the network of their family and friends, who depend on them for connection to information from the larger community that otherwise is unavailable to them. This dependence on *fuentes* may place the *fuentes* as OPPS of their family groups, though it is conceivable that other connections made via education and employment may cause family members to depend less on *fuentes'* services and erode her/his status as OPP. Additionally, the *fuentes'* dependence on their employment for much of their own information access introduces uncertainty into the focus, depth, and agenda of the information the *fuentes* share, which raises the question of to what extent the employing institutions, their personnel, or other controlling agencies are acting through the *fuentes*.

Summary. The uncertainty inherent in agency in this study illustrates how apparent group or individual agencies (actor-networks in flux, essentially) can be complicated and difficult to recruit for realization of a problematization. The connections that make these complications possible may extend widely across time and space, as when federal government office publications or traditionally held views on marriage roles add to or obfuscate both the action and the actor. In public service organizing and programming, careful exploration of these connections prior to or during recruiting can yield information and partnerships that draw on previously established real alliances to other networks, or that interest human beings and their groups away from established alliances by supplanting the former connections with new ties that serve the same purpose or a similar one.

Technological and Other Objects: Are Objects Mediating?

The third principle of uncertainty in ANT is uncertainty in the agency of non-humans. Do objects determine what can and cannot be associated? Technology mediates behavior in ways that may require outreach workers to think innovatively and be willing to sacrifice their own comfort in order to respectfully integrate public agency resources

into minority community folkways. Technological objects and food hold particular importance here. Immutable mobiles are an extremely powerful object in realizing and destroying problematizations.

Technology. Technological objects require a network of previously associated objects in order to function as mediators or intermediaries. Thus, the use of technological objects requires humans to traverse the already-established, associated networks. In some communities, public service agencies make programming announcements on the local radio and television broadcasts. Many community members will receive these broadcasts, because they are "hooked up" to the technological network.

A Spanish-speaking family may or may not be as "hooked up" to majority community broadcasts as their English-speaking neighbors. In this study, many Spanish-speaking parents choose to watch Spanish-language television for their informational programs, entertainment, and news. These parents had sought out the means to to receive Spanish-language television broadcasts (from stations such as Univision and Telemundo). To receive these broadcasts, that family needs a TV, the appropriate cable subscription and the associated material hookups, and access to an appropriate source of electric power. All of these associations require interaction with other humans with whom this family would never otherwise connect; therefore, that technology becomes a behavior mediator for the family.

In addition, the nature of the established network that supports Spanish-language television broadcasting and reception can simultaneously preclude the use of those connections to achieve other goals. The television or radio network that is broadcasting international, national, or state news in Spanish may not be set up to broadcast city or minority community news. Small cities and towns may receive broadcasts from much larger cities, but not from smaller cities, which have their own English-language broadcasts but offer nothing in Spanish (except one digital PBS television channel, V-me). Local news is therefore not usually available via television journalism. The English-speaking children of Spanish-speaking parents may watch television in English, but unless they choose to watch the local news and translate it for their parents, that informational programming will not be functional or fully functional in that household.

In this situation, the television or radio that is tuned to receive a Spanish-language channel will not simultaneously receive broadcasting in English; information which is received in one language therefore takes precedence over that which could be received in the other. Hence, the capabilities of the technology mediate information seeking behavior, whether by forcing information seekers to use English-language sources, or by demotivating information seekers to rely on English-language sources, focusing their efforts on information that can be easily acquired in their home language. An additional wrinkle is provided by the fact that Hispanics/Latinos across the country report fewer computers and fewer Internet connections than any other racial or ethnic group (Newburger, 2001, p. 2). Even if that trend does not persist in the local area, there is currently no formal system set up for exchanging Spanish-language information online; some *fuentes* also report that the parents they help are illiterate, so written texts will be of use only if communicated to parents by a reader/translator.

However, while the possession of or access to technological objects makes some extra- and intra-familial associations more possible, it does not necessarily predetermine these associations. Having a car—or a computer, a mobile phone, a television, Internet access, a GameBoy—does not predispose a family to use that technology to achieve the same goals other families use their technology for. People with cars do not all shop at the same stores, though having a car may make shopping in some places easier than in others. Hispanic/Latino families that possess or have access to similar kinds of technology as the majority population still exhibit a range of responses to invitations from others (people and/or things) to participate in new groupmaking.

One consistent technological mediator was the mobile telephone. Many Spanish-speaking parents have mobile phones, and I used my mobile phone to perform most of my phone-based study and outreach work. In this work, I was constantly confronted with the considerable difficulty of communicating in Spanish (my second language) over faulty mobile phone connections. Often, this difficulty made impossible any telephone-based conversation beyond setting appointments for in-person visits. Thus, a device that could have served as an intermediary to my problematization of research and outreach work functioned instead as a potent mediary, altering my communication plans and necessitating the use of my car for in-person visits nearly every week.

Food. Food and food preparation technologies were referred to several times by different participants as both motivators and obstacles to social group performance among the Hispanics/Latinos in this study. For example, it is reported by many study participants that these Hispanic/Latino family members are used to spending non-work time at home, using kitchen appliances and other tools to achieve home-based goals. This use of home-based technology may be a reason outreach efforts that require the family to use a car to travel to an appointed place during typical "home times" may fail. These Hispanic/Latino families are tied by their food preparation traditions, habits, and preferences to the use of home-based technology in the evenings, whereas many more "mainstreamed" families are more "auto-mobile" during these hours.

A further way food mediates Hispanic/Latino family behavior was suggested by two of the minority mothers I interviewed in the fall. Both of these mothers, independent of each other, suggested that the public library (which I evidently represented to them) offer classes in dessert-making. One of the mothers wanted such a class to be for the entire family, explicitly so that fathers and children would be motivated to learn how to cook for themselves so that they could make dinner sometimes, freeing the mother to attend evening activities outside the home. Both mothers asked for a dessert-making class rather than any other kind of cooking class.

These requests imply that the centralization of evening eating in the home currently also requires the presence and culinary skill of the mother. It is possible that, if she leaves for the evening without preparing the meal, no other family member can or will make (and then eat) the kind of dinner she could provide. It is also possible that the mother's, father's, or children's assumptions about whose job it is to do what could elicit guilt from the mother at the prospect of transferring cooking duties to other family members. If no more motivating problematization is provided, the mother's choice to leave during evening hours could be mediated by her acceptance of the guilt-inducing problematization. Family members' behavior may indicate that they are intermediaries for the family's church leaders, for generational family traditions, or may indicate that family members are mediators of the mother's behavior, motivated by their own personal habits and preferences. As it was informally reported by a few *fuentes* that many local Hispanic/Latino parents shop at Wal-mart, but "everyone goes to the 'Mexican store,'" it

is unclear whether these mother-prepared meals are usually made from scratch or if they are assembled from frozen convenience foods.

A third mediating use of food occurs at the monthly pot-luck lunches at the local Catholic church after the Spanish-language mass. Here, families bring food to share, and family members take these opportunities to *platicar* (hang out) and get up to date on all the local gossip.

Summary. Objects can and do mediate actor-network behavior in this study, imposing limits and providing channels by which information transfer, family groupmaking, and minority community groupmaking can occur. The requirements presented by the use of technology also mediate outreach efforts. If television and radio public service announcements for outreach are used, they must be created and placed so that the existing technological network will carry them to the tuned-in receivers of the minority community. Use of the local English-language channels to advertise outreach programming probably will not suffice to contact the target community. In the same way, if the whole Hispanic/Latino family only goes one place together in the family car (perhaps the Catholic church or the mall), public service institution outreach must also use transportation technology (cars, vans, the Bookmobile) to go to that place to reach them. Mobile telephones present a special challenge, as their properties will bar most second-language Spanish speakers from communicating much over these phones. Some English language communication is possible, for most of the first-language Spanish speakers I worked with could understand short sentences of small words in English over the telephone. However, they would then not know how to answer me, or (if they knew I spoke some Spanish) they would answer me in a burst of rapid, often colloquial Spanish that I could not understand. The best solution I can think of is to have a bilingual colleague or volunteer make those telephone calls.

