

(Re)territorializing Literacies in Urban Landscapes

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Introduction

Historically education around literacy (e.g., read/write literacy) has been used to communicate and transfer the values, myths, priorities, knowledge and skills of a particular society. This history is filled with continuities and contradictions based on various interwoven and interdependent sociocultural factors (Graff, 1987). Much the same way, the physical, social, and cultural geographies of urban environments, and in turn urban education efforts, have undergone historical shifts in response to economic, social, and political change (Shields, 1996).

While closely related, the histories of literacies and cities have not typically been theorized together in order to depict how the two have and might inform, reinscribe and possibly complement each other. This paper utilizes the later work of Deleuze and Guattari to theorize the dynamic tensions that exist between various conceptions of literacy and the ways in which Deleuzoguattarian concepts including “the body without organs”, “the war machine”, “minor literature” and “smooth and striated space” offer ways to conceptualize the nomadic nature of situated, mediated, and globalized meaning construction realized in the construct of (re)territorialized urban literacies. Urban literacies will not be presented as traditional notions of read/write literacy that take place in urban environments, but instead, as a set of unique strategies and practices to read and write urban environments as dynamic texts.

According to the UN, at the end of 2008 half of the world population will live in urban areas (United Nations, 2008). Initially the term, “Urbanization” was defined as the movement of individuals from agrarian life in rural areas to urban locations with dense populations centered on industry. The historical expansion of modern urbanization came in the late 19th century as a result of global population expansion (Woytinsky & Woytinsky, 1953) and the development of a

number technologies (e.g., modern agriculture, coal power, various forms transportation) that allowed for people to live in large concentrations (Mumford, 1956) coupled with the decreased need for farm workers and the growth of industries in need of workers. Urbanization is one sign of modernization and modernity. Urban population concentration provided financial security and job diversity for many where the unpredictable nature of farming, coupled with mechanization which allowed food to be grown with less labor, left a growing world population without a means to support itself.

Another dynamic that influenced and continues to influence urbanization is the perpetual drive of industry to cut costs¹. As populations grew in cities, segregation occurred along economic lines. For example one often finds the poorer areas on the east side of city, where in the 19th century the prevailing winds would carry coal smoke from the west to the east. In the later part of the 20th century, white flight driven by fear of crime, the impression of poor performing schools and urban decay caused further segregation and deterritorialization (Hobsbawm, 1962). According to Mumford referring to modern urbanization, “This new urban tissue was less differentiated than the old. It presented an impoverished institutional life; it showed fewer signs of social nucleation; and it tended to increase in size, block by block, avenue by avenue, «development» by «development», without any individuality of form and, most remarkable of all, without any quantitative limits” (Mumford, 1956, p. 390).

Urban centers are typically subdivided into areas (i.e., signifiers) defined by income, industry, activity, and ethnicity, to name a few. Most often these sub-spaces denote multiple signified meanings (e.g., poor, unsafe). How one reads and writes these spaces, moves within these spaces, performs themselves within these spaces, and represents knowledge in these spaces are literacy- related questions. For example, moving within a city is a literacy – navigating public

transportation systems and other modes of transportation, getting from one place to another in the face of traffic congestion, and understanding how to perform oneself in various public and private spaces while traveling require deep knowing about the rhythm and flow of a city and the other individuals within that city. Transportation systems are only one way that one must navigate a city. Urban environments are complex grids of telecommunication, information, and telematic¹ systems that require unique literacies to negotiate.

A goal of this project is to think spatially about literacy in urban environments. Cities are often thought of as tightly bordered and subdivided spaces with diverse populations in proximity, densely spaced buildings, neighborhoods marked by stark economic contrasts, and quickly pulsing transportation and communication arteries moving individuals, information and goods in and out of various spaces. How literacy is seen within urban educational environments is influenced by how urban settings are represented. This paper will explore ways that Deleuze and Guattari's theorizations of space, thought, and agency help to reinvigorate discussions about literacy in a world that is increasing urban and global (Moreno & Warah, 2006). Specifically the paper expresses the interplay between the physical, discursive, and textual notions of the city.

