

Transnational literacies as social remittances: the role of language ideologies in shaping migrants' online literacies

Article

Accepted Version

Capstick, T. (2020) Transnational literacies as social remittances: the role of language ideologies in shaping migrants' online literacies. *Applied Linguistics*, 41 (2). pp. 301-319. ISSN 1477-450X doi:
<https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amz009> Available at
<https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/79704/>

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work. See [Guidance on citing](#).

To link to this article DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/applin/amz009>

Publisher: Oxford Journals

All outputs in CentAUR are protected by Intellectual Property Rights law, including copyright law. Copyright and IPR is retained by the creators or other copyright holders. Terms and conditions for use of this material are defined in the [End User Agreement](#).

www.reading.ac.uk/centaur

CentAUR

Central Archive at the University of Reading

Reading's research outputs online



Transnational literacies as social remittances: the role of language ideologies in shaping migrants' online literacies

Journal:	<i>Applied Linguistics</i>
Manuscript ID	APPLING-17-11-357.R1
Manuscript Type:	Article
Keyword:	transnational literacies, social remittances, language ideologies

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

view

1
2
3 **Transnational literacies as social remittances: the role of language ideologies in shaping**
4 **migrants' online literacies**
5

6
7
8 **Abstract**
9

10 It is now twenty years since the term 'social remittances' was taken up to capture the notion
11 that migration involves the circulation of ideas, practices, identities and social capital
12 between destination and origin countries, in addition to the more tangible circulation of
13 money. In a similar vein, a social theory of literacy sees practices not as observable units of
14 behaviour but rather as social processes which connect people. To identify how literacy
15 practices can be seen as social remittances, I identify how Usman, the key respondent in this
16 study, goes about describing his first six months in the UK by tracing the meaning-making
17 trajectories in our interviews together. I then explore the language and literacy choices that
18 his family and friends make on Facebook as they remit ideas, beliefs and practices in their
19 transnational literacies. I examine how these practices are shaped by beliefs about language.
20 The paper seeks to understand the relationship between migrants' literacy practices before
21 and after their migrations and how these practices remit ideas and beliefs which maintain
22 transnational migration.
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40

41 **Short title: transnational literacies as social remittances**

42
43 **Word count: 8, 493**
44
45
46
47
48

49 **Introduction**
50

51 At the time this study was being carried out, Pakistan was firmly in the international
52 news due to the US-led war in the Afghan-Pakistan borders. However, it is poverty as well as
53 conflict which limits access to literacy in the national language, Urdu, and the official
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 language, English in Pakistan (Ayres 2009). These constraints increase the desire for many
4 Pakistanis to migrate to the UK given the strong transnational migration which has developed
5 since the UK requested Pakistani migrants fill the labour shortages in its textile mills, over 70
6 years ago. This study focuses on Mirpur, a division of Pakistan-administered Kashmir,
7 known as ‘Little England’, and Lancashire, in the north west of England, an area in which
8 consecutive UK governments have sought to connect a lack of English language skills with
9 social segregation (Blackledge 2005). Much has been written about the impact of economic
10 remittances on Mirpur from the UK (Ballard 1991; 2003). However, this study focuses
11 attention on the non-economic remittances which circulate across transnational networks in
12 the form of literacies. These remittances are the circulatory exchanges which migrants send
13 and receive in the form of written and spoken correspondence and include the ideas and
14 practices from which they draw in these exchanges (Levitt 2016: 225). Conceptualising
15 literacy in this way develops current research which accounts for literacy as a shared resource
16 for multilingual communities (Blommaert 2008; Author 2016a) and extends this research to
17 include literacy resources in countries of origin as well as countries of settlement.
18
19

20
21
22 Empirical data from Pakistan and the UK are examined to identify the ideological traces
23 which shape literacy practices in both countries. Hanks suggests that the lens of practices
24 helps re-think the relation between language and context by integrating the two ‘while
25 overcoming the debilitating dichotomy between local and large-scale contexts’ (2005: 191).
26
27 Kell has sought to bridge this dichotomy by tracing how meaning-making shifts across space
28 and time (2008). When working with large amounts of ethnographic data, Kell found that
29 events would often link to other events but participants in these events did not always map
30 one to one: ‘literacy practices were not an in end in themselves analytically, but distributed
31 across broader sequences of events’ (2008: 259). Similarly, recent work in social remittances
32 recognises the interconnectedness of the economic, social and cultural aspects of migration
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 and seeks to demonstrate how economic remittances are part of a wider set of transnational
4 practices which cannot be understood separately (Lacroix, Levitt and Vari-Lavoisier 2016).
5
6 In the PhD study on which the present study is based, I found that this interconnectedness
7 revealed the constraints of single-instance analysis and wish to extend this analysis in the
8 present study by analysing new data with a new theoretical framework. As with Kell's work,
9 meaning-making shifted from moment to moment and across spaces in Pakistan and the UK
10 as I examined one family's transnational literacies. In the present paper, I move beyond the
11 single instance in an attempt to understand how remitted literacies are shaped ideologically
12 by the beliefs migrants hold about language while simultaneously accounting for the
13 movements individuals were making across space and time when using those literacies.
14
15 Formal literacy in Mirpur is in Urdu since the British substituted it for Persian in the 1840's.
16 However, Mirpuri Punjabi (along with Potwari) is the language most widely spoken in homes
17 in Mirpur (Lothers and Lothers 2007), though it is not a language that was written down to
18 any great extent until social media began to provide the affordances for the creation of
19 romanized scripts for Punjabi. These scripts are taken up alongside non-standard varieties for
20 Urdu and English as online interactants choose which varieties they use and how they wish to
21 use them. This use is always shaped by the socio-historical and political processes of which
22 these practices are part (Warriner 2007). English has played an increasingly central role in
23 Mirpur for prospective migrants wishing to join their spouses in the UK since November 10
24 2010, five months after the start of the fieldwork for the PhD study, as the British government
25 introduced English language testing for spousal migrants. The present study focuses on one
26 of these migrants, Usman, and his transnational relationships with friends and family around
27 the world in order to understand what a transnational optic reveals about migration, social
28 inclusion and unbounded understandings of the nation state (Levitt 2016; Vertovec 2007).
29 These understandings are also a central feature of Warriner's work on transnational literacies
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 (2007) in which she connects everyday literacy practices to multi-stranded social relations
4 across two or more nation-states. For Warriner, literacy practices maintain as well as
5 transform these social relations just as they transform identities. Similarly, in Levitt's early
6 work, migrants' notions of identity also shifted as a result of changes in their social status
7 brought about by migration (1998: 934). For Levitt, in adjusting to their new lives, migrants
8 bring a set of social and cultural tools in the form of social remittances:
9
10
11
12
13
14