The local Hispanic/Latino families' daily use of one technology at the expense of the use of another (such as preferring to use ovens instead of cars to feed their families) may necessitate that outreach efforts during those hours center in the use of the favored technology in the location in which that technology resides. Outreach in the form of mini-classes in cooking, sewing, homework help, or other Hispanic/Latino family interests may need to be located in the home of a minority community member in order to see the

desired numbers in attendance, simply because that is where these families are used to using these technologies at that time of day. "Sneaking" a library staff member and some examples of library materials into such an activity, to use with minority families the technology that is already owned, known, and used by them, could initially interest participants in library resources much more successfully than would moving all those minority families to the library—adversarial territory, to many of them—to use that mainstream agency's technology and resources. Alternatively, outreach programming can be scheduled for other days of the week, times of day, and trusted locations in order to maximize the likelihood of Hispanic/Latino attendance. Transportation may be usefully provided, either by cars owned by community members, including *fuentes*, or by the programming institution or group. However, the closeness of the bond between the individuals requiring transportation and those affording it is likely to impact attendance if rides are provided.

Two further suggestions for ways outreach can make use of the target community's food-related habits for behavior mediation were advanced during the study. At the orientation meeting in the spring, to which no families came, the library director asked the Commissioner and her daughter if the local Hispanic/Latino mothers might feel more comfortable at a library-based program if they were asked to bring food for a pot-luck of activity refreshments. This idea was sparked by her observation that, in the Spanish-speaking congregation's monthly activities after mass at the Catholic church, families always brought food for a pot-luck. The Commissioner and her daughter could not confirm the viability of this suggestion. My own experience with Hispanic/Latino families in the Midwest and in Venezuela is that the act of sharing food offered by the families is an affirmation of their roles as contributing members of the community. In this sense, the monthly pot-luck could be a material representation of a problematization in which a general sense of a family's willingness to participate in the community is demonstrated through their willingness to share food with the group. Hence, pot-luck refreshments are not a bad idea for minority-focused outreach programs that seek to interest families in recognizing the public service agency staff as community members.

The second use of food for outreach was the cooking classes suggested by two of the minority mothers I interviewed in the fall. These mothers suggested that the public

library offer classes in dessert-making, and one wanted these classes to be for the entire family so that fathers and children could learn to make dinner sometimes, freeing the mother to attend evening activities outside the home. Both mothers asked for a dessert-making class rather than any other kind of cooking class; I assume this is a reflection of the mothers' problematization of the potential for sweet food to motivate otherwise unwilling men and children, motivating them both to attend class and to cook for *mamá*.

What if such a class were offered at a minority family's home, with friends and family invited? I warn any agency staff who try this suggestion to be ready for the cooking class to turn into a *fiesta*—a most desirable turn of events for all involved. Perhaps a dessert-making *fiesta* at a family's home is the way to go in the first place.

It is also important to note that an outreach goal of disrupting the family's habit of eating dinner together may be inappropriate. A study by the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (2005) shows that children in families who make a habit of discussing life events and important issues while eating dinner together experience some desirable associated benefits. Eating dinner together is not the only possible causal factor for these benefits, but it is a time and place (centered around object use, perhaps not incidentally) at which these conversations are conceivably more likely to happen. It is possible that the disruption of this practice may result in the disruption of its associated benefits, especially if other times, places, and objects are not substituted in ways that continue to support important family conversations. Public service agencies such as public libraries or other educational or mentoring programs should consider their outreach options very carefully before deciding to risk this disruption of daily family practices. On the other hand, careful inclusion of family practices in outreach programming could add to the benefits of family interaction instead of requiring family members to separate in order to participate in outreach.

Oligoptica: Where Are the Associations Made?

A special subset of "object" is oligoptica: buildings, vehicles, public spaces, virtual spaces where the associations occur that make the world. These associations are realizations of problematizations, connections among human actors and nonhuman actors; these oligoptica are where reality is determined or made. The oligoptica observed

or mentioned in this study include homes; workplaces; and virtual spaces created by computers and their related technologies and accessed via the oligoptica listed above.

Homes. In this study, much of the work of continually realizing the family grouping or problematization occurs in the home. In the home, not only is food prepared, but possessions are stored and maintained, and, ideally, family members are sheltered from danger by the structure of the house or apartment building and by the authority and protective acts of their parents and other relatives. Here, the problematization that tells family members who they are individually also tells them they belong to the group known as the family. The actions of the Hispanic/Latino participants in this study suggest that, for most, the responsibilities they associate with their roles in the family problematization take higher precedence than those of any competing problematization. When they explain their behavioral choices to me, their familial roles are those they most often refer to as justification for turning away other responsibilities. Family cars and telephones are used to extend home-based, family-assocative practices into other oligoptica.

Workplaces. Another often-invoked responsibility among the Hispanic/Latino participants is to one's job. The problematization that places participants as wage earners may be closely tied to the family problematization; the director of the Human Relations Commission, who is African American, suggested that an expectation on the part of Hispanic/Latino families that their teenagers will get a full-time job may contribute to their high school dropout rate. The Catholic priest, who is white, observed that the Hispanic/Latino parents who attended mass with him seemed to him to be proud of their roles as parents and as wage earners; he warned that public service agency employees' efforts to support Hispanic/Latino parenting may be problematized by these parents as attempts to criticize parents' fulfillment of their duties.

Nonetheless, this dedication to the problematization of parents as wage-earners, though probably necessary for the survival of the family, makes evident a critical gap in associability between Spanish-speaking and bilingual or English-speaking Hispanics/Latinos. This gap in associability is not a "social" phenomenon in the usual sense of the word, meaning among people. Instead, it is a failure to make connections among people and things. Person-to-person associations are included, but not to the

157

exclusion of person-to-thing associations. These Spanish-speaking Hispanics/Latinos do not experience the same association that their English-speaking or bilingual counterparts do between themselves and some benefits of paid work, in workplaces dominated by the majority population.

Several Hispanic/Latino participants described their workplaces—not including public service agencies, at least among these participants—as locations wherein they are subject to racist behavior by their employers. One participant had recently been instructed to cease speaking Spanish on the job, because a white co-worker could not understand her conversations with another co-worker while they worked on an assembly line. These conversations had nothing to do with the work but did not detract from the work, and the participant felt discriminated against, in that her right to use her own language was taken away to fulfill the wishes of a white employee. This participant related that she often saw discriminatory behavior in grocery stores (which are also workplaces), in which white or black customers were attended to before she or another Hispanic/Latino was, who had been waiting just as long or longer. In such oligoptica where this participant sees racist behavior, she considers that she is being told that, as a Mexican, she has fewer rights than whites or blacks. She meets this problematization with a fierce problematization of her own, verbalized at home and in private: that being Mexican is something to be proud of, and that she has the right to speak her own language when and where she pleases. Still, she considers that her trust in her employers and in other white and African American people is significantly eroded by these experiences. (Hispanic/Latino participants in this study did not refer either positively or negatively to any persons of Asian or Polynesian descent in the locality during my interaction with them. Their only references to persons of Native American descent was to themselves, as *mestizos,* or mixed-race descendants of Spaniards and Native Americans. The Hispanic/Latino community holds a Native American tribal dance celebration during December of each year. The two or three participants, all bilinguals, who officially claimed this racial connection while speaking to me used that problematization as part of a larger one, in which they claimed a deeper and longer-lasting connection to this American land than any other race could have.)