Urban Education

Before discussing urban education, it is important to take a brief look at contemporary understandings of urban contexts. While an urban environment can be defined as a physical space with particular characteristics about building and population concentrations, transportation infrastructures, and housing options, many urban scholars look at urban regions as both a physical space and a representation like a metaphor (e.g., bazaar, jungle, organism, machine). No longer the exclusive domain of sociologists who represented the city for the purpose of analysis

¹ Telematics is the science of sending, receiving and storing information via telecommunication devices. Most recently this information has been associated with global positioning systems (gps).

(often by breaking complex environments down into smaller parts leading to partial representations), film makers and film theorists, poets, art historians, writers, television producers, and others working in the humanities are creating unique and situated representations of urban environments. Typically urbanization has been studied in terms of population flows, migration rates, social structures but it also includes administrative hierarchies and trade flows.

We frame “urban” as both a physical geography and a representation, an imagined environment – how we imagine that environment is as important as the material and physical characteristic of that environment (Duncan, 1990). For example, as a representation the term “urban” has also been used to describe black culture (e.g., hip hop culture) without mentioning race. As a term appropriated by marketing efforts and non-blacks, “urban” becomes a powerful signifier for a variety of signs that many youth wish to associate with including “cutting edge”, “anti-establishment”, “cool”, “unpredictable”, “rebellious”, and somehow inaccessible to perceived middle class and white values and discourses. As a representation one does not need to live in the heart of a large metropolis in order to identify and associate oneself with “urban” signs.

Framing cities as both physical environments and representations, allows us to shift our thinking about urban education away from education that takes place in urban contexts that can be poor, crime-ridden, dangerous, low performing, and mostly populated by students of color, to creating new situated ways to define learning and living in cities. At the center of any educational priority are the ways that literacies are defined and taught. As has already been discussed, in the context of this paper literacy is seen as a way of making sense of a city and creating individual representations that promote agency rather than deficit.

Now that we have introduced some of the individual elements of this paper including

lenses to think about urban places, urban education, and literacy, it is necessary to present a framework to theorize what (re)territorialized urban literacies might look like.

Deleuze and Guattari

Deleuze and Guattari refer to the body without organs (BwO) "not as a notion or concept but a practice or set of practices" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 149-150) that represent the potential for someone to act outside the constraints of individualized rehearsals of state² produced priorities (about in this instance education and literacy). In this case we use "state" to mean any official discourse, or more broadly discourses that carry social authority, as opposed to individual authority. According to Deleuze and Guattari this can only be achieved with others through "becomings" that dismantle (in the case of this paper) static notions of literacy.

The process of becoming is achieved through the deterritorialization of dominant, Eurocentric, middle class constructions of literacy that rigidly impose hierarchical rules that package literacy practices into discrete categorized units with singular coded meanings and identities (i.e., literate vs. illiterate). The deterritorialization of literacy can move towards a reterritorialization of literacy within a rhizomatic zone of multiplicity, where meanings and operations flow freely between texts, individuals, and groups, resulting in a dynamic, constantly changing set of interconnected entities with fluid individual boundaries. The ultimate goal is a reterritorialization (remapping of beliefs, models, literacies, understandings) that is not necessarily identical to the prior territory, but does not disavow it. Deleuze and Guattari call this collective grass routes process a "war machine", which emerges from common concerns for freedom. The war machine de/reterritorializes so that it may fracture sanctioned flows of power.

War, according to Deleuze, is comparable to thought. The war machine prevents the

centralization of nomadic groups, based, for example, on race, class, ability, or gender into a homogenized set of values – what Deleuze calls “the state”. War is exterior to the state which is unaware of the potential violence of reason and leads to “the drawing of a creative line of flight” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 466) that reveal the power of becoming. Becoming involves a deterritorialization that disrupts the familiar, along new directions in new and experimental ways. Deterritorialization is inseparable from reterritorialization - they both serve to reinscribe order. The war machine must, in turn, distinguish between desire that is created, organized and maintained by prohibitory mechanisms through regulation and codification by the state and a form of desire that is revolutionary and disorganizing and exists outside state regulations and codes. "The war machine does not in itself have war as its object, but necessarily adopts it as its object when it allows itself to be appropriated by the State apparatus." (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 513)

This dynamic between the deterritorialization and reterritorialization of literacy is framed as a move between striated and smooth spaces. Striated spaces are routine, hierarchical, rule-bound, disembodied, authoritarian, and static while smooth spaces are dynamic, transforming, becoming, embodied, and situated. Urban environments contain both striated and smooth spaces. Smooth space is haptic, not merely optical – it is perceived and interacted with by multiple senses. There is continuous variation in smooth space, which is the space of the war machine – inhabited by nomads. Striation is motivated by anxiety (i.e., the anxiety of performance on a test) that disciplines these spaces. The imposition of clocks in education is an example of the stratification of smooth space. Striation makes things measurable. As Deleuze and Guattari summarize, "all progress is made by and in striated space, but all becoming occurs

in smooth space" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 486). A city might be seen as the striation of the rural.

