DECODING CITIZENSHIP IN USCIS NATURALIZATION TEST MATERIALS: A CRITICAL SOCIAL SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

Jenna Ann Altherr Flores

University of Arizona

The U.S. naturalization test and its accompanying multimodal study cards are meant to help potential citizens learn about U.S. history and government while preparing for the [2007 revised] naturalization test. While the test claims to be a test of civic and cultural literacy, the official U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services' Civics Flash Cards for the Naturalization Test and the naturalization test rely on multiple literacies (content schemata, test literacy, multimodal literacies), which not all immigrants possess. With a particular concern for the images accompanying the study questions, the textual composition of the flash cards, and the linguistic positioning of test-takers, my research investigates how the multimodal messages are conveyed to the test-takers and how the images relate to the linguistic content of each flash card. In analyzing this, I examine the efficacy of these study materials for fostering a civic mindset in adult refugee English language learners with emerging English literacy who have had little-to-no formal schooling and are from non-Western cultures. This paper highlights the notion that the U.S. naturalization test and study materials may fail to teach American values and culture to this population. I conclude that though the test aims to 1) instill civic and cultural knowledge and 2) to be a test of civic and cultural literacy, it is a test of (multi)literacy that relies on Western content schemata. Drawing attention to the implicit, dominant ideologies expressed in the naturalization test documents, I question the universality of Western content knowledge and referential knowledge, bring to light the implied institutionally-imagined community of immigrant test-takers for whom these multimodal flash cards were created, and investigate notions of (dis)citizenship (Pothier & Devlin, 2006; Ramanathan, 2013) that may arise within resettled refugee populations striving to earn U.S. citizenship.

Keywords: multimodality, citizenship, U.S. naturalization test, adult emergent readers, social semiotics, resettled refugees

INTRODUCTION

In April of 2014, during the informal English as a Second Language class I lead for resettled refugees, I asked my Lhotshampa friend, "Who is the Governor of your state now?" Beaming, he replied, "Answers will vary" since that is the answer provided on his U.S. naturalization test study card. This interaction served as the impetus for my critical analysis of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services' (USCIS) *Civics Flash Cards for the*

Naturalization Test, which were designed to "help immigrants learn about U.S. history and government while preparing for the [2007 revised] naturalization test" (USCIS, 2012).[1] Both faces of these official study cards (heretofore referred to as "Face A" and "Face B") have print and/or images on them; the text of the cards is declarative knowledge written in question and answer format. The images are in color, or black and white, depending on the age of the image; this implies an attempt by the USCIS materials creators to display accurate, historical images representative of the respective time period. It is assumed that the printed questions, answers, and images on these flash cards are meant to work in concert, multimodally, to provide meaning to the immigrant test-taker.

The experience with my friend exemplifies distinct difficulties that the test and its accompanying study material pose for immigrant English-language learners (ELLs) with emerging literacy, and in particular for resettled adult refugees. People with refugee backgrounds are striving not only to earn U.S. citizenship after being forced to flee their home countries, but also to learn English as an additional language; because they are not school aged, their access to educational opportunities in the United States is limited to community language and literacy programs. The answer provided on the study card assumes the prospective citizen would recognize this is not an accepted answer, and that he should seek the correct answer himself – perhaps on the internet, by reading the newspaper, or by asking a colleague at work. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun "your" in the question seems to be an intentional construction meant to make the immigrant consider his or her own state. Unfortunately, not all immigrants have access to resources such as the internet, the newspaper, or work colleagues who know the answer, and emergent readers (Bigelow & Vinogradov, 2011) may miss the usage of the pronoun "your." It is easy to see how an ELL immigrant with emerging literacy and perhaps also emerging test literacy could assume the printed answer, "Answers will vary," is correct.

In this article, I examine the visual composition and grammar, and grammatical and linguistic structures of the official USCIS *Civics Flash Cards for the Naturalization Test.* My research highlights the implicit ideologies expressed in the naturalization test documents, brings to light the implied institutionally-imagined community of immigrant test-takers for whom this multimodal text was created, and investigates notions of citizenship and (dis)citizenship (Pothier & Devlin 2006; Ramanathan, 2013). Drawing from analytical frameworks of multimodal social semiotics (Halliday, 1978, 1985; Halliday & Martin, 1981; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Hodge & Kress, 1988; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2001, 2003; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), I ask the following questions:

1) How are the multimodal messages being conveyed to the test-takers?
2) How do the images relate to the linguistic content of each flash card?
3) How effective in fostering a civic mindset are these study materials for adult resettled refugees with emerging English literacy, who have had little-to-no formal schooling, and are from non-Western cultures?

THE REVISED U.S. NATURALIZATION TEST

In 2007, after seven years of development and consultations with United States' history and government scholars, assessment contractors, and English as a Second Language (ESL) experts, USCIS introduced a new naturalization test which was to be more "fair and meaningful" than the previous naturalization test (USCIS, 2007).[2] The ESL experts deemed the English language level of the test was "consistent with Department of Education reporting levels for adult basic education" and that all the questions were asked at the "high-beginning" (USCIS,

2007) or A2 Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) level. The previous test relied on traditional assessment tools, such as multiple choice questions, which, as Da Mota (2003) has argued are "not conducive to adult learning methods;" additionally, Da Mota notes that "a large proportion of immigrants have had poor educational opportunities and the test would be a prize only for the well-educated" (pp. 16-17). According to the USCIS, the new test was more meaningful because it focuses less on "redundant and trivial questions based on rote memorization" of decontextualized facts, instead focusing on "the rights and responsibilities of citizenship" and "encourag[ing] citizenship applicants to learn and identify with the basic values that we all share as Americans" (USCIS 2007). The accompanying official study materials also provide additional accepted answers to help immigrants learn more about a topic (USCIS, 2007). The revised test and additional materials therefore aim to develop knowledge of civic participation and to enhance cultural understanding.

However, Kunnan (2009) concluded that the revised U.S. naturalization test is "unmeaningful and indefensible" (p. 94). This conclusion was based on his application of the Test Context Framework, which is a thorough examination of the political, legal, economic, and social context and consequences of a test. "Unmeaningful" because, as Kunnan notes, though the revised test was intended to be more meaningful, and to ask questions that involved critical thinking skills, there was not a noticeable difference between the original test's questions and the revised test's questions; the majority of the questions still tested the memorization of facts. Furthermore, Kunnan remarks that the test is "indefensible" because the critical thinking responses concerning the U.S. government and U.S. history "would be beyond the level of English expected in the test" (2009, p. 94). Accordingly, Kunnan deems the test is no more than a redesigned test of English literacy skills similar to the one put in place in the late 19th/early 20th century (2009, p. 95).

These critiques of the test highlight the disconnect between the test's stated goals and its implicit goals of testing English language and literacy, and sanctioning an exclusionary ideology. The study within proposes to expose the U.S. naturalization test as a disguised literacy test that does not assess potential citizens' ability to think critically, reason, or comprehend the provided answers. For English language learners with emerging literacy who are aware of the manner of assessment, the multiple literacies approach (New London Group, 1996) presented on the study cards may not be effective; these ELLs may focus on decoding the linguistic structures rather than comprehending the associated cultural and civic values presented in the multimodal text. Although the official study materials provided by USCIS use multimodality in an attempt to convey cultural values and civics to immigrants, there is a disconnect between the official study materials and the actual assessment on the naturalization test; this disconnect makes the cards and test seem even more foreign and incomprehensible. With this in mind, I conducted a semiotic analysis of the study cards to consider the types of (multi)literacy needed to understand and comprehend the ideals put forth in the test and its accompanying official study materials. This analysis suggests implications of marginalization and (dis)citizenship for non-Western resettled adult refugees who do not possess the literacies assumed by the test.

