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Critical problem posing with language minority students : an ethnographic study of empowerment pedagogy

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**CRITICAL PROBLEM POSING
WITH LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY
OF EMPOWERMENT PEDAGOGY**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the Division of Teacher Education
San Jose State University**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts**

by

Judy L. Sugishita

December, 1995

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ABSTRACT

CRITICAL PROBLEM POSING WITH LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF EMPOWERMENT PEDAGOGY

by Judy L. Sugishita

This thesis is a qualitative research study of the Freirian (1970) instructional methodology known as *critical problem posing*. Critical pedagogy seeks to teach ethnic and language minority students (LMS) the skills of voice and participation in a democratic educational system. The instructional rationale is to advance LMS empowerment by teaching students to voice their personal stories and opinions, and to reflect and act upon social concerns relevant to their daily lives. This study analyzes the stories told by five, fifth-grade Vietnamese bilingual participants as they engaged in a critical study of U. S. immigration law. The data collected during their studies and reflections was deconstructed to reveal the participants' understandings and experiences around three underlying critical themes: (a) knowledge and power; (b) culture and race; and (c) voice in schools and society. How their engagement in critical problem posing challenged and changed their perspectives about themselves, their school, and the American society is the ethnographic story revealed in this research.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE RESEARCHER AND THE RESEARCH

When we were children,
you spoke Japanese,
in lowered voices,
between yourselves.

Once you uttered secrets
which we should not know,
were not to be heard by us.
When you spoke
of some dark secret
you would admonish us,
"Don't tell it to anyone else."
It was a suffocated vow of silence.
(Oyama in Takaki, 1989, p. 484)

The Researcher: Living with Silence

Oyama's (1989) poem captures the "silence" held by Japanese internees regarding their World War II relocation camp memories. My second generation Japanese American (nisei) father and my third generation (sansei) mother experienced the camps and, although I was born after the war, I can testify to the survival of this "silence" years later.

I grew up in California where my parents worked as farmers in the fertile fields of the Santa Clara Valley. Having lost all of their belongings in the war, they worked hard to prove that their spirit had survived and that they would etch

out a decent life for themselves and their three daughters. My mother grew up in an upwardly mobile family prior to World War II. Her parents owned a general store and her father published a newspaper for the Japanese American community in El Monte, California. My father was the oldest of nine children growing up in the agricultural community of Watsonville, California. With first generation, non-English speaking parents, my father worked to put his younger siblings through school. Mother's dreams of recapturing her family's lost affluence and my father's hard work ethic defined the values that were held dear in our home.

As a child, I remember my mother demanding that her girls act, dress, and speak "like Americans." There were few Japanese artifacts in our home and what little Japanese language my parents spoke was whispered after the children were put to bed. I attended almost all-white schools and though I never remember feeling discriminated against by my teachers or classmates, I always felt uncomfortable about being different and about the silence surrounding my ethnicity.

My sisters and I were required to study every afternoon before we would attend separate lessons for gymnastics, ballet, tap, baton, music, and jazz dance. To our frustration, my mother orchestrated this regime for us without sharing the grand plan she was sculpting. One day I remember complaining about my exhausting schedule of lessons, homework, and practice. I was surprised when my mother finally broke her silence about some of her war experiences as she

appealed for me to continue my work obediently. She revealed some of the painful experiences of racial slurs and discrimination she had endured during the war. She recalled the bitter days of camp and how she missed her family home and the life she had enjoyed there. There was a shame in her broken silence: the shame of being mistrusted and the shame of being Japanese. I remember my mother emphasizing that we might avoid problems by trying to be more like our European-American counterparts. She reasoned that the barrage of lessons would help us to develop poise and discipline while our continued academic diligence would assure us of the one thing that could never be lost: a good education.

My mother died when I turned sixteen years old and I remember promising her that I would continue with her regime. I went on to college, working for professors correcting papers as a part-time job. After receiving a bachelor's degree in English and a minor degree in Business Administration, I worked in a retail training department for several years. When I stood before management groups in training seminars, I recalled the years of stage fright I had endured as a child dancer and was grateful that my mother's regime had prepared me for a successful profession.

Intuitive Doubts

I left the work force in the 1980's to raise my two small children, Gregory and Julie. In the quiet afternoons I spent at home watching these small lives developing, something prompted me to want to give them the one thing I never

had: their ethnic culture. We joined a Japanese American Christian church and I began to participate in the Japanese community for the first time in my life. I learned how to make "mochi," Japanese New Year's cakes, and how to fold paper cranes and make beautiful flower arrangements. The children became involved in sports activities arranged by the Japanese community and they began to make important connections with other children that shared their ethnic heritage. I knew that my mother would never understand why I departed from her Americanization plan to give my children their culture and ethnicity. At that time, I wasn't even sure what motivated me in that direction. I could see by the financial and intellectual privileges that I was enjoying, that my mother's notion of fitting into the American culture seemed fruitful. Nonetheless, in the quietude of my own home I knew that I was missing a part of my own spirit and identity and I knew it was a vacancy that I needed to fill for my own children.

The Challenge and the Struggle

After filling my days with volunteer work in our church, the children's schools, and in the community, I felt it was time to wean myself from my children and return to school. In the fall of 1992, I was admitted to the concurrent Cross-cultural Language and Academic Development (CLAD) Credential Program and the Master's Degree program in Elementary Education at San Jose State University. I completed the credential phase of my program by fulfilling the methods class requirements. I was enthusiastic about the new whole language approach, the emphasis on multiculturalism and diversity, and the cooperative

learning and critical thinking techniques that I studied. It appeared that education was moving away from the lecture and test-based approach that I suffered through as a young student and that I was going to be able to teach using the more creative and fun innovations that I was learning. My altruistic vision of teaching second language learners the English skills they would need to succeed in America was alive and well at the end of the first phase of my program.

I began the requirements of the Master's degree program by taking a series of ESL methods courses that emphasized many of the same techniques that I had learned in the credential phase. My first theory course in the Master's program was called "Seminar in Elementary Education-244," taught by Dr. Victoria Harper. I mention this course because, unlike all the classes I had taken previously where the material rested happily in my existing schema, Dr. Harper's readings challenged my beliefs about how education should work and how it had worked for me.

The best example of my struggle came when I first read Shor's (1992) book, Empowering Education: Critical Teaching For Social Change. Shor (1992) suggests that teachers lead students to examine and give voice to problems in society and schools and even to become involved in activist reform movements. He calls this process problem posing. I recall struggling between wanting to obediently believe everything told me by my teachers and yet wanting to defend the credo I learned as a child and that proved valid, so far, in my life. I was

taught never to question or to speak against those in whose charge I was placed.

I was taught to try to Americanize my identity and to play by American rules.

Although Shor's (1992) philosophy advocated the critical process of looking within oneself and one's society to expose unsettled feelings and intuitive doubts and question one's long-held assumptions, I was sure that this process would jeopardize the Americanization of non-English speaking students and limit their success in their new country. I was convinced that problem posing (Freire, 1970; Shor, 1992) had no place in the education of minority students learning English and expressed that view in an excerpt from one of my critical response papers:

In his discussion of problem posing, Shor cites the experiences of Auerbach and Wallerstein (1987), who adapt Freire's (1970) model to an ESL classroom by using generative words in pictured scenes from daily life. The objective of the lesson was to try to help students learn to "question the rules, work relations, and daily episodes" of the workplace (Shor, 1992, 43-44).

When I read this, I envisioned uneducated, illiterate immigrants showing dissent in an American work situation. I envisioned white managers and supervisors looking down upon these individuals, with little to no tolerance for disobedience. After all, unskilled labor is quite expendable. On the other side of the coin, I see the worker, either accepting his plight as a social underling and trying to follow the rules, however unjust, in order to feed his family and "get ahead." How is a "critical attitude" in this scenario "empowering" or beneficial to this immigrant worker?

. . . I am a member of a racial minority and was raised by parents who had just been released from the relocation camps of World War II. Would my parents wish me to express a "critical view" of American society after just having been incarcerated for just that possibility? And had they done so, would I be sitting in a graduate college classroom today? Probably not, because the unfortunate reality is that you earn the right to speak in this country. It isn't given to every citizen by birth, especially not to economic or ethnic minority citizens (Sugishita, EDTE 244 class paper, 1993, pp. 1-2).

When I thought of the prospect of teaching my second language students to voice out against the injustices of their new homeland, it conflicted with my memories of the silence endured by my parents to insure our success in this society. I learned that silence and conformity were the tickets required for admittance into the American society. Shouldn't my teaching of second language minority students continue to endorse those values? Hadn't silence allowed Japanese Americans to gain a respectable place in society? But, if obediently following the Americanization plan was so foolproof, why did I reject it for my own children? Why did I feel that minorities did not have a voice? These were the haunting questions buried beneath the success of an acculturated Japanese American.

Embracing a New Vision

In the weeks that followed I began reading the works of Freire (1970) and Giroux (1983). I was captivated by Freire's (1970) love and respect for the poor and the working class. I could see that he believed in the knowledge of every individual regardless of his/her formal education. I was reminded of my father, who as a child, worked instead of going to school, in order to earn money for his impoverished family. I remember the tribute my father's brother gave him for having sacrificed his own education so that his younger brother could continue to go to school and eventually become a professor at the University of Arkansas. The pride that my father felt in the academic achievements of his family members made me realize that intellectual worth and substance are not always attained in

educational institutions, but more significantly through the school of life. I appreciated Freire's (1970) belief that all people have knowledge even when they lack the verbal tools to share that knowledge with others. My father had been living proof of that.

As I continued to read the works of Shor (1992), Freire (1970), and Giroux (1983) I pondered their recurring themes of racism, white elitism, and dominant reproduction in schools. I continued to talk with my professor and my peer group members about these looming issues in education and society. In disbelief, I read the critical ethnographies done by educational researchers including Kozol (1992) and the team of Poplin and Weeres (1994) who have attempted to expose the violence, inequality, and racism that exists within schools today in order to open dialogue around solutions. I continued to write and reflect on my understandings of the new vision I was forming. I had to give up my belief in my mother's regime to Americanize her daughters to insure success and acknowledge that it had damaged my spirit and stolen a part of my identity from me. This was a painful reckoning for me, knowing how hard it was for my parents to silence their own memories of discrimination believing that it would provide me with a clean start in this country.

The personal journey that I have been describing is nothing short of problem posing in its highest form: A transformative experience that unveils buried sorrows and memories of injustices and engages in an exploration and discussion of possibilities, solutions, and hopes. These new understandings

brought me to the following study of the empowerment possibilities of problem posing with minority second language learners in the elementary school setting. Specifically, I was brought to ponder the following research question: Could teachers prompt elementary Vietnamese language minority students in discussion and introspection around problematic issues in their lives as American students and citizens, and would those students be able to demonstrate their empowering new understandings through actions that might move their lives and their society toward a better tomorrow?

The Research Vision

The following review of literature and field research tells the story of my problem posing experiences with a group of fifth-grade, second language Vietnamese learners. Abruptly forced from their homeland by war and political uncertainty, many Vietnamese immigrants find themselves in the American culture with limited financial security and few skills to cope with language barriers and foreign social mores. Their Asian heritage, marked by a demand for social reserve and silence, also affects their adjustment to their new surroundings. Although the Japanese and Vietnamese cultures have unique ethnic belief systems, the shared understanding I experienced with my fellow-Asian participants offered me a valuable, insider's perspective throughout this study.

In the past decades of increasing immigration of Vietnamese and many other ethnicities, American public schools have struggled with problems related

to growing diversity, violence, academic failure, school dropouts, multicultural misunderstandings and strife. The very ideological foundation of schools has been challenged by the unique needs of this new student population. Questions of how to best serve the linguistic and academic needs of minority immigrants in the schools and how best to prepare teachers to meet these needs have dominated educational literature and research. Debates around the notions of multicultural and bilingual education and new methodologies such as whole language and cooperative learning have emerged. A new paradigm of educational options, methods, and assumptions has formed in response to the diverse ethnic, class, and cultural population of America's public school students.

The ideological and practical transition in schools has progressed slowly but steadily over the later half of this century. As we move toward the twenty-first century, more teachers will undoubtedly challenge traditional methods of teaching by trying new innovations and reaching new understandings of their roles in the empowerment of linguistic and ethnic minority students.

Democratic empowerment implies that educators lead their students in investigations and discussions around the inequalities and injustices that they experience in their lives and open dialogue around the "dangerous memories" that they silence (Giroux, 1983). Freire (1970) writes that this is a process of liberating and educating marginal members of a "culture of silence." He writes that the solution to outsidership is "not to become 'beings inside of,' but men freeing themselves; for, in reality they are not marginal to the structure, but

oppressed men within it" (Freire, 1970b. p. 11). Freedom, says Freire (1970), results when silenced members of society realize that "as men, they have the right to have a voice" (p. 13). In order to truly empower, educators must teach students the skills of challenge and the language of critique as a beginning step in the process of embracing their right to voice by unveiling problems, dialoguing around solutions, and activating the healing of old memories and unjust realities.

Bringing about change in oneself or within society is never easy or fast. Change is a process that requires risks and action that is undaunted by failure. The ethnographic research of Poplin and Weeres (1994) affirm these notions. After problematizing with students and teachers about issues of personal isolation, economic and racial inequality, and violence inside troubled schools, Poplin and Weeres (1994) describe the healing and hope experienced by students and teachers engaged in this process:

Paradoxically, hope seemed to emerge following honest dialogues about our collective despair. . . We have strong indications that change inside schools might best be stimulated through participatory processes. . . [whereby] participants [are led] to openly discuss their hopes and dreams. (p. 16)

I believe that in problem posing with language minority students (LMS)¹ a new vision of hope for students, for education, and for society may be realized. The research study described in the following pages was conducted to explore

¹ Language minority students (LMS) are identified by the educational system as coming from homes where a language other than English is spoken. These students may speak only their home language, may be bilingual, or may be English-only speakers and are from diverse ethnic backgrounds. (Lessow-Hurley, 1990)

critical problem posing as a teaching methodology for use in today's multicultural American public elementary schools. The voices of the Vietnamese language minority participants and their teachers provide me a window through which I view, as a teacher-researcher and member of a minority population in America, the possibilities and struggles involved in the use of problem posing as a tool to help minority students better realize the American dream of freedom, equality, and justice for all.

Research Rationale

Freire's (1970b) statement that "every educational practice implies a concept of man and the world" prompts the question, "what concepts and assumptions regarding LMS instruction might support a successful intervention practice in the schools?" (p. 5). Every twentieth century educator must confront this question and decide upon a theoretical framework to use as a guide for teaching. Likewise, this study uses the critical postmodern paradigm of educational thought to frame its research on the possibilities of empowerment pedagogy in LMS instruction.

A convincing body of literature supports the assumptions of critical postmodernism (Cummins, 1986; Freire, 1970b, 1973; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1983, 1991; McLaren, 1989; Shor, 1992; Shor & Freire, 1987). In addition, a significant contribution in support of critical theory has been done by Habermas (1972), whose treatises on knowledge and action-constitutive interests have proposed the notion that the evolution of human actions and thoughts (interests)

have created hierarchical levels of intellectual pursuits and knowledge construction (Habermas, 1972). According to Habermas, early technologized humans were interested in knowledge for the purpose of controlling their environment through newly acquired scientific powers. This stage of Habermas' knowledge construction model is closely aligned with the modernist paradigm of positivist thought. A humanist shift occurs when people move past the stage of competition with their environment and attempt to "live in and as part of the world" (Grundy, 1987, p. 13). Habermas calls this the practical knowledge constitutive interest that guides humans to seek knowledge to improve their understandings of community life and prompt moral actions. The final stage of the evolution of human knowledge constitutive-action interests is in the emancipatory or critical phase. Using the emancipatory knowledge interest, humans seek knowledge for the purpose of "empowerment to engage in autonomous action arising out of authentic, critical insights into the social construction of human society" (Grundy, 1986, p. 19). Twentieth century teachers, therefore, participate in a societal state of advancement in which the emancipatory knowledge-action interest has moved to the forefront. Unfortunately, the deep roots of positivist educational thought and practices have been embroidered into the fabric of American society and have unraveled many critical postmodern attempts to move into higher, emancipatory and practical stages of educational and intellectual pursuit.

This study was undertaken in the emancipatory spirit of critical participatory research to facilitate the unveiling and critique of modernist educational practices and to encourage educators to move toward the postmodern vision of democratic empowerment through dialectical teaching.

Study Limitations

Dialectical inquiry is the method by which "the problems of society [are seen] as more than simply isolated events of individuals or deficiencies in the social structure. . . rather, these problems are part of the interactive context between the individual and society" (McLaren, 1989, p. 167). It is important to note that by investigating the dialectical approach of creating lessons around problematic issues, this study did not presume that traditional curriculum subjects and skill-training be abandoned. Rather, it advocates the empowering teaching scenario described by Freire and Shor (1987):

The traditional educator and the democratic educator both have to be competent in their ability to educate students around skills needed for jobs. But the traditionalist does it with an ideology concerned with the preservation of the establishment. The liberating educator will try to be efficient in training, in forming the educatees scientifically and technically, but he or she will try to *unveil* the ideology enveloped in the very expectations of the students. (p. 68, emphasis in original text)

Although there is an abundance of research on the Hispanic educational experience in America, much is lacking in research on Asian educational underachievement. In fact, there are many myths that associate Asians with "model performance" in school, which have furthered the paucity of educational interest and research around this minority group. Therefore, this study was

limited to participation by Vietnamese fifth-grade students. Understanding that the unique cultural traits of minority groups influence their school performance, this ethnographic study focuses on the interplay of the Vietnamese culture relative to the American host culture in the school environment and the outer society.

Significance of Study and Questions

This thesis seeks to reveal some of the expectations and cultural assumptions that language minority students bring to the learning situation. The qualitative research methods of dialogue and observation were used to gain insights into the students' understandings of the practices of schooling relative to issues of power, knowledge, dominant culture, and race. The following research questions focus on these dialectical relationships:

Q1~ *Knowledge and Power.* What culturally specific understandings do Vietnamese LMS hold regarding knowledge ownership and how do those beliefs affect their school and social interactions and achievement?

Q2~*Culture and Race.* What "gaps," or shortfalls exist between school and social realities of life versus the American ideals of democratic opportunity, equality, equity, and freedom, as perceived by Vietnamese LMS?

Q3~ *Voice in Schools and Society.* What problems do Vietnamese LMS voice and what problems are silenced by the dominant power forces found in school and the outer society?

The pursuit of this study is propelled by the hope that schools in an increasingly diverse America might one day participate in a democratic, "utopian pedagogy" described by Freire (1970b) as a system of education which is:

. . . full of hope, for to be utopian is not to be merely idealistic or impractical but rather to engage in denunciation and annunciation. Our pedagogy cannot do without a vision of man and of the world. It formulates a scientific humanist conception which finds expression in a dialogical praxis in which the teachers and learners together, in the act of analyzing a dehumanizing reality, denounce it while announcing its transformation in the name of the liberation of man. (p. 20)

The hope that the democratic ideals of freedom and equality might be realized in America's educational system, is the utopian vision which has inspired the critical postmodern movement. Because theory must materialize in the form of practice or pedagogy in order to produce the social changes needed to bring about its vision, critical theorists have searched for empowering methods of teaching to help realize their dream of equality and reform in the schools. Emerging from the critical postmodern movement is the emancipatory and dialectical practice of problem posing. The evolution and empowerment possibilities of this methodology as an intervention in LMS academic underachievement and social disenfranchisement are considered in the following review of literature on the topic of critical problem posing.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this paper present the historical and theoretical foundations that support the critical problem posing methodology and its democratic vision of education. Chapter 4 describes the critical research methodology and how it was employed in this study to enable me to record the

voices of students and their teachers as they engaged in the problem posing process. Chapters 5 and 6 present the problem posing activities implemented and studied in this research. These analytical and interpretive chapters deconstruct the data gathered from my participants' dialogue around their personal stories and their discussions of the generative topic of immigration. Chapter 7 revisits the research questions brought to this study and offers my conclusions and recommendations regarding the empowerment possibilities and limitations of problem posing among Vietnamese LMS.

This study was undertaken in the hope that the silence held by many minority students might be broken, moving them closer to the attainment of a better future for themselves and for American society.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

Ethnic diversity has prevailed in the United States throughout its history. The nation's European founders, realizing that the lure of their country's democratic ideals of freedom, equality, and prosperity would draw many people from other continents, assumed as their national motto "E Pluribus Unum," one out of many (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). Although immigration has been ever-present in America's history, few could have foreseen how twentieth century national and global events would evolve to make the Anglo-white population a minority in some geographic areas of the nation (Bouvier & Martin, 1987).

The 1990 census indicates that the United States has become home to millions of new immigrants adding over 8 million LMS to the American public school system in the decade between 1980 and 1990 (Christian, 1993). Nationwide, it is projected that by the year 2000, "the majority of the school-aged population will be from language minority backgrounds in 50 or more major American cities" (Christian, 1990, p.4). Christian (1993) comments on this dramatic shift in American demography:

The impact of diversity has reached into every corner of the country, contributing to the process of change in society as a whole. Issues of equity, access, and communication across culture lines have come to dominate discussion in political, social, and economic arenas. Nowhere is the tension felt more acutely than in the domain of education. (p. 2)

In California, there are reports of 2 million LMS of which 1.2 million have been designated "limited English proficient" (LEP) or lacking in the English skills necessary to survive in a mainstream classroom (California Department of Education, 1992, R30-LC). In its task force report, the California Department of Education (1992) reveals that:

Over half of California's elementary school-age children are Hispanic, black, or Asian. One out of six students was born in another country. Children from over 80 different language groups who are learning English as a new language make up a full 29 percent of students entering kindergarten in California. . . . The number of children in the state living in poverty doubled between 1969 and 1987, and if current trends persist, one out of every three children will be living in poverty by the year 2000. (pp. xi, xii)

The disruption of the white-ethnic population balance in the United States has created many tensions around issues of (a) social change and increased equity, opportunity, and voice along ethnic lines, (b) political, social, and economic inclusion of minority groups, and (c) educational reforms needed to serve the linguistic and cultural needs of language minority students in American classrooms. The purpose of the following research study is to engage a small group of elementary aged, ethnic minority students from a California classroom in the process of problem posing around these school and social issues to add their human voices to the statistical realities that exist in today's American schools.

The American creed of human freedom and equality resounds in the following excerpt from The Declaration of Independence (1776):

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. (The U.S. Constitution, 1992, p. 35)

For generations, these words have represented an "historically powerful metaphor for what it means to be prosperous and free. . . the ideals of democracy, freedom, and social mobility that [have] attract[ed] a large majority of immigrants" (McLaren, 1989, p. 13) to America. The reality of minority disenfranchisement, however, represents one of the problems of this growing population. Evidenced by disproportionate levels of poverty, unemployment, and academic failures, the need for social restructuring along class and ethnic lines has become apparent (McLaren, 1989).

Freire (1970b) believes that aberrant social conditions such as those found within America's minority communities indicate the existence of a wider, "closed society," characterized

. . . by a rigid hierarchical social structure; by the lack of internal markets, since their economy is controlled from the outside. . . by a precarious and selective educational system whose schools are an instrument of maintaining the status quo; by high percentages of illiteracy and disease;. . . and by a high rate of crime. (pp. 35-36)

Freire (1970b) also states that minority communities are controlled by powerful political, economic, and social institutions through elite leadership which serves to stratify the society along lines of class and race.

Giroux (1991) uses the term "borderlands" to identify the division of power between society's elite and underclass populations. He defines "cultural borders" as "historically constructed and socially organized within maps of rules and regulations that serve to either limit or enable particular identities, individual capacities, and social forms" (p. 248). Giroux (1991) further maintains that

teachers can serve as guides in the process of "border crossing" by identifying and acting upon the gaps and contradictions within dominant institutions and hegemony (p. 248).

Because schools are often where minority students first confront the issues and practices of the wider community and because they are a microcosm of society's realities and practices, school problems are a logical place to look to inform the wider social issues of racism, violence, financial inequities, and unequal opportunities. Schools and the curriculum have a reproductive and normative function in the wider society (Kliebard, 1988). Historically, they have served to legitamate existing social patterns in society by teaching dominant values and ideals. Seeking empowerment for the minority student and citizen population, requires an examination of the broader relationships between schooling and dominant power; dominant power and the control of knowledge; and the power of status quo values in the reproduction of cultural norms. These foundational relationships have had an historic influence in shaping the beliefs, assumptions, and practices that underlie the content and interactions of today's educational system (Freire, 1970b; Giroux, 1991; Shor, 1992).

The following section of this study entitled, "The Modernist and Critical Postmodern Paradigms," introduces these historical trends in educational and social thought and traces their influence on American educational practice over the past two centuries. In the second section, "Causal Models of Underachievement," the controversy between modernist and critical

postmodernist models proposed to explain student academic failures are discussed. Finally in the section entitled, "Research Rationale and Questions," the critical postmodern perspective taken in this research study of dialectical teaching is explored.

The Modernist and Critical Postmodernist Paradigms

Giroux (1981) defines a paradigm as those "shared images, assumptions, and practices that characterize a community of scholars in a given field. . .and are the nexus of social and political values in the larger society" (p. 49).

Educational paradigms are formed by particular sets of world views, values, political perspectives, conceptions of race, class, gender, and definitions of intelligence generally accepted within a particular time frame or cultural epoch (Giroux, 1981). Not only are educational paradigms set in time, they are also affected by historic events, scientific discoveries, and social movements.

Paradigms are supported by ideologies which Giroux (1981) defines as "the implicit rules which guide our generation of facts" (p. 16) and which underlie the policies and practices of education and other social institutions. In this light, ideologies can be seen as powerful societal assumptions reproduced in the minds of citizens through various institutional operants. Schools reproduce the practices and policies of the dominant political and economic powers in society through its curriculum, administration policies, and teachers. Ideologies in schools have amassed in paradigms of thought which have historically shielded

old traditions from the challenges of change and innovation. Giroux (1981) states that ideological beliefs that are resistant to change for various political or power-related reasons, become "hardened into nature. . . accumulated as sedimented history. . . so long unliberated, so monotonously oppressive that [they] congeal and surface looking like nature's truths" (p. 108).

Some theorists believe that the status quo norms and values of society are maintained in a process called hegemony (McLaren, 1989). Hegemony is the transmission of dominant beliefs, or cultural capital, to subordinate groups of people, "not through coercion . . . or the willful construction of rules and regulations. . . but rather through the general winning of consent of the subordinate class to the authority of the dominant class" (McLaren, 1989, p. 173). McLaren (1989) believes, therefore, that hegemony¹ is not a process of active domination, but a socialization and culturation function assumed by dominant-controlled schools, media, government agencies, and other social institutions.

The ideological beliefs and assumptions that have emerged over the past centuries have been described under the rubrics of the pre-modern, modern, and critical postmodern paradigms.

¹ Later in this chapter, the discussion of the hidden curriculum will reveal how some scholars believe dominant hegemony overtly and tacitly works in LMS instruction to further their subordination and underachievement (Shor, 1991).

The Pre-Modern Paradigm

Doll (1993) has identified three scientific paradigms in the history of the Western world: the pre-modern, modern, and post-modern eras. The pre-modern vision was embodied by the fifteenth and sixteenth century Enlightenment philosophies based on the thinking of Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek scholars (Doll, 1993). Pre-modern scientists believed that universal order, balance, and symmetry grounded an earth-centered universe. Plato translated the doctrines of science into a hierarchical vision of social order in which individuals had pre-ordained roles to fulfill toward the common good of humankind. Education in the pre-modern paradigm endeavored to help individuals achieve their destinies by developing personal talents based on social class and intellectual abilities. This linear, task-based educational framework was considered a "closed system," described by Doll (1993):

Closed systems, being centered, stable, and looping back on themselves, in a mechanistic, cause-effect, "negative" (equilibrium seeking) way, find disruptive qualities too decentering. Curricularly, these disruptive qualities take time from the "task at hand" and create "noise," which the system wishes to overcome or eliminate as quickly as possible" (p. 14).