Deleuze & Guattari do not offer these concepts as binaries, but as processes in perpetual motion and interchange. The image of the bookshelf wave machine comes to mind. As the machine slowly moves from side to side, waves of liquid flow back and forth between the two ends never stopping.



Those hierarchies and boundaries in a socially striated space can also be seen in other spaces, namely textual spaces. Moulthrop discusses how smooth and striated space applies to technology and pedagogy and asserts that striated space is the domain of routine, specification, sequence, and causality (Moulthrop, 1994).

Though this interchange multiple literacy theory, discussed below, is seen as an assemblage, a complex matrix of individual, social, and geological systems that are marked by simultaneous movements of territorialization (i.e., maintenance), deterritorialization (i.e., dissipation), and reterritorialization (i.e., reconstitution). Different types of literacies come together in an assemblage to bring about any number of artistic, mechanic, constructive,

damaging, consumptive, and informatic effects. These effects occur along the continuum of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

Deterritorialization is concerned with disrupting "traditional structures of expression," while reterritorialization creates new traditional structures. Deleuze and Guattari are specifically interested in deterritorialization and reterritorialization as they relate to people who "live in a language that is not their own," that is, who live in the "disjunction between content and expression". "Becoming minor" exists through the play of contingencies between official and vernacular languages. For Deleuze and Guattari, polylingualism is a way of resisting the universalizing tendencies in an official language, "the language of masters". (Deleuze & Guattari, 1993, p. 163).

In articulating a minor literature, Deleuze and Guattari utilize Henri Gobard's tetralinguistic model of language systems. Gobard divides language into four systems: vernacular, vehicular, referential, and mythic (Deleuze & Guattari, 1993):

1. The vernacular is the maternal language "used in rural communities or rural in its origins" (i.e., "here" or language of territorialization) – it is the language of communing, not just communication;
2. The vehicular is national or regional language, the (lingua franca), learned out of necessity (i.e., "everywhere" or the deterritorialization of the vernacular);
3. The referential is the "language of sense and culture" that is linked to cultural traditions through consistent references to the perennial past ("over there" or the cultural reterritorialization);
4. The mythic is the language "caught up in the spirit or religion" (i.e., "beyond" or another language of reterritorialization) that permits comprehension of the

incomprehensible.

The four models of language systems are most easily exemplified in polylingual speakersⁱⁱ, because the various languages serve different functions in different contexts. "Becoming minor" divides languages into different functions and allows for the diffusion of "multiple centers of power" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1993, p. 160). For Deleuze and Guattari, polylingualism is a way of resisting the universalizing tendencies implicit in an official language. Each of these language functions should be assessed and evaluated for the degrees of territoriality, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization. Deleuze and Guattari's insights into becoming minor are germane to the issues raised when individuals and groups assert and main their identities in the face of being occupied by "Otherness."

Deleuze and Guattari offer three characteristic of a minor language:

- 1) A minor language deterritorializes a major language by being expressed in a major language from a marginalized position. A 'minor literature' is written in a major language, or as in the case of formerly colonized culture, the colonizers' language. According to Deleuze and Guattari, "the first characteristic of a minor literature in any case is that in it language is affected with a high coefficient of deterritorialization" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1993, p. 16).
- 2) A minor language is political. In a minor literature the individual is inextricable from the social and the subject is linked to the political: "its cramped space forces each individual intrigue to connect immediately to politics. The individual concern thus becomes all the more necessary, indispensable, magnified, because a whole other story is vibrating in it" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1993, p. 17).
- 3) A minor language is collective. Deleuze and Guattari explain that the political and the

collective are always linked: What each author/speaker says individually already constitutes a common action, and what he or she says or does is necessarily political, even if others aren't in agreement. The political domain has influence over every statement.

