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No direct translation : the other immigrants in a Mexican community at an American school

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No Direct Translation:

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In a Mexican Community

At an American School

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THE *OTHER* IMMIGRANTS

IN A MEXICAN COMMUNITY

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BY

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Abstract

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In this action research project, the author employed a qualitative, case study approach to interview 7 parents/guardians of extreme language minority students who attended the elementary school at which he worked. Because the community was composed of mostly Mexican immigrants, the needs of those students whose first language is neither English nor Spanish were often overlooked. Both professional and popular literature is reviewed in the relevant areas: language diversity and policies, demographic trends in the U.S., relative effectiveness of language programs in schools, transfer of skills from L1 to L2, culture's effects on learning, comparative learning styles, SES's effects on academic success, immigration status' effects on scholastic achievement, and diversity between and within ethnicities. Using a grounded theory approach, 5 themes emerged from the interviews: immigration (reasons, assimilation), language (loss of L1, value of English), education (satisfaction with academics, dissatisfaction with lax discipline), culture (value of additive, hybrid identity) and expectations (pride in good behavior and academic success). Conclusions and recommendations are offered.

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Dedications

To my baby, Xitlali: may you feel welcomed into this world and may you improve it by your presence! And to the new one on the way: I can't wait to meet you!

To my wife who tolerated all of the time and attention that I dedicated to research and writing instead of to her: may your patience be rewarded!

To the parents who gave their time to share such insightful information: may your children succeed in their scholastic endeavors!

To my fellow activists who kept organizing while I buried myself in books: may you live to enjoy the revolution!

To my fellow teachers who labor on in the absence of adequate recognition: may your work be validated by your successes and compensated by our society!

To the students who inspire the adults by their genius: may your resiliency be learned by those who purport to teach you!

Chapter I

Introduction

How do you explain "*chung*?"

E: You were also telling me last time that translating was difficult.
J: Right, right. There's no direct words translating from English to Korean. You kinda hafta filter some words. Than try to have any Korean, uh adopt in Korean.
E: Are there some subjects that are more difficult to translate than others?
J: There's one in Korean there's a word called "*chung*" means "love" but not like woman and man's love, that's um, for instance you have a neighbor that you been seeing for over ten years and you got really close to each other and all of a sudden your friend is leaving, I mean your neighbor. So you're feeling sad and missing and all, and I don't know, in love and all what are those? It means like all the mixture. So there's no such word like that.
E: A lot of times in English you'll say, "I love them, but not like *that*..." You have to explain it. [Laughs]
J: Right, right. See there's one word that explains everything. Yeah. One of my, I used to work at [a local Japanese sushi restaurant], and one of my customers asked me, he's a Korean immigrant from Korea, he's a student and he's having dinner with his professor, and he asked me how to explain "*chung*" right? So there's no such word "*chung*" and I can't explain somebody. Cause if he's explain the difference between Japanese and Korean, cause most Americans think we kind of look the same and they think we just use the same words because we located closer. So he was kind of explain the difference and he grabbed me and say "can you explain '*chung*' to him?" "Um, I'm busy, I'm in the middle of something, I don't have time, sorry." [Laughs] That was my excuse anyways. Yeah, such words like that.

Introduction

The excerpt above, taken from an interview I conducted with the aunt of a Korean immigrant student who had recently enrolled in the school where I work, illustrates some of the difficulties facing foreigners in the United States. In addition to structural obstacles such as racism and poverty, it can be maddeningly difficult to negotiate some of the fundamentals of social interaction, such as basic communication. The frustration of finding one's self without the right words is exacerbated by not being able to express the concepts that those words represent. But while one can invent an excuse to extricate one's self in many situations, students in classrooms -- like the interviewee's nephew –

don't have that option. They must endure the myriad dilemmas associated with being a second language learner in addition to trying to master the content curriculum (i.e. the other subjects).

Language, however, is not the only challenge encountered by these students. Learning styles, parental expectations, religion, writing systems, previous schooling experiences, culture and other factors all influence the interaction between the English language learning immigrant student and their new school in the U.S.

As the interviewee quoted above points out, some Americans have a tendency to generalize about people that differ from them. Just as Koreans and Japanese are not the same, neither are their experiences in the school system in their new country. The challenges, failures and successes vary, depending on many factors. Being a member of an extreme linguistic minority, such as a Korean in a Mexican community in an American school – like the interviewee's nephew, is one of the important factors influencing educational attainment. And while their needs are frequently overlooked, there are some actions that can be taken to improve their scholastic experiences.

The most important theme in the professional literature on the subject is that while there are problems facing educators of students who are extreme linguistic minorities, there are also solutions that work. There are best practices, but it will also take lots of practice. This is hard work. It requires the dedication, patience, skill and willingness to fail, learn, and move ahead that most of these students demonstrate to make it all come together to result in success. And probably the most important factor in ensuring language minority student success is "*chung*." Educators must care deeply -- even love -- the students that they work with, particularly those who face multiple challenges.

California's Shifts and Faults: Responding to Changing Demographics

I grew up in Southern California, a part of the US that once was a part of Mexico. There was then, and is now, a continuing influence and presence of Mexican culture, language and people on those, such as myself, who are not of Mexican heritage. I, for example, have learned Spanish, traveled frequently in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America and come to know well many Mexican immigrants. Partly because of this influence and presence, I became a bilingual teacher, working mainly with the children of immigrant farm workers from Mexico who, while fluent in Spanish, are at various stages of learning English in a state that requires them to do so.

I have now been a bilingual educator for a decade and a half. Throughout this time period, the two most dominate languages where I live and work have been so hegemonic that saying "bilingual" is tantamount to saying "English and Spanish." Indeed, it sounds repetitive to say "bilingual in English and Spanish" since nearly everyone around me assumes which languages are meant without mentioning them specifically.

However, when I became the Bilingual Resource Teacher (BRT) at Starlight Elementary School in 2000, my taken for granted definition of my job experienced a little culture shock. While most of the English Language Learners (ELLs) were, in fact, native Spanish speakers, there was a smattering of students whose first language was neither Spanish nor English (District, P.V.U.S.D). And I – the person whose job it was to support these students and their teachers in their learning and teaching of English – knew

very little about them, their cultures, and their languages. I felt embarrassingly ill prepared to serve as a resource for these *other* bilingual kids.

While California is arguably the most diverse society on the planet, I have only lived and worked in areas that are predominately "American" (English speaking, born in the U.S., and identify themselves as Americans etc.) and Mexican. I know relatively little about other cultures and languages. Therefore, when I switched jobs from bilingual classroom teacher, whose students were all Mexican-American, to BRT, whose job was much broader, I suddenly felt inadequate. I was no longer just responsible for Spanish speakers who were learning English; I was also supposed to be assisting kids whose native languages were Punjabi, Cantonese, Urdu, Hindi, Mixteco, Korean, Malayam, Mandarin, Thai, Ilocano and Tagalog. Furthermore, due to changes in the biliteracy program, there were also native English speakers who were learning Spanish as a second language at my school. While I am still concerned, and continue to work with, the Mexicans who are learning English, I am also compelled to learn more about those English learners who have been placed in "Structured English Immersion" classes because the term "bilingual" in our school and our district means Spanish/English and is therefore not as appropriate for kids from India, China, Thailand, Korea, Brazil and the Philippines.

Research Questions

Though they were a numerically much smaller group than the native Spanish speakers, my sense of justice dictated that I find out as much as I could about these *other* immigrants so that I could serve them as well as the Mexican immigrants. In order to be

better able to support these students, I needed to learn more about their home countries, first languages, cultural practices, religious beliefs, and educational experiences. For this reason, I, as the BRT at my elementary school, interviewed the families of these students and listen to what they have to say.

An interesting phenomenon occurred during the course of this study. Both the questions and the answers evolved significantly as I progressed through the interviews, read the professional literature, and analyzed the data. When I began, I simply wanted to know more about these families. I expected to hear about racism, unmet needs, institutional indifference etc. Then I discovered that this group of students does very well academically, and that the parents didn't have the kind of complaints that I expected, for the most part. Then I tried to find out why these students were succeeding academically despite not being in circumstances which were conducive to their success. Then the interviews led me to unexpected suggestions for improvement. It was these suggestions that I think help explain why these kids are succeeding.

Why do the Asian and Brazilian students appear to do better on multiple measures of scholastic achievement (learning English *and* the content curriculum) than the Latino students? Are there explanatory theories that locate the cause of differential educational attainment in religion or culture? Is there an ethnic difference – as distinct from a biological or racial answer? Is there an experiential cause, an idiosyncrasy in the way different groups of people came to and settled in the U.S? Can an answer be found in terms of socio-economic resources? Or is the data flawed in some way? Am I simply misreading the trends that I think I am noticing? Is there really a difference in the

scholastic achievement of Asian and Brazilian students and Mexican students? And if there is a difference, why does it exist?

There are really two distinct -- though related -- research questions that have emerged: (1) how can teachers better help extreme minority students? And (2) why do the students whose first language is neither English nor Spanish seem to be doing better academically than the students whose first language is Spanish? In attempting to answer these questions, this paper will, hopefully, not simply be a finished product, but also a record of what I have learned and an indication of where I am going professionally. I want it to show how I have improved in terms of more equitably and more thoroughly helping all students at our school, not just the ones with whom I am more familiar. Furthermore, if successful, I would like my action thesis to serve as a catalyst to change the way that the teachers at my school and in my district view their responsibilities to our students. I also hope to encourage these families and families like them to be more involved in the schools that their children attend. In an area with dynamic demographics, I believe that we should rise to the occasion of diversity with the motivation of justice.

Definition of Terms

Teachers and administers in the field of education use an absurdly huge number of arcane acronyms, inaccessible terms and other bits of an odd "language" that could be called "educationese." Because my thesis is firmly ensconced within the field of education, and because I have grown quite accustomed to using these terms myself, it

makes sense to use these terms. But in order to make the writing accessible to the general reader, I define the terms below.

Mainstream English (ME)

One of the four language programs offered at the school at which I worked at the time of writing this thesis. Parents who choose ME may expect that their children are being instructed almost entirely in English. Rarely is another language such as Spanish used to clarify, motivate, explain, support, or develop. Because of practical reasons (numbers of students, teachers, resources etc.) students in the ME program are in the same classes with students in the SEI program. Students in the ME program have been determined to speak only English as their home language on a form filled out by the parents called the Home Language Survey.

Structured English Immersion (SEI)

One of the four language programs offered at the school. Parents who choose SEI may expect that their children are being instructed "overwhelmingly" in English. Rarely is another language such as Spanish used to clarify, motivate, explain, support, or develop. Because of practical reasons (numbers of students, teachers, resources etc.) students in the SEI program are in the same classes with students in the ME program. Students in the SEI program have been determined to speak a language other than English as their home language on a form filled out by the parents called the Home Language Survey and by language tests called the CELDT and/or the LAS. Instructional strategies for instruction rely on SDAIE strategies (explained below).

Biliteracy Program

Two of the four language programs offered at the school are biliteracy programs. Parents who choose Biliteracy may expect that their children are being instructed half the time in English and half the time in Spanish. In the One Way Biliteracy strand, there are only students whose "Home Language" is Spanish who are learning Spanish as a first language and English as a second language. In the Two Ways Biliteracy strand, there are both students who whose "Home Language" is Spanish learning Spanish as a first language and English as a second language, as well as students whose "Home Language" is English learning English as a first language and Spanish as a second language. SDAIE teaching strategies are used throughout the curriculum because no matter which language is being used, there are students learning in their L2 who need scaffolding for comprehensible input.

One Way

This refers to a biliteracy program in which there are only native speakers of one language, in this case Spanish, who are all learning Spanish as a first language and English as second language.

Two Ways

This refers to a biliteracy program in which there are native speakers of two languages, in this case Spanish and English. The native Spanish speakers are learning

Spanish as a first language and English as a second language, while the native English speakers are learning English as a first language and Spanish as a second language.

Specially Designed Academic Instruction In English (SDAIE)

SDAIE is a collection of teaching strategies that are used to make the mainstream curriculum accessible to students who are learning in their second language. Techniques include explicit instruction, use of cognates, visual aides, physical responses, theatrics and other ways to help English learners comprehend English. Many of the same strategies may be used when teaching about and/or in another language as well.

First Language (L1)

This is the same as a student's home language or native language. It may or may not be a person's dominate language.

Second Language (L2)

This is the language that has been learned *after* or *in addition to* having begun speaking one's home language or native language. It may or may not be a person's dominate language.

Home Language (HL)

This is the same as a person's first language (L1), but it is not necessarily the same as a person's dominate language.

Home Language Survey (HLS)

This is a form filled out by the parents of a student who is being enrolled in the school. There are four questions about what language is spoken when and by whom in the home. The four questions are:

1) What language did your son or daughter learn when he or she first began to talk?

2) What language does your son or daughter most frequently use at home?

3) What language do you use most frequently to speak to your son or daughter?

4) Name the language most often spoken by the adults at home.

English as a Second Language (ESL)

This is an umbrella term that is used to refer to a number of related things. It can mean a language program, as in ESL is taught to students who are learning English. It can mean instructional strategies, as in graphic organizers are one of the ESL techniques used by the teacher. And it is even sometimes used to refer to the students themselves, as in the ESL students work with the teacher on acquiring academic vocabulary in English.

Spanish as a Second Language (SSL)

This is an umbrella term that is used to refer to a number of related things. It can mean a language program, as in SSL is taught to students who are learning Spanish. It can mean instructional strategies, as in graphic organizers are one of the SSL techniques used by the teacher. And it is even sometimes used to refer to the students themselves, as in the SSL students work with the teacher on acquiring academic vocabulary in Spanish.

Spanish Assessment of Basic Education (SABE)

This is a standardized, norm-referenced test of a student's general math and literacy skills in the Spanish language. It was an optional exam in the state of California.

Stanford Achievement Test (SAT)

This is a standardized, norm-referenced test of a student's general math and literacy skills in the English language. It was a required exam in the state of California.

Language Assessment Scales (LAS)

This is a relatively short test designed to measure a student's proficiency in the Spanish language. There are sections in listening, speaking, reading and writing.

California English Language Development Test (CELDT)

This is a relatively short test designed to measure a student's proficiency in the English language. There are sections in listening, speaking, reading and writing. It was a required exam in the state of California for English language learners.

Reclassification (RC)

When English language learners are deemed to be fluent in the English language, they are then reclassified from English Language Learner (ELL) to Reclassified Fluent English Proficient (R-FEP). The criteria to determine RC were: (1) passing the CELDT; (2) recommendation of the teacher; (3) approval of the parent or guardian; (4) and scoring above the 35th percentile on the SAT-9 in math, language, and reading.

English Language Learner (ELL)

This is a student who speaks a language other than English as a home language and is not yet considered to be fluent in English. The previous term, which is still used on occasion, was Limited English Proficient (LEP). It was replaced because it misrepresented the student and the learning process by focusing on the deficit instead of on the potential.

Bilingual Resource Teacher (BRT)

This was my job title at the time of writing this thesis. Many districts in California with a high number of English Language Learners have created a position in their schools for someone to focus on the needs of those students and their teachers. The job description varies between districts and between schools, but it usually involves supporting instruction of and in English, as well as the students' home language. The focus is usually on Spanish speaking Mexican immigrants. Because of the similarity of the titles, the BRT is sometimes confused with a bilingual Resource Specialist, whose program is designed to support those students who qualify for Special Education interventions.

Socio-Economic Status (SES)

This term is commonly used by social scientists to recognize the relationship between the objective economic state that people live in and the less definable social

conditions that are often associated with one's economic station in life. The presence or lack of money, for example, is frequently associated with success or failure in schools.

Extreme Linguistic Minorities

This term describes people who find themselves in a situation wherein there are very few other native speakers of their language around them (Sosa 2001). There is no precise definition, nor is there a threshold number that invokes the label. I use this term to refer to those students at my school whose first language is only spoken by them or by a few others (usually relatives) at the school. Thus, it describes everyone whose home language is neither Spanish, nor English.

Parameters

This project is intended to be narrow in focus, though it may have relevance for broader situations. The descriptions, analysis and conclusions are accurate only for those students at my school at the time this study was conducted. These details may apply to similar people in comparable situations, but one must be cautious of potentially misleading generalizations. Each student at each school in each district in each state in each country is unique. Patterns do emerge, but they should be taken with a grain of salt.

I only interviewed the parents and guardians of the students at my school whose home language was neither English nor Spanish, as identified on the Home Language Survey. I excluded native English speakers and native Spanish speakers because their

needs are being met to a much greater degree than the extreme linguistic minority students.

I interviewed only adults instead of students for a few different reasons. First, I wanted adult insights into the issue. While valuable in many ways, elementary age students wouldn't be able to compare home language, culture, religion, country etc. with their current situation because of their young age. Also, working with minors involves risks and legal complications that I felt would harm the project. Finally, I wanted to speak in depth with the parents because the home-school connection is so vital to the success of these students, and it is one of the glaringly missing pieces to the puzzle.

In the academic year 2002-2003, there were ten students whose home language surveys identified a language other than English or Spanish at my school. Because some of these students are siblings, there were fewer than ten families. Some of these families did not wish to be interviewed, or I could not interview them due to our lack of fluency in a common language. In order to expand the pool of participants, I successfully contacted the families of students who had previously attended my school. The participants, then, represent a good cross-section of parents from different countries, languages, cultures, ethnicities, religions etc. whose children have attended our school over the last few years.

Educators -- both in and out of the classroom -- in similar settings may find this thesis instructive in terms of where to begin examining their own situations which are similar in various ways. Parents of extreme linguistic minority children may find this study useful in animating their school to improve the way their children are served. Researchers may find the analysis provocative and the citations useful. But whoever reads these words, I sincerely hope that the result of their time spent with this thesis is the

greater focus on the needs of those students who are too often ignored. My intent is to improve the situation of these kids, and I hope that my readers use my work to realize the same goal.

Overview of Action Research

In the first chapter (this chapter), I introduced the topic of extreme language minority students at my elementary school. Then I explained the rationale for my interest in the topic, focusing on a lack that I felt in terms of being qualified for my new job. Included was the purpose that this action thesis is intended to serve. I expressed hope that this documentation of a process of self-education and empowerment will be useful to others in similar circumstances. I then defined several terms which will be used in this thesis that may be unfamiliar to the reader, or that may be defined differently elsewhere. I then discussed the parameters of this research project, i.e. what is and is not covered, and why those choices were made.

In chapter two, I review the relevant literature. Because there are many aspects to the issue, the literature review is divided into several distinct parts. The first section, Diversity and Policy, sets the larger context for my focused inquiry. The second section seeks to answer the question of whether or not certain ethnic groups do better than others on common measures of academic success. The third section examines various language programs and their relative success. The fourth section evaluates the issue of language minority and language majority status as an explanation of varying levels of academic success. The fifth section seeks to answer the question of whether or not there are

inherent qualities in various languages that make it relatively easier or harder to succeed in English. The sixth section looks at whether or not cultural differences can account for differential scholastic success. The seventh section is about whether different learning styles explain different achievement levels. The eighth section asks if socio-economic status is the key to explaining why some groups do well in school and others don't. The ninth section further disaggregates data on the research question by looking more closely than the common generalizations about who really is successful and who isn't. The tenth section seeks to find how these competing theories might work if taken as parts of a synthetic explanation. The last section is about activism: after reviewing all of the literature about the problem, what exactly do the researchers and theorists suggest as far as improving the situation for these students?