Another participant described how workers at her job—possibly Hispanics/Latinos—were often fired just before they left for a scheduled paid vacation.

She said that the employees trusted the problematization offered them by the employers when they got the job, that if they worked for a certain length of time they would get vacation days, but that that problematization was later not sustained by the employers. She also complained that pregnant women were fired from this workplace because they could not lift heavy weights during their pregnancies. This had happened to her the year before. This woman, who did not speak English, said she thought there should be legal protection for such employees.

In an oligoptica such as this workplace, associations are *not* made between employees and the organizations and immutable mobiles that could work to protect them from abuse of their services by their employers. Thus, these employees do not hold the same role that their more associated peers have access to: that of the knowledgeable employee who cannot be taken advantage of because she/he knows her/his rights or opportunities and can draw on outside powers to defend or use them.

The problematizations and resulting associations that are formed or that fail to be formed in the workplace have impact at home and in others' workplaces as well. The under-associated parents in this study (those who speak only or primarily Spanish) make less money and are less able to fill the material and medical needs of their family than more-associated parents. Like all of us, they depend on gatekeepers and public service agency personnel for information and resources they cannot obtain on their own; however, because they are less associated with information sources than are many local English-speaking families, they are more dependent on gatekeepers for knowledge of how to associate themselves with resources, and often for transportation and translation services so that such associations can be made at all.

This is not to say that English-speaking or bilingual Hispanics/Latinos do not experience discrimination on the job or in other workplaces; examples of discrimination were reported from several different participants, not all of them Spanish speakers. Any act of discrimination is essentially a deprivation of associations with resources. Such disruptions of associations may not always occur; not all of the Spanish speakers in this study reported discrimination at work or elsewhere. Still, the greatest gap between people and resources among the participants in this study was described by the Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latino participants, and related primarily to workplace-based associations.

A type of workplace that offers the opportunity to form additional associations among people and things are government or political, public service, granting, research, and religious institutions, along with their materials libraries, technological objects such as cars, computers, and telephones, and meeting spaces, including public parks. These centers function as oligoptica by affording space and materials to support sociality, but in this study their use of objects, especially immutable mobiles, affords their greatest power to associate people and things.

Virtual "spaces." The oligoptica of virtual spaces exist in the netherland of "online"—which is provided via computers, cables, wireless devices, and even satellites—but they also exist in homes and workplaces, where personal computers and handheld devices afford a connection to the World Wide Web as well as to workplace-based intranets. The director of the Human Relations Commission, as well as the university extension staff member and the librarians and community college personnel who participated in this study, all used the World Wide Web regularly, if only to send and receive email. The librarians also use their organization's OPAC (Online Public Access Catalog) to search and to change records of the library's materials holdings, though the creation of these records is generally performed by the library consortium office personnel in another city. In their use of these technologically-provided resources and immutable mobiles, all these participants accept problematizations imposed or offered by the oligoptica of workplaces and homes—their own, but also other separated from them by time and distance. To some extent, as they accept these problematizations, they become intermediaries for other actors who work or act in these oligoptica.

Of the Hispanic/Latino participants in this study, the Commissioner's daughter has a dial-up Internet connection (which she told me she is unlikely to upgrade) and occasionally checks her Yahoo email. She reports that she has used the Internet to research health information about diabetes, which her father suffered from and which was possibly a partial cause of his recent death. One of the Hispanic/Latino mothers offered me an email address as a way to contact her with information regarding the legality of some workplace-based discriminatory practices, and the public health staff member gave me an email address with which to contact her boss with any ideas I had for outreach. No other Hispanic/Latino participants referred at any time to using the World Wide Web for

anything, and none of them invited me to email them, though I left all of their houses on friendly terms, often with invitations from them to "visit anytime." It seems likely, therefore, that cooption as intermediaries via the World Wide Web is less prevalent among this population than among the more "virtually" connected participants in the study; though, of course, cooption by other actors through other means is always possible.

Summary. Homes and workplaces are powerful places, where practices and encounters with people and things can impact other behaviors in locations both near and far from the originating sites. In these oligoptica, immutable mobiles and technological objects function as both mediators and intermediaries—they are mediators when they limit an actor's agency, and they are intermediaries when they work to carry out an actor's intent without diverting it in any way. Human actors also may function as mediators and intermediaries. These two kinds of activity may co-occur.

In this study, much of the work of continually realizing the family grouping occurs in the home, where food and possessions are stored, maintained, and used, and family members may be sheltered from danger. Here, the problematization that tells family members who they are individually also tells them they belong to the group known as the family. The Hispanic/Latino participants in this study use their familial roles to verbally justify turning away external responsibilities. Family cars are used to extend home-based, family-assocative practices into other oligoptica; the World Wide Web may also be used for this, especially for contacting family internationally (a common use among other Hispanic/Latino immigrant families of my acquaintance, though they also use mobile phones for this purpose), but neither this nor any other use of the World Wide Web was mentioned to me by Hispanic/Latino participants as a useful way to maintain family ties. The only Hispanic/Latino participant who reported using the World Wide Web for the benefit of the family was the Commissioner's daughter, who used it to obtain immutable mobiles carrying health information for her father.

In workplaces, the under-associated Hispanic/Latino parents in this study (those who speak only or primarily Spanish) are more dependent than their English-speaking or bilingual counterparts on gatekeepers for knowledge of how to associate themselves with resources, for transportation and for translation services. English-speaking or bilingual

Hispanics/Latinos also experience discrimination—a deprivation of associations with resources—on the job or in other workplaces; still, the greatest gap between people and resources among the participants in this study was described by the Spanish-speaking Hispanic/Latino participants, and related primarily to workplace-based associations.

Government or political, public service, granting, research, and religious institutions, along with their materials libraries, technological objects such as cars, computers, and telephones, and meeting spaces, including public parks function as oligoptica by affording space and materials to support sociality, but this study their use of objects, especially immutable mobiles, affords their greatest power to associate people and things.

Virtual spaces, provided via technological objects and immutable mobiles created and located in oligoptica, are used by several agency personnel in this study for work-based communication. In their use of these technologically-provided resources and immutable mobiles, all these participants accept problematizations imposed or offered by the oligoptica of workplaces and homes, and to some extent become intermediaries for other actors who work or act in these oligoptica. Few of the Hispanics/Latinos in this study who do not work in a public service agency or other institution reported or demonstrated any use of the World Wide Web, whether for family or employment-related uses; therefore, it seems likely that cooption via the World Wide Web is less prevalent among this population.

Oligoptica and Fuentes: Reassembling the Social

As I have related elsewhere in this account, institutional employment of minorities coincides with *fuente* status. Employment at a public service agency is usually associated with such gatekeeper status, though such employment is only one of several potentially causal factors resulting in gatekeeper status.

In this analysis, it has been found that factors such as interpersonal connections, competing problematizations, technological and other objects, and immutable mobiles function as motivators and demotivators to minority involvement in public service programming. However, the impact of these factors is altered among individuals who self-identify as information and help sources—i.e., gatekeepers—for their social circle.

Employment at a public service agency associates those individuals with resources and problematizations they would not otherwise would not have encountered or perhaps accepted; for example, their roles may not otherwise have been defined by problematizations that originate in research institutions or government offices. Additionally, they may not otherwise have come into contact with the immutable mobiles and technological objects that carry problematizations of family roles, illness and health care, or ethical hiring and management practices.