The Modern Paradigm

Faith in the closed system of order prevailed into the modernist nineteenth century world. Modernists, enjoying the fruits of the Industrial Revolution, became even more enamored of the possibilities of science as a panacea to solve the problems facing humankind (Doll, 1993). This faith in the law-like predictability of life has been called "positivism" or the positivist view of science

(Kincheloe, 1991). The Vienna Circle of the 1920's convened as a body of scholars to affirm the following axioms of logical positivism:

1. Science is separate from metaphysics: Abstract human questions, with their "discomforting uncertainty" were not appropriate topics for scientific inquiry (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 49).

2. Empirical verification is the only means by which truths are formed.

3. The universe consists of a set of observation statements or axioms, and all inquiry and action proceeds from these scientifically verified truths.

Although many scholars believe that logical positivism is dead, others maintain that the essence of this ideology has survived in the form of "neo-positivism," which Kincheloe (1991) says is framed by the following themes:

1. Only science should be regarded as the only authentic form of knowledge.

2. Science is based on the belief that all action is predictable, observable, and in line with the universal laws of existence.

3. Political decision making must be objective and value-free. Issues must be measurable, empirically testable, opinion-free in order to establish "scientifically-grounded, 'rational' solutions [that would] ameliorate the social world" (p. 51).

4. Values and ethical considerations should not play a role in scientific investigation.

Affirmed by the advances enjoyed during the nineteenth century Industrial Revolution, the love of science became embodied in a "technical rationality" in which human reason was believed to be controlled and defined by scientific technology (Doll, 1993). Frederick Taylor's efficiency platform and B. F. Skinner's model for predicting human behavior established the standards by which efficient human behavior could be observed, quantified, and predicted (Kliebard, 1988, cited in Beyer & Apple, 1988). By the 1960's, America was confident that with this "vision of expertise and this technological methodology [it could] lead the world in eradicating poverty, containing communism, and exploring outer space" (Doll, 1993, p. 44). Because school was the training ground for future social and industrial participation, the practices and beliefs of technocratic rationality became the basis for the modernist curriculum.

The modernist educational paradigm mirrored the industrial world. Giroux (1981) describes how schooling assumed the doctrines of conformity and homogeneity through its technocratic rationality by writing that:

Not only does the language of this mode of rationality conceptualize the nature and function of schooling in industrial terms (that is, school are seen as factories, students as raw material), it also supports modes of behavior and goals premised on the need for a form of social control dedicated to social homogeneity and group conformity. (p. 150)

The metaphor of a production-oriented classroom borrows its rhetoric and intent from industrial models. In the classroom, time efficiency is considered the goal of curriculum planning. Tyler's recommendation for the objective lesson plan and the use of "teacher-proof" textbook planners provided assurance that

time was not wasted in the classroom and that a normative program would be delivered (Freire & Shor, 1987; McLaren, 1989). The act of learning in this scenario becomes a by-product of the robotic-teacher's orderly presentation of scientifically generated knowledge facts (Grundy, 1987).

The pre-modern and modernist paradigms have framed American culture and institutions for centuries. Recently, however, Doll (1993) has noticed a shift in modernist faith:

America began a disenchantment with technical rationality and the view of science it expounds--technical expertise did not win the war against communism (it collapsed of its own ineptitude) hunger, or drugs. Nor can technical rationality balance the federal budget, hold down inflation, or maintain our leadership as the world's premier nation. (p. 2)

Many scholars have come to criticize the positivist world view, believing that it leads to the dehumanization of social and political institutions and supports the domination and manipulation of disempowered citizens (Giroux, 1983; Kincheloe, 1991). The movement away from modernist ideology has created a shift toward a new view of science, education, and the world : the critical postmodern paradigm.

The Critical Postmodern Paradigm

Many scholars identify the era past or beyond modernism as the post-modern or critical postmodern paradigm (Doll, 1993; Giroux, 1991). Critical postmodernists are opposed to the doctrines of modern positivism. First, critical postmodernists reject the predictable, closed order of positivism, believing that the universe is a living, biological system that is mutable, ever-changing,

subjective, and unpredictable (Doll, 1993). In the mechanical, closed system motion is produced by the exchange or transfer of heat and energy. In an open system, living energy interacts with other living forms to transform or change the nature of action or knowledge (Doll, 1993).

Secondly, where modernists seek order and certainty in nature and human interactions, postmodern ideology values the insights of Piaget's (1977) equilibrium-disequilibrium model (cited in Doll, 1993). Because all living systems are self-organizing, they naturally seek higher levels of order when experiencing the discomfort of disequilibrium. Therefore, instead of rejecting the "discomforting uncertainties" of metaphysics, postmodernists welcome investigation into problematic situations which they believe can prompt change and reform in human existence (Doll, 1993).

Thirdly, critical postmodernists reject the idea that knowledge is value-free and can be objectified, verified, and ordered (Doll, 1993). Seeking knowledge in an empirical format leads to linear, a priori research, where the seeker simply observes and records already known facts. In this sense, education and research can be seen as a cause-effect relationship, where human actors are viewed as objects, without reference to their feelings, values, or historic backgrounds (Kincheloe, 1991).

Learning and seeking knowledge through education or research in the postmodern sense, on the other hand, demands a contextual interpretation of interactions in relationship to the environment (Ogbu, 1978). In the postmodern

paradigm, human feelings and ethical considerations are valued and are sought through interaction in the dialectic process of critical inquiry, reflection, and dialogue.

In light of the problems of minority student underachievement and dropout discussed earlier in this chapter, it is not surprising that postmodern educators advocate a change from the technical delivery and content of school lessons to the interactive and transforming modes of critical inquiry. Many modernist thinkers, however, deny that their educational programming has contributed to the problems of minority students subscribing, instead, to the belief that the students are the deficient factors in the learning process. The following discussion of this "heredity-environment" controversy explores the two divergent causal models that have emerged from the modernist and postmodernist paradigms: the "student deficit" and "contextual interaction" theories.

The Heredity-Environment Controversy: Modernist and Postmodernist Causal Models

Cummins (1989) maintains that it is impossible to plan a viable instructional intervention for underachieving minority students without first agreeing on the causes of the problem. The ideological dichotomy drawn by the modernist and critical postmodernist paradigms is mirrored in this discussion of causal models. In the 1960s, modernists believed that compulsory education and the institution of desegregation and federal subsidies would equalize the opportunities of minority students in schools and in the economy (Ogbu, 1978). As the number of minority

academic failures continued to rise, however, modernists rushed to science for an answer: geneticists would be able to prove that something was inherently wrong with minority students (Lessow-Hurley, 1990; Ogbu, 1978). Herein was the birth of the "student deficit-heredity" causal model. Meanwhile, critical postmodernists attempted to establish sociocultural and historical links between minority academic underachievement and their interactions with school and the wider social environments (Sue & Padilla, 1986). The resulting multidisciplinary theory of "contextual interaction" applies research from anthropology, sociology, education, and psychology to examine the "gaps" and discrepancies in the experience of the LMS in American schools and in society (Ogbu, 1978).

Giroux (1983) claims that the notion of contextual interaction has led to the unveiling of a "hidden curriculum" in educational policies, practice, and administration which manifests in covert and tacit forms of racism, elitism, and discrimination in school content and interactions. Further, Mrydal (1944) uncovered many opportunity and equity gaps in the structure of American society calling these contradictions and tensions the "American dilemma" (Keniston, 1978, in Ogbu, p. xiii). Ogbu (1978), Cummins (1986), Cortés (1986), and other critical postmodernists believe that these sociocultural factors, combined with school environmental inputs, form a contextual interaction model that helps explain LMS underachievement.

The heredity-environment controversy is described in the following discussion of the modernist view of student deficits versus the critical postmodern stand taken by contextual interactionists.

The Modernist Causal Model: Student Deficit

The student deficit model combines three causal links that assign minority academic failure to weaknesses in student genetic makeup or cultural background (Sue & Padilla, 1986). Theories supporting the student deficit model emerged from the technocratic and positivist belief that social unity, group conformity and homogeneity serve the betterment of humankind and that those who do not fall within normed behaviors are personally deficient (Cummins, 1989; Lessow-Hurley, 1990). This model implies that when a student fails in the mechanical and efficient system of knowledge-deliverance set up by the schools, it is because of some inherent weakness in the student's psychoeducational makeup, genetic pool, or cultural associations (Cortés, 1986; Cummins, 1989; Sue & Padilla, 1986). The following discussion describes the three modernist theories supporting the student deficit model: genetic inferiority, cultural deficit and cultural mismatch (Lessow-Hurley, 1990).

Genetic Inferiority

Sue and Padilla (1986) write that the genetic inferiority perspective ". . . assumes that certain racial or ethnic populations do not possess the appropriate genes for high intellectual performance . . . Thus, they are incapable of achieving to the same extent as whites" (p. 43). Since the earliest times,

American colonists have looked askance at many "uncivilized" races of people, most notably the Native Americans and African American slaves. Without knowledge of genetic science, these stereotypes went unconfirmed until the twentieth century when Jensen (1969), a Berkeley psychologist, reported that his research proved the theory of genetic inferiority and quantified his results by stating that 80% of a person's intellectual ability was genetically set and that most academic failures within ethnic groups could be traced to a genetic link (cited in Ogbu, 1978). More recently, the work of Herrnstein and Murray (1994) expanded upon this notion by stating that African Americans, Latinos, and other minorities will never rise up the social ladder due to their low cognitive intelligence. They concluded that political legislation, such as affirmative action, is an artificial attempt to equalize the field for underclass members who lack the intelligence to rise out of the poverty, dependency, and crime brought on by their impoverished IQs (Morgenthau, 1994, p. 54). Although the intellectual community has largely criticized the works of Jensen (1969), and Herrnstein and Murray (1994), the fact remains that the notion of genetic inferiority has deep historic roots in the history of American life and ideology (Morgenthau, 1994).

In United States history, four major ethnic minority groups have been regarded as genetically inferior, including African Americans, Asians, Native Americans, and Hispanics (Sue & Padilla, 1986). The heredity approach is based on three assumptions: (a) that genetic make-up influences intelligence; (b) that adequate measures of innate intelligence exist; and (c) that observed

differences between groups are best explained by heredity (Sue & Padilla, 1986). The beliefs of positivist science underlie these assumptions by regarding intelligence as a measurable fact; quantifying and objectifying observable human behavior; and relying upon the certainty of empirical research to verify already held beliefs. Translated to the realm of education, the genetic inferiority theory implies that minority academic failures cannot be averted by changes in social or educational policy since "little can be done to change heredity" (cited in Sue & Padilla, 1986, p. 42).

Cultural Deficit

The cultural deficit theory postulates that minorities fail to do well in school because their culture is deficient (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). The idea is that minority cultures inadequately prepare the LMS for the rigors of American schools and that there is a hierarchy of cultural worth in which the American society is ranked superior. Translated to school applications, the cultural deficit model indicates the need for "Americanization" and citizenship classes designed to hasten the acculturation of minority students (Sue & Padilla, 1986). Sue and Padilla (1986) describe how belief in cultural deficiencies affects minority education:

The view is somewhat positive in suggesting that all human beings are capable of changing, adapting, and achieving [vis-a-vis acculturation]. The view, however, remains prejudicial in its preoccupation with group or individual weaknesses. Educational programs are more soundly conceived when they focus on building upon existing abilities and strengths, a subtle but significant shift from the deficit perspective. (p. 46)

Cultural Mismatch

Degrees of cultural deficiency are established by comparing the values and beliefs of the minority culture against those of the dominant white society.

Modernists believe that the resulting "mismatch" explains why minorities fail to achieve in white schools: their cultural traits are different from and incompatible with those of the white society (Sue & Padilla, 1986).

Positivists believe that all behavior should be normed against the dominant culture. Language elitism is a positivist practice connected to the cultural deficit model (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). Many Americans have an elitist attitude regarding English proficiency. For example, bilinguals who learn a second language in academia are regarded as having an elevated intellectual and economic status. On the other hand, individuals who speak a language other than English as their native tongue, are often regarded as belonging to a lower socioeconomic and intellectual group (Lessow-Hurley, 1990).

Language elitism has been carried to its limits by an organization called "U. S. English," dedicated to instituting legislative restrictions on multilingualism (Alpetekin, 1981; Cummins, 1989; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Jenkins, 1990; Lessow-Hurley, 1990; McKay, et al, 1993). Some of the key tenets of this organization's "language and loyalty" action program can best be discerned by the following extract from their own literature:

U. S. English actively works to reverse the spread of foreign language usage in the nation's official life. Our program calls for:

- *Adoption of a Constitutional Amendment to establish English as the official language of the United States
- *Repeal of laws mandating multilingual ballots and voting materials

*Restriction of government funding for bilingual education to short-term transitional programs only

*Universal enforcement of the English language and civics requirement for naturalization (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 139)

McKay and Weinstein-Shr (1993) concur that "actions of such organizations as U. S. English suggest that the real purpose of [their] legislation is to restrict the political and economic power of language minorities" (p. 404). Some scholars believe that, set in the positivist paradigm, this group's overt goal of enforcing conformity to promote social unity and immigrant assimilation, has an underlying, covert aim: to limit the power of minorities based on ethnic and linguistic discrimination and racism (Cummins, 1989).

Adhering to the cultural mismatch, deficit, and genetic theories absolves the educational system of much of its responsibility for minority student failures by redirecting attention to the weaknesses of students (Ogbu, 1978). Examination of human and interactive dynamics are ignored in this model, as are considerations of sociopolitical influences and school "gaps" on minority instruction and achievement. Critical postmodernists, although appreciating the impact of cultural mismatch on student achievement, have challenged the student deficit causal model with evidence that a complete typology must consider the outer societal influences, as well. The contextual interaction model, proposed by critical postmodern scholars, acknowledges the underlying effects of "invisible" student cultural traits, dominant-mandated "hidden curriculum" (Giroux, 1983), and outer societal influences on minority academic and social achievement (Lessow-Hurley, 1990).

The Postmodern Causal Model: Contextual Interaction

The contextual interaction model is based on the assumption that academic achievement is a function of the dynamic interaction between the values of the ethnic minority student and those of the school as well as the larger American society (Lessow-Hurley, 1990). Contextual interaction "embraces a broad perspective and a great many interacting factors in the search for explanations and solutions" to differential achievement among ethnic minorities" (Sue & Padilla, 1986, p. 50). Interaction studies look at the physical contacts between the student and the environment, as well as the psychological effects of these confrontations. Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986) state that students develop "folk theories" about achievement motivation which involve a process of testing beliefs against realities and constructing value systems or "folk theories" from these tests (p. 79). For example, if a Chinese person believes that "education is the key to success" and finds that belief validated by the success of Chinese peers, that belief becomes a folk theory or value. On the other hand, if an African American tests the same belief and cannot find many peers in his environment to verify its accuracy, that will not act to motivate performance (Sue & Padilla, 1986).

The contextual interaction theory is a combination of features borrowed from different critical postmodern causal explanations of school failure (Giroux, 1983). Bowles and Gintis (1976) theorized that schooling was tied to the economic demands of the industrial workplace in a correspondence relationship:

The educational system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only insures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social class identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. (p. 69, cited in Giroux, 1983)

The correspondence theory links students' motivation toward academic performance with their hopes for a future position in the industrial workplace. In addition, the model suggests that the content of school materials train minority students to fill economic slots in society based on their socioeconomic status and ethnicity.

The scholarship of Shor and Freire (1987) connects achievement to the political influences of the outer society. They write that "it's not education which shapes society, but on the contrary, it is society which shapes education according to the interests of those who have power" (p. 35). Freire and Macedo (1987) conclude that schools are never neutral and always political.

Cortés (1986) brought many theories together in the contextual interaction model. Cortés (1986) states that contextual interaction clarifies the way in which societal factors affect three important aspects of minority educational achievement: educational input, instructional elements, and student qualities (p. 17).

Educational input factors of the contextual interaction model are those aspects of learning that come from social interactions and internalized ideologies. Some input factors include the knowledge, skills, expectations,

attitudes and the ideologies of teachers, administrators and the governmental institutions that support schools. Student qualities affect the quality and nature of teacher-student, peer, and administration-student interactions (Cortés, 1986).

Student qualities include students' perceptions and attitudes toward their linguistic, academic and social knowledge as well as their self-image, motivation, prosocial skills and appearance. When status quo values and attitudes dominate interactional educational inputs, they become part of the strategy-based hidden curriculum and have negative affects on LMS achievement (Giroux, 1983).

Cortés (1986) defines instructional elements as the curriculum, textbooks, pedagogical strategies, teaching styles, student placement, testing policies, and student evaluations. Similarly, Giroux (1983) includes these features of the contextual interaction model in his "content-based" category. He claims that when materials, classroom organization and policy have a dominant agenda, they negatively affect LMS performance. The strategy-based interactional and content-based factors in the contextual interaction can be explored more closely in the critical postmodern theory of the "hidden curriculum" (Giroux, 1983).

The Hidden Curriculum

Giroux (1983) defines a hidden curriculum as "those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life" (p. 47). He says that the hidden curriculum can be examined in two ways: strategy-based (interactional) and content-based critique. Strategy-based

theorists "limit the concept of the hidden curriculum to the social relations of the classroom," and examine how dominant cultural hegemony is legitimized and reproduced through the process of school-based social interactions (Giroux, 1983, p. 74). A content-based examination, on the other hand, looks at teaching materials and program curricula with the assumption that:

. . . no curriculum is neutral: each reflects a particular view of the social order, whether implicitly or explicitly. This "hidden curriculum" generates social meanings, restraints, and cultural values which shape students' roles outside the classroom. (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985, p. 476)

Both the strategy-based and content-based theorists belong to a growing group of critical theorists who believe that schools are instruments of dominant and elite powers at work in the country's political, economic, and cultural institutions (Giroux, 1983). They further maintain that the minority student, being outside of the experiences of the middle-class, dominant American majority, experience a hidden, covert discrimination in the form of a reproductive economic and social agenda in school curriculum and practice.

A closer look at strategy and content-based aspects of the hidden curriculum serves to clarify how sociocultural and environmental factors can work against minority achievement in the contextual interaction model, as discussed below.

Strategy-based hidden curriculum. Hernández (1989) describes four strategy-based categories in which the transmission of dominant beliefs and hegemony can prevail against minority students in the classroom: (a)

teacher-student interactions, (b) students' social context, (c) behavior management techniques, and (d) classroom organizational styles (pp. 45-76). The choices made by LMS teachers in terms of the structure of their classroom interactions can promote these forms of the hidden curriculum or limit their negative effects on minority student performance.

Teacher-student interactions include the "relationship between teachers' perceptions of student academic ability, their expectations about how students will perform, and their interaction with individual students" (Hernández, 1983, p. 47). How teachers perceive their students, in terms of intelligence and other nonacademic student factors such as dress, language, and family heritage, has been shown to influence the amount and quality of interactions teachers have with these students, as well as the academic achievement of the students (Hernández, 1983). Markle (1991) states that teachers utilize more challenging questions and discussion stimuli with higher tracked students than with their lower ability groups (p. 6). Furthermore, Weaver (1990) discusses studies which validate the notion that students tend to achieve at the levels expected of them by their teachers.

The practice of using standardized norm testing to sort students into categories for limited English proficiency (LEP), learning disabilities (LD) and emotional disabilities (ED), exacerbates the negative impact of prejudiced teacher-student interactions (Sue & Padilla, 1986). Research has shown that norm testing and tracking discriminate against minority students through

ethnocentric bias in test questions and the use of monolingual proctors who can add stress to the testing climate (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 102). Shor (1992) concludes by writing that "the tracking system may be the most undemocratic mechanism of mass education" (p. 140).

The quality and quantity of student-teacher interactions have been shown to influence student success (Cummins, 1989). According to a study conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1973), white students were praised or encouraged by their teachers 36% more frequently than their minority counterparts (Cummins, 1989, p. 10). This study also indicated that majority students received more attention throughout the day, and that the attention given minority students was either negative or direction-giving.

Cummins (1989) writes that the teacher's ability to preserve cultural identity is essential to maintaining student self-concept and performance:

In both the United States and Canada (and most other countries) the school failure of minority students under conditions of identity eradication through physical and psychological violence was seldom attributed to deficient schooling . . . rather, the blame was attributed either to inherent inferiorities of the particular group (e. g., genetic deficiency) or to factors such as bilingualism or "language handicap." (p. 12)

So-called "physical violence" refers to the punishment which, at one time, was widely rendered to students who used their native language, rather than English, during the school day. Other forms of physical violence are seen more overtly in the wider society, such as occurrences of racially motivated crimes (Takaki, 1989). The eradication of cultural identity is a form of psychological

violence against minorities which occurs routinely across the nation via the media, textbooks, and curriculum models (Kruglik, 1989).

A recent report of the New York State Task Force on Minorities claimed that school textbooks are written so that the "value system and norms [of white culture] dominate, while the contributions and experiences of African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Puerto-Ricans/Latinos and their experiences are extremely ambiguous and marginalized" (Kruglik, 1989, p.4). Being ignored by history, as an ethnic group, has devastating effects on the cultural identity of young LMS in schools.

Students' social context encompasses teacher-student attitudes regarding students' language and social status (Hernández, 1983). This can be aligned with Giroux's (1983) notion of "cultural capital" which he defines as "the different sets of linguistic and cultural competencies that individuals inherit by way of the class-located boundaries of their family" (Giroux, 1983, p. 268). Critical theorists maintain that "schools play a particularly important role in legitimating and reproducing dominant cultural capital" adding that "students whose families have only a tenuous connection to the dominant cultural capital are at a decided disadvantage" in the school system (Giroux, 1983, p. 268).

Hernández (1983) defines language attitudes as those "feelings, beliefs, and values associated with one's own language and/or dialect and those spoken by others" (p. 54). Giroux (1983) calls this "linguistic style" and believes that school curriculum serves to reward students who use the dominant and elite language

(p. 269). Lessow-Hurley (1990) states that children who perceive negative attitudes in the school setting toward their first language often suffer from a reduction of self-esteem and academic achievement as a result of "subtractive bilingualism," an attitude that views the second language and culture as inferior (p. 64).

The social status of minority students is affected by how they are perceived in terms of their individual traits (e.g., athletic ability, attractiveness, popularity) and societal distinctions related to class, race, ethnicity, and sex (Hernández, 1983). Studies have shown that in interracial schools activity involvement is dominated by white students who conform physically and socially to the cultural nuances of the wider societal structure (Hernández, 1983).

Behavior management techniques are those teacher strategies that foster positive behaviors in the classroom (Hernández, 1983). Sound cross-cultural understanding of proxemics, and other nonverbal communications can lessen the chances of miscommunication and misconduct. Also, fostering success in the classroom is vitally important to behavior management. Hernández (1983) suggests the use of concrete visuals, prompts, and manipulatives in LMS instruction to scaffold the learning of minority students and encourage interest, participation, and success.

Classroom organizational style refers to the teacher's use of the competitive/ individualistic or cooperative learning structures in teaching (Hernández, 1983). Studies have shown that the teacher-centered competitive

classroom can lead to "isolation and alienation among students, encouraging a handful of 'winners' while depressing the performance of the many, especially female students and minorities, who withdraw from the aggressive effects of the classroom" (Shor, 1992, p. 24). Lessow-Hurley (1990) notes that in the LMS classroom the cooperative learning strategy, with its use of supportive group interaction, peer tutors, and student-centered learning serves to enhance learning in second language classrooms. Unfortunately, many traditional teachers associate cooperative learning with the generation of "low status knowledge" while the competitive format has been associated with "high status" scientific and factual learning valued by the dominant industrial society (Giroux, 1983, p.269). The results point to the enduring positivist practice of competitive styles inspite of their negative affects on minority achievement.

Content-based hidden curriculum. Giroux (1983) links the notions of power and culture to the curriculum by stating that "working-class students often find themselves subjected to a school curriculum in which the distinction between high-status and low-status knowledge. . . have the effect of marginalizing or disconfirming . . . the working class, and minority groups" (p. 268). This intensifies the importance of careful curricular planning in LMS programs, especially for immigrant newcomers. Auerbach and Burgess (1985) discuss the contents of "survival texts" in terms of the hidden curriculum projected in LMS materials. They describe their concern by writing that "in view of this explicit concern with real-life tasks and their linguistic demands, survival curricula must

be examined in terms of how well they live up to the goals of being situationally and communicatively realistic" (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985, p. 478).

Situational realism manifests as hidden curriculum when lessons present oversimplified dialogue, assume middle-class socioeconomic status, and present misleading distortions of the way in which newcomers live in the U. S. (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985). Based on the correspondence theory, situational realism is distorted in those lessons that prescribe particular adult roles for students such that "the classroom serves to parallel and reproduce the values and norms embodied in the 'accepted' social relationships of the workplace" (Giroux, 1983, p. 9) and in society .

Communicative unreality in survival texts involves the linguistic nature and authenticity of the dialogue modeled in textbook lessons (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985). The lack of spontaneous and meaningful exchanges of information creates lessons that mimic the traditional drill and practice methods that research has shown to be ineffective in communicative proficiency instruction (Auerbach & Burgess, 1985). Raimes (1983) contends that the political nature of choosing textbook content and financing publishing has created a selective transmission of skills and language which limits the access of minorities to lower-level positions in society.

Much literature written on the subject of the hidden curriculum has emerged from twentieth century critical theory. Drawing from research in sociology, anthropology, psychology, and education, radical theorists have begun to

question the validity of the student deficit causal model used by modernists to justify performance problems among minority students. Critical contextual interaction advocates, on the other hand, have embraced the notion that class and power struggles are being played out in schools in the form of a hidden curriculum (Lessow-Hurley, 1990, p. 98). Examining the strategy-based and content-focused strands of the hidden curriculum offers a multidimensional, critical postmodern picture of some of the challenges and obstacles facing minority students in majority schools.

The discussion of the "heredity-environment" controversy magnifies the dichotomy between traditional modernist ideology and the growing popularity of the critical postmodern perspective. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on the development of critical pedagogy and the methodology of critical problem posing.

CHAPTER THREE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE: THE CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Democracy and democratic education are founded on faith in men, on the belief that they not only can, but should discuss the problems of their country, of their continent, their world, their work, the problems of democracy itself. Education is as an act of love, and thus an act of courage. (Freire, 1973, p. 38)

Freire's (1973) words capture the utopian hope of the critical postmodern democratic movement and serves as an introduction to this literature review on the dialectical methodology of problem posing. Problematizing was a key feature in Freire's work with the disenfranchised and illiterate adult population in Brazil, attracting much interest from Western scholars seeking to achieve the same democratic ends from America's educational system. Although Freire (1970, 1973, 1987) did much to advance the practice of critical problem posing in literacy and multidisciplinary empowerment programs in the United States, the history of dialectical teaching begins with the writings of Dewey (1900, 1916, 1938) and Piaget (in Doll, 1992).

The following sections of this review will present the scholarship found on the topics of "The History of Postmodern Critical Pedagogy;" "Critical Pedagogy: Aspects and Themes"; "The Critical Problem Posing Model"; and "Resistance to Critical Problem Posing."

History of Postmodern Critical Pedagogy

At the turn of the twentieth century, Dewey wrote three treatises on his theory of education: School and Society (1900); Democracy and Education (1916); and his defense of earlier works, Experience and Education (1938) (Baker, 1966). During these years, Dewey wrote in several disciplines, including psychology, logic, ethics, sociology, and education in an effort to provide a structure with which to study the underlying problem of schooling which he claims was in "harmonizing the individual traits with social ends and values" (Baker, 1966, p. III). Dewey saw this balance threatened by increasing social fragmentation due to the rapid technological and scientific advancements of the Industrial Revolution. He also observed divisive social groups struggling to coexist in society and feared the struggle for power would cause a serious disintegration of moral social values. Dewey saw science as humankind's tool for overcoming the obstacles of the natural world. His utopian vision was that educational practice be informed by the ideals of democracy toward the end of achieving a truly democratic educational pedagogy.

