

NEH Application Cover sheet (DOC-293834)

Dangers and Opportunities of Technology: Perspectives from the Humanities (Collaborative)

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Field of expertise: Media Studies

INSTITUTION

Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois
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APPLICATION INFORMATION

Title: *Transnational Disinformation Networks and Asian Diasporic Politics*

Grant period: From 2024-01-01 to 2025-12-31

Project field(s): Asian American Studies; Communications; Media Studies

Description of project: Transnational Disinformation Networks and Asian Diasporic Politics is a collaborative project between Dr. Rachel Kuo (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) and Mark Calaguas (Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment and the Filipino Young Leaders Program). We bring together archival research and community oral histories to examine memory, political histories, and information networks across Asian and Asian American diasporas. We seek to understand how lived experiences of trauma, war, colonialism, and political suppression and social and cultural hierarchies of power undergird the spread of mis- and disinformation. We plan to host community storytelling workshops to train community volunteers to collect intergenerational and multilingual oral histories. By focusing on historical and geopolitical frameworks, our project intervenes in contemporary debates about mis- and disinformation, technology, and democracy.

BUDGET

Outright request	149,999.00	Cost sharing	0.00
Matching request	0.00	Total budget	149,999.00
Total NEH request	149,999.00		

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Transnational Disinformation Networks and Asian Diasporic Politics

Project Summary: *Transnational Disinformation Networks and Asian Diasporic Politics* is a collaborative project. It brings together archival research and community oral histories to examine memory, political histories, and information networks across Asian and Asian American diasporas. We seek to understand how lived experiences of trauma, war, colonialism, and political suppression and social and cultural hierarchies of power (e.g., class, caste, ethnicity, religion, migration status) undergird the spread of mis- and disinformation. An NEH grant will specifically support collaborative research with AFIRE (Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment), a Chicago-based organization, and FYLPRO (Filipino Young Leaders Program), a national organization. As conversations about authoritarianism in the Philippines have intensified in recent years, the generation of Filipinos who fled the abuses of martial law to establish new lives in the U.S. during the 1970s and '80s represents one relevant wellspring of historical memory and critical reflection. Our goal is to work with community volunteers to collect intergenerational and multilingual oral histories. Further, our project provides an opportunity to co-develop community knowledge production and humanities research beyond the university. During the 24-month period of performance, we aim for the following outcomes: 1) hosting approximately 8 community storytelling workshops that bring together oral history training, interactive discussion, and intergenerational community building, including development of workshop facilitation and interview guides; 2) preparing around 20 volunteers to conduct personal oral histories for an estimated 40 interviews to be translated and transcribed; and 3) developing public resources, such as diasporic history and media guides, as a digital resource for practitioners, researchers, and educators. By co-developing a methodology with community leaders and members, this project expands AFIRE's existing work in community storytelling and FYLPRO's Tayo Project, a digital in-language narrative change platform. In doing so, this process also supports mutual knowledge exchange between Asian and Asian American diasporic communities as a means to foster shared learning about different political histories.

Significance and Contribution: We argue that specific (and unevenly lived) differences among Asian diasporic communities—including migration, religion, ethnicity, and nation—inform media and technological practices, political ideology, and participation in democratic processes. The COVID-19 pandemic made more publicly salient how differentiated information and language access regarding social services in immigrant communities can enable faulty narratives to fill those voids. These narratives, such as those that precipitate vaccine hesitancy for example, also hinge on intra-regional histories between different Asian nation-states as well as relationships with the U.S. Furthermore, given continued racial violence within the U.S. itself and the ongoing global resurgence of authoritarian regimes and ethno-nationalisms, what is considered “disinformation” as it spreads across online platforms connects to longer-standing systems of race and power. Narrative erasure and the silencing of intergenerational struggles and trauma also reflect the mutable ways people experience and remember state violence (Cho, 2008; Nguyen, 2012; Baik, 2015).

By focusing on historical and geopolitical frameworks, our project intervenes in contemporary debates about mis- and disinformation and demonstrates the necessity of critical ethnic studies in shaping debates on technology and democracy. We look to diasporic histories and intimate community information networks (Parreñas, 2001; Francisco-Menchavez, 2018; Kido Lopez, 2021) to further understand the multifaceted dimensions of “disinformation.” We address two main research questions. How do geopolitical histories and contemporary racial formations serve particular narrative themes justifying ethno-nationalist discourse and support for authoritarian populism that circulate across digital networks in Asian communities? How do these histories impact Asian diasporic communities' information and media practices and relationship to democratic politics? As one starting point, we ground our research in specific diasporic contexts through collaboration with community organizations as workshop hosts; these collaborations also support nonacademic community access to both research processes and outputs.

While our focus for the NEH-funded project works with Filipino communities, we seek to identify common threads and interactions across Asian diasporas. Asian America is a vast diasporic umbrella with a diverse array of linguistic and cultural backgrounds and histories across local and transnational geographies. Pursuing a broader panethnic understanding requires accounting for intra-community differences across communication platforms, cultural contexts, languages, and histories (Espiritu, 2003; Shams, 2020). While different diasporic experiences and histories are not interchangeable, bringing forth some shared throughlines supports a more holistic understanding of ecosystems of media and pan-Asian politics. For example, what might we learn from a relative approach to memories of martial law between Taiwanese and Filipino histories in terms of how communities navigate institutional distrust; or how might we better understand technological platforms, authoritarianism, and democratic governance by connecting different experiences of political suppression, such as connecting Filipino experiences to the Indian government's collusion with big tech companies in censoring Sikh farmers' protests (Asian American Disinformation Table, 2022)?

To understand the spread of mis- and disinformation on social media and digital platforms requires critically attending to local, regional, national, and transnational media circulations that include print, cable news networks, and in-language radio. While mainstream definitions of mis- and disinformation have focused on veracity and malintent, we **focus on the mobilization of memory and narrative** to maintain existing power structures. Racial narratives targeted at and about various Asian diasporic groups reveal deep political frictions and fractures within and across different generations connected to incommensurable histories of experiences of state intervention through war, displacement, political upheaval, and geopolitical violence, as well as social positioning in multiple localized hierarchies of power (see Appendix 5d). News headlines, videos, and memes about vaccines, political figures, and current events forwarded on by family and community members in a text messaging thread are but one site that reflects such frictions. Nearly one in six Asian Americans use messaging applications such as WeChat, WhatsApp, and KaKao to discuss politics (APIAVote, 2020); additionally, many first-generation immigrants turn to ethnic media as a primary source of information due to the absence of sufficient language translation and interpretation (Fang, 2021). This means that information circulates on both closed, intimate, and private networks as well as through multimodal transnational media environments. For example, understanding the 2022 election of Ferdinand “Bongbong” Romualdez Marcos Jr. in the Philippines requires historical grounding of collective memory and amnesias, and in-depth knowledge of local and transnational media networks, including broadcast shutdowns and the economy of paid trolls and fake online accounts on social media platforms (Ong and Cabañes, 2018).

While research under the banner of “disinformation studies” has favored quantitative methods and data scraping from Twitter, Facebook, and other social media platforms (Abu Arqoub et al, 2020), **humanistic and interpretative methods** can better support a culturally informed and relational approach (Malhotra, 2020) and address challenges around access, consent, language interpretation, contextual analysis, and the varied differences in how sociality and politics are mediated on a given platform (Nguyễn et al, 2022). **To do this work, our methodology uses community-based methods of collecting oral histories** about the range of people's experiences with government, migration, survival, and political upheaval in connection with their reflections on different media and information environments. We begin from the position that oral histories are an embodied practice emerging from a bond between narrators and researchers (Alamilla Boyd and Roque Ramírez, 2012). **This method also reflects traditions of storytelling in Asian diasporic communities** (Santiago, 2017), including *kwentuhan*, the ritual of traditional Filipino oral storytelling that places an emphasis on interpersonal cooperation, reciprocity, and social acceptance. In line with AFIRE's values, our project also foregrounds the values of language justice – the right to communicate in languages that people feel most comfortable in – and builds collective access through fostering multilingual spaces (Wong, 2021).

Environmental Scan and Project History: Studies of mis- and disinformation and media manipulation and its impacts in the fields of media and communication have primarily focused on bots, troll farms, conspiracy theorists, political elites, and big tech platforms (e.g., Ong and Cabañes, 2018;

Freelon et al, 2020; Tripodi, 2022). This study expands upon this existing body of research to consider loved ones who fall asleep to conspiratorial channels on YouTube and spread inaccurate health information in the WhatsApp group chat out of love and care (e.g., Rao, 2021). We consider the **challenges in communicating about politics across generations and languages**, such as difficulty in talking to family members about why they might support political figures with racist and nationalistic ideologies. While media genres have emerged to facilitate political conversations across generations (including translation projects such as Letters for Black Lives) these approaches may carry certain presumptions around progressive politics, American-ness, and educational background as well as erasures of generational struggles and trauma (Bae and Tseng-Putterman, 2020). Our process builds on understandings of informal community dialogue and everyday sites of discourse as integral to comprehending collective memory-making and political formation (e.g., Harris-Lacewell, 2006; Wong, 2019; Buenavista Hanna, 2021). Our project also extends work on memory and historical narrative in shaping political belief and social and cultural processes (e.g., Verovšek, 2020; Sales, 2019; Zarsadiaz, 2022).