In chapter three, I discuss the methodology used in this study. I describe the research design. I then describe the setting, focusing on demographic data. Next, I explain who participated in the study. Then I tell how I collected the data and how, in turn, I analyzed it.

In chapter four, I show the results of my research. I introduce the patterns that I encountered in the interviews that I conducted with the participants. I then discuss the implications of these findings. And, lastly, I call for further examination of these issues by continuing the study of this question.

In chapter five, I conclude the thesis. I analyze the results of the interviews presented in chapter four. In retrospect, there is both clarity and regret. I talk about not only what I did, but what I would do differently, given another chance. I offer an evaluation of my work: the construct of the study, the methods, the value of the literature

review, and the analysis. I give recommendations for further study. I also present an action plan in the form of ideas for educators. Despite the limitations of this project, there are some clear indications of what needs to be done. I offer some guidelines about the work facing practitioners as well as parents.

At the end there are the references and appendices. I include sample interview questions and a sample consent form.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

Personal Narrative

With a humbly perplexed, yet optimistic spirit, I set out to learn about the *other* immigrants at our American school in a Mexican dominated community. I sought to learn about language and language learning in general, as well as the specific languages, cultures, and religions represented at my school. I deemed it relevant to know about bilingual education and the transfer of skills and concepts from a student's first language or culture to their second. I felt that I needed to understand more about ethnic identity formation as well as different learning styles. I wanted to be forewarned of potential failures and hear about success stories from similar situations. And because I really didn't know what I was doing, I was open to anything else that seemed helpful to me in my new, expanded position as the *Multi*-lingual Resource Teacher.

Diversity & Policy

I find it useful to distinguish between the micro-context of my inquiry and the macro-context of socio-linguistic diversity in the world. On the local level, various demographic data has proven instructive. Racially, the students at Starlight are approximately 91% Latino, 6% white, 1% African American, and 1% Asian.

Linguistically, over 2/3 of the students are native Spanish speakers and nearly 1/3 is native English speakers. But there are between 10-20 kids in total (the actual number varies due to migration and matriculation) whose first language is Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Korean, Mandarin, Cantonese, Tagalog, Thai, Indonesian, Malay, or Portuguese. English is the dominant language of instruction, though about 2/3 of the students are enrolled in bilingual programs in English and Spanish (PVUSD 2001). According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the community of Watsonville, in which Starlight is located, is about 75.1% Latino, 13% White, 3.3% Asian, 1.7% Native American, and .8% African American. Watsonville is arguably a diglossic (Edwards 1994) community in English and Spanish, and many individuals in the area are also bilingual in those two languages.

The global picture is somewhat different. Linguists estimate that there are currently between 5,000 and 6,000 languages in the world (Edwards 1994; Tucker 1999). Though Spanish and English are both major languages – each spoken by about 340 million people, making them the 3rd and 4th most popular first languages in the world – Asian languages are even more popular. Mandarin and Hindi, for example, are spoken as first languages by 874 million and 366 million people, respectively, making them the first and second most popular languages in the world (Editors 2001). English, however, seems to be the most popular second language in the world by a large margin (Editors 2001).

In terms of laws and values, though there are more bilingual people in the world than monolingual, most governments have very conservative language policies (Tucker 1999; Laitin 1997; Baldazo 1992; Dickson & Cumming 1996; Prusher 2001; Anonymous 2000; Krashen 1996; and Baker & Prys Jones 1998). Various official and quasi-official

policies in the U.S., such as California's proposition 227, give a preferential status to English. There are, of course, efforts to preserve and extend linguistic diversity, but they are not as widespread (Bountress 1993, and Olsen, et al. 2001).

Conservative, nationalistic politics are promulgated despite convincing research data and expert opinion that seems to favor bilingual education over subtractive approaches to linguistic diversity (Wright 2002; Tucker 1999; Crawford 1998; Krashen 1996; Baker & Prys Jones 1998; August, Calderon & Carlo 2000; Tse 1996; Li 1999; Kang et al. 2000; Minicucci & Berman 1995; Short 1998; Thomas & Collier 1999; Christian et al. 2000; Baron 2004; and Rolstad 1997). As a bilingual teacher who was trained by subscribers to the theories of Cummins, Wong-Fillmore, Hakuta, Ogbu and Garcia, I found myself an ideological minority. In order to better participate in the debate I sought to further educate myself about key components of bilingual education, especially given recent demographic trends in the U.S. and in California in particular.

Analysts of data from the U.S. Census Bureau data from 1990 and 2000 (Bureau 2000) report significant changes in the racial, ethnic and linguistic patterns of the people who live in this country and state. Leaving aside for the moment the well-known growth of Latin American (especially Mexican) immigrants who speak Spanish, there are other trends that deserve more attention than they receive. There seems to be a decline in the number of people who speak European languages and a simultaneous dramatic increase in the number of Asian immigrants who speak Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese and Tagalog (Editors 1993). The number of Filipinos, for example, has increased by about 50,000 per year for the last 20 years, though more than 90% report speaking English well, in addition to Tagalog and other Filipino languages (Miller & Dortch 1997). Filipinos, in

fact, may have surpassed Chinese as the largest Asian ethnicity in the U.S. (Swartz 1988). Most of the Asian and Pacific Islander population is found in California (Browne & Broderick 1994).

Differential Academic Achievement

There are several studies that suggest that Asians do better in school in general than other ethnic groups. Asians scored higher than whites on almost every measure in one study (Wong 1990). A much higher percentage of Asians receive Ph.D.s than other minorities, and are more likely to receive them from prestigious institutions (Anonymous 1997; Nevarez 2001). An analysis of U.S. Census data (Bureau 2000) shows that Asians and Pacific Islanders have higher levels of education and higher incomes than other ethnicities in the U.S. (Lach 1999). Asians and Pacific Islanders are being accepted in vastly over-representative rates to California universities (Van Slambrouck 1999). Countries such as South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan have superior test results compared to Western countries such as the U.S. (Editors 1996).

I have, however, yet to find a study that has tackled the question of difference in academic achievement directly and in a way that I find satisfactory, though I remain incredulous that no one has tried to answer this question before. There are certainly many that have ventured theories that partially answer the riddle, though many are apparently contradictory in addition to being controversial. Precious few ask the question a different way, preferring to determine which group is doing better than the others

instead of asking about the needs of each. I will review what I see as pieces to the puzzle and then evaluate some of the theories.

Program Placement

One variable in all ELLs' education is the choice of a language program. Are some language programs more or less appropriate and beneficial than others? Do certain programs serve one group of students better than other groups of students? Would a difference in language program placement be a source of differential academic achievement between different groups of students?

There are various programs for English Language Learners. Each program is more or less appropriate depending upon local circumstances (Genesee et al. 1999; Tellez 1998), though there are trends that suggest that some are better in general than others (Minicucci & Berman 1995; Olsen et al. 2001; Thomas & Collier 1999).

I checked to see if, in fact, there was a difference in program placement for the two groups (Native Spanish speakers and native speakers of languages other than Spanish and English). There was, to an extent. Most of the native Spanish-speaking children were enrolled in the Spanish/English biliteracy program (both one way and two ways models), whereas all of the Asian and Brazilian children were in the Structured English Immersion/Mainstream English program. (SEI and ME are combined instead of having separate programs due to the low numbers of native English speakers at our school and due to other practical considerations).

There are several native Spanish-speakers in the SEI/ME courses as well. Program placement may in fact hinder success of the *other* immigrant students instead of giving them an advantage. Several researchers argue that biliteracy programs (especially two ways programs where quality ESL and SSL are geared not only towards Reclassification (RC) but also towards mastery of the content curriculum) are the more effective programs, whereas SEI/ME programs are much less effective (Schnailberg 1994; Minicucci & Berman 1995; Sugarman & Howard 2001; Thomas & Collier 1999; Christian 2000; Rolstad 1997; Salazar 1998; Legaretta 1979; Kelly 2002; Nguyen 2002; Nguyen et al 2002; and Ramirez et al. 1991).

At the school at which I worked at the time this research was conducted, the parents could choose between two strands of Spanish/English biliteracy programs, or SEI/ME program. I found that research suggests that third language children excel in two ways immersion programs (Rolstad 1997). Such placements may become more common in the future as two ways programs seem to be increasingly popular with both researchers and practitioners (Anonymous 1990; Howard & Loeb 1998; Howard & Sugarman 2001; Howard et al 2002; Anonymous 1994; Torres-Guzman 2002; Christian 2000; Allen et al. 2002; and Rolstad 1997). Thus it seems that not only may the *other* immigrants be learning English faster than Latinos, but that they might increase that gap if they were in more effective programs. Choosing such a program would mean that the awareness of the appropriateness of such a placement would need to spread beyond the realm of the researchers and into the realms of the practitioners and parents.

Numbers

A competing explanation for differential success is simply numerical. Because Spanish is so dominate at my school and in the community, it is difficult for Spanish speaking students to get opportunities to practice English. Spanish is spoken in the home, at the stores, at the public places, at school, in the media and elsewhere. There is simply rarely a compelling need to use English if one is fluent in Spanish even though one could also hear some English in some of these places, especially on television.

In contrast, speakers of other languages are not living in a context that supports the continued use of their first language to nearly the same extent, despite potential parental desires to the contrary. In fact, even though there exists some scattered infrastructure (i.e. a Korean language church, Chinese restaurants and satellite television), the home may be the only place where the Asian and Brazilian students at my school have an opportunity to practice their first languages (L1). It may be that because there is so little support for the home language of these kids that they are forced to acquire English quickly in order to function outside of the home. Indeed, it makes intuitive sense that they would shift from their L1 to their L2, given the context in which they find themselves, whether or not parents support such an evolution.

Research only supports half of this explanation though. While a student may learn some English when submersed in the language, generally speaking they don't really learn the language well and they also don't learn the content curriculum well. In fact, the sink-or-swim method usually results in drowning because the students only learn the language superficially. Cummins (1979, 1986, & 1996) argues that such methods may

help a child learn Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), but not develop Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). And because they have such low levels of English, they are not able to learn the grade level lessons because they don't have enough "deep" English to understand the lessons.

The *other* immigrant students at my school are achieving in both English and in the rest of the curriculum. In other words, they have acquired both BICS and CALP and are using them successfully both on the playground and in the classroom. Thus small numbers of students who speak a specific language does not appear to be a likely explanation by itself of why one group of kids is experiencing more success than the other group.

Speaking such low-incidence languages and attending a school that lacks a biliteracy program that supports their heritage language is usually a recipe for failure. Studies suggest that such circumstances usually lead to not only low levels of English acquisition and low levels of academic achievement, as mentioned above, but also to loss of the child's first language. Involuntary language loss among immigrants often occurs during the 1.5-2.5 generation and efforts to reverse the loss of the heritage language are often unsuccessful (Hinton 2001). While there are many isolated examples of schools, programs and individual efforts to combat heritage language loss (Li 1999; Tse 1996; Kang 2000; and Olsen et al. 2001), our school provides no support for L1 except for Spanish and English. The *other* kids are left to their own devices as far as retention of L1 is concerned, and some parents have expressed concern about involuntary L1 loss.

Part of the reason that supporting development of L1 is important is that skills learned in a student's L1 can transfer to L2 (August 2000; Ramirez et al. 1991; Lee &

Schallert 1997; Legaretta 1979), though the research on this topic is not unanimous (Lee & Schallert 1997). But if L1 is never fully developed – which is a distinct possibility at a school like mine where there is no support for the L1 of immigrants who don't speak Spanish – then few to no skills will be transferred to L2 (English in this case). So, again the *other* students should theoretically be doing worse than those students at my school who are in a biliteracy program. But just the opposite is occurring.

Other **Languages**

Another potential argument is based upon the unique aspects of the languages themselves. In other words, is there something specific about the first languages of the students who are doing well that is qualitatively different from the language of the kids who are not doing as well? Is there something in the grammar, pronunciation, punctuation, morphology, phonics etc. that is present in one L1 and absent in another? And does this presence or absence facilitate or hinder acquisition of English and/or academic success in English?

I confess that I didn't review too much literature in this realm because the possibility was not very plausible to me. First, the children whose first language is neither English nor Spanish speak eleven different first languages and are from seven different countries. It seems very unlikely that each of those eleven languages shares something among each other that the Spanish language lacks.

To be sure, there are differences in the languages, but they seem as though they would be more likely to hinder the Asian and Brazilian students' success than aid it.

Koreans, for example, use politeness strategies differently than native English speakers (Suh 1999). Some Asian languages, such as Hmong, are traditionally oral languages and therefore make transition to English literacy very difficult (Kang 2000). Native speakers of Japanese and Korean have a lot of difficulty pronouncing certain sounds found in English, especially the /r/ and /l/ (Sakow & McNutt 1993). Koreans also have trouble with certain English phonemes. Trouble with both fricatives and affricates are difficult to overcome (Schmidt & Meyers 1995). Tagalog speakers have subtle ways of conveying respect in their L1 that is not found in English (Baldazo 1990), though this could be said to be true of Spanish as well since Spanish has had such an enormous influence on Tagalog and the Philippines (Mamaed 1994). There are more differences and more languages – and some similarities too – but it seems sufficient to merely mention the point, rather than delve into it too deeply.

In separate personal correspondences with one researcher (Doherty 2002) and one teacher (McGinty 2002) a different theory was ventured as an explanation. Separately, both professionals I spoke with wondered whether the greater difference between Asian languages and English than between Spanish and English might have an ironically facilitative affect on learning English. The theory is that because languages such as Cantonese and Punjabi are so different from English, that the process of L2 learning causes Asians to experience a metacognative awareness of language itself, whereas the relative similarity of Spanish and English would not have the same affect. Metacognition, in turn, would help Asian students to better understand English as a language, instead of relying so heavily on cognates and other lower level strategies.

There are, of course, other differences between English and Spanish as well. However they seem to be fewer and less intractable than the differences between Asian languages and English. Gender and number agreement, verb tenses, opposite ordering of adjectives and nouns as well as other differences follow fairly simple rules and are usually mastered without too many problems by ELLs whose first language is Spanish, especially when compared to ELLs whose first language is an Asian language. This theory, however, does not account for the Brazilian student who speaks Portuguese as her L1. Portuguese, like Spanish, is more similar to English than are the Asian languages and would likely encounter a similarly easier learning trajectory, according to this theory. But that isn't the case that the romance language speaking students are succeeding more than the Asian language speakers. Therefore, it seems safe to de-emphasize explanations of academic achievement differences that are based upon essentialist notions of language characteristics. The theory is interesting, however, because it touches on the original research question, namely: what are the needs of the individual students? Which teaching strategies are more and less effective for these linguistically different groups of students?

One related theory should be noted. Blair and Qian (1998) observed that native language use and strong cultural values are positively correlated with educational success. Whether either aspect is more or less present in Asian, Brazilian or Mexican homes locally or nationally is not known and should be further investigated in order to adequately explore this possibility. It is probably safe to hypothesize that extreme linguistic minorities use their L1 less often than linguistic majority students (native Spanish speakers in this case).

Culture

The trickiest, but perhaps most intriguing, explanation of why the *other* ELLs appear to do better than the Mexican ELLs is to be found in the murky realm of culture. If the biologically determined notion of "race" is to be categorically rejected as a scientifically fraudulent explanation, it may still be possible to find something within the socially constructed understanding of race that aide in understanding differences in educational attainment. In other words, "what it means to be Asian or Brazilian" in this context could be distinct from "what it means to be Mexican" in this setting Thus, cultural differences or (in)compatibilities with school may explain educational differences (Nevarez 2001; Collins & Hagerman 1999). On the other hand, this explanation may just be racism in social rather than biological form (Pang & Cheng 1998).

There are, of course, differences between Asians and Latinos and researchers have examined some of those differences. In terms of values, Asians tend to place great importance on family, respect for adults, interdependence and conformity (Browne & Broderick 1994). There is often strong parental control and authority, strong interdependence among family members, and children are reared to believe that their success in school will affect the honor of their family directly (Blair & Qian 1998). Students work hard and respect teachers (Editors 1996). Asians tend to seek power through education and economics rather than through civil rights campaigns and politics (Van Slambrock 1999). Many Asians spend more time on homework than whites (Wong 1990). Many Asian parents teach their children to be quiet, obedient, and unquestioning

(Cheng 1998). Parents have high expectations for children, including plans for after high school graduation (Wong 1990). Of the dozens of parents, teachers and researchers I spoke to personally about my research question, the majority cited parent expectations as a likely explanation.

Many of the qualities mentioned above may accurately describe Latino culture too, but on the balance there are clear differences between the two ethnicities. I didn't specifically research Mexican culture for this project, but I'll risk a few generalities for the purpose of comparison.

In personal correspondences with one educational researcher (Téllez 2002), religion was suggested as an influential component explanation of academic difference. Whereas Confucian societies emphasize knowledge and intellectual rigor as a means to deeper spirituality, Mexican Catholicism emphasizes faith as a means to salvation. Faith is obviously a trait that has great potential to conflict with formal educational settings, whereas knowledge is obviously very compatible with traditional schooling. A personal correspondence with one Mexican friend (Morales 2002) confirmed this by recounting a common lamentation of her grandmother: "entre más van a la escuela, menos creen en Dios" (the more they go to school, the less they believe in God). In another personal correspondence, a different Mexican friend recalled the struggle she had with her family to be allowed to go to the university instead of remain at home (Zúñiga 2002). Asian students are often pressured by parents to do well in school in order to obtain a high paying job so that they may contribute to the family's well being. In contrast, Mexican students are sometimes pressured to leave school in order to get a high paying job so that they may contribute to the family's well being. Both cultures have the same goal, but the

means to the end differ in terms of how formal education is viewed. Indeed, Asians tend to value education more than other American ethnicities, especially as a means to upward mobility (Blair & Qian 1998).

In a series of personal correspondences with a researcher/practitioner (Wright 2002), doubt was cast upon this line of reasoning. The way religions are practiced in different regions varies a great deal, so much so that one can find deterministic forms of Buddhism in Cambodia and Buddhism that places more emphasis on free will in Viet Nam and China. Similarly, one can find liberation theology in southern Mexico and fatalistic Catholicism in central Mexico. And, of course, there are many variations within these regions. Wright warns against falling into the trap of the Model Minority Myth wherein "the false message of 'our kids don't need help' and 'we're better than you'" arguments are propagated. Thus it would be important to discern what form of what religion each of the interviewees emphasizes in their families.