The democratic and social purposes of schooling are themes which unify Dewey's approach to building a theory with which to address educational problems. He suggests that education be a "controlled and deliberate search by men who. . . come to see human problems from the standpoint of humanity" (Baker, 1966, p. 123). Dewey believed that conflicts had to be confronted with free and open inquiry by a community of participants, in order to avoid

domination by stronger and more influential groups of people. He expounds on the need for "problemizing" in the learning experience (Baker, 1966, p. 133).

Baker (1966) offers a concise summation of Dewey's theory of dialectical schooling when he writes that:

. . .the difficulties and problems which are subjects of inquiry in the school must be not only integrally related with each other and the learning child's interests for the sake of desired continuity; they must also relate directly to the same basic difficulties and problems that arise in the wider experiences of men. (p. 133)

Dewey gave meaning to the dialectical process which he called "problemizing." The purpose of problemizing was to improve human social relationships and reduce "gaps" in experience, such as the loss of family, the development of divisive social groups and the loss of spiritual grounding (Baker, 1966, p. 116). Dewey believed that the ultimate "experiential gap" was the one which separated humans from the universal consciousness. Although he understood that individuals had to work to achieve their own understandings of reality, he felt that they could reach higher levels of consciousness by engaging in community discourse, inquiry, and reflection.

Dewey believed that a stratified society in which powerful groups subordinated less powerful factions represented a serious social gap in community life. He felt that the egalitarian goal of education was to pose problematic situations to students in order that they might dialogue and reflect on ways to bridge these gaps or problems in society.

The theory of schooling proposed by Dewey was germinal to the evolution of the postmodern critical theory of education and foundational to the work of Piaget (1977) whose research also contributed to current notions of critical postmodernism (in Doll, 1992). Piaget's (1977) equilibrium model echoed Dewey's belief in the value of critical inquiry, explaining that living biological systems naturally regulate and reshape their lives when confronted with disequilibrium and thereby are able to reach higher levels of existence (in Doll, 1991). Piaget's theory of phenocopy added to the critical postmodern notion of knowledge as a social construction and as a "perpetual construction or reconstruction made by exchanges between the organism and the environment" (in Doll, 1991, p. 80). The interactional aspects of Piaget's theories provided critical postmodernists the impetus to abandon heredity explanations for student failures and focus more on environmental and social interactional factors.

The work of Dewey (1900, 1916) and Piaget (1977) was foundational to the evolution of the dialectical critical pedagogy as discussed below.

The Critical Pedagogy: Aspects and Themes

Grundy (1970) defines the critical pedagogy as those teaching methods that go "beyond situating the learning experience within the experience of the learner, it is a process which takes the experiences of both the learner and the teacher and, through dialogue and negotiation, recognizes them both as problematic" (Grundy, 1970, p. 103). According to Grundy's (1970) description, there are four

elements of the critical pedagogy: (a) a confrontation with the real problems of existence; (b) engaging in a process which involves 'conscientization' or problematic enlightenment; (c) an examination of ideological distortions and myths, and (d) action upon newly discovered knowledge and understandings (pp. 157-158).

Giroux (1981) has called the critical pedagogy a "radical pedagogy of critical thinking" (p. 81). He defines the practice as one which:

helps students link knowledge to power and human interest
 . . .and reflect on the hermeneutic meaning beneath falsified
 appearances. . .and [helps them] recognize and act upon those
 social processes and forces which prevent them from creating
 their own meaning" (p. 81).

Giroux (1983) believes that the cultural myths and ideals concealed in the "hidden curriculum" of education in America need to be exposed through a radical educational reform movement. He states that traditional teachers in modernist-framed classrooms are mere "receivers and transmitters of these 'institutionalized norms'" (p. 152). Giroux (1983) looks to teachers who hold an emancipatory interest in education to be radical libertarians and redefine themselves as agents of student empowerment (Cummins, 1989; Freire and Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1983).

McLaren (1989) uses the term "dialectical pedagogy" to describe the critical nature of postmodern teaching. He states that the dialectical approach to critical teaching involves revealing contradictions in life experiences such that new constructive thoughts and actions emerge and can be used to transcend

problematic situations. Giroux (1983) describes several assumptions of the dialectical pedagogy, including those that describe the dialectic as: (a) forming praxis (reflection and action) that links critical reasoning to action or intervention; (b) necessitating humans to collectively work to transform the world in which they live; (c) appreciating the historic and critical aspects of knowledge; (d) believing that education is politically charged and value-loaded; and, (e) opposing all forms of oppression and domination.

The radical terms "border pedagogy" and "anti-racist pedagogy" have also been associated with the critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1991, p. 247). Giroux (1991) writes that a radical border pedagogy must:

. . . address the issue of racism as one that calls into question not only forms of subordination that create inequities among different groups. . . but also challenges those institutional and ideological boundaries that have historically masked their own relations of power behind complex forms of distinction and privilege. (p. 247)

Giroux (1991) believes that anti-racist education can be achieved by (a) allowing students to have voice in the classroom, (b) guiding teachers to perform "ideological surgery" on dominant myths and ideals, (c) teaching from the students' own experiences, and (d) affecting a transformation of the marginal state of minority student 'Otherness'" (pp. 218-220).

Wood (1988) associates critical pedagogy with the more neutral term of "participatory" methodology. He states that the goals of critical participatory instruction include: (a) student interaction; (b) political efficacy; (c) promoting the values of democratic equality, community, and liberty; (d) examining the

alternatives to dominant beliefs; and, (e) gaining the intellectual skills and literacy needed to give voice in public debates (cited in Beyer & Apple, 1988).

Closely aligned to the participatory focus of Wood's (1988) definition of the critical pedagogy are the terms, "critical empowerment" of democratic pedagogies (Shor, 1991). Freire and Macedo (1987) define a pedagogy of empowerment as one that is "centered within a social project aimed at the enhancement of human possibility" (p. 12). They state that the goal of empowerment pedagogy is to enable students to "interrogate and selectively appropriate those aspects of the dominant culture that will provide them with the basis for defining and transforming, rather than merely serving, the wider social order" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 152).

Empowerment terminology has caught the attention of both modernist and critical postmodern theorists and reformers. Shor (1987) believes that modernists have enjoyed using the term 'empowerment pedagogy' to advance the American ideals of individualism and self-reliance when, in fact, the critical notion of empowerment is "not individual, not community, not merely social empowerment, but a concept of 'social class empowerment'" (Freire, 1987, p. 111). Traditional curriculum teaches "critical thinking" in the name of empowerment, but this strategy stresses the development of cognitive thinking skills rather than the dialectical and ethical involvement of the postmodern version (McLaren, 1989). Modernists claim to value teaching with "multicultural awareness," but have omitted from this practice dialogue around racial and power issues which are key

themes in postmodern critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1991). Freire (1973) argues that modernists use the term "problem solving" interchangeably with "problematizing," even though they denote antithetical processes.

The term democratic empowerment links schooling with the political disposition of the society in which it operates (Wood, cited in Beyer & Apple, 1988). This link began in the early days of American history when Thomas Jefferson wrote on the rationale for public schooling in a democratic society:

In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a certain degree. (cited in Beyer & Apple, 1988, p. 166).

With these words, the seeds for a democratic pedagogy were sowed into the American vision of education. Wood (1988) concludes that Jefferson's proposals for a free, public educational system implied that schools "be the site where democratic citizens are empowered" (cited in Beyer & Apple, 1988, p. 167).

The foregoing paragraphs have revealed the many ways in which critical pedagogy has been labeled, hinting at some of the key aspects of this methodology described in the following section.

Aspects of Critical Pedagogy

Shor (1992) has identified eleven "empowerment values" or aspects of the critical pedagogy, including: participatory, affective, problematic, situated knowledge, multicultural, dialogic, desocializing, democratic, researching,

interdisciplinary, and activist (see Figure 1). These important features of the critical postmodern teaching model are described below.

Participatory

The participatory aspect is crucial to the critical pedagogy because it rests on the critical theory assumption that knowledge is in constant flux and being created and recreated through social participation and experiences (Shor, 1992). Shor (1992) traces the participatory aspect to work of Dewey (1963) who believed that student participation was "an educational and political means for students to gain knowledge and to develop as citizens" (Shor, 1992, p. 18). Wood (1988) has used the term "participatory pedagogy" to emphasize the importance of this feature to the critical methodology. In his description he links the democratic ideal of participation with the libertarian notion of political activism and critique to construct an educational program aimed at student empowerment.

Affective

Richard-Amato (1988) states that affective activities involve values clarification which consists of three subprocesses: prizing beliefs and behaviors, choosing beliefs and behaviors, and acting on beliefs. The goal of the affective aspect in teaching is to "help students work through the process of valuing in order to reach a clarification of what [gives] meaning to their lives" (Richard-Amato, 1988, p. 158). Empowerment educators achieve a positive

Figure 1. Empowerment values of critical pedagogy adapted by author from Shor (1992)

affective climate by leading the class "energetically while patiently enabling students to develop their thoughts, agendas, and abilities for leading" (Richard-Amato, 1988, p. 25).

Positive affective environments are established in the critical classroom by respecting the knowledge, voice, and differences of students; by using cooperative and small group organizers; and by avoiding one-way teacher talk and authority in the classroom. Problem posing is an affective strategy particularly well suited as an empowerment tool for use among language minority students.

Problem Posing

Freire (1973) writes that if critical education is a process "in which the educator permanently reconstructs the act of knowing, it must then be problem posing" (p. 153). The critical pedagogy, therefore, is contained in the problem posing process. Freire and Macedo (1987) have noted that problem posing is an act of "naming the world" in order that it can be read and understood. Freire (1970b) describes this central aspect of the critical pedagogy as a process that

. . . affirms men as beings in the process of becoming. . . [and] roots itself in the dynamic present and becomes revolutionary. . . Whereas the banking method directly or indirectly reinforces men's fatalistic perception of their situation, the problem posing method presents this very situation to them as a problem. (p. 72)

Shor (1992) sees problem posing as a tool of liberation and empowerment in the critical LMS classroom, writing that "as a pedagogy and social philosophy,

problem posing focuses on power relations in the classroom, in the institution, in the formation of standard canons of knowledge, and in society at large" (p. 31). Problematic topics emerge from examination and reflection on "student culture as well as [issues around] inequality and democracy" (Shor, 1992, p. 31). Dialogue and critique around the presentation of situated, real-life codifications or pictures stimulate the generation of teaching words and themes. Teachers can fashion thematic discussions to teach literacy, as Freire modeled, or any other academic discipline (Shor, 1992). Auerbach and Wallerstein (1987) write that:

The goal of problem posing dialogue is critical thinking and action, which starts from perceiving the social, historical, or cultural causes of problems in ones' life. . .The first step in promoting action outside the classroom is to transform education inside the classroom. Our role as teachers is to create a safe environment in which students can express opinions and, most importantly, generate their own language materials for learning and peer-teaching. (in Shor, 1992, p. 43).

By using the transformative process of problematizing, critical teachers can make their classrooms "free spaces" in which students of different ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds can experience democratic equality and voice and transform their lives and world (Evans & Boyte, 1986).

Situated Knowledge

The aspect of situated knowledge in the critical pedagogy refers to the problem posing teacher situating "learning in the themes, knowledge, cultures, conditions, and idioms of students" (Shor, 1992, p. 44). Situated lessons are

achieved by obtaining student histories through personal interviews, small group discussions, or journaling. Situating learning around students' background and personal knowledge generates topics which are personally meaningful to learners.

By starting from the students' own life situations, problem posing increases participation by offering a familiar topic and context around which to dialogue. Situated knowledge promotes the affective aspect of problem posing by activating discussions on topics concerning values and ethical issues (Shor, 1992). Most importantly, this aspect honors the students' perceptions of problems in a bottom-up framework, rather than the teachers' delivery or transmission of knowledge about problematics common to top-down, positivist teaching methods (Shor & Freire, 1987). The subjective experiences of students can be studied with the teacher prompting the rediscovery and reframing of student problems in terms of the wider sociocultural and historical context of the world. Shor (1987) calls this use of situated knowledge "extraordinarily reexperiencing the ordinary" (p. 104). This strategy allows students to step away from the subjective experiences of their lives and "gain a distance from the given by abstracting it from its familiar surroundings and studying it in unfamiliar critical ways, until [their] perceptions of it and society are challenged" (Shor, 1987, p. 104).

Multicultural Aspect

Topics derived from the backgrounds of language minority students, are at once multicultural and multiethnic, unveiling the unique experiences of students

from many different ethnic heritages and socioeconomic backgrounds. The concept is rooted in Dewey's (1963) progressive education notion which states that:

The educator cannot start with knowledge already organized and proceed to ladle it out in doses. Anything which can be called a study, whether arithmetic, history, geography, or one of the natural sciences, must be derived from materials which at the outset fall within the scope of ordinary life experience. (in Shor, 1992, p. 47)

Dialogic

If problem posing is the vehicle of critical pedagogy, then dialogue might be regarded as the fuel that energizes this methodology. The utopian ideal of the critical postmodern paradigm is one of a transforming education. Freire (1987) explains how dialogue transforms human possibilities and realities:

Through dialogue, reflecting together on what we know and don't know, we can then act critically to transform reality. . . What is dialogue in this moment of communication, knowing, and social transformation? Dialogue seals the relationship between the cognitive subjects, the subjects who know, and who try to know. (p. 99)

Freire (1987) goes on to describe "liberatory dialogue" as a "democratic communication that disconfirms domination and illuminates while affirming the freedom of the participants to re-make their culture" (p. 99). In this light, dialogue takes on political, cultural and social reformatory purposes: It is used to challenge and to critique the existing ills of society and to formulate plans to change or transform social conditions. Freire (1970a) describes this purpose of dialogics as "not to dislodge the oppressed from a mythological reality in order to bind them to another reality. . . on the contrary, the object of dialogical action is

make it possible for the oppressed, by perceiving their adhesion, to opt to transform an unjust reality" (p. 174).

Freire (1970), Shor (1992), and other post-modern curricularists believe that hermeneutics, or the interpretative process of knowledge and reality construction, requires an aspect beyond contradiction and reflective action: Namely, they believe that one needs a "dialogic community," in order to transform personal perceptions into a world view. Dialogic interaction, therefore, is needed to transform contradictory beliefs and problematic situations into new constructions of knowledge and reality, based on a broad community and global perspective. In the constructs of the critical process, dialogue is the means by which knowledge is socially and communally created by contestation, reflection, and negotiation.

Desocialization and Democracy

A critical look at how the educational system has worked to propagate the myths and ideals of the ruling economic, political, and social elites reveals the need for desocialization and increased democracy. The dominant system has carefully directed what knowledge is taught and learned through its control of the hidden educational curriculum. This socialization continues beyond the classroom via powerful media forces that influence how people think and act in society. Conditioned to believe in America's dreams, people are often paralyzed to act against the myths and inconsistencies of society. To teach true

democracy is to unveil reality and to question whose knowledge is being taught via a process known as desocialization.

Shor (1992) equates desocialization with Freire's process of "conscientization" or critical consciousness (p. 129). Shor (1992) writes that "desocialized thinking called critical consciousness refers to the way we see ourselves in relation to knowledge and power in society, to the way we use and study language, and to the way we act in school and daily life to reproduce or to transform our conditions" (p. 129). Shor (1992) believes that desocialization occurs in four qualities: (a) power awareness or knowing that social reality and history are created and named by struggling powers in society; (b) critical literacy, or reading the world and the word, unveiled of the myths and ideologies that hide their true meanings; (c) permanent desocialization, or challenging the contradictions and injustices of the social reality in order to transform them; and, (d) self-education and action, or learning the skills of dialectics and dialogue for empowerment and social change.

Freire (1970b) sees desocialization or conscientization in terms of a progressive three-stage model. In the intransitive stage, the individual is powerless to change society. In the semi-intransitive stage, individuals gain a limited power over their existence; however, they lack the ability to see the interconnectedness of events in terms of wider political, economic, and social influences. Finally, in critical conscientization, human beings are seen as agents in the knowledge and reality construction process, with the ability to choose to

either reproduce dominant myths by teaching and subscribing to them or to critically examine traditional ideologies and myths in order to transform them. The goal of the critical pedagogy is to democratize and emancipate education from its positivist reproduction function and to foster creative and transformative educational practice via the problem posing methodology.

Activism

Freire (1970a) sees activism as a part of "praxis" which he defines as "reflection and action in the world in order to transform it" (p. 36). Activism is an important aspect of the critical problem posing model because in examining contradictions or problematic codes, students are prompted to respond "not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action" (Freire, 1970b, p. 68). Activism, in the critical construct, assumes that humans are agents of knowledge construction and social change, therefore, what they learn in the classroom is used to activate social reforms in the wider community. Activism is not the act of change in a negative direction, rather it carries the ethical requirement of "acting with, not upon, others" (Grundy, 1987, p. 105). In this way, praxis is an aspect of the utopian vision of the critical pedagogy.

Interdisciplinary and Researching

The interdisciplinary element of problem posing demands a recursive and rigorous examination of authentic situations (Shor, 1992). Like life itself, the process of interdisciplinary examination is cyclical: all subjects circling around the nexus of social experience being created and recreated. Also known as

"multidisciplinary," this aspect draws many academic disciplines into the social and democratic arenas for in-depth scrutiny and challenge. Shor (1992) describes this researching element as an " . . . extensive exploration of subject matter, thought and language. . . . Because the critical-democratic classroom involves in-depth scrutiny, it defines students as active researchers who make meaning, not as passive receivers of knowledge" (p. 169). Teachers and students in the critical classroom co-investigate the world and co-create reality (Freire, 1970b). This perspective takes issue with the basic assumptions of the technical definition and reproductive implications of schooling. Instead of seeing the teacher as the authority over knowledge, or the "expert-in-the-classroom," the critical learning model gives the student an important role to play in the creation and construction of knowledge.

The mutual distribution of power in the critical classroom is aligned with a key postmodern notion: that knowledge is a social and cultural construction over which no one authority or power can claim ownership. The following section examines how the main themes of critical postmodern investigation emerge from tensions relative to knowledge, power, and culture in schooling.

Themes of Critical Pedagogy

The pedagogical aspects of critical teaching are utilized during the problem posing process. Problem posing is activated by dialogue and praxis around basic themes of knowledge ownership and social justice. Three such themes chosen to frame this study include the dialectical relationships between

knowledge and critical education; knowledge and power relationships; and culture and race in schools.

Knowledge and Critical Pedagogy

Questions around knowledge construction and ownership have dominated educational theory for centuries. Recall that nineteenth century positivists were guided by a technical interest in knowledge, believing that all fact was controlled by empirical and scientifically determined natural laws. Kincheloe (1991) writes that critical postmodernists expressed a "great dissatisfaction. . . with the positivistic definitions of knowledge," (p. 67) theorizing that knowledge was socially, rather than scientifically determined and thus living and changing through time and experiences. Critical theorists are guided by the emancipatory knowledge-constitutive action interests, maintaining that knowledge is socially constructed, culturally mediated, historically situated and not absolute (McLaren, 1989). These assumptions lead to curricular questions that ask what knowledge is taught in schools and why. Freire and Macedo (1987) answer by writing that "to think of knowledge as if [it is] the property of academics and teachers is wrong [because that perspective] denies an equality in the relations at moments of interaction and falsely privileges one side of the exchange and what that side knows over the other" (p. 18). The positivist curriculum, therefore, with its teacher-dominated instructional mode, establishes a relationship of domination by elite knowledge over subordinate student knowledge. Freire (1973) calls this

"extension education" or transfer learning in contrast to empowerment education which heightens critical consciousness and social justice.

Power and Knowledge in Schooling

McLaren (1989) writes that "critical pedagogy is fundamentally concerned with understanding the relationship between power and knowledge" (p. 180).

McLaren (1989) claims that power operates in schools by distorting the knowledge delivered through textbooks, teachers, and school administrations to satisfy the political agenda of the ruling elites. Power is both visible in the classroom and invisible (McLaren, 1989). Visible power is seen in the top-down practices of modernist schooling, such as rigid time schedules, grading policies, and teacher-dominated discourse (McLaren, 1989). Invisible power exists in traditional classroom discourse that governs "what can be said and what must remain unsaid, who can speak with authority and who must listen" (p. 180).

Giroux (1983) expounds on the invisible power plays in schooling with his description of the "hidden curriculum" discussed earlier in this paper (Giroux, 1983).

One way that critical teaching helps to mediate the power struggle over knowledge ownership is by constructing lessons from student knowledge and encouraging them to challenge the social problems and contradictions they perceive in the outer society. The empowerment aspects of the critical pedagogy, then, are realized in the problem posing process by helping "students

understand and engage in the world around them. . . . [and] exercise the kind of courage needed to change the social order where necessary" (McLaren, 1989, p. 182). A recurrent notion in postmodern critical theory is the theme of the emancipation of schooling from control by dominant societal mandates.

Culture and Race in Schooling

Freire (1973) defines culture as a "field of struggle over meaning, a many-sided conversation that is never neutral" (p. 195). He views critical schooling as a "cultural action for freedom," in contrast to the modernist educational model which he calls a "cultural action for domination" (Freire, 1970b, p. 47). Domination takes the form of "cultural invasion" through which only elite language, values, voices and perspectives are discussed and transmitted by the schools (McLaren, 1989, p. 195).

Dominant cultural capital and the process of hegemony play a large role in the dialectical relationship between culture, race, and schooling. It validates elite ways of "talking, acting, modes of style, moving, socializing, forms of knowledge, language practices, and values" (McLaren, 1989, p. 190). By affirming the dominant lifestyle in schools, minority interests are relegated to lower or less prestigious class associations. Freire (1970b) uses the term "culture of silence" to describe the subordinated minority class whose voice is silenced by the dominant cultural capital.

The racial implications of the "culture of silence" lead to a discussion of what Giroux (1991) calls "borderlands." Borderlands are the "political and cultural

boundaries that have long constituted the meaning of race and cultural politics" in American society (Giroux, 1991, p. 217). Giroux (1991) maintains that the racial issue crosses into the educational domain because "racism is an ideological poison that is learned, it is a social historical and social construction that seeps into social practices, needs, the unconscious, and rationality itself" (p. 219). The impact of Giroux's (1991) "border pedagogy" is to utilize the pedagogical aspects of critical theory to bridge the gaps of racial inequality and inequity in schools and society. Problem posing accomplishes this by encouraging "Others who do not measure up to the standards of an 'I' or 'We'. . ." to challenge those elites "wielding power from the center of the world" (Giroux, 1991, p. 227). Critical pedagogy as a radical border revolt deconstructs the "master- narratives of white supremacist logics and [redraws] the boundaries between the construction of experience and power" (Giroux, 1991, p. 233).

The recurrent themes of the critical postmodern pedagogy center around the social, political, racial, and intellectual power struggles evident in school practices and policies. The hope of critical educators is that by using the emancipatory aspects of problem posing in minority student instruction, students will learn the skills and language of possibilities, critique, and empowerment to advance their education and social position in American society.

The Critical Problem Posing Model

The aspects and themes of the critical pedagogy are activated in the dialectical process of problem posing. The ideologies that support this

methodology are expressed in the critical theory of postmodernism, which embodies a vision of democratic education that is equally administered and accessed by citizens of every race, color, and creed. Born in theories proposed by Dewey (1916) and Piaget (1972), problem posing purports to further the students' democratic empowerment by teaching the skills of inquiry, critique, negotiation, and activism. Recent problem posing models proposed by such critical educators as Freire (1970a, b; 1973, 1987), Shor (1987, 1992), and Wallerstein (1983) advocate using this methodology in cooperative and thematic multidisciplinary teaching. These models are presented in the following review of literature on the critical problem posing method.

Freire's Problem Posing Model

McLaren (1989) eloquently introduces Freire (1970, 1973, 1987) as a Brazilian educator whose contribution to the field of education across the world has placed "him in the front ranks of that 'dying class' of educational revolutionaries who march behind the banner of liberation to fight for social justice and educational reform" (p. 194). Freire began teaching in the late 1940's and continued until 1964, when he was imprisoned and later exiled for his work as director of Brazil's national literacy campaign. During his exile, Freire worked to develop and reform educational programs in Chile, the United States, Switzerland, and Guinea-Bissau (McLaren, 1989). Freire (1970, 1973, 1987) has also written several volumes around the topics of liberatory critical education and problem posing.

Freire expounds on the theme of human oppression and domination in all of his work. He sees the political and economic powers of the elite ruling classes as "oppressors" of the poor and disenfranchised in society. He also sees those in power as oppressed by the system that makes them act as oppressors. Freire (1970a) calls the disenfranchised population the "marginal" members of a "culture of silence" (pp. 10-11). He feels that the only way in which the oppressed can regain their humanity is by obtaining liberation from their oppressors and changing their lives through transforming knowledge and reforming action (Freire, 1970a). Freire uses his adult literacy program as the model for his liberating and emancipatory pedagogy. He expounds on the concept of "conscientization," which he defines as "the effort to enlighten men about the obstacles preventing them from a clear perception of reality. . . conscientization effects the ejection of cultural myths which confuse the people's awareness and makes them ambiguous beings" (Freire, 1970a, p. 51). Conscientization forms the basis for empowerment of the people, as it humanizes their existence and offers them the freedom to act upon their well being, instead of being acting upon by the dominant society. Tager (1984) provides a summation of Freire's pedagogy in the following quote:

Freire's pedagogy insists on a deep connection between the culture of everyday life and radical politics. For Freire, critical consciousness and the dissection of themes from daily life is an ongoing process that grows out of praxis and leads to further praxis (Freire's term for action with reflection). Ultimately, education for critical consciousness leads to revolutionary politics. For Freire, radical pedagogy integrates culture and politics. (in McLaren, 1989, p. 195)

Freire's problem posing model was designed as a language teaching, literacy program. Freire's concept of teaching language is contained in the phrase "reading the word and the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987). Freire and Macedo's (1987) definition of critical literacy transcends the mere teaching of language and encompasses an educational purpose applicable to all subject matter and teaching models:

. . . literacy is best understood as a myriad of discursive forms and cultural competencies that construct and make available the various relations and experiences that exist between learners and the world. . . critical literacy is both a narrative for agency as well as a referent for critique. (p. 10)

These scholars see the act of reading not as "merely decoding the written word or language; rather it is preceded by and intertwined with knowledge of the world. . . language and reality are dynamically interconnected" (Freire & Macedo, 1987, p. 29). Because the underlying purpose of Freire's problem posing model is to teach students to "read the world," his five-phase plan is an instructive guide to problem posing across disciplines (see Figure 2). The following section will review the five phases of Freire's problem posing model for teaching critical literacy.

Phase I: student histories. The first phase of Freire's model requires educators to research the vocabulary used by the students. This teacher-research is carried out by informal encounters and formal interviews with students and other members of the students' immediate family and community. Encounters are meant to "reveal longings, frustrations, disbeliefs, hopes, and

Figure 2. 5-phase problem posing model derived by the author from Freire (1973)

FREIRIAN PROBLEM POSING MODEL

an impetus to participate" (Freire, 1973, p. 49). In this vocabulary research phase, the researcher notes any words or sayings that typify group membership or have emotional weight. Through the recordings of dialogues with students, teacher-researchers get a flavor of the emotions that charge the students' dialogues. For example, Freire (1973) records a comment made by an illiterate from Sao Paulo who said, "I want to learn to read and write so I can change the world" (p. 50). Comments such as these provoke many meanings and deep emotional responses from both the student and the researcher. The goal of this first phase of the problem posing process is to encourage educators to understand these student perspectives while forming "rewarding relationships and discover[ing] often unsuspected exuberance and beauty in the people's [students'] language" (Freire, 1973, p. 49).

Phase 2: generative words. Generative words are selected from the vocabulary displayed in personal interviews and informal encounters with the students. Freire (1973) states that generative words should be rich in three syntactic and semantic areas:

1. phonemic richness: words contain many minimal units of speech sound, often represented by vowels in the language, which can be re-combined into new words by students
2. phonetic difficulty
3. pragmatic tone that indicates that students have an emotional appeal and

which carry the students' interest and engagement especially when used in reference to social, cultural and political events.