Further, our project takes up the “transnational turn” within Asian American studies (Chien-Ting, 2016; Chen, 2010), **bridging critical memory studies and media and information studies** to understand legacies of war, empire, expansion, and geopolitical tensions within Asia itself and between that Asia and the U.S. Using oral history in the context of studying disinformation destabilizes assumptions and premises often accepted as truth and the “warping of politics” (Yoneyama, 2016) as collective memory is subjected to forms of erasure and disavowal. In looking at how events are remembered and reconstructed in multiple ways, we seek to unpack how historical narratives work in different contexts (Lowe, 2016; Trouillot, 1995).

Within the context of the Philippines, the relationship between memory, media manipulation, and the weaponization of cultural discontent has been a particularly pernicious phenomenon. For example, Facebook users in the Philippines represented the second largest source of data harvested by Cambridge Analytica for their political targeting initiatives during the previous decade (behind only the United States), due to the country’s social media usage and lack of regulation (Wylie in Occeñola, 2019). In 2018, Facebook’s director of global politics and government outreach, Katie Harbath, labeled the Philippines as “patient zero” in the so-called “infodemic” of deceptive social media practices threatening the integrity of democratic governance around the world. The problem of disinformation in the Philippines began receiving significant attention after the 2016 presidential election, where supporters of then-candidate Rodrigo Duterte were notably linked to the proliferation of “fake news.” The 2022 election saw former senator Bongbong Marcos—the son of deposed autocrat Ferdinand Marcos—emerge as the winner by a landslide in tandem with vice presidential running mate Sara Duterte, daughter of the term-limited President Duterte, himself an ally of the Marcos family. The elder Duterte’s populist romanticization of the martial law period converges with the decades-long effort to rehabilitate the Marcos legacy (see Yean, 2021; Tadiar et al, 2021). The added layers of colonial history between the United States and the Philippines, the decades-long and ever-increasing rates of Filipino migration to the U.S, and the emergence of Filipinos as the second largest Asian American ethnic group further underscore the importance of understanding the **unique experience of Filipinos and the Filipino diaspora in mapping out the globalized landscape of mis- and disinformation.**

Our specific interest in this project emerges also from an interest in better understanding political discourses within Asian American social movements. This project seeks to **further transnational and intergenerational political analysis** by mapping different intra-community dynamics and tensions across Asia and between Asia and the U.S. Despite the vision of the United States as an evolving multiracial democracy, it is also a global imperial power—this is further extended by U.S.-based technology companies that purport to adjudicate online harm, yet employ models of governance and other tools that fail to understand contextual depth and breadth across various languages and geographies.

Preliminary research and planning: Since Spring 2021, Dr. Rachel Kuo has been developing the methodology for this project, which works with participants who self-identify as Asian Americans, including East, Southeast, South, and West, multi-ethnic and diasporic identities, to hold one-on-one

conversations about news, social media use, and personal history with a family member, loved one, or community member of a different generation. With funding and support from the Siegel Family Foundation, from August 2021 - August 2022, she piloted initial versions of this project which include a 90-minute community education workshop on intergenerational politics and skills-building that prepare volunteers to conduct oral histories and follow-up discussion groups to reflect on this process (see Appendix 5c). This method was built in collaboration and partnership with graduate students at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill and undergraduate students at Duke University's Asian American and Diasporic Studies Program. Currently, she has worked with volunteers conducting personal oral histories representing Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese, Vietnamese, Chinese, Indian, Filipino, and Pakistani diasporas, and has adjusted the methodology numerous times to address the challenges of intergenerational relationship dynamics, language interpretation, and reluctance to discuss politics. Participants in this process have highlighted the value of this research for facilitating conversations and practicing non-judgmental forms of listening. Kuo and Calaguas have worked together in the Research Working Group of the Asian American Disinformation Table (AADT), a collaborative network of over 20 Asian American organizations formed in September 2021. As part of this work, we co-authored a public research report in August 2022 titled "Power, Politics, and Platforms: Asian Americans and Disinformation" with scholars and community researchers, an effort supported by the National Council for Asian Pacific Americans (NCAPA) and the Media Democracy Fund (see Appendix 5d). This report received wide coverage by outlets like *NBC News* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and we have presented aspects of the research with different public audiences including the Center for Democracy and Technology, Data & Society, and the Truth and Trust Online conference. As ongoing work within the research group, we have also begun developing versions of the digital history and media guides. For example, a draft guide on Korean diasporic media authored by undergraduate and graduate student researchers working with Asian Americans Advancing Justice | AAJC threads together histories of Japanese and U.S. imperialism in the peninsula; significant diasporic events such as Sa-I-Gu (referencing April 29, 1992 and the LA uprisings); details of different media ecosystems including Korean language newspapers, YouTube channels, community news sites and lifestyle blogs, and their stances on different political and cultural issues; and information about key wedge issues surrounding gender and class.

The AADT affords additional scholarly and community collaboration and partnerships with different groups doing community-based research on the relationship between disinformation and social movements, with a focus on race, religion, gender, caste, and class. Kuo and Calaguas are in continued conversation with a range of national organizations, local groups, and diasporic specific organizations such as the aforementioned Asian Americans Advancing Justice | AAJC as well as the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA), Equality Labs (a South Asian feminist and Dalit-led organization), Sikh American Legal Defense and Education Fund (SALDEF), VietFactCheck, Xīn Shēng 心声Project, and more. We have also built relationships with university research groups focusing on Vietnamese community misinformation at the University of Washington-Seattle and Asian American community media at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. While many currently supported initiatives in AADT's research group have focused on media monitoring and creating bilingual narrative interventions, this leaves room for NEH-supported humanistic research that can offer historically informed contextualization of circulated content and deeper understanding of different media ecosystems.

Activities and Research Team: *Work plan.* Running between January 2024 to December 2025, our project recruits and prepares volunteers to conduct personal oral histories with someone from another generation (ideally someone 20 years older or younger) about their experiences with media and politics. We focus on the following components and processes for ongoing data collection: 1) hosting eight 90-minute virtual and in-person community workshops with the aim of gathering initial information about volunteer interviewers and potential interviewees, interactive discussion on narratives and media practices in different communities, and oral history skill-building (see Appendix: 5c); 2) volunteer conducted oral histories, including transcription and translation; and 3) follow-up learning circles with volunteers as conversational spaces to debrief processes and share interpretations of oral histories. While pilot

workshops will be hosted by AFIRE and FYLPRO, we will also identify additional organizational collaborators (through external contractor roles) to host other workshops as a means to bring different diasporic communities together. This process offers opportunities for participants to share experiences and observations and learn about disparate political narratives and histories. Throughout this process, we will continue to refine and update our workshop curriculum and interview guides. This will also inform FYLPRO's work in building critical and culturally relevant narrative tools to respond to complicated narratives surrounding race, labor, migration, and electoral politics.

With new state mandates, such as in Illinois, incorporating Asian American history in K-12 and post-secondary curricula, oral histories provide one means to build knowledge about transnational and cross-diasporic Asian histories. As part of the external facing outcomes of the NEH-funded project, we aim to assemble public diasporic history and media guides, with the Filipino diaspora as a starting place. These diasporic guides bring together learnings from oral histories; offer introductory background on historical contexts, events, key issue areas; and map a media landscape of key outlets, actors, influencers, practices, and networks. We describe these activities in more detail in Attachment 3: Work Plan.

Key researchers – competencies: In developing this project, **Kuo** has worked to shape the intellectual and political trajectory of “disinformation studies” as a subfield by foregrounding questions of race and empire (see Appendix 5a). This work has included co-authoring syllabi and essays and organizing conferences and workshops to bridge humanistic fields with political communication and information studies. Kuo has worked with different kinds of organizations in co-developing research methodologies and processes and navigating institutional processes and community needs. Kuo has also initiated archival research for this project, including research at the Human Rights Archive at Duke University's Rubenstein Library, in collections such as the Center for International Policy, Global Rights Records, and the International Center for Transitional Justice. Put in conversation with the above oral histories, this historiography outlines differential relationships to freedom, politics, and democracy. Bringing together archival research and oral histories offers a much-needed nuanced analysis that takes into account the complex political, economic, and historical dynamics at play.

Mark Calaguas joins the project through his capacity as the Board President of AFIRE and Executive Vice President of FYLPRO, including co-founding and directing the Tayo Project. Launching as a virtual help desk in the fall of 2020 in response to misinformation circulating at the outset of the COVID-19 pandemic, Tayo provides culturally tailored content connecting Filipinx/a/o communities with vital information, resources, and services to build collective resilience in the face of crisis and ongoing institutional disinvestment. Emerging as a narrative playbook to help Filipinos talk with their elders about health and safety during the pandemic, the project goes beyond debunking mis- and disinformation via traditional fact-checking and media literacy initiatives by using *kwentuhan* (traditional Filipino oral storytelling/talk story) through a multiplatform and multidisciplinary lens. As a community media platform, Tayo, which inclusively translates to “us” in Tagalog, consists of an online help desk (located at tayahelp.com) that has published more than 500 bilingual articles written in an accessible and culturally relevant style. In May 2022, Tayo also piloted a dedicated hotline, recalling the labor of the Philippine call center industry (Padios, 2018). This service rendered media materials more accessible to elders, especially those experiencing isolation and community members less willing or able to navigate digital spaces.