Other aspects of being an ELL, such as heritage language learning's affect on ethnic identity formation and social relationships (Jo 2001; Cho 2000; Mendoza 1998), or an immigrant who is focused on one's home country (Kantrowitz 1998) would likely be similar for Asians, Brazilians and Mexicans. Thus these aspects would not explain differences between the two groups.

It bears repetition at this juncture to point out that one of the subject families in this study is not Asian. The Brazilian family cannot be categorized as Asian or Mexican, which is why the term that has been used in this research is the ironical "*other*". While much of the research reviewed in this chapter seems to lend itself either implicitly or explicitly to comparisons between ethnicities, the presence of the Brazilian family points

toward experiential factors rather than essentialist notions of differential educational success. Furthermore, it necessitates a return to the original research question which is "what are the needs of these *other* ELLs?" rather than documenting any would-be contest for the best students.

Learning Styles

An academic aspect of the theory of cultural compatibility that may be relevant is learning style. If the Asian and Brazilian students have learning styles that are compatible with U.S. teaching styles and if Mexicans have learning styles that are incompatible, then different levels of academic success might be explained and their different needs – as expressed by parents, researchers or the students themselves – highlighted (Murray & Velazquez 1999).

When socio-economic factors are controlled, Asian students look like everyone else, if they have mastered English. The main difference seems to be that Chinese students do better in "concept" math problems, while American students are better at "concrete" or "pattern" math problems (Bracey 1999). It is doubtful that this difference would help Asians do better than Mexicans, though it may suggest that each group would benefit from more emphasis on teaching the style of math problem in which they are not as strong.

According to one article, Asian students tend to respect teachers more than other students and are used to working hard in school. This would probably go over well with

American teachers (Editors 1996). Asian cultural values of obedience, respect for adults, and aversion to shame would also contribute to educational success (Blair & Qian 1998).

Some researchers (Alvarado 1999; Bountress 1993; Castellano 1998) examine how inappropriate and inadequate responses within the educational arena to cultural and linguistic diversity have resulted in biased testing procedures, erroneous assessment of students and relegation of minority students to remedial programs. He, however, does not disaggregate the data by ethnicity so it is not known whether Asians and Brazilians fare better or worse than Mexicans in this regard.

American teachers expect their students to be interactive, creative and participatory while Asian parents teach their children to be quiet, obedient, and unquestioning (Cheng 1998). This difference would make it difficult for Asian students to adjust. Brazilian students were not mentioned in this study.

Filipinos may adjust more readily in some ways than other students. In general, they prefer a quiet environment with bright lights, formal design (hard chairs), and cool temperatures. Many seem to be visual and kinesthetic learners, like breaks and multi-task. And most appear to be auditory learners who learn best in the morning (Wallace 1995).

I found only one study that compared different ELLs' learning styles (Park 2001). She found significant differences in learning styles and achievement among Armenian, Hmong, Korean, Mexican and Vietnamese students. All groups showed preferences for kinesthetic or tactile learning and all liked visual learning as well. Hmong, Mexican and Vietnamese students preferred group learning while Armenian and Korean students preferred individual learning. Middle and high achievers are more visual and individual

than low achievers who prefer group activities. Recent immigrants have learning style preferences more commonly found in their native cultures (e.g. individual activities) while those who have been in the U.S. longer more closely reflect American learning style preferences (e.g. cooperative learning). Thus, according to this study, Mexicans and Asians are very similar in terms of their learning styles. Therefore, learning style does not seem to be an explanatory factor in terms of differential achievement.

Socio-Economic Status

In a personal correspondence with a professor of education (Estrada 2002), it was suggested that if I had found differences in SES that I need look no further to explain differential levels of academic achievement because the research was so clear as to leave no room for doubt. I personally haven't read this body of research, but I have heard this sentiment echoed over and over again. The consensus seems to be that while there are exceptions to the rule, low SES means low scholastic achievement and high SES means success in school. Such strong expressions of correlations between one variable and educational success indicate a pressing need to interview parents about whether or not such a variable is present in their families and whether or not they themselves believe that SES is an important factor in their children's education.

Clearly SES plays a strong role. A wealthy family can afford all kinds of resources (materials, time, services, people, knowledge etc.) to aid in scholastic endeavors that a poor family cannot (Morse & Hammer 1998; Martinez & Velazquez 2000). Parents with higher formal educational attainment can help children with

schoolwork more successfully than parents with very low levels of formal education. Empowered mainstream families (white, native English-speaking, middle and upper classes) hold what Lisa Delpit (1996) refers to as the "keys to power" that marginalized families do not. Consciously or not, these codes of conduct, ways of being and tricks of the trade that facilitate success get passed on from the older generation to the younger generation in families that benefit from social hierarchies based upon race, class, immigration status, language proficiency etc. but not in the families who suffer from these forms of social discrimination. An important question is whether there is economic determinism as a rule or whether there is merely a positive correlation between SES and scholastic achievement.

In general, Asians and Pacific Islanders have higher incomes than other ethnicities in the U.S. (Lach 1999). Of the Asian parents in my study, all of them had completed university degrees. The Brazilian parent had recently started taking classes at the community college in the U.S. In a personal correspondence with the Principal of the school where I worked (Haley 2002), I was told that the average level of parent education at our school as a whole is only a few years of high school. Of the 84% of Starlight parents who responded to a survey about levels of parental education, 51% were not high school graduates, 20% were high school graduates, 19% had some college, 7% were college graduates, and 3% had attended some graduate school. It is common to find Mexican parents at our school who never finished elementary school. Some are illiterate. These class differences among the families offer a very compelling explanation of differences in scholastic achievement among their children. But given that educators are unable to change the class composition of the students who attend their school, how can

the needs of low SES students be addressed? How do teachers strategically channel resources and advocate for the needs of poor students? (Paredes Scribner & Scribner 2001).

Deeper Diversity

One major shortcoming of all of these theories is that they fail to take into account the true diversity both between and within cultures. Though often grouped together under the umbrella term, "Asian", each of these Asian cultures has its own unique culture, language, immigration experiences and other idiosyncratic aspects that have affected their socio-economic status in the U.S.

In terms of SES, the poorest ethnicities are Vietnamese, Hawaiian, Samoan, Asian Indian, Chinese, and Korean (Browne & Broderick 1994). SES, as noted above, is generally considered to be a very significant indicator of scholastic success and would therefore likely cause significant variation in scholastic achievement within Asian immigrant populations.

Some languages, such as Mandarin have existed in written form for thousands of years, whereas others, such as Hmong, have only recently expanded from the oral tradition. This is a distinction that could have a huge impact on literacy itself, with major consequences for almost every other aspects of academic achievement because so much is based upon literacy (Kang 2000).

Indeed, when demographic data on Asians in the U.S. has been disaggregated, clear differences between cultures become apparent (Pang & Cheng 1998). Filipinos, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, and Hmongs are all underrepresented in universities. They often have difficulties in school, unlike the Chinese and Japanese students, who often succeed (Reisberg 1999). When understood in this context, two radically different types of Asian immigrants can be identified. There are some who arrive with all of the hallmarks of academic success already in place (high SES, strong education in L1, parental support etc.) and others who arrive with all the harbingers of difficulty already hindering them (low SES, low levels of literacy, social dislocation etc.). Thus, some Asians fit the stereotypical description of a successful student, while others more closely match the generalized description and scholastic experiences of Mexican immigrants (Urrieta & Quach 2000).

Some researchers argue for a distinction between different kinds of minorities based upon their experiences, situations and reasons for immigrating to the U.S. (Gibson & Ogbu 1991; Zhang 2000). Community consciousness may be formed in large part by their historical experience with power relations, within which immigration status is prominent. Some groups fall into the category of *assimilated minorities*. Those ethnic groups that understand themselves (and are often understood by others) to be distinct yet are able to pass as members of the mainstream in most situations have relatively smoother experiences in the U.S. as a whole and in school in particular. Mormons and Jews are examples of this first category. The second group is the *voluntary immigrants* who cannot pass, but who come from relatively well off home country situations. Many Chinese, Koreans, and many Indians are examples of those immigrants who come for a

better life, but bring the advantages of high SES, strong L1, and other resources to succeed in their adopted country. The third category is the *involuntary minorities*. Groups of people who are refugees of war or economic duress, victims of genocide or colonization, or people who were brought by force fall into this category. Most Native Americans, African Americans, and many Latinos fit this description.

These categories would seem to explain differences in academic achievement between the Asians and the Latinos, but there are complications as one looks more closely. While it is true that Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans are usually adequately described by the second category, not all Asians are. Vietnamese, Laotians, Hmong, and Khmer fall into the third category. Most Mexicans also fit in the third category, but Mexico's ruling class has a history of being educated in the U.S., and they would fall into the second or first category (none of them attend my school, however).

A further complication arises when an historical distinction is made between generations. The first wave of Korean immigration to the U.S., for example, occurred during the height of the civil rights movement and when the U.S. was keenly interested in Korea for geo-political reasons. They were therefore the beneficiaries of fortunate timing. Koreans who arrived during the height of racial and class tension in L.A. in the 1990s received a chillier reception (Blair 1998). Other ethnicities, such as Filipinos (Guyotte 1997), have experienced similar generational differences. Perhaps what can be used, then, is Gibson and Ogbu's explanation of differences in immigration as at least partial determinates in educational attainment as long as they are accurately applied to individual situations within ethnic distinctions.

Convergence of Theories

Do extreme linguistic minority immigrants fare better academically (L2 acquisition and content curriculum mastery) than their linguistic majority ELL counterparts? On average, it appears that they do. At my school this seems to be true too. If, as it appears, there are differences in achievement, then it follows that there are also differences in terms of needs. If the reasons for differential educational success can be determined, the best ways to address these different needs would be easier to determine. While many factors would seem to be at odds with their educational success, there are some explanations that seem more plausible.

Program placement does not seem to be an adequate explanation of differences in achievement. The SEI programs seem to be less effective programs than biliteracy programs do. Low numbers of speakers of languages other than English and Spanish might help students learn superficial English (BICS), but probably not academic English (CALP) or content curriculum. The structures of the languages themselves do not seem to favor speakers of Asian languages or Portuguese over speakers of Spanish. Rather, it would likely have just the opposite effect.

Differences in culture, socio-economic status, and immigration status do, however, appear to be likely explanations, at least partially. Economic classes tend to reproduce themselves in a capitalist super structure. Similarly, cultures tend to pass on the traits that make them unique, even as they evolve in contrast and in conflict with other cultures. Home country conditions such as education, literacy, cultural capital and how they are received in the U.S. also influence academic success. Hence, it would make

sense that if Brazilian and Asian cultures in general were functionally more compatible with American school cultures than Mexican culture is, then the Asian students would tend to do better in school than the Mexican students do on average. And if the *other* immigrants have higher SES levels than the Mexicans do, and if they are voluntary immigrants while Mexicans are involuntary immigrants, then the extreme linguistic minority ELLs would likely do better than Mexican ELLs. The interviews are important in order to check whether these factors identified in the literature are influential in the individual families.

Repetition is warranted at this point. My interpretation of the data might be wrong. My lack of data may be even more condemning of these theories. In other words, the differences in educational achievement may not be all that dramatic. I have only analyzed hard data on one measure (SAT 9) for one year (2001) and the difference is not too great. All of the other measures are anecdotal and may be unremarkable. And, of course, the sample is miniscule, making generalizations to larger populations risky. On the other hand, the studies cited in this paper confirm the hypothesis that differences in educational attainment between ethnic groups do exist. The mystery seems to be not *if*, but rather *why*. The follow up question would be the original research topic of addressing the identified needs of each group.

What is to be done?

While the answer to my research question is not clear, many authors offer suggestions about what schools and teachers should do. Some, paralleling Luis Moll's

concept of funds of knowledge (Moll 1992), argue that topics of relevance – such as the home country's history, geography, and religion -- should be taught in schools (Morrow 1989; Olsen & Jaramillo 1999). Some suggest promoting resiliency (Feyl Chavkin & Gonzalez 2000). Others argue for teachers knowing their students better and then developing a more sophisticated curriculum that not only validates the student's culture, but also their language (Olsen et al. 2001, Feng 1994; Gendrano 1994; Howard 2002; Zúñiga-Hill & Yopp 1996;Tabors et al 2000; Nguyen et al 2002). Some focus more on the teaching methodology than what is taught (International Reading Association 2001; Doherty & Pinal 2002; Doherty et al 2002). Others argue for a greater connection between home and school (Bhattacharya 2000, Cheng 1998, Chong 2002; Feng 1994; Martinez & Velazquez 2000; Collins & Hagerman 1999). Perhaps the most radical and potentially successful vision is to help cultural and linguistic minorities to control their own schools and their own destinies. The majority culture in the U.S. should simply hand over the resources that they currently monopolize and trust the *others* to know what to do (Olsen & Jaramillo 1999; Olsen et al 2001).

But...as every honest inquiry should, the conclusion of this search for an explanation must be a commencement: more study is certainly warranted because I really don't know the answer to my research question...yet. This is why I chose to interview parents in my school: I wanted to learn their perspectives about the educational needs of their children.

Chapter III

Methodology

Research Design

This study was conducted in the tradition of action research using ethnographic strategies and methods. In this chapter I describe the setting in which the study took place, who the research participants were, the methodology of the data collection and how the data was analyzed.

Setting

This study took place in a medium-sized city that is strongly influenced by the agricultural industry, which gave it some rural characteristics despite its small urban setting. At the time of writing this thesis the area was mostly composed of working class Mexican immigrants, though there were still descendants of earlier waves of immigration including Japanese, Filipino and European workers. Most of these people originally migrated from the central Mexican states of Michoacan, Oaxaca, Guanajuato, and Jalisco in order to work in the fields. The first modern wave of immigration from Mexico came during WWII as part of the Bracero program which replaced domestic workers who had become soldiers with cheap foreign labor. The next big wave came during the 1970's and 1980's as Mexicans sought better economic opportunities or came to join their families. Spanish was the most common language in the city, though English was still dominating in some ways.

The elementary school where I worked during the time of this study was relatively large (over 700 hundred students for the K-5 school). Approximately 91% of the students were identifed as Hispanic, 6% White, 1% Asian, and 1% African American. About 85% of students qualified for "free or reduced lunch." The formal educational attainment level of the parents was relatively low; most had not completed high school. Approximately two thirds of the students were officially identified as English Language Learners. The academic achievement of the students varied, and depended upon the way in which one measured it. The average SAT-9 (Stanford Achievement Test, 9th edition) score was in the low 40th percentile, while the average SABE (Spanish Assessment of Basic Education) score was in the low 60th percentile. When multiple measures were used -- ranging from classroom assessments to district rubrics – the students' academic abilities were about average, but higher than simply using the SAT-9 scores as the sole criteria.

Approximately two thirds of the students at the school were enrolled by their parents in the Spanish/English biliteracy program, in either the One-Way (only native Spanish speakers learning English as a second language) or Two-Ways (both native Spanish speakers learning English and native English speakers learning Spanish) strands. The remaining one third of the students was in either the Structured English Immersion or Mainstream English programs, which, for purely practical reasons, were combined in the same classrooms. There were Spanish/English bilingual programs because there was enough demand and enough resources (staff, materials) to justify one. There weren't biliteracy programs in other languages because there were too few students, teachers, books and other resources to make it practical. The students who spoke languages other

than Spanish or English were placed in the SEI program because of this lack of resources. It was because this was a de facto placement instead of a real educated choice among other options, and because these students' needs tended to get overlooked due to their limited numbers and apparent success, that I wanted to focus on them and their needs as perceived by their parents.

Research Participants

Those people who consented to being interviewed were all parents or guardians of children who attended the elementary school where I worked at the time. I selected them because they spoke a language other than English or Spanish as their home language, as identified on the Home Language Survey. There are usually only 5-25 students who fit into this category; in academic year 2001-2002 there were only 10. Most of them were either from East or South East Asia, though not exclusively (one was from Brazil). India and China were the most common countries of origin during this academic year and in general over the past 10 years. As parents or guardians of elementary age children, most respondents were between the ages of 25 and 40 years old. All were working class, and many could be considered "poor" in terms of socio-economic conditions. Most had a college education, usually obtained while living in their home country. All spoke either English or Spanish well enough for me to interview them. More specific information about the participants' backgrounds is being withheld in order to maintain their confidentiality.

Data Collection

I tape recorded all of the interviews. They lasted an average of one to two hours. In general, I asked the participants questions about their home language, home culture, and educational experiences in their home countries. I asked them to compare these things with what they had seen and experienced with their children here in the United States. I asked them how they evaluated their kids' success and what accounts for that success. Finally, I asked them what suggestions they had for improving the services that the school offered their children and children like them. Sample interview questions can be found in the appendix. The interviews took place at the school, in the participants' homes, and in their places of business. After conducting the interviews I then transcribed them. I also collected SAT-9 scores using the Coordinated Services Database and the Pulliam database that I used as part of the normal professional duties I performed in my capacity as the Bilingual Resource Teacher at the school.

Data Analysis

I am influenced by the tradition of grounded theory; I allowed the data to guide the analysis, rather than seeking data to prove a particular preconceived theory. Thus, I selectively coded the data by highlighting key subjects in each of the transcriptions. The themes that are analyzed in the final two chapters developed upon coding the data. Themes coalesced in terms of quantity and quality. I looked at how often certain topics were mentioned and how much time was spent talking about them. I also looked at the

language that was used to describe the themes: emphasis (e.g. superlatives and exclamations) and the strength of statements (e.g. what the interviewees told me was important). As patterns emerged, in terms of quantity of appearances and the quality of statements, I compared and contrasted the results of the data analysis with the patterns that emerged from reading the related professional literature. Patterns in the literature developed in ways similar to the development of themes in the interviews. I looked at how often particular results and theories were mentioned, the validity and reliability of the data, and the reputation of the authors.

Chapter IV

Findings

Introduction

There were several themes that emerged from the interviews. Some were major themes and some were minor. Major themes were topics that occurred in several, if not all of the interviews. They were topics that the participants talked about at great length, returned to more than once, or emphasized in the way in which they spoke (i.e. in superlatives, exclamations, or forceful language). Minor themes were less common, spoken about less, or not emphasized. Many minor themes may be considered important for various reasons (see Ch. 5), but were not as prominent as major themes. Each theme was more or less present in each individual interview, and the themes below are presented in aggregate. Data that were uncommon, de-emphasized, or irrelevant are not presented as themes.

The minor themes were: Immigration (including: the status of their home countries and why people left, attraction to the U.S., and finances), Language (first and second language learning, and retention and loss of home languages), and Education (teaching and learning styles in both countries, comparing best and worst aspects of educational experiences in both countries, and changes they would make to U.S. schools if they could).

The major themes were: Culture (including: nationalism, patriotism, assimilation, and retention), and Expectations (including: pride, dedication, performance, respect, goals, achievement, discipline, behavior, study habits, obedience, and uniforms).