ADULT EMERGENT READERS

Students who are adult emergent readers are a heterogeneous population with a variety of strengths and differing needs among them. While scholars such as Burt, Payton, and Adams (2003), and Huntley (1992) characterize people without print literacy as preliterate (no written form of L1/home language), nonliterate (no access to the L1 or home language in a written

form), or semiliterate (limited or interrupted access to the L1 or home language in a written form), these perspectives define individuals according to something they lack. Bigelow and Vinogradov (2011), on the other hand, coined the term *emergent reader* because it "expresses the sense of becoming literate" (p. 121). This term can also be applied to students who are non-Roman alphabet literate and have emerging English literacy.[3] Notably, Kurvers and van de Craats (2007) have shown that mastery of reading, writing, listening, and speaking is very rare for adult emergent readers, and that only a small number of participants from this population reach the CEFR A2 level (p. 54).

Many emergent readers are not only becoming literate or literate in the Roman alphabet, but are also learning visual literacy. Doak, Doak, and Root (1996) determined four steps to understanding a visual: 1) choosing to look or read, 2), finding the message, 3) locating important details, 4) understanding the information. For the emergent reader, it may be a new concept to realize that there is meaning in a printed image. As noted by Bruski (2011), Burt, Peyton, and Schaetzel (2008), and Linney (1995), charts, maps, clipart, graphs, pictures, drawings, and illustrations often perplex and escape students with low levels of literacy and also limited visual literacy. In the same way that emergent readers learn to make a connection between the lines of the letter "R," they must also learn to make a connection between a set of lines representing, for instance, a drawn tree. These learners may have difficulty connecting clipart or line drawings with their mental imagery because they may not have been trained to connect a print item with a real thing. Furthermore, as Linney (1990) notes, for emergent readers who may "…have not learnt the common pictorial conventions, a picture simply appears as a meaningless collection of lines, shapes, tones, and colors on a piece of paper," on a whiteboard, or on a study card (p. 20). Additionally, pictures of objects that do not exist in the student's home culture may be difficult for them to extrapolate meaning from because they do not have the mental content schemata to match to the pictures.

The definition of literacy I am using for this paper extends beyond reading and writing; it is the ability to interact with and understand a variety of text forms including "visual images and their relationship to the written word" (New London Group, 1996, p. 61; see also, Kern, 2000). This approach to (multi)literacy is particularly salient in consideration of the lived experiences and educational backgrounds of immigrants or resettled refugees who may possess literacy skills that differ from those of well-educated immigrants. Finally, my definition of a text, stemming from Fairclough (1992) and Kress (2010), is any product that is written or spoken, is a visual image, or is a combination of words and images; thus a text can be multimodal.

CRITICAL SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS
Multimodal Social Semiotics

In social semiotics, "meaning is produced and reproduced under specific social conditions, through specific material forms and agencies, [meaning] exists in relationship to concrete subjects and objects, and [meaning] is inexplicable except in terms of this set of relationships" (Hodge & Kress, 1988, viii); meaning is therefore culturally and historically specific (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 2). Social semiotics is the study of meaning and its social dimensions, but also of the power and processes of signification and interpretation, and how societies and individuals are shaped by these processes. A critical multimodal social semiotic theory goes beyond description and analyzes not only multimodal texts but also their role in creating, reproducing, and transforming social practices. Modes are the "socially made and culturally available material-semiotic resources for representation" (Kress, 2011, p. 208);

these modal resources can be similar or different across cultures (Kress, 2009, p. 55). Image, writing, layout, music, gesture, speech, etc. are examples of modes used in representation and communication (Kress, 2010 p. 80). Kress defines *multimodality* as "the many material resources beyond speech and writing that can be used to make meaning" (2010, p. 80). Multimodality is founded on the notion that the meaning of signs created from multimodal semiotic resources is social – the meaning is shaped by the norms and social rules that were operating at the moment of the sign's creation (Jewitt, 2009, p. 15).

Robert Hodge (2012) purports that social semiotics is intertwined with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and that CDA is intertwined with social semiotics as these threads are interwoven and held together by their common concerns of language, power, and social contexts. CDA views the language used "in speech and writing as a form of social practice" (Fairclough *&* Wodak, 1997, p. 258), and determines that the "context of language use" is crucial (Wodak, 2000). Since texts always express the interests of their makers, such a social practice has ideological effects where, through the "taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs, and value-systems that are shared collectively by a social group" (Simpson, 1993, p. 5), a false picture of reality is shown that empowers or emphasizes "the interests and assumptions of [that] particular group" (Hodge, 2012, p. 5).

Using the social semiotic perspective, and recognizing that visual language is not universal but instead is culturally specific, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) created a visual grammar to interpret "Western" visual images (pp. 3-4). The visual grammar applies Halliday's (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) textual (compositional), ideational (representational), and interpersonal (interactive) metafunctions to multimodal texts. These metafunctions position the reader and writer of a text in certain social roles. The grammar highlights the importance of visual composition, showing that all created images are ideological and are representative of the "social institutions within which the images are produced, circulated, and read…[The images] have a deeply important semantic dimension" (2006, p. 47). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) also demonstrate that ideas presented in writing and in image-form can be expressed differently or congruently (word form vs. compositional structure), and be realized (understood) differently or congruently; this realization affects meaning.

Notably, Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar is appropriate for Western cultures because of Western conventions of writing (left to right, top to bottom). English language learners who are emergent readers or are from a non-Western culture may have difficulty understanding the visual grammar of images because of their differing conventions. In the following analysis, I will address the above research questions by considering the images that accompany the answers on the USCIS naturalization test study materials, analyzing the meaning that is being "realized" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 2), and assessing the relationship between the meaning of the visual image and of the written words on the flash card.

TEXTUAL COMPOSITION

While the layout of every Face A is the same on the study cards, the typography on Face A differs. There is no consistency in layout or typography of Face B. Occasionally, as seen in Figure 1, a word is underlined on Face A; this occurs when the question requires a particular number of responses for completion (one, two, or three responses in total) as seen in Figure 2. The underlining on Face A emphasizes the quantity of answers expected, but not the content. For ELLs with emerging literacy this may cause them to focus on just one answer. While it is assumed these immigrants would pass the test easier by memorizing only answer, if that is the

case then it can also be assumed they are not learning the other answers, which would affect how many "American ideals" and "civic values" they are learning as they prepare for the naturalization test.

Figure 1. Face A of Question 6.
Question: "What is one right or freedom from the First Amendment?"

Figure 2. Face B of Question 6.
Answer: "speech, religion, assembly, press, petition the government"
Caption: "A newspaper stand in 1941."