Project staff – support and benefits. This project will support FYLPRO's Tayo Project in humanistic data collection, using the power of oral histories to highlight stories and narratives to better understand the needs and experiences of community members. Narrative themes from this project will also inform Tayo's work moving forward as well as use the reach and functions of the platform to disseminate information and findings. As a small and lean team led by volunteers, Tayo would greatly benefit from resources to maintain capacity, including paying part-time staff, to sustain research activities. Most specifically, this grant would also support Mark in having more time and capacity to develop necessary community research.

Calaguas bridges his work at FYLPRO and the Tayo Project with local community building through his leadership of AFIRE, a non-profit that uses in-language, culturally specific narrative

strategies in their programming for domestic workers, with previous initiatives on community storytelling and oral history collection on labor and migration. Their project *Ang Ating Lakas ay nasa Ating Kuwento* (Our Power is in Our Stories) documented narratives with migrant women domestic workers. In addition to in-language oral histories as a means to document community history, storytelling has been useful as a means of community building. This grant would support AFIRE in hosting storytelling events and workshops and also recording and transcribing additional oral histories; through the collaboration, this will also create connections between AFIRE and FYLPRO's work.

This project will support Kuo in academic publications, including manuscript development on a book situating contemporary debates about mis- and disinformation in a historical lineage of transpacific Cold War entanglements.

The research assistant will help with data collection and interpretation, including: co-facilitating workshops and learning circles; updating the interview guide and resources; conducting additional interviews; and analyzing primary materials. They may also support some translation and transcription activities or collecting and analyzing primary data from in-language print, online, and/or broadcast news media. The RA may also support ongoing literature review for the project. In turn, the RA will have opportunities for co-presentations and co-authorship in both academic and public venues. Based on their longer-term academic and professional goals, this project can serve a variety of interdisciplinary interests, including opportunities for media engagement.

Final products and dissemination: This project brings together research processes and outputs, including the community storytelling workshops, personal oral histories to be translated and transcribed, and then public and academic publications to share findings. For example, academic outputs such as co-written journal articles and book chapters will bring community expertise and knowledge into scholarly spaces. For the community storytelling workshops, events will have printed handouts and live in-language translation and interpretation as needed, and online events will include live captioning. In addition to the diasporic history and media guides as a public digital resource, project results will be shared in a variety of formats to reach community participants, including in-language community webinars, teach-ins, and events. All text will be OCR-ed to optimize text for e-readers and text to sound. Additionally, all of our communities access technology in different ways. We also use printed and mailed material to support differential forms of technological access. While the project involves collecting oral histories, we will not be creating an archival repository for these. While recordings will be shared amongst the research team (Kuo, Calaguas, and the RA) for narrative analysis, these will not be publicly archived but instead retained within individual volunteers' personal records given they may include sensitive information about political belief and behaviors, relationships to government and institutions of power, and media practices that some participants may feel is higher risk. Any transcription of the oral histories shared internally (e.g., amongst AFIRE and FYLPRO's research volunteers) will be anonymized. Previous project iterations have undergone IRB approval, which we will also be doing in this version.

Our process prioritizes consent and care while we also navigate questions of access. In building this methodology, we connect how histories and lived experiences undergird political analyses. These diverse histories reveal aspects about intra-community dynamics amongst the different Asian diasporas as well as considers how Asian Americans also play a role that links U.S. expansion to geopolitical tensions across Asia and between the U.S. and Asia. Beyond research, this methodology brings together intergenerational memory and care work (see also Wong, 2021), language justice and access, and critical pedagogy. By looking to diasporic histories, our project aims to highlight a method for addressing mis- and disinformation that moves beyond "correction". Current solutions tend to focus on technical aspects without considering root causes such as racism, colonialism, and imperialism; in other words, mis- and disinformation is linked to broader social problems, not just a lack of platform accountability. Ultimately, in doing this work, we are interested in the role of Asian and Asian American racialization and politicization in social movements across an uneven politics of difference and understanding challenges that make collective struggle outside of parochial nationalisms difficult.

Work Plan (January 1, 2024 - December 31, 2025)

Phase I - Developing and Piloting Methodological Processes

January 1 - March 15, 2024

Establish Processes & Infrastructures (Project Co-PIs)

- Convene collaborators to concretize schedule, project management needs, procedures, and communication processes
- Finalize hire for RA
- Finalize curriculum for storytelling workshops
- Initiate recruitment process for volunteers to participate in workshops and conduct oral histories
- Calendar and plan community storytelling workshops with AFIRE (ideally local, in-person) and FYLPRO (virtual) for first year of partnership
 - Includes logistical details in terms of space reservation, coordinating translators and interpreters, and specifying roles for event support during workshops. For any Zoom/virtual events, this may also include scheduling tech run-throughs of events to ensure settings for captioning, multi-language audio channels, and screen sharing.
- Identify additional external consultants to support workshop recruitment and hosting

March 15 - May 15, 2024

Pilot Processes and Begin Oral History Collection (Co-PIs and RA)

- Pilot two community storytelling workshops with AFIRE (in-person) and FYLPRO (virtual) to train volunteers for personal oral history collection with 3-4 follow-up learning circles (usually a 2-3 week period between initial workshop and follow up learning circle)
 - Ideally collect 10 total interviews by the end of the pilot process
 - Transcribe and/or translate interview recordings and learning circles
 - Discuss initial findings from workshops, interviews, and learning circles
- Debrief both pilots and refine workshop facilitation materials, interview guides, and learning circles, including
 - Update and document project processes, such as check-lists for running workshops from planning to recruitment
 - Begin building in-language vocabulary resources for volunteer interviewers and/or translators and interpretants. *For live workshops, language interpretation will require advance planning to share materials with interpreters to practice and build new shared vocabularies (e.g., many words in English lexicons, such as “disinformation” may not have immediately parallel words in other languages). Because original workshop and interview materials were first built in English to accommodate cross-diasporic training, in-language resources support participants in translating parts of the interview questions into other languages (e.g., Tagalog and Bikol) or into more specific English words more readily understood between interviewer and interviewee (e.g., what is considered “information” or “media” in English can be interpreted in multiple ways in other languages or across generations).*

What happens in this process? *A volunteer participant would fill out some initial information when they RSVP to a storytelling workshop and sign up for a later learning circle. They will also sign a **consent form**. They will attend a **community storytelling workshop** prior to conducting their oral history interview. After attending the workshop, they receive an anonymized volunteer ID as well as access to an interview toolkit and forms. They have around two weeks after the workshop to schedule and **conduct their interview**. During the oral history interview, they will also get verbal consent from their interviewee. After they conduct the interview, they will fill out a **post-interview reflection form** that synthesizes what they have learned from the interview experience and **upload additional materials** (e.g.,*

notes, audio recording, and if applicable, a transcript), and then attend the follow-up learning circle with 4-5 other participants. For data security, we have previously used Qualtrics to receive materials and plan to do so for this project. Both interviewee and interviewer are compensated after completing the full process.

Risks and Mitigation Strategies: In previous pilots, we noticed **volunteer attrition** by around a quarter from beginning to end of the research process (e.g., if 20 people RSVPed to a workshop, around 10 would attend, with 5 people actually completing the oral histories and participating in the follow up learning circle). At the same time, we also noted interest in further engagement by volunteers who completed the full process. To address volunteer attrition throughout the process, in addition to running multiple workshops throughout the project period, we will do larger-scale recruitment for the workshop phase of the project, as well as work with volunteers who complete the full process to conduct multiple interviews. We also anticipate better follow-through with in-person workshops. We also understand that there may be **technological barriers** as part of the interview process; for example, while Zoom offers automatic transcription and recording, it may not be the easiest platform to navigate between interviewer and interviewee. We encourage volunteers to use the communication platform best for them and offer a list of resources for recording and note-taking. We also do not require participants to send us a transcript, just the recording which we can translate and/or transcribe.