The five themes are presented in the following order: Immigration, Language, Education, Culture, and then Expectations. It is organized in this fashion for several reasons. The section on Immigration is first because it helps to set the context for the information that follows in the other themes. Language is presented second because language is the medium of the interview as well as a primary filter through which the participants experience the events which they relate. Language is also the main reason why these participants were selected to participate in this research project. Education is the third theme because, like Language, it was one of the original topics of the study.

After the three minor themes are presented, the two major themes follow. The major themes are presented after the minor themes because it is important to understand the minor themes prior to attempting to digest the major themes. Culture is the first of the two major themes because, like Language, it is an important lens through which we interpret the world (e.g. experience education). The Expectations theme is presented after the other themes because it was least expected of all of them. As a surprisingly important finding, it seemed an appropriate one with which to conclude.

Occasionally the themes appear to suggest a tension in values, but usually the different areas are consistent when viewed as a whole; in fact they often overlap. This may suggest both meta-patterns as well as individual variation. In this chapter the themes are presented and described. Select quotations from some of the interviews are presented

in order to illustrate both commonalities and differences within the themes. Analysis of the themes and their meaning may be found in Chapter Five.

Immigration

The participants were all first generation immigrants to the U.S. Some of their children were born in the U.S., though most were not. All came for fairly predictable reasons: to escape a bad situation in their home country and to find better opportunities in their new country. The conditions mentioned for leaving had political, economic and educational dimensions, as did the reasons for choosing the U.S. as a destination.

A Cambodian mother, assuming prior knowledge of the genocide perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge, stated her reasons for leaving succinctly: "No, I never have education in Cambodia. I was really young when the communists took over the country. So I didn't have a chance to go to school back there."

A Brazilian mother also mentioned lack of educational opportunity as a reason for leaving Brazil, but emphasized the economic aspect of the status of education as well as the political aspect. She also stated that coming to the U.S. was partly a matter of chance and whim:

> J: *Well, um,* yo vino no más por pura curiosidad. Mi hermano se casó con una Americana. Y la llevó a Brasil y todo. Y ella me invitó a venir aquí y a conocer, a ver si me gustaba para vivir. Al principio no le gustó mucho la idea de dejar los niños y vivir solo. Y después, yo digo, "Okay, está bien. Vamos a ver lo que pasa con mi *passport* y los tramites." Y como salió todo bien, todo fue aprobado y yo vine a visitarla y a ver como era. No más a paseo. Y regresé a Brasil y me quedé 6 meses aquí sola, sin los niños. Y regresé a Brasil. Y allí tuvo

el permiso para venir con los niños. No más que nada más porque tenía pulmonía y su doctor no le dio permiso. Y vino con [mi hija] solamente.
E: ¿Y usted asistió a la escuela en Brasil…?
J: En Brasil.
E: …Hasta que…
J: Llegué, pues no pude concluir los estudios porque está muy caro. Y no tenía condiciones de…que estaba construyendo una casa y para el estudio… yo tenía que escoger entre construir la casa y concluir los estudios.

J: Well, um, I just came out of curiosity. My brother married an American. He took her to Brazil and everything. So, she invited me to come here, to get know the place and see if I'd like to live here. In the beginning I didn't like the idea of leaving the children behind and living alone. And later I said, "Okay. Let's see what happens with my passport and the paperwork." Since everything was fine, and was approved, I came to visit her to see how things were here, just as a trip. I didn't return to Brazil. I ended up staying for six months, alone, without the children. Then I returned to Brazil. Back in Brazil, I got permission to come back with the children. I came with my daughter only, because my second child had bronchitis and the doctor wouldn't give permission for him to travel.

E: Did you attend school in Brazil?
J: Yes, in Brazil.
E: Up to what grade?
J: I finished, well I couldn't finish my studies, because everything is too expensive. I just didn't have a way to…. I was building a house and for my studies…. I had to choose between building the house and finishing my studies.

An Indian father partly chose to come to the U.S. for educational and professional reasons, and, partly, was sent by the company that he worked for, for the same reasons.

E: When did you come to the United States?
R: I came here in like, you can say, 11 years, by approximate, like that. I came here, then I went back […] then I came here. I apply a lot of companies there in India the companies choose the students. I work for them over there, then they call me here. Then some of the companies over there, they sent me over here. So there are companies over here in [names of cities]. It's like that. Some companies are here so they call me here, say work for us. So then I start my telecommunications specialty, the parts for phones and satellite systems […] Then I took some classes over here in [name of city]. I did an MBA over there in India too, in marketing. I did that too in the meantime. Because it's linked to what I do, sell the product.

A Pilipino father came through family connections for reasons of employment. In contrast to the rampant poverty and lack of opportunities, the U.S. seemed like it had a lot to offer immigrants like him.

> A: Well, ah, to tell you the truth I was able to come over here to the United States through my wife, you know, because she, she was an immigrant and she was able to bring me over here.
> E: So was she a U.S. citizen?
> A: Yeah, she is a U.S. citizen and she's a nurse right now.
> E: And then what about your parents?
> A: Okay, my mom... I mean my dad pass away about 20 years ago and I was able to bring my mom over here about a couple of years ago, you know.
> E: Because you became a citizen.
> A: Yeah, because I became a citizen. They forced me to become a citizen. [Laughs] Because they told me, okay, they trying to tell us all immigrants you know, you guys need to be a citizen or else they gonna send you guys back to the Philippines and you guys need to pay a certain amount of taxes because like they thought you guys are like, ah, work, I mean contract workers. So I afraid and I finally decided to be a U.S. citizen, you know. [Laughs]

A Thai mother never intended to stay in the U.S. – her original intention was only to visit for a short period of time -- but wound up as an American resident for familial reasons.

> R: So where I born? I born in Tora, Thailand. I live there 'til I 29 years old. I left the country to move, to visit my brother in Aptos whose American citizen. [...]
> E: You came here to visit your brother...
> R: Yeah.
> E: ...not to stay...
> R: No, no...that's why, I didn't get along my brother once, and I miss my food, I miss my friend and my family. I call and I call and I just want to go home. So that's the reason I met [my son's] father. I'm going to leave my brother because I'm 29, I'm 30 and I have all my life there... I came to speak English and I can't speak English and I don't have green card. And I know my brother apply one for me, but how long it take? Let's go home, you know, because it's just happier. And I don't have financial problem like a lot of people.

In sum, the participants emigrated from their home countries in order to improve their lives and the lives of their children in terms of economics, politics and education. But they also came for love, for family, and by chance. With them they brought experiences, values, and opinions.

Language

The strategy of embracing a dual identity rather than maintaining the original identity, or, conversely, rejecting the old and wholly adopting the new, has been employed by the participants at the linguistic level as well as the political and cultural levels. The participants have eagerly attempted to learn English, or have their children learn English, but have also striven to retain their first language(s), with varying success.

In some cases, multilingualism was nothing new to the interviewees, and in fact, sometimes even English was not new. But in the context of the powerful "English Only" environment in the U.S., retaining the languages besides English has proven to be a big challenge. A Filipino father describes how he learned several "dialects" in addition to Tagalog and English, but now sees the languages disappearing with the next generation in his family:

> E: Now what language did you grow up speaking?
> A: Well, ah, I grew up in my mom's province. So they do speak different dialect. And my father's province, I mean, they do speak different dialect. So you have to know how to speak different dialect when you go to different province. So in fact to tell you the truth right now I know, I mean I learn how to speak 3 or 4 different dialects in there, aside from Tagalog, you know, which is the national language.
> E: So they're dialects of Tagalog?
> A: Yeah, Tagalog is the national language, so Filipino, but we have, like, 200 different dialects. So it's really hard, so you have to learn a lot of dialects. [Laughs]

E: Did you learn any non-Filipino languages in the Philippines?
A: Not really except English which is second, our second language. They usually teach us English, English from, ah, second, second grade, I think. So it's our second language so, but it's not really as good as what you guys talk here in America. [Laughs]

Later, in the same interview, he continues to describe the changing patterns of language use in his family.

A: Well, ah, at home, we, my wife, we do speak Ilocano and English at the same time, 'cause the kids, you know, the only time we do talk to them 'cause sometimes they make fun of us. You know, like, 'mom can you talk to us in English?' You know, 'cause we want them to learn Filipino but sometimes it's just so hard for us being a parent 'cause you know they were born over here and they grew up over here and you know there's not that much we can do. Well we can't force them to speak Filipino. The only time we do really speak to them in Ilocano is when we're mad at them. [Laughs]
E: So they understand it but they don't produce it?
A: Yeah, they don't. And sometimes its funny being a parent especially if you come from foreign country like me from the Philippines and you see your kids growing up and they don't speak the language that you grew up with.
E: So they were in English Only classes.
A: Yeah they were in English Only classes. One of the teachers at [name of school] where my son was in elementary school told us to send our kids to like a bilingual class but I think its really hard for the kid especially if he don't grow up to speak Spanish in the house. So why do I have to send him to like bilingual class? So you know we, we, we decided to ah send him to English Only and one of the things I remember one of the teachers advised us like sometimes its nice you know if the kids do speak Filipino and English at the same time 'cause who knows if someday they might be a what do you call it? They send you to foreign countries?
E: Like Peace Corps?
A: Yeah like whatever, oh dang, they do speak a lot of languages...
E: A diplomat?
A: Yeah, a diplomat, like that. And I said you know what in fact I even have a problem talking to them in Filipino. So you know I can't, you can't force it a kid you know. They do really understand only a little bit because we don't talk to them really that much in Filipino.
E: Do they have any friends who speak Filipino?
A: Oh yeah, they have in fact ah, my son, in fact has a lot of friends, Filipino friends, most of them just came from the Philippines. So he's some kind of, trying to coach them you know, 'cause they're new of course. He's trying to coach them how to speak in English. But she's, he's really good with them, with, with Filipino friends. Most of them, most of them are Filipinos.

A father from India spoke about the difficulty of retaining extreme minority languages in an environment that is so dominated by English and Spanish. He believes the school's role is to teach the majority language of this country, English, while the family's role is to teach the home language(s) in order to ensure retention.

E: What was his first language?
R: His first language is Punjabi.
E: And then his second language was Hindi?
R: Hindi, yeah.
E: And then, English is his third?
R: Oh, yeah.
E: And he learned all three of those at home?
R: Oh, yeah.
E: But at school he's just working in English?
R: Oh yeah. Now he's working in English. Most of the kids over here, I have a home over here, and at my brother's house, the small kids, they speak just English. They don't speak Punjabi. But he's the only kid who speaks Punjabi.
E: What languages do you want him to speak when he's an adult?
R: I want him to speak all the languages. If he's speaking them, I want him to keep speaking them. He should understand. The problem is this: when friends, grand persons, they come over here, and he speaks only English, they don't know English. So, there is some difference. They want to give him some love, but he don't understand their language, so he afraid to talk to them. He want to go. They tried to come by here; they want to give him a hug, but the language it make them more closer. If he know the language, Hindi or Punjabi, they know they can talk to him, so he can come close.
E: How do you foresee him retaining those languages if he's doing all his school work in English? How are you going to make sure that he still speaks Hindi and Punjabi?
R: It's all on us. If we keep talking in English, he'll forget those language. After one year, he won't remember those language. If we keep talking those language, a little bit, and we keep talking him in Hindi or Punjabi, he'll keep remember. No problem. I can talk. So, like my brother's son, he knows Punjabi, but he can't speak Punjabi. He can understand, he can speak, but not that much. But he can. Same thing my son. He can speak, not that much, he can talk, he can understand, he want this or that. So, these things happen all the time.

Sometimes the dominance of English was so powerful that parents saw the home language(s) disappearing despite their wishes to the contrary. A Cambodian mother

spoke with a mixture of pride, regret and near-resignation about second and third language acquisition and first and second language loss.

> E: Um, and now that um you've come to the U.S. and you've had a daughter and she's in school, was her first language Cambodian or was it English?
> S: Her first language is Chinese and English.
> E: Is your husband Chinese?
> S: Yes, he is. Chinese. Except the kids stay with me most of the time and I don't know that much Chinese. And he knows most of Chinese but he's work all the time. And so they speak Chinese to whatever I know, you know, I speak both English and Chinese to them. And by the time when they're 5 years old when they start kindergarten, they forget all about... first grade, when they start first grade, they forget all about Chinese and only speak English. [...]
> E: So you were saying that you speak some Chinese, some Cambodian and some English, but mostly English to your kids now.
> S: Yeah.
> E: And so when they started kindergarten, did they know more Chinese or more English or more Cambodian?
> S: Half and half.
> E: Half Chinese, half English?
> S: Yeah, because they already understand, you know, teacher's instructions and what the teacher wants and everything. [...]
> E: Are you going to try to make sure they don't lose both their Cambodian and Chinese, both language and culture?
> S: Well, we do try to give them some Chinese education, but it's hard to find around here because there is no Chinese school here available, here in this area [...] So maybe when they're older we'll send them somewhere to get Chinese education.

Conversely, a Brazilian mother did not express concern about her daughter losing her first language. On the contrary, she found opportunities to learn more languages in the U.S. The key, according to her was strict use of the strategy of language separation.

> E: ¿Y todo el tiempo en la escuela estaba estudiando en portugués?
> J: En portugués, solamente en portugués.
> E: ¿No hablo otro idioma?
> J: No, ni otro idioma. El inglés aprendí un poquito cuando... mirando las películas. Yo miraba las películas, prestaba atención al movimiento de la boca. Volví a la película y repetí a la palabra. Miraba en el diccionario y lo aprendí sola.

E: ¿Entonces, no hablaba muy bien el inglés cuando vino a los Estados Unidos?

J: No, poquitas cosas. Lo más aprendí en las películas.

E: ¿Y [su hija]?

J: [Mi hija] no hablaba nada de ingles, ni tampoco español.

E: ¿Y ella vino en el segundo grado?

J: Ella en Brasil estaba en el tercero grado. No más que como yo digo en la escuela, por no saber el inglés es mejor que regresaba al segundo grado.

E: Si. Y me acuerdo de que cuando ustedes vinieron la primera vez, estaba pensando todavía en el programa bilingüe, y luego cambiaron la decisión para ponerla en puro inglés.

J: Si. Es porque ella decidió que no quería español y inglés porque lo que yo pienso que pasa con los niños que están en el programa bilingüe es que el español es mas fácil hablar en la casa ellos se olviden poco del inglés, y hablan mucho más español que el inglés, y después cuando van a hablar hablan mezclado, y no en inglés. Porque miro adultos cuando estamos hablando y nosotros estamos hablando en puro inglés y ponen dos o tres palabras en español. Y como nos hace la decisión de hablar solamente en inglés o solamente en español y ella quiere hablar en solamente un idioma. Ella quiere aprender todo en inglés. Si habla ya en inglés. Y cuando habla en español, habla no más en puro español. Y cuando habla el poquito en portugués, habla puro portugués. Y cuando yo mezclo, hablando en español y portugués, ella dice, "no madre, así no es. Tiene que poner razonamiento de que idioma quiere hablar." Y a veces cuando estoy hablando me dice, "mama, ¿en que idioma vaya a hablar?" Y yo digo, "okay vamos a hablar en portugués, y solamente en portugués." Porque ella distinguí que es español, que es inglés y que es portugués para no mezclar los idiomas. Y ella piensa en aprender francés.

E: And the whole time you were studying in Portuguese?

J: Portuguese, only in Portuguese.

E: Did you speak other languages?

J: No, no other languages. I learned a little English when ... watching movies. When I saw a movie I paid attention to the movement of the mouth, then I would rewind the movie and repeat the word. I would look in the dictionary and learned on my own.

E: So, you didn't speak English very well when you came to the United States?

J: No, only a few things I learned from the movies.

E: How about your daughter?

J: My daughter didn't speak English at all. Spanish neither.

E: Did she come here during second grade?

J: Back in Brazil she was in third grade, but I thought that it would be better for her to go back to second grade here because she didn't know English.

E: Yes, I remember when you came for the first time, you were still thinking about putting her in the bilingual program, and then you changed your mind and put her in an English Only class.

J; Yes, this was because she decided she didn't want Spanish and English. I think that what happens with children in a bilingual program... It is much easier for kids to speak Spanish at home so they forget about English, so they speak much more Spanish than English. And when they speak they mix languages and not in English. I see it in adults too, when we are carrying on a conversation we are speaking in English only, but they always add two to three words in Spanish. There is never the decision to speak only in Spanish or English. She only wants to speak in one language. She wants to learn everything in English. She speaks English already and when she speaks in Spanish, she only speaks in Spanish. When she speaks a little in Portuguese, she speaks only in Portuguese. When I mix the languages, speaking Spanish and Portuguese, she tells me, "No mother, not like that. You have to put some thought into what language you want to speak." Sometimes when I'm speaking she tells me, "Mother what language are you going to use?" So then I tell her that we will speak in Portuguese and only in Portuguese. Because she distinguishes between what is Spanish, English and Portuguese. So she won't mix her languages. She wants to learn French.

All of the participants were chosen in part because they speak a language other than English or Spanish. All of them expressed a strong desire for their children to learn English quickly and well. They all agreed that it was very important to learn English while living in the United States. A few, in recognition of the predominance of Spanish in the community in which they live, also expressed a desire for their children to learn Spanish, though this desire was not nearly so strong as the necessity to learn English.

At the same time, all of the interviewees except one expressed a fear that their children were going to lose their home languages. Some had already seen evidence of this occurring. Some were resigned to this loss, seeing it as an almost inevitable result of leaving their home countries and living in the U.S. Others were very determined to reinforce the first languages at home, recognizing that it was not going to happen at school. One parent, on the other hand, stated that she was not worried that her daughter might lose her first language. In fact, she found the dominance of English and Spanish in

the community conducive to learning both languages, and thought that the disciplined use of certain strategies would result in a multi-lingual child.

Education

In general, the participants were more content with their children's education in the U.S. than they were with their own education in their respective home countries. They felt that their kids were learning more and would be well prepared for their futures. At the same time, they were not, on the whole, content with kids' behavior (mainly other people's children, not they're own) in the school. They wanted the discipline to be far stricter, like they had experienced in their home countries. They thought students were not respectful enough of teachers in particular and adults in general. Despite this reservation, these parents still felt that school and education were extremely important. Though they embraced U.S. education, they did not do so at the expense of who they were and where they had come from. They wanted to retain their home languages and cultures. They had the high academic and behavioral expectations that they had brought with them from their home countries and their kids were meeting their families' culturally based expectations.

A Pilipino father feared that his kids were losing their maternal tongue and with it their connection to his home country. In addition to learning English and American culture, he wanted schools to help maintain L1 proficiency and C1 relevance.

> E: What would you change if you could change anything about their school experiences? How would you change this school if you were in charge?

A: Well I wish there's Filipino class over here. So then, 'cause see not only for my daughter, but see we have a lot of Filipino kids over here so I wish they have a kind of like a tutoring if they do have fund for certain things so like kids tend to have like interest in learning Filipino.
E: Do you want to teach it?
A: [laughs] No not really. But I know a teacher [who is] already retired but she does want to do that right now.
E: Maybe as part of the after school program.
A: Yeah, as part of the after school program. I wish really that they do have one of those things 'cause I kind of intend to like, you know, I know you were American-born but you still have to learn how to speak Filipino you know 'cause you're Filipino, you know. But to them, probably, they don't. But to me being a parent that's one of the things I've been thinking. Hopefully that's gonna happen some day.