In sum, a 'minor literature' is political, collective, revolutionary, and even spatial—deterritorializing one terrain as it maps another. According to Deleuze and Guattari, the 'minor literature' is a literature of the people because it maps the passage of this deterritorialization. This process of “becoming-minor” within the process of a 'minor literature' involves making the plurilingualism within one's own language resound. A minor language (or in this case a minor literacy) is the ideal geography for a (re)territorialized urban literacies.

(Re)territorialized Urban Literacies

In recent decades there has been a proliferation of literacies labeled by education in addition to traditional read/write literacies in educational discourses including new literacy, media literacy, visual literacy, numeracy, computer literacy, information literacy, and emotional literacy to name a few (Sassen, 1996). One reason for this increased granularity in how literacies are defined can be attributed to the growing number of expectations that individuals are required to meet as workers and citizens in a globalized, technology-driven economies and media-saturated social and cultural landscapes.

To help identify (re)territorialized urban literacies, this paper builds upon various theories of literacy including Masny's Multiple Literacy Theory (Masny, 2005, 2006). Multiple Literacy Theory (MLT) is similar to New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Baynham, 2002; New London Group, 1996), which asserts a model of literacy that takes into consideration cultural models of literacy events, social interactional aspects of literacy events, text production and interpretation,

ideologies, discourses and institutions. However, there are some important differences between NLS and MLS. MLS is more concerned with issues surrounding social justice and literacy in which literacies are context specific and are appropriated differently by various sociocultural groups.

According to Masny, literacies are socially situated practices that are defined within specific contexts that blend the personal with the social (local, national, global) and that flow between institutions and subjectivities. Within Masny's conceptualization of MLS, critical literacies allow individuals to interpret the world rather than being interpreted by the world. Literacies are first personal in which one's literacies fluidly interact with world in the process of becoming. Masny borrows heavily from Deleuze in how she defines becoming as indeterminate and not fixed.

Bringing together different approaches to urban studies, Deleuzian philosophy, and multiple literacy theory, this paper begins to (re)territorialize urban literacies based on the following principles, assumptions, and strategies:

1) Urban environments are both physical spaces and representations that shift within socioeconomic contexts (i.e., according to what Deleuze calls deterritorialization and reterritorialization).

2) Urban geographies are a mix between smooth and striated spaces.

2) In turn, urban education is not a static idea – it must be continually redefined for particular groups, at particular times, in particular places.

3) Literacy, defined through Multiple Literacy Theory, is context specific and committed to a critical approach that is derived from a social justice perspective that is grounded in fluid notions of agency and power.

4) New Urban Literacies represent the capacity of an individual to employ the war machine: creative thoughts, products, texts, and representations that allow someone to engage with the information, transportation, geographic, economic, and creative flow an urban landscape without becoming fixed by the state (e.g., fixed notions of groups, neighborhoods, literacies, social and cultural priorities).

5) Urban literacies are typically “minor”, they exist at the intersections of vernacular, vehicular, and mythic languages in a constant process of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

An Example Becoming

Any attempt to provide an example of reterritorialized urban literacies would be partial and incomplete because as soon as the description is written the landscape would have already changed. Therefore, rather than labeling an illustration as an example, we call it a becoming. “Becoming isn't part of history; history amounts only the set of preconditions, however recent, that one leaves behind in order to "become," that is, to create something new (Deleuze, 1990).” “Becoming is certainly not imitating, or identifying with something; neither is it regressing-progressing; neither is it corresponding, establishing corresponding relations; neither is it producing, producing a filiation or producing through filiation. Becoming is a verb with a consistency all its own; it does not reduce to, or lead back to, "appearing," (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 239). In this spirit we offer one becoming of our work teaching computer literacies to teenagers at an urban community center.

The center has been serving an urban Columbus, Ohio community for over 100 years offering adults and youth different programs including afterschool programs for K12 students, adult education, and employment assistance for people of all ages. We draw this becoming from

an afterschool class that we facilitated with a group of teenagers (13-15) that involved teaching them how to utilize computers to create songs using pre-recorded “samples” of different instruments including drums, bass, guitar, keyboard, percussion instruments, and various stringed instruments. The group of about eight boys and one girlⁱⁱⁱ were all African American. Most of this group was bussed from their neighborhood to a better performing public school (compared to their neighborhood school) in a wealthier area that has more in common with a suburban neighborhood (e.g., mostly white middle class families, higher property values). In the neighborhood around the community center where most of the students lived there are many signs of urban decay including boarded up and abandoned homes, litter, graffiti, and overgrown vegetation or dirt yards.