Phase II - Implementing Methodological Processes

May 16 - August 31, 2024

Refine Methodological Processes and Expand Oral History Collection

- Organize 2-3 additional community storytelling workshops and 3-4 learning circles
 - Calaguas and external contractor will co-lead running at least one process through either AFIRE or FYLPRO; Kuo, RA, and external contractor will co-lead running at least one process alongside a mutually decided partner organization / community base as host
 - Ideally collect 10-15 total interviews by the end of this time period
 - Transcribe and/or translate interview recordings and learning circles (*hourly translators*)
- Discuss findings from workshops, interviews, and learning circles and begin analyzing themes from oral histories and learning circles (*Kuo, Calaguas, and RA*)
 - Identify areas for further primary and secondary research
- Conduct archival research at NYU Tamiment and Rockefeller Archives (*Kuo*)
- Begin drafting Filipino diasporic history and media guide (*Calaguas and external contractors*)

September 1 - December 15, 2024

Organize and Execute Workshops and Oral History Collection

- Organize 2-3 additional community storytelling workshops and 3-4 learning circles (*Kuo, Calaguas, and RA*)
 - Ideally collect 10-15 total interviews by the end of this time period
 - Transcribe and/or translate interview recordings and learning circles (*hourly translators*)
- Discuss findings from workshops, interviews, and learning circles and begin analyzing themes from oral histories and learning circles (*Kuo, Calaguas, and RA*)
- Continue writing Filipino diasporic guide, send initial draft to expert community reviewers, including workshoping with AFIRE member base (*Calaguas and external contractors*)
- Finalize additional publication plans, formats, and venues for sharing research findings (e.g., community convenings, articles on Tayo, academic articles) (*Kuo, Calaguas, and RA*)
 - Findings may include lessons learned on methodological process, narrative themes, and takeaways from oral histories and learning circles
 - Begin to draft academic articles
 - Begin manuscript development (*Kuo*)

January 1 - April 30, 2025

Build on Learnings and Findings & Plan for Publication

- Organize any remaining community workshops and learning circles (*Kuo, Calaguas, and RA*)
 - Transcribe and/or translate interview recordings and learning circles (*hourly translators*)
- Begin writing findings and themes from oral histories and learning circles for publication (*Kuo, Calaguas, RA, and potentially external contractors*)
- Publish and distribute Filipino history and media guide including to AFIRE, FYLPRO's Tayo Project, and community networks (*Calaguas with support from Kuo and RA*)
- Assess process and response from community partners to Filipino guide to develop plan and template for other diasporic history and media guides (*Calaguas with support from Kuo and RA*)
- Finish drafting and submit any initial academic articles for review (*Kuo with support from Calaguas and RA*)
- Begin planning community events and drafting nonacademic writing to showcase and reflect upon research findings (*Calaguas with support from Kuo, RA, and external contractors*)

Risks and Mitigation Strategies: *In community collaboration, we understand that **shifting constraints of time and capacity** may cause delays and/or changes to our plan and schedule. Other priorities, such as different economic or political crises among communities, may make it difficult to sustain research collaboration. Our current pacing and budget, as well as the breadth and depth of our scholarly and community networks, allows us to navigate this project with flexibility and adaptability, such as by adjusting the workshop schedule when needed or drawing on other external consultants to fill in expertise and capacity. In addition to expertise running primarily digital collaborations and initiatives, our team is located in Chicago and Champaign, Illinois. Having close proximity and a local focus also supports deepening community trust and drawing on place-based resources.*

Phase III - Reflection and Sharing

May 1 - August 31, 2025

Write and Prepare Research

- Organize any remaining community workshops and learning circles (*Kuo, Calaguas, and RA*)
 - Transcribe and/or translate interview recordings and learning circles (*hourly translators*)
- Community event(s) (e.g., in-language community webinars, teach-ins) to share research findings (*Calaguas with support from Kuo, RA, and external contractors*)
- Writing, editorial, and production process for community-based media forms to present findings (*Calaguas with support from Kuo, RA, and external contractors*)
- Continue submitting and finalizing any initial academic articles and outputs for review (*Kuo with support from Calaguas and RA*)
- Continue manuscript development (*Kuo*)

September 1 - December 15, 2025

Publicity, Publication & Reflection

- Community event(s) to share research findings and reflect on process (*Calaguas with support from Kuo, RA, and external contractors*)
- Publish and distribute research findings for community audiences through AFIRE and FYLPRO (*Calaguas with support from Kuo and RA*)
- Convening research team and collaborators to reflect upon the overall collaboration (*Kuo, Calaguas, community participants, and external contractors and RA as needed and available*)
- Continue finalizing academic articles and outputs (*Kuo with support from Calaguas and RA*)
- Submit manuscript for review (*Kuo*)
- Identify future areas of work (*Kuo, Calaguas*)

Biographies:

Dr. Rachel Kuo's interdisciplinary research bridges studies of race, technology, and social movements, with an emphasis on Asian American political formations. This project builds on threads and methodologies from her book *Movement Media: Racial Solidarities Across Platforms* ((b) (4)), which uses archival research, participatory research, and ethnographic fieldwork to argue how state-sanctioned racial violences have been a normative and necessary co-constitutive part of U.S. democracy. This book emphasizes media-making practices in cross-racial and cross-diasporic social movements responding to different forms of state violence. Her research foregrounds the politics of race and empire in the critical study of communication to articulate historical and contemporary relationships between technology, capital, and global formations of power and difference. Her writing has been published in journals such as *New Media & Society*, *Social Media + Society*, and *Journal of Communication*. She brings experience working alongside community partners in co-creating research, with insights and reflections on collaborative humanistic research and knowledge production featured in forthcoming anthologies including *Public Scholarship in Communication Studies* (University of Illinois Press) and *Contemporary Asian American Politics* (New York University Press). Her archival research and development of participatory oral history methodologies have received support from the Asian/Pacific/American Institute at New York University, the Asian American and Diaspora Studies Program at Duke University, and the Siegel Family Endowment Fund. As a co-founder of the Center for Critical Race and Digital Studies, co-founder of the Asian American Feminist Collective, and research facilitator of the Asian American Disinformation Table, Kuo also brings experience in creating infrastructures for networked collaboration; developing curriculum guides and facilitating community workshops and trainings; and designing public research outputs. Her public zines and guides on Asian American politics have been featured in multiple media outlets including *Hyperallergic*, *Teen Vogue*, *NPR*, *NBC Asian America*, and *The New Yorker*. She is also currently guest editing a special issue on Asian American Abolition Feminisms for *Frontiers: A Women's Studies Journal*; co-editing an anthology on Black and Asian Feminist Solidarities ((b) (4)); and serves as a guest editor at the Asian American Writers' Workshop. She has a PhD and MA in Media, Culture, and Communication from New York University.

Mark Calaguas, J.D. is a co-founder of Tayo, a multimedia online platform delivering culturally tailored and in-language information to Filipino communities, and the executive vice president of Tayo's parent organization, the Filipino Young Leaders Program (FYLPRO). As a core member of Tayo's cross-functional, internationally distributed leadership team, Calaguas has provided legal and strategic support throughout all phases of product development, launch, and expansion, including: review and negotiation of content license and grant funding agreements; protection of intellectual property rights; hiring and onboarding of operational staff; co-production and public dissemination of research; and the improvement of user experience, marketing, and content management efforts. An attorney practicing at the intersection of law and technology, Calguas is experienced with data privacy and ethics consulting for organizations and will support informed guidance on navigating access, consent, and safety in this research collaboration. Additionally, Calaguas presides as board chair of the Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (AFIRE), an intergenerational grassroots non-profit led by Filipinx/a/o community members focused on issues of social, racial, and economic justice. As a founding board member of the National Filipino American Lawyers Association (NFALA) and a past president of the Filipino American Lawyers Association of Chicago (FALA Chicago), Calaguas has led membership engagement and communications strategies on the national and regional level, as well as the successful implementation of educational, networking, policy advocacy, mentorship, and pro bono programming. Calaguas's deep engagement in local communities is recognized through his position as a federal appointee on the Illinois State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and a past member of the local school council at Skinner North Classical School, a K-8 educational institution

within the Chicago Public Schools system. As co-organizer of the contemporary Filipino food and arts festival Kultura, Calaguas served as artist curator, legal counsel, and community relations manager. A published legal scholar whose work has appeared in journals such as the *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* and various trade publications, Mark also served as a peer reviewer for the *Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights Law*. He holds a B.A. in Comparative Literature and English from the University of Michigan and a J.D. with Certificate in International Law and Practice from Loyola University Chicago.

Graduate Research Assistant: We are seeking a graduate research assistant (RA) whose areas of interest include Asian American communities, media, and politics. The RA will be a PhD candidate in media studies, languages and cultures, history, ethnic studies, or a related field, and have experience conducting interdisciplinary research through mixed-methods, community engaged, and collaborative approaches. The RA will assist with oral history collection, including activities such as co-facilitating workshops and learning circles; organizing and participating in collaborative meetings with community partners; volunteer recruitment and training; updating the oral history interview guide and resources; conducting interviews; and analyzing interviews for narrative themes. They may also support some translation and transcription activities or collecting and analyzing primary data from in-language print, online, and/or broadcast news media to support the oral histories. The RA may also contribute to the ongoing literature review for the project as well as conduct secondary research to support findings and themes from the oral histories. The RA will also co-write original research articles, book chapters, and public guides on methods and findings with the project collaborators.

External Contractors and Consultants: External consultants are scholars and community-based researchers that will support research activities in this project including recruitment, communication, and expert guidance. The consultant may help inform and guide strategies for data collection and analysis; co-write and disseminate insights to relevant audiences; and organize events tied to data collection and/or presentation of findings. They may have formal or informal connections with other potential partner organizations to serve as community storytelling workshop hosts and co-facilitators and support community access to research processes and outputs. They may also support co-authorship, editorial review, and/or distribution of the diasporic history and media guides and may also support translation, interpretation, and transcription activities. The external consultant(s) will have expertise in Asian and Asian American mis- and disinformation, history, narrative, and political formation.