A Korean aunt, was mostly happy with her nephew's experience in school in the U.S., but thought that support in L1 would help ease his transition into English and the content curriculum:

E: Considering these differences between languages, cultures and educational systems, what changes could the American teacher or school make to improve the educational experiences for a Korean student such as your nephew?
J: That, huh, it's a good question. Well I wish that he could have a Korean tutor that will be helpful. I mean I wish I could have done it but I have job and I go to school and lots of things. Yeah that would be really helpful if he had one. But he doesn't. But anyway he's doing okay I guess. I talked with [his teacher] and he's doing great actually. It kind of surprised how he's improved in a short time. He started school in January, yeah, so it's been about 3 or 4 months about. . . . His pronunciation got much better and he's learning lots of words.

A Cambodian mother, whose Chinese husband attended school in China, had mixed feelings about school in the U.S. On the one hand she was happy with their academic progress in elementary school (though not in middle school), on the other she was concerned about news reports she had heard about the quality of teachers.

E: Would you say you're happy your children's education?
S: Yes, I am. Yeah. Because I think, well you know I'm not happy with the children in middle school here in California because of all the kids... well I'm not even going to go into that... [Laughs] Talk about education! Yes I am because I

think they get what they need to learn. . . . Mostly my children likes their teacher. Teacher is very important to a child's learning. So I heard that back then, there's a lot of teachers that's not certified, you know, and so I hope, that's one thing I hope they change, that they make sure the teachers are certified. In order to have a good student is to have a good teacher. And it works just the other way around too. What works is for good teacher to have a good student. [Laughs] Works both ways.

A Brazilian mother couldn't think of anything that she didn't like about public school in the U.S. compared to public schools in Brazil with their leaky roofs and drastically underpaid teachers.

E: ¿Si pudiera traer algo de las escuelas de Brasil, no sé, de la manera de enseñar allí, aquí que traería?
J: No, aquí esta muy mejor. No tienen ni comparación.

E: If you could bring something from the schools in Brazil, what would you bring?
J: No, here is much better. There is no comparison.

The Brazilian mother also expressed great satisfaction with the social aspects of schooling in the U.S.:

E: ¿Están felices con la educación aquí?
J: Sí me gusta mucho la educación de aquí.
E: ¿Qué es lo mejor? ¿Cuáles son las cosas que le gustan de la escuela aquí?
J: La oportunidad que da a los niños tener educación. De no tener racismo y tratar a los niños iguales. Como estaba... yo fui a un programa de GATE el sábado que pasó fui al programa de GATE. Y ella estaba hablando de [su hija], porque fue movida al quinto grado [brincó un año]. Y la coordinadora, yo creo, de GATE, y estaba hablando, más no dijo nadie que era mi hija ni nada, y estaba hablando de que todos los niños son especiales. Y esto es muy importante. Tú no diga al niño, "tú eres especial, tú eres estrella," me entiendes, y que los otros se sienten menos. Por eso, eso es muy importante que los niños. A mi hija no es especial, especial para mi como toda madre y como todo padre sus hijos son especiales más a mi lo bueno es la oportunidad que ella fue dada no fue dada solamente a ella, fue dada a todos los niños más que unos tienen más conseguir tener un éxito mayor y los otros no. Más cada niño tiene un excito en una parte. Por ejemplo, ahora ella no tiene mucho excito en la parte social. No es una niña muy sociable. Más tenía éxito en la parte académica este para mi es muy importante que mi hija tenga esta. La mía preocupación cuando la trajo fue la

preocupación de, de esto si ella iba ser tratada igual como los otros niños independiente de ser una niña nacida aquí o de ser nacida en México o en donde sea.

E: ¿Qué es lo peor de las escuelas aquí?

J: ¿Lo peor?

E: O sea, ¿si pudiera cambiar una cosa qué sería?

J: Yo no sé, no sé sinceramente no sé. A lo mejor no debo responder esa pregunta porque no tengo mucho tiempo de estar en la escuela y contacto con la escuela para ver.

E: Are you happy with the education here?

J: Yes, I like the education here.

E: What is the best? What are the things that you like about schools here?

J: The opportunity it gives to children to have an education. There is no racism and they treat children equally. Like it was ... I went to a GATE program last Saturday. The coordinator, I think from GATE was speaking about my daughter. How she was promoted to 5th grade [skipped a year] but she didn't say that she was talking about my daughter. She was talking about how all children are special. It is very important that you don't tell your child "you are special, you are a star." Do you understand me? So that others feel less. That is why, that is so important that children... For me, my daughter is not special, she is special for me like for every mother and for every parent their children are special to them, but for me, the good thing is that she was given this opportunity, and that it wasn't given to her only but to all children. Some children get to achieve success and others don't. But each child achieves success in an area. For example at this time she is not successful in the social area. She is not a very social girl, but she was very successful in the area of education. This is very important for me. My worry when I brought her here was whether she was going to be treated equally like other children, whether she was born here or in Mexico or wherever.

E: What is the worst thing about schools here?

J: The worst?

E: Yes, for example, if you could change one thing, what would it be?

J: I don't know, no, sincerely I don't know. I think I shouldn't answer this question because I haven't had much contact with the school and I have not been in school for a long time to really see how things are.

A Thai mother wanted to improve schooling by unifying the student body in an appreciation of the freedoms that she enjoyed in the United States. She suggested that this be accomplished by implementing regimented patriotic exercises:

Yeah, I believe school there is something I want to bring up too. I think the way Thai people learn too is because we sing the national anthem every morning and evening. Eight o'clock before you have to go to class. You have to stand in line.

I don't know if this is an issue you can bring up in America. I want to call the education department, you know, this is important. Yes maybe 1 day, 2 days not going to make it, but every day then you respect the country, nation and religion. And be dressing in the morning and be thinking of Thai national anthem and what this mean. What it valued to be Thai. That is why Thai people love Thai country.

An Indian father noticed a similar difference in teaching styles, but felt more positively about the developmentally appropriate informal style of learning for his kindergartner son than the Brazilian mother did about it for her 4th grade daughter. On the other hand, he wanted a more strict definition and enforcement of the existing uniform policy begun at the behest of Mexican parents a few years earlier.

E: Based on what you saw last year in kindergarten, what was your favorite thing, or your least favorite thing about the way they taught your son in a U.S. school? What did you like, what did you not like?
R: The first thing is the teachers are very much cool, very much nice with the kids. You can feel they are playing with their mom at home; they are playing with their teacher at school. They are very much nice with our kids. And that thing I like very much. If the other kids do anything else wrong or bad, they just say, hey no don't do it. Nice way. They call those kids and tell them nice way, don't do this that way. The same thing we can teach them at home. So I find this just like home. Maybe some kids are different way, but they teach the rules really nice. The teacher in [another school] I met her and she really nice. I met her last year, just one year ago. She really nice and whenever I saw her and how she teach the kids and how she met the kids, she just gave them a hug and after school she gave them the hug, and just like being their mom, just like that. She's teaching the kids, it's very nice. That thing, I like it very much.
E: What didn't you like?
R: I want, everybody should come dress up. One dress up is most important because sometimes it reflect a lot on this age kids. You know, if my son is going over there he's bringing a jacket, a nice jacket. And another kid he just bring something, a different kind, and he say, oh what's this? They talk and look. And when they come back they say they say he's wearing that kind of jacket. I want that. He bringing that kind of shoe. I want that. So that thing is really not good I think. I don't know, maybe the kids get things easy. So they can bring anything. But they watch everybody. They watch from the shoes, they watch the trousers. Oh he's bring that kind of trousers, shorts just like that, even just like the nice jacket. Then they come home, I want that, I want that. But you cannot refuse it, because you want to go in that shirt. Because if 5 kids wearing same thing. If he not wearing it he feel oh no, he feel different. My parents are not giving these things. But if schools dress up as same, they bring white shirt or blue trouser and

tie over there, school tie, and he should wear the black shoes and white socks then everybody's the same!

The Indian father spoke at great length about how important it is for teachers to be extremely strict with students, not just in terms of uniforms, but also in terms of respect for adults in general but teachers in particular. He felt that the best way to teach a young student how to behave properly was to enforce "military rules" complete with monetary fines for minor infractions:

> But after 5-6 years, kids should be well mannered, well behaved, have culture. They should know how to talk with elders, how to talk with old people. He should know that. He or she. But when he come to club, he already know that. In India, they just treat just like they're god. They give them lots respect. Just in my case, I remember once a principal over there in our high school. Right now, you probably go that school, they give me true respect. Even my principal, I touch their feet. That's a big respect in India, to touch their feet. And sometimes they give us the example, this is our old student, we always give the example over there in the schools, I know that. We believe that teacher is a creator. He's a mind creator. My parents just gave me the birth. After that she or he changes me. Kids should know that he should respect the teacher. He should respect the teacher. Because teacher is just like god. Second to god for that kid is the teacher. He or she, he can mold that kid any way, any where she want. When our kids come to the classroom, they should give them a nice respect. There in India, if a kid go to the classroom, once they take the prayer, and after that they go to the classroom. When the teacher comes in the classroom, they, we stand up. When the teacher sits down, then the kids sit down. Just to give her the respect. So when the principal is there, they just talk with her very nice way. Teacher know that she's my teacher, that's it. I have to treat them nicely. They should know that we have to give the respect to the teachers. When the kids come into the office, anywhere, he should treat them nicely. [...] One more thing, over there in India, we don't speak by name.
> E: Oh, how do you speak?
> R: Just say ma'am, mister, miss. We cannot say any body older's name. That's teaching disrespect. If somebody calling you by name is disrespect. My youngest call me just by name its disrespect. But if you call them ma'am, sir, if they call them sir, then you have to have respect. So teacher respect is most important. After kindergarten they should know that they have to have respect for teachers. Whatever he is voicing, she is voicing with play, there's no way out. They should know about that after kindergarten. And they should know about it when they get up in the morning. They should take the bath and put on dress-up. The school's there. They should just like hard in their mind, oh if I don't dress up

nice and polish shoes then oh teacher will punish me. They should learn that. That's very important too.

In sum, the participants were mostly pleased with the academic aspects of school. The appreciated the practice of espoused American ideals such as liberty and equity, but also wanted to keep their home languages, values and cultures. They were disturbed by students' behavior in this country, preferring the kind of strict rules and demonstrations of respect for teachers that they had been taught in their scholastic experience in their home countries.

Culture

Discussion of various aspects of culture was the most common theme in the interviews. Interviewees spoke positively of both their first culture (C1) from their home country and their second culture (C2) here in the United States. They talked about politics in terms of feelings of nationalism and patriotism for both cultures. They spoke of the tensions of assimilation into the new culture and of retaining their original culture. While each participant is unique, there were some trends in how they conceived of their values, about what they considered to be important and unimportant, and right and wrong.

The participants are universally happy to be in the U.S. and expressed feelings of loyalty, pride, and appreciation for their adopted country. Often, their patriotic sentiments for their new country were prompted by contrasting the freedoms and opportunities here with the political corruption and economic malaise in their country of origin.

E: Is there a big Filipino community here?
A: Oh yeah, we have I think the biggest here in [name of city]. We have the Filipino community here in [name of city]. And I think we have one coming right now, in fact we have one coming by July, I mean, 4th of July, which is a big celebration every year...
E: So what is it like for you being a Filipino in the United States in a city that is mostly Mexican immigrants?
A: Well, to me it, I don't, I don't have anything to do with any race or whatever you know, or any ethnic group. All I can say is that I'm all happy enough to be here in the United States. That's all the main thing. You know, and having my mom come over here and be with my wife and my kids. So just happy to be here away from whatever is going on right now in the Philippines. [laughs]
E: What did you want to get away from?
A: Well there's politics really bad right now. You know how it is, graft and corruption is always a part of you know, those high government officials. Well, right now, it's always this bad news that I hear from the news. It's been a long time, to tell you the truth that is one of the reasons that I haven't been back since 1989. I haven't seen my brother so I think that's going to be the first and probably last time that I have to go back there. 1989, so that's 11 years ago or whatever, yeah.
E: What's the best part about being in the U.S.?
A: Well I think, ah, just, ah, lucky enough to be here, you, like you free, you know. There's one thing that, ah, I want to explain, ah in the Philippines if you're poor you're poor and you just going to be like on Christmas time the only that can eat ham or *jamón*, we call it *jamón*, are the rich people and over here in the United States it doesn't matter if you're poor, as long as you have money you can buy the stuff that you want. So that's a big, big difference.
E: If you're poor there then you can't...
A: Yeah, you can't. 'Cause see here it doesn't matter if they pay you minimum wage. If you want to buy ham you can still buy ham. It's not only the rich people that can buy ham over here. So that's all. [laughs]

Sometimes the very aspects of the U.S. that the interviewees found attractive were also the sources of friction. Liberty, especially, was appreciated because there was repression in their home countries, and yet it occasionally contrasted uncomfortably with their C1 values. A Cambodian mother who is married to a Chinese immigrant described this ironic tension thusly:

E: If there is one thing that you don't like and you would like to change American schools, what would you change?
S: Hmm.
E: Hard question, huh?
S: Yeah, it is. I really have no idea.
E: Would you make it more like the Chinese schools?
S: No. I wouldn't say... well maybe... well because America is so much freedom that you can't really be tough or strict with the Chinese school, then the parent would say, 'that's in our bills'. So...
E: Would you want to make it stricter if you could? If you could do anything...
S: Well, maybe more strict on the kids' behavior. But then again that is school and this is where the parent comes in, not the teacher's job to teach the kids how to behave. Teach them, you know, give them their education, you know.
E: Right.
S: It really is hard to separate those.
E: So the American culture wouldn't allow that...
S: No, I don't think so.

A Thai mother who had been an activist in her home country was attracted to the political freedom and economic opportunity that the U.S. offered, yet felt that Americans should demonstrate more appreciation for such things, as they do in her home country, despite the limitations she encountered in her struggle to increase the amount of political freedom and economic liberty in her home country:

> And politic? I'm pretty much straight with the democracy. And I don't like corruption so I can't run for government even though I have an economic degree. I went to help the slum politic with the government department. I saw the thing is not equally wages so I fight for those employee who don't get enough pay. But the office not happy about what I try to do. So I feel I not safe enough and I feel frustrated when I not get any thing for my employee who work hard and get paid, you know, one dollar a day and I feel I can't do anymore. So I quit and do business.

Later in the same interview, she stated that patriotic exercises would help American students to set the tone for learning, just as it does in her home country.

R: Yeah, I believe school there is something I want to bring up too. I think the way Thai people learn too is because we sing the national anthem every morning and evening. Eight o'clock before you have to go to class. You have to stand in line. I don't know if this is an issue you can bring up in America. I want to call the education department, you know, this is important. Yes maybe 1 day, 2 days not going to make it, but every day then you respect the country, nation and religion. And be dressing in the morning and be thinking of Thai national anthem and what this mean. What it valued to be Thai. That is why Thai people love Thai country. Thai nation observe my signing and by concentrate because everybody be quiet, and sing that song together, every single morning and six o' clock in the evening, yeah. Even car driving, you can hear that song.
E: Oh, not just at school, but everywhere?
R: Yeah. Everybody you can hear that song. Normally not in the business town, but yeah, school, radio…
E: And everybody in Thailand speaks Thai…
R: Yeah, most 99%
E: And the song is on at the same time…
R: Yeah so everybody has mind for nation. So here they need to know what is special to be common American. I am American too, now, but I feel this country have a lot of opportunity to offer everybody.

Appreciation of the U.S. was apparent not just in the political and economic realms in terms of valuing freedom and opportunity, but also in the arena of culture. Even though C2 was strange to them, they liked and embraced American mores for the most part:

E: Aquí [su hija] está en una escuela pública y me imagino que si ustedes se quedan aquí, va a seguir en la escuela pública hasta la universidad pública. ¿Usted no tiene miedo que llegó como Brasileña y va a salir como Americana?
J: No.
E: ¿No va a perder, este, el portugués?
J: Portugués, no. Yo no tengo miedo. Yo quiero que ella tiene un futuro adelante. Y ella tiene en la mente lo que sabe, ella sabe sus valores, ella sabe que es Brasileña. Ella no va a dejar ser brasileña. Sus abuelos son Brasileños, toda la familia. Ella tiene en la cabeza de ella que ella quiere un futuro. Ella quiere en el futuro tener una casa, un carro. Nada muy grande. Ella no sueña grande, más ella sabe de la razón financial del país de donde venimos. De su país, ella sabe de la condición financial. Y lo que me motivó mover para acá fue que allá, en Rio de Janiero es muchísima violencia. Muchísima. Es demasiada violencia. Más tú estás en la calle y puedes ser victima de una bala perdida. Porque todos los bandidos estaban allí en la calle mezclando con la gente y armados. Más bien armados que la propia policía. El bandido trae un BMW y la policía trae un

Volkswagon. No tiene condiciones. La policía trae un .38 y el bandido trae un R15. No tiene condiciones. Entonces la violencia me motivó venir para acá e intentar la vida con ella, con [su hija]. Y ella sabe lo que ella quiere hasta [...] porque cuando estoy muy depresida, mi hijo está allá, a veces me siento como que no puedo seguir, ¿me entiendes? A veces me siento muy frágil, porque es una responsabilidad muy grande tener [su hija] aquí sola. Es que como decir... el padre de ella, los abuelos, todo que ella fue de bueno, y la culpa es mía. La culpa es mía. Y eso que fue malo. Y la culpa es mía. ¿Entiendes?

E: Si.

J: Y también la educación de ella si es buena es mérito mío. Eso estoy diciendo de las drogas y todo. Y también cuando su salud, *these things fall upon me*, y es una responsabilidad muy grande. Y a veces le digo, "sabes que, me voy a regresar a mi país." "No, no te preocupes." Ella es como mi psicólogo. Y cuando estoy deprimida del niño, "al futuro va a estar aquí con nosotros." Y como que me da fuerza. Y debe ser al revés. Yo debo dar fuerza a ella porque hija mía y ella es mi psicóloga y dice que no, no es cierto, y al futuro ella va a ser cientista, y que va a estar muy agradecida a mí porque la trajera a este país... no, no me preocupa que va turnar una Americana. Estoy preparada para esto porque ya tengo los costumbres, es que todo depende del lugar que está. Vaya a agarrar las costumbres. No tiene como estar en los Estados Unidos sin continuar como una Brasileña de Rio de Janiero. Para empezar las costumbres de la ropa es diferente, de todo. Y ella acepta los cambios. No, no tengo miedo de que se torne a una Americana.

E: Here, your daughter is in a public school, I imagine that if you stay here she will continue in public school all the way through the public university. Are you afraid that she arrived as a Brazilian but would come out as an American?