When questions have only one possible answer, the question is printed on Face B with no bullet point, dash, or capitalization. However, when there are numerous answers that would suffice, each possible recommended answer is marked with a small grey star serving as a bullet point as seen in Figure 2. While the bullet-shaped star is indicative of the stars on the American flag, it is unclear if emergent readers would notice this symbol, or be more concerned with learning the answer to the question. For adult emergent readers with limited visual literacy, these subtle reminders of "American-ness" may have no noticeable effect on their perceptions of American culture and American citizenship.

NARRATIVE AND CONCEPTUAL IMAGES

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) categorize ideational/representational visual structures as narrative or conceptual (Table 1); images of these types are seen on Face B of the USCIS study cards. The narrative representations are concerned with actions and events, processes of change, and spatial arrangements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). In contrast to the narrative images, conceptual images are non-transactional and serve to define or represent the "stable or timeless essence" of a participant (pp. 50, 79).

Table 1. Ideational Metafunction of Kress and van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar

Narrative Representations			Conceptual Representations	
Transactional Image	*Action*: Actor, Vector, Goal	*Event*: Vector, Goal	**Classificational**	Subordinate, Superordinate
Non-transactional Image	Actor, Vector		**Analytical**	Carrier, Possessive Attribute
Reactional Image	Reacter (secondary Actor), Vector, Phenomena (Reacter's Vector + Goal)		**Symbolic**	Carrier, Symbolic Attribute

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 50, 64, 67, 74, 75, 79, 87, 105)

Figures 3 and 4 below are narrative action transactional processes.   In Figure 3, the woman is the Actor, her arm is the Vector, and the tomato is the Goal. The picture is read as "the woman grabs the tomato." In Figure 4, the Statue of Liberty is the Actor, her arm/torch is the Vector, and the sky is the Goal. The Statue of Liberty's arm pointing to the sky gives symbolic power to the statue; the sky represents power, and since the arm has reached the sky, it has also reached metaphorical power. This picture therefore reads as "the Statue of Liberty holds great power."

Figure 3. Face B of Question 11.
Answer: "capitalist economy; market economy"

Figure 4. Face B of Question 95.
Answer: "New York (Harbor); Liberty Island [Also acceptable are New Jersey, near New York City, and on the Hudson (River).]

Figure 5 is a narrative non-transactional process where the woman is the Actor, her gaze is the Vector, and the Goal is unknown. The image is read as "A woman looks at something." The viewer/reader of this image is unable to know for certain what the Actor is looking at; instead the viewer can only surmise what the Goal is.

Figure 5. Face B of Question 77.
Answer: "fought for women's rights; fought for civil rights"
Caption: "Susan B. Anthony"

Figure 6. Face B of Question 86.
Answer: "Terrorists attacked the United States."
Caption: "Firefighters unfurl a large American flag over the scarred stone of the Pentagon on September 12, 2001."

Figure 6, on the other hand, shows a narrative reactional transactional process. Here, the soldiers are the Reacters, their salute is the Vector, and the Phenomenon is the firefighters securing the flag. Within the Phenomenon, the firefighters are the Actor, the flag is the Vector,

and the building is the Goal. The soldiers are therefore reacting to the action the firefighters are doing. The image says, "Soldiers salute firefighters who hang a flag on a building."

In contrast, Figure 7 shows a narrative reactional non-transactional process where the soldiers are the Reacters, their gaze is the Vector, and the Phenomenon is the man in the car. The man in the car is the Actor, and his gaze is the Vector, but there is no Goal in this image; the viewer/reader can only guess at the Goal. This image thus shows soldiers reacting to the presence of the man in the car. It reads as, "Soldiers look at a man in a car who looks at something."
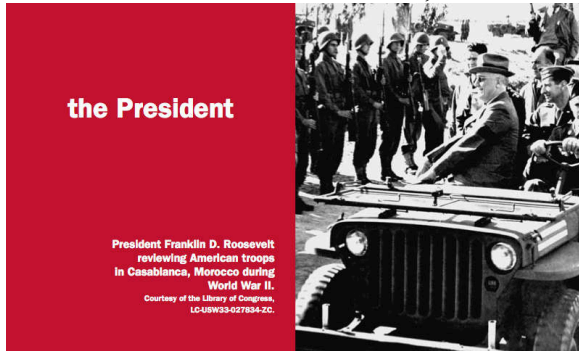

Figure 7. Face B of Question 32.
Answer: "the President"
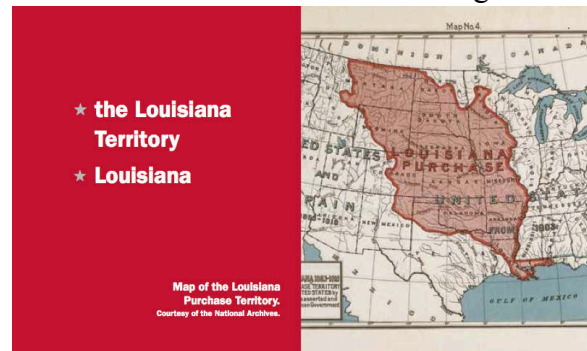Caption: "President Franklin D. Roosevelt reviewing American troops in Casablanca, Morocco during World War II."

Figure 8. Face B of Question 71.
Answer: "the Louisiana Territory; Louisiana"
Caption: "Map of the Louisiana Purchase Territory."

The use of narrative images suggests the creators of these study materials intended for the images to tell stories about American history, culture, and values to the readers of this text. The stories told, however, as analyzed through Kress and van Leeuwen's framework, are clear mostly for people from a Western culture. For a person from outside the U.S. culture, an alternate reading of the image in Figure 4 could see a non-transactional action narrative where the statue's vector is reaching to the sky, but not the statue reaching for, and holding onto, power. The readability of these stories is therefore dependent on being (multi)literate in Western visual images, and referential background and content schemata.

Conceptual images, in contrast to narrative images, do not tell a story; rather they show what something is. Figure 8 above is an analytical process where the Carrier is the United States of America, and the Possessive Attribute is the Louisiana Purchase. The image says "The Louisiana Purchase is part of the United States of America." Figure 9 below shows a symbolic process where the box is the Carrier, representing the United States, and the seats are the Symbolic Attribute, which attribute serving on a jury to citizens of the United States of America. The image is read as "serving on a jury symbolizes the United States of America."

Figure 9. Face B of Question 49.
Answer: "serve on a jury; vote in a federal
election"

Figure 10. Face B of Question 60.
Answer: "Africans; people from Africa"
Caption: "Slaves on a Southern plantation in
May 1862."

The map of the Louisiana Purchase in Figure 8 may be difficult for immigrants with emerging literacy to read or understand the importance of; it could appear to them as a pinkish, irregularly-shaped blob with lines running through it, and they may not associate it with the United States. Similarly, the symbolism underlying Figure 9 may not be immediately apparent to immigrants from cultures where democracy and civic participation are not valued; to them, this image may simply be chairs.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Suvarierol (2012) states that official citizenship packages tend to present an overarching national identity where the image of the nation and migrant are frozen, and where the migrant is invited into a one-way relationship with little creative power to shape the nation. Ideologically, this freezing is a means of political control by the governmental powers to force immigrants to assimilate rather than acculturate, to ignore diversity and celebrate homogenous entities, and to implicitly close the national community (Suvarierol, 2012). Keeping in mind this notion of a fixed national identity, and utilizing Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics interpersonal metafunction, we can see how political control is evidenced in the interpersonal, social relationships produced in citizenship texts.