15 They make sense of their experiences using the interpretive frames they bring with
16 them. Just as institutional actors' choices are curtailed and facilitated by routines and
17 norms already in place, so the new behaviours and views that migrants adopt are also
18 a function of how things were done at home. A number of 'blending scenarios' result.
19 In some cases, existing ideas and practices go unchallenged. In still others,
20 creolization occurs, where new social relations and cultural patterns are created.
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29 (Levitt, 1998: 93).
30

31 In this paper, I take these 'interpretative frames' to include the language ideologies which
32 shape migrants' language practices. In this sense I orient to an understanding of
33 multilingualism which signals the multiplicity of communicative purposes which are
34 associated with written and spoken languages alongside the traces of the language ideologies
35 and social structures of origin countries (Martin Jones and Jones 2000). I take language
36 ideologies to mean sets of beliefs and feelings about language which, when explored, expose
37 relations between these beliefs about language and the language user's social world. These
38 language ideologies are less about language alone but more socially situated and embedded in
39 questions of identity and power in societies (Woolard 1998; Irvine and Gal 2000).
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51
52 Questions of identity and power are currently at the forefront of UK-wide debates about
53 notions of belonging in Britain. At the time this research was carried out, the Pakistani
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 community, among other Muslim minority language groups, was facing increased pressure to
4 demonstrate their allegiance to ‘British values’ through a growing conflation of English
5 language proficiency with community cohesion (Blackledge 2005). Blackledge’s analysis
6 reveals complex chains of discourse in political actors’ linking of violence on the streets of
7 Lancashire in 2001 to some Asian residents’ inability to speak English whereas contemporary
8 research in critical sociolinguistics demonstrates how minority languages do not prevent
9 migrants from belonging in their new homes if they do not learn English (Wodak 2011;
10 Author 2018). This paper seeks to integrate work on transnational literacies with this work on
11 minority language use by investigating the mobility of people, languages, texts and practices
12 in the contexts of migration. I do this by considering how theoretical concepts from migration
13 studies can be brought together with concepts from sociolinguistics to understand how
14 language ideologies shape transnational literacies by asking similar questions to Warriner:
15 ‘what literacy practices do transmigrants develop while adapting to new contexts and what
16 resources are used in doing so?’ (2007: 267). I extend this question by focusing in particular
17 on the language resources that migrants draw on in their literacies and, specifically, how
18 these language resources are ideologically shaped in the country of origin prior to departure.
19 Ballard has written extensively about the replication of cultural norms which occurred in
20 Mirpuri communities in Lancashire as migrants tended to live in ‘ethnic colonies’ in close
21 proximity to each other (2008: 41). Ballard explains how these migrants were able to offer
22 support to each other through ‘networks of mutual reciprocity’ (2008: 45). This reciprocity, I
23 will argue, can be seen today in the literacies which help sustain migration between the two
24 countries. They are, I suggest, based on what Ballard calls ‘ideologies of kinship’ (2008: 50),
25 the belief that it is a duty to help family members and friends benefit from migration, which
26 has resulted in the contemporary phase of this chain known as marriage migration (Charsley
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 2005). It is as a result of these networks of mutual reciprocity that Usman in Mirpur was
4
5 invited to marry Nadia in Lancashire in 2009.
6
7

8 9 **Theoretical Framework**

10
11 Levitt has outlined four types of social remittances: norms, practices, identities and
12
13 social capital (1998: 2001). The theoretical framework for this study brings these four types
14
15 of remittance together with a social practices theory of literacy (Baynham and Prinsloo 2009;
16
17 Barton and Hamilton 1998; Street 1984). These practices involve values, attitudes and social
18
19 relationships and are therefore close in meaning to the *norms* which, for Levitt, consist of
20
21 ideas, values and beliefs which, she suggests, include notions of intrafamily responsibility,
22
23 aspirations of social mobility and standards of age and gender appropriateness (1998: 933).
24
25 Each of these will be explored in the data analysis of this paper. Levitt explains that these
26
27 norms are shaped by *practices* which include religious practices, household labour and
28
29 patterns of civil and political participation (1998; 2001). Thus, conceptualising literacy
30
31 practices as social remittances means bringing together the two types of social remittances
32
33 which Levitt describes as norms and practices.
34
35

36
37 Levitt's third type of social remittance is *identity*. She argues that notions of identity shift
38
39 with the changes which migration brings about. She illustrates this with the example of the
40
41 Miraflores migrant women from Dominican Republic who modified their ideas about
42
43 women's roles in response to their more active engagement in the workplace in Boston US
44
45 which in turn impacted non-migrant women who used these social remittances to construct
46
47 new versions of womanhood (1998: 934). Thus, identities change over time and are given
48
49 shape by the values people hold. Similarly, Ivanič et al. have argued that literacy practices
50
51 involve a complex negotiation of identities which are held together by values (2009: 50). For
52
53 example, how migrants choose different literacies to stay in touch with family and friends
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 will relate to their values formed before and after migration. Their purpose for staying in
4 touch could be financial, related to kinship, or out of a desire to remain friends, but in all
5 cases their identities affect which literacy practices they maintain, take up or relinquish. This
6 is because the meaning and value which individuals attach to literacy practices are shaped by
7 their identities, which are in turn shaped by the values that they hold.

8
9
10
11
12
13 Finally, in her work in Miraflores/Boston, Levitt found that both the values and norms on
14 which *social capital* is based were also socially remitted. Levitt draws on Portes and
15 Sensenbrenner (1993: 1323) here when they define social capital as ‘those expectations for
16 action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behaviour of its
17 members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere’ (cited in
18 Levitt 1998: 935). The notion that literacy in dominant languages such as English brings
19 success in formal education and increased employment opportunities has emerged as a
20 powerful determinant of development initiatives around the world and establishes a strong, if
21 disputed link, between an autonomous model of literacy and its role in increasing social
22 capital (Street 1994). As discussed earlier, in the Pakistan context, literacy in both Standard
23 Urdu and Standard English are highly valued in economic terms in Pakistan but there are
24 other varieties of both languages which have emerged since independence from Britain
25 which, I will demonstrate later, carry social capital for Mirpuri migrants.