J: No.

E: She won't loose, uh, Portuguese?

J: Portuguese, no. I'm not afraid. I want her to have a future ahead. She has it within her what she knows, she knows her values, she knows she is Brazilian. She won't stop being a Brazilian. Her grandparents are Brazilians, all the family. She knows what she wants for her future. She wants to have a house and a car, nothing big. She doesn't dream big, and she knows about the financial situation of the country where we came from. What motivated me to move here was that back in Rio de Janeiro there is too much violence. Too much. Too much violence. When you are out in the street, you could always be the victim of a stray bullet. All the bandits are in the streets, mixed in with the regular public and they are armed. They have better arms than the police. Bandits have BMWs and police have Volkswagens. There are not conditions. Police carry a .38 and bandits carry an R15. There are no conditions. So violence motivated me to come here and try life with her. And she knows what she wants [...] because when I'm too depressed, my son is back there, sometimes I feel like I can't continue. Do you understand? Sometimes I feel too fragile, because it is a big responsibility to have your daughter here alone. It's like saying ... her father,

grandparents, everything good for her, and it's my fault. It's my fault. And this is bad. And it is my fault. Do you understand?

E: Yes.

J: And if her education is good, I get the credit. This is what I say about the drugs and everything, about her health too, these things fall upon me. And this is a great responsibility. Sometimes I told her, "you know what, I'm going back to my country." She tells me not to worry. She is like my psychologist, when I'm depressed about my boy. "He will be here with us in the future." This gives me more strength. This has to be backwards, I'm the one that has to give strength to her because she is my daughter. She is my psychologist but she denies it because she says that she will be a scientist in the future. And that she would be very thankful to me for bringing her here to this county. No I'm not worried that she would become an American. I'm prepared for this, because I have the values. Everything depends on the place where she is. She will acquire the values. It doesn't matter if she stays in the United States and continues to be a Brazilian from Rio de Janeiro. To begin, the values, looks in clothing is different, in everything. She accepts the changes. No, I'm not afraid that she would turn into an American.

A Punjabi and Hindi speaking father from India expressed appreciation for American culture with more of a hint of practical realism a la "when in Rome, do as the Romans." Using the metaphor of constructing a building to describe educating his child, he expressed cultural relativism in this way:

E: What if this building turns out to be more American and less Indian?

R: Where you live, it's better to live according to that way. I believe that thing. If he live in America, then he should live only according to America. I don't want him to go according to the India way. I don't want that. I'm me and I know. But if you live in this place over here, if you try to speak Hindi to everybody, it's impossible. So if everybody speak English, then you should speak English. That's it. If everybody have the same dress-up, then you should have the same dress-up. If everybody in a nice dress-up, you have to have a nice dress-up. Whatever all the kids eating, you have to be eating that meal. I don't care what my kid is eating at the school. Somewhere the religions stop. It has to stop. I don't believe in religion. That's my thinking. The religion is a major draw-back all over the world. It's a major drawback to everybody, to everybody's life. All these things, the religion stops you everywhere. When a person comes out, there is no religion. I might be just like you. My heart is just like you; my blood is just like you. So I don't believe that thing. So I want him to go that way, wherever you are living, go according to that. Go according to that. But, little bit, you should remember, you should know your culture. No dogma. I don't want no stress on him. No you have to have this. It's not a good thing, I think. That's my

thinking. I don't want no; it has to be that way. My thinking is really different. But I want his base to be solid. His building Americanized? No problem. But I want him to be a nice man.

Conversely, a Cambodian mother who is married to a Chinese father thought that the mainstream American culture was a somewhat overwhelming and not entirely positive force on her children:

E: Do you think now that your kids are going to school in the United States; are they becoming too American or not American enough? Are they losing their...
S: Definitely! They are too Americans! [Laughs] There's no doubt about that!
E: Can you give me an example by what you mean by "they are becoming too American"?
S: Well, for one, they like to eat American food! [Laughs]
E: Do they not like Cambodian or Chinese food?
S: Well, not as much. You if I cook pizza, take them out to pizza, McDonalds every night, that would be fine with them, without cooking them rice or Chinese stir fry or any of those good things, you know, healthy stuff. [Laughs]
E: That's what I had for lunch [laughs].
S: I think they are more Americanized because you know with the kids they hang with at school they complain about how the kids get to do this and get to do that. We Oriental have a different family culture, you know, we believe that you should stay and help your family that needs help at home instead of just hang out with friends all the time. You know, I'm not saying that they can't have friends but there has to be a limit.
E: And they don't like those limits?
S: No, they don't. Definitely not.
E: How, do you think the school is partly responsible for making them too American?
S: No, I don't see how the school can be responsible for that. Because they go to school is to get their educations. And, well, I guess that's all I know. [Laughs]
E: Are you going to try to make sure they don't loose both their Cambodian and Chinese, both language and culture?
S: Well, we do try to give them some Chinese education, but it's hard to find around here because there is no Chinese school here available, here in this area, [name of city]. So maybe when they're older we'll send them somewhere to get Chinese education.

Similarly, a Korean aunt, who, along with her husband, is the primary care provider for her nephew, expressed discomfort with the lack of manners shown by many of both Mexican immigrant and American born families. She contrasted what she described as bad behavior with typical Korean values.

> J: Like my husband said, I don't know, I never get to close to Mexican family that's really emigrate from Mexico. Like I said I work at [a] Japanese restaurant, I see lots of Mexican families. Sorry to say Mexico families, but I uh, they when they when I see they eating dinner. For instance when they born in here whole family, they kind of loud they like kind of, I can see their kids moving around the table yelling or crying, I'm saying about 5 or 6 years children, I means um and other people that's don't know how to speak English at all, there kids quiet, and I'm not sure what they do at home [laughs] but I mean can total tell.
> E: What would a Korean family look like at a restaurant?
> J: Uh, quiet. They don't run around, they don't walk around unless you have permission from your mom. Or if you are little tiny kids like 2 or 3 years old, you can't really do anything but once you get to hit 5 or 6 years old, you really have to be careful 'cause you gonna get it when you get home.
> E: What about American families?
> J: Some kids know how to eat at a public place. About 75% they, I don't know, I should say it in a nice way...
> E: [laughs] that's ok...
> J: [laughs] well I mean, it makes me frown sometimes, really.
> E: Because they're loud or rude...?
> J: Korean people when they feed their children they eat like clean so if they made a mess they'll clean it. But American people they don't really care. Like one out of ten try to clean the mess whatever their kids did. But about 9 people will just leave it. They think that's how it is. When we see all the messy under table and on highchair kind of yucky makes my job. It makes me frown a little bit.

In sum, nearly every respondent spoke highly of their adopted country's political, economic, and cultural values. Such appreciation was usually in addition to – not in contradiction of – their warm feelings for their home country, despite having had strong political and economic reasons to emigrate from their country of origin to the U.S. Once here, they have sought to assimilate as quickly as possible, while attempting to retain their original culture, creating a bi-national identity. The only exceptions to such

assimilation were not liking being treated badly or having bad habits taught to their children.

Expectations

A major theme that emerged from the interviews was the very high expectations that the parents had for their children's academic achievement, behavior, and responsibility. These were values that had been imparted to them as students or children in their home countries by their parents and their teachers, and they felt it vital to impart these same high expectations to their children in turn. The apparent result is that the children are succeeding in these areas and the entire family reaps a sense of pride in their accomplishments.

A Cambodian mother returned several times during the course of the interview to the theme of working hard, doing well, and having pride in one's success:

> S: Yeah, at first I have a lot of difficulties, but then I become a fast learner, you know I'm pretty smart too. [Laughs] So, yeah, I think I do pretty well. It was really hard in elementary school because I started in elementary school and when I finished, I think I have like 2 or 3 years then in elementary school, and then I start picking it up in seventh grade. And that's when I, you know, doing well then I skip a grade, and I skip 9 and go to 10, from 8 to 10.
> E: Wow. You started off behind, and then you got ahead!
> S: Yeah, I guess so. Because I guess I love to learn.
> [...]
> S: Oh, it's very important in life. Nothing is more important than education.
> [...]
> E: Ok. And how has school been for them? Has it been easy or hard?
> S: It has been easy for them.
> E: Why do think it's been easy for them?
> S: Because they are doing so well in school, they are advanced in their classes, you know, and they are independent in their studies because I trained

them when they were little. I trained them to be independent and study and do the homeworks and they have no struggle.

E: Did you pass on those same family values about education?

S: Oh yeah, definitely.

E: What do you think the most important reason for them doing well is?

S: Because we, my husband and I, we keep telling them how life will be if they don't have their education.

[...]

S: I think childrens today learns harder stuff than we do back then. They are more advanced in pretty much everything. And I guess in order to be a good student you have to have a good teacher. I mean it takes both to be [...] so you see, we have a doughnut business. I didn't finish high school and my husband didn't go to school in United States. English is very hard for him, you know. [...] We work, we both work like 10-14 hours a day and my children sees that. And definitely they don't want that for their future [laughs].

E: So what are they doing to try to avoid that future?

S: Is they get good education.

E: What are their goals with good education? What do they want to do?

S: Well they want to be something big. Like a doctors, a lawyers, surgeon... you know all the big and professional [laughs].

A Korean aunt described at great length the intense degree of difficulty that she experienced in the rigorous Korean school system. Such high expectations were also encountered at home, where her parents worked hard to ensure that she succeeded in school:

J: One thing that I want to mention is you go to junior high you go on the vacation you still have to go to school. For every kid unless you're sick or have family emergency. You still gonna have to go to school. They give you, they give you a couple of weeks for break but after that you still gonna have to go and learn like a normal life you go to class and you study and they give you homework. It's all the preparation for the test which allows you to go to high school and um and another test prepares you to go to university. Its really I mean I remember when I was a teen I was so hot and the heat in Korea is really humidity cause its covered by all sea and its really hot and I was like 15, 16, I was going crazy. And I was every morning I see family with preparing a picnic or going swimming and I'm like me myself I'm packing my books and wearing my uniform and it was so crazy I mean back then it was really crazy but when I think about it now I think its much better than this [laughs] it was much better, I just needed to go to school, not worry about cooking or cleaning or...

Basically, I'm not sure how Americans do before they go to school. Do they teach them before they go to school?

E: It depends on the family. A lot of parents read to their kids. Maybe they haven't learned how to read, but the parents read to them so they're used to books.
J: Like you said, it depends on the family, but 90% of family in Korea, they teach their kids how to read and write and count before they ever they send them to school.
E: Do you think that's part of the reason that school is faster in Korea?
J: Right, right. I mastered writing in Korean and everything even fractions and times tables before I go to school, which was about 6 or 7 years old. They start about 8 years. And yeah, my dad taught me how to even read the note, the music notes, yeah. I think it was a little too much for me when I was about 6 or 7 but anyways; I was kind of obligated to do it so I did.

A Thai mother described how she was successful in multiple arenas. She did very well in school, art, business and language.

R: In school I like a boy [laughs] I always leader of my team. When, you know, I always good in school and I try to do the right thing.
[...]
R: And the music. Oh I love Thai classical dancing. I used to teach a college class.
E: Did you really?
R: Yes I did. I become a teacher, but I didn't make enough money so I change my career. I been honored to go to another high level, high score without testing, you know, cause my dad a teacher professor there. Yeah, so I love to dance, Thai classical dancing. And I still do.
[...]
E: When you were learning English, did it seem like an easier language to you?
R: No, no not at all. It easy to learn ABC, like preschool you know. But a lot of people fail you know. But for me I always sit in the front and concentrate 'cause I don't want to be behind, you know, grades with anything. That's just the way I am. Maybe because my dad not there for me and I want to show that even though he not there I want to make him proud, you know my real dad. Actually my uncle and my aunt were more proud of me than my dad. I don't know, maybe he is, but I never know.

An Indian father described his experience in the rigorous school system in the Punjab province at great length. There was great social and familial pressure and support to succeed in school and speak several languages, and he rose to meet those high expectations, which he, in turn, is now repeating with his son in the U.S. school system:

E: To what level did you get to while in India? Did you finish high school?
R: I finish graduation, then after that I did another degree after that. After high school there's like a two year graduation course. I finished that high school. Then the senior and junior classes, then after that you go for the graduation. Then after that you go for a two year class, then after that you go for the degree again. It depend, if you pass the high school, you go to 10th grade, then after that 11 and 12. So if you pass the 10th grade, you can go for the degree at that time. And that's a five years degree. Its like electronics, and electrical, mechanical degrees, these are like engineering degrees. And if you want to be a doctor there's five to ten years. So after 12 you pass those tests, then you apply for the engineering schools. It depends on your grades and the 10th and 11th grade marks. If you get good marks in 11th grade then you can go for the tests. If you don't have that much percentage then you have to have 75, 80, 90, then you can go for those tests. That's the entrance test for the engineering schools, engineering degree schools and doctors, some medical colleges. So there are certain limits there. You have to pass 11th and 12th with 80-90% marks. You have to have those ones. Then you can go for the entrance tests. After that, on the entrance tests you should have at least 80-90% marks. Otherwise you cannot enter those schools and colleges. It's very hard.
E: So you passed the 12th grade.
R: Oh yeah, I passed the 12th grade. After that I did the graduation. Then after that I did the engineering, I passed those tests. So I passed all those tests. One time, one time, one time.
[...]
And in the boys' there's a competition because if you are a boy whose getting a 100% and how much he's getting is 90% and how much he's getting is 80% and how much he's getting 99% so that there pictures come in the newspaper. On the big newspaper they are passing their exams. The front page of the newspaper of this month has the 99% mark, the 90% mark. There's a big competition on those things so every go for that. Okay I'll go for that. See their enthusiasm to go for the study is different. There's not easy there. Not relaxed. I saw over here too, there's a little bit different. I know there's a lot difference in the colleges over here, lot, because my brother he's going in the college in Chicago. So there's a lot of burden on him right now. But in the school level, nothing. Over there in the school level, they are very much strict, but on the college level, they are a little bit less. But over here, on the school level it is very easy, but on the college level it is very hard. It's very hard. But over there it is reversed. When you are coming out of high school, nobody can change you on the wrong side because they already make you according to the way that they want to make it the case, just like doctor and junior so they already go for their studies, those things, and he or she already knows that I have to go for the entrance exam. When they on to the 10th grade, they know I am going to this side, or I am going to this side. So for those things, they have to ask, for the 10th grade, the 11th grade, the 12th grade. These 3 years are very hard to pass over there. Very hard to pass over there. If you get the good marks over there, you are really good.

[...]
R: [My son] just finished one year of kindergarten, but I'm not satisfied with his kindergarten. That's why I want to retain him. I want him to go again.
E: What weren't you satisfied with?
R: I want him to be the best one in the class. The teacher says, oh he's very good. It's not possible. If I as a parent didn't put in enough time, then I can tell okay. But right now, last year, maybe my side, I didn't have that much time. But something in maybe the language delay. Some language delays had some affect on him too. Now I find that he can do a lot of things, but his base should be solid.
E: What was his first language?
R: His first language is Punjabi.
E: And then his second language was Hindi?
R: Hindi, yeah.
E: And then, English is his third?
R: Oh, yeah.
E: And he learned all three of those at home?
R: Oh, yeah.

A proud Brazilian mother expounded at great length about her daughter's continuous and amazing degree of success in school. She told about how the school made an exception to the rule and allowed her gifted, if under-aged, girl to begin school early, how she skipped grades because she was so far ahead, and how she is setting and meeting her own high goals. She attributes her daughter's success to her family's values about education and discipline in regards to work and behavior.

J: Déjame explicar: particularmente con [su hija], ella empezó la escuela como al año y medio de edad. Como un año y dos meses, ella pidió que le dará una mochila, una *backpack*, y dijo que quería ir a la escuela. Todos se rieron de ella porque dijeron que ella estaba jugando pero dijo que quería ir a la escuela. Entonces yo fui con ella para que...la escuela dijo que no podía ir a la escuela como ella tenía un año y 7 meses. Más, como fue la primera hija y tenía tiempo para trabajar con ella, yo desde chiquita, como 7, 8 meses empecé a enseñarle los colores, y enseñé los colores, de los números y todo. Y cuando ella fue como un año y siete meses para que...que yo quería, era que el maestro le decía, sabes que no puede porque está chiquita y usa pañales todavía. Y para mi sorpresa, ellos le pusieron como un *test* porque ya llegó y ya identificó los colores en la pared. Y como le hablaba y todo, porque [su hija] como a los 10 meses ya caminaba. Ella no agachinó como los otros niños. Ella empezó a caminar a como un año. Y ya hablaba perfectamente a como un año y seis meses. Entonces ellos y hicieron como un *test*. Y ella pasó en el *test*. Y la directora, la *principal* de allí me dijo,

"madre, yo no puedo decir que tu hija no está capacitada entrar a la escuela a pesar de tener poca edad. [...] Llegó el fin del año, que es verano, ahora [invierno en los Estados Unidos] verano, y me dijo, "sabes que, yo no puedo hacer, dejar esta niña llegar quedar aquí, porque ella está cumpliendo todas las tareas que doy para los niños, ella esta completiendo todo perfecto. [...]

Cuando cambió de escuela [...] el maestro me llamó, el psicólogo, y todos de la escuela. "Sabes que, esta niña tiene que regresar un año." Más yo quiso estar bien. Ella no... la edad de ella está bien. Ella tiene que regresar por una edad bien. Ella estaba adelantada. Entonces tenía que regresar un año. Vamos a hacer así. Vamos a regresarla y ponerla en una clase de niños de su edad. [...] en tres meses que ella está en la clase, ella pasó a enseñar a los otros niños hasta que estaba atrasando la maestra. Porque la maestra dijo, "yo no puedo tener esta niña en mi clase porque ella ya sabe todo. Yo le digo levanta la mano, y ella dice, "yo ya sé" y me está atrasando la niña." Entonces en tres meses, ella estaba allí tres meses, la cambiaron, la movieron a otra clase. Y así fue iendo, fue iendo, fue iendo. Hasta llegó aquí.

E: Y aquí, ha tenido mucho éxito, ¿verdad?

J: Si. [...] Ella siempre quiere aprender más y más y más.

E: ¿De donde viene esa curiosidad? ¿Es un valor Brasileño, o viene de la familia propia?

J: De la familia. Ella es muy parecida con mí. Yo siempre fui una niña que... yo cambiaba los juegos. Siempre fui muy distraída. Muy...me podía encontrar en el patio leyendo. Más es muy difícil encontrarme en la calle. ¿Entiendes?

E: Yeah.

J: No tuvo una infancia, siempre andar por la calle, de jugar no muñecas, no. Yo prefería los libros. [...] No acabo con los libros. Siempre me gustaba aprender y aprender y aprender.

E: ¿Eso le enseño a su hija?

J: Uh huh. Esto sí. Sí le enseñe a ella. Mi padre, él era militar. Entonces tenía una instrucción en la casa. No teníamos acceso a la tele. De las seis de la tarde hasta las nueve de la noche. Eran tres horas de tele, nada más. Teníamos el horario de despertar, el horario de comer, el horario de [...] teníamos horario para todo.