Phase 3: codifications. Most codifications mirror typical situations in which students normally engage, but should contain underlying regional or national implications. Codifications are visual representations that can be in the form of slides, pictures, or posters. Freire (1973) states that these "visual representations" function as "coded situation-problems containing elements to be decoded by the groups with the collaborations of the coordinator" (p. 51). Freire (1973) suggests that some codifications, used best for post-literate teaching, might be taken from the media, especially advertisement and propaganda, and used to enlighten students to the influence of these negative socialization tools.

In the dialogic group meeting, which Freire (1973) calls the "culture circle," the codification is shown to the students along with the generative word representation. The teacher-facilitator prompts debate around the personal and social implications of the codification. This process is called "decoding" (Freire, 1973, p. 52). After the students have exhausted their input around the codification, the facilitator draws their attention to the generative word associated with the picture. These words may or may not embody the entire meaning implied in the codification. If more than one word is associated with a particular codification, the phonemically less difficult words are presented first, followed by more difficult words in later sessions. The facilitator then asks the students to visualize the word together with the picture. This process is not one which

requires word memorization, rather it creates a reality-based association between the "word and the world."

Phase 4: scheduling. In this phase, Freire (1973) recommends that teachers create "agendas" for dialoguing. Unlike the modernist, objectified lesson plan, this schedule implies the co-investigative nature of the problem posing methodology. In other words, the teacher does not prescribe a goal for the day's lesson; rather, a time is set aside for dialogue and sharing between all participants, with the insights from that meeting emerging naturally from the dialectic experience.

Phase 5: discovery cards. Discovery cards contain individual phonemes. After students visualize the word-picture associations, the teacher presents the written word alone on another card or slide. The word is syntactically studied by dividing it into sound syllables. The teacher then presents "discovery cards," which represent the phonemic families which compose the word. Discovery cards are presented individually at first, and then together with other cards that make up the target word. Freire (1973) states that the purpose of the discovery card is to use it "to reach a synthesis [where] men discover the mechanism of word formation through phonemic combination" (p. 53). Freire (1973) reports that almost immediately students can create new word combinations with the phonemes on the discovery cards which are then repeated in oral exercises and written at home.

Freire's (1973) methodology allows students to go uncorrected when they create phoneme combinations which are not actual words, called "dead words." Actual words, called "thinking words," have many codified associations in reality. When students begin to write their thoughts regarding the codifications, the difference between thinking and dead words become apparent.

Post-literacy stage: generative themes. Thematic teaching came about as a result of Freire's (1973) position as director of the National Literacy Program in Brazil. It was the plan of this group to deliver an educational program that crossed the discipline of language instruction and could be broadened to include communication skills necessary across academic subjects. Generative themes are derived in the same way as generative words, through investigations into the culture of the students. The themes are analyzed by the teachers and broken down into learning units. Filmstrips and simplified texts are produced to advance the program for post-literacy students.

Generative, topical, and academic themes. Shor's (1992) adaptation to Freire's original model suggests that there are three types of themes appropriate to the problem posing process: generative, topical, and academic (pp. 55-84). Generative themes, like those described by Freire (1973) are student-initiated and derived from students' own living experiences. Shor (1992) states that these themes are best used with lower, elementary or pre-literate students.

Topical and academic themes are described by Shor (1992) as themes chosen by the teacher and derived from social issues or academic subject matter.

Although Freire's (1973) post-literacy program suggests the use of similar thematic devices, he did not use the terms "academic" and "topical" themes. Shor (1992) suggests these thematic devices be used with upper-grade and university students as a way to integrate problem posing into the teaching of a variety of academic subjects (Shor, 1992).

Wallerstein (1983) joins Shor (1992) in adapting Freire's (1973) model to a North American context. Wallerstein (1983) worked with illiterate adults in a California English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program. Because the participants in this study will be drawn from an ESL elementary classroom, a review of Wallerstein's (1983) problem posing program is presented below.

Problem Posing in the ESL Classroom

Freire (1970a,b, 1973) himself, has remarked on the need for his democratic teaching methods in the United States by writing that ". . . this [America] is one of the most alienated of all countries. . . People know they are exploited and dominated, but they feel incapable of breaking down the dehumanized wall" (Giroux, 1981, p. 136). As seen from the previous mention of LMS academic underachievement and social aberrations plaguing education in America, bilingual and ESL classrooms are prime sites for critical problem posing to be tried as an empowerment methodology. Wallerstein's (1983) program, tried in San Jose, California and in Brazil, targets the ESL community and is based on the Freirian problem posing model. Wallerstein's (1983) lesson units focus on teaching ESL around themes derived from the topic of adjusting to the "American

way of life" (p. 8). Themes for her lesson units include: autobiography, family, culture and conflict, neighborhood, immigration, health, work, and money (p. 45).

In adapting Freirian problem posing for use in ESL classrooms in America, Wallerstein identifies three components to the problem posing process: listening, dialoguing, and action. The listening phase is much like Freire's phase one, where teacher-researchers talk with the students to derive an understanding of their perceptions, lifestyles, communities, backgrounds, and language. Included in the listening phase, Wallerstein (1983) suggests that teachers listen for themes or problems that can be codified and discussed.

Wallerstein's (1983) second, dialoguing phase includes the coding and dialoguing of problems. Wallerstein (1983) offers a repertoire of different methods by which to code problems, including written dialogues, role plays, stories, puppet plays, as well as the traditional Freirian use of pictures, photographs, drawings, and collages (pp. 28-32). Wallerstein (1983) details a list of qualities recommended for good codifications. According to Wallerstein (1983), a good codification must:

1. represent a daily problem situation that is immediately recognizable to students and to which they have emotional connections
2. illustrate as many sides to the contradiction as possible, yet be simple enough for students to project their own experience.
3. focus on one problem at a time, but should suggest links to other themes in people's lives.

4. not provide solutions to the problem, but should stimulate dialogue around students' perceptions, experiences, and recommendations for solutions.

5. not present a problem which is "overwhelming to the students," such that the actions required to solve the problem are out of the reach of students: "There should be room for small actions that address the problem even if they don't solve it" (p. 20).

Wallerstein (1983) offers five problem posing questions for facilitators to ask in the process of decoding, or dialoguing over problems. She calls these questions the "tools for dialogue," and the framework for her problem posing model. The questions include:

1. What do you see? Have the students describe or name the content and feelings in the code.
2. What is the problem?
3. How do you feel about it? Explore ways in which the students might have experienced this problem, or a similar one, in their own lives.
4. Why is there a problem? Direct students to visualize this problem in the context of their own experiences in the larger society, including its political, economic, cultural, or racial dimensions.
5. What can you do? Encourage students to discuss alternatives and solutions and attempt "small actions that will provide a new perspective on this problem or in some way ameliorate it" (p. 21).

Phase three, the action phase, is modified in Wallerstein's (1983) model. Where Freire (1973) recommends political and social community action, Wallerstein (1983) defines this phase as any action designed to "pursue the topic or engage in further language learning. . .[or] actions students could take to gain a new perspective on, or solve the problem" (p. 34). Some of her suggestions include "observations in and out of class, role-plays with alternative endings, outside speakers, and field trips" (p. 34). The soft attack of Wallerstein's (1983) action plan loses much of the critical "activist" implications recommended by Freire (1973). Part of Wallerstein's (1983) explanation for this is that most of her work was done with beginner students, who "[could] not go through all the problem-posing steps. . . [but could] answer questions in the first three steps" (p. 35) exclusive of the activist phase.

Despite its lack of activism, Wallerstein's (1983) problem posing model provides educators, especially those working with LMS' in American ESL or bilingual settings, a sound guide for the implementation of critical problem posing. Wallerstein's (1983) lesson units could be criticized for being somewhat prescriptive, however, they offer inexperienced facilitators a place to start on their journey to achieving empowerment education in their teaching.

As the twenty-first century rapidly approaches, American education faces the challenge of moving toward what Freire (1970b) calls a "revolutionary utopia." This state of teaching and learning extols the ideologies of critical postmodernism and, in Freire's (1970b) words, gravitates:

. . . to the emotion of life rather than cold abstractions; to living together in harmony rather than gregariousness; to dialogue rather than mutism; to praxis rather than "law and order"; to men who organize themselves reflectively for action rather than men who are organized for passivity; to creative and communicative language rather than prescriptive signals; to reflective challenges rather than domesticating slogans; and to values which are lived rather than myths which are imposed. (p. 44)

What Freire (1973) is calling for is what America was founded upon: a state of actualized democracy; a sociopolitical state of society which ". . . does not fear the people, which suppresses privilege, which plans without becoming rigid, which defends itself without hate, which is nourished by a critical spirit rather than irrationality" (p. 58).

The path to this visionary and democratic state of education has never been clear. Modernist relics in the schools continue to block the movement toward empowerment. The ruling elites are never eager to relinquish their power in society, holding fast to their ethnocentric and racial biases in many areas of community and political life. Students, themselves, have been so convinced of their own inferiority that they have resisted empowerment and the critical methodology (Shor, 1992). Shor (1992) believes that students assume a passive nature because it best fits the nature of school, even to the point of disliking "disturbances of their own passivity" (p. 196). Some aspects of this resistance to the critical pedagogy are reviewed below.

Resistance to Critical Problem Posing

Positivism has been ingrained into the fabric of the American educational system, from its teachers and textbooks to its students. Many of the ideological assumptions that have been foundational to classroom instruction since the 1800s continue to dominate educational theory and practice today. Despite the vast changes in the demography and linguistic diversity of public schools, practices of linear, competitive, unidimensional, teacher-dominated, technical, objectified, prescriptive, and reductionist schooling prevails across this nation. To expose and correct the school and societal practices accountable for the failure, discrimination, racism, inequality, and inhumanity suffered by many lower-strata, language minority students, postmodern theorists have rallied behind the pedagogy for the twenty-first century: critical problem posing.

Yet many educators and citizens in the United States refuse to change: Resistance to the critical and activist methodology of problematizing is felt strongly in many of American schools. Critical scholars maintain that part of the resistance is from fear: The fear that the minority population is exploding, and must be contained by maintaining practices which subjugate and oppress these groups (Beyer & Apple, 1988; Cummins, 1986; Freire, 1973 & 1987; Giroux, 1983 & 1991; Shor, 1992). Part of the resistance is from the struggle for power in schools and in society: the need for the status quo elites to legislate against those over whom they dominate. Another part of the resistance is from habit: the technical models of two centuries of teaching holding fast against efforts towards

transformation. And finally, part of the resistance has ethnocentric and racial implications: Anglo elitism and American chauvinism having held their malignant ground throughout American history, resisting equality, diversity, and democracy in its society and schools (Giroux, 1983, 1991). This resistance is the focus of the following section of this literature review.

Teacher Resistance to Problem Posing

Shor (1992) writes extensively on his experiences with teacher resistance in his academic career. He describes teachers who, in the classroom, refuse to move out of the one-way, teacher-talk structure because of institutional and administrative pressures to conform and because of their own insecurity and fear of losing control of the students. (Shor, 1992, p. 102). Freire (1973) calls this antidialogic "extension" teaching, meaning that instead of transforming knowledge and reality, teacher-technicians extend the dominant myths and hegemony into the classroom for reproductive purposes. The result of this process is the "domestication" of students, which is a socialization process in which they are inculcated into mainstream American thinking (Freire, 1973, p. 114).

In the context of the Brazilian illiterates, Freire (1970a) uses the phrase, "culture of silence" to describe the inability of suppressed minorities to give voice to problematics in their lives (p. 10). Shor (1992) finds that silence in the American classroom is often the result of teacher resistance: "teacher-centered curriculum that transfers knowledge to students. . . this agenda of utterances functions to limit participation and silence students" (p. 94).

Teacher resistance is enacted in the classroom, but begins within:

"It is possible to witness teachers with a world view stopping at their country's border. . . [which] leads to the formation of a protective shield of ethnocentric approaches based on the only frame of reference they possess. . . their own culture" (Alptekin, 1981, p. 281). This lack of multicultural understanding and ethnocentrism threatens to move teachers to the borders of discrimination and racism in their classrooms, however unconsciously and innocently, regardless of their apparent good intentions.

Resistance to the Critical in Textbook Content

Resisting the critical and maintaining positivism combine to form powerful opposition to emancipatory teaching in the pages of America's textbooks. Nel (1990) reports that many curricularists are raising "serious questions regarding the wisdom of maintaining the status-quo in regard to our Eurocentric curricula and assessment procedures" (p. 39). But many scholars have questioned what powers control what is in the pages of textbooks. Spring (1989) asserts that political and economic powers in this country have made the decision to surreptitiously resist empowerment education by using its rhetoric but, changing its impact. Cummins (1989) calls this the "disjunction between rhetoric and reality," (p. 6) which typifies the covert actions of dominant powers. He goes on to claim that "pedagogical initiatives expressed in "mainstream" terms can often quietly undermine the institutionalized discrimination in schools" (Cummins, 1989, p. 68). Hernández (1989) recognizes this resistance when she writes that

Eurocentrism "can be perpetuated in textbooks and other instructional materials in ways that may be difficult for teachers to recognize" (p. 151). To counter this overt resistance to the empowerment pedagogy, Hernández (1989) warns of the hidden bias and racism in textbooks and recommends that teachers be aware of three common types of textbook bias: (a) stereotyping; (b) omissions and distortions of fact; and (c) biased language usage. The critical empowerment teacher can help students to overcome textbook biases by teaching them to be "critical users of instructional materials" (Hernández, 1989, p. 140).

Some resistance to printing critical empowerment strategies in the pages of textbooks is boldly overt and vocal. Citing work done by the New York State Task Force, Kruglik (1989) complains that the report points to white Eurocentric cultural references in textbooks as the cause of an under-representation of the experiences and contributions of African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans and other minorities. She feels that the requirement to count the ethnic/gender representations in textbooks has had the effect of tokenism on the content of text materials (Kruglik, 1989). She agrees with fellow critic Sirkin (1989) who states that it is a delusion to assume that a minority child's ". . . self-esteem can be built up by flattering references to his ethnic group. . . There may be some whose pride derives from the accomplishments of others, but such unearned credit is a weak basis for self-esteem" (cited in Kruglik, 1989, p. 4).

Student Resistance to Critical Problem Posing

Many scholars and theorists have detailed accounts of student resistance to empowerment pedagogy (Brown, 1987; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1983; Nel, 1990; Shor, 1992; Willet & Jeannot, 1993;). Some have said that LMS resistance to looking critically at aspects of their new American homeland comes from the fact that they "feel grateful to be in the United States" (Shor, 1992, p. 404). Others have accounted for students' unwillingness to participate in problematizing by observing that many minorities that are "good students" regard the critical approach as "too radical" (cited in "Speaking Our Own Voice," 1989, p. 27).

M. Suarez-Orozco and C. Suarez-Orozco (1993) in their studies of Hispanic immigrant motivation, have looked at many of the underlying subtleties that motivate some of these responses. Their study indicates that a "dual frame of reference" operates in many first generation immigrants that causes a grateful and strongly motivated psychology (p. 110). On the other hand, many second and third generation immigrants, realizing the inequities of their living circumstances as compared to their white counterparts, respond either by "passing" (abandoning the native culture for the dominant culture) or refusing to participate in the institutions that represent the dominant society, particularly the school system (M. Suarez-Orozco & C. Suarez-Orozco, 1993, p. 114).

Student resistance to an unfamiliar classroom approach can manifest in overt disruptive actions or by withdrawal and silence, the later being called a

"performance strike" or "playing dumb" (Shor, 1992, p. 23). Freire (1973) maintains that students refuse the dialogic process because "with no experience of dialogue, with no experience of participation, the oppressed are often unsure of themselves" (p. 120). Minority students have existed under domination and discrimination from the white majority throughout United States' history. Freire (1973) believes that conditions of domination universally cause subjects to internalize a consciousness of oppression: ". . . [having been] consistently denied their right to have their say. . . [they] only listen and obey" (p. 120). As Giroux (1983) observes:

They [students of the critical pedagogy] resist even when the traditional ways have worked to subordinate them because they have internalized the meanings of the dominant worldview (i.e., men are suited for leadership), making alternative meanings sound outlandish and unrealistic. (p. 136)

The minority "culture of silence" has plagued disenfranchised people throughout the world (Freire, 1970). Their reticence to voice might be from their lack of proficiency in the language; their lack of self-confidence; or, their unwillingness to speak out might be due to "cultural reticence" (Congbalay, 1988). Henkin and Nguyen (1981) have studied this reticence among Vietnamese students and found that this ethnic group is characteristically "uncomfortable speaking out in class, and often will avoid conflict or confrontation by nodding and smiling to everything, regardless of whether they agree or not" (p. 31). Henkin and Nguyen (1981) describe the Vietnamese discomfort with inquiry by writing that "In school, [Vietnamese] children rarely ask questions. . . They

stand up and answer politely when called on to do so by the teacher" (p. 31).

Congbalay (1988) also points out that the Vietnamese immigrants are wary of police and government authorities, often not reporting crimes when they happen for this reason (p. 13). This political inefficacy can also cause students to resist involvement and participation in the problem posing process.

It is important to note in the closing paragraphs of this discussion that resistance to the critical is not the doom of empowerment "rather, resistance lives at every point in the structure and process of empowerment education" (Willet & Jeannot, 1993, p. 483). Resistance is framed within the "language of empowerment" which is a pedagogy that educators must not use to "impose [their] views about student subjugation, to force students to use the power we "give" them, or to prevent them from deconstructing empowerment," but as a tool to use in the cause of freedom (Willet & Jeannot, 1993, p. 484). It must be remembered that the original quest in seeking the critical problem posing methodology was to achieve a higher level of "freedom" in the classroom. It must also be remembered that knowledge is a social construction: constantly being contested and reframed. Therefore, the contestation (if that be in the form of resistance) is a necessary step in the evolution of new and transforming thoughts and actions. As Freire (1973) has said, "the challenge is basic to the constitution of knowledge" (p. 124).

Freire (1970a) believes that empowerment through the process of contestation and critique helps build a relationship of empathy and understanding

between the holders of opposing viewpoints. Since true liberation cannot enforce practice on others (which would be oppression), the mediator in the process of problematizing must be empathetic and patient in allowing the struggling viewpoints to be voiced, reflected upon, and transformed. The next chapter describes a research activity framed around the Freirian problem posing model but, modified in ways recommended by Shor (1992) and Wallerstein (1983) to fit the setting of a fifth-grade classroom and its Vietnamese student participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRITICAL RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research is always and by logical necessity based on moral and political valuations, and the researcher should be obliged to account for them explicitly. (Myrdahl, cited in Hall, 1970, p. 1)

So far this paper has presented literature discussing some of the challenges of educating America's growing ethnic and linguistic minority student population. This chapter will describe how this research problem was brought to a school site to study students and teachers from inside of their schools in order to unveil the possibilities of practicing problem posing as a methodology for the democratic empowerment of LMS.

The following pages detail the research design, population, implementation, and analysis used in this study. The first section describes the qualitative research plan of this study, including historical descriptions of several postmodern critical research methods. Next, the Vietnamese LMS population focused on in this research is described, including a discussion of the cultural and historical background of the Vietnamese American immigrant population. The implementation instruments and problem posing lesson activities used in the data collection phase of the study are described in the third section of this chapter. The final section reviews some of the qualitative data analysis methods used to guide the deconstruction and interpretation of data unveiled in this study.

A Critical Qualitative Research Design

Kincheloe (1981) writes that "there are a great many choices confronting any researcher designing his/her [research] work" (p. 17). He goes on to emphasize that the underlying research assumptions and ideologies of the researcher directly affect the choice of setting, participants, culture, vocabulary, history and ownership (Kincheloe, 1981). Because the ideological foundations of critical theory undergirded this study, various critical research methods and qualitative instruments were found useful. Specifically, this research drew from the disciplines of critical action research, participatory research, dialogic retrospection, and critical ethnographic research.

The Historical Shift in Research Methodologies

The shifting ideological paradigms in American education have dichotomized the scholarship around its theories, policies, and practices for the past two centuries. In terms of educational research, Rist (1977) has called this a movement in "research paradigms" (p. 43). On the one side, the scientific orientation of positivist thought has spread its roots deep into the history of educational research and social ideology and practice. On the other side, the emancipatory movement toward critical theory has struggled to replace the hardened science of the modernist era with the utopian postmodernist research goals of social justice and democratic human equality, both in schools and in the wider society. The two paradigms provide contrasting perceptions around one basic question: Who has the right to create knowledge around the analysis of

problems and the formulation of theories regarding those problems? (Hall, 1970).

In this debate, scientific determinism is embodied by quantitative research methods, while humanist concerns are reflected in qualitative research methods.

In examining the apocalyptic shift in educational research methodology, it is important to remember that all movements in theory are enacted by human practitioners in the social environment. In fact, that all human ideas and interests prompt some kind of action in the human social sphere was the human knowledge-action construct proposed by Habermas (1972). Habermas (1972) identifies three phases of human knowledge-action interests including the technical, the practical, and the emancipatory. Grundy (1992) maintains that each of these human knowledge-action interests is mirrored by an educational research mode.

Traditional nineteenth century positivism encouraged a research methodology that reflected its belief in the technical knowledge interest, called the quantitative or empirical research approach (Lincoln & Guba, cited in Conrad, 1993). Lincoln and Guba (1993) believe that Hesse's (1980) description offers the most concise rendition of the technical research method:

. . . there is an external world which can in principle be exhaustively described in scientific language. The scientist [researcher], as both observer and language-user, can capture the external facts of the world in propositions that are true if they correspond to the facts and false if they do not. . . man as scientist is regarded as standing apart from the world and able to experiment and theorize about it objectively and dispassionately. (cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 30)

Certain positivist and quantitative research axioms emerge from this description; namely that: (a) the knower and the known are independent; (b) inquiry is objective and, therefore, value-free; (c) human events follow a cause-effect relationship allowing for prediction and control of results; and (d) tangible facts can be generalized into time and context-free truths regarding human experience (Lincoln & Guba, cited in Conrad, 1993). The deterministic and reductionist import of this methodology are two assumptions that many twentieth century humanist researchers have found "both repugnant and unfounded" (Lincoln & Guba, cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 33).

Postmodern humanists have sought to generate research data informed by the practical and emancipatory knowledge interests and formatted around a qualitative research perspective (Grundy, 1987). Qualitative research borrowed theory from the fields of behavioral science, natural history, ethnography, anthropology, psychology and sociology (Jacob, cited in Conrad, 1993). Its axioms have been hailed by postmodernists who complained that positivist research did not reflect the complex and dynamic nature of human interactions (Hall, 1976). Qualitative researchers see human action in the natural context of the social, cultural and political environments from which it derives its symbolic meaning (Lincoln & Guba, cited in Conrad, 1993). To assist in capturing the multidimensional fabric of real life, qualitative inquiry utilizes various means of data collection such as in-depth interviews, observations, documents, and field

studies to compare and contrast against each other in the process of reconstructing and discovering the data (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

Rist (1977) sums the ideological contrast between the scientific quantitative and humanist qualitative perspectives by writing that:

When we speak of "quantitative" or "qualitative" methodologies, we are, in the final analysis, speaking of an interrelated set of assumptions about the social world which are philosophical, ideological, and epistemological. They encompass more than simply data gathering techniques. (p. 43)

The following sub-sections review some of the qualitative research methods used in this research plan.

Critical Action Research

During the twentieth century, movements advocating teacher participation in the educational research process surfaced, largely through the efforts of critical theorists anxious to gain further distance from the notion of "expert knowledge." Called teacher-research, or teacher-action research, this new dimension of the qualitative research family was established. The primary focus of this method was to incorporate aspects of critical theory into the qualitative teacher-action model, creating the "critical action research" (CAR) method. Kincheloe (1991) states that for research to be considered "critical" it must meet five requirements.

It must:

1. reject positivistic perspectives of rationality, objectivity, and truth.
2. be conscious of the affects that personal values and ideologies have on individual educational practice.

3. involve the unveiling of false consciousness and ideological distortions while providing methods for overcoming their effects.

4. reveal those aspects of the dominant social order which block our attempt to pursue rational goals in education.

5. always be guided by an awareness of how research relates to practice. Its purpose is toward teacher and student empowerment.

Grundy (1987) calls critical action research, informed by the emancipatory interest and critical theory, a form of "social research" grounded in the ideals of democratic freedom, equality, and justice (p. 156). Kincheloe (1991) describes the work of critical action researchers in the following excerpt:

Critical social researchers will choose strategies of inquiry which recognize the ambiguity of the human condition, the nature of knowledge, the importance of context, the fact that the outcomes of the inquiry may not be quantifiable or replicable, and that the method chosen may produce knowledge which profoundly promotes specific conceptions of man [positive or negative] and certain value orientations. (p. 72)

Critical Participatory Research

Hall (1970) defines the participatory research method as one that combines "community participation in decision making with methods of social investigation" (p. 10). The term carries the implication that the relationship between the "knower and the known" must be equalized and the participant must collaborate with the researcher in the formulation, collection, and interpretation of research data (Hall, 1970). Unlike the detached posture of the quantitative researcher, participatory research calls for a "co-investigation" and participation in the lives of the actors in

the research setting (Lather, cited in Conrad, 1993). Lather (1993) states that this relationship:

. . . inspires and guides the dispossessed in the process of cultural transformation; this is a process Mao characterized as 'teaching the masses clearly what we have learned from them confusedly'. . . At the core of the transformation is a reciprocal relationship in which every teacher is always a student and every pupil a teacher. (cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 139)

The critical participatory researcher is guided by two essential principles: improvement and involvement (Grundy, 1987). Improvement refers to the goals of enlightenment and praxis (reflection and action) for which the research endeavor hopes to observe in its participants. Involvement implies critical democratic participation. Shor (1992) notes that the community field work done by critical researchers is often called "participatory research," because it investigates ". . . students' culture from the bottom up, as they see themselves, with the community as joint researchers, authors, reviewers, and users of the research" (p. 207).

Hall (1970) lists some of the qualities of participatory research which appear below:

1. The research study can be of "immediate and direct benefit to a community (as opposed to serving merely as the basis for an academic paper or obscure policy analysis) " (Hall, 1970, p. 10).

2. Participatory research involves the community or population in the entire

research project from the formulation of the problem to the discussion of how to seek solutions and the interpretation of findings.

3. The participatory research process is seen as part of a "total educational experience which serves to establish community needs, and increase awareness and commitment within the community" (Hall, 1970, p. 11).

4. Participatory research is a dialectic process, a dialogue over time and not a static picture of a situation (as might be established by a questionnaire)

5. The goal of the participatory method is "the liberation of human creative potential and the mobilization of human resources for the solution of social problems" (Hall, 1970, p. 12).

6. Participatory research acknowledges that knowledge is power and that the research process carries ideological and political implications.

Dialogic Retrospection

Kieffer (1981) explores aspects of participatory involvement in his study of "dialogic retrospection," a research method that combines the notions of phenomenology (the study of phenomenon experienced by humans), critical theory, and ethnography (p. 12). Kieffer (1981) reports that the dialogic retrospection method of research is best used to study human interaction because it "captures the qualitative and relational aspects of the phenomena studied" (p. 8) as well as the human actors in that phenomena. The main principles of dialogic retrospection include:

1. using everyday life experiences and locations for study
2. maintaining fidelity in describing phenomena studied as they are lived, experienced, and described
3. using the descriptive language and personal viewpoints of the subjects as the primary source of data
4. using the participants' personal views and understandings as the primary research measurements
5. involving the researcher as an active participant in the construction and interpretation of data (Kieffer, 1981)

Dialogic retrospection is a form of qualitative research in which:

. . . the researcher is encouraged to get close to the data, to develop an empathetic understanding of the observed, to be able to interpret and describe the constructions of reality as seen by the subjects, and to be able to articulate an inter-subjectivity with regard to the phenomenon being studied. (Rist, 1977, p. 45).

Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography is another qualitative method that shares many principles of the dialogic retrospection research model (Wolcott, cited in Conrad, 1993). Anderson (1993) writes that of all the qualitative research traditions available, ethnography most captures the imagination of the researchers in the field of education" (cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 210). Wolcott (1993) defines ethnography as "a picture of the way of life of an identifiable cultural group or subgroup in society" (cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 232). Observing the cultural "patterns of behavior" is of principal concern to ethnographic social researchers

(Jacob, cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 50). Wolcott (1993) believes that ethnography encourages the researcher to "get close to the natives," or observed group, in order to develop a long-term relationship of understanding and empathy (cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 232). Contrary to the detached objectivity mandated in the quantitative discipline, ethnography demands a lengthy and personal journey into the world of the participants in order to co-investigate and jointly discover the hidden symbolism beneath their daily life experiences (Wolcott, cited in Conrad, 1993). Through this reflexive process, ethnographic research can serve to enlighten and change the consciousness of the research actors, similar to what Freire (1970a) describes as "conscientização": the process of enlightenment and praxis that "enrolls. . . [participants] in the search of self- affirmation" (p. 20). In fact, some research scholars see the ethnographic method of qualitative research to be intimately tied to critical theory in a marriage called "critical ethnography" (Anderson, 1993; Lather, 1993, cited in Conrad, 1993).

Critical ethnography appreciates the cultural context of human experiences, interpreting them in terms of the principles of critical theory. The goal of this ethnographic study was to reveal how, through problematizing, students were released "from sources of domination and repression" and taught to raise questions about "the role of schools in the social and cultural reproduction of social classes, gender roles, and racial and ethnic prejudice" (Anderson, cited in Conrad, 1993, pp. 209-211).

This research drew from the models of critical action, critical participatory, dialogic retrospection, and critical ethnographic research in order to explore the research premises, purpose, and questions brought to the study.

The Research Purpose

This study adhered to the following ideological research premises:

1. Reality and knowledge are socially constructed
2. Human variables are complex, interwoven, and difficult to measure empirically
3. Emic, or the insider's perspective, guides the study.

The overarching purpose of this research was one of "social inquiry" in which the democratic principles of collaboration and participation were used to further the critical postmodern research goals of promoting social justice, freedom, morality, and equality in educational inquiry. The specific purpose of the study was to record actions and dialogue occurring in the critical instructional setting. The conclusions drawn from those interactions were not intended to be regarded as generalizable fact or for use in the prediction of future interactions in similar situations. Rather this research intent was to record the voices of the Vietnamese participants as they involved themselves in critical problem posing, and to document any words or actions that could be interpreted as gains in their personal and social empowerment and political efficacy.

Research Questions

As presented in the first chapter of this paper, I formulated three broad research questions around the critical themes investigated in my study:

Q1: *Knowledge and Power*. What culturally specific understandings do Vietnamese LMS hold regarding knowledge ownership and how do these beliefs affect their school and social interactions and achievement?

Q2: *Culture and Race*. What "gaps," or shortfalls, exist between school and social realities of life versus the American ideals of democratic opportunity, equality, equity, and freedom, as perceived by Vietnamese LMS?

Q3: *Voice in Schools and Society*. What problems do Vietnamese LMS voice and what problems are silenced by the dominant power forces at work in school and the outer society?

The following section describes the research site and participants chosen for this study. Included in this discussion is a contrastive analysis of Vietnamese and American cultural traits which provides the foundation for a discussion of the sociocultural factors in minority educational programs.

The Research Population: Vietnamese LMS

This investigation was conducted at the Dell Elementary School¹ in San Jose, California, from January to May of 1995. The research participants were drawn from the fifth-grade classroom in which I was assigned to observe as part of the San Jose State University Teacher Credential Program.

¹ The actual school name has been changed to preserve anonymity.

Dell Elementary School was 52% limited English proficient (LEP), 22% English Proficient (EP), and 26% monolingual English (EO), according to the school principal. Of its 689 kindergarten to fifth-grade students, approximately 204 were of various Asian backgrounds.

My cooperating teacher, Ann, taught one of three fifth-grade classes at Dell Elementary. Ann's students mirrored the diversity found in the neighboring community. Of the 29 students in her class, 12 were Vietnamese, 8 Hispanic, 3 Middle Eastern, 3 Anglo, 2 Filipino, and I was African American.

Before my arrival in the classroom, Ann had briefed the children on my work as an observing student teacher and researcher in their classroom. Because she had spoken highly of the my study, most of the 12 Vietnamese students volunteered as research participants. To select five participants, I asked Ann to assist me in choosing a purposeful sample of participants that included: (a) males and females; (b) bilingual Vietnamese LMS; (c) first generation immigrant students; and (d) students proficient in English.

The research population included five bilingual Vietnamese students, including three females and two males. Four students had better English language skills than second language skills, however, one student had equal first and second language proficiency. Four of the children were born in the United States of refugee parents. One child had only been in the U.S. for four years at the time of the study.

Two students were tested into the Gifted and Talented (GATE) student program. The other three participants functioned at or slightly below their grade level in most academic subjects. All of the children were fluent writers because that was a skill used frequently in their whole-class group. They were less familiar with small group oral participation, coming from a teacher-directed classroom structure.

The shared Vietnamese background was the most important criterion of the research group participants. I focused on Vietnamese American students in order to investigate aspects of the Asian "model minority myth" and to unveil specific Vietnamese sociocultural factors that might affect the academic and social success and adjustment of Vietnamese LMS in American public schools. The literature on these topics are presented below.

Asian-LMS School Performance: The "Model Minority" Myth

The literature and research in the area of limited English proficient student performance exposes a grim outlook regarding the success of LMS students (Baker & Sansone, 1990; Maestas, 1983; Simpson, 1981; Steinberg, Blinde & Chan, 1984). It has been estimated that all non-English speaking ethnic minorities have a dropout risk twice that of their white counterparts, and that the risk may be as high as 40% if students are non-white and non-English speaking (Steinberg, Blinde & Chan, 1984, p. 117).

Although statistics on school failure often target Hispanic and Black ethnic populations, it is important to realize that school failure correlates with ethnic and

linguistic backgrounds, which makes the problem broader and more inclusive of other non-white students, such as Asians, Native Americans, and many others.

Takaki (1989) explains that the lack of accounting for the Asian component in LMS studies is one problem resulting from the perpetuation of the "model minority" myth (Takaki, 1989, p. 474). This myth has been promulgated largely through television news programs and popular magazines which feature the success stories of some Asian Americans (Takaki, 1989). Takaki (1989) mentions that even President Ronald Reagan was quoted as saying that Asian-American successes confirm the Horatio Alger myth of "rags to riches" and the fulfillment of the "American Dream" (p. 474). Some Asian advocates, however, claim that much of what is represented as "minority success" has been exaggerated to the point that the plight of poorer Asian Americans has gone unnoticed and without intervention efforts (Takaki, 1989).

Takaki (1989) and McLaren (1989) state that misrepresentations of Asian success are frequently reported in educational and social literature. For example, the claim that Asians have comparable annual incomes to whites is based on statistical "family income" information. "Family income" figures do not specify the number of working family members in each household. In light of the fact that the "family incomes of Asian Americans indicate the presence of more workers in each family, rather than higher incomes," the claim of socioeconomic mobility is not always substantiated by fact (Takaki, 1989, p. 475). This is particularly true for Vietnamese households, which traditionally hold several

generations under one roof (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981; Montero, 1979). McLaren (1989) reveals the real economic plight of Vietnamese families when he writes that "In California, approximately 50% of Indochinese immigrants are on welfare, and a 1980 census revealed more than 35% of Vietnamese families in the United States living below the poverty line" (p.12).

Another aspect of the "model minority myth" concerns educational achievement. It is a fact that many Asian cultures embrace intellectual development and academic achievement, however, an analysis of the educational backgrounds and achievements of southeast Asians, particularly the second wave of rural Vietnamese and the preliterate Hmongs, contradicts the myth that claims their high academic achievement (Takaki, 1989). In fact, McLaren (1989) reports that the dropout rate for Southeast Asian students has increased from 14.4% in 1982 to 26.5% in 1985 (p. 12).

Immigrant Classifications

Cummins (1989) maintains that LMS in public schools are stratified into two groups whose features directly affect their school performance: dominated minorities and immigrant minorities (p. 15). Dominated minorities are ethnic groups whose people were subjugated in the United States either by conquest or for economic reasons and, for centuries, have endured economic and social discrimination in American society. For example, the Native Americans are considered a dominated minority because they were overtaken and conquered by Anglo settlers (Cummins, 1989). Other dominated races include those that

used as labor forces in the United States, notably the African American slaves and Chinese railroad workers. Immigrated minorities, although the subject of discrimination in the society, did not assume "an inferior self-image . . . internalized by the group" (Cummins, 1989, p. 15).

Ogbu (1978) has defined similar migratory categories including autonomous, immigrant or "voluntary," and caste-like minorities. Ogbu's categories are based on the "the distinct psychosocial experiences of each group as they enter a majority-dominant society" and identifies the specific problems caused by each mode of entry (cited in M. Suarez-Orozco & C. Suarez-Orozco, 1993, p. 113).

These typologies help unveil the kinds of problems and attitudes that accompany different groups as they enter the United States. For example, M. Suarez-Orozco and C. Suarez-Orozco's (1993) study on Hispanic cultural psychology and school motivation reveals that although most Hispanics can be classified as voluntary immigrants, they are perceived by the dominant society, and by themselves, as being caste-like or involuntarily assumed or conquered. As a result, many Hispanics have a low self-image and are treated as second-class citizens and relegated to menial positions in the economic and social society (M. Suarez-Orozco & C. Suarez-Orozco, 1993). The negative impact of caste-like minority status, then, can cause low motivation and oppositional behavior in school and society (Ogbu, 1978).

Montero (1979) adds a sub-class to the typology of ethnic migration: the refugee minority population. Refugees have been classified by sociologists

according to the circumstances of their migration: whether that be "anticipatory" or "acute." (Montero, 1979, p. 58). Anticipatory refugees are those who emigrated from their countries for business or educational purposes and were psychologically prepared for separation from their homelands. Takaki (1989) says that most Japanese Americans were anticipatory immigrants who, at one time, were required by the Japanese government to have attained a certain educational and economic status in Japan before being allowed to come to America.

The Vietnamese Migration

The Vietnamese were considered acute immigrants to this country, leaving their homelands under siege and in precarious circumstances (Montero, 1989). Those involved in the first wave of migration spent time in U. S. relocation camps before being sponsored and mainstreamed into American society. In the camps, the Vietnamese experienced "culture shock," or depression, stress and alienation, but they still had ethnic "communitas"² to sustain them (Montero, 1989). When they mainstreamed into American society they were nurtured and shielded somewhat by host families, but they were without an ethnic community to look to for familial strength and support.

The history of the Vietnamese migration to the United States is significant to this study because of the socioeconomic and vocational differences between the

² Victor Turner (1974) writes extensively on the subject of liminality and communitas, saying that "outsiders" often look "to their group of origin, the so-called inferior group, for communitas" (p. 233).

"first wave" of elite immigrants and the "second wave" of "boat people" (Montero, 1979; Takaki, 1989). After the fall of the South Vietnamese government in 1975, the United States government airlifted 86,000 Vietnamese out of the Communist-besieged country (Takaki, 1989, p. 440). The airlift involved the evacuation of the most influential military personnel, civic leaders, businessmen, and educated urban dwellers. These "privileged" people were then brought to American "relocation camps" where they awaited sponsorship by American families, groups, and businesses. The absorption of thousands of Vietnamese refugees into American cities through sponsorship programs created alienation for the new arrivals. They were, however, among the most elite of their homeland and generally familiar with Western ways and the English language as a result of the French occupation of Vietnam and American business and military interactions with their country over the previous decade (Montero, 1979).

The "second wave" of Vietnamese refugees arrived from resettlement sites in Thailand, Malaysia, and other Asian countries in 1978 and later. These people were from rural, farm communities throughout Vietnam, and thus were less likely to have Western world familiarity, language, and cultural understanding. The "boat people" were, generally, less educated and from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than refugees of the "first wave" (Montero, 1979, p. 22). It was not uncommon for desperate second wave families to send children to America alone in a strategy known as "throwing out the anchor," where children gained citizenship in order to bring their parents to America (Takaki, 1989, p. 457).

Living on the streets without their parents or a roof over their heads, many of these young refugees joined gangs as a substitute for the support of their own families. In many cases, their lifestyles were a manifestation of their alienation and orphanage: a condition that often resulted in oppositional and antisocial behaviors (Ogbu, 1978).

Regardless of the educational, linguistic, and socioeconomic differences of the two major waves of Vietnamese migration to the United States, as an ethnic group the Vietnamese share the same cultural heritage, beliefs, and values (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981). Note that the literature suggests caution in generalizing cultural values over entire groups: Intra-group variations may occur because first generation immigrants hold to their cultural value system tenaciously, while the second generation willingly assimilates into the new culture, and the third generation swings back to the homeland ethnic and cultural orientations (Henkin & Nguyen, 1989). Generational identity, then, is another important component to consider when comparing these cultural values and traits to the attitudes of Vietnamese immigrants in United States.

Contrastive Analysis of American and Vietnamese Values

The degree to which the Vietnamese cultural belief system and generational status have affected the schooling of Vietnamese LMS in America has been studied by the team of Henkin and Nguyen (1981),³ whose contrastive analysis of American and Vietnamese cultural values frames the discussion below. In

³ Henkin and Nguyen's (1981) study focused on "middle class" values.

addition, comments regarding the implications of Vietnamese sociocultural factors on educational practice have been included.

Individualism

Individualism is an American ideal which stems from a belief in the Puritan ethic of hard work and self-determinism. Individuals are perceived as being in control of their own destinies and economically, morally, and personally responsible for their actions (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981). Freedom of thought and action, as long as it does not harm fellow human beings, is highly regarded in the American culture.

The Vietnamese, on the other hand, value "obedience, passivity, and discipline" which are "emphasized to insure conformity to familial *modus vivendi*. . . Individualism is neither encouraged nor nurtured" (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 27). V. Nguyen (1995), a Vietnamese culture instructor with whom I conducted an interview during this study, reported that Vietnamese "children are close to their families, extended family (grandparent, parent, auntie, and uncle). . .and the children tend to belong to that and hold to those people" (personal communication, 1995). This strong orientation to the family was voiced by the participants in this study and affirmed by their obedience to authority figures at home and at school.

Equality

In America's democratic society, the notion that "all men are created equal" is commonplace rhetoric. Many Vietnamese expound the same basic belief,

rooted in their worship of Confucius, that men are born good and equal. On a sociopolitical level, however, the two cultures have very different associations with the notion of equality. The American ideal of equality in the social and political domains implies that every citizen must be afforded equal opportunities and equal rights. Henkin and Nguyen (1981) report that the Vietnamese culture teaches hierarchical systems from their early family associations, therefore, honor and social prestige goes to those who are well educated and elderly. The Vietnamese believe in the Confucian statement that "The King must act as a King, the subject as a subject, the father as a father, and the son as a son" (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 30). The concept of respect for "dominators" and the subordination of others might be more easily accepted by believers of this kind of Confucian doctrine than those who have been raised on the ideals of democratic equality.

Respect for those in higher social positions and conformity to the rules of "Kings" are common values in Vietnamese culture (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981).

Translated to the issue of Asian classroom conformity, V. Nguyen (1995)

concludes that Vietnamese students often:

. . . don't want to rebel or speak out against the U.S. because they are very grateful to be here and that keeps them from voicing out even when they see that they may not be treated fairly here, but they don't want to voice out and say anything. . . the black culture is very vocal and they'll say when they think they're being discriminated against, but Asians conform quietly. (personal communication, 1995)

Success

Both the American and Vietnamese cultures value their own prescriptions of success. In the American credo, value is placed on the attainment of personal success and its material trappings. Success is "quantifiable" by the mass of wealth or possessions one might be able to achieve. The Vietnamese, on the other hand, value group or familial success and tend to associate the attainment of success with qualifiable personal qualities such as moral character and human decency.

In terms of classroom practice, an understanding of Vietnamese success-values can help guide educators to structure their classrooms in collaborative, rather than individual work settings. Simpson's (1981) study correlates classroom organization with the minority and non-minority academic performance gap, maintaining that the "unidimensional," or test-based, competitive classroom is less effective for teaching minorities than the "multidimensional" setting, which includes the use of varied materials, hands-on learning, and manipulatives (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 48).

The Vietnamese prefer "small, restricted social circles where [they] can have trust in associates, count on emotional support, and give and receive assistance" (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 34). Similarly, the liberatory educator, Freire (1973) has suggested the use of small "culture circles" in the education of less advantaged groups. In this study, the participants were more vocal and participative in the small research group than when in the whole class setting.

Change and Time

American society has existed in flux, and that state has usually been equated with progress and technological advances. Change in the American culture is thought of as a positive and good thing. By contrast, the Vietnamese do not welcome "rapid cultural and social changes," which they have come to associate with war and disruption (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 37). Tied to the nexus of change are differing cultural values surrounding the concept of time. Americans move rapidly, operationalizing the adage "time is money." The Vietnamese have a more relaxed view of time, seeing it as a "flexible commodity" (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 38). It was found in this study of Vietnamese elementary students, that the fragmented and hurried schedule existing in public schools created considerable discomfort among these students.

The Physical World

In the early days of the Enlightenment, American society regarded the physical world as a mechanical system subject to human control (Doll, 1992). Many Americans who maintain a positivist mindset still believe that it is their destiny to dominate, change, and adapt the physical, or natural world to meet the needs of humankind. Henkin and Nguyen (1981), however, note that the Vietnamese regard interference with the natural world as sacrilegious, as reflected in the following excerpt:

Instead of trying to dominate the physical world, they tend to conform to and live in harmony with nature. . . . An American's mechanistic views of reality may lead to pragmatic

and utilitarian attitudes which may not be understood or valued among the Vietnamese. (p. 42)

Reason and Sentiment

A mechanistic view of the world leads some Americans to value reason and logic over sentiment, the opposite of the typical cultural Vietnamese disposition. Henkin and Nguyen (1981) report that the Vietnamese, like many other Asian cultures, possess a tendency toward introversion: "They are reserved and may remain quiet with an enigmatic smile under varying conditions. . . They are taught that 'silence is golden'" (p. 44). Many American teachers interpret this reserve as an unwillingness to participate in classroom discussion but, in the Vietnamese (and Asian) cultural framework, speaking out in class is often seen as a form of "boasting" (V. Nguyen, personal communication, 1995). The inclination toward reticence in the Vietnamese cultural makeup can make contestation difficult to teach. Henkin and Nguyen (1981) report that because it is difficult for Vietnamese students to disagree with authority or to say what they really mean, they often simply smile to screen their true feelings of frustration, anger, or embarrassment.

Self-Perception

The impact of self-esteem and other affective personality factors on school and social performance, especially with regard to LMS, has been well documented (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Krashen, cited in Long & Richards, 1987). Henkin and Nguyen (1981) believe that Vietnam's long history of domination has contributed to a sense of oppression among many of her people. The problem of

low self-perception can present a serious obstacle to Vietnamese students' school and social adjustment, worsened by the cultural alienation, incidents of racism, and the lack of community which many Vietnamese have had to endure in the United States (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981; Montero, 1979).

Vietnamese students face many challenges in schools and in their adjustment to the American way of life. It is crucial, therefore, that educators better understand how Vietnamese LMS perceive and negotiate their educational experiences and encounters in schools. In this study, the problem posing activities provided a window through which to better understand how my Vietnamese participants' cultural dispositions served to aid or abet their acquisition of empowerment skills.

Shor (1992) emphasizes that all human beings, not just those in the process of "becoming Americanized," are "unfinished products in history, where various forces are still contending" over knowledge ownership and worldly understandings (p. 35). Freire (1970b) maintains that the problem posing process is a democratic way for students to integrate into the American society. He characterized the difference between adaptation and integration by writing that:

Integration results from the capacity to adapt oneself to reality *plus* the critical capacity to make choices and transform that reality. To the extent that man loses his ability to make choices and is subjected to the choices of others, to the extent that his decisions are no longer his own because they result from external prescriptions, he is no longer integrated. Rather, he is adapted. (Freire, 1970b, p. 4, emphasis in original text)

The goal of emancipatory educational practice is toward cultural integration and personal empowerment. The extent to which problem posing instruction promotes these qualities among LMS is still open to question. Few⁴ American educators have chosen to cross the lines of status quo, modernist teaching and risk engagement in "border pedagogy" (Giroux, 1983). It was in this spirit of revolutionary challenge and social change, that the following problem posing activities were proposed for investigation and field trials.

Data Collection: Implementing the Problem Posing Activity

A combination of naturalistic, ethnographic, and participatory qualitative research instruments were used in the data collection phase of this study. In addition, a variety of data collection instruments were employed in order to obtain a realistic, context-embedded description of the interactions and dialogue of the participants. Geertz (1973) calls this the "thick description" associated with the qualitative research methodology, and contrasted with the unidimensional and context-reduced abstractions gained from the surveys and questionnaires typically used in quantitative research.

Thick descriptions demand that the researcher provide "sufficient scope and depth [in the investigation] to enable the reader to understand and separately interpret the study's findings" (Crowson, cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 188). In order to deepen the real picture of events recorded in this study, a combination of

⁴ Wallerstein (1983) and Shor (1992) are among the few educators who have published their experiences with problem posing in American classrooms. Both involved adult education.

qualitative collection instruments were used. They include community investigation, formal and informal observations, student biographies, and interviews.

Community Investigation

Shor (1992) writes that community or site investigation is an important aspect of an ethnographic study. He describes this process by picturing the researcher,

. . . walk[ing] through the area to observe the people and terrain, how residents relate, shop, relax, speak, and so on. The researchers also contact local clergy, politicians, community organizations, managers of workplaces, and trade unionists, asking: "How do people see the area, its boundaries, its physical and social characteristics, its history? What are their feelings about the area and their hopes for its future? What is their personal experience and knowledge of its problems?" (Shor, 1992. p. 207).

Likewise, I conducted a school site investigation in conjunction with my initial interview of my cooperating teacher. On this occasion, I was led on a formal tour of the school grounds, the cafeteria, teacher's lounge, work room, library, resource rooms, and the janitor's facilities. Crowson (1993) writes that field investigations are important because they can help to unveil the political implications around the organization of facilities and provide a multi-dimensional understanding of research settings. Wolcott (1993) described the importance of site exploration when he writes that:

The subject of mapping brings me full circle to participant-observation, for one of the first things the ethnographer is advised to do in a new field setting is to make a map. . . to prepare a map of a school and school-ground, to plot how different categories of people at the school move through its space, and to probe reasons they might offer to explain how things happen to be used or placed as they are. (cited in Conrad, p. 240)

Observation

Glesne and Peshkin (1992) write that participant observation is advantageous to the researcher because it:

. . . provides the opportunity for acquiring the status of 'trusted person.' Through participant observation, through being a part of the setting—[the researcher] will learn firsthand how the actions of [their participants] correspond to their words; see patterns of behavior; experience the unexpected, as well as the expected; and develop a quality of trust. . . that motivates them to tell you what otherwise they might not. (p. 39)

My recorded observations were done informally, as I watched my participants on the playground, and formally as they interacted in their whole classroom and small group instructional settings. As I observed participants, I noted how they interacted with each other and with authority figures at the school. I also observed the nature of their participation and voice in various instructional and play settings.

Historic Biographies

Foundational to critical theory and ethnography is the gathering of participant biographies. In this study, biographies were obtained by using interactive dialogue journals, small group discussions, question-posing games and peer interview sheets. As we shared our stories, I began to develop a more personal research relationship with my participants, which moved me "from the status of stranger to friend" and enabled me "to gather personal knowledge from subjects more easily" (Lather, cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 135).

Gathering student biographical information uncovered many aspects of my participants' cultural value system, socioeconomic background, family and home

life, and linguistic skills and preferences (Lather, cited in Conrad, 1993). In addition, the collection of biographical information helped to generate the problem posing topic around which activities were centered.

Freire (1987) recommends starting the critical process with personal biographies because they allow the learning to begin "with concreteness, with discussion by them of their own experiences. . . their concrete lives" (p. 149). Shor (1992) suggests a number of questions to prompt the unveiling of student biographies such as those listed below:

1. What do you talk about, read about, write about? What books do you have at home?
2. What do you watch on TV, read about in the newspapers, and listen to on the radio? Do you think the media gives a total picture?
3. What do you want to do in life?
4. What are the most important problems in your life? in society?
5. Were your parents born in the United States? If not, where were they born, and what language is spoken at home?
6. How do you feel about schooling? Do you think you're getting a good education?
7. What are your community conditions—housing, health care, crime, race relations?
8. What kinds of relationships exist between people in your community, such as between tenants and landlord; citizens and police; workers and bosses?

Many of these questions were incorporated into an instructional game and peer reporting activities.

Informal and Formal Interviews

Siedman (1991) writes that the purpose of interviewing is to understand "the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 3). Several formal and informal interviews took place during this study. I conducted formal, tape-recorded interviews of my cooperating teacher, a Vietnamese cultural teacher, a Japanese-American military liaison, and an elementary school teacher who practiced critical teaching. I made notes on various informal conversations that I had with my student participants, cooperating teacher, and other site teachers at Dell Elementary School.

Implicit in interviewing is the critical notion that participants own knowledge of value and worth: that they have specific understandings of reality which are unique to their own lives. There is an appreciation for the situational aspect of knowledge: "It is never possible to understand another perfectly, "but that by in-depth interviewing we can come closer to seeing life as participants see it" (Siedman, 1991, p. 3). Siedman (1991) says that "the way to meaning. . . is to be able to put behavior in context" (p. 4). Interviewing provided access to the context of my participants' behaviors and allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of what motivated those behaviors (Siedman, 1991).

The Problem Posing Activities

Critical postmodernists have embraced a utopian social vision of democracy in American schools and have proposed the use of problem posing as a vehicle toward empowerment in the social and political lives of students.

Shor (1992) writes that:

Problem-posing education affirms men as beings in the process of *becoming*—as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality. . .Whereas the [technical] banking method directly or indirectly reinforces men's fatalistic perception of their situation, the problem-posing method presents this very situation to them as a problem. (p. 35, emphasis in original text)

Shor and Freire (1987) agree that "the teacher who pretends that reality is not problematic. . .reduces the students' own power to perceive and to act on social issues" (p. 174). Shor (1992) concludes that "what students and teachers reinvent in problem posing is their relationship to learning and authority" (p. 35). Tollefson (1985), in researching instructional programs for United States' refugee resettlement camps, wrote that all refugee immigrants, particularly the Vietnamese students, would benefit from instruction in "listening skills as well as specific speaking skills such as asking questions, seeking clarification, and reporting problems" (p. 758). Tollefson (1985) concludes that "classes designed to improve refugees' ability to cope with the problems of resettlement should emphasize language skills necessary for handling these problems" (p. 759).

Tollefson (1985), Auerbach and Burgess (1985) and others have confirmed the need to teach LMS the skills and language of critique. Although individual voice and opinion is a valued ideal of American democracy, in reality, the voice of

dissent and difference is easily silenced by dominant mandates and status quo seekers. As a result, educators who plan to engage in critical teaching and change, must do so with thoughtful attention to school administration policy and lesson preparation. With this caution in mind, I implemented the following problem posing research lessons (see Appendix A) framed around the Freirian problem posing model discussed earlier in this paper (see Figure 3).

Phase I: Generative Student Histories and Topics

Recall that generative themes are derived from problematics that emerge from conversations with students as they share their personal backgrounds and experiences (Freire, 1970a,b; Shor, 1992). In this study, personal biographies were gathered using small group discussions, interactive dialogue journals, paired interview activities, and a question-posing game.

Small group discussion. A small group of five students met three to four times weekly for half-hour sessions during the seven weeks of this study. Initially, I used a literature book being studied in their whole-group classroom entitled, Dear Mr. Henshaw (Cleary, 1984). Through this literature connection, I was able to build conversations around biographical questions posed to the book's main character, Leigh Botts. In the book, Botts is asked to describe himself, his family, school, friends, and teachers. Similarly, these questions became the prompts for dialogue about my participants personal backgrounds.