A - References to Related Work (*Examples of previous work linked to project*)

Select Research Publications:

1. Asian American Disinformation Table (2022) “Power, Platforms, Politics: Asian Americans and Disinformation Landscape Report.” August 2022, www.AsianAmDisinfo.org
2. Rachel Kuo, Madhavi Reddi, Lan Li (Submitted for Review, 2022) “Transnational Information Networks: Methods for Cross-Diasporic Research.” *International Journal of Communication*.
3. Rachel Kuo and Alice Marwick (2021) “Critical Disinformation Studies: History, Power, Politics.” *Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Misinformation Review*, doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-76
4. Sarah Nguyễn, Rachel Kuo, Madhavi Reddi, Lan Li, and Rachel Moran (2022). “Studying mis- and disinformation in Asian diasporic communities: The need for critical transnational research beyond Anglocentrism” *Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) Misinformation Review*. doi.org/10.37016/mr-2020-95
5. Madhavi Reddi, Rachel Kuo, and Daniel Kreiss (2021) “Identity propaganda: Racial narratives and disinformation.” *New Media, and Society*, doi.org/10.1177/14614448211029293

Select Presentations, Interviews, and Commentary:

6. Chris Anderson, Meredith Clark, Daniel Kreiss, Rachel Kuo, and Sylvain Parasié, organizers (2022, May 25). “What Comes After Disinformation Studies?” International Communication Association, Pre-conference, Sciences Po, médialab.
7. Rachel Kuo, Lan Li, and Madhavi Reddi (2022, December 1) “Beyond Fact-Checking: Narratives and Emotions In Imaginative Counter-Disinformation Strategies Across Southeast Asia.” [Presentation] ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, Media, Technology, and Society Program, Singapore.

Select Public Scholarship:

8. Rachel Kuo (2022) “Resisting Bureaucracies: Reflections on Community Engagement and Digital Technology.” *Just Tech. Social Science Research Council*. November 2. doi.org/10.35650/JT.3042.d.2022.
9. Rachel Kuo, host (2021) “Across Oceans, Tables, and Platforms.” Does Not Compute Podcast, Episode 5, July 21. Center for Information, Technology, and Public Life, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. citap.unc.edu/does-not-compute/episode-5/

Project Websites Referenced in Narrative:

10. Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (2017) “Ang Ating Lakas ay nasa Ating Kuwento” (Our Power is in Our Stories).” afirechicago.org/oral-histories
11. Tayo Project, tayahelp.com
12. Transnational Information Systems, transnationalinfo.space

B - Select Bibliography (*References included in project narrative*)

1. O.A. Arqoub, A.A. Elega, B.E. Özad, H. Dwikat & F.A. Oloyede (2022) Mapping the Scholarship of Fake News Research: A Systematic Review, *Journalism Practice*, 16:1, 56-86, doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1805791
2. M. Bae and M. Tseng-Putterman (2020) “Reviving the history of radical Black-Asian internationalism.” *ROAR Mag*, 21 July.
3. N.A. Boyd and H.N. Roque Ramírez (eds) (2013) *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History*. Oxford University Press.
4. L. Chien-Ting (2016) “Re-signifying “Asia” In the Transnational Turn of Asian/American Studies.” *Review of International American Studies* 9(2): 27-44.
5. K.H. Chen (2010) *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization*. Duke University Press.
6. C.M. Baik (2015) “Unfaithful Returns: Reiterations of Dissent, U.S. Militarized Debt, & The Architecture of Violent Freedom.” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 18(1), 41-72.
7. G.M. Cho (2008) *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War*. University of Minnesota Press.
8. V. Francisco-Menchavez (2018) *The Labor of Care Filipina Migrants and Transnational Families in the Digital Age*. University of Illinois Press.

9. D. Freelon, M. Bossetta, C. Wells, J. Lukito, Y. Xia, and K. Adams (2020). Black trolls matter: Racial and ideological asymmetries in social media disinformation. *Social Science Computer Review* 40(3). doi.org/10.1177/0894439320914853
10. Y.L. Espiritu (2003). *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. University of California Press.
11. J. Fang (2021) “Social media sites popular with Asian Americans have a big misinformation problem.” *Prism*, 26 May 26.
12. K.B. Hanna (2021) “Radical House/work: Revolutionary Intimacies in the US-Based Anti-Marcos Movement.” *Alon: Journal for Filipinx American and Diasporic Studies* 1(3).
13. L.K. Lopez (2021) *Micro Media Industries: Hmong American Media Innovation in the Diaspora*. Rutgers University Press.
14. P.Malhotra (2020). “A Relationship-Centered and Culturally Informed Approach to Studying Misinformation on COVID-19.” *Social Media + Society*, 6(3).
15. M.T. Nguyen (2012). *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, and Other Refugee Passages*. Duke University Press.
16. P. Ocoñola (2019) “Exclusive: PH was Cambridge Analytica’s ‘petri dish’ – whistle-blower Christopher Wylie.” *Rappler*, 10 September.
17. J. Ong and J.V. Cabañes (2018) “Architects of Networked Disinformation: Behind the Scenes of Troll Accounts and Fake News Production in the Philippines.” Newton Tech4Dev Network.
18. J. Padios (2018) *A Nation on the Line: Call Centers as Postcolonial Predicaments in the Philippines*. Duke University Press.
19. R.S. Parreñas. (2001). “Mothering from a distance: Emotions, gender, and intergenerational relations in Filipino transnational families.” *Feminist Studies*, 27(2), 361–390.
20. M. Rao (2021) “When misinformation comes for the family WhatsApp.” *Rest of World*, 25 May. <https://restofworld.org/2021/covid-india-whatsapp-misinformation/>
21. J.N. Sales (2019) “#NeverAgainToMartialLaw: Transnational Filipino American Activism in the Shadow of Marcos and Age of Duterte.” *Amerasia* 45(3): 299-315.
22. F.A. Santiago, Jr. (2017). The Relevance Of Oral History In The Philippines. *Pamanang Local: Essays on Local Heritage Preservation*, eds. Calairo and IyaKapisanan ng mga Bahay Saliksikan sa Bansa, Inc, 107-136. ISBN: 978-971-0451-08-1.
23. T. Shams (2020) *Here, There, and Elsewhere: The Making of Immigrant Identities in a Globalized World*. Stanford University Press.
24. N.X.M. Tadiar, M.J. Sanchez, M.F. Manalansan, K.B. Hanna, G.C. Devilles, J.B. Capino, J.M. Diaz, A.P. Isaac, C.B. Balance, R. Diaz, F. Lopez, G.A. Clutario (2021). “Martial Law Now, as Then.” *Social Text* 39(4): 121–147.
25. M.R. Trouillot (1995) *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Beacon Press.
26. F. Tripodi (2022) *The Propagandists' Playbook: How Conservative Elites Manipulate Search and Threaten Democracy*. Yale University Press.
27. P. J. Verovšek (2020). “Memory, narrative, and rupture: The power of the past as a resource for political change.” *Memory Studies*, 13(2), 208-222.
28. D. Wong (2021) “Promiscuous Care in Movement-Based Research: Lessons Learned from Collaborations in Manhattan’s Chinatown.” *Gateways: International Journal of Community Research and Engagement* 14(2). <http://dx.doi.org/10.5130/ijcre.v14i2.7765>
29. S.C. Yean (2021) “Social Memory and Philippine Electoral Politics: Contests of Masa Narrative and the Nostalgia of Walang Magulo.” *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 36(2): 291-321
30. L. Yoneyama (2016) *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Duke University Press.
31. J. Zarsadiaz (2022). *Resisting Change in Suburbia: Asian Immigrants and Frontier Nostalgia in L.A.* University of California Press.

C - Proposed Workshop and Interview Materials

Image Caption: Volunteer toolkit from project website, Aug. 2022 (transnationalinfo.space/for-volunteers)

The screenshot shows a website for 'Transnational Info Systems' with a yellow background. The main heading is 'For Current Volunteer Interviewers'. Below this, there is a 'Volunteer Check List' with seven items: 1. Attended on-boarding workshop, 2. signed [consent form](#), 3. Conducted interview(s), 4. filled out [post-interview reflection form](#), 5. [Uploaded materials](#) (notes, audio recording, transcripts, etc), 6. Attended follow-up focus group, 7. Received digital payment. There are also 'Upcoming Dates for On-Boarding Workshops' (Tuesday, August 2 @ 5:30 - 7 pm ET) and 'Upcoming Dates for Focus Groups' (Tuesday, August 16 @ 5:30 - 7 pm ET and Friday, August 19 @ 12 - 1:30 pm ET). A button says 'Download the Workshop Participant Packet'. A 'Links to Study Materials' section includes: [Participant Packet](#), [Verbal Consent Script](#), [Post-Interview Reflection Form](#), and [Upload Form](#).

Caption: Excerpts from volunteer oral history interview guide, updated Aug. 2022

“These questions are in a suggested order, but you may want to sequence them differently, skip questions, or rephrase them depending on your interviewee and your relationship with them.

1. What was your day to day life growing up in [COUNTRY]?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. Can you describe where you lived?
 - b. What was your experience like at school?
 - c. Can you describe what kind of [insert media: books, television, film] you read/watched growing up?
2. Can you share some memorable events in [COUNTRY] while you were growing up?
 - a. How did you hear/learn about these events?
 - b. What do you remember hearing about the U.S. growing up?
 3. Who was in power at the time you were in [COUNTRY]?
 - a. Was your family supportive of the government at the time?
 - b. Did you agree with them?
 - c. Who is in power now? What do other people think about this government? Do you agree?
 4. Can you tell me what your day to day life was like in the U.S. when you first migrated? What is it like now?