The purpose of this after school class was to teach computer literacy (e.g., computer file manipulation, computer navigation, learning unfamiliar software programs) in the context of engaging in a computer related activity in which the class participants felt interested. Creating music was an activity for which the students expressed an immediate enthusiasm. The class took place once a week for eight weeks in a computer lab inside the community center. When not used for classes, the youth who visited the center used the computer lab for online games (e.g., pool on Yahoo.com, Stickdeath.com), social networking (e.g., BlackPlanet.com), surfacing the web to look at clothes and shoes, popular sports teams and athletes and popular culture figures, and completing schoolwork using office application software.

In the process of teaching the course we found a constant process of re/de/territorialization of literacies in this urban geography. In general this community center was ordered by striated space with many scheduled and structured classes in designated spaces. These striated spaces territorialized numerous traditional notions of literacy. For example, when we

approached the center director about offering the class, he asked that we perform a pre-test and post-test with quantifiable results to assess whether the students learned something in the course. While not a school, this center felt the pressure from social discourses from various intuitions like schools and funding agencies to justify its programs with the striated and heavily territorialized spaces of control and assessment. This pressure and the anxiety around it was so strong that even workers at the center took the assessment to test their own knowledge, as if a multiple choice test is any indication of what a person is capable of doing with a computer.

The students in the course inhabited various striated roles (i.e., hierarchical, rule bound, disembodied, routine, static) including, to name a few, school student, athlete, sibling, son or daughter, teenager, however, the ways in which these striated roles interacted and informed other smooth space roles provided significant deterritorializations that allowed for some notable reterritorializations. The smooth space roles existed when the students were required by pressures from the social context or their own choosing to occupy and stay within the tensions between multiple roles.

It should be noted that as white, male university professors we superimposed a particular kind of geography on the course. In the students' early perceptions of us, we represented a striated space that created expectations for who we were and what the course would be about. Students had particular notions of education professors that did not include someone who could teach them how to produce media, especially music. There were different levels of trust that became established during the course of the class. The trust came out of tensions around language as we all (teachers and students) engaged and miscommunicated through vehicular, vernacular, referential, and mythic languages. Assumptions that were made by both students and us were the places that the most compelling becomings occurred.

The first class was an orientation to the basic hardware components of the computer, in the process of this class we took apart a computer and explained the function of the different internal components including the motherboard, hard drive, RAM, CD-ROM, power supply, video card, network card, and expansion slots. This was a mostly unfamiliar aspect of the computer to the students. There were many moments of confusion and realization throughout the class. For example, they struggled with the distinction between memory (e.g., RAM) and storage (e.g., Hard drive, CD-ROM). During a question about hard drives, the racist terminology of primary and secondary hard drives commonly called “master” and “slave” drives was not lost upon the students^{iv}. This reference to slavery was a vernacular language (intimate and binding to these students), a vehicular language (commonly used without distinction of context), referential (the fact that the legacies of slavery informs many aspects of African American cultural practices) and mythic (other worldly) in that it was a (poor) metaphor using a time with unrepresentable suffering in the students’ ancestral history to show how one hard drive took priority in computer configurations over the other.

The students engaged in their own de/ reterritorialization of some of the language of computers. During the first class when we discussed different kinds of computers, one of the students freestyled a rap about mainframes, playing on and rhyming with the words “main” and “frame” – in one line referring to a romantic interest as a “mainflame”. The rap also included our names, placing us, on the student’s terms, in the context of his geography. It situated the lesson within the environment of the community center by reterritorializing a vehicular language, computer terminology (that deterritorializes the vernacular for these students) in addition to the out of place professors and bringing them into the referential (cultural discourse of rap).

During subsequent classes students were introduced to the software to create the songs, Sony Acid. In general, they were able to master the basics of the software within a half hour. After the initial instruction, the students began to explore the different samples that were available to them. While some tried to reproduce the hooks of popular hip hop songs, they also created songs that would fit within a country, rock, and even a classical/ symphonic genres. When they heard or created specific beats one or more of the other students would call out particular songs or artists. Interestingly, they didn't call their work "songs", they referred to them as "beats".