As they accept and act in accordance with new problematizations, their practices at home, at church, and in the homes of family and friends may change to reflect their new conception of reality. Their perceptions of of family roles may be expanded to include their own roles as community leaders or helping resources (sometimes they call themselves *fuentes,* which means "resources" or "fountains"), thus disrupting and replacing the role assignments that may have otherwise defined their daily choices. While all Hispanic/Latino participants in this study have the opportunity to act as motivators and mentors (mediators) to their families, friends, and co-workers, only two of the six Hispanic-Latino participants who were not employed by public service agencies reported ever serving as an organizer or a *fuente* to any of their interpersonal circle. I use *fuente* to describe any gatekeeping activity, reserving full *fuente* status for those who are publicly established as leaders and organizers.

The sole Hispanic/Latino participant in this group of non-*fuentes* who may have approached *fuente* status by engaging in repeated, self-motivated organizing practices among other Hispanics/Latinos was the man ("Individual, married male with young children." Incidentally, this is also the man whose wife defines his role as a leader of the family). However, he did not report engaging in public service organization in this city, where he had begun employment the previous year.

This man did, though, several times bring food from the restaurant where he worked to the library's summer program—which his two girls attended—for surprise refreshments for the children. None of the other parents or guardians ever once brought refreshments or treats for the whole group that summer, though the manner of dress and speech of several parents/guardians indicated that they might be well off enough to provide refreshments for all on their own dime. No parents/guardians were ever asked by

program staff to bring food or supplies for anyone; the only parent who did so unasked was also the parent who reported regularly taking upon himself other duties of a *fuente* without external guidance or supervision.

Fuente "conversion" experiences. Full *fuentes* in this study describe what may be termed religious or ethical "conversion experiences" to the work of gatekeeping, experiences that continue to define the ideals that motivate their ongoing gatekeeping work. Their "conversion experiences" illustrate certain aspects to gatekeeper recruitment, including practices of sociality demonstrated and engaged in within oligoptica such as homes and churches, and mandates or other problematizations communicated via immutable mobile in churches, schools, or places of employment. In every case of full *fuente* activity, they accepted a problematization that allowed them to draw on the resources of powerful oligoptica to take on minority community leadership roles in addition to their family responsibilities.

These future *fuentes* had their own reasons for participating in the paradigms that gave them the resources and connections to become *fuentes*. Several reported the example of family members in disinterested community service as a key motivator, and this example was often coupled with invitations or mandates from parents that their children (future *fuentes*) participate in such family practices as part of growth into a moral or ethical human being. Others related stories of similar standards and practices being impressed upon them through attendance at a Catholic school or by participation in Church-based activities and leadership training. For others, entering *fuente* practice was part of the terms of employment at a new job. Many *fuentes* noted that other *fuentes* were active while they themselves were becoming active in *fuente* work; occasionally, they acknowledge these ties with pride similar to that of doctoral students listing their mentors.

Local minority *fuentes* observe that the recruitment of additional *fuentes* is essential to future success both in public service agency outreach and in minority community activism, both to sustain and to replace existing *fuentes* who grow weary under their responsibilities. Without recruitment, these *fuentes* do not hold out much hope for long-lasting community change. Recruitment efforts have already begun at the local high school, using the resources of that oligopticon as well as those of the community

college and the city Human Relations Commission. As most of these youth do not yet shoulder the full responsibilities of family and employment, yet possess more education and freedom to act than most of their parents, this is a good age, time, and place to recruit them.

Overcoming rifts among fuentes. The organizers of the Hispanic/Latino Summit in October 2007 demonstrated that rifts between *fuentes* that normally act to fracture the minority community actor-network can be overcome to some extent through the use of the same forces (immutable mobiles and sociality, including professional practice) that lend these *fuentes* their power. These *fuentes* coopted the mandate given them by their own administration—to reach out to Spanish-speaking families so more would take college courses—and its attending authority to organize and power to draw on college resources to motivate other organizations' supervisors to "join up" and cooperatively create the Summit cycle. Then, by writing letters and making phone calls to organization supervisors appealing to the ideals manifested in the various public service agencies' mission statements, the *fuentes* who organized the Summit used the other *fuentes*' terms of employment to interest the dissenters in cooperating with each other for long enough to hold successful Summits every six months. This cooperation has been maintained by the same methods for the past year (three Summits).

The success of the Hispanic/Latino Summit can be usefully contrasted with the dissolution of the nascent Hispanic/Latino Partnership. The Hispanic/Latino Partnership was a burgeoning actor-network of individuals with powerfully motivating alliances (family, home, job) that quickly conflicted with their alliance to the Partnership; in comparison, the Summit enlisted partner institutions to accomplish mutually beneficial goals so that the institutions would deploy individuals by motivating them through their alliances to bringing home a paycheck and maintaining a good record of employment (i.e., immutable mobiles). This deployment motivated even individuals who had spent many months in personal conflict with one another to cooperate for the benefit of the Summit, the partner institutions, and the community. The post-Summit feedback I received from these former feuding parties reveals a renewed sense of community and a renewed dedication to the welfare of the minority community as a whole as a result of their personal participation this partnering experience.

Summary. The "conversion stories" of existing *fuentes* suggest that recruitment as *fuentes,* as an intermediary step to *fuente* status, may be effected after individuals of any age are first interested into program participation; perhaps via sneaky, gradual tactics such as asking one family to host an event at their house and then to offer a formal welcome once the group has gathered there. When such small leadership practices are accepted as normal, other sneaky introductions of practice can be effected, with the goal of eventual, self-motivated, concerted effort with an existing *fuente* team.

However, recruitment efforts that do not connect people with things will eventually fail. The *fuentes* who currently work and live in this city all are connected by their jobs and sometimes by their religious practice to powerful oligoptica that provide them with riches in the form of technological objects and immutable mobiles to use in support of their *fuente* work. Families also rely on objects to do their practical work. Such ties to resources can also be used to connect these actors in new ways to allow minority families and individuals more equitable access. However, recruitment that focuses on mental or emotional "conversion" without manipulation of object-based practices and access to object resources will not result in lasting change within any given actor-network. It is not only the mind that must be won, but the body, in its relation to other bodies.

Complications in Agency: From Outreach to Engagement

This study shows that institutions and families may derive considerable power from their use of places, things, and role maps (problematizations) to order themselves and their world. Still, the power dynamic is not so simple. Institutions such as public libraries are empowered but also taken over by their reliance on particular buildings and objects with particular capabilities. They have meeting rooms and materials to use, perhaps even a bookmobile; the use of these tools presupposes certain behaviors on the part of the people involved. The library has meeting rooms because/so that people meet in the library. The library has certain materials because/so that patrons and librarians use materials in accepted ways. Change is difficult because of the physical options and associated role maps that already exist. A similar argument can be made regarding the family home.

Consider library outreach in light of its associated places and things. Library outreach says, "Come to the library. Use our things in the ways we tell you. This is good for you. We know best." However, if the practices of the family home are not amenable to such an invitation—the family has their own ways of moving and being moved—then an outreach approach that prefers library practice over home-based practices implicitly prefers the power of the library over the power of the home. Is library service intended to build up the library and strengthen the agency of librarians, or to strengthen the agency of individuals and families as they act both inside and outside the library?

Thus, library outreach in its typical sense may not be as altruistic an endeavor as it seems. If outreach and other library practices can be restructured—library buildings and objects reordered—to invite democratic engagement with patrons instead of attempting to colonize them, however benevolently . . . then the outreach that now attempts to "draw patrons in" could become instead a meeting of ways. There, library services are remade, but so are patrons' practices: together.

The Nature of Reality: What Is Known?