Potential follow up questions:

- a. Can you describe where you lived?
 - b. What did you do for work?
 - c. How did you receive information about [COUNTRY] once you were in the U.S.? How do you receive information now?
5. Who do you talk to regularly on [e.g. Facebook, WhatsApp, WeChat, KaKao, LINE, PLATFORM]? What kinds of things do you talk about?”

D - Results from preliminary research, experimentation, or community workshops

Image Caption: Excerpt from oral history conducted in Fall 2021 demonstrating challenges in language translation, intergenerational dynamics, and reluctance to discuss politics; anonymized excerpt is used in new workshop materials to guide volunteers in navigating difficult moments during the interview.

CHALLENGING MOMENTS

Person interviewing her mother

V: What was Taiwan like when you left?
P: ...I was 17, so 1977. We left in 1977.

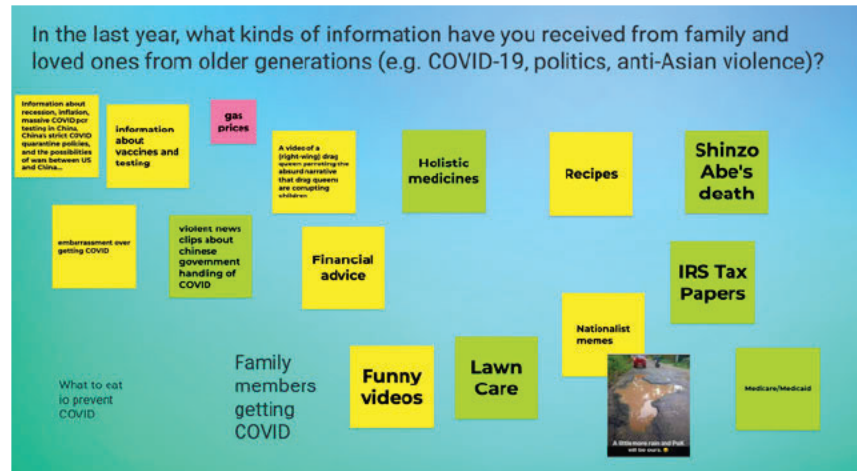
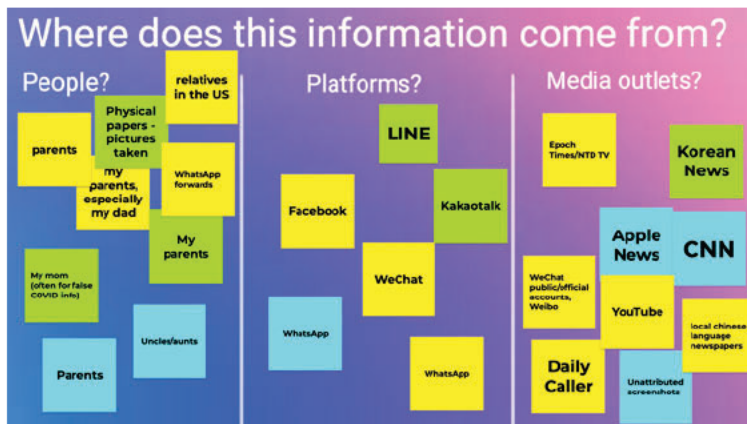
V: And what was the country like? What was Taiwan like?
P: It was very good. Laid back. It was good. It was modern. people, it's an island. Here, it's so big and spread out.

V: Was it still martial law when you left Taiwan?
P: What's martial law?

V: You know how Taiwan was under military law when Chiang Kai-Shek
P: No martial law.

**How would you navigate this moment?
What might be good probing questions?**

Image Caption: Sample participant responses during workshop reflection activity on information received from family members. Participants connect memes and jokes circulated with nationalistic ideologies and also identify that the majority of information circulates within group chats (e.g. WeChat, WhatsApp)



Caption: Excerpt from *Asian American Disinformation Table (2022)* “*Power, Platforms, Politics: Asian Americans and Disinformation Landscape Report.*” August 2022, www.AsianAmDisinfo.org

Co-authored with contributions by (in alphabetical order): Cai Barias, **Mark Calaguas**, Krystle Canare, Lorenzo Garcia, Radha Kaur, Yena Kang, **Rachel Kuo**, Jaime Longoria, Jenny Liu, Melissa Palma, Nick Nguyen, Sarah Nguyễn, Jonathan Corpus Ong, Jyot Singh, Thenmozhi Soundarajan, Leezel Tanglao, and Kyle Van Fleet. Report facilitated by Rachel Kuo.”

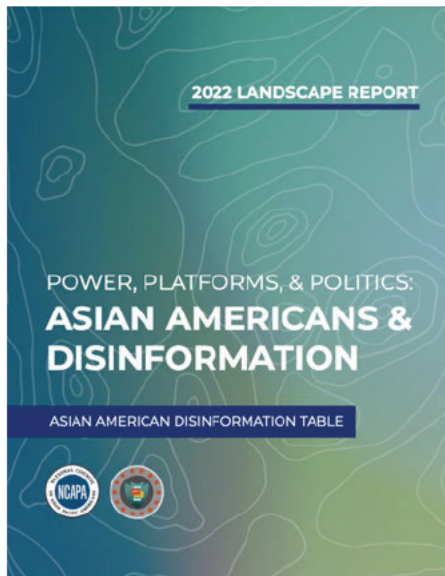


Table of Contents includes sections, such as: a) Information Harms in Asian and Asian American Communities; b) Multiple Historical, Political, and Cultural Contexts; c) Language Injustice; d) Online Harassment, Fake Accounts, and Trolls; e) Ethnic and Diasporic News Networks; f) The Need for Transnational Political Analysis, g) Researching Mis- and Disinformation in Asian and Asian American Communities; g) Narrative Trends; and f) Histories of Disinformation.

Case studies include: “Suppression of Dissent in Sikh Communities”, “Chinese Right Wing Disinformation”, Caste Supremacy and Hinduphobia”, “Men’s Rights Asians and the Rise of Toxic Masculinity”, “Black on Asian Crime Narratives”, “FYLPRO’s Tayo and Kwentuhan in Filipino/a/x Communities,” and “Viet Fact Check & Organizing Against Information Harms.”

“Summary and Key Takeaways:

Disinformation is not just about lies, it is about power. Researching disinformation in Asian American communities requires nuanced understanding of relations of power across transnational contexts. Harmful information and problematic narratives become mobilized to maintain and expand existing power structures and inequities. Additionally, effectively tracking and intervening on problematic narratives can be difficult due to the numerous platforms and ethnic media outlets that communities use, as well as multiple languages and cultural and political contexts. Disinformation exposes frictions, fault lines, and tensions within and across our various diasporic communities.

Narratives span three key themes:

- 1. Using Asians as ‘wedges’ against other communities of color: Narrative strategies and narrow interests that encourage assimilating into and gaining power from whiteness as a way to ‘overcome’ exclusion leverage Asian experiences of racialization to pit Asians against other communities.*
- 2. Exploiting internal divides and hierarchies within Asian communities: Hierarchies of class, caste, religion, ethnicity, immigration status and other markers of internal difference can be exploited to promote interests that hurt those most vulnerable in our communities.*
- 3. Weaponizing current and historical traumas: As Asians and Asian Americans experience different forms of racialized violence, these experiences can be co-opted and weaponized to further racist, nationalistic, and casteist interests.”*



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January 23, 2023

Letter of Commitment

I am pleased to submit this letter of commitment as a co-PI for the proposal “Transnational Disinformation Networks and Asian Diasporic Politics” through the Dangers and Opportunities of Technology: Perspectives from the Humanities opportunity in collaboration with Dr. Rachel Kuo. If the submitted proposal is selected for funding by NEH, it is my intent to collaborate as detailed in the Project Narrative and Work Plan.

This proposed collaboration builds on existing partnerships and extends my research and work on Tayo, a multidisciplinary project launched by the Filipino Young Leaders Program (FYLPRO) to address political misinformation in Filipino American communities, as well as my work with the Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (AFIRE), a grassroots non-profit that develops programs grounded in popular education to engage with issues affecting undocumented families, new immigrants and refugees, domestic workers, low-wage workers, seniors, and youth through an intersectional lens. I am excited to partner on this research initiative and appreciate your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark Calaguas", written in a cursive style.

Mark Calaguas
Board President
Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (AFIRE)

Executive Vice President
Filipino Young Leaders Program (FYLPRO)



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY

OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH
875 NORTH RANDOLPH STREET
SUITE 1425
ARLINGTON, VA 22203-1995

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Agreement Date: January 25, 2021
[Supersedes Agreement Dated: April 13, 2020]

NEGOTIATION AGREEMENT

**INSTITUTION: THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN
CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS 91820-6242**

The Facilities and Administrative (F&A) Cost rates contained herein are for use on grants, contracts and/or other agreements issued or awarded to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign by all Federal Agencies of the United States of America, in accordance with the provisions and cost principles mandated by 2 CFR Part 200. These rates shall be used for forward pricing and billing purposes for the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Fiscal Years 2021 through 2024. This rate agreement supersedes all previous rate agreements/determinations related to these rates for Fiscal Years 2021-2024.