Visual

Per Kress and van Leeuwen's visual grammar, interpersonal relationships can be created through images. A person who is shown looking directly at the reader of the text forms a relationship between the person in the image and the viewer; a person shown turned away from the viewer creates a distance between the image and the reader of the text (2006, p. 43). While many of the USCIS study cards portray people, relatively few interactive (interpersonal) images are used. A large amount of interpersonal distancing between the U.S. government test creators and the prospective citizens is being shown visually in this multimodal text.

In Figure 10 above, a group of African slaves stare straight at the viewer/reader of the image. Though their hostile gazes, crossed arms, hands on hips, and defiant posture create an awkward relationship with the viewer, the creators of this text are inviting the readers into an intimate relationship with this image. The creators could be choosing to engage immigrants in critical reflection about the slave movement in the United States. The picture of Susan B. Anthony in Figure 5 demonstrates interpersonal distancing as the woman in the picture does not

engage the viewer in direct interaction. The dearth of interactive images suggests that the creators of this text do not want to engage immigrants in thoughtful contemplation, but instead prefer to present an idealized, unquestioned view of the nation. This goes against the stated goals of the revised citizenship test to deepen and enhance a civic and cultural understanding of the U.S. and its history.

Linguistic

The interpersonal metafunction also creates social relationships linguistically (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 61) through degree of formality, pronouns, and clausal moods (e.g. imperative, interrogative, declarative) (Halliday & Martin, 1981; Kramsch, 1993). By exploring the interpersonal metafunction linguistically, we can see the degree of distance or intimacy between the reader and the writer (Halliday, 1978), and how readers can be positioned and repositioned (Martin, 1995). Inscribed or evoked judgment can also shed light on the interpersonal social relationship created by the writer of a text, and show how a reader can be positioned linguistically by this relationship (Martin, 1995). Ideologically, "one reading can be promoted at the expense of the others;" that promotion can affect groups of readers, and potentially promote marginalization on the part of minority groups (Martin, 1995, p. 28).

The interpersonal relationships constructed linguistically between the USCIS (the writer) and the immigrant test-taker (the reader) vary greatly in these study cards and are seen in the clausal mood and pronominal constructions, as well as in evaluative judgment. Imperatives on Face A, as seen here in Example 1 with the imperative "name," serve to distance the immigrant from the test creator and put the immigrant in a lower position of power than that of the test creator.

Example 1. Question 73.
Name the U.S. war between the North and the South.

However, in questions like Example 2, through the use of the word "we," the immigrant is positioned in the same realm as that of the test creator. This relationship implies that only Americans, or people seeking American citizenship have the right to call the first ten amendments "the Bill of Rights," since immigrants are not yet citizens, this positioning appears hopeful. Example 3 also displays positioning of this sort, and creates a relationship between the immigrant test-taker and the test creator as if the test-taker has already earned his citizenship and is able to vote in an election in the same manner as the test creator.

Example 2. Question 6.
Q: What do we call the first ten amendments to the Constitution?
A: the Bill of Rights

Example 3. Question 22.
Q: We elect a U.S. Representative for how many years?
A: two (2)

Finally, implicit positioning is also seen in the question and the answer of Example 4. Example 4 displays positioning in two of the provided, accepted answers. The use of the pronoun "our" positions the immigrant within the community that sought and declared independence from Great Britain. This word choice, however, would probably be most noticeable to, and appreciated by, the historical figures who had recently emigrated from Great Britain.

Example 4. Question 8.
Q: What did the Declaration of Independence do?
A: announced our independence (from Great Britain); declared our independence (from Great Britain); said that the United States is free (from Great Britain)

In contrast to Examples 2, 3, and 4, the positioning seen in Examples 5, 6, and 7 below is different. Example 5 positions the immigrant individually; the attempt of this positioning may be to teach the immigrant that there are various U.S. representatives throughout the United States. By explicitly stating "your," the test creators hope to teach the immigrant about his/her own state.

Example 5. Question 23.
Q: Name your U.S. Representative.
A: Answers will vary. [Residents of territories with nonvoting Delegates or Resident Commissioners may provide the name of that Delegate or Commissioner. Also acceptable is any statement that the territory has no (voting) Representatives in Congress.]

Example 6 negates this individuality and returns the immigrant to a general community by not including any possessive pronouns in the question.

Example 6. Question 24.
Q: Who does a U.S. Senator represent?
A: all people of the state

The question could be rewritten to "Who does your U.S. Senator represent?" which would necessitate an answer such as "me and all the people of his state." This second question would position the immigrant both individually and within a community. Example 7 below positions the immigrant outside the American community by stating that only "Americans" can participate in "their" democracy. According to this question, immigrants without citizenship status are therefore deprived of participating democratically. Citizenship grants the right to vote, to join a political party, and to run for office, but the remainder of acceptable answers are things immigrants hoping to be naturalized can participate in as well. This question therefore positions immigrant test-takers outside of the community that participates in democracy; it is in juxtaposition to other questions that include the test-taker in democratic events through pronominal usage.

Example 7. Question 55.
Q: What are <u>two</u> ways that Americans can participate in their democracy?
A: vote; join a political party; help with a campaign; join a civic group; join a community group; give an elected official your opinion on an issue; call Senators and Representatives; publicly support or oppose an issue or policy; run for office; write to a newspaper

Furthermore, judgment is present within the questions asked on the revised USCIS naturalization test; these evaluations serve to position the immigrants as well. Because the revised naturalization test aims to teach American cultural values, the majority of its questions possess evoked positive judgment declaring the greatness of the United States as seen in Example 8 below. The use of the word *responsibility* denotes that though this is something that

must be done, it is special since it is *only* for U.S. citizens. This evoked judgment positions the immigrant test-taker to want to become a citizen so that he/she can have the special responsibility of serving on a jury or voting in a federal election.

    Example 8. Question 49.
    Q: What is one responsibility that is only for United States citizens?
    A: serve on a jury; vote in a federal election

    Example 4 above, regarding the Declaration of Independence, also positions the immigrant through judgment. At first glance, Example 4 appears to have no judgment since it does not have inscribed judgment (e.g. it does not say "What did the *amazing* Declaration of Independence do?"); however, evoked judgment is prescribed linguistically within the example through the use of the word *do*. The alternative question, "What is the Declaration of Independence?" would have yielded a similar answer, but one without judgment and agency. The use of the word *do* positions the immigrant to believe inanimate objects have agency and can accomplish or complete things. In this example, immigrants are positioned to view objects as powerful, and are positioned to consider these objects as symbols of the United States. This positioning is subtle, and may not be noticed linguistically by ELL immigrants.

    The previous examples demonstrate the lack of consistency in linguistic pronominal positioning within the questions asked on the revised naturalization test; this inconsistency may not lead immigrants to learn the "civic values" and "American ideals" desired by the USCIS. Evoked judgment, on the other hand, could subtly teach these desired values if the immigrant ELLs notice the judgment and subsequent positioning. By studying the multimodal USCIS *Civics Flash Cards for the Naturalization Test*, we see the implicit positioning of immigrants to the U.S., and the implicit ideology being presented to them. Adults with emerging literacy, however, may not have the linguistic capacity to understand the civic principles and American ideals being presented to them through clausal mood, pronominal constructions, and judgment. These subtle values would not only be lost on the adult emergent reader, but would not be internalized.