The fourth principle of uncertainty in ANT is uncertainty in knowledge-making. Each actor participates in individual problematizations, which motivate participation in others' problematizations. This implies that, not only is each actor's perception of reality distinct from that of any other, but also that physical reality itself is bent into simultaneous different alignments according to the problematizations that are concurrently realized. The multiplicity of actor-networks indicates a multiplicity of interconnected physical realities. Attention to this potential multiplicity of realities requires a sort of humility: the reality I describe is only the reality I can physically know, through my own senses or by immutable mobile. In addition, there is the plasma: innumerable (because unknown) masses of potential actors that do not currently enter into the active reality of the described actor-networks, simply because they do not cause any measurable physical effect in these networks. If they do not make big enough waves, we cannot receive them—they cannot be known. All epistemologies are flawed in this way; ANT emphasizes that what cannot be known should continue to be recognized throughout the epistemological process.

Telling the Truth: Are All Accounted For?

As actor-network-theory notes, all accounts are biased, and many more potential accounts exist than can be accounted for in any study. Still, acknowledging my own interests and limits, I have provided an account that I believe to be both ethical and reflective of my real connections to the people, things, and places I have described. The elements I have highlighted are those that appear most useful and illuminating, both in the participants' present circumstances and as a basis for further study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This particular account of a particular set of events, while not generalizable in the strict sense, offers benefits to readers from a variety of backgrounds.

First, this account offers insight into the motivating and demotivating factors (actor-networks, really) that may hold sway within other configurations. While every situation is particular, the associations between actors can reach very far, and corresponding, similar, or the same actors may be associated in other physical locations and other times. While this account can not provide an accurate model for such other associations, it can provide notes on characteristics and behavior that may aid in tracing those associations. Analogical leaps can be useful, as long as they are not confused with the work of finding out what is actually there.

Second, one of the purposes of the university, especially of my graduate school, is to train professionals in public service agency practice and administration. This account contributes to the conversation on policy by suggesting that public service agencies can profit greatly from deep engagement by outreach and administration staff with the population they seek to serve. Just as ANT requires the researcher to immerse herself in the associations among people and things, tracing the mediators and noting how they act with their power, so outreach personnel and administrators can learn much about motivators and demotivators of participation and about possibilities for intervention for social reassembly by immersing themselves in the life of the minority communities around them. Many such practitioners already know the value of knowing what is particular about their own communities. In an age of standardization of professional practices, it may be useful to inject into the mix some philosophical and theoretical support for policy decisions based on local particularities.

Third, this account argues for the continuing recognition of uncertainty in the theory and philosophy of social assembly and reassembly. It demonstrates the validity of Latour's assertion that when we recognize uncertainty and engage with it, we find more actors doing more that impacts the behavior we are interested in than we could have allowed for by categorizing too soon. It was uncertainty that led me to use ANT for this account, and it is uncertainty that invites others to investigate further.

Future Directions in Research and Practice

Latour (2005/2007) notes that no ANT account can be complete without the inclusion of participant feedback and of follow-up to see what the result of sharing the ANT analysis has been at the location of investigation. In pursuit of this goal, I have repeatedly invited written commentary and correction from my participants on this account, but—as when I asked certain of them to keep journals—their written responses have been brief and superficial. My residency far from their homes and workplaces makes in-depth visits and interviews difficult, and the performance of the analysis on their responses could arguably fill another dissertation.

Also, my participants have not read the whole of my dissertation, and the hardcopy of it has not been delivered to them in any publicly accessible way (though it will be delivered in hardcover to the public library and made available there for circulation). Half of the people I would like to have read it cannot read in English; I will present an oral summary to them this spring. The next logical step is to deliver the hardcopy, as well as the full electronic text, to the participants and the surrounding community and then follow up to find out what, if any, impact the oral and written delivery has had. As I said, perhaps this could be someone else's dissertation. Alternatively (or additionally), follow-up on gains to date in that city could be pursued using the suggestions listed here under "If I Could Do It Again":

If I Could Do It Again

If I performed a study like this again, I would spend a year just getting to know everyone, observing everyone's home and professional practices, and asking questions about what the minority community wanted and the agencies could provide. However, if I had started out that way this time, I probably would not have ended up using actor-network-theory, because other theories and philosophies would have come more readily to hand. I was not introduced to actor-network-theory as part of my academic "basic training." It took a breakdown in process to make me seek out an unknown theoretical lens. Hence, if a breakdown had not occurred, I would have persisted to good advantage using research and theory in language acquisition and pedagogy to construct a reliable, well-rounded picture of each case using grounded theory, discourse analysis, qualitative case study, and action research methods. In reality, all of these served me very well as

background training; also, it can be argued that I relied more than nominally on action research methods and case study techniques to gather data and to construct my ANT account. However, I must affirm that, had I not found myself in a breakdown in process and turned to ANT, I doubt I would have seen the significance of the roles of immutable mobiles and other objects in community organization, and therefore I would have found it much more difficult to identify the means by which such breakdowns or gaps in community organizing practice may be overcome.

Other data gathering tools I could have used include more formal training for me and my partners in participatory analysis; school-based activities and recruiting events for minority children, youth, and parents, as well as their teachers and school administrators; small "test" events at *fuentes*' houses; more in-depth participation in the public life of the Spanish-speaking members of the local Catholic church; and greater use of the research opportunity offered by the summer program. In the end, choices must be made, because no study can do everything; however, reviewing these tools that could have been helpful can provide ideas for future work.

What do I wish I could have done better? I wish I had not let my fear of offending anyone or of doing something wrong keep me from maximizing on the opportunities that came my way to associate myself with people, things, and institutions that could have afforded me better access to the mediators in the actor-network. Too often, especially in the beginning, I let shyness and uncertainty dissuade me rather than embracing that uncertainty and using my shyness to inform my sympathy for other uncertain people. If I could do it again, I would still be respectful of others' right to maintain their existing associations, but I would be fearless in inviting them to change through association with me. In particular, I would have maximized on the brief contacts I had with the "Mexican store" owners, who, I learned through my fall 2007 interviews, have been active off and on in ad hoc community work for decades in that city.

If we could do it again in the same site, expanding on our gains there, I would first review what I already know. As can be seen from this account, public service agencies have many immutable mobiles and other objects to rely upon to extend their reach and to allow them to deploy individuals to act in predictable ways. The families I studied rely more on sociality to ingrain behaviors and practices and to exchange and

receive information, though families also make much use of objects to realize family problematizations.

Family use of objects is often gauged to serve the immediate, material well-being of the family; those parents and children who look to the future and try to plan for it are unsure of what resources they may draw upon from outside the family. Parents consider their primary responsibilities to be to their families, and will usually prioritize immediate family needs or wants over any short-term or long-term community service. According to the coding of source documents, Hispanic/Latino parents tend to characterize themselves as central actors in the life of the family, and they characterize public agencies as external or subordinate actors, though some parents think governmental agencies should do more to stabilize or regulate society. When agencies are spoken of as active by these parents, it is generally in terms of what they "should" be doing. Otherwise, parents are the default actors in these problematizations.

Public service agencies usually behave in what I characterize as a "white" way, demonstrating respect for families by "getting straight to the point," not "wasting your time," putting as much information as possible into immutable mobiles and focusing on the tasks at hand. However, Hispanic/Latino families enjoy spending time together and with new or old friends, and this "*platicando,*" or "hanging out," is an essential method of building trust among Hispanics/Latinos. Community insiders agree that Hispanics/Latinos need half an hour to an hour of socializing before they are ready to "get to the point," and even then, some room for joking is required for full mutual confidence.