26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42 Having looked at how the foundational concepts from a social remittances approach to
43 analysing migrants’ exchanges can be brought together within a social theory of literacy I
44 now turn to more recent work on social remittances to explain my contribution in this paper.

45
46
47
48 In 2010, Levitt and Lamba-Nieves clarified the concept of social remittances in three ways
49 by: stressing their circular nature, showing how they can be scaled out to other domains of
50 practice and by including collective remittances. The theoretical thread which brings these
51 three points together within a literacy practices approach can be explained through work on
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 language ideologies. Language ideologies refer to sets of beliefs and feelings about language
4
5 which, when explored, expose relations between these beliefs about language and the
6
7 language user's social world. To understand how migrants' literacies circulate as social
8
9 remittances we can identify how the norms, practices, identities and social capital that are
10
11 remitted in transnational literacies are influenced by family members' ideas about specific
12
13 languages. This is because language ideologies play out through everyday literacies
14
15 associated with different domains of life and because these domains include school, home,
16
17 workplaces and the spaces in-between. A conceptualisation of literacy exchanges as social
18
19 remittances can reveal their circulatory nature by explaining what happens when these
20
21 exchanges are scaled out to other domains of practice. Because 'there are questions of the
22
23 permeability of boundaries, of leakages and movement between boundaries, and of overlap
24
25 between domains (Barton and Hamilton 2000: 11) by tracing what happens when these
26
27 literacy exchanges permeate boundaries it is possible to tease out how migrants' practices are
28
29 created and appropriated across time and space. Doing so helps shed light on how private
30
31 context 'appears to be infiltrated by practices from many different public domains' (ibid). It
32
33 is in this convergence of public and private literacy practices that I trace the circular nature of
34
35 social remittances as they are given their meaning by migrants' beliefs about language and
36
37 wider society.
38
39
40
41
42
43

44 **Methodological approach**

45
46
47 This study is based on a multi-sited ethnography which accounted for migrants'
48
49 literacies when they moved across national borders and the boundaries between domains,
50
51 creating new spaces as well as new relationships along these trajectories. In doing so, the
52
53 methods assembled here question traditional dichotomies between local and global, centre
54
55 and periphery and micro and macro juxtapositions (Warriner 2007). In this sense, the
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 framework is similar to Kell's recent work which combines meaning-making over space and
4
5 time on the emic plane by focusing on the variable resources which come into play and
6
7 configure the distribution of meaning (2015: 424). Whereas Kell's trans-contextual analysis
8
9 identifies the variable resources at play in configuring distribution, my approach attends to
10
11 the ideological shaping of these resources as individuals *re*-configure them moment to
12
13 moment to suit their immediate communicative purposes online. I extend the broader PhD
14
15 study from which this work originated by analysing ethnographic fieldnotes and interviews
16
17 which had not been analysed previously. Thus, I rely on both ethnographic accounts of
18
19 specific events as well as sociological analysis of wider social, economic and institutional
20
21 contexts. Researching migration from Pakistan to the UK at the micro level required a
22
23 historical perspective, encompassing events prior to the Partition of India in 1947 to the
24
25 present day. I combined this with a trans-contextual methodology as I lived in both Pakistan
26
27 and Lancashire when carrying out the ethnography.

28
29
30 As with Kell's work, the trajectories of migrants in my own study could not be understood
31
32 with single-instance analysis, as participants' meaning-making shifted across time and space.
33
34 These were physical spaces in Pakistan and the UK as well as social spaces such as Facebook
35
36 and Instant Messaging. In this paper, I draw on data sets (interview data with Usman from
37
38 April 2012) and re-analyse previous data sets (interview data from the broader PhD study). I
39
40 also introduce the work on social remittances into the analysis and draw on Kell's more
41
42 recent work looking at resources for projecting meaning-making (2015) to capture the
43
44 circular nature of the social remittances across the different data sets.
45
46

47
48 The data analysed in the following section of this paper include interview data collected
49
50 before Usman's departure from Pakistan though the majority of interview data were collected
51
52 during a six-month period from January to April 2012 after his arrival in the UK. This was a
53
54 period when Usman was experiencing the shock of leaving behind family and friends and
55
56

1
2
3 settling into a new environment. Following Kell, I broke down the ethnographic data
4 collected during this period into a series of strips of approximate timescales (2015: 429) to
5 capture the complexity of movement in time and space as he constructs and maintains
6 multiple belongings. I did this so that I could link what Usman was telling me in interviews
7 about his literacy practices to what he was telling me in the interviews about his 'new' life
8 and how the two were linked. Kell explains that each meaning-making trajectory should be
9 seen as small threads in relation to wider sets of trajectories operating on different scales. By
10 organising the data into trajectories, I was able to plot Usman's movement through physical
11 and social spaces immediately after his migration before introducing the analysis of his
12 beliefs about his language and literacy practices. In other words, I link the meaning-making
13 trajectories outlined in this methodology section, which bring together different dimensions
14 of his personal history, experience and environment, to the analysis of language ideologies
15 which shape his literacy practices during this time-period. I identified the following meaning-
16 making trajectories (MMT) across the six months:
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

32
33 MMT1. Usman arrives in Lancashire and spends time with his new family (three
34 weeks).
35

36
37 MMT2: Usman spends time meeting extended family members but is mainly at home
38 without work (seven weeks)
39

40
41 MM3: Usman starts work at both a taxi company and a take away restaurant (one
42 month)
43

44
45 MM4: Usman establishes himself at work (one month)
46

47
48 As can be seen from the trajectories above, literacy practices were not an end in themselves
49 analytically but were distributed across broader sequences of events. Organising the data into
50 strips enabled a systematic framework for connecting the locations and timings of Usman's
51 Facebook postings with the meaning-making trajectories of his arrival and experiences of
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

settling into his new life in Lancashire (who he was meeting, where they were and how he was feeling). The table below provides an overview of this trans-contextual analysis by summarizing the meaning-making trajectories in relation to the interviews, fieldnotes and online postings. For reasons of space it is not possible to list all of the strips for all of the meaning-making trajectories.