Figure 3. Framing research problem posing activities around Freire's model.

FREIRIAN MODEL	RESEARCH MODEL
PHASE 1	PHASE 1
LISTEN TO STUDENT HISTORIES AND LANGUAGE FOR GENERATIVE WORDS	LISTEN TO STUDENT HISTORIES AND LANGUAGE * DISCUSSION * DIALOGUE JOURNALS * PEER REPORTING * GAME
PHASE 2	PHASE 2
SELECT GENERATIVE WORDS BASED ON PHONEMIC RICHNESS, DIFFICULTY, AND PRAGMATIC TONE	SELECTING GENERATIVE WORDS AND TOPICS BASED ON PRAGMATIC TONE * STUDY TRANSCRIPTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS * CONDUCT LIBRARY RESEARCH
PHASE 3	PHASE 3
CREATE CODIFICATIONS, VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS, OF SITUATION-PROBLEMS TO BE DECODED BY CULTURE CIRCLE	STUDY CODIFICATIONS FROM "END OF A DREAM" AND "KIDS BACK S.J. WAR HERO" (SJM, 3/17/95)
PHASE 4	PHASE 4
CREATE AGENDA, NOT A RIGID SCHEDULE	PLAN CULMINATING LESSONS *CONTACT MAJOR AN AND COLONEL MASUOKA *ARRANGE PRESENTATION *PLAN FINAL LESSONS
PHASE 5	PHASE 5
PRE-LITERATE: DISCOVERY WORD CARDS POST-LITERATE: GENERATIVE THEMES	CRITICAL DIALOGUE AND REFLECTION ON THE IMMIGRATION THEME AND DEPORTATION PROBLEM

During small group discussions, many lessons were presented to the students. We shared photographs brought from home containing pictures of our family members, special events, and vacations. We engaged in reporting activities with peer buddies, played a question-answer game, and did reflective writings around many different topics and issues. These tape-recorded activities provided rich data and thick descriptions of the students' lives, beliefs, hopes, and dreams.

Interactive dialogue journals. In the first meeting, I asked the students if they had ever exchanged letters with a pen pal. Many of them had, and I used their background knowledge as the springboard to a discussion of the purpose of interactive dialogue journals. At first, I asked them to use their journals to pose questions to me about my personal or professional life. In my responses, I was able to pose personal questions of my participants which became rich additions to my student biographies.

As the study group progressed, the dialogue journals were used to exchange thoughts and feelings around many different topics. Some days, I asked them to write whatever they would like to share with me. On other occasions, I asked them to reflect on issues that had surfaced from our small group discussions or study topics. Hayes, Bahruth, and Kessler (1991) describe the empowerment function of dialogue journals:

The dialogue journal [is] a catalytic converter. It help[s] transform reluctant writers and learners into successful and eager students--students who convince themselves that they [can] learn. . . the dialogue journal [is] a forum for expressing anxieties and other concerns, [and is a] forum out of which future assignments and topics [can] emerge and grow. (p. 55)

Paired interview activities. Two paired interview activities were presented to the students during the research sessions entitled, "What is your family like?" and, "What would you like to change?" (see Appendix B and C). During these activities, the students interviewed one another and then reported their findings to the whole group. These activities reduced the stress of having to share personal feelings and details, since students were asked to report on peers rather than on themselves. These reporting activities helped to unveil the students' personal backgrounds, beliefs, and attitudes in a low-stress, cooperative setting.

Question-posing game. Appreciating that these students had not previously experienced personal exchanges of this nature in previous school activities, they exhibited considerable discomfort when posed with direct verbal questions regarding their attitudes and beliefs. To decontextualize the questions, I used a game format (see Appendix D) to explore issues concerning my participants' lives and experiences at home, at school, in the community, and in the United States. The game was non-threatening because it allowed them to pass on any question to which they did not wish to respond, and it also offered them the possibility of drawing free turns and trade tickets.

Hayes, Bahruth, and Kessler (1991) affirm the value in playing games believing that "play is social and satisfying." (p. 57). This activity prompted rigorous and recursive discussions around issues such as unfair school practices and community problems such as graffiti, homelessness, and gangs and

immigration. After investigating these topics during time-consuming trips to the library, I collected enough materials on these current issues to engage the students in whichever topic they chose to pursue.

Phase 2: Codifications Around a Generative Theme

From our autobiographical conversations and activities, the generative themes of immigration law and deportation emerged as the most emotionally charged and interesting issues to pursue in problem posing. Having identified a generative theme, I continued to gather codifications or pictures from articles on immigration and deportation by searching periodicals and newspapers at the local library. After hours of research, I found a striking picture in an article from the San Jose Mercury and News (3/17/95) entitled, "The End of a Dream" (see Appendix E). The article pictured a codification of a Vietnamese woman gripping her hand to her neck and crying in anguish as she and other women huddled on the roof of a building, threatening to jump to their deaths. The caption above the picture read, "U.N. tells boat people to give up hope of asylum," and introduced the reader to the desperate state of the Vietnamese refugees being turned away from U.S. entry by the closing of the resettlement camps (SJMN, 3/17/95, p 1A).

Using this codification, I engaged the students in a Direct-Thinking-Reading-Activity (DT-RA) around the resettlement article. According to Peregoy and Boyle (1993), DR-TA helps to scaffold language minority students' reading activities through the asking of questions which activate their background knowledge and curiosity about the reading material. Teachers ask students to

predict what they might find in the article, conjecture the meanings of captions or headings, and discuss how issues in the article might relate to their own life experiences.

By following DR-TA strategies, I prepared my second language readers for a difficult two-page reading. In addition to asking preparatory questions, I also typed up a vocabulary list of unknown words extracted from the article. We discussed the word meanings twice: Once prior to reading and again as each word was confronted by participants in the course of reading sections aloud.

As we read through the sections of the article, I asked students comprehension-check questions such as, "What did it mean when you read that the people were being repatriated?" I also asked personal questions, such as "Do you know of anyone who might be in a resettlement camp at this time?" In addition, the students were asked to write their personal reflections about the article in their dialogue journals.

A second codification was used to explore the issues of immigration law and deportation. Taken from the SJMN article entitled, "Kids Back War Hero," (McLaughlin, 1995) (see Appendix F) the codification in this article pictures a former South Vietnamese helicopter pilot, Maj. Nguyen Quy An, signing autographs for a group of third grade students in a Danville, California elementary school classroom. The DR-TA strategies were also used in the interactive study of this codification.

It was revealed that one participant had already met Major An at a Vietnamese Cultural Center presentation, and he excitedly told the group how An had lost his arms in the war and how he signed autographs with metal hooks holding a pen. Another student seemed excited to read more about this war hero because her father and uncles were also former South Vietnamese military officers, and she had learned of An's story from them.

Phase 3: Planning a Culminating Activity

The group became excited by our discussions of An's heroic military deeds. The enthusiasm of the two participants who had some prior knowledge of An's story, spread to the other group members and a lively discussion ensued. The students' engagement with An's story prompted me to begin the process of trying to contact this local war hero. I attempted to locate An's address through the Danville school mentioned in the SJMN (McLaughlin, 1995) news article. I called the school and wrote to the teacher, asking for An's address and phone number. Unfortunately, the Danville teacher never replied.

Pressed for time, I began asking my Vietnamese friends if they could help me make contact with An. Fortunately, a friend was able to get An's phone number for me. When I called him, An told me that he would be happy to come to talk to my students, but he needed the assistance of Col. Noboru Masuoka, a retired U. S. Air Force liaison who had helped An escape from Vietnam. I called Masuoka and was thankful to him for agreeing to bring An to our school and share his story of heroism and tragedy with my students.

When Ann, my cooperating teacher, heard of the special visitors she asked if she could invite all of the fifth grade classes to share in the presentation. I was elated that our small group efforts would be enjoyed by so many children through this culminating activity. In preparation for the arrival of An and Masuoka, I asked my research group participants if they would like to present a brief oral report on An and Masuoka. I explained that they would not be required to participate, but they were eager to share what they had learned and I interpreted their willingness as a step toward personal empowerment.

I also presented the whole class with preparatory and follow-up lessons around the speakers' visit. These lessons are briefly described in this section for two reasons. First, they illustrate the ways in which a generative, problem posed topic could be extended into the regular academic curriculum. Also, I mention them because they provided my research group participants with the experience of closure and culmination to our weeks of problem posing studies.

Whole class presentations using academic and topical themes. Following the guidelines of the California History-Social Science Framework (1988) the class from which my participants were drawn had been studying geography for some weeks. Therefore, when preparing the whole class for An's visit, I used the academic theme of geography as a bridge into a topical discussion of immigration and deportation. Recall that Shor (1992) defines the topical theme as "a social question of key importance locally, nationally, or globally that is not generated directly from the students' conversation. . . it is raised by the teacher"

(p. 55). Shor (1992) says that a "topical theme is a teacher's thematic intervention based on her or his critical knowledge of society at large and the students' experiences in it" (p. 57).

I prepared a geography puzzle game for my introductory lesson on Vietnam and An's deportation story. Large, laminated cutouts of China, Vietnam, and the surrounding resettlement countries were made as well as name cards for each country. I magnetized all of the cutouts so that they would form a map on the white board. I told the students that we would be reviewing their understanding of the geography of Asia, as well as learning some new things about Vietnam and Vietnamese immigration. I divided the whole class into table groups and gave them five minutes to collaboratively study their maps of Asia in order to prepare to play the puzzle game.

During the collaboration time, the groups actively worked together to memorize the countries around Vietnam and to make notes that they could use in playing the puzzle game. As the class arranged the puzzle pieces (different countries) together on the white board and labeled them with their names, I explained that these were the countries that had Vietnamese resettlement camps for waiting refugees. We talked about the topical issue of immigration and the Vietnam War. After our discussion, my research participants introduced the whole group to the story of An during an oral presentation. At the close of this lesson, students wrote questions they wanted to ask An and Masuoka on three-by-five inch cards. I reviewed the question cards at home, and returned

them (some slightly edited) so that the students could ask them of our visitors during the following day's presentation.

An and Masuoka's presentation. The visit by An and Masuoka was an exciting culminating activity for my problem posing group that was enjoyed by over sixty of their fellow fifth-grade students. Masuoka gave the students a brief history of the war in Vietnam, and explained how An had saved four American pilots during the war but was now not being allowed to take refuge in the U.S. due to problems with the immigration law.

Both Masuoka and An fielded many questions from the students. A highlight of this part of the presentation was when the Vietnamese-speaking children were asked if they would like to use their native tongue to speak to An. Many Vietnamese students did so, including three from my small research group. At the end of the presentation, I offered the students special note papers on which to obtain autographs from our guests. The students excitedly approached our guests for their autographs and for an opportunity to speak with them personally.

Follow-up academic extensions. After the visit from An and Masuoka, the students wrote reflections in their journals and I presented a lesson in the language arts area of letter-writing. In the letter-writing lesson, Dear Mr. Henshaw (1983) was used as a literature connection to teach the techniques of written correspondence. Students learned the parts of letters and focused on the body and close of thank you letters so that they could write their thank you notes

to An and Masuoka. The children mounted their completed letters in a scrapbook and each child decorated a section of the cover with their own art work.

A description of all of the lessons that might be created around generative, academic, and topical themes for problem posing is not possible because of the very nature of this process: Pre-planning generative lessons is not congruent with critical practice. The evolution of lessons and themes comes from entering the school site and working with the students, allowing them to co-create their own learning topics and situations. Problem posing, as an emancipatory and empowerment strategy, has possibilities that are limited only by the students' willingness to participate and become co-creators of knowledge along side their teachers.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data interpretation and analysis done in this study was guided by the constructs of dialogic retrospection proposed by Kieffer (1981). The manner in which the transcriptions of taped discussions and personal journal entries were deconstructed followed a thematic approach (Kieffer, 1981). Analyzing data thematically requires the repeated reading of the data in order to discern patterns which Kieffer (1981) calls "categories of interpretation" (p. 40). Kieffer (1981) describes how he used this recursive process of thematic sorting in his own dialogic research study:

There was a continuous construction of conceptualization as tentative categories were created, applied, confronted, and refined. Anomalies, inconsistencies, or other insufficiencies in the framework were revealed through the researcher's

ceaseless "dialogue" with the data. (p. 40)

There are three levels of sifting in the deconstruction and reconstruction of data analysis, including the preliminary, intermediate, and primary thematic phases (Kieffer, 1981). Preliminary sorting is done in the initial reading of the data. This phase generates "hundreds of core meaning statements" (p. 35). After the initial sifting of individual pieces of data, all of the preliminary themes are combined into 30 to 40 larger conceptual clusters called, "intermediate" groupings (Kieffer, 1981). The process of combining all of the individual contributions of participants and creating a "thematic portrait" or "heuristic schema" is an important stage in the formation of an integrative analysis model (Kieffer, 1981). After the "thematic portrait" is constructed, a visible pattern of intermediate themes emerges producing "identifiable groupings," referred to here as primary themes (Kieffer, 1981, p. 39). From the primary themes, the researcher presents the perceived realities of all the participants under the rubrics of their own self-generated problematics and issues.

An important quality of the analysis and interpretation of qualitative research involves a consideration of "face validity" (Lather, 1993). Lather (1993) writes that face validity is "operationalized by recycling description, emerging analysis, and conclusions back through at least a subsample of respondents" (p. 142). She adds that "good research. . . goes back to subjects with tentative results and refines them in light of the subjects' reactions" (Lather, cited in Conrad, 1993, p. 142).

Involving participants in the review of data was done to some degree in this research. Although I did not ask my participants to read all of the transcriptions generated during my study, we dialogued about the questions I had regarding their individual contributions. The participants also engaged in reflective writings about their research contributions, feelings, and interpretations.

During the data analysis and interpretation phase of this study, I experienced the phenomenon of "double consciousness" (Kincheloe, 1991). Kincheloe (1991) states that double consciousness involves the "shared perceptions and memories held by researchers [that are] used to uncover the existence of silences and absences. . . by applying their own lived experience to the research process, thus connecting knower and known" (p. 30).

Sharing an Asian heritage with my participants, I acknowledge a lack of total objectivity and dispassion in my reactions to and interpretations of the research findings. On the other hand, I felt that my shared experiences as an Asian minority student in the United States served to deepen the thick description and interpretation of the data collected. In the following two chapters of data analysis and interpretation, the understandings, actions, and reflections of the research participants are deconstructed to allow the reader a glimpse into the lives and minds of a group of second language Vietnamese American students, as they moved toward the reality of empowerment education.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: BEGINNING THE PROBLEM POSING PROCESS

There is a convincing body of literature supporting the theoretical benefits of critical problem posing among language minority students (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1992; Grundy, 1970; Shor, 1992; Wallerstein, 1983). Most accounts of classroom practice, however, have surfaced in the arena of adult literacy education (Freire, 1970; Shor, 1992; Wallerstein, 1983). Noting the lack of practical critical problem posing strategies identified for use with elementary students, Sylvester (1994), a third-grade inner city school teacher, writes:

In reviewing the current literature on education for social reform, I found a great deal of information on the theory of critical pedagogy. . . . Unfortunately, most of this was written in abstract fashion, with little explanation of how one could make it work in an actual [elementary] classroom. (p. 310)

When I began to problem pose with a small group of five fifth-grade, Vietnamese language minority students, the curricular gap described by Sylvester (1994) became clearer. Because problem posing topics are generative, or situated in the lives of students, critical educators must patiently wait for student voice to reveal the content and direction of coming lessons. Once revealed, the topics must often be researched and organized within a day's notice, frequently without a long range vision of the curricular plan that will be used to unify daily unveilings by students or the teacher.

The following chapter chronicles some of my experiences as I began to implement critical problem posing at my school site. The first section of this chapter includes reflections on the research site and a description of the teaching strategies used to obtain student histories. The second section contains participant profiles and recounts some of the rich personal stories of the five students who shared their smiles and sorrows with me as my research on critical pedagogy moved out of the library and into the tumult of life.

The Research Setting

On March 2, 1995 I began my student observation assignment at Dell Elementary School in a San Jose, California school district. Dell Elementary provided a rich setting for my study of second language Vietnamese students. According to the principal, the school was 52% limited English proficient (LEP), 22% English proficient (EP), and 26% monolingual English (EO). Of its 689 students, approximately 204 are of various Asian backgrounds. Dell was a newly-built school whose students arrived from four or five different neighboring schools. Parents were given the option of transferring their children to this school, agreeing to assume a year-around schedule.

The cooperating teacher, Ann, was a veteran of over twenty years of elementary school teaching, five of them in the Franklin McKinley School District. Ann was a former Catholic nun, with a master's degree in Curriculum and Instruction. Ann seemed to model much of her teaching around the structured Catholic school education which she experienced as a child, affirming Andersen

and Powell's (1988) observation that "teachers tend to teach the way they were taught" (p. 207). Ann's traditional teaching approach is noted because it helps to provide a better idea of the whole classroom setting from which the research participants were drawn.

Second language instruction at Dell followed a modified English Immersion model, with pull-out services for bilingual, second language, and special needs students. In Ann's class, there were four non-readers, three of whom were Spanish or Vietnamese bilinguals and one who was dyslexic. Ann also had a Vietnamese student enter the class during my observation, without any English language skills. He was assigned a Vietnamese-speaking peer buddy, and attended the 30-minute bilingual pull-out sessions. This was clearly not enough to equalize the conditions of his education.

Ann provided a welcoming environment for my research study. Before my arrival in the classroom, she prepared the students by speaking highly of the research that I was undertaking. As a result, I had many volunteers for my study and asked Ann for help in choosing a heterogeneous group from among the many Vietnamese students. She chose two boys and three girls. All of the students were bilingual, with Vietnamese being the dominant home language. Four were born in the United States from refugee parents, and one child immigrated only four years prior to the time of the study. All of the students could read English at or around their fifth-grade level, with two in the GATE student program.

Ann's daily lesson schedule seemed to change frequently. Other than the routine personal journaling time, I never knew what subjects would follow. Wanting to avoid pulling my research group during language or mathematics, I began to experience a tension in the research environment. The question of the duration and timing for research group meetings became an issue. One day, the research children missed an assignment due to their participation in the research study. They were required to take their work out with them during their lunch recess. On another occasion, Mark¹, who was normally the most verbal of the group, appeared to be too tired to stay awake. He rubbed his eyes and appeared listless and disinterested. This surprised me because Mark was a GATE student who had, from the beginning, been a leader in our group discussions. I asked him how he was feeling. He simply replied, "I'm really tired." Later, Mark wrote in his journal that he was bored while the whole class made clay pots that morning, but "at least I have all my work in today. . . . I'm really tired because I was working through the night, how are you?" These situations wore on my eagerness to remove students from their regular studies and I began to experience a discomforting conflict between my research needs and the needs of the participants.

In addition to the growing concern I had over the time taken for the research group study, I began feeling reluctant to continuously impose my needs on Ann's

¹ The names of all participants in this study have been changed to insure anonymity.

teaching schedule. My Asian propensity to avoid intruding upon others intensified this tension.

Additionally, when I read the transcriptions of some of my research group sessions, I realized that I often hurried the children's responses, or even cut short their comments in the interest of time. It turned out that we had about twenty to thirty minutes each day we met, but the problem of racing against the clock began to wear on me, personally. When Freire (1984) wrote about dialoguing with students, he noted that "I use no watch, no time limits. . . . through this kind of exercise, I simultaneously begin to get their language and necessarily their themes, which come through their words and their syntax" (p. 149). In the pressured constraints of this research setting, I worried that I might have silenced some stories that needed that illusive "wait time" before they could be voiced. This feeling of time pressure dogged me throughout the research study.

Gathering Personal Histories

Freire and Shor (1987) describe the critical teaching model as a "situated pedagogy" because it begins "with concreteness, with discussion by [students] of their own experiences. . . . their concrete lives" (p. 149). Since I had just entered the classroom two days prior to beginning work with the research participants, I felt it inappropriate to immediately fire personal data questions at the students. Shor (1992) suggests the use of academic and topical themes drawn from the regular curriculum as a critical prompt and bridge into more personal

conversations. As I observed the delivery of core subjects in the whole class setting, I began looking for an academic topic which I might use as a common referent in my initial conversations with the research group.

A Literature Connection

To my good fortune, the students were beginning to read Cleary's (1984) book, Dear Mr. Henshaw. I purchased the book immediately and read it that evening. The book begins as a dialogue journal between a famous author, Mr. Henshaw, and a young boy, Leigh Botts. Leigh is a child who feels isolated by the recent divorce of his parents and his status as the "new kid" in the class. As an aspiring author, he writes to Mr. Henshaw for some writing tips. Before answering Leigh's request for writing advice, Mr. Henshaw asks Leigh to answer some personal questions about himself:

1. Who are you?
2. What do you look like?
3. What is your family like?
4. Where do you live?
5. Do you have any pets?
6. Do you like school?
7. Who are your friends?
8. Who is your favorite teacher?
9. What bothers you?
10. What do you wish? (Cleary, 1984, pp. 14-30).

In discussing Leigh Botts' responses to these questions, the students were afforded an opportunity to consider how they might answer the same questions during the literature discussions.

In addition, Dear Mr. Henshaw (Cleary, 1984) gave me the opportunity to ask my research group to think about the role of teachers and why they might want to know about their students as a first step in building the teacher-student relationship. Being posed this question Mark replied, "Maybe because he [Mr. Henshaw] just wants to know *who he is* (words italicized spoken with emphasis). . . maybe he is interested in him [the student, Leigh Botts] so much that he might want to know *who he is*." Mark's perceptive response gave me an opportunity to explain a little about the purpose of my research to the children. I told them that educators were trying to change the traditional teacher-student and student-knowledge relationship and trying to learn about themselves and one another as part of the process of schooling. I tried to find a simple way of expressing Giroux's (1983) idea that ". . . knowledge should be viewed as a shared process, a mediation between teachers and students, a creative political exchange that forges commonalties and the kind of critical reflection that allows all to be seen as both teachers and learners" (p. 68). I attempted to paraphrase Lather's (1993) message that critical educators and researchers must "give participants the dignity of contributing to theorizing about their worlds

. . . [and] through sharing meaning-production . . . [encourage them to] develop significant understandings of schooling and education" (p. 136). I sensed wonderment and hope in their silent stares.

Dialogue Journaling

The plan to ask my participants the Leigh Botts' questions incidentally through discussions of the book, proved challenging. At first, the only student who was bold enough to offer ideas was Mark, a GATE student known as the "brain" in the class. The others sat in silence for the greater part of two sessions, responding only to literature-related questions and rarely to those questions that required a personal piece of information. I interpreted the silence of the group as the result of their lack of familiarity with the kind of teacher-student format we were using. Another possible reason might have been that the students were demonstrating their respect for my knowledge on the subject or exhibiting a silent act of internal reflection.

I half-expected to confront this silence from my Asian participants regarding their personal lives. The literature supported my inside view that silence is revered among Asians, as is respect for teacher's knowledge (Anderson & Powell, 1988). I knew it would take time to build trust, security, and voice among the participants. Further, I had never seen these students engaged in small group work in their regular classroom, so their lack of familiarity with this format could have added to their reticence to speak.

I decided to rely more heavily on the dialogue journal format to gain student histories. It was private and developed a relationship in which I responded to students' questions about my life and they returned with details about theirs. Hayes, Bahruth, and Kessler (1991) have written of their success in using dialogue journals and literature stories to promote literacy and critical thinking among their second language, "at-risk" students. They write that "the journals revealed many facets of their [students'] lives [and]. . . of the difficulties they were encountering in their school work as well as their everyday problems" (Hayes, Bahruth, & Kessler, 1991, p. 49).

At times, in my journaling with students, personal details of their lives became burdensome to me. For example, participant Van wrote, "I live in my house nobody love me. . . I have no love from my family." Although this despairing note passed into a more cheerful comment the following day, the emotional tone required careful attention on my part. I felt that I lacked the experience and training to adequately respond to some of these personal issues, and began to question the appropriateness of such inquiries as part of the critical problem posing process. I felt uncomfortable asking for information for which I had no good response.

Fortunately, my timely attendance at a "Narrative and Change" meeting, a teachers' discussion group, helped me to work through this problem. I shared my anxiety about prompting students to reveal volatile personal details of their lives in the problem posing process. After hearing similar stories unveiled by other

teachers, however, I realized that whether they problem pose or not, teachers must handle difficulties that students bring into the classroom from the outside world. Kohl (1988) wrote of a student whose personal troubles were revealed to him:

. . . I did something other than moan about her past. . .
 We tried to do what all serious teachers I've known
 have tried to do – assume that every student can learn and
 become strong, sensitive, and intelligent, no matter what hurts
 or deprivations they bring us. (p. 81)

Piaget (cited in Doll, 1993) viewed these "discomforting uncertainties" of human life as the perturbations needed in order to prompt change and higher levels of understanding. Working through these problematic student unveilings, I was able to achieve a bond of trust and familiarity with my students which contributed to higher levels of human interaction and intellectual discussion.

Finally, dialogue journals were useful in gathering student histories because they prompted students to ask questions of their teacher, a skill necessary in the development of critical language (Shor & Freire, 1987). Because Asian cultures accept the hierarchical structure of social order, many Vietnamese students hold an elevated view of teachers as knowledge-holders, limiting the occurrence of classroom interaction and questioning between teacher and student (Anderson & Powell, 1988). Through dialogue journals, critical teachers can not only model how questions might be posed, but can also foster a trusting relationship which reduces the risk of asking questions. For example, after a discussion of the repatriation of Vietnamese resettlement campers, Van journaled the question,

"Why they don't let the vietnamese people live in America?" On another occasion, Linh asked the personal question, ". . .do your children respect you very much?" These are the kinds of queries that Vietnamese cultural restraint and tradition might never have allowed my participants to reveal in a verbal discussion, but which they felt comfortable to ask in our personal written exchanges.

Posing Game Questions

After a few meetings, the participants had revealed many details of their lives, but none of their comments concerned issues that might develop into a generative social topic. In seeking to discuss broader issues, I wanted to ask questions about my participants' attitudes, concerns, and beliefs about their home, school, and community lives. My direct attempts at unveiling this information, however, drew silence. A journal entry I wrote after several unsuccessful attempts in this regard, reveals my frustration:

I'm going to call Dr. H. tonight because I don't think I know how to problem pose properly. I feel like I'm leading the kids and that maybe they're not interested in talking about the ills of society at their age. (Sugishita, 1995, p. 4)

That evening, I followed the suggestion offered by Dr. Victoria Harper and read an article by Sylvester (1994) which described his experiences with problem posing in a third grade inner city school. I read about Sylvester's (1994) creation of a simulated town which he used to engage his students in the problems of the neighborhood while de-personalizing the context of different social issues which were unveiled. I decided that I needed a hands-on vehicle to decontextualize

the deeper attitudinal questions I wanted to ask. To fulfill this need, I created a game which included question cards that could be answered, passed, or traded (see Appendix D). Some of the questions included in the game cards were:

1. Do you think it is important to be able to speak Vietnamese?

Why or why not?

2. What are two things you like most about the United States and what are two things you like least?

3. Would you like to move back to Vietnam one day, why or why not?

Would your parents like to move back?

4. What kind of work do your parents do? Do your parents have the same kind of jobs in the United States as they did in Vietnam?

5. What are two things you like most about school? What are two things you like least, and why?

6. What is most unfair about the way things are at home, in school, or in the United States?

7. If you were the President of the United States, what three things would you change and why?

The game was played by having each student draw a question from a pile of cards. After reading the question aloud, participants chose to answer, not answer, or trade cards to another participant (provided they owned a previously drawn "trade card"). If an answer was given, the player received a game token. After the response was heard, others were given an opportunity to add their

thoughts and opinions. Rarely did students chose not to answer a question, although being given that option was critical to lowering the stress of the game and achieving its success. The children were animated, responsive, and talkative on many different topics. They showed their enjoyment by adding a lot of additional comments to responses and smiling excitedly when I told them that we would play the game an additional day. Best of all, the activity generated a rich array of issues for further investigation and problem posing and revealed a deeper dimension of their lives, as revealed in the following participant profiles.