MULTIMODAL TEXTS

    Analyzing the visual textual, interpersonal, and ideational content in conjunction with the linguistic textual, interpersonal, and ideational content shows there is a disconnect between the images and the words of this multimodal text as a whole, particularly in the ideational content. As seen in Example 9 and Figure 11 below, many of the study cards have historic photographs or paintings associated with the present tense questions. Example 9 strives to teach American civics by asking a question about the President's Cabinet in the present tense; this present tense usage should imply to the immigrant test-taker that the duties of the President's Cabinet have not changed. The image in Figure 11, that accompanies Example 9, shows a President and his Cabinet; however, it shows President Reagan and his Cabinet in 1986. This could lead the immigrant test-taker to believe only the Cabinet pictured in this image advised the President. Via a strong vector, the Cabinet members are Reactors, and the President is the Actor in the Phenomenon; this level of reaction versus action seems to contradict the power bestowed linguistically on the Cabinet members as they are the subject of the question. Furthermore, close investigation of the image yields a device in front of the President that is turned to "yes." This leads the viewer/reader of this image to assume the President has ultimate power, and he may not listen to or heed the advice of his Cabinet members.

Example 9. Question 35.
Q: What does the President's Cabinet do?

Figure 11. Face B of Question 35.
Answer: "advises the President"
Caption: "President Ronald Reagan leads a Cabinet meeting at the White House in September 1986."

Additional examples of the disconnect between the visual ideational content and the linguistic ideational content are seen in Examples 10, 11, 12, and 13, and the accompanying Figures 12, 13, 14, and 15 that follow. Example 10, Question 86, asks about the major event that happened on September 11, 2011 in the United States. The narrative representation, on Face B, Figure 12, shows soldiers saluting firefighters who are draping a large American flag on the wall of the Pentagon. An immigrant reading only the visual and linguistic text of Face B could be tempted to believe soldiers and firefighters were terrorists, and they attacked the United States by putting an American flag on a building. There is a cause and effect, and a large amount of referential background knowledge or content schemata to this multimodal text that could be difficult for immigrants to recognize. The caption to the image serves to partially clear the confusion, yet the small size of the letters in the caption make it seem less salient than the answer printed above.

Example 10. Question 86.
Q: What major event happened on September 11, 2001, in the United States?

Figure 12. Face B of Question 86.
Answer: "Terrorists attacked the United States."
Caption: "Firefighters unfurl a large American flag over the scarred stone of the Pentagon on September 12, 2001."

Figure 13, accompanying Example 11, shows a seated African-American man from the late 19th century. The offered answer does not provide all the names of the current senators; it thus puts the onus of finding and knowing that answer onto the immigrant. Furthermore, the accompanying image could make it appear as if the immigrant's State Senator is the person pictured. The caption attempts to clarify the image, but similar to Figure 12, the small font makes the caption appear less important than the answer in large font. The creators of the study material are attempting to teach American history to the immigrant test-takers by including historical images such as these, but for emergent-reader or high-beginning ELLs, images that do not directly relate to the written text may not be beneficial, but detrimental. A more effective image would show a map with small pictures of the current senators placed on or near each state.

Example 11. Question 20.

Q: Who is one of your state's U.S. Senators now?
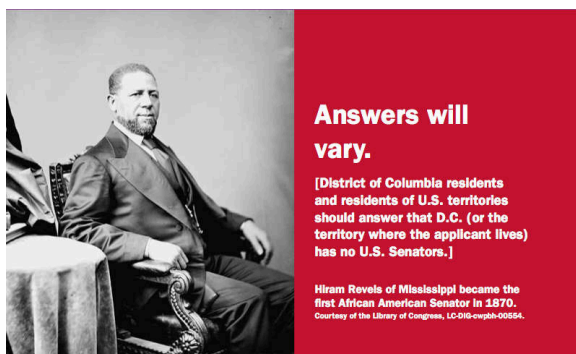
Figure 13. Face B of Question 20.

Answer: "Answers will vary. [District of Columbia residents and residents of U.S. territories should answer that D.C. (or the territory where the applicant lives) has no U.S. Senators.]

Caption: "Hiram Revels of Mississippi became the first African American Senator in 1870."

Example 12 also attempts to teach American civics and history with the question directly pertaining to civics, and the image accompanying the question related to American history. The image, Figure 14, shows a historical image of a man playing a tuba; a more effective image, one that would match the direct content of the question being asked, would show a citizen voting. Reading only Face A and looking at the image, an immigrant could be tempted to think tuba-playing was a right only for United States citizens, or, reading just Face B, the immigrant could think playing the tuba was necessary to vote in a federal election, or to run for federal office.

Example 12. Question 50.
Q. Name <u>one</u> right only for United States citizens.

Figure 14. Face B of Question 50.
Answer: "vote in a federal election; run for federal office"
Caption: "Congressman George W. Johnson of West Virginia with a Boy Scout band from his state, June 4, 1924."

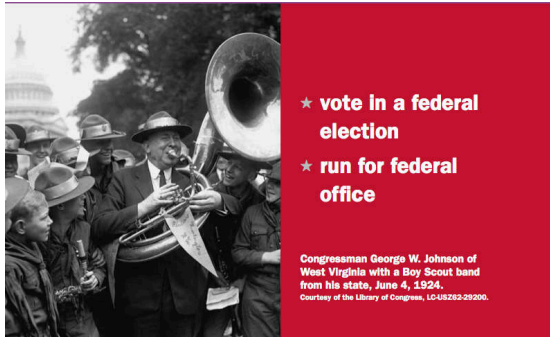Finally, Figure 15, in conjunction with Example 13, demonstrates that there are Face Bs with no captions, and that these also show a disconnect between the linguistic ideational content and the visual ideational content. Accompanying Example 13 is an image of a flag waving over a boat. This image implies a sense of freedom as the boat travels to an unknown destination; however, the symbolism of this image does not directly relate to the answer. A more effective image would include a map of the thirteen original colonies and an image of the flag.

Example 13. Question 96.
Q: Why does the flag have thirteen stripes?

Figure 15. Face B of Question 96.
Answer: "because there were thirteen original colonies; because the stripes represent the colonies"

The difficulty immigrants or resettled refugees have making appropriate connections between the multimodal printed questions and answers, and the provided visual images is related to a lack of relevant background knowledge and content schemata. These schemata are vital for readers to fully understand and interpret a text so that meaning can be made (Kern, 2000; Kramsch 1993; Nolden & Kramsch, 1996). Since the majority of the questions on the United States' naturalization test are based on the rights and responsibilities of U.S. citizens, and on content relating to United States' history and government, resettled refugees' illiteracy in reading these multimodal images, and their truncated repertoire of relevant schemata may therefore

hinder both their understanding of the text, and their learning/internalization of American values and civic responsibility. Ultimately this means they would not be able to attain the stated goals of the revised naturalization test.