Month	Meaning-making trajectory	Online posting	Interview	Fieldnotes
January	MM1-MM2			Visit Usman at home
February	MM2-MM3	<i>Trafford</i>		Visit take away
March	MM3		<i>Trafford</i> self-report interview	Visit taxi office
April	MM3-MM4		Ethnographic context	Visit Usman at home
May	MM4	<i>Poor Noor</i>		Visit Usman at home
June	MM4	'What's going on' 'Nofing'	<i>Poor Noor</i> self-report interview	Visit Usman at home

Meaning-making trajectory 3

Strip 1: Starting work in the taxi office

Strip 2: Starting work in the take away restaurant

Strip 3: Getting to know the taxi drivers at the base (speaking 'Pahari')

1
2
3 Strip 4: The fight with a co-worker (swearing in 'Pahari')

4
5 Strip 5: Getting to know the co-worker from Gujranwala (speaking Urdu)

6
7
8
9 Usman had started work in the take away and taxi office and was developing relationships
10 with his colleagues. There were five strips in this trajectory. One of the strips revealed that
11 Usman was working through the night. He worked from 3pm to 1am at the take away then
12 went straight to the taxi firm where he worked on the radio/talking to customers from 1am to
13 6am. He would then go home, sleep and repeat the shifts. Another strip revealed that Usman
14 had had a physical fight with a 'British-born' co-worker who 'went beserk' when Usman had
15 responded to his mocking him for being new to the country.

16
17 Organising the data into strips brings together these disparate parts of different interviews and
18 fieldnotes into a timescale that reveals, for example, that when Usman is posting online from
19 the taxi office he is also using spoken Pahari with the men in the taxi office. The strips also
20 enabled me to analyse my fieldnotes alongside the interview data and establish how lonely
21 Usman was feeling when I visited him at home as he hadn't made any friends outside the
22 immediate family. With the data spatially and temporally organised in this way I then
23 returned to the interview data where Usman and I discuss his Facebook postings, re-analysed
24 how he justified his language practices and how this shapes the literacies he remits.

24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 **Literacy in Mirpur**

45
46 Social remittances can be separated from other forms of cultural circulation by nature
47 of the fact that they are practices which are adapted and appropriated by individuals and
48 families as the result of interpersonal communication (Levitt 2016: 225). Before identifying
49 how Usman's literacy practices are taken up after his migration it is necessary to identify
50 those individuals and institutions which sponsor, that is promote or prevent literacy (Brandt

1
2
3 1998), in the domains of home and school prior to his migration. If we are to see understand
4 the circulatory nature of Usman's remittances then it is first necessary to identify where they
5 originated and how they were given their initial value.
6
7
8
9

10
11 Usman attended both English-medium and Urdu-medium schools as his father was in the
12 army and the family moved from garrison to garrison. Each school sponsored a different type
13 of literacy: Usman recalled that the army schools promoted literacy in Urdu but many of the
14 teachers spoke in English, whereas the English medium schools sponsored literacy in Urdu
15 and English while using spoken Urdu with code-switching to English in the classroom.
16 Rassool (2007: 245) suggests that the choice of particular languages for teaching and
17 learning, in this case English and Urdu, takes on an ideological function in defining the
18 ethno-cultural basis of the politically constructed nation. For Rassool, language-in-education
19 policy legitimates forms of knowledge which in turn are legitimated as hegemonic cultural
20 capital. This cultural capital is imbued in Usman's aspirations to learn English for himself
21 while sharing his literacy skills in English with his two brothers which he did regularly at
22 home. Rassool goes on to argue that this ideological function plays a further role in 'imbuing
23 learners with sets of beliefs, mores, traditions, and values embedded in the dominant culture,
24 and through this serves to shape the cultural norms of society as a whole' (ibid) thereby
25 linking school language policy to the literacies migrants will remit in later life.
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43

44 On failing to realise his long-held goal of joining the military, Usman's aspirations to use
45 English were unexpectedly called on when a British-Mirpuri family approached Usman's
46 father with a suggestion of marriage to their daughter Nadia who had seen Usman in a video
47 (which Levitt identifies as a key social remittance) of a Mirpuri wedding. Within a matter of
48 months Nadia had flown out to Mirpur from the UK for five weeks, met Usman, married him,
49 and fallen pregnant with their first son (her third child as Nadia is divorced). Nadia made it
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

clear to me in interviews that she wanted a Mirpuri husband for her second marriage after her first marriage to a 'British-Mirpuri'. Usman joined Nadia in Britain in November 2011 after his second visa application was successful. The language and literacy learning experiences of Usman as he moved from garrison to garrison with his family throughout his youth demonstrate how individuals move for different amounts of time and across varying distances, accumulating different resources on the way (resources which are central to his building a life in England today).

Analysis

When Usman started work he continued to access the Internet via his mobile phone in the taxi office where he worked. His primary literacy practices cut across the two domains of home and work. The analysis of the ethnographic strips revealed that Usman was spending increasing amounts of time communicating via the photo-posting feature of Facebook. This was because Nadia had bought Usman a smartphone soon after his arrival in the UK. Usman's literacy practices changed as the affordances of the smartphone allowed him to access the Internet outside the home and take photographs which he introduced more easily into his communications. The strips revealed that Usman went online largely in the afternoons, before going to work, though he often logged into his Facebook profile to chat during late shifts at work. The extracts presented here were selected due to the extent of the language varieties used: Part 1 contains the greatest amount of language mixing while Part 2 contains the greatest amount of English. Part 3 relates to an interaction using Instant Messaging which occurred, unprompted, while I was present with Usman.

Translation for extracts:

Bold italic = Mirpuri Punjabi

Italic = Urdu

Bold = English

Part 1 Posting: Trafford

1. Salman: *teri o phet gaya ha tou to* :P

1
2
3 *(you look 'spoiled' :P)*

4 2. Usman: *Pai ji kha pi kay say jao to yehi hoga na lol*

5
6 *(this is what happens when you eat too much and go to sleep lol)*

7
8 3. Salman: *(aho a v gal sahi ha ahir d...ka yahi kam to hota khata peta n sata*

9
10 *(that's true, after all, that's all there is to do, eat, drink and sleep)*

11 4. Salman: *tou abi tk jag raha ha? Ghar ki chokidari :P*

12
13 *(Why are you still up? Are you nightguarding :P)*

14 5. Usman: *Kutay job pe hun haraami*

15
16 *(Dog I'm at the job bastard)*

17 6. Salman: *chokidari ki job gud job pe ktna pound kma raha ha?*

18
19 *(It's a gud job of nightwatchman you know how many pounds are you earning from that?)*