E: Muy estricto.

J: Muy estricto mi padre era siempre, mi familia siempre. Y yo era muy, de mis hermanos, la que más acataba. Como que, yo siempre fui la que más acataba, la que más respetaba, la que más...era como un...Siempre fue un honor para mi tener buenas notas. No sé. Mi padre nunca fue llamado a la escuela por mal, nada más por buenas notas. Siempre agarraba como [su hija] 98, 99, 100 por ciento. A veces me lloraba cuando no agarraba 100%. Por que sabía la respuesta. Yo creo que por querer terminar primera le olvidaba algo, y cuando la maestra dijo, "sacó 99." Ella dijo," ¿porqué?" Y todos los otros niños volteaban, "¡yo saqué 40!"

E: ¿Por qué es importante la escuela para ustedes?

J: Para mi la educación es el base de todo. Yo creo que una buena educación es más que todo. Es muy importante.
E: ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo le ayuda?
J: A mí siempre me ayudó mucho. Hasta en venir para acá. Si tú tienes una buena educación tú consigues, si no, no tienes conexiones. En todo, lo trato de las personas. Tiene que tener educación.

J: Let me explain: [her daughter] started school at about a year and a half. At about a year and two months she asked me for a backpack, and she told me that she wanted to go to school. Everyone laughed at her, because they said she was playing, but she said she wanted to go to school. So I went with her so that ... at school they told me that she could not attend school, because she was one year and seven months old. Since she was my first and I had time to work with her, since she was small between seven to eight months I stated teaching her the colors and numbers and everything. And when she was about a year and seven months ... the teacher would tell her, you know she can't because she is little and still wears diapers, and to my surprise, they administered a test because she identified the colors on the wall. And how she talked and everything, because she walked at about ten months. She didn't crawl like the other kids; she walked at about a year. She could talk perfectly around a year and six months. So they, the teachers, gave her a test and she passed the test. So the principal from school told me, "Mother, I can't tell you that your daughter is not capable of entering school even at her young age." [...] The end of the year arrived, this is summer, now [winter in the United States] and she told me, "You know what; I can't do it, let this girl stay here, because she is finishing all the homework I give to children, she is finishing everything perfectly. [...] When she changed schools [...] the teacher called me, the psychologist, and everyone from school. "Did you know, that this girl needs to come back a year? We're going to hold her back and put her in an age appropriate class. She was ahead, so she needed to go back a year. We did it like that, we took her back a year and put her in a class with children her same age. [...] After three months in class, she started teaching other children, and was even ahead of the teacher. So the teacher said "I can't have this child in my class, because she already knows everything. I tell her to raise her hand and she says 'I know.' She is getting ahead of me." So in three months, she was there for three months, they moved her; they moved her to another class. This is how she kept going, going and going until she got here.
E: Here, she has been very successful, hasn't she?
J: Yes. [...] She always wants to learn more and more.
E: Where does that curiosity come from? Is it a Brazilian value, or does it come form your own family?
J: From the family. She's a lot like me. I was always a girl that ... I changed the games. I was always very distracted. A lot ... you could find me in the playground reading. But it was very hard to find me on the street. Do you understand?
E: Yeah

J: I didn't have a childhood, like being on the street, playing with dolls, no. I preferred the books. [...] I was never tired of books. I always liked to learn and learn and learn.

E: Is this what you taught to your daughter?

J: Uh huh, yes, this is what I taught her. My father was a soldier, so he had discipline at home. We didn't have access to television, only six in the evening to nine at night. There were only three hours of television. We had a schedule to wake up, a schedule to eat, a schedule to [...] we had a schedule for everything.

E: Very strict?

J: My father was very strict and my family was always strict. I was very, of my brothers, the one who fought more. I was like; I was always the one who fought most. The one who respected more, the one who ... I was like a ... It was always an honor for me to receive good grades. I don't know. My father was never called to the school for something bad I had done, only for my good grades. I always had 98, 99, 100 percent. I used to cry when I didn't get 100 percent, because I knew the answers. I think that for wanting to be the first one to finish, I would forget something, so when the teacher would announce my 99%. I would question her: Why? So then all the other children would turn to me and say "I got a 40 percent!"

E: Why is school important for you?

J: For me, education is the foundation for everything. I believe that a good education is worth more than anything. It is very important.

E: Why? How does it help you?

J: It has always helped me. It even helped me in the process of coming here. If you have a good education you can achieve, if not, you don't have connections. In everything. In how people treat you. You have to have an education.

In sum, the parents reported having very high expectations for their children in the realms of family responsibility, work, and especially in school. The parents acquired these values from their own families as well as from the societies from which they came. They, in turn, supported their own children in developing and meeting high aspirations in terms of behavior and in terms of academic achievement. As they realize these lofty goals, the children develop a strong sense of pride in their achievements which, in turn, benefits their continuing dedication to doing well. The result is that everyone involved – the school as well as the family -- are pleased in terms of the values of both the first and second cultures (C1 and C2).

Summary

Below is a short summary of each of the five themes: immigration, language, education, culture, and expectations. An analysis of these five themes can be found in chapter five, the following chapter.

Immigration

When the interviewees spoke of emigration from their home countries, most spoke of fleeing oppressive situations. Their home countries "didn't have conditions," as the Brazilian mother put it. In Brazil there was violence, poverty, and run down schools. In the Philippines there was "graft and corruption" and poverty. And in Cambodia there was simply the communist take-over.

In contrast, when the participants spoke of immigrating to the United States, they spoke of opportunities for improving their lives and those of their children. The Brazilian mother said she came initially for "pure curiosity." The Indian father came because the company he worked for sent him here to learn and to work. The Filipino father's wife was able to bring him here because she had become an American citizen. A Thai mother came to visit her brother and then wound up marrying an American citizen.

It would be accurate to say that most of the respondents came from bad situations with political, economic and educational dimensions, though not all did. Some came because of personal or professional connections. All stated that they liked being in the U.S., though some missed their home countries.

Language

Though none of the participants were able to place their children in bilingual programs, all of them expressed a desire for their children to become and remain multilingual. All were eager to have their kids learn English because it was crucial for their futures. At the same time they expressed pride and determination in the maintenance of their home languages, or sorrow at their immanent loss.

A Filipino father lamented seeing his "kids growing up and they don't speak the language that you grew up with" but knew that "you can't force it." Still, he knew English, in addition to Ilocano, was the ticket that offered job opportunities. An Indian father said he wanted his son to "speak all the languages." Hindi and Punjabi were the home languages that would enable his family to "come close" to his son, while English was necessary because it is the language of power in the U.S. A Cambodian mother, who is married to a Chinese man, spoke with pride about her children's ability to understand the teacher in English, but wistfully wondered about maybe someday sending their kids to get their missing "Chinese education". A Brazilian mother spoke about how her daughter easily transitioned from Portuguese to English, then learned Spanish socially, and now is "thinking about learning French."

In sum, multilingualism was universally valued by the interviewees. In some cases the children were losing their home language as they became more fluent in English. This was viewed with a sense of sorrow and defeat because of the distance it created between the generations and cultures. In other cases, the home languages were

being retained as English was being mastered. English is recognized as unquestionably important for their children's futures, but L1 is still seen as the language of the heart.

Education

In general, the participants expressed strong approval of the education that their children were receiving in the United States. In terms of academics, the interviewees expressed satisfaction, though several said it would be even better if their L1 and C1 could be incorporated somehow. A Brazilian mother thought American public schools were "much better" than Brazilian public schools, though Brazilian private schools were more advanced because they used the chalkboard and gave more homework instead of "teaching by playing," like they do here. An Indian father enjoyed how the kids learned by playing. A Cambodian mother said that her children "get what they need to learn" and "like their teacher." A Korean aunt was pleasantly surprised that her nephew was "doing great," but thought he would do better with a Korean tutor. A Filipino father was generally pleased but thought extra classes in his L1 would benefit his children.

In terms of actually practicing what Americans preach about lofty socio-political ideals, the participants were also pleased. A Brazilian mother said her favorite aspect of American schools was the "opportunity it gave to all to have an education, to not have racism, and to treat everyone equally." A Thai mother thought there should be more patriotic exercises to instill appreciation of the democracy and opportunity that exist in this country. An Indian father liked how the teachers were "very much cool, very much nice" in the way they interacted with the kids.

In terms of behavior, however, most respondents were dissatisfied. An Indian father wanted the students to dress up in more formal uniforms and "be well mannered, well behaved, have culture." Both a Thai mother and a Korean aunt spoke of a need for greater "respect." A Cambodian mother hoped to send her kids to a stricter Chinese education at some point in the future. A Brazilian mother attributed her success to a strict academic environment in her home country.

Culture

Every person interviewed spoke of being very glad to be in the United States where there is democracy, economic opportunity and freedom. They were a bit wary of their children picking up bad American habits though, and sought to teach their kids to be morally upright. At the same time as they were glad to be away from bad political and economic situations in their home countries, they missed their original cultures and languages.

A Filipino father felt lucky to be free in the U.S., away from the poverty and corruption of the Philippines, but lamented the loss of L1 and C1 in his children's generation. Similarly, a Cambodian mother expressed that she liked "so much freedom" but felt that it impeded efforts at being tough and strict, like it was in her husband's home country of China. She felt that her children were too American in terms of adopting unhealthy eating habits, rejecting limits, and not valuing family enough. A Thai mother liked the "democracy" because it contrasted with the politics of her home country, but wanted more unified expressions of patriotism, like in Thailand. A Brazilian mother was

glad to be away from the violence and poverty of her home country. She was happy to see her daughter learning American customs and was pleased that her Brazilian roots would be preserved. An Indian father had "no problem" with his son being Americanized, just as long as his son learned how to be a "nice man." He was actively taking steps to preserve L1 though. A Korean aunt was dismayed at the lack of manners shown by Americans and Mexicans, and sought to teach her nephew to behave properly.

All of the respondents expressed being pleased with a hybrid identity. There were tensions between C1 and C2, but the negotiation between nationalities, languages, and cultures was yielding positive results.

Expectations

The interviewees had very high expectations for their children's behavior and academic endeavors. The parents had developed these values in their home countries with their own parents and teachers, and they felt that it was very important to pass these traits on to their own children.

A Cambodian mother stated emphatically that "nothing is more important than education" and said that she had "trained [her children] to study." A Korean aunt remembers "going crazy" because of the intense pressure to succeed in the Korean school system, which she entered after already having learned to read, write, and multiply at home. A Thai mother described "sitting in front" and concentrating in order to do well and make her parents proud of her. An Indian father described Indian school as "very hard" and martinet in its discipline system. He retained his son in Kindergarten because

he wanted him to be "the best in the class." A Brazilian mother described herself as being very studious, and credited her father's military strictness with her success. She, in turn, described her daughter's success: skipping grades, getting perfect SAT9 scores, and mastering 3 languages. She said school is "very important."

The children responded to these high expectations by behaving very well and succeeding academically (Morse & Hammer 1998). They have, in effect, internalized their parent's values of school being very important, and making their families proud of their achievements.

Chapter V

Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter I acknowledge the short-comings of this project and explain the ways in which it is valid and the ways in which it could be mistaken. Next, I attempt to synthesize the professional literature and the data from the interviews, and then analyze them as a whole. I also make recommendations to the faculty at my school (and perhaps other, similar schools) that seek to improve our practice in regards to this portion of our constituents. Lastly, I call for further study in regards to the issues touched upon here.

From Questions to Answers to Questions

Originally, I set out to find out what the needs and desires were of a particular group of parents. While I had vague guesses about what they might talk about, it was very much an open-ended project with no hidden agenda. I selected just those families at my elementary school whose first language was neither of the two predominant languages (Spanish and English). I interviewed seven families who, in addition to being somewhat conversant in English, spoke a variety of mainly Southeast Asian languages: Tagalog, Ilocano, Thai, Korean, Urdu, Hindi, Cantonese, Cambodian and Portuguese. I asked them to talk about how their home languages, cultures and scholastic experiences compared with what they were finding here in the U.S. As is often the case with studies

employing grounded theory approaches, their answers to my interview questions led to yet more questions. Despite the never-ending nature of inquiry, there were coherent trends in what the interviewees said that can be analyzed.

There were also demographic trends that I was noticing at my school, around the state and in the rest of the nation. But, as a teacher, I wanted to know more than just that these kids existed, I wanted to know how they were doing in school and what I could do as a professional to help them succeed. I began to look at some of the data on student achievement that I had available to me in my capacity as the BRT at my school. I noticed some patterns, though I must admit that I have not yet analyzed most of the numbers to "prove" that there are statistically significant results. Nevertheless, I feel cautiously confident in saying that those students at my school whose first language is neither English nor Spanish are faring significantly better on multiple measures than those kids whose first language is Spanish or even English. Preliminarily speaking, data on re-classification from English Language Learner to Fluent English Proficient seems to show that they are learning English faster than the Mexican immigrants. The results from the ninth edition of the Stanford Acheivement Test (SAT-9) -- the only data analyzed -- seem to indicate that the Asian children and one Brazilian child score higher than the Latinos and Whites (though only on the Language sub-test was it statistically significant for 2001). Benchmark Performance Indicators apparently show they are acquiring English at a more rapid rate than the other kids. The *other* immigrants' writing rubric scores seem to be higher than average as well. But even if it is true that these students are faring better than the Mexican immigrant students, the data does not show *why* they do better. It

only begins to suggest what their needs might be (the original research question). Hence, there was the need to hear and analyze the voices of the parents.

Emergence of Themes

Five key themes have been culled from the interviews. Each theme has several sub-topics, and there is a great deal of overlap and bleeding over into other themes. While there are instances in which the interviewees diverged on a certain point or emphasized different aspects of a particular topic, there is never-the-less a high degree of commonality on all five of the key themes that have been identified.

Two of the themes are considered to be major themes: Culture and Expectations. The interviewees spoke at great length about these subjects, returned to these topics many times, and talked emphatically about them, using superlatives and exclamations.

Within the heading of Culture, subjects such as politics, economics, values, and assimilation and retention of C1 and C2, are evident. Nearly every respondent spoke highly of their adopted country's political, economic, and cultural values. Appreciation democracy, economic opportunity and political freedom was usually in addition to – not in contradiction of – their warm feelings for their home country, despite having had strong political and economic reasons to emigrate from their country of origin to the U.S. Once here, they have sought to assimilate as quickly as possible, while attempting to retain their original culture, creating a bi-national identity. There were only two exceptions to enjoying such assimilation. They did not like being treated badly (racism).

And they were a bit wary of their children picking up bad American habits and sought to teach their kids to behave in a morally upright manner.

At the same time as they were glad to be away from bad political and economic situations in their home countries, they missed their original cultures and languages. All of the respondents expressed being pleased with a hybrid identity that included important elements of both their original home cultures and their new American culture. There were tensions between C1 and C2, but the negotiation between nationalities, languages, and cultures was yielding positive results.

The theme entitled Expectations includes pride, schoolwork, goals, dedication and discipline. The parents reported having very high expectations for their children in the realms of family responsibility, work, behavior and especially academics. The parents said that they had acquired these values from their own families as well as from the societies from which they came. They, in turn, supported their own children in developing and meeting high aspirations. The children responded to these high expectations by behaving very well and succeeding academically. As they have realized these lofty goals, the children have developed a strong sense of pride in their achievements which benefits their continuing dedication to doing well. They have, in effect, internalized their parent's values of school being very important, and making their families proud of their achievements.

Three other themes were not quite as prominent, but were still important: Immigration, Education and Language. They were topics that were talked about less often and for shorter durations. The language that was used to talk about them was less emphatic and the tone was less urgent than that used to discuss the major themes.

When the interviewees spoke of emigration from their home countries, most spoke of fleeing oppressive situations. In contrast, when the participants spoke of immigrating to the United States, they spoke of opportunities for improving their lives and those of their children. Most of the respondents came from bad situations with political, economic and educational dimensions, though not all did. Some came because of personal or professional connections. With them they brought experiences, values, and opinions. All stated that they liked being in the U.S., though some missed their home countries.

Education, as a theme, includes study habits, discipline, uniforms, respect for elders and seriousness of purpose. In general, the participants were more content with their children's education in the U.S. than they were with their own education in their respective home countries. They felt that their kids were learning more and would be well prepared for their futures, though several said it would be even better if their L1 and C1 could be incorporated somehow. At the same time, they were not, on the whole, content with kids' behavior (mainly other people's children, not they're own) in the school. They wanted the discipline to be far stricter, like they had experienced in their home countries. They thought students were not respectful enough of teachers in particular and adults in general. In terms of actually practicing what Americans preach about lofty socio-political ideals, the participants were also pleased, though some preferred more displays of patriotism

Despite these reservations, these parents still felt that school and education were extremely important. Though they embraced U.S. education, they did not do so at the expense of who they were and where they had come from. They wanted to retain their

home languages and cultures. They had the high academic and behavioral expectations that they had brought with them from their home countries and their kids were meeting their families' culturally based expectations.

The theme of Language includes learning both L1 and L2, retention of home languages, and the difficulties of extreme language minority status. All of the interviewees expressed a strong desire for their children to learn English quickly and well because it was so important while living in the United States. A few, in recognition of the predominance of Spanish in the community in which they live, also expressed a desire for their children to learn Spanish, though this desire was not nearly so strong as the necessity to learn English. Though none of the participants were able to place their children in bilingual programs, all of them expressed a desire for their children to become and/or remain multilingual.

At the same time, all of the interviewees except one expressed a fear that their children were going to lose their home languages. Some had already seen evidence of this occurring. This was viewed with a sense of sorrow and defeat because of the distance it created between the generations and cultures. Some were resigned to this loss, seeing it as an almost inevitable result of leaving their home countries and living in the U.S. Others were very determined to reinforce the first languages at home, recognizing that it was not going to happen at school. So, in some cases the home languages were being retained as English was being mastered. English was recognized as unquestionably important for their children's futures, but L1 was still seen as the language of the heart (Lim-Wilson 1996).

One parent, on the other hand, stated that she was not worried that her daughter might lose her first language. In fact, she found the dominance of English and Spanish in the community conducive to learning both languages, and thought that the disciplined use of certain strategies would result in a multi-lingual child.

Limitations

Though I think that this study has many merits, it is not without its flaws. It is important to recognize the drawbacks and limitations to these recommendations so that they do not get distorted and misunderstood.