Public service agencies are also sometimes wrongly identified by minority group members as extensions of the federal government's immigration police, further decreasing confidence in the trustworthiness of these agencies and restricting minorities' access to the information, services, and goods provided there. Public schools for children and youth are the notable exception to this trend, serving as the most common trusted source of information distributed via immutable mobile. Schools—elementary and secondary schools, not yet the college or the university—are also considered by minority members to be a valuable source of services and information that can be used by families to improve their lives now and in the future. Any failure of schools to provide a clear path

to financial security via education is met with some panic on the part of parents and youth, as they do not know where else to get this information or training.

Using this knowledge, I would continue to draw on the objects and other resources I now know are available via institutional partnerships, and I would actively seek and analyze the benefits of additional such partnerships. I would use the resources thus made available—including the somewhat "forced" but still amicable partnership of *fuentes* found in the "Hispanic/Latino Summit"—and my own object-based practices, sociality, and alliance with the university to form small groups of like-minded minority parents and youth who partner with each other, visit each other, organize small events using institutional and home resources, and have fun together at their homes and sometimes on institution premises. A social practice I learned from my own religious tradition could be of particular use here; it is called "visiting teaching" or "home teaching," and it involves two adults, both women or both men, who are voluntarily assigned to visit particular families regularly and help see to their needs. These visits are often chatty and friendly, and often involve bringing a food gift; by relying on sociality and food exchanges, visiting practices similar to visiting and home teaching may be well suited to the work of social reassembly in the target city's minority population, which already participates in similar traditions.

In order to assemble these organizing groups and visiting partnerships, I would use the small groups that cluster around each *fuente* as a participant base from which to mine individuals who can be given small responsibilities and later larger ones, to foster them into *fuente* practices. I would participate in, discuss, and refine these practices with them. I would seek out ways to use immutable mobiles (money, terms of employment, standards, mission statements, email, Web sites) and other objects (cars, mobile telephones, computers) to intervene in and reorganize community-based practices, not only so that more individuals have more access to resources, but also so that more individuals regularly help each other to have access to resources, so that these practices may be passed on and the actor-network may be self-maintaining. Granted, these are lofty—and very general—goals. Nevertheless, it is perhaps better to allow for some uncertainty in planning, so that the uncertainty (that certainly exists) does not sneak up and bite me when I least expect it.

Community Work

With regard to future community reassembly and research, this study suggests that it may be profitable to research how partnering among public service institutions, such as the university, the extension office, and the public library, may also allow outreach personnel to pool their target populations and thus overcome some minor issues of trust between those institutions and the part of the population they would not otherwise reach. By borrowing each others' "umbrella of authority," or aegis, relatively unknown or untrusted institutions invite potential participants to develop new practices of trust. Thus, together they may reach many more people than they could apart.

Nevertheless, such research should be structured to pay attention to the use of objects, including immutable mobiles, in the process of building and maintaining that trust. This study concludes that trust is only useful inasmuch as it involves a change or a maintainance of object-based practice. That which is not physical is, in effect, unreal. This study suggests that the public library and other public service agencies included in the analysis will not find a place in the lives of underserved individuals and families if agency offerings are not made physically relevant to the target participants' family or work practices. This implies that, at least in the minds of potential participants in outreach programs, the agency staff should not be retained primarily to establish the agency as a central power, but rather, the agency and its staff exist as they are in order to provide essential services or information.

Libraries

The librarians who participated in this study repeatedly described their involvement in the study as being "for the good of the library" and the existence of the library as an unquestioned public good. (They also repeatedly affirmed their dedication to the service of the minority community, though in the beginning these affirmations were offered several seconds after they shared their concerns about the status of the library.) However, the conclusion evident in this study is that, while the library may be of great use to achieve great good, if it is not made physically relevant to minority populations, to them it could just as well not exist. A nonexistent agency is no public good. Therefore, while some library or other public service agency personnel may complain about changes in their duties required in order to perform effective outreach in this place, the

counterargument could be made that their jobs exist to serve the goals of the agency using whatever ethical means can be brought to hand. Changes in clientele require changes in practice.

For specific ideas with regard to library outreach, I refer readers to the above sections, "Reproblematizing the Actors," "Complications in Agency: From Outreach to Engagement," and "If I Could Do It Again."

Policy Making

This study also suggests that future research and practice could usefully investigate how parents and youth may become full partners in community reassembly, if they are presented with adequate problematizations and associations to engage them as *fuentes*. In this study, trusting practices were developed through participation and through mutual respect of ability, of authority/responsibility, and of desires and goals, all this demonstrated in personally (and perhaps culturally) intelligible ways, and through the pivotal use and mediation of objects, including immutable mobiles. Program organizers could take a page from sociologists who participate in the life of the target population for a year or so before beginning active research, in order to learn and adapt to the particular needs and preferences of their community members and the objects they use to live. This study suggests that the most effective, longest lasting changes are made in this city's social assembly when minority families and their resources are partnered with institutions and their resources via minority individuals who can function as *fuentes* and mentors of future *fuentes*. Future policy should stipulate the inclusion and reliance upon minority families and their resources in any minority community work.

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APPENDIX A: MASTER TABLE OF PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS

Entries for participants with *fuente* status within the Spanish-speaking community are shaded.

Master Table of Study Participant Characteristics

Participant	Race/Ethnicity	Primary Language	Gener-ation	Sex	Family	Document Type
"Mexican Store" Owner	Hispanic/Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, young and adolescent children	Summary
Hispanic/Latino Human Relations Commissioner	Hispanic/Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, adult children	Transcript
Commissioner's Daughter, married with young child	Hispanic/Latina	Bilingual	2nd	F	Married, young children	Transcript
Library Director	White	English		F		Transcript
Children's Librarian	White	English		F		Transcript
New Library Children's Room Staff Member	Hispanic/Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, adult children	Transcript
Local University Extension Staff Member, married female with children	Hispanic/Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, young children	Transcript
Female Community College Staff Member	Hispanic/Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, adult children	Transcript
Male Community College Professor	Hispanic/Latino	Bilingual	1st	M	Married, adolescent children	Transcript
Human Relations Commission Director	African American	English		F		Transcript
Catholic Church Congregation Organizer and Husband	Hispanic/Latinos	Bilingual	1st	F & M	Married, adult children	Transcript

Master Table, continued

Participant	Race/ Ethnicity	Primary Language	Gener -ation	Sex	Family	Document Type
Low-Income Public Health Agency Staff Member	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married	Transcript
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Bilingual	1st	F	Married, young children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latino	Spanish	1st	M	Married, young children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Spanish	1st	F	Married, young, adolescent , and adult children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Spanish	1st	F	Married, young and adolescent children	Notes
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	Spanish	1st	F	Married, young children	Transcript
Individual	Hispanic /Latina	English	2nd	F	Married, young and adult children	Transcript

CURRICULUM VITAE

Timnah Christine Card Gretencord

EDUCATION

Ph.D. candidate, Library and Information Science, anticipated graduation:
May 2009

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL

Dissertation (successfully defended November 2008): "In Translation: Attracting
Spanish Speaking Participants to Public Programming"

Committee: Dr. Ann Bishop (chair), Dr. Bertram "Chip" Bruce, Dr. Kate
Williams, Dr. Paul Prior

M.A. in English, *emphasis:* Creative Writing for Children and Young Adults,
2001

Brigham Young University, Provo, UT

Thesis: *Slider,* young adult novel, with critical theory-based commentary
Committee: Louise Plummer (chair), Dr. Dean Hughes, Dr. Chris Crowe

B.A. in English, *emphases:* Editing, Creative Writing, 1997
Brigham Young University, Provo, UT

SELECTED HONORS, AWARDS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

Diversity Research Grant, Small and Rural Libraries Award, American Library
Association, 2006-2007

Merit-based grant proposal competition award of $2000 for original research
related to the support and improvement of small and rural library services to
minorities and special populations. Grant winners are also given $500 for travel to
the American Library Association 2007 Annual Conference to present on the
research.