20
21
22 The extract begins with an exchange between Salman and Usman in Mirpuri. Mirpuri is not
23 often found written in public domains because it is an informal spoken variety which does not
24 carry the same prestige, outside domestic contexts, as Urdu or English. They have gained
25 access to this through their vernacular practices, firstly, Usman told me, through their use of
26 spoken Mirpuri, and then through their creative experiments with Mirpuri using romanized
27 script in email and text messaging on their mobile phones. This leakage between domain
28 boundaries began in Mirpur but was extended when Usman started using a smartphone in the
29 UK.
30
31
32
33
34
35
36

37 **What practices are being remitted in the Trafford postings?**

38 **Literacy in Mirpuri**

39
40
41 The prestige of Mirpuri in domestic settings came across when Usman described the word
42 'phet', in line 1, as 'pure Pahari' which they used together because 'Salman is the close one'.
43 Usman's privacy settings allow all his Facebook friends to see these comments, thus the
44 interaction is semi-public. The Punjabi-Pahari-Potwari language continuum has no standard
45 written form in Pakistan but is by far the widest spoken complex of language varieties, unlike
46 Urdu which has a formal standardized written form. It is characterized in online writing by
47 abbreviations and differences in spelling. Usman told me that he and his friends create their
48 own spellings for Mirpuri. In this instance, I see this as an individual remittance as Usman
49 and Salman share these specific abbreviations with each other alone having begun to use
50 them in mobile phone text messages to each other in Pakistan. They extend the possibilities
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 of this script each time they remit the script back and forth between each other. I use the term
4 remit to emphasise the social value this script has for maintaining their friendship. The
5 narrow sense of 'share' refers to 'joint use' whereas the wider definition goes further in
6 expressing that something has been given. 'Remit' goes even further. It recognises that, like
7 the economic remittances that Usman sends back to Pakistan, Usman and Salman's literacy in
8 Mirpuri has value in extending their friendship each time they create new spellings together
9 in a variety which connotes domestic prestige.
10
11
12
13
14

15 16 **Literacy in non-standard Urdu**

17 This creative linguistic work can also be seen in the use of Urdu. An example of this is the
18 negotiation of the 'chokidar' identity which Salman playfully imposes on Usman. In lines 4-6
19 Salman jokes about whether Usman is in fact a night guard as he can see that Usman is awake
20 late at night, even though Salman knew that he was working night shifts. The term *chokidar*
21 is a term used in South Asia for watchmen who guard buildings to keep out intruders. The
22 humour for a Pakistani audience is that *chokidars* have low status in Pakistan and so this
23 would not be considered appropriate employment for Usman's caste. Up to line 5, Salman
24 uses only Mirpuri and Urdu, yet in line 6 he uses three English words from his repertoire:
25 'good', 'job' and 'pounds'.
26
27
28
29
30
31

32 Being a 'chokidar' could only be seen as a good job if it is translated to 'night guard' and if it
33 was well paid in Britain. Chokidars earn very low wages in Pakistan, whereas guards can
34 earn relatively good salaries for Mirpuris in Britain. Historically, the chain migration that
35 resulted in Usman's move to Lancashire means that it is well known in Mirpur that the
36 benefits of a UK salary, even for low-status work, sustains Mirpuri migration to Britain
37 through economic remittances. However, this chain migration is fraught with risks, from the
38 emasculation of what Charsley calls the 'imported husband' (2005) to the increasing threat of
39 Islamophobia in Britain. Beliefs about these risks are remitted in Salman's choice of the Urdu
40 word *chokidar* as it can be seen as a negative comment on Usman's migration and, perhaps,
41 on the wider transnational practice of Mirpuri migration to Britain. Levitt notes that not all
42 remittances are positive (2016).
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 **How do beliefs about language challenge and transform migrants' practices?**

52 When I asked Usman why Salman switched to Urdu, he replied:
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 *It's in Urdu but like the modern day Urdu, like the Urdu that persons like me will speak not*
4 *the persons like er who got the got the good but of Urdu 'cause first there was too much Urdu*
5 *in our curriculum, social studies in Urdu, but now the social studies is in English and all*
6 *that, so now there's more English, so the kids went to so the kids goes to the slang Urdu like*
7 *that [points to written abbreviated Urdu in the transcript in front of us] (Strip 3)*
8
9

10
11 Usman creates a dichotomy between standard and non-standard Urdu. Many metonymies are
12 used such as the simile 'like modern day Urdu'. The presupposition is that young people's
13 use of non-standard Urdu is a result of the shifts in the medium of instruction at school for
14 certain subjects. In this sense, Urdu is shared between the domains of school and home but
15 shifts in form and function as it travels between the two. Usman implies that there is a link
16 between language use at school and the use of literacy outside of school, given that Usman is
17 describing his friend's use of Urdu in Facebook postings. He argues that his use of 'modern'
18 Urdu, as one of the 'kids', could be perceived as a reaction to the use of standard Urdu and
19 English in schools. He suggests, through erasure, that the difference is a result of the medium
20 of instruction for school subjects, thus presenting an insight into the origins of his
21 transnational literacies when explaining the Trafford postings. This interview took place
22 during Strip 3 when Usman was using a lot of spoken Mirpuri with the older taxi drivers at
23 the office. In a later strip he explained 'the men all speak slang here'. Usman's meaning-
24 making appears to demonstrate the differences he was experiencing in the way Urdu was
25 used in Lancashire compared to Mirpur.
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

38 **Part 2: Poor Noor**

39
40 In this section I analyse a different set of postings which relate to a photograph Usman posted
41 of him holding his baby son Oman and standing next to his step-son Noor whose arm is
42 bandaged. Zara is Usman's wife's cousin. The postings were made during the same meaning-
43 making trajectory as the interviews were carried out. Analysing the strips in this trajectory,
44 particularly those full of reference to my fieldnotes, highlighted that Usman was homesick
45 during this time. He told me he had not made any new friends in Lancashire.
46
47
48
49
50
51

- 52 1. Zara: *What's happened to poor Noor!!!!*
- 53 2. Usman: *He slipped while walking and broke his arm*
- 54 3. Zara: *Aw bless him.hpe he gets better*

1
2
3 4. Usman: *He is better now been through operation he is good now*
4
5
6

7 The indirect speech act ‘Wats happened to poor Noor!!!!’ demands an explanation for
8 Noor’s bandaged arm, followed by subsequent explanations from Usman. This extract takes
9 place in English. It is presented here as it demonstrates the role of literacy in English among
10 Pakistani families at a time when proficiency in English is conflated with allegiance to
11 Britain.
12
13