Nolden and Kramsch state that "teaching cross-cultural literacy is not 'teaching culture' in the usual sense of merely imparting a body of essentialist knowledge" (1996, p. 65). In order for culture, or, in this case, civic values, to be taught and understood, the "essences of particularity" (Becker, 1986, p. 29; Wittgenstein, 1958) must be addressed. As Becker (1986) succinctly puts it, particularity is something we arrive at, something we achieve, something we learn through repeated practice. While the U.S. naturalization test and its accompanying study materials are attempting to teach culture and critical awareness of what it means to be a citizen, they fail because immigrants or refugees who are English language learners and emergent readers may be focused more on the decoding of words than on the meaning. The test is thus imparting a body of essentialist knowledge; it is not teaching culture or critical awareness of citizenship, but teaching answers to be decoded and memorized. The use of images tries to alleviate the lack of understanding the immigrants may have, and to help the immigrants understand these cultural references and norms, but the lack of images that relate to the immigrants' schemata detracts from this goal. Instead, immigrants and refugees are left not understanding the culture as a dynamic practice, and repeat memorized phrases.

POWER AND (DIS)CITIZENSHIP

The notion of "one language, one nation" (Piller, 2001, p. 261) pervades the naturalization test and study materials, with English being shown as the preferred language in the United States, and a gatekeeper to citizenship. The combination of implied language assessment and cultural/civic literacy in one test, however, may have negative repercussions for resettled refugees who are emergent readers. While it can be argued that language mastery is part of being a successful citizen, this set of official study materials provided by the USCIS 1) does not include study materials for the English language itself, 2) does not provide advice or instructions for mastering the assessment, and 3) does not promote cultural understanding and (multi)literacy as much as it promotes rote memorization of answers. Though the naturalization test claims to instill cultural knowledge, and to be a test of cultural literacy and civics, it is first a test of English reading and writing literacy, second an assessment of test-taking literacy, and third a test of cultural literacy. Ultimately the naturalization test violates Brown and Abeywickrama's (2010) framework for effective tests; the combination of language assessment and civic and cultural literacy is not a valid form of assessment, and the test is not an authentic assessment of English language use and linguistic knowledge, or of American values and ideals.

Tests are administered by powerful institutions. "Use-oriented testing," such as the naturalization exam, is "embedded in educational, social, and political contexts" where the results can have detrimental effects on test-takers (Shohamy, 2001, p. 4). Because immigrants must earn a passing score on this assessment in order to become U.S. citizens, the high-stakes nature of this test may cause immigrants to focus on learning how to say the correct answer more so than understanding what they are saying. For stateless resettled refugees, the symbolic and ideological power (Bourdieu, 1991) associated with U.S. citizenship may dominate how they study for the assessment and what they learn from it. As Widdowson (1978) argues, interpretation is necessary for meaning to take place, but adult emergent readers from non-Western countries may have to choose between interpreting and understanding content, and decoding and memorizing words.

The effects of this high-stakes testing may mean that immigrants who do not understand the entire multimodal text are pushed to the side and left out of the community of citizens. If citizenship is a process where full participation is gained through access (Ramanathan, 2013), then a hidden ideology emerges from these cards where citizenship is dependent on being able to interpret the text, while (dis)citizenship, or "citizenship-minus" (Pothier & Devlin, 2006, p. 2), ensues for immigrants who are unable to interpret the Western multimodal text. As Pothier and Devlin (2006) note, (dis)citizenship is enforced by both inclusion and exclusion because one cannot exist without the other (p. 2).

> "…citizenship is dependent upon categorical thinking and boundaries—that is, its inclusion of some (insiders) necessarily requires the exclusion of others (outsiders)—the consequence is the reproduction of illegitimate hierarchies. This highlights the janus-faced nature of citizenship; its inclusionary dynamic engenders belonging and solidarity, but its exclusionary dimension enforces oppression and marginalization" (Devlin & Pothier, 2006, p. 146).

Park's (2008) assertions that the revised naturalization test hides an exclusionary principle-based construct of American citizenship (p. 1003) are salient as a lack of comprehension of the principles prescribed in the naturalization exam fosters marginalization, and makes not citizens, but (dis)citizens. The lack of access to the civic values and cultural aspects presented in the multimodal official study materials for the U.S. naturalization exam may cause (dis)citizenship, thereby hindering full participation in American society by non-Western resettled refugees with emerging literacy.

CONCLUSION

A multimodal, social semiotic analysis determines that the (2012) USICS *Civics Flash Cards for the Naturalization Test* are likely not effective for adult resettled refugees with emerging English literacy, who have had little-to-no formal schooling, and are from non-Western cultures. The study cards provide answers to be memorized for what becomes a test of traditional literacy. Furthermore, civic values are not fostered because the test-takers may not be able to understand the intricacies of the multimodal text. The lack of efficacy of these study cards may push this population further to the outside and position them as (dis)citizens.

The degree of (multi)literacy needed to comprehend and adopt the civic responsibilities and American values contained in this multimodal text shows it is aimed at an institutionally-imagined community of immigrants literate in Western visual grammar and multimodal composition, who have more than a high-beginning command of the English language, and who are experienced test-takers. An ideology of American citizenship is being presented to test-takers in the study cards; the ideal immigrant would be able to grasp this ideology and become the ideal "citizen." Immigrants or resettled refugees from non-Western cultures with emerging literacy, however, are at a disadvantage as they may focus on decoding and memorizing words instead of understanding the meaning of the content and the associated images. There is a subtle exclusionary ideology presented in the study cards through the Western composition and linguistic features which positions members of this population on the margins of American society and prevents them from fully participating as citizens. Ultimately for this population, U.S. citizenship is determined through English language and literacy rather than through demonstration of civic awareness and American values. Teachers must be prepared to address these difficulties with their emergent readers who are striving to earn U.S. citizenship.

Acknowledgments

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ENDNOTES

[1] For the full list of questions, see the Appendix.

[2] The new test was piloted in ten cities throughout the United States chosen by geographic location and number of citizenship applications. The cities were Albany, New York; Boston, Massachusetts; Charleston, South Carolina; Denver, Colorado; El Paso, Texas; Kansas City, Missouri; Miami, Florida; San Antonio, Texas; Tucson, Arizona; and Yakima, Washington (USCIS, 2007). Because the impetus for this study was based on an interaction in Tucson, Arizona, it is important to note that Tucson had already been considered an important test site for revision of the naturalization test.

[3] While García et al. (2008) make a compelling argument for the use of the term *emergent bilinguals* instead of *English Language Learner* (ELL) in k-12 contexts, ELL is most commonly used within the Low Educated Second Language and Literacy Acquisition (LESLLA) for Adults community.