Education Grant for Library Employees, California State Library, 2003-2004

Full-tuition, merit-based grants awarded on a competitive basis to applicants
through the Staff Education Program of the California State Library for two
consecutive years of study toward the MLIS degree at San José State University.

TEACHING AND MENTORING EXPERIENCE

Graduate Assistant, University of Illinois Extension, Champaign, IL, 8/2007 - 7/2008. Fellowship funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Services as part of the Youth Community Informatics project grant for 2007 - 2010.

- Collaboratively designed modules for an innovative online afterschool program familiarizing underserved youth with technology and community service.
- Analyzed and finessed existing afterschool programs for underserved youth in Joliet, IL, and Chicago, IL.
- Assisted in teaching an afterschool program in Web design for Mexican immigrant youth in Joliet, IL.
- Designed and taught an afterschool program in community journalism for the Chicago Puerto Rican community of Humboldt Park.
- Assisted in group leadership of the first annual Youth Community Informatics Forum, a youth conference held at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, June 2008.
- Evaluated and selected survey and interview questions for study participants.
- Crafted and negotiated research protocols, including documents for informed consent/assent, for approval by internal IRB.
- Translated recruiting, educational, and research materials into Spanish.
- Provided Spanish-language assistance to youth and families participating in the Youth Community Informatics programs.

Conference Planner, University of Illinois Extension, Champaign, IL, 2/2007 - 5/2007

- Created and delivered curriculum for 10 high school students at the weekend-long 4-H State Leadership Conference.
- Organized and managed student workgroups, teaching negotiation, time-management, and teamwork skills.
- Hosted final presentations of and give awards for student work at the general conference meeting.

Teaching Assistant, Literature and Resources for Young Adults, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2006

- Evaluated student papers, videotaped presentations, and Web sites according to a previously established performance rubric; annotated student work and discussed grades with faculty instructor.
- Employed online bulletin boards to support and expand upon classroom instruction.

Teaching Assistant, Youth Services Librarianship, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2006

- Assessed student writing, presentations, and Web sites according to a rubric; composed detailed written commentary on student work; conferred with faculty instructor over evaluation criteria and overall quality of student performance.
- Utilized online bulletin boards to support and expand upon classroom instruction.

High school tutor, creative writing instruction, Mill Valley, CA, 2002

- Appraised writing skills through consultation and review of student work.
- Clarified the structure and purposes of narrative through brief discussion of principles and literary and popular media examples.
- Designed writing exercises to maximize student interest and develop facility with language and document structure.

Adjunct instructor, English Department, Cañada College, Redwood City, CA, 2002-2002

- Guided students through the composition and revision of four- to seven-page narrative, analytical, research, and persuasive papers.
- Demonstrated application of the foundational rules of language use in a semester-long remedial workshop in English grammar and punctuation.

Staff, Euclid House (residential facility for female juvenile criminal offenders), San Francisco, CA, 2001

- Provided responsible adult presence during resident activities more than 30 hours per week, including overnight.
- Supervised homework and chores completion, doctor and dentist visits, and recreational activities.
- Verbally noted and encouraged resident success in attaining scholastic, social, and therapeutic goals.
- Intervened in resident disputations; afforded counsel, comfort, and stability during residents' personal emergencies.
- Evaluated residents' obedience to house rules; determined and administered appropriate disciplinary action, such as loss of privileges; conferred with the house manager and therapist on resident care.

Online curriculum writer, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 2001

- Constructed a series of conflict analysis groupwork exercises in an interactive story format for the online freshman writing course.

Instructor trainer, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 2000-2001

- Superintended and evaluated the performance of five instructors.
- Designed and directed bimonthly instructor training meetings.
- With other instructors and faculty, conceptualized and implemented week-long training session for new instructors.

Instructor, College Writing and Reading, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 1999-2001

- Taught 1-2 classes per term/semester of 14-21 students each for 6 terms/semesters in college writing and revision of personal narratives, rhetorical analysis, research papers, and proposals.
- Incorporated mini-lessons on punctuation, spelling, grammar, style, diction, and unbiased language.
- In student conferences, offered contextualized instruction in the use of rhetorical strategies and communication formatting standards for academic and business audiences.
- Designed curriculum; graded papers and exams.
- Coached students in the navigation and use of the 5.4-million volume university library, how to choose sources based on the paper genre and audience, and how to find, evaluate, and use sources in APA or MLA format in a formal paper.
- Directed students in the use of Microsoft Word, Corel WordPerfect, Internet Explorer, Netscape Navigator, and email programs.
- Employed the online tools at Blackboard.com to support and expand upon classroom instruction.

INFORMAL TEACHING AND MENTORING ACTIVITIES

Spanish-English translator and Immigrant Family Mentor, Champaign, IL, 2006-2007

Instructor and Adviser, young women ages 12-13, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Champaign, IL, 2006

Tutor, English reading and conversation for Spanish speakers, Champaign, IL, 2006

Organizer, youth services dissertation support group, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2005

Organizer, lunch group to give international students opportunities to practice English speaking skills, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2004-2005

Tutor, English writing and conversation for Spanish speakers, Normal, IL, 2004

Co-founder and Director, graduate student creative writing support group, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 1999-2001

Instructor, children ages 11-12, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Orem, UT, 1998-1999

Project Read Tutor, Provo, UT, 1996

Instructor, children ages 6-7, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Orem, UT, 1995

Spanish-speaking Mentor and Tutor, life skills and reading comprehension, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Venezuela, 1994-1995

LIBRARY AND LITERATURE EXPERIENCE AND TRAINING

Reviewer, *The Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books,* 2003-2005

- Authored up to seven critical reviews per week of picture books and full-length middle-grade and young adult novels.
- Cultivated expertise in the analysis and critical evaluation of fantasy, science fiction, middle-grade realistic novels, and fiction and nonfiction about and for readers of Central and South American heritage.
- Composed monthly columns and bibliographies for the online presence of *The Bulletin,* spotlighting prominent and upcoming authors or expounding on original, theme-based booklists.

Library Assistant, Children's Room, Bloomington Public Library, Bloomington, IL, 2003-2004

- Created Microsoft Access titles and subjects database for use in collection development.
- Performed reader advisory and reference service.
- Collaborated in nonfiction collection development.
- Designed and fashioned seasonal displays and wall art.

Reader, children's fiction, Covenant Communications, American Fork, UT, 2004

- Evaluated middle-grade and young adult novel manuscripts for literary quality and audience appropriateness.
- Annotated manuscripts with comments to the author on work well done and suggestions for improvement; delivered appraisals to the publishing editor of each manuscript's overall quality and marketability.

Library Assistant, Children's Room, Mill Valley Public Library, Mill Valley, CA, 2001-2003

- Formulated individualized reading lists of 15-18 books for children ages 10 and up.
- Created subject and category lists of library materials for patrons.
- Reviewed and recommended books/materials for purchase.
- Constructed tracking forms, flyers, and promotional materials for special programs.
- Designed and authored online and hardcopy advertising for upcoming library programs.
- Developed a year-long, financially sponsored series of monthly writing workshops and contests for children of all ages in a variety of genres; evaluated contest entries and award prizes; collected workshop and contest results into handmade books for cataloging by library.

- Assembled topical reading lists and pathfinders.
- Guided patrons via reader advisory and reference service.

Adult Programs Publicity Specialist, Belvedere-Tiburon Library, Tiburon, CA, 2002-2003.

- Utilized Dreamweaver 4.0 and Adobe Photoshop 5.0 to fashion programs advertising for library Web site and lobby and to design portable advertising for the circulation desk in the form of eye-catching bookmarks.