Section I: RATES - TYPE: PREDETERMINED (PRED)

F&A Rates:

TYPE	FROM	TO	ON CAMPUS		OFF CAMPUS		APPLICABLE TO
			RATE	RATE	BASE		
Pred	7/1/20	6/30/21	58.6%	26.0%	(a)	Organized Research	
Pred	7/1/21	6/30/24	58.6%	25.9%	(a)	Organized Research	
Pred	7/1/20	6/30/21	45.8%	26.0%	(a)	Sponsored Instruction	
Pred	7/1/21	6/30/24	44.9%	26.0%	(a)	Sponsored Instruction	
Pred	7/1/20	6/30/21	31.9%	21.7%	(a)	Other Sponsored Activities	
Pred	7/1/21	6/30/24	31.7%	21.7%	(a)	Other Sponsored Activities	

DISTRIBUTION BASE

- (a) Modified Total Direct Cost (MTDC), as defined in 2 CFR Part 200, consisting of all salaries and wages, fringe benefits, materials and supplies, services, travel, and subawards up to the first \$25,000 each subaward (regardless of the period covered by the subaward); and excluding equipment (defined in Section II, paragraph G.1.), capital expenditures, charges for patient care and tuition remission, rental costs, scholarships and fellowships, participant support costs as well as the portion of each subaward in excess of \$25,000.

SECTION II - GENERAL TERMS AND CONDITIONS

A. **LIMITATIONS:** Use of the rates set forth under Section I is subject to availability of funds and to any other statutory or administrative limitations. The rates are applicable to a given grant, contract or other agreement only to the extent that funds are available and consistent with any and all limitations of cost clauses or provisions, if any, contained therein. Acceptance of any or all of the rates agreed to herein is predicated upon the following conditions: (1) that no costs other than those incurred by the institution were included in this indirect cost pool as finally accepted and that such costs are legal obligations of the institution and allowable under governing cost principles; (2) that the same costs that have been treated as indirect costs are not claimed as direct costs; (3) that similar types of costs have been accorded consistent accounting treatment; and (4) that the information provided by the institution which was used as a basis for acceptance of the rates agreed to herein, and expressly relied upon by the Government in negotiating and accepting the said rates is not subsequently found to be materially incomplete or inaccurate.

B. **ACCOUNTING CHANGES:** The rates contained in Section I of this agreement are based on the accounting system in effect at the time the agreement was negotiated. Changes to the method(s) of accounting for costs, which affect the amount of reimbursement resulting from the use of these rates require the prior written approval of the authorized representative of the cognizant agency for indirect costs. Such changes include but are not limited to changes in the charging of a particular type of cost from indirect to direct. Failure to obtain such approval may result in subsequent cost disallowances.

C. **PREDETERMINED RATES:** The predetermined rates contained in this agreement are not subject to adjustment in accordance with the provisions of 2 CFR Part 200, subject to the limitations contained in Part A of this section.

D. **USE BY OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES:** The rates set forth in Section I are negotiated in accordance with and under the authority set forth in 2 CFR Part 200. Accordingly, such rates shall be applied to the extent provided in such regulations to grants, contracts, and other agreements to which 2 CFR Part 200 applies, subject to any limitations in part A of this section. Copies of this document may be provided by either party to other federal agencies to provide such agencies with documentary notice of this agreement and its terms and conditions.

E. **DFARS WAIVER:** Signature of this agreement by the authorized representative of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the Government acknowledges and affirms the University's request to waive the prohibition contained in DFARS 231.303(1) and the Government's exercise of its discretion contained in DFARS 231.303(2) to waive the prohibition in DFARS 231.303(1). The waiver request by The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is made to simplify the University's overall management of DoD cost reimbursements under DoD contracts.

F. **APPLICATION OF RATES:**

1. The rates included in Section I are not applicable to Intergovernmental Personnel Act (IPA) costs. If the University elects to seek reimbursement of F&A costs associated with IPA agreements, then the University and the Office of Naval Research shall establish a special indirect cost rate for IPA agreements in accordance with the provisions of 2 CFR Part 200.

2. Application of the appropriate On-Campus or Off-Campus indirect rate(s) is to be determined at the beginning of each sponsored agreement and is to be equitably adjusted if the circumstances which determined the application change materially during the period of performance.

a. The On-Campus rate is to be assessed except when a portion of the sponsored agreement is performed at an off-campus site. The criteria for utilization of the off-campus rate consists of all of the following: (a) performance at the off-campus site must be on a continuous basis; intermittent performance is not sufficient; (b) the University personnel working or engaged on the project must be physically located at an off-campus site; and (c) the off-campus performance must be of sufficient duration; normally a full semester, summer term or the period of performance of the sponsored agreement. The off-campus rate will be used for the off-campus portion of the work on a sponsored agreement.

b. Off-campus costs may include costs incurred at the off-campus site for salaries, related benefits, supplies, utility costs, rent, local travel and other similar costs, which are treated as direct. Travel to and from an off-campus site is considered an off-campus cost.

G. SPECIAL REMARKS: The Government's agreement with the rates set forth in Section I is not an acceptance of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's accounting practices or methodologies. Any reliance by the Government on cost data or methodologies submitted by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is on a non-precedence-setting basis and does not imply Government acceptance.

Accepted:

FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT
URBANA-CHAMPAIGN:

FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT:

Avijit Ghosh

Avijit Ghosh
VP Chief Financial Officer &
Authorized Representative of the
Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois

Beth A. Snyder
Contracting Officer

1/26/2021

Date

Date

For information concerning this agreement contact:

Beth Snyder
Office of Naval Research
Phone: (703) 696-5755
E-mail: beth.snyder@navy.mil

RESEARCH & RELATED BUDGET - Budget Period 1

OMB Number: 4040-0001
Expiration Date: 12/31/2022

UEI: (b) (4)

Enter name of Organization: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois

Budget Type: Project Subaward/Consortium

Budget Period: 1 Start Date: 01/01/2024 End Date: 12/31/2024

A. Senior/Key Person

Prefix	First	Middle	Last	Suffix	Base Salary (\$)	Months			Requested Salary (\$)	Fringe Benefits (\$)	Funds Requested (\$)
						Cal.	Acad.	Sum.			
	Rachel		Kuo		(b) (6)		4.50		(b) (6)	(b) (6)	10,674.00
Project Role: PD/PI											
	Mark		Calaguas		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Project Role: Co-PI											

Additional Senior Key Persons: Total Funds requested for all Senior Key Persons in the attached file
Total Senior/Key Person

B. Other Personnel

Number of Personnel	Project Role	Months			Requested Salary (\$)	Fringe Benefits (\$)	Funds Requested (\$)
		Cal.	Acad.	Sum.			
<input type="text"/>	Post Doctoral Associates	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text" value="1"/>	Graduate Students	<input type="text"/>	9.00	<input type="text"/>	9,988.00	981.00	10,969.00
<input type="text"/>	Undergraduate Students	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	Secretarial/Clerical	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text" value="1"/>	Total Number Other Personnel					Total Other Personnel	10,969.00
						Total Salary, Wages and Fringe Benefits (A+B)	21,643.00

C. Equipment Description

List items and dollar amount for each item exceeding \$5,000

Equipment item	Funds Requested (\$)
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Additional Equipment: <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="button" value="Add Attachment"/>	<input type="button" value="Delete Attachment"/>
<input type="button" value="View Attachment"/>	
Total funds requested for all equipment listed in the attached file	<input type="text"/>
Total Equipment	<input type="text"/>

D. Travel

	Funds Requested (\$)
1. Domestic Travel Costs (Incl. Canada, Mexico and U.S. Possessions)	<input type="text" value="2,554.00"/>
2. Foreign Travel Costs	<input type="text"/>
Total Travel Cost	<input type="text" value="2,554.00"/>

E. Participant/Trainee Support Costs

	Funds Requested (\$)
1. Tuition/Fees/Health Insurance	<input type="text"/>
2. Stipends	<input type="text"/>
3. Travel	<input type="text"/>
4. Subsistence	<input type="text"/>
5. Other <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/> Number of Participants/Trainees	
Total Participant/Trainee Support Costs	<input type="text"/>

F. Other Direct Costs

Funds Requested (\$)

1. Materials and Supplies	
2. Publication Costs	500.00
3. Consultant Services	20,000.00
4. ADP/Computer Services	
5. Subawards/Consortium/Contractual Costs	
6. Equipment or Facility Rental/User Fees	
7. Alterations and Renovations	
8. Conference Hosting Costs - Space rental, food, honorariums	2,000.00
9. Human Subject Incentive Costs	5,000.00
10. Tuition Remission	6,392.00
11.	
12.	
13.	
14.	
15.	
16.	
17.	
Total Other Direct Costs	33,892.00

G. Direct Costs

Funds Requested (\$)

Total Direct Costs (A thru F) 58,089.00

H. Indirect Costs

Indirect Cost Type	Indirect Cost Rate (%)	Indirect Cost Base (\$)	Funds Requested (\$)
Other Sponsored Activity - On Campus - MTDC	31.70	51,697.00	16,388.00
Total Indirect Costs			16,388.00

Cognizant Federal Agency
(Agency Name, POC Name, and
POC Phone Number)

Beth Snyder - Contracting Officer, Indirect Cost Branch of Naval Research
703-696-5755 beth.snyder@navy.mil

I. Total Direct and Indirect Costs

Funds Requested (\$)

Total Direct and Indirect Institutional Costs (G + H) 74,477.00

J. Fee

Funds Requested (\$)

K. Total Costs and Fee

Funds Requested (\$)

Total Costs and Fee (I + J) 74,477.00

L. Budget Justification

(Only attach one file.)