Participant Profiles

Five ten- and eleven-year-old students participated in my problem posing small group sessions. These were children for whom I quickly developed a great admiration. As they revealed their personal stories and histories to me, I was reminded that critical teaching produces a change in the teacher-student relationship, and that change carries the power to move education toward a new era of multicultural understanding, student success, and personal empowerment in the LMS classroom.

Mark

As mentioned previously, Mark was known as the class "brain." Whenever Ann wanted a word defined, she would allow others to guess, but Mark could almost always come up with the correct definition. In the research group, his intellect and social awareness was even more apparent and appreciated. One day, I gratefully journaled him by writing that "I'm very thankful for all the thoughts

you share with our group. . . You have great ideas and I'm learning a lot from you. I think your friends in the group are learning too!" I expected to hear that Mark had educated parents, so it did not surprise me when I learned that they both worked in the valley's electronics industry. He told me that his parents spoke "good English. . . they went to English classes." When I heard this, I was reminded of recent research that indicates that:

Vietnamese immigrants who speak English well and have the best jobs are suffering the most from psychosomatic complaints and mental problems and are less optimistic about the future . . . [because] these persons, unlike the less acculturated immigrants, 'spend considerable time in the mainstream of society, regularly facing the challenges and stresses of dealing with

Despite this grim finding, Mark saw an optimistic future for himself and maintained a healthy self-image. When asked to describe himself, Mark wrote that "I am fairly tall and am otherwise a normal looking person... then again, no one looks normal because everyones different." Mark aspired to be an astronomer and "grow up to find new stars, galaxies, and planets." I readily encouraged and praised him for this choice, knowing that if anyone could overcome "the cultural prescription to keep nondominant peoples in their place," Mark would (Folb, 1988, p. 127).

On the surface, Mark seemed like a fully acculturated Vietnamese American boy without problems or personal secrets. In answering questions about how their families came to the United States, however, Mark revealed that his family had escaped on a small boat because both his father and uncle had been jailed

as political prisoners in Vietnam. When I asked if his parents often spoke of their escape, he replied, "Never! . . . I don't even know how I know all this stuff." Mark's comment reminded me of the silence that shrouded my parents' memories of their relocation camp experiences. This similarity was further confirmed during a telephone interview I conducted with a Japanese American World War II camp internee, Col. Noboru Masuoka (1995) who said that ". . . the Vietnamese don't talk about their experiences because these were bad memories. . . we want to think about happier times" (personal communication, 1995).

Van

During one of our early discussions about the character Leigh Botts, it surfaced that Leigh was nick-named, "Leigh the Flea" because the other students thought he was so small. We discussed the idea of differences and the cruel ridicule Leigh endured due to his small stature. I asked if anyone in the group ever experienced such ridicule, but received a silent response. Understanding that many Vietnamese people have small physical statures, I wanted to see if they had experienced the backlash of this "caste marking," or discrimination because of size (Folb, 1988, p. 125). Unfortunately, none of the participants wished to respond, and feeling their discomfort, I moved the discussion to another topic.

Later that day, Van approached me as I circulated among the students in their whole group activity. She tugged at my sleeve and began to reel off a story

about a time when she was in Vietnam. She said that she was riding on the handle bars of her grandfather's bicycle while holding a balloon in one hand. Accidentally, she released the balloon, and in her grandfather's struggle to retrieve it, she fell off the unstable bike. She concluded her story by saying that her mother told her that this fall caused her to be so small. I was concerned that because of her size and visible Vietnamese features, Van might already have internalized a sense of "difference" and outsiderhood that had eroded her self-esteem and sense of worth. In fact, when asked what she thought she looked like, her journal read, " "I don't look like nothing. . . I am are ugly, but oh well." Folb (1988) comments on "nondominant group" identities by writing that, "they are seen by the dominant culture as no one, nobody and therefore go unacknowledged and importantly underperceived" (p. 125). I hoped that through the encouragement and caring that I could offer in our research relationship, Van's fragile self-esteem might grow stronger.

Throughout the weeks, I grew very fond of this child, whose beautiful, dimpled smile and shiny black bob-haircut appeared at my sleeve on every turn. Despite her smile, Van showed a deep sorrow and insecurity that surfaced in different forms on various occasions. Van longed to return to Vietnam. In our discussions of traditional Vietnamese celebrations, Van sadly said, "when New Year's I started to miss my family in Vietnam." She also revealed that sometimes her father wanted to divorce her mother because he wanted to return to Vietnam and Van's mother wished to remain in the United States with her family.

Van's two-year-old sister, Nancy, was another source of her complaints. Van lamented that her parents loved her little sister more than they loved her. When I encouraged Van in our dialogue journal and assured her that her parents loved both of their girls, she wrote back to me saying, "thank you for cheering me up, but I think my family still love me, and thank you for loving me and care about me."

Of all the participants, Van was the only child born in Vietnam. Her intellect had allowed her to perform very close to fifth-grade level in the four short years she had been in the United States. Still, she needed support in vocabulary and some of the nuances of language. Many times she appeared at my side tugging for an explanation of a word or a concept. Although Van had a bilingual resource teacher with whom she worked for about thirty minutes, twice a week, she would have benefited even more from a classroom teacher who practiced second language scaffolding and sheltering as part of the daily teaching curriculum.

Linh

Linh, another GATE student in the research group, showed her intelligence and intuitiveness in all of her contributions to the group. Although it took two or three meetings before she or any of the other girls would talk very much, after this warming period, Linh became a valuable contributor to the problem posing group.

Linh's mother and father were divorced, the circumstances of which she explained in her journal:

My mom and dad they were divorced at the time when I was seven years old. My dad use to gamble he won a lot but then one time he went overboard and spent to much. My mom gave him a chance but he kept on going.

Linh's mother worked in a hospital and Linh aspired to be a doctor when she grew up. When I asked her what it would take to become a doctor, she said, "Go to college!" I had little doubt that Linh would be able to manage that challenge.

Linh had been raised with very traditional Vietnamese values. When asked to describe herself she wrote, "I am medium." I asked her what that meant, and she responded by writing, "I don't really like committing myself it feels so rude to me." I recognized the Asian trait of humility when she wrote that she could not say, "I'm great!" because that would exhibit false pride and disgraceful behavior.

Linh said that she would never want to return to Vietnam. She associated this country with war and the death of her two uncles who were military officers. Linh stated that her mother rarely ever talked about Vietnam because "mom usually cries." I saw in Linh's history, another case of silence shrouding the memories of unbearable sorrows and human experience. I realized from my own personal memories that until that silence was broken, there would be little possibility of healing and new beginnings. Through our problem posing journey, I believe that Linh began to break through the silence about the war. I was happy when she revealed how proud she was of Maj. Nguyen Quy An, a Vietnamese war hero who came to visit and talk about his war experiences as the culminating activity of our studies. I felt that through the pride she expressed in An's heroic

war efforts, Linh was beginning to understand more about her ethnic heritage and about herself.

Ta

Ta arrived to our group bubbling with an always-present grin. At first, I thought Ta would be my only disruptive group member. He had a nervous laugh and loved to sit next to Mark and begin to involve others in his infectious good humor. I was pleasantly surprised to see Ta's growth during the course of the study, and his transformation into a serious and thoughtful contributor.

Ta's parents were born in Vietnam. His father was a car mechanic and his mother worked as a house cleaner. Ta said that because his parents had to work a lot, he had many chores to do at home. He told the group that this was the one unfair thing about his home life. I asked him if he ever thought of talking to his mom about this. The hierarchical social order in this traditional Vietnamese family was revealed in his ready response: "No! I don't want to be grounded!"

Ta wanted to be a scientist when he grew up. He loved math and long recesses. Ta said that he would like his community better if there was "no littering, nicer people, and cleaner sidewalks." When asked what he would like to change in the way his school ran, Ta replied that he would like "longer recess, more plants, and better food."

Toward the end of our group sessions, Ta became an active and serious contributor to our discussions. He lightened every topic with humor, but not in a disruptive way. He knew how to respect the teacher and the group, and would

always check himself when his exuberance began to exceed an appropriate level. I learned from Ta, the truth in Kohl's (1988) observation,

. . .energy flows, it can be expended or renewed, latent or active, it can be transformed from one form or manifestation to another. . .All youngsters have this energy, and a substantial part of the craft of teaching consists of knowing how to tap into children's energy sources or removing impediments to their flow. (p. 58)

It appeared that the problem posing process provided Ta a setting in which he could speak seriously, and which allowed him to drop his defensive veneer of joviality. Mark best described this atmosphere when he wrote in his course reflection that in the problem posing group "we could share our thoughts more freely and not be laughed at."

Che

Che was the quietest of all the group members. When we played the Leigh Botts' Question game, Che did not get as involved in the discussions as the other members. In fact, she journaled to me the question, "how long are you going to play the game we play? the game that you made?" When I asked her to write back about whether she enjoyed the game, she never did. I took that to mean that she was not comfortable participating in this activity.

I had a sense of discomfort in talking about ethnicity and the use of the Vietnamese language with Che. I surmised that she wanted to blend into the dominant society and felt uncomfortable being identified by her ethnic heritage. Folb (1988), defines the act of "passing," as those behaviors by minority or nondominant group members which exhibit conformity to the dominant social

order. In this case, Che seemed to want to avoid issues that made her appear different from the white majority, namely her cultural connections and her home language.

Well here's two more questions you ask me. "YES" I DO SPEAK ENGLISH (capitals indicate very large letters), and my parents does to. I always hated to speak vietnamese in my house and when I don't my grandma says that you could only speak English in school but you have to speak vietnamese inside the house so that how I learn vietnamese.

From this rare glimpse into Che's personal feelings, I noted her comment, "I always hated (hated) to speak vietnamese in my house," as a clue that "passing" was a need of this child and that anything concerning heritage and differences made her uncomfortable. Also, when we talked about the maintenance of Vietnamese language skills, Che said that she used to go to Vietnamese school, but she didn't want to anymore.

The profiles of Mark, Linh, Van, Ta, and Che help to give a glimpse of the academic and social maturity of the participants in this study. They also provide a window into these students' private worlds, a privilege offered critical teachers in the problem posing process.

Chapter 6 will highlight some of the ideas that surfaced as the group pursued the study of immigration law and deportation. This chapter presents and analyzes the broad social questions and themes that surfaced through our study of immigration and deportation. It also recounts details of the culminating visit

made by Maj. Nguyen Quy An, a Vietnamese war hero fighting deportation by the United States government.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: TOWARD EMPOWERMENT

The initial step of gathering student histories and stories enables the critical teacher to look for generative topics and themes in the context of the students' "everyday knowledge in its socially constructed and historically produced forms" (McLaren, 1986, p. 177). Throughout the problem posing process, the critical educator must keep a keen and perceptive eye on student language, silence, resistance, and excitement in order to define those issues in which students show a sincere and personal interest. The purpose of this chapter is to detail how the generative topic of immigration was chosen for this study and how our discussions unveiled connections to the questions brought to this study around wider social issues and themes.

The following chapter is divided into three sections: (a) Unveiling Generative Topics and Themes; (b) Discussing the Topic of Immigration; and (c) Moving Toward Empowerment. The first section describes how the analysis of my research participants' stories led to the unveiling of different generative topics linked to the students' descriptions of their lives at home, at school, in the community, and in the United States. Section two describes the group's problem

posing and research study of immigration. The final section describes how this research activity moved the students and myself out of the classroom and into the community and closer to a realization of empowerment education.

Unveiling Generative Topics and Themes

The critical teacher must use the "human textbook" of student experiences to frame and guide problem posing lessons. This requires a careful reading of student histories and stories, and an understanding that the "stories that they tell are the way they respond to the questions we ask . . . they tell stories to express themselves in relation to the world, and to give expression to the world" (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 150).

The topics and themes that emerged from my research group discussions resulted from the questions posed to them around four arenas of experience including their lives at home, at school, in the community, and in the U.S. society. The discussion of some of the topics that were generated by these questions will be presented in tandem with an analysis of their significance to broader research questions involving cultural influence, knowledge and schooling, and minority race relations in school and society.

The Impact of Home Culture

Anderson and Powell (1988) write of the important affects of home cultures on school behavior by noting that:

At no time in our history has such a culturally diverse population of students participated in our educational system.

. . . The rules, assumptions, values, customs, practices, and procedures for appropriate classroom behavior may vary for all of these students. (p. 207)

To gain a deeper understanding of my participants' home cultures, I posed the questions, "What do you think is most unfair about your life at home?" and "When did your family come to the United States and how?" Some of the answers came in direct verbal responses and others through the privacy of journaling. Each, however, offered valuable insights into the way my Vietnamese students' family history, ethnicity, culture, and economic status was negotiated in the context of their experiences in American schools and the wider society.

Regarding unfair home practices, Che shared that she thought it was unfair that her older step-brothers picked on her and that Che's grandmother required that she speak Vietnamese at home. In an interview with V. Nguyen (1995), a Vietnamese culture teacher, I learned that the hierarchical ordering in Vietnamese families was based on the Chinese tradition of revering the oldest and the male family members first. I conjectured that Che's reticence to participate in either the whole-class or settings, might have been an extension of the second-class status she experienced in her home environment.

In her journal, Linh asked me to answer the question, "do your children respect you very much?" Linh explained that in her home, her mother and step-father "come home grouchy and just blame it on us." Interestingly, she worked through this problem in the course of her writing and concluded that, "I guess I can't blame them." V. Nguyen (1995) said that the Vietnamese believe in

a proverb that says, "Trên kính, dưới nhường," or one must "respect his superior and yield to his inferiors" (personal communication, 1995).

The notion of respect is deeply carved into many Asian cultures (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981). This notion might also be considered in the reconstruction of classroom management in order to provide students with a positive affective climate that nurtures the cultural need for respect, while also providing enough safety to allow the voicing of the language of challenge and critique (Krashen, 1987).

The revelations of Van's home life came to me through some of her disturbing journal entries. Van, as mentioned in her personal profile, was a newly immigrated child who, along with her family, was experiencing many challenges of adjustment and loss. She revealed her longing for Vietnam when she wrote that, "I love Viet Nam because there's people to play with me all day and I usually [used] to live there." In America, both of her parents worked during the days and she was often given responsibility to care for her two-year-old sister. Her father administered harsh punishments upon her if Van failed to entertain and care for her little sister adequately. Van revealed that her father was also very unhappy in the United States, longing to return to their native land and be with his family. His threats to divorce Van's mother pained Van and was one of the problems that contributed to her melancholy journal reflections.

When Ta was posed the question, "When did your family come to the U.S. and how?" he immediately replied, "I don't remember." Fortunately, Mark picked up the question and said, "I remember how my family did! . . . I remember how my family came on a boat . . . I know, but I wasn't even born then . . . My family has been here for awhile, 14 years." Following Mark's lead, Ta finally admitted that his family also came over on a boat. Ta added, "My uncle escaped, too!"

At that point in the discussion, Linh excitedly offered her story:

And then, my uncle, when he came over here. . . he came over in a little boat. . . [and under it] there was like moss in the bottom and the water was really, really, cold and he like to have to swim under there and take it out and everything.

Linh concluded by saying that two of her uncles had died during the war.

I recognized that the topic of immigration was sparking everyone's interest and emotions. I asked the children if their parents had directly shared these stories with them. Linh, said, "no, not mine." Ta also responded with, "No, they get sad when they talk about it . . . Mom usually cries." Mark added, "I don't even know how I know this stuff!" It appeared that a silence similar to that which had shrouded my parents' internment memories also haunted the homes of these children.

At this point, Van excitedly began speaking in Vietnamese, something that had never happened previously. The emotional nature of our discussion had apparently caused her to revert to her first language. She was trying to tell Linh something in Vietnamese, but Linh said, "say it in English!" I asked Van if she

wanted to share her story, but she shook her head to indicate that she did not. I reminded everyone that no one would be forced to voice a story. Linh took Van's silence as an opportunity to add more details about the escape of her uncles. Several minutes into Linh's story, however, Van interjected in English saying, "I have my uncle, he was fighting in the war, and someone shoot him in the eye . . . My mom's dad he died in the war, too." That triggered Mark to add: ". . . my dad and three uncles were in the war, but they're all over here now, two of them died over there." I noted that a common chord had been struck in the topic around the escape and immigration of their families and began searching for more materials on the experience of Vietnamese boat people.

The critical teacher, seeking to enter the world of the student, must deal with a dimension of personal reality and history that is far beyond that demanded by traditional educational frameworks. Critical teachers are not the detached, knowledge-holding sages capable of providing the "right answers" to all of their students' questions and problems. In the framework of critical education, teachers become co-learners and co-participants in the process of knowledge seeking and construction (Shor & Freire, 1987). When questions concerning home and personal problems surface, it is important for the critical teacher to make visible their connections to wider social issues such as war, immigration or economic inequalities.

With new understandings of my participants' home lives and personal histories, I perceived that the experience of their family's immigration, bonded these students in a commonly shared reality. It was my privilege, through problem posing, to gain entry into their worlds and expand my knowledge of some of the challenges that faced first and second generation Vietnamese. How the memories and experiences of my participants affected their school lives was another aspect of unveiling that surfaced through the problem posing process.

Perceptions of School Power and Knowledge

The family. . . differs from the school in the significant respect that government is not responsible, at least directly, for the inequalities of family background. It is responsible for inequalities in public education. The school is a creature of the state. . . [and] schools could make dramatic changes. . . if fiscal equity were a reality. (Kozol, 1992, p. 123)

The question of schooling practices surfaced in many discussions with the research participants. When asked to interview a partner using a list of questions on the topic of change, students offered several different concerns and observations regarding changes they would like to see in their school environment (see Appendix B and C).

Ta thought the physical environment of his school might be improved with "more plants, better food." Although Dell Elementary was in a lower income area of the city, it was a relatively new campus with a modern design and clean, well equipped facilities. The fact that Ta noticed that there was little landscaping

surrounding the school site reminded me of an interview conducted by Kozol (1993) with an inner city school teacher:

I ask her, "do the children ever comment on the building?"
 "They don't say," she answers, "but they know."
 I ask her if they see it as a racial message.
 "All these children see TV," she says. "They know what suburban schools are like. Then they look around them at their school. . . They don't comment on it but you see it in their eyes. They understand. (p. 88)

The issue of time surfaced many times in reflections about schooling practices. Time, in the Vietnamese culture, is "a flexible commodity" with less concern given to punctuality and structured time allotments than in the American culture (Henkin & Nguyen, 1981, p. 38).

When asked "what would you like to change in school, Ta smiled while saying, "longer recess!" At first, I thought it was a joke, but everyone seemed to be seriously concerned about time pressures in the school setting. She said that "on rainy days, more time to stay in the cafeteria to eat lunch" would be an improvement. Ta and Mark both wanted more time to do math. When playing the "Leigh Botts' Question" game, Mark drew the card that asked what two things he liked least about the way schools were run. He replied, "The two things I like least about school is the piles of homework the teacher gives us and sometimes when we have such a short amount of time to do so many things."

I realized that the structured format of my participants' classroom environment, and probably their whole school experience, was ruled by the fragmented, thirty-minute, single subject lesson format. I had to admit to myself

that even in the context of my postmodern research study, time was a stressful consideration, as I mentioned earlier. In order for schools to transition into the critical educational pedagogy, time must be re-ordered in the classroom. And, unfortunately, in order for teachers to ever feel that they could give up structured lessons of core subjects, the assessment and objectified lesson systems would have to be modified, as well. As summarized by Kohl (1988):

The absence of time for informal dialogue and open-ended exploration of ideas is frustrating for people who take teaching seriously. I remember wanting to talk with my students for hours at a time my first few years teaching and being scared about not getting through the curriculum or teaching anything. I couldn't (and still can't) turn the development of sophisticated thinking into a list of ordered behavioral objectives, nor could I tell exactly what each student learned from our conversations. (p. 112)

Mark, in his remarkably intuitive manner, answered the question, "what would you like to change in schools," with the reply, "better books and for kids to be graded better." When I asked Mark to elaborate on this answer, he said "um, to grade them the way they *really are*" (italics indicates emphasis in tone).

Earlier, we talked about the testing for the Gifted and Talented program while discussing the plight of Leigh Botts who wrote to Mr. Henshaw saying, "I am just a plain boy. This school doesn't say I am Gifted and Talented, and I don't like soccer very much the way everybody at this school is supposed to. . . I am not stupid either" (Cleary, 1983, pp. 14-15).

Having been tested into the GATE program, Mark commented that the "test isn't really fair because it only tests how good you are in math, not how smart you

are in other things." A rich discussion of the testing system revealed that these children felt greatly stressed when they were being measured with traditional test instruments. I asked them how they felt when they didn't do well on a test, and Mark replied, "really depressed because most of the time I really knew the right answer."

I pondered that if a very bright and literate second language student such as Mark became this stressed by the testing system, what were other Vietnamese students with much less language and cultural exposure feeling in the testing environment. Unfortunately, time did not allow me to pursue some of these issues further with the children. I did conclude for myself, however, that the use of collaborative test instruments and more culturally sensitive question formats must remain a change priority in the school system in order for testing to be equalized among participants of different abilities and cultural backgrounds.

Community Concerns

The data collected through dialogue journals and during the lesson activities revealed some of the students' common concerns and attitudes about community life. For example, when asked what students would like to see changed in their communities, Linh, Che, and Van all identified the problems of gang violence, graffiti, and homelessness. Linh said that of all those problems, the most serious was the "homeless [problem] because many homeless are hungry and there almost dying." Van wrote, "I want no more violence, more cops, homeless

people find jobs so won't bother me anymore." I asked Van to explain what she meant by being 'bothered' by the homeless. She replied, "You see some man, and you turn the corner and you see some other man." Ta added to this discussion by saying, "some people asking for a sign saying money, no food."

It appeared to me that the homeless situation was a visible problem in the lower economic neighborhoods in which these students lived, but when I asked them to describe their neighborhoods on another occasion, four students offered only positive, stock answers such as "kinda nice," "nice," or "nice. . .it's quite clean." I noticed the difference in the language used when students gave answers drawn from personal memory, rather than from a mimicked response. In the former situation, their responses were lengthy and semantically and grammatically incorrect; whereas in the later, formal phraseology such as "it's quite clean" was used.

In analyzing the linguistics used by the students, two things came to mind. First, I recalled Shor's (1987) description of the importance of researching the spoken words of students for their deeper meanings:

The worst thing is to be in classrooms where students are silent or where they speak and write in a phony, defensive language they invent for teachers and other authorities. . . We spend countless classes listening to student repeats of our own teacherly language. If I don't hear or read their authentic thought-language, I feel frustrated because I can't begin research into their themes and levels of development. (p. 9)

Kohl (1988) similarly defines the authentic dialoguing of students as "sprache," or "another way of saying thoughtful speech" (p. 112). Kohl (1988) writes that it takes a long time "in order to get students who are accustomed to giving mechanical and safe responses to teachers' questions to be bold and thoughtful" (p. 113). I hoped that through the weeks of patient dialogue and open exchange of ideas, the students would leave the group having experienced "sprache." I was gratified when one of my participants reflected on our work together by writing that "we give each other lots of idea and don't have to be embarase when we says something to you in the small group . . . yes, I do like the way we learn in here [the research small group]."

The neighborhood question prompted me to consider a second possible cause for my participants' stock responses. During my interview with V. Nguyen (1995), she explained that Vietnamese students often gave positive responses to questions due to a belief in the proverb which says, "Lời nói chẳng mất tiền mua, Lựa lời mà nói cho vừa lòng nhau," or "nice words do not cost anything, so one should choose words which please other's ears." In the context of traditional schooling, the "right answer" is so often rewarded that Vietnamese students simply learn to give teachers neutral or non-combative responses which they know will be accepted without question. Because one of the goals of problem posing is to provide a non-threatening and non-judgmental climate that encourages unrestricted and respected student voice, I was anxious to see if

these students would begin to offer statements or pose questions that would show evidence of "desocialization" as our group progressed (Shor & Freire, 1987). I was gratified to find some evidence of this emancipatory progress from a late journal entry by Linh which began boldly with the statement, "I think that it is unfair. . ."

Understandings and Attitudes About Government

In order to get insights into the students' attitudes about U. S. government practices and laws, I wrote cards in the "Leigh Botts' Question" game to ask, "What would you change if you were the President of the United States?" and "In what ways has the U. S. government ever helped your family, and how might it help more people?"

Linh drew the question regarding change through government channels. She said that she would change gang violence with more policing. She also said that she would lower taxes. I asked the group how they might go about changing tax law. Mark answered that "you go to Congress and they vote on it and if they vote yes on it they sign it and have it pass." I then asked how they could get their concerns heard as individual citizens. Linh said, "sign a petition," and went on to explain how their after school group distributed a petition to reinstate nation ball as an after-school sport. Apparently, a parent whose child was hurt playing this game asked the principal to discontinue allowing the children to play that sport. The students petitioned the principal to reinstate the game.

Although the principal never formally addressed the issue of the petition, the students said that they were allowed to play nation ball, again. I wondered why the principal did not use the incident to openly applaud the children for their active participation in government action and citizenship. We talked about the power structure in schools and in the United States, and how sometimes silence concerning an issue carries powerful, hidden messages. The message of silence, in this case was, "okay, I'll change the rule, but I won't acknowledge that it was your petition that helped make that decision." I realized that student empowerment needed to be a top-down goal supported by school administrators as well as critical teachers.

Mark answered the question, "How has the U.S. government ever helped your family and how might it help more people?" Mark admitted that he didn't think the government ever really helped his family in any way. He said that he thought the government could help more people such as those affected by "that proposition that there are no more immigrants." I asked if he meant Proposition 187, a bill passed in California (1994) that limited public services for illegal aliens. He said "yes," and continued to comment that he thought "the government should help [illegal immigrants] if they're in too much trouble [and] they're not trying to get out of the country for no reason." I remembered that both Mark's father and uncle had been jailed by the Communists before their escape from Vietnam. His

empathy for political and economic refugees seemed to be sincerely and personally felt.

The topic of immigration and deportation had surfaced many times throughout our discussion sessions and helped lead me to look for a suitable vehicle by which to discuss it further in the problem posing setting.

Discussing the Topic of Immigration

As mentioned earlier, the critical teacher is challenged to spontaneously find lesson materials relevant to topics of interest to students. As the issues of gang violence, graffiti, and immigration surfaced, I researched the library files for recent news articles on these topics. Shor (1987) advocates the use of current news materials:

. . .we propose a radical reduction in the transfer-of-information in class or in textbooks, in favor of prolonged scrutiny of materials drawn as *problematic texts* on social life. . .[and in so doing,] we can hope to get farther than the dismal results of the regular curriculum. (p. 88)

Luck had it that two relevant articles appeared in the San Jose Mercury and News [SJMN] (3/17/95) as I searched for materials to use with my research group (see Appendix E and F).

Vietnamese Resettlement and Immigration

The SJMN article, "The End of a Dream," (3/17/95) discussed the repatriation of Vietnamese resettlement campers in response to the government ordered shut-down of the resettlement program. To study this article, I prepared

a vocabulary list and underlined words that I thought the students would need defined. We reviewed the words on the list before reading and discussing the content of the article. This was a fairly lengthy piece and more challenging to the students than I had anticipated. Although we moved slowly through the study of this article, I felt that it was important that the students experience critical literacy and thus learn to read with the understanding that issues such as immigration had wider social and political implications (Williams & Snipper, 1990). In order to facilitate the "reading of the word and the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987), I asked students to think about reasons why immigrants were being barred from the United States. They used their journals to express their reflections. Che was bewildered as to why the U.S. government was refusing to allow the resettlement campers to come into the United States, writing "why are they doing this to the Vietnamese and all those other people? . . . Why won't they let them go to there family [in the U. S.] where they live? . . . I think there's lots of them who wants to come to the U.S."