Library Assistant, Technical Services, Belvedere-Tiburon Library, Tiburon, CA, 2002-2003.

- Checked in and processed newly acquired books, audiovisual items, and serials; prepared serials for binding.
- Deleted item and bibliographic records for discarded materials.
- Copy cataloged and edited bibliographic records; created and revised MARC bibliographic records, occasionally in Spanish.
- With Adobe Photoshop 5.0, scanned original packaging of audiovisual items and devised packaging to fit ready-made cassette and disc cases.
- Managed online serials check-in, claiming, and processing before and after transfer from DOS-based system to Windows-based Millennium Serials.

Library Assistant, Children's Room, Belvedere-Tiburon Library, Tiburon, CA, 2001-2003

- Assembled reading lists for grades kindergarten through eight.
- Recommended books and materials for children and parents; fielded reference questions; provided occasional coverage for the Adult Reference Desk.
- Reviewed materials collections for use and damage; weeded extensively to prepare for hundreds of new items each quarter.
- Afforded ad-hoc computer support and skills tutoring for children and their parents.
- Team-led weekly lapsit program.

Library Assistant, circulation/adult reference/Children's Room, Larkspur Public Library, Larkspur, CA, 2001-2002

- Generated and maintained patron and materials records in Millennium system.
- Checked materials in and out to patrons; updated computer records of held/requested materials.
- Facilitated patron research through reader advisory and reference service.
- Revitalized reference collection.
- Drafted instructions for staff use of EBSCO Host's Magazine Index, including screenshots and a variety of search scenarios.

Protegée in formal mentoring program developed by librarians Alicia Bell, Elaine
Crepeau, and Debbie Mazzolini at the Belvedere-Tiburon Library, 2002-2003

- Explored the protocols for and underlying philosophy of public library
management relating to: the division of labor and authority, membership within a
library consortium, the assessment of patron needs and preferences, the evaluation
of quality materials in print and electronic format, the design and advertising of
innovative programming, the recruitment and reception of guest speakers and
workshop leaders, and the management of patron requests, complaints, and other
activities.
- Contributed to brainstorming sessions on all the above topics at monthly staff
meetings.

Participant in workshops led by MARINet library consortium staff trainer Phil
Youngholm, 2002-2003.

- Ordering and fund accounting utilities of the Millennium Acquisitions interface.
- Keyword searching capabilities of the E-Term 32/Millennium upgrade.
- In-depth use of the Millennium Cataloging interface.
- In-depth use of the Millennium Serials interface.
- Creation and manipulation of order and check-in records in E-Term 32,
Millennium Cataloging, and Millennium Serials.

Participant in *Writing for Young Readers,* conference sponsored by the English
Department of Brigham Young University, July 2000.

- Week-long, intensive workshop instruction from author Carol Lynch Williams.

- Lectures by award-winning, nationally published authors in the craft of writing
for children and adolescents.

- *Slider,* original young adult novel manuscript, reviewed and requested for
submission for potential publication by Françoise Bui, lead children's editor,
Delacorte.

PUBLICATIONS

Gretencord, T. C., Jeong, S., Mendoza, K. M., Lin, C-C., Serbanuta, C., Cruz-Santiago.,
M, Lowe, L., Bishop, A., Bruce, B. (in press). Learning at the border: How young
people in informal settings use new media for community action and personal
growth. In peer-reviewed proceedings of the Community Informatics—Prospects
for Communities and Action Inaugural & International Development Informatics
Association Conference, November 5-7, 2007, Prato, Italy. Paper also available
online at http://www.ccnr.net/prato2007/archive/Gretencord_final.pdf

Card, T. (2006). Donald Crews. In J. Zipes (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's
Literature: Vol. 1, Aamu-Duan* (pp. 363-364). New York: Oxford University
Press.

Card, T. (2006). Mary Pope Osborne. In J. Zipes (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature: Vol. 3, Luca-Slot* (p. 202). New York: Oxford University Press.

Card, T. (2006). Peggy Parish. In J. Zipes, et al. (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature: Vol. 3, Luca-Slot* (p. 213). New York: Oxford University Press.

Card, T. (2006). Barbara Park. In J. Zipes (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature: Vol. 3, Luca-Slot* (p. 213). New York: Oxford University Press.

Card, T. (2006). Dav Pilkey. In J. Zipes (Ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature: Vol. 3, Luca-Slot* (p. 254). New York: Oxford University Press.

Card, T. (2004-2005). More than 250 reviews of children's and young adult literature for *The Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books, 57*(7)-*59*(2). Champaign, IL: Graduate School of Library and Information Science Publications Office, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Card, T. (2004-2005). Monthly online content in the form of Focus Pieces and Dozens. *The Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books.* Available online at http://bccb.lis.uiuc.edu/

Card, T. (2001). Slider: Chapter One. *Inscape, 21*(2), 73-81. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.

PRESENTATIONS

Gretencord, T. C. (2008, June). In translation: Crossing borders via groupmaking in a small Midwestern city. Poster presented at "Aesthetics as Resistance," the 4th Annual Community as Intellectual Space symposium, co-organized by the Community Informatics Initiative and the Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago's Humboldt Park neighborhood.

Card, T. (2007, June). Analysis and adaptation of "Earphone English." Presented at the American Library Association Annual Conference at the Washington Convention Center, Washington, D.C.

Card, T. (2007, January). Analysis and adaptation of "Earphone English." Poster presented at the Doctoral Research Poster Session of the Association for Library and Information Science Education, Grand Hyatt Seattle, Seattle, WA. Poster took second place in the doctoral student poster competition.

Card, T. (2006, October). What youth librarians need to know about the literacy development of second language learners. Presented at the Family, Youth, and Literature conference sponsored by the Youth Literature Interest Group (YLIG), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Monticello, IL.

Card, T. (2006, May). Analysis and adaptation of "Earphone English": A public library program for limited English proficient youth. Presented at Connections 2006, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY.

Card, T. (2006, April). The best books of 2005 for young children. Presented at the Young Learners Conference, Parkland College, Champaign, IL.

Card, T. (2006, April). Breakout session. Small group discussion of the best books of 2005 for young children. Presented at the Young Learners Conference, Parkland College, Champaign, IL.

Card, T. (2006, March). Multicultural books for the middle grades. Presented at the Literature for Youth Institute, Alliance Library System, Peoria, IL.

Card, T., & Hearne, E. (2005, October). The best books of 2005. Presented at the conference of the Illinois Library Association, Peoria, IL.

Card, T. (2001, March). *Slider* and the creative process. Paper presented at "Meaning and Context," English Graduate Student Association Conference, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

Card, T. (2000, February). Pop culture as a gateway to understanding. Paper presented at "The Ethics of Identity," English Graduate Student Association Conference, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND MEMBERSHIPS

Member, Community Inquiry Research Group, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2006-present

Student Member, American Library Association, 2003-2004, 2006-2008

Association for Library Service to Children

Public Library Association

Young Adult Library Services Association

Library Administration and Management Association

Student Member, Association for Library and Information Science Education, 2006-2007

Member, Youth Literature Interest Group, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2005-2006

Session Moderator and Conference Organization Assistant, *Library History Seminar XI: Libraries in Times of War, Revolution, and Social Change,* The ALA Library History Round Table/Center for the Book (Library of Congress)/*Libraries & Culture* (University of Texas Press), University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Monticello, IL, 2005

Vice President, English Graduate Student Association, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 2000-2001

Member, conference organization committee, Meaning and Context, English Graduate
Student Association Conference, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, 2001

LANGUAGES

Proficient in speaking, reading, and writing in Spanish.