Only seven families participated in the interviews. Each of these seven families hails from a different country. It may be tempting to generalize to larger groups, but that would be stretching the accuracy beyond acceptable limits. It would not be plausible to draw conclusions such as, "all parents think..." or "most Asians are..." or "extreme language minorities feel...." What has been stated here is true for the people who spoke about themselves. The ideas and opinions are rooted in the experiences of the people who live their own specific lives, with all the attendant idiosyncrasies. Never-the-less, I believe that it is incumbent upon teachers to take the ideas seriously, and refrain from dismissing them as *only* true for these individual interviewees and *not* true for others. It is quite possible that what these parents expressed is also true for other parents. The ideas that these parents shared are good starting points for discussions with other families. Furthermore, these families move frequently (four of the seven families no longer attend the same school at the time of this writing), so not only will other schools

inherit these students and their issues, so too will my school inherit similar students and issues from other such migrating families. To dismiss everything they said because they have already left would be to state that it is futile to seek feedback at all. Educators and others need to respond to the ideas of the individuals, and not just to the individuals with ideas.

The parents informed me that they wanted increased discipline and better behavior from the students. In other words, they wanted the teachers to demand more respect from the students, better study habits, and higher academic expectations. They knew it was possible to meet these goals because they had experienced it in their home countries and in their own families. They themselves were evidence that such values and practices produced the desired results. These parents did not set out to prove that they and their kids were better than other groups of parents and students. They did not approach me, I approached them. I didn't ask them if they were better, I asked them to describe themselves and to tell me what they wanted. And they did. They told me about their cultural values and their personal expectations. Whether these character traits and culturally based beliefs are more common in certain populations is not necessarily the point. Nor is the point that high expectations, strict discipline, and obedience to family hierarchy net results of good behavior and academic achievement. The point of this study is that these parents are making known specific requests. Though unsolicited, these parents have expressed a desire that the school change its practices. The school, then, has an obligation to try to meet the needs of these families. That is the point of this study.

In sum, it is important to realize the limitations of this study. It would be a mistake to draw inappropriate conclusions, make over-generalizations, or over-state the

conclusions. On the other hand, there are important lessons to be gleaned from this research that should not be dismissed or belittled. A discussion of the data follows.

Discussion

The literature reviewed for this project sometimes coincides and at other times contrasts with what the participants said about themselves in their interviews. In this section, I discuss the ways in which each body of information either clarifies, confirms, mystifies or contradicts the other. Ultimately, I attempt to create a synthetic sensibility which can comprehensively address both my initial research questions and those issues that were raised throughout the process of this study.

The main themes found in the literature reviewed here are as follows: (1) There is a huge diversity of languages in the world, with two Asian languages (Mandarin and Hindi) being more widely spoken than the two next most popular languages (English and Spanish). (2) Though there are more bilingual people than monolingual people in the world, most government bodies have extremely conservative language policies which give preference to official languages of nations over promotion of diversity in order to promote political consolidation of power. (3) There are significant new trends in U.S. census data: there is a decline in the number of people in the U.S. and in California who speak European languages and a dramatic increase in the number of people who speak Spanish and Asian languages, especially Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese and Tagalog. (4) There are only a few language programs available for most English Language Learners

(ELLs) in California schools: ME, SEI, and various versions of Bilingual. Though each student and program needs to be considered individually, most research suggests that proper bilingual programs are better for most ELLs than most ME or SEI programs. (5) Language programs should promote literacy of the heritage language in order to ensure transfer of skills and adequate understanding of both BICS and CALPS in L2. (6) There are many differences between the various L1s and English, but it is not clear that knowing any one L1 would make learning English relatively harder or easier. (7) Cultural factors, such as religion, parental expectations, definition of success, etc. play a large role in student success in American schools. (8) Learning styles -- also affected by culture – of most Asian cultures tends to emphasize obedience, rote, respect and strict discipline more than other cultures. Such values often contrast with more liberal American teachers' teaching styles. (9) In terms of SES, poor kids tend to do poorly in school and wealthier kids tend to use their enriched experiences and resources to help them succeed academically. The corollary for ethnic identity is that distinct but pass-able ethnicities tend to do better than voluntary immigrants who tend to do better than involuntary immigrants. (10) There is a huge diversity between different Asian language and ethnic groups and there is individual variation within each group.

Obviously, there is some consistency between the main themes of the literature and the main themes of the interviews.

In terms of what the literature review suggests about the context in which this study takes place, there is overlap. The literature suggests that in the U.S. in general and in California in particular, while English and Spanish are the most popular languages, Asian languages are growing. That is certainly the case for the setting of this study. The

literature also suggests that governmental language policies are also conservative in general despite the preponderance of bilingual individuals. While all of the interviewees are at least bilingual and some are multilingual, their children attend schools affected by Unz's Proposition 227, which sought to eliminate bilingual education in California. In fact, all of their children are de facto enrolled in SEI programs created by 227 despite their stated preference for bilingual programs in which their children could retain their home language as well as master English.

The literature review evaluates many possible reasons why students such as the ones interviewed for this study do well. According to the literature, placement in SEI programs should hinder rather than facilitate their academic success. Though these students in this study are flourishing in these classes, it may be despite instead of because of their placement in such language programs. Learning styles also seems to be an inadequate explanation of academic success, both in the literature and in the cases examined here.

Both the literature review and the information gleaned from the interviews seem to point toward the importance of a culture of high expectations as being crucial to academic success. All of the interviewees clearly stated that they placed a very high value on excellent behavior, pride in one's work, dedication to success and valuing excellence. The fatal flaw in the professional and popular literature reviewed for this study, when viewed in aggregate (some individual literature does not do this), is that it fails to adequately take the reality of diversity into account. Besides artificially placing all Asians together in a monolithic unit, most literature also does an inadequate job of examining other influential factors such as immigration status, SES and familial beliefs

and values. The point at which the literature falls short of explaining these students' success is the point at which these parent's voices become invaluable in terms of explaining how their kids are getting most of their needs met despite the school's inattention. These students are not succeeding academically because they are Asian (the most successful of them is not even Asian!) rather they are succeeding because their parents have successfully imbued them with certain values and beliefs which are in turn conducive to high academic achievement (Paredes Scribner & Scribner 2001). Insisting upon model behavior, conveying the importance of having great pride in consistently top notch work, and placing the highest value on success and excellence are such powerful factors in academic achievement –especially when present in the context of relatively higher SES (higher parental educational attainment by parents) and/or conducive immigration status (closer to voluntary part of the spectrum) – that they can overcome less influential obstacles such as less effective language programs, less compatible learning styles, and relatively more significant differences between home languages and second languages.

Recommendations

Our school, and perhaps others like it, should take the results of this study seriously. A small minority of our population that is frequently overlooked has spoken and deserves to be heard. While not a completely unified voice, distinct themes can be discerned and they can be translated into practical recommendations to improve our practice. While at first appearance they may appear confusing or misguided to certain

teachers, a closer look and re-evaluation of them can make them appear more comprehensible and palatable and still remain true to their original spirit. In other words, we can listen to parents and re-conceptualize their comments into teacher-friendly language so that we may better implement consistent and effective change in our practice.

First, educators should get to know their students and their parents better. This means that practitioners need to become more familiar with their students as distinct individuals in order to avoid stereotypes. It also means that teachers need to learn more about the L1 and C1 of their students. This does not need to be as daunting as traveling to the students' home countries and becoming fluent in their native languages, though doing so would be very useful. Relatively easy, but still applicable, activities would perhaps be the most useful and effective, given teachers' already busy schedules. One suggestion would be for teachers to interview parents, as I have done here. Another possibility would be to design instructional units that elicit information about students' home lives. Students could interview their parents about immigration. Guest speakers could be invited to the classroom to share their stories and areas of expertise. Selecting literature about the places and cultures that students come from would be instructive for both students and teachers. The kind of knowledge that could be learned in these ways is distinct from what teachers learn from every day interactions with their students. Both kinds of information are important, but while the later is inevitable, the former is too often overlooked despite its usefulness. Every bit of learning helps to improve home/school relationships, and learning something is better than not attempting to learn anything. Progress is more productive than paralysis.

Don't be afraid to ask. Teachers often say, "The only dumb question is the one that is not asked." Educators should get to know the families they serve. They should ask them to share their stories. Teachers should listen to what they have to say about their home countries. Every parent I interviewed expressed both surprise and contentment when I asked to interview them. Several said that no one had ever been interested in what they had to say before. Teachers may lower their own affective filters by asking for guidance from them about effective learning styles and norms of behavior. When approached with respect, they will help practitioners become more responsive and responsible educators. I have noticed positive results from interviewing the parents. Whereas before the interviews, I had very limited interactions with these parents, they now feel more comfortable with me and more connected to the school. A Brazilian mother, for example, approached me for assistance in buying a computer for her daughter for Christmas. I brought her to the Technology Teacher who helped her get set up. This improved relationship between the parent and me benefited the student's academic achievement. Similarly, getting to know the Korean aunt of one of our students allowed her to feel empowered enough to report an instance of mistreatment of her nephew by other students that they said they otherwise would not have mentioned because they were not comfortable with both their English proficiency and their right to "cause trouble". Having learned about Korean communication styles enabled the classroom teacher and me to resolve the conflict in a way that did not force the student to lose face in front of his classmates.

Second, do the homework. Technology has made research more accessible than ever before. With a little bit of coaching, and some direction about where good sources

can be found, huge quantities of quality information can be located and sorted through without too much investment of time and energy. Several bodies of research should prove useful to educators. Studies of the relative effectiveness of different programmatic options should assist educators in making placement recommendations to parents. Research on second language acquisition can help teachers improve not only language lessons, but improve the accessibility of the core curriculum. Research on specific L1s and C1s can help improve cross-cultural understanding and build effective home/school relationships. Research on both resiliency theory and the effects of expectations on student performance can help teachers create more effective learning environments.

Third, teachers should improve their classroom management. One of the clear messages from the interviewees is that they were not pleased with the behavior they had seen in school. They wanted to see a stronger uniform policy. They wanted to see more respectful behavior on the part of the students. They wanted more time on task so that the students would learn more. Improving classroom management would not only please the parents, it would increase time on task for the students, which would, in turn, most likely result in an increase in academic achievement.

In many cases, improving classroom management would be a fairly straightforward process. There are discrete tricks of the trade that can be learned through coaching, workshops, observations, evaluations etc. But, for other teachers, implementing certain procedures or adopting particular discipline policies will only go so far before a more complex issue will have to be confronted. For many liberal American teachers who have developed a progressive pedagogy, there is a disconnection between their home-grown anti-authoritarian classroom management style and the martinet

schooling practices to which many immigrants are accustomed. Ironically, in an attempt to create room for a multiplicity of cultures to emerge, many well-intentioned multi-cultural teachers allow kids to behave in ways that their parents don't necessarily expect. What the parents who were interviewed for this study were saying to the liberal white teachers who are educating their children, has not yet been heard clearly. The practices of teaching students to question adults, to develop critical perspectives and choose from a menu of independent activities, can appear to certain immigrant families as disrespect, rudeness, and chaos.

There is not necessarily a contradiction between critical thinking skills and respect for elders, but it can seem so in the absence of good communication between the teacher and the parent. Therefore, in addition to improving basic classroom management, teachers need to take the initiative to learn what parents expect from their child's teacher as well as explain their teaching style and philosophy. Children who must negotiate between authoritarian and anti-authoritarian environments need explanation and clarification about what kind of behavior is appropriate at which times and in which places. Also, teachers need to balance more open-ended, constructivist and inquiry based learning with direct, explicit instruction. Critical thinking must be taught in conjunction with respectful behavior. Teachers must remember that though they may be experts in education, they must also meet the needs of their constituents, as perceived by the families themselves.

Fourth, teachers should raise their expectations of their students. When expectations for academic achievement are high, students will rise to meet them. These families confirm research that shows that children are capable of learning several

languages, scoring high on tests, mastering content curriculum, and behaving in exemplary ways. It happens across socio-economic conditions, cultures, nationalities, races, programs, and other variables. Students will prove resilient if they are expected to perform at high levels, supported to meet high expectations, and given opportunities to contribute in meaningful ways. Teachers, students, and parents will feel the pride that results from having high expectations met successfully.

Many teachers might respond to the suggestion of raising expectations by saying that their expectations are already high. While it is true that many teachers do have high expectations, it is also true that many do not and/or could benefit from raising them higher than they currently are. When some teachers claim to have high expectations, it might be more accurate to say that they are working hard and trying their best. What they could use is the kind of support that helps them develop higher expectations without necessarily asking them to put in longer hours. Professional development could focus on applying resiliency theory, learning more about their students' culture, socio-economic conditions, language, learning styles, home life etc. Backwards planning could help teachers understand where their students need to be in order to realize future goals, and therefore what needs to be taught when. Studying standards could help teachers design lessons that have a stronger impact than current lesson plans. Units that have a social action component could help motivate students who might be able to make meaningful connections between their lives and their schooling experiences. Whatever approach works for individual teachers, they need to see themselves as life-long learners who are always capable of improving their practice.

Further Study

The reading of the professional literature was disappointing in some ways. There is a lot of information on related topics, but I didn't succeed in finding much on what I sought to do. This is, of course, part of the reason I felt motivated to do it, but still, it would have been easier and more instructive to have had some more guidance in terms of antecedents. Hopefully, this project will help others delve more deeply into the topic, yielding better results and deeper insights.

More study is needed on this topic. This study should be replicated with each incoming family at my school that fits into the defined category. This study should also be done at other schools and the results should be compared. Further reading should be done on each of these L1s and C1s. Positivist studies should be undertaken comparing the relative effectiveness of programs, teaching strategies, and demographically disaggregated academic achievement data.

Lastly, researchers need to delve further in to the dangerously murky waters of culture and religion. I strongly suspect that there are powerful clues hidden there that could shed much light on student success. It is sensitive and potentially controversial territory, but if done well, research could help improve instruction tremendously.

Action

It is the intention of the author to bring this document and the ideas contained within it back to the community from which it came. I want to share it with the parents

who helped to create it and the teachers and students who are part of it. I want to use it to continue the dialogue about how to improve our school for the children we serve. Hopefully the recommendations will be discussed and adopted in a reasonably intact form.

I would also like to bring this work to the district in which I work because there are similar circumstances throughout our area. The thoughts should be applicable in modified form to many schools in the area.

Furthermore, I intend to make this document available to anyone who is interested in the topic for whatever reason by publishing it on the world-wide web. Hopefully, it will be used in accordance with its original purpose: to spur dialogue about how to improve the instruction of language minority youth so that they may improve their lives as they see fit. The goal should remain positive social change. Our multicultural society would benefit from less misunderstanding and more "*chung*".

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Appendices

Consent to Participate in Research

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by J. Eric Gross from the Center for Advanced Studies in Education at California State University at Monterey Bay. The results will contribute to a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Masters' in Arts degree. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are the parent or legal guardian of a student whose first language is neither English nor Spanish and who attends the school where the researcher is employed.

Purpose of the Study

The study is designed to assess the educational and social needs of linguistic minority students at one elementary school by interviewing the parents or guardians of those students. As the children's needs become more clearly identified, it is hoped that the parents and the school employees will improve communication between themselves and work more closely and effectively together in order to improve the education of the children.

Procedures

If you volunteer to participate in this study, you would be asked to do the following:

1) Be interviewed. Interviews last approximately 1 hour. The interview may take place wherever and whenever is most comfortable and convenient to you. You would be asked questions about your home country, home culture, and home language. You would be asked to compare and contrast your experiences there with your experiences in the United States. You would be asked about your child's experiences in school. You would be asked to make suggestions to improve the school in terms of how to best serve the needs of your child.

2) You would be asked to review the transcript of the interview to ensure that it is accurate and clarify any parts of the interview that are confusing to the researcher.

Potential Risks and Discomforts

There are no known significant risks or discomforts associated with participating in this research project. Making time for an interview may be inconvenient. Sharing personal information with the researcher may make you uneasy. Every effort will be made by the researcher to ensure that the needs and desires of the participant are met to their satisfaction. You have the right not to participate in the research project. You will not be penalized in any way should you choose not to participate at all or stop participating once

you have begun. You have the right to censor any information that you have shared. Pseudonyms will be used in an attempt to protect your privacy.

Potential Benefits to Subjects and/or to Society

There are no known significant benefits to the participants in this study. It is possible that the school will improve its services and better meet the needs of its students as an indirect result of having participated. It is also possible that the information that is garnered from these interviews will encourage other schools to change for the better as the ideas are shared. It is hoped that such changes will occur as a result of the project however no benefits to the subjects or to society can be guaranteed.

Disclosure of Appropriate Alternative Procedures

Not relevant to this study.

Nature of Record Keeping

All recordings, transcriptions, notes, and other documents pertaining to this study will be kept securely by the researcher.

Payment for Participation

The subjects will not receive payment for participating in this study.

Confidentiality

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law.

Pseudonyms will be used to protect privacy. During the course of the study, parts of the data and analysis will be shared with assisting professors and other M.A. students at CSUMB. What is learned by the researcher will be shared with co-workers, but only in general terms, no sensitive personal information will be shared. The study will be published as a thesis and kept at the CSUMB library where it may be checked out by anyone with access to the library.

Participation and Withdrawal

You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so, though the likelihood of this happening are unanticipated.

Identification of Investigators

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Eric Gross, Principal Investigator: (831) 728-6979 (work)
Dr. Christine Sleeter, Faculty Sponsor: (831) 582-6341 (work)

Rights of Research Subjects

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Committee, Henry Villavueva at California State University Monterey Bay, 100 Campus Center, Bldg. 1 Seaside, CA 93966; (831) 582-5012.

Signature of Research Subject

I understand the procedures described above and affirm that I am over 18 (eighteen) years old. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I freely agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

_____
Name of Subject

_____
Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

_____
Signature of Subject or Legal Representative

_____
Date

In my judgment the subject is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

_____
Signature of Investigator

_____
Date

Sample Interview Questions

Where were you born?
How old were you when you left Korea?
Why did you leave Korea and come to the US?
What do you remember about learning Korean?
Did you learn any languages besides Korean by the time you left?
How did you learn English?
How is it different from Korean?
How is it the similar to Korean?
What is the hardest thing about learning English?
What is the easiest thing about learning English?
When you came to the US, where did you arrive?
Why did you come to Watsonville?
Were your expectations about what the US would be like accurate?
What was the hardest thing about being in the US?
What is the best thing about being in the US?
Do you have any reading materials in Korean? How did you get them?
Is there anywhere around here to get reading materials in Korean?
Do you read in English or Korean now?
When did your nephew come to the US?
Why did he come?
Did he know any languages besides Korean before coming?
Are you teaching him English?
How do you teach him English?
How does knowing Korean affect learning English?
What have you noticed is easy for him in learning English?
What have you noticed is difficult for him in learning English?
How are US schools different from Korean schools?
How are US schools similar to Korean schools?
What would help your nephew learn better at school?
At our school there are bilingual classes for Spanish speakers, but not for Korean speakers. If it existed, would you enroll your nephew in a bilingual program? Why?
What kind of Korean community exists in this area?
How do you see you and your nephew maintaining/losing your Korean culture?
Do you want to assimilate and become more American, or would you prefer to continue to be more Korean? How do you do that?
Have you felt racism directed toward you?
What are your biggest concerns/hopes about being in the US?
What do you want for your nephew here in the US?
What are your fears about your nephew growing up in the US?
Do you want to add anything else about which I forgot to ask?