While we attempted during one class to teach song structure (e.g., verses, hooks, bridges, choruses) they generally were not interested in that striated space. For them their beats existed in smooth space. They knew what they wanted. They were not as interested in learning about song structure as getting their beats to sound just like the sound they imagined in their mind. They created beats that got their heads bobbing (haptic), it was embodied but it was the body without organs. The beats were becomings. Sometimes they decided to put words on top of the beats, sometimes they didn't. Their resistance to structure was their war machine.

During one class, we brought in some popular rap songs along with lyric sheets so that students could get some sense of how sounds are layered to create specific audio textures. At one point during the class one of us asked them what the word "krill" meant in the context of the song. The dictionary definition of krill is that it is a kind of invertebrate plankton eaten by whales. According to the urban dictionary^v krill is either crack cocaine or an unflattering description of someone (usually white) who smokes a large amount of expensive marijuana and spends a lot of time at a coffee shop listening to indie music and dressed in a specific style of clothing. When none of the students knew the definition, the afterschool program director who

happened to be in the lab at the time gave the students a hard time. One student, a boy, responded defensively with “I ain’t no thug” saying in effect, that he doesn’t identify with the character (i.e., thug) portrayed by the rapper in this song, so why would he know what krill means.

At the beginning of one of the final classes, a woman, who was a volunteer at the community center, in addition to an undergraduate student in social work at the local university, asked if she could administer and discuss with the students a questionnaire about STDs. A significant aspect of this community center was that it offered more smooth spaces compared to the striated spaces of school. This allowed the participants to exist within the intersections of their various roles and identities. Such overlaps in activities were not uncommon. After taking the questionnaire, all of the students that were there (about 6 boys) participated in the discussion. Most noteworthy to us, was that the students found the conversation to be unremarkable. The students never seemed to express discomfort or embarrassment. In fact, they prided themselves on knowing what the “correct ” responses were. Correct answers were those that showed that they knew about different types of STDs and the effectiveness, or lack, of different types of birth control. They also snuck in jokes that allowed them to side step these “state” discourses that may be perceived as disciplining their sexuality. These jokes came in the form of repeating lines from rap songs that dealt with sexual themes. Some of the boys would play off of each other and quote different lines about sex, in particular those lyrics that deal with catching a STD.

Conclusions

In the small context of a class within a community center there were numerous examples of (re)territorialized literacies. Within this milieu these teenagers who live in an urban environment displayed the capacity to be literate in the broadest sense, taking in new information, experiences, and skills and integrating them into their own evolving internal and

external geographies. These young people live in smooth spaces, spaces that require them to adapt, yet traditional literacies exist in striated spaces, in books and tests. The question that this raises is why do many students in urban schools struggle with traditional literacies if they are adept at moving in and out smooth and striated places. One explanation may be that school contexts are so biased towards striated space and vehicular language that students aren't given the opportunity to construct the fluid interplay between striated and smooth spaces using vernacular, referential, and mythic languages. They are bound within a landscape that is not their own and they are denied the opportunities to make it their own.

Treating literacy through a Deleuzoguattarian perspective provided us with a way to unthink, and perhaps rethink, how urban environments, urban education contexts, and literacy priorities are established in research, curriculum, and teaching efforts. One of the central premises of this paper argues that how literacy is seen within urban educational environments is influenced by how urban settings are represented. The term "urban" and "urban education" have become reified to such an extent that public and educational discourses have lost sight of the fact that urban environments are always becoming and always representation. What they are becoming should perhaps better be left to the residents of these spaces.

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ⁱ Telecommuting is decreasing the need to have workers physically be at one location. However, this impacting works at the ends of the work spectrum including white-collar workers on one end and data entry workers at the other end.

ⁱⁱ By polylingual we don't necessarily mean knowing different languages (e.g., English and Spanish) but also include different discourses within a language (e.g., African American vernacular English vs. Standard American English) or even dialects within a discourse (e.g., regional differences of African American vernacular English).

ⁱⁱⁱ Attendance varied from week to week.

^{iv} <http://computer.howstuffworks.com/ide4.htm>

^v <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=krill>