APPENDIX
Complete List of Questions and Answers for the Naturalization Test

1.   What is the supreme law of the land?
   the Constitution

2.   What does the Constitution do?
   ▪ *sets up the government*
   ▪ *defines the government*
   ▪ *protects basic rights of Americans*

3.   The idea of self-government is in the first three words of the Constitution. What are these words?
   We the People

4.   What is an amendment?
   ▪ *a change (to the Constitution)*
   ▪ *an addition (to the Constitution)*

5.   What do we call the first ten amendments to the Constitution?
   the Bill of Rights

6.   What is <u>one</u> right or freedom from the First Amendment?*
   ▪ *speech*
   ▪ *religion*
   ▪ *assembly*
   ▪ *press*
   ▪ *petition the government*

7.   How many amendments does the Constitution have?
   twenty-seven (27)

8.   What did the Declaration of Independence do?
   ▪ *announced our independence (from Great Britain)*
   ▪ *declared our independence (from Great Britain)*
   ▪ *said that the United States is free (from Great Britain)*

9.   What are <u>two</u> rights in the Declaration of Independence?
   ▪ *life*
   ▪ *liberty*
   ▪ *pursuit of happiness*

10.   What is freedom of religion?
    You can practice any religion, or not practice a religion.

11.   What is the economic system in the United States?*
       ▪ *capitalist economy*
       ▪ *market economy*

12.   What is the "rule of law"?
       ▪ *Everyone must follow the law.*
       ▪ *Leaders must obey the law.*
       ▪ *Government must obey the law.*
       ▪ *No one is above the law.*

13.   Name <u>one</u> branch or part of the government.*
       ▪ *Congress*
       ▪ *legislative*
       ▪ *President*
       ▪ *executive*
       ▪ *the courts*
       ▪ *judicial*

14.   What stops <u>one</u> branch of government from becoming too powerful?
       ▪ *checks and balances*
       ▪ *separation of powers*

15.   Who is in charge of the executive branch?
       the President

16.   Who makes federal laws?
       ▪ *Congress*
       ▪ *Senate and House (of Representatives)*
       ▪ *(U.S. or national) legislature*

17.   What are the <u>two</u> parts of the U.S. Congress?*
       the Senate and House (of Representatives)

18.   How many U.S. Senators are there?
       one hundred (100)

19.   We elect a U.S. Senator for how many years?
       six (6)

20.   Who is <u>one</u> of your state's U.S. Senators now?*
       Answers will vary.
       [District of Columbia residents and residents of U.S. territories should answer that D.C.
       (or the territory where the applicant lives) has no U.S. Senators.]

21.   The House of Representatives has how many voting members?
       four hundred thirty-five (435)

22.   We elect a U.S. Representative for how many years?
        two (2)

23.   Name your U.S. Representative.
        Answers will vary.
        [Residents of territories with nonvoting Delegates or Resident Commissioners may provide the name of that Delegate or Commissioner. Also acceptable is any statement that the territory has no (voting) Representatives in Congress.]

24.   Who does a U.S. Senator represent?
        all people of the state

25.   Why do some states have more Representatives than other states?
        ▪ *(because of) the state's population*
        ▪ *(because) they have more people*
        ▪ *(because) some states have more people*

26.   We elect a President for how many years?
        four (4)

27.   In what month do we vote for President?*
        November

28.   What is the name of the President of the United States now?*
        ▪ *Barack Obama*
        ▪ *Obama*

29.   What is the name of the Vice President of the United States now?
        ▪ *Joseph R. Biden, Jr.*
        ▪ *Joe Biden*
        ▪ *Biden*

30.   If the President can no longer serve, who becomes President?
        the Vice President

31.   If both the President and the Vice President can no longer serve, who becomes President?
        the Speaker of the House

32.   Who is the Commander in Chief of the military?
        the President

33.   Who signs bills to become laws?
        the President

34.   Who vetoes bills?
        the President

35.   What does the President's Cabinet do?
        advises the President

36.   What are <u>two</u> Cabinet-level positions?
        ▪ *Secretary of Agriculture*
        ▪ *Secretary of Commerce*
        ▪ *Secretary of Defense*
        ▪ *Secretary of Education*
        ▪ *Secretary of Energy*
        ▪ *Secretary of Health and Human Services*
        ▪ *Secretary of Homeland Security*
        ▪ *Secretary of Housing and Urban Development*
        ▪ *Secretary of the Interior*
        ▪ *Secretary of Labor*
        ▪ *Secretary of State*
        ▪ *Secretary of Transportation*
        ▪ *Secretary of the Treasury*
        ▪ *Secretary of Veterans Affairs*
        ▪ *Attorney General*
        ▪ *Vice President*

37.   What does the judicial branch do?
        ▪ *reviews laws*
        ▪ *explains laws*
        ▪ *resolves disputes (disagreements)*
        ▪ *decides if a law goes against the Constitution*

38.   What is the highest court in the United States?
        the Supreme Court
        judgment - highest

39.   How many justices are on the Supreme Court?
        nine (9)

40.   Who is the Chief Justice of the United States now?
        John Roberts (John G. Roberts, Jr.)

41.   Under our Constitution, some powers belong to the federal government. What is <u>one</u> power of the federal government?
        ▪ *to print money*
        ▪ *to declare war*
        ▪ *to create an army*
        ▪ *to make treaties*

42.   Under our Constitution, some powers belong to the states. What is <u>one</u> power of the
        states?
        ▪ *provide schooling and education*
        ▪ *provide protection (police)*
        ▪ *provide safety (fire departments)*
        ▪ *give a driver's license*
        ▪ *approve zoning and land use*

43.   Who is the Governor of your state now?
        Answers will vary.
        [District of Columbia residents should answer that D.C. does not have a Governor.]

44.   What is the capital of your state?*
        Answers will vary.
        *[District of Columbia residents should answer that D.C. is not a state and does not have
        a capital. Residents of U.S. territories should name the capital of the territory.]*

45.   What are the two major political parties in the United States?*
        Democratic and Republican

46.   What is the political party of the President now?
        Democratic (Party)

47.   What is the name of the Speaker of the House of Representatives now?
        (John) Boehner

48.   There are four amendments to the Constitution about who can vote. Describe <u>one</u> of
        them.
        ▪ *Citizens eighteen (18) and older (can vote).*
        ▪ *You don't have to pay (a poll tax) to vote.*
        ▪ *Any citizen can vote. (Women and men can vote.)*
        ▪ *A male citizen of any race (can vote).*

49.   What is <u>one</u> responsibility that is only for United States citizens?*
        ▪ *serve on a jury*
        ▪ *vote in a federal election*

50.   Name <u>one</u> right only for United States citizens.
        ▪ *vote in a federal election*
        ▪ *run for federal office*

51.   What are <u>two</u> rights of everyone living in the United States?
        ▪ *freedom of expression*
        ▪ *freedom of speech*
        ▪ *freedom of assembly*
        ▪ *freedom to petition the government*
        ▪ *freedom of worship*
        ▪ *the right to bear arms*

52.   What do we show loyalty to when we say the Pledge of Allegiance?
        ▪ *the United States*
        ▪ *the flag*

53.   What is <u>one</u> promise you make when you become a United States citizen?
        ▪ *give up loyalty to other countries*
        ▪ *defend the Constitution and laws of the United States*
        ▪ *obey the laws of the United States*
        ▪ *serve in the U.S. military (if needed)*
        ▪ *serve (do important work for) the nation (if needed)*
        ▪ *be loyal to the United States*

54.   How old do citizens have to be to vote for President?*
        eighteen (18) and older

55.   What are <u>two</u> ways that Americans can participate in their democracy?
        ▪ *vote*
        ▪ *join a political party*
        ▪ *help with a campaign*
        ▪ *join a civic group*
        ▪ *join a community group*
        ▪ *give an elected official your opinion on an issue*
        ▪ *call Senators and Representatives*
        ▪ *publicly support or oppose an issue or policy*
        ▪ *run for office*
        ▪ *write to a newspaper*

56.   When is the last day you can send in federal income tax forms?*
        April 15

57.   When must all men register for the Selective Service?
        ▪ *at age eighteen (18)*
        ▪ *between eighteen (18) and twenty-six (26)*