14 In line 2, Usman addresses Zara’s question in standard British English. In his next posting, he
15 moves to Pakistani English, remitting both varieties across this transnational network of
16 readers. I use the term ‘remit’ here as Usman deploys his literacies strategically. He is not
17 simply sharing them, but rather, he is demonstrating his proficiency in both varieties as each
18 extends his social capital given the prestige of English in his transnational network. In line 4,
19 his arguments are effectively grouped together. He omits the auxiliary verb ‘has’ and the
20 indefinite article ‘an’ when he explains that Noor has ‘been through operation’ though he still
21 displays considerable grammatical competence when writing in formal English. In Pakistani
22 English, the use of the phrasal verb ‘been through’ collocates with ‘operation’ rather than
23 ‘have an operation’ in British English. He manipulates the sequence of events by changing
24 their order to foreground the fact that Noor is better. This, I argue, is central to Usman’s goal
25 of convincing Zara, and the rest of his wife’s relatives who are reading, that he is a
26 responsible stepfather. The choice of verb forms is an important part of a narrative in which
27 Usman constructs this identity. He is able to do this because the grammar which was made
28 available to him through the sponsorship of literacy in English in schools in Pakistan is now
29 taken up online in the UK. Usman extends his social capital when he remits these literacy
30 practices because the prestige of these varieties of English to different readers of his posts
31 enable him to maintain transnational ties while also integrating into the local network in
32 Lancashire.
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

48 **How do beliefs about language challenge and transform migrants’ practices?**

49 In the interview about language choice, Usman attributes Zara’s use of English to her being
50 from ‘here’, meaning Lancashire and/or Britain. English is an iconic representation of
51 Britishness and is taken as an inherent characteristic of Zara’s social group. However, Usman
52 told me that he uses spoken English words occasionally with his Mirpuri family in Lancashire
53 but communicates with all of his relatives using spoken Mirpuri, code-switching to English.
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 This was confirmed during my visits to Usman's family's houses in MMT-1 to MMT-4. This
4 extract and the associated postings imply the opposite online, that English is used between
5 family members on Facebook when the majority of them use Mirpuri face-to-face. Initially I
6 felt that this use of English in the semi-public space of Facebook may have reflected the
7 prestige of English in online domains, or was perhaps the result of repeated calls for Pakistani
8 Muslims to use English in public. However, when I asked Usman why Zara doesn't use
9 Mirpuri or Urdu online, he explained during an interview in meaning-making trajectory 4:
10
11
12
13

14 Usman: [interrupting] because she doesn't know how to do the roman ... I think so ... maybe she
15 does but she don't do it with me ... 'cause 'er doing the roman thing is quite frank quite frank. If I use
16 roman with you then that means I'm alright with you. And she's ... em ... she's wife of my cousin so
17 she's so if she wants to talk to me she'll make out like it's alright
18
19
20

21 Tony: So is it to do with how formal the language is?
22

23 Usman: Yup it does 'cause if the person like like like ... if you knew the roman English I'll use the
24 roman English with you but you don't know so that's why I use English ... er I won't use the roman
25 English with my uncle
26
27
28

29 Usman's response 'I don't think she knows how to speak Punjabi Urdu' suggests that, out of
30 politeness, he did not want to suggest that a relative of his could not do something that he
31 could. However, he continues by describing the appropriateness of different forms of
32 language online, explaining that Mirpuri is 'too frank,' that it would be inappropriate for the
33 wife of his cousin to use Mirpuri with him. In gendering the construction of writing online,
34 Usman suggests that Zara may indeed know how to use roman script but that it would be
35 inappropriate for her to do so because of gender-role definitions. Further to this, the term
36 'uncle' in the following turn implies that it would also be inappropriate for an older male
37 relative. In this extract it seems that, as with Levitt's work, standards of age and gender
38 appropriateness are remitted, though in this example they are remitted in the gendered
39 ideologies which shape Facebook posts.
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

47 **Part 3**

48
49 In Part 3, the online communication is from Facebook's Instant Messaging and occurred
50 during meaning-making trajectory 4. Usman and I were seated in front of the computer
51 reading his postings when 'what's going on?' appeared on Instant Message, written by his
52 younger brother Zahir.
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Extract 1:

Tony: why is your brother writing to you in English?

Usman: Every time this one every time yeah

Tony: Really. Why would he do that?

Usman: I don't know 'cause I told him to do that, it's good

Tony: Really

Usman: Look at that [pointing to Zahir's on-screen written English and quoting Zahir's words] 'what's going on?' he's alright with English, he's very much alright with English

Tony: Yeah I know they're alright with English but...

Usman [interrupting]: why do they choose it? 'cause 'cause this one [Zahir] he don't use mobile as much he has the thing with the mobiles. I use mobiles so much so I know I can [pointing to abbreviated word] what does that mean and all that. He don't use mobiles as much

Tony: Ah right so you can understand some of the...

Usman ...some of the slang and all that cos I used to do it but he never do it

Tony: Ah OK

Usman: You know he just studies and so he knows English

Usman begins with hyperbole: 'every time this one' and suggests that he was the reason for Zahir's use of written English. This role of literacy mediator was a common feature of Usman's family responsibilities prior to his migration and he continues with this role online from Lancashire. The intensification strategy, 'he's alright with English' helps Usman to construct his brother Zahir as a good user of English, which seems to be important to him.

In 'He don't use mobiles as much' Usman constructs a relationship between using mobile phones and developing the ability to use the implied language forms of slang Urdu. He links his own creativity with digital literacy and his use of mobile phones. This is confirmed with 'he never does it' and the intensifying 'just/so' in 'he just studies so he knows English'. English connotes formal standard English. There appears to be an implicit opposition

1
2
3 between learning standard English in one's studies and learning non-standard English on a
4 mobile phone. For Usman, it would seem the boundaries between language varieties are
5 broken down when he takes up the affordances of new technologies (mobile phones). The
6 argument runs: if Zahir would use his mobile phone more for writing texts messages he
7 would also be able to use 'slang' English, the implied language form, like Usman. The value
8 of these remittances may lie, therefore, in the individual user's ability to extend their
9 language practices as part of their creativity with technology. For Usman his social
10 remittances are perhaps higher in value because his literacy practices enable him to move
11 across the boundaries of language varieties. What for him is an affordance of mobile phones
12 is a constraint for Zahir. These varieties are immediately contrasted in the final extract where
13 later in the same interview Usman acts as a literacy mediator for his brother's use of non-
14 standard English.
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