1234-BudgetJustification.pdf

RESEARCH & RELATED BUDGET - Budget Period 2

OMB Number: 4040-0001
Expiration Date: 12/31/2022

UEI:

Enter name of Organization:

Budget Type: Project Subaward/Consortium

Budget Period: 2 Start Date: End Date:

A. Senior/Key Person

Prefix	First	Middle	Last	Suffix	Base Salary (\$)	Months			Requested Salary (\$)	Fringe Benefits (\$)	Funds Requested (\$)
						Cal.	Acad.	Sum.			
	Rachel		Kuo		(b) (6)		4.50		(b) (6)	(b) (6)	10,994.00

Project Role:

	Mark		Calaguas		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
--	------	--	----------	--	------	------	------	------	------	------	------

Project Role:

Additional Senior Key Persons: Total Funds requested for all Senior Key Persons in the attached file
Total Senior/Key Person

B. Other Personnel

Number of Personnel	Project Role	Months			Requested Salary (\$)	Fringe Benefits (\$)	Funds Requested (\$)	
		Cal.	Acad.	Sum.				
<input type="text"/>	Post Doctoral Associates	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
<input type="text" value="1"/>	Graduate Students	<input type="text"/>	9.00	<input type="text"/>	10,287.00	1,010.00	11,297.00	
<input type="text"/>	Undergraduate Students	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
<input type="text"/>	Secretarial/Clerical	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
<input type="text" value="1"/>	Total Number Other Personnel					Total Other Personnel		11,297.00
						Total Salary, Wages and Fringe Benefits (A+B)		22,291.00

C. Equipment Description

List items and dollar amount for each item exceeding \$5,000

Equipment item	Funds Requested (\$)
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Additional Equipment: <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="button" value="Add Attachment"/>	<input type="button" value="Delete Attachment"/>
<input type="button" value="View Attachment"/>	
Total funds requested for all equipment listed in the attached file	<input type="text"/>
Total Equipment	<input type="text"/>

D. Travel

	Funds Requested (\$)
1. Domestic Travel Costs (Incl. Canada, Mexico and U.S. Possessions)	<input type="text" value="2,554.00"/>
2. Foreign Travel Costs	<input type="text"/>
Total Travel Cost	<input type="text" value="2,554.00"/>

E. Participant/Trainee Support Costs

	Funds Requested (\$)
1. Tuition/Fees/Health Insurance	<input type="text"/>
2. Stipends	<input type="text"/>
3. Travel	<input type="text"/>
4. Subsistence	<input type="text"/>
5. Other <input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<input type="text"/> Number of Participants/Trainees	
Total Participant/Trainee Support Costs	<input type="text"/>

F. Other Direct Costs**Funds Requested (\$)**

1. Materials and Supplies	
2. Publication Costs	500.00
3. Consultant Services	20,000.00
4. ADP/Computer Services	
5. Subawards/Consortium/Contractual Costs	
6. Equipment or Facility Rental/User Fees	
7. Alterations and Renovations	
8. Conference Hosting Costs - Space rental, food, honorariums	2,000.00
9. Human Subject Incentive Costs	5,000.00
10. Tuition Remission	6,584.00
11.	
12.	
13.	
14.	
15.	
16.	
17.	
Total Other Direct Costs	34,084.00

G. Direct Costs**Funds Requested (\$)****Total Direct Costs (A thru F)** 58,929.00**H. Indirect Costs**

Indirect Cost Type	Indirect Cost Rate (%)	Indirect Cost Base (\$)	Funds Requested (\$)
Other Sponsored Activity - On Campus - MTDC	31.70	58,929.00	16,593.00
Total Indirect Costs			16,593.00

Cognizant Federal Agency
(Agency Name, POC Name, and
POC Phone Number)Beth Snyder - Contracting Officer, Indirect Cost Branch of Naval Research
703-696-5755 beth.snyder@navy.mil**I. Total Direct and Indirect Costs****Funds Requested (\$)****Total Direct and Indirect Institutional Costs (G + H)** 75,522.00**J. Fee****Funds Requested (\$)****K. Total Costs and Fee****Funds Requested (\$)****Total Costs and Fee (I + J)** 75,522.00**L. Budget Justification**

(Only attach one file.)

1234-BudgetJustification.pdf

Add Attachment

Delete Attachment

View Attachment

		21,668.00
		22,266.00
Total Number Other Personnel	2	
		43,934.00
		5,108.00
Domestic	5,108.00	
Foreign		
Tuition/Fees/Health Insurance		
Stipends		
Travel		
Subsistence		
Other		
Number of Participants/Trainees		
		67,976.00
Materials and Supplies		
Publication Costs	1,000.00	
Consultant Services	40,000.00	
ADP/Computer Services		
Subawards/Consortium/Contractual Costs		
Equipment or Facility Rental/User Fees		
Alterations and Renovations		
Other 1	4,000.00	
Other 2	10,000.00	
Other 3	12,976.00	
Other 4		
Other 5		
Other 6		
Other 7		
Other 8		
Other 9		
Other 10		

117,018.00
32,981.00
149,999.00
149,999.00

University of Illinois - BUDGET JUSTIFICATION

A. SENIOR PERSONNEL **\$15,225**

Funds have been budgeted for PI Rachel Kuo for 2 course release at 4.5 academic year months at approximately 23% time in both years of the project.

B. OTHER PERSONNEL **\$20,275**

One (1) graduate research assistant has been budgeted at 25% for 18 total months during the project. They may help with providing project support to maintain university and community partnerships, interviewing participants, and manuscript preparation. GRA activities would include conducting oral histories, supporting secondary literature review, archival research on print media, visual and textual analysis, co-facilitating community workshops

C. FRINGE BENEFITS **\$ 8,434**

Fringe benefits are calculated at the University-approved rates as shown below. These rates are subject to change as determined by the State of Illinois with approval by the designated federal cognizant agency, the Office of Naval Research. All fringe benefits are budgeted in accordance with University of Illinois policies and are based on the salary and wages incurred according to the following rates:

Category	Full Time Employees (%)	Graduate Students Enrolled > than 3 hrs (%)
Retirement	12.83	
Worker's Compensation	0.01	0.01
Health/Life/Dental Insurance	26.54	9.81
Medicare	1.45	
Termination Benefits	1.49	
TOTAL	42.32	9.82

E. TRAVEL **\$5,108**

Travel to Chicago and Champaign for interview purposes. Archival travel to New York City for research at the NYU Tamiment & Wagner Archives and the Rockefeller Archives. Travel to conferences to disseminate project related findings. Funding includes but is not limited to transportation, lodging, and per diem.

G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS **\$67,976**

Publications costs are budgeted at \$500 in each project year (Total: \$1,000) to allow for publications in professional journals and publications. May include open access, webhosting, and accessibility.

Consultant services (\$40,000) has been budgeted, including payment for co-PI Mark Calaguas for each year of the project. Some additional services may be contracted with external consultants as scholars and community-based researchers to support research activities in this project, including recruitment, communication, and expert guidance. Additionally, we have budgeted \$5,000 annually for transcription, language translation, and interpretation services for activities directly related to the project as described in the project narrative.

Conference Hosting costs are budgeted at \$2,000 a year; a total of \$4000. These costs may include but are not limited to space rental; meals, snacks, and coffee service for workshop attendees. It also includes honoraria for speakers and facilitators at the workshops.

Human subject payments are budgeted at a total of \$10,000 which is \$5,000 per project year. This will fund up to 50 interviewees at \$100 each for participation in the project as described in the narrative.

Illinois' Tuition Remission rate is 64% of salaries and wages (Yr 1: \$6,392, Yr 2: \$6,584, Total: \$12,976) of Graduate Research Assistants with tuition waivers. This rate was approved by our designated cognizant agency the Office of Naval Research (*eff.* 6/10/2022) and is valid for the predetermined period of 7/1/2022 to 6/30/2023 Tuitions remission is budgeted at \$11,420

H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS **\$117,018**

I. TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS **\$32,981**

Facilities & Administrative (F&A) rate for on-campus, other sponsored activity is currently 31.7% of Modified Total Direct Costs (MTDC) per the Negotiated Indirect Rate Agreement (*eff.* 1/25/2021) between Illinois and its designated cognizant agency the Office of Naval Research, for the period 7/1/2020 to 6/30/2024.

ONR's point of contact is Sharon Gales, (703) 696-8559, sharon.gales@navy.mil.

J. TOTAL COSTS (H + I) **\$149,999**