58.   What is <u>one</u> reason colonists came to America?
        ▪ *freedom*
        ▪ *political liberty*
        ▪ *religious freedom*
        ▪ *economic opportunity*
        ▪ *practice their religion*
        ▪ *escape persecution*

59.   Who lived in America before the Europeans arrived?
        ▪ *American Indians*
        ▪ *Native Americans*

60.   What group of people was taken to America and sold as slaves?
        ▪ *Africans*
        ▪ *people from Africa*

61.   Why did the colonists fight the British?
        ▪ *because of high taxes (taxation without representation)*
        ▪ *because the British army stayed in their houses (boarding, quartering)*
        ▪ *because they didn't have self-government*

62.   Who wrote the Declaration of Independence?
        ▪ *(Thomas) Jefferson*

63.   When was the Declaration of Independence adopted?
        July 4, 1776

64.   There were 13 original states. Name <u>three</u>.
        ▪ *New Hampshire*
        ▪ *Massachusetts*
        ▪ *Rhode Island*
        ▪ *Connecticut*
        ▪ *New York*
        ▪ *New Jersey*
        ▪ *Pennsylvania*
        ▪ *Delaware*
        ▪ *Maryland*
        ▪ *Virginia*
        ▪ *North Carolina*
        ▪ *South Carolina*
        ▪ *Georgia*

65.   What happened at the Constitutional Convention?
        ▪ *The Constitution was written.*
        ▪ *The Founding Fathers wrote the Constitution.*

66.   When was the Constitution written?
       1787

67.   The Federalist Papers supported the passage of the U.S. Constitution. Name <u>one</u> of the
       writers.
       ▪ *(James) Madison*
       ▪ *(Alexander) Hamilton*
       ▪ *(John) Jay*
       ▪ *Publius*

68.   What is <u>one</u> thing Benjamin Franklin is famous for?
       ▪ *U.S. diplomat* ▪ *oldest member of the Constitutional Convention*
       ▪ *first Postmaster General of the United States*
       ▪ *writer of "Poor Richard's Almanac"*
       ▪ *started the first free libraries*

69.   Who is the "Father of Our Country"?
       (George) Washington

70.   Who was the first President?*
       (George) Washington

71.   What territory did the United States buy from France in 1803?
       ▪ *the Louisiana Territory*
       ▪ *Louisiana*

72.   Name <u>one</u> war fought by the United States in the 1800s.
       ▪ *War of 1812*
       ▪ *Mexican-American War*
       ▪ *Civil War*
       ▪ *Spanish-American War*

73.   Name the U.S. war between the North and the South.
       ▪ *the Civil War*
       ▪ *the War between the States*

74.   Name <u>one</u> problem that led to the Civil War.
       ▪ *slavery*
       ▪ *economic reasons*
       ▪ *states' rights*

75.   What was <u>one</u> important thing that Abraham Lincoln did?*
       ▪ *freed the slaves (Emancipation Proclamation)*
       ▪ *saved (or preserved) the Union*
       ▪ *led the United States during the Civil War*

76.   What did the Emancipation Proclamation do?
        ▪ *freed the slaves*
        ▪ *freed slaves in the Confederacy*
        ▪ *freed slaves in the Confederate states*
        ▪ *freed slaves in most Southern states*

77.   What did Susan B. Anthony do?
        ▪ *fought for women's rights*
        ▪ *fought for civil rights*

78.   Name <u>one</u> war fought by the United States in the 1900s.*
        ▪ *World War I*
        ▪ *World War II*
        ▪ *Korean War*
        ▪ *Vietnam War*
        ▪ *(Persian) Gulf War*

79.   Who was President during World War I?
        (Woodrow) Wilson

80.   Who was President during the Great Depression and World War II?
        (Franklin) Roosevelt

81.   Who did the United States fight in World War II?
        Japan, Germany, and Italy

82.   Before he was President, Eisenhower was a general. What war was he in?
        World War II

83.   During the Cold War, what was the main concern of the United States?
        Communism

84.   What movement tried to end racial discrimination?
        civil rights (movement)

85.   What did Martin Luther King, Jr. do?*
        ▪ *fought for civil rights*
        ▪ *worked for equality for all Americans*

86.   What major event happened on September 11, 2001, in the United States?
        Terrorists attacked the United States.

87.   Name <u>one</u> American Indian tribe in the United States.
       [USCIS Officers will be supplied with a list of federally recognized American Indian tribes.]
       ▪ *Cherokee*
       ▪ *Navajo*
       ▪ *Sioux*
       ▪ *Chippewa*
       ▪ *Choctaw*
       ▪ *Pueblo*
       ▪ *Apache*
       ▪ *Iroquois*
       ▪ *Creek*
       ▪ *Blackfeet*
       ▪ *Seminole*
       ▪ *Cheyenne*
       ▪ *Arawak*
       ▪ *Shawnee*
       ▪ *Mohegan*
       ▪ *Huron*
       ▪ *Oneida*
       ▪ *Lakota*
       ▪ *Crow*
       ▪ *Teton*
       ▪ *Hopi*
       ▪ *Inuit*

88.   Name <u>one</u> of the two longest rivers in the United States.
       ▪ *Missouri (River)*
       ▪ *Mississippi (River)*

89.   What ocean is on the West Coast of the United States?
       Pacific (Ocean)

90.   What ocean is on the East Coast of the United States?
       Atlantic (Ocean)

91.   Name <u>one</u> U.S. territory.
       ▪ *Puerto Rico*
       ▪ *U.S. Virgin Islands*
       ▪ *American Samoa*
       ▪ *Northern Mariana Islands*
       ▪ *Guam*

92.   Name <u>one</u> state that borders Canada.
          ▪ *Maine*
          ▪ *New Hampshire*
          ▪ *Vermont*
          ▪ *New York*
          ▪ *Pennsylvania*
          ▪ *Ohio*
          ▪ *Michigan*
          ▪ *Minnesota*
          ▪ *North Dakota*
          ▪ *Montana*
          ▪ *Idaho*
          ▪ *Washington*
          ▪ *Alaska*

93.   Name <u>one</u> state that borders Mexico.
          ▪ *California*
          ▪ *Arizona*
          ▪ *New Mexico*
          ▪ *Texas*

94.   What is the capital of the United States?*
          Washington, D.C.

95.   Where is the Statue of Liberty?*
          ▪ *New York (Harbor)*
          ▪ *Liberty Island*
          [Also acceptable are New Jersey, near New York City, and on the Hudson (River).]

96.   Why does the flag have 13 stripes?
          ▪ *because there were 13 original colonies*
          ▪ *because the stripes represent the original colonies*

97.   Why does the flag have 50 stars?*
          ▪ *because there is one star for each state*
          ▪ *because each star represents a state*
          ▪ *because there are 50 states*

98.   What is the name of the national anthem?
          The Star-Spangled Banner

99.   When do we celebrate Independence Day?*
          July 4

100.   Name <u>two</u> national U.S. holidays.
▪ *New Year's Day*
▪ *Martin Luther King, Jr. Day*
▪ *Presidents' Day*
▪ *Memorial Day*
▪ *Independence Day*
▪ *Labor Day*
▪ *Columbus Day*
▪ *Veterans Day*
▪ *Thanksgiving*
▪ *Christmas*