23 **Extract 2**

24 In response to Zahir asking 'what's going on?' Usman replies 'nofing'.

25
26 *Tony: You're telling him to use English but then you're using informal English. Why are you*
27 *doing that?*

28
29
30 *Usman: so that so that he could know that this is the word nofing so he can use it*

31
32 *Tony: is that a word?*

33
34
35 *Usman: Nofing [pronounced with /f/]*

36
37 *Tony: [spelling out the letters] N-O-F-I-N-G?*

38
39 *Usman: Yeah, it's not a word. Nothing is a word. But if you pronounce it nofing [Lancashire*
40 *accent] so you know it's alright*

41
42
43 *Tony: So he'll know that you're teaching him informal English?*

44
45 *Usman: So it's alright for him to know*

46
47 *Tony: But Zahir isn't going to come [to Lancashire] he's not the brother who is gonna come?*

48
49
50 *Usman: He's not gonna come, no, not gonna come.*

51
52 In this extract later in the same interview, Usman draws on non-standard pronunciation to
53 explain the reason he writes 'nofing'. His use of the labiodental fricative /f/ and not the
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 interdental fricative /θ/ draw on the accent which Usman has started to use since his arrival in
4 Lancashire. My interpretation of ‘but it’s alright for him to know’ is a justification strategy
5 which implies that the non-standard use of ‘nofing’ is Usman continuing to see himself as a
6 literacy mediator. My next question assumes that there is a link between remitting Lancashire
7 English and Zahir coming to live in Lancashire, though Usman confirms that Zahir will not
8 migrate. I use ‘remit’ here as this literacy resource circulates across the unbounded
9 transnational network for non-migrants to use as social capital even though they will not
10 migrate to Lancashire. The societies of origin and settlement are connected through new
11 registers for English which have nothing to do with new migrants migrating but do still
12 extend the transnational ties that connect Mirpuris across the world.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24

25 **Conclusion**

26
27 Scholars and practitioners either focus on what happens to immigrants once they
28 arrive in a new place or what happens to immigrants in the places where they come
29 from. Migration research needs to span migrants’ origin and destination countries and
30 go beyond economic considerations to include the social and cultural.
31
32
33
34
35

36 (Levitt, 2010: 9)

37
38 The aim of this paper was to see how the creation and circulation of transnational literacies
39 can be seen as social remittances, part of the practices, ideas, norms and social capital that
40 span migrants’ destination and origin countries. The analysis illustrates that an important
41 aspect of these literacies is that they are shaped by decades of hegemonic language policy
42 which individuals subvert when appropriating scripts for Mirpuri Punjabi, Urdu and English.
43 Usman’s description of his literacies suggests that they are a continuation of the pre-
44 migration literacies which he developed offline at school in Pakistan, but which have scaled
45 out to other domains of practice when he uses ‘slang Urdu’ online in the UK. However, there
46 are discontinuities as these literacies serve different purposes and are associated with
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 different values and identities post-migration. For example, the cultural diffusion which takes
4 place when Usman remits the Lancashire-inflected ‘nofing’, knowing that this brother will
5 never migrate, demonstrates how local practices become incorporated into global dynamics.
6
7 In doing this, Usman chooses to circulate practices which he feels are important for his
8 brother to know regardless of the territorial boundaries in which they find themselves. These
9 findings demonstrate that though everyday literacies may be self-sponsored, as in the case of
10 the Facebook postings, they have their origins elsewhere (Brandt and Clinton 2002) and are
11 always given their shape by beliefs about language. In this paper, I demonstrated how these
12 language ideologies are related to the political processes of nation-building in Pakistan
13 (Rassool 2007; Ayres 2009), where languages such as Urdu and English are given official
14 roles when the local language Mirpuri Punjabi is not and illustrated a range of functions of
15 these language choices in interaction. For example, creative experiments scripts for Mirpuri
16 and Urdu help maintain ties with family and friends and demonstrates how scripts are
17 remitted back and forth across transnational networks when interactants carefully select terms
18 such as ‘phet’ and ‘chokidar’ whether or not these are positive or negative comments on
19 migration. This creativity also revealed the permeability of these literacy resources, the
20 domains in which they circulate and the territorial boundaries they transcend.

21
22 This analysis indicates that Mirpuri migrants draw from their everyday language and literacy
23 resources and combine them in ways which are constantly changing but which are given
24 shape by their wider social practices. These practices provide ample opportunities for Usman
25 to construct new, shifting identities, while maintaining norms of age and gender
26 appropriateness which are equally as important in building bridges with new family
27 members. Recognising the role of literacy mediators, or what Levitt might see as bridge
28 builders, in this cultural diffusion further establishes the usefulness of conceptualising
29 transnational literacies as social remittances as these mediators exchange far more than
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 economic resources. When they do this, transnational literacy remittances help sustain the
4
5 ‘networks of mutual reciprocity,’ which Ballard (2008: 45) suggests are at the core of Mirpuri
6
7 migration.

8
9 Integrating concepts from sociolinguistics, literacy studies and migration studies illustrates
10
11 well that transnational literacies in different language varieties offer different meaning-
12
13 making resources for migrants. This supports the view that languages differ in terms of what
14
15 different users can easily do with them (Barton and Lee 2013). In a world on the move,
16
17 migrants translate and diffuse ideas when they deploy their language and literacy resources in
18
19 a range of sites. The challenge was how to account for this multi-sitedness and multi-
20
21 layerdness in the transnational trajectories of the participants in this study. Drawing on Kell’s
22
23 recent work the methodological approach taken sought to establish these meaning-making
24
25 trajectories as small threads in relation to wider sets of trajectories which then enabled the
26
27 organisation of data at different scales (2015). Within these trajectories I was able to trace
28
29 where remittances gained their value at different moments before and after Usman’s
30
31 migration. This approach shed light on the language ideologies which gave remittances their
32
33 value without suggesting these ideologies were unchanging. Usman’s beliefs about language
34
35 were shaped by his language use in Pakistan but also by his language use in the taxi office in
36
37 the UK. The methodological approach taken allowed me to account for these shifting
38
39 ideologies as social remittances are clearly about movement and value at different stages of
40
41 migration. The framework developed here helped to pin down Usman’s meaning-making
42
43 soon after arrival without neglecting his literacy practices prior to departure. I could not
44
45 possibly have accompanied Usman at every moment during his first few months in country,
46
47 and though only partial, this approach was an attempt to map the relations which were part of
48
49 Usman’s meaning-making during this important time for him. The findings suggest that
50
51 transnational literacies enable Usman’s network of family and friends to maintain kinship ties
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 when they remit practices, norms and identities by building social capital each time these
4
5 literacies are remitted.
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

20 21 **References**

22
23
24
25
26 **Ayres, A.** 2009. *Speaking like a state: Language and nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge
27 University Press.
28
29

30
31
32 **Ballard, R.** 2008. The political economy of migration: Pakistan, Britain and the Middle East.
33
34 In V. S. Kalra (ed.), *Pakistani diasporas: Culture, conflict, and change*. Oxford
35 University Press.
36
37
38
39

40
41 **Ballard, R.** 1991. 'Azad Kashmir: the view from Mirpur'. *Economic and Political Weekly*,
42
43 *Bombay*.
44
45

46
47 **Ballard, R.** 2003. A case of capital-rich under-development: The paradoxical consequences
48
49 of successful transnational entrepreneurship from Mirpur. In *Contributions to Indian*
50 *sociology* 37/12: 49–81.
51
52
53
54

55
56 **Barton, D and M. Hamilton.** 1998. *Local Literacies*. Routledge.
57
58

1
2
3
4
5 **Barton, D., Hamilton, M. and Ivanič, R.** 2000. *Situated literacies: Reading and writing in*
6 *context*. Routledge (eds.).
7
8
9

10
11 **Barton, D. and C. Lee.** 2013. *Language Online: Investigating Digital Texts and Practices*.
12
13 Routledge.
14
15
16

17
18 **Baynham, M. and M. Prinsloo.** 2009. *The future of literacy studies*. Palgrave Macmillan
19
20 (eds.).
21
22
23

24 **Blackledge, A.** 2005. *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World*. John Benjamins.
25
26
27

28
29 **Blommaert, J.** 2008. *Grassroots Literacy*. Routledge.
30
31
32

33 **Brandt, D.** 1998. Sponsors of literacy. *College Composition and Communication*, 49/2:
34
35 165–185.
36
37
38

39 **Brandt, D. and Clinton, K.** 2002. Limits of the local: Expanding perspectives on literacy as
40
41 social practice. *Journal of Literacy Research* 34/3: 337–356.
42
43
44

45
46 **Charsley, K.** 2005. Unhappy husbands: Masculinity and migration in transnational
47
48 Pakistani marriages. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11/1: 85–105.
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 **Author**, 2016a, *Multilingual Literacies, Identities and Ideologies: Exploring Chain Migration*
4 *from Pakistan to the UK*. Palgrave Macmillan.

5
6
7
8
9
10 **Author**, . 2016b, 'Literacy Mediation in Marriage Migration from Pakistan to the UK:
11 Challenging Bureaucratic Discourses to Get a Visa', *Discourse and Society* 27/5:
12 481-499.

13
14
15
16
17 **Author**, . 2018. Home Literacies: The Access and Availability of Written Material in the
18 Homes of Mirpuri Migrants in Pakistan and the UK in Bahun, S., & Petrić, B.
19 (eds.) *Thinking home: Interdisciplinary dialogues*. Bloomsbury.

20
21
22
23
24
25
26 **Hanks, W.** 2005. Explorations in the deictic field. *Current Anthropology*, 46/2, 191-219.

27
28
29
30 **Irvine, J. T., and S. Gal.** 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. V.
31 Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics and identities*. School of
32 American Research Press.

33
34
35
36
37
38
39 **Ivanič, R., Edwards, R., Barton, D., Martin-Jones, M., Fowler, Z., Hughes, B., Mannion,**
40 **G., Miller, K., Satchwell, C. and Smith, J.** 2009. *Improving learning in college:*
41 *Rethinking literacies across the curriculum*. Routledge.

42
43
44
45
46
47
48 **Kell, C.** 2008 Weighing the scales: Recontextualisation as horizontal scaling. In M.
49 Baynham, J. Collins and S. Slembrouck. (eds) *Globalisation and language contact:*
50 *Scale, Migration and Communicative Practices*. Continuum.

- 1
2
3 **Kell, C.** 2015. Making people happen: materiality and movement in meaning-making
4 trajectories. *Social Semiotics* 25/4: 423-445.
5
6
7
8
9
10
11 **Lacroix, T., Levitt, P., and Vari-Lavoisier, I.** 2016. Social remittances and the changing
12 transnational political landscape. *Comparative Migration Studies* 4:16
13
14
15
16
17
18 **Levitt, P.** 1998. 'Social Remittances: A Local-Level, Migration-Driven Form of Cultural
19 Diffusion', *International Migration Review* 32/124: 926–949
20
21
22
23
24 **Levitt, P. and Lamba-Nieves, D.** 2010. "It's Not Just About the Economy, Stupid" - Social
25 Remittances Revisited. Migration Policy Institute. Accessed on November 12, 2017
26 from <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=783>
27
28
29
30
31
32
33 **Levitt, P.** 2016 Social Remittances: How migrating people drive migrating culture. In
34 Triandafyllidou, A. (ed), *Routledge Handbook of Immigration and Refugee Studies*.
35 Routledge.
36
37
38
39
40
41
42 **Lothers, L. & Lothers, M. D.** 2007. *Pahari and Pothwari: a sociolinguistic survey*. Frontier
43 Language Institute.
44
45
46
47
48 **Martin-Jones, M., and Jones, K.** 2000. Multilingual literacies. In M. Martin-Jones, & K.
49 Jones (eds), *Multilingual literacies*. John Benjamins.
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 **Rassool, N.** 2007. *Global Issues in Language, Education and Development: Perspectives*
4 *from Postcolonial Countries*. Multilingual Matters.

6
7
8
9 **Street, B.** 1984. *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge University Press.

11
12
13 **Vertovec, S.** 2009. *Transnationalism*. Routledge.

14
15
16
17
18 **Warriner, D. S.** 2007. Transnational literacies: Immigration, language learning, and
19 identity. *Linguistics and Education* 18 3/4: 201–14.

20
21
22
23
24 **Woolard, K.** 1998. Introduction: Language Ideology as a field of inquiry. In B. Schieffelin, K.
25 Woolard & P. Kroskrity (eds), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Oxford
26 University Press.
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60