Van was confused by the violent reactions of the campers who were protesting having to be sent back to her beloved Vietnam. Her journal entry read, "I think many many people got sent back to Viet Nam. . . Why some people kill them self, they could go back to Viet Nam and have a good life? . . . Why they don't let the vietnamese people live in America?"

Che and Van seemed to be confronting the conflict between American ideals and realities for the first time. Their comments were short and filled with questions, rather than with opinions and feelings about the article's content. Linh and Mark showed a deeper understanding of what we had been discussing relative to the wider social issues of immigration, racism, and discrimination. Linh reflected:

I feel that it is unfair that they are doing this after they have taken all the people or welcomed them into their camps and have been waiting to be able to go. . .now their chance is over and they cannot do anything and that they shouldn't be able to kick them out and shouldn't shut down the camps because its so unfair.

Written during the last few meetings of our group, Linh's reflection revealed a new-found ability to give voice to her opinions and to express her reckonings about social conditions that existed in her world.

Mark revealed the powerful impact of our problem posing studies through the following reflective writing around his understandings of the article, "The End of a Dream":

I think that at least some of the people should be able to immigrate over here. This country is supposed to be the land of the free. . .that means it will accept anyone. I really think we should live up to our name, don't you?

In five short weeks of careful prodding through personal stories and then through the issue of immigration, this group had moved from silence and short, prescribed answers, to the asking of questions and the voicing of critique.

Studying An's Deportation Plight

We studied a second article, "Kids Back San Jose War Hero" (McLaughlin, 1995) to personalize the immigration story for the students. "Kids Back San Jose War Hero," told of a classroom of third grade Danville, California students who wrote to a Vietnamese war hero, Major Nguyen Quy An, whose imminent deportation from the United States was being fought by Colonel Noboru Masuoka, a retired U. S. Air Force liaison.

Although this article was shorter and contained easier vocabulary words, we followed the same process of studying unknown words and careful interactive reading used with the previous article. I also made up a list of summary questions for the students to answer in groups (see Appendix G). While we studied this article, I made several phone and personal contacts to try to locate Major An's telephone number and address. I contacted Greenbook Elementary School in Danville hoping to write to the teacher about whose class we read in the article. Although I never got a response to my inquiry, I had the good fortune to visit a Vietnamese friend who was able to get Major An's telephone number for me.

I talked with An on the telephone and he agreed to come to our school to talk with the children, provided I ask Masuoka for his assistance in driving and speaking. Masuoka and I had a lively hour-long conversation about his efforts to help An, as well as many stories of his involvement in the Japanese relocation

camps during World War II. At the end of our conversation, Masuoka agreed to come to Dell Elementary and bring An for a personal visit.

When I told the students that they would be visited by An and Masuoka, Ta and Linh became especially excited. Ta had already heard a talk by An at a local Vietnamese Community Center. He told us about the center's efforts to sign petitions to pass a Congressional bill that would change immigration law and allow An to remain in the United States. Linh, whose father and uncles were South Vietnamese military officers, also knew of An's story. The students were excited about the upcoming visit. I asked them if they would present a group speech about An's deportation predicament to their classmates. Even though I reminded them that their participation was not mandatory, each agreed to be a part of the presentation, and collaborated on the writing and practicing of their individual parts. Van reflected in her course summary that she thought "we should have a play [presentation] for whatever we turn."

I believed that my participants were demonstrating a new-found willingness to voice their knowledge and understandings and I saw this as a positive indication that by dialoguing in our small group, they were learning skills that they could use in a wider context. How their participation in the culminating activity furthered their movement toward empowerment is the topic discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Moving Toward Empowerment

The visit by Masuoka and An occurred on Wednesday, April 5, 1995 and was the culmination of our research group study. The research participants presented their group speech the day before the speakers arrived. Their excitement in sharing was demonstrated to me by their repeatedly asking, "When will we get to speak?"

Another fifth-grade class joined our class for An and Masuoka's visit and I was excited that a study which began with only five participants, would affect the lives and learning of over sixty young students. Masuoka provided the children with background information about the Vietnam War and captivated them with stories of An's heroic military rescue:

In one mission he was the flight leader. . .two were American and two were Vietnamese. . .and as they were coming out, the American helicopter got hit by fire, gunfire, and it was going down. So Major An came along and took his helicopter underneath and escorted that helicopter down to safety. . .there were four Americans on that helicopter and of those, two were captains, one was an executive officer and two [were] enlisted persons.

In his animated description of the mission that cost An his arms, Masuoka told the children that:

. . .he [An] had flown more than 4,000 hours in combat and he had been shot down four times. But on the fourth, he had just taken Vietnamese and American forces to Laos and as he was coming over into Vietnam again, someone took a shot at him. . .his helicopter got hit and caught on fire. . .his legs and arms were being burned and so as they were being burned, he flew his helicopter down and he saved the crew members of his helicopter. . .they took him to the U.S. Army hospital in Saigon and that is where they amputated his arms.

Masuoka concluded by sharing that the United States honored An with the Distinguished Flying Cross, but there was still a problem in getting him out of Communist Vietnam after the end of the war. Masuoka explained that An's immigration problems stemmed from the fact that after the war, he had only spent two and one-half of the three years in a Communist prison camp required by U.S. immigration law before he could be granted legal entry into this country.

Masuoka said that as a U. S. Air Force liaison, he was able to get An out of Vietnam on a one-year humanitarian parole, but that even with an additional year of extension time, An would be deported by the summer of 1995.

The students showed their frustration with the immigration law and the injustice that it seemed to allow by asking questions such as, "How can we help Maj. An stay in the United States?" Masuoka's reply contained a real-life and purposeful example of political involvement:

If the class wants to sign a petition you just write a letter to say that you support Major An and want him to be allowed to become a permanent resident of the U.S. and then send it to Congresswoman Zoe Lofgren. Do you know who she is? She is your representative in Congress and if you've got any complaints about the U.S. . . .and so you can write to her and tell her your feelings.

This discussion reminded me of Mukherjee's (1988) advice to problem posing teachers: "When we make students aware of gaps, they can go outside the classroom to look for knowledge beyond the limits of the curriculum. . . Sow seeds of doubt. . .they'll go out and work for their own learning" (p. 21).

A moving scene occurred during the student question-answer period when Vietnamese students were allowed to ask their questions of An in their native tongue. No matter how many times I had emphasized to my research group participants the importance of maintaining their home language and culture, I could not have found a better example of why this was important to them than during this exchange. Vietnamese students who were able to share a personal exchange in their native tongue with a war hero who had fought for the United States, experienced a pride in their ethnicity and homeland that could not have been replicated during a textbook lesson. If the problem posing methodology requires that students reach into their communities and become active participants in real life situations, and if this was the kind of learning they could reap from such an educational endeavor, then problem posing could change the way these children grew up, learned, and contributed to the American society.

Student Reflections

After the presentation, Ann's class wrote thank you letters and also a short essay on their reflections about Masuoka and An's speech. I helped them mount their letters in a scrapbook which the students decorated with artwork. Their learning and their sincerity was evidenced in the words they used in their writing assignments. For example, Mark's essay read:

I was really excited and interested about the coming of Maj. An and Col. Masuoka. When I heard Maj. An's story I felt sad that he had lost his hands, but I felt proud when I heard that he saved four crewmen and lost his hands for them. . .I wish

Maj. An could stay here and share his information about the war with other students.

Mark's thank you letter to An was signed, "A proud Vietnamese." The presentation of speakers such as An, can help minority children celebrate their ethnicity and contributions to the United States. These are the kinds of multicultural activities that can truly foster understanding and appreciation of all ethnic cultures.

An's heroic military career also provided the Vietnamese students a person whom they could look up to. Che validated this in her thank you letter:

I really do look up to Vietnamese people have really interesting job. I would never imagine that there would be a Vietnamese pilot. My brother really look up to you. Because you're a Vietnamese pilot. So that really encourage him to be anything he wants to be.

Recall that Che was the participant who seemed to be uncomfortable in talking about her Vietnamese background. This is again evidenced in her comment that she had never imagined that a Vietnamese person might hold a job such as a pilot. The social class hierarchy established in the American white dominant culture, for Che, seems to have marked the members of her ethnic group in lower-status professions. It is also interesting that Che wrote that An's heroic position and high-status profession served to encourage her brother to "be anything he wants to be." I wondered if she had excluded herself from that hope due to the realization that she was a nondominant member of society marked so by her ethnicity as well as her gender.

A number of students not in the small research group, expressed their appreciation for having learned something about Vietnam in their thank you letters to An and Masuoka. Recall that the literature on the hidden curriculum describes the inclusion of some text material chosen by the dominate cultural elites, and the exclusion of other stories deemed less important to teach young students (Giroux, 1983). One fifth-grade child who had attended American public schools her entire life wrote: "Thank you for coming to [Dell] Elementary School and telling us about the Vietnam War. . . I was so happy to hear about you and Major An because I never heard about the Vietnam War before." Several other children echoed their appreciation for having learned about the Vietnam War and the history of that country. The Vietnamese students were especially grateful to understand more about their homeland and the war that is so often shrouded in silence by their own parents and family members. Mark thanked Masuoka by writing: "I am very thankful that you came and helped us understand the war and Maj. An's story." Another Vietnamese child wrote: "I would just like to say thank you for taking your time and bringing Maj. An to our school. . . and explaining to us about what happened in Vietnam." Finally, a first generation Vietnamese child, born in the United States, wrote this message to Masuoka:

Thank you for supporting Major An to stay in the United States and getting him out of the prison in VietNam. Thank you for coming to our school to talk about the Viet Nam war, yourself, and alot about Major An. You taught me about Viet Nam because I wasn't born there.

When the curriculum reformers speak of increasing multicultural education, it is important to realize that public schools, too often, are starting at a zero level in terms of educating students about other countries, cultures and histories. It is worrisome when a country such as Vietnam, which has so profoundly affected America's recent sociopolitical history, is not being fully explored in the regular curriculum.

These student reflections helped to crystallize the gaps that exist in traditional school practice and curriculum. They reveal the silence that shrouds so many histories, in the home, at school, and in the wider society. The eagerness and appreciation with which students received their knowledge of Vietnam and the Vietnam War, is a testimony to the lack of such stimulus in the regular curriculum. Finally, the student reflections uncovered the realities of the hidden curriculum in school texts and in their programs. The understanding that the hidden curriculum can speak with silence and exclusion as loudly as it can with words and inclusion of materials, can bring educators closer to the reality in schools, in order to transform that reality.

Toward Empowerment

By reaching into the community to make real life contacts and research real life problems, the problem posing research activity culminated in what Freire (1988) has called a "liberating activity," which he describes as one in which:

. . . we do not propose mere techniques for gaining literacy or expertise or professional skills or even critical thought. The methods

of dialogical education draw us into the intimacy of the society, the *raison d'être* of every object of study. Through critical dialogue about a text or a moment of society, we try to reveal it, unveil it, see its reasons for being like it is, the political and historical context of the material. (p. 13)

Shor (1988) concludes that by critically looking at reality from the perspective of authentic actors, liberating educators can ". . . illuminate the conditions we're in to help overcome those conditions, offering students a critical distance on society in place of an uncritical immersion in the status quo, to think of changing it" (p. 14). Freire (1970a) has called the process of illumination, one which is transformative and empowering. He writes that teaching students to name conditions of the real world can help them understand "reality better, so they can transform it" (Freire, 1970a, p. 24).

In his course summary, Mark wrote that Major An's visit helped him to learn that we need to "understand one another better. . . [and] we should help one another whenever possible." I believe that this comment reflected the fact that Mark had been empowered with an illuminated vision of what was just, fair, and democratic in the society in which he lived.

The socio-political and educational implications and conclusions uncovered during the problem posing activities conducted during this research are presented in chapter 7.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose and vision which drives the [critical] pedagogy must be based on a politics and view of authority which links teaching and learning to forms of self and social empowerment, that argues for forms of community life which extend the principles of liberty, equality, justice, and freedom to the widest possible set of institutional and lived relations. (Giroux, 1991, p. 56)

This research has studied critical problem posing as a teaching methodology aimed at giving voice to those linguistic and ethnic minority students whose personal stories have historically been silenced in their homes, in schools, and in society. The literature review presented in chapters 2 and 3 follow the development of the modernist and postmodernist educational paradigms over the past two centuries.

America's nineteenth century Industrial Revolution emblazoned a factory metaphor on schooling that has indelibly marked educational practice with notions of technical efficiency and prescriptive practice. The humanist movement led by twentieth century, postmodern critical educators, however, has attempted to reconstruct technocratic education around a new metaphor that stresses community, humanity, and democracy (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1992; Shor, 1992). The critical educational reform movement provided the vision that was embraced by this research study.

Chapter 4 breathed life into the theoretical notion of critical problem posing in the elementary school setting by describing the field research activities planned for this study. The qualitative research methodology was chosen to promote the postmodern goals of respecting student historical backgrounds, honoring differences in culture and language, and freeing student voice from the oppression of teacher-dominated dialogue.

Chapters 5 and 6 presented the analysis and interpretation of the problem posing activities of five Vietnamese language minority students. In these chapters, participants' stories were woven into a tapestry of a collective immigrant experience and unveiled through the analysis of their dialogue, reflections, histories, and interactions. These analytical and interpretive chapters deconstructed the data to help shed light on the research questions brought to the study regarding the broad underlying social issues and concerns found in the students' dramatic stories of flight, immigration, and adjustment. Some of these insights are presented in this concluding chapter under the following rubrics: (a) "Research Conclusions"; (b) "Instructional Implications"; and (c) "Tomorrow's Vision."

Research Conclusions

Public education in America is not only in a paradigm shift, but also in a state of demographic and instructional crisis (Apple, 1982; Beyer & Apple, 1966; Doll, 1993; Spring, 1989). New ways to teach America's increasingly diverse

school population have been researched and reviewed (Cummins, 1986; Hernandez, 1989; Long & Richards, 1987). Strategies involving cooperative and communicative learning, scaffolding, sheltering, and other second language instructional supports are the subjects of educational research and literature. In the field, however, language minority students continue to fail in their academic pursuits and in their social adjustments (Cummins, 1986). Why school and social failure continues to dog so many minority student groups is the broad theoretical and socio-educational question that was foundational to this study.

Three sub-questions concerning knowledge and power, culture and race, and voice in schools and society were posed in an attempt to uncover the impact which these underlying issues might have on the problem of minority student academic and social under-achievement in schools and society. The research conclusions regarding these thematic issues have been intertwined with insights into the possibilities of critical problem posing as an empowerment tool in the advancement of minority student education in America.

Knowledge and Power

Both the literature and field studies indicate that the Vietnamese people hold respect for the teacher as sage and as knowledge-holder. When I first began working with my Vietnamese participants, their respectful silence limited my success in prompting them to dialogue or to ask questions. I found myself transcribing my own monologues for this research study and was growing

skeptical about the viability of dialogic teaching among these Asian students. A reckoning came to me after a few weeks of research. I surmised that my Asian participants had a cultural propensity to be object-learners which became more pronounced by their exposure to the teacher-dominated classroom environment which, ironically, rewarded their silence.

Prescriptive, one-way traditional classrooms were carried over from nineteenth century positivism and exclusionary education, and stress a subject-object, student-teacher relationship. In this technical model, the teacher not only owns the knowledge in the classroom, but also the power to control student behavior and voice. I believe that by daily exposure to this type of whole class environment, my Vietnamese participants internalized strict rules of participation and became even more inhibited to offer their stories than their cultural predisposition might have demanded. Critical theory is based on the metaphor of co-learning in the student-teacher relationship, a radical change from the traditional, positivist approach to teaching. Problem posing lends itself to the re-creation of the student-teacher relationship by requiring that learning and knowledge construction be situated in the lives and experiences of students. By sharing individual contributions of personal knowledge and experiences, teachers and learners naturally develop a bond of mutual trust, understanding, and respect. Kohl (1988) recalls his experience practicing this kind of teaching,

by writing that his students "taught me as much as I taught [them] and [they] became more friend[s] than student[s]" (p. 12).

The advantages of this type of bottom-up learning environment and of a mutually respectful teacher-student relationship are particularly important to the academic success of ethnic minority students. Historically, schools have operated using a hierarchy of authority and power which mimicked that found in the American society. Teachers traditionally emerged from the educated, white middle-class and dominant elite social strata (Cummins, 1986). Minority students, outside of the dominant culture, tended to internalize their subordinate status through years of mandatory exposure to the elite-ruled public educational system, typified by the powerful teacher-figure. The transfer of learned subjectivity has followed many minority groups into adult work and class stations (Spring, 1989). Known as the reproductive nature of schooling, this phenomenon works against the academic and social success of many nondominant students (Freire, 1970).

The need to change the power structure in the classroom and in the educational system, surfaced as the most significant power-knowledge insight revealed in this study. I found that many teachers at Dell Elementary managed their classrooms in the traditional one-way, authoritarian fashion. Students were often regarded as subjects powerless to question rules and publicly punished for disobedience. The manner in which discipline was exacted, often showed little

regard for students as human individuals, magnifying their subject-status in the school setting.

For example, in the first weeks of classroom observation, I experienced an atmosphere in which students' behaviors were strictly controlled and monitored for the purpose of maintaining a quiet and orderly environment. Fortunately, this strict authoritarian management slowly and slightly relaxed during the ensuing weeks of my observation. I surmised that the teacher, having just come back from off-track time with her students, felt the need to be very strict with her rules in the first weeks of resumed classes. Kohl (1984) mentions the need of establishing firm rules in the beginning of the school year when he writes that, "My students had quickly taught me that I had to establish my authority before I could teach them anything." (p. 38).

Through problem posing, I found an alternative to this management approach. I felt that my Vietnamese students needed to feel secure with their teacher from the very first encounters. In order to establish a positive affective climate without losing management control, I implemented a strategy which I call, "management through trust." I made it clear that disciplining them would be painful to me, and a negative reflection on my ability to act as their teacher. Not wanting to place themselves or my teaching position in jeopardy, I believe these students began to self-manage their behavior and create an environment where everyone could be heard and be successful. By developing a trust relationship

with the participants, they became motivated by the rules of friendship rather than by the rules of domination.

Allowing students to direct the topics chosen for study also encouraged their interest, participation, and self-discipline. I recalled the words of Kohl (1988) who writes that,

Decent nonviolent discipline will only be effective in a learning environment where interesting things are happening. There is an essential relationship between the quality of content and the use of nonpunitive discipline strategies in any learning situation. Effective discipline is dependent upon building an attractive and comfortable world that children don't want to be excluded from. . . (p. 157).

The teacher-dominated classroom has been a standard model in American public schools. This, however, presents an obstacle to the implementation of critical pedagogy, and to the academic and social advancement of minority students, for many reasons. First, if teachers do not share with students the power to make their own decisions about their learning, and respect the knowledge they have to offer others, students will remain dominated and unmotivated in the classroom. Freire (1970) claims that this situation leads to massification, or the use of education for reproduction of dominant viewpoints.

Positivist, one-way teaching tends to exclude students from owning or sharing power and voice in the classroom. For example, while reading a Weekly Reader (1995) article entitled, "Drunken Driving," Ann delivered a lengthy monologue on the ills of alcohol abuse. Unfortunately, this left no time for the students to discuss their views and experiences or reflect on the issue in a

critical fashion. As a result, the lesson subjected students to the teacher's knowledge and to the knowledge of the text, but did not allow them to create or reflect on their own understandings of the issue. Critical pedagogy seeks to transform this kind of transfer-education which is, too often, the reality in American classrooms.

Germane to the theme of power and knowledge in schools is the question: "Can empowerment skills be taught?" Evidence from this research offers an affirmative answer to this question. At the end of the problem posing activities, I asked the students if they would share their learning about Vietnamese immigration and Maj. Nguyen Quy An's deportation struggles with the whole class group. I offered the option to defer from this public speaking assignment, but each child willingly agreed to participate. The bonus to this instructional victory was that after our meeting, Van approached me privately to ask if I could arrange for someone to help her with her speech, begging that I not disclose to the others that she had made that request. The fact that Van felt secure enough to voice her needs to an authority-figure, showed that a positive trust in our teacher-student relationship had been established through our problem posing interactions. Van demonstrated that she was learning to advocate for herself, and indicated that the skills of empowerment can be taught in the school setting, provided a positive and trusting teacher-student relationship is established.

Culture and Race

The push for multicultural and bilingual education has been advocated in both traditional and radical educational literature (Giroux, 1991). Giroux (1991) strongly maintains that educators go beyond multicultural appreciation in the curriculum and adopt

. . .an anti-racist pedagogy [that does] . . .more than reconceptualize the political and pedagogical struggle over race, ethnicity, and difference as merely part of the language of critique. It must retrieve and reconstruct possibilities for establishing the basis for a progressive vision that makes schooling for democracy and critical citizenship an unrealized yet possible reality. (Giroux, 1991. p. 226)

Cummins (1988) says that anti-racist pedagogy assumes that:

The basic argument presented is that the goal of equality of educational opportunity can be realized *only when* policy-makers, educators and communities acknowledge the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) forms of institutionalized discrimination that permeate the structure of schools *and mediate* the interactions between educators and students. (p. 51, emphasis added)

While observing the fifth-grade classroom from which I drew my research participants, I often felt that in practicing the emancipatory teaching of critical problem posing, I was merely throwing a grain of sand into a sea of water. By that I mean that the small attempts made by teachers to advance the academic and social successes of LMS can easily be diffused by gaps in administrative programming which continue to exacerbate their challenges. For example, Dell Elementary School followed an English immersion program model which serviced linguistic minorities and academically challenged students through short, pull-out sessions with special bilingual and RSP teachers. The lack of effectiveness of

this programming was evidenced in many separate cases. For example, one fifth-grade child was pulled daily for a thirty-minute session by a reading specialist (RSP), yet she still could not read from a first grade primer. A Vietnamese boy came to our class during my observation assignment with no English language skills. He was added to a small group of five children who received Vietnamese bilingual pullout services three times a week for thirty minutes. Though he was assigned a peer buddy, he was given no other in-class support and spent most of his time at the back of the room unable to participate in the whole class activities. Another non-English speaking, Vietnamese child in a similar situation, vented his frustration by making one of his first written English words, a four-letter obscenity which he engraved on his desk-top. Three students were part of a Spanish bilingual tutorial session held three times a week for thirty minutes: One of these was also a non-reader. Numerous students in the class were unable to perform simple math problems at a third-grade level, but no special math tutorials were offered.

These were some of the discouraging educational gaps that existed at my research site which easily undermined the baby steps toward empowerment that I was trying to accomplish through problem posing activities. Frustrated by the inequity of this service system, I asked a teacher at Dell if non-readers would be advanced into middle school in the coming year or placed in an alternative educational setting. I was told that the district never, even at the request of

parents, retained students because it "damaged their self-esteem," and that no alternative setting could be funded. With this information, I concluded that Cummins' (1989) statement regarding the need to reconstruct America's educational system would have to begin with the realization that students of difference are *not* being adequately or equally serviced in schools. Further, policy-makers must recognize that anti-racist education does not mean celebrating diversity through multicultural lessons in the traditional curricular sense. True anti-racist education requires that non-English speaking and academically challenged students be given support through full-time bilingual or trained ESL teachers and programs.

Ironically, complaints about these service "gaps" are rarely voiced by Asian minority parents (Takaki, 1989). Two possible reasons were revealed to me during this research. First, the Asians' cultural respect for education and authority caused most parents and students to accept the decisions made by school teachers and administrators. Secondly, the Vietnamese and other refugee minorities considered themselves lucky to be in America and reticent to criticize those offering them a free education. At one point in our discussion around the question, "what is unfair about schools," three of my Vietnamese participants could not voice a single unfair school practice. If critical teachers led discussions around problematic issues, they could model the language of critique

and the skills of challenge which their students could use to "read the word and world" with clearer vision (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Voice in Schools and Society

I found that my Vietnamese participants readily recognized and named social problems such as graffiti, gang violence, and homelessness. I surmised that they had learned the language around these issues through discussions conducted in their classroom exercises or in the media. When asked to voice problems related to their experiences in school, however, they would or could not voice problems related to instructional quality or administrative rules. A lack of attention given to student opinions in the operation of the classroom and in student government can perpetuate student silence regarding school issues. Holding weekly classroom meetings to discuss rules and problems is a strategy that can be used by critical teachers to teach students to take responsibility and participate in their learning. Teachers need to learn how to share power and decision-making with their students in order to uncover the discomforting realities in school, and thus leading them in transforming those realities.

Another way in which student voice might be developed is to encourage different views and perspectives to be investigated openly in the classroom. In the research group setting, the students were told that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions posed. I tried to avoid indicating that responses were either ones that I wanted to hear or ones that I considered "incorrect." In my journal, I wrote of the difficulty in achieving this neutral teacher stance by

writing that, "I'm trying not to indicate right responses, but it's hard !" The need for formal training and practice in these critical teaching skills is needed in the professional development of new and existing teachers.

In order for schools to change, their realities must be uncovered and confronted by all participants. Teachers must mediate an exchange of ideas that unveils problems and their underlying issues. Public forums need to be held to teach students the skills of challenge and the language of critique. For example, when Dell students petitioned the administration for the re-instatement of nation ball, it afforded a perfect opportunity for the administration to show their respect for student voice and challenge by publicly commending the students for their active participation in student government. Instead, administrators simply accepted the petition and quietly reinstated the game. Silence, in this case, sent the message that dissidents would not be celebrated by school administrators.

Voice is directly connected to the development of cultural and critical literacy. These terms imply that reading and writing are social and cultural transactions, which result in knowledge that is individually mediated, constructed, and unique (Williams & Snipper, 1990). Because standard textbooks rely upon the commonly shared background and beliefs of majority readers, their classroom use can impair the learning of students with different cultural referents (Giroux, 1983). Peregoy and Boyle (1994) write that by using multicultural literature and reading response groups, students can be taught that "there is no one single

interpretation of any story. . . in fact there will usually be many different views of stories" (p. 119).

In the research group readings and discussions on immigration and deportation, the participants were guided through interactive DR-TA which prompted the asking of questions such as, "Does this seem fair?" In the problem posing process, students experience the recursive and rigorous reflections that challenge their thinking and attitudes and help them to see issues from different perspectives. By deconstructing texts through critical study and dialogue, problem posing can help students "make meaning by linking the symbols on the page with real-world knowledge and then considering what the text means for generating new ideas and actions not explicitly written or 'said' in the text" (Williams & Snipper, 1990, p. 9). In this way, cultural and critical literacy skills can advance the empowerment and voice of students in the problem posing instructional setting.

Instructional Insights

My experiences in problem posing offered insights into some of the possibilities and limitations to its use in the area of LMS empowerment education. These observations and conclusions are presented below.

Possibilities of Critical Problem Posing

Positive Teacher-Student Relationship

The most powerful affect of problem posing concerns the direct change it brings to the teacher-student relationship and the indirect advantages that such a

change could bring to student achievement. Cummins (1989) writes that "discriminatory structures are manifested in the interactions that minority students and communities experience with individual educators" (p. 51).

When critical teachers place themselves on the same level as their students, two important changes occur in the teacher-student relationship. First, teachers become co-learners in the learning process. This is important because it diffuses the power structure that has dominated classrooms over the past centuries. The power shift elevates the status of the minority student to a level of importance and respect. I believe that this new-found status can have positive affects on academic participation, motivation, and achievement.

The second element of change that results from the co-learning and sharing in problem posing is that this process permits teachers to be seen as human beings who care about their students' lives and learning. This single transformation could potentially change the way discipline is handled and motivation is achieved in public elementary schools. According to Kohl (1988) traditional public schooling fosters an authoritative hierarchy by demanding that teachers remain distanced from their students:

Another mistake [I made] was fraternizing with students. I said hello to every youngster I passed. . .after a while some children began asking me questions about myself or telling me the neighborhood or school gossip. I didn't realize it made the other teachers as well as the administrators around the school angry to see me chatting with the students, and it wasn't until I left the school. . .that the principal. . . [said that my conduct displayed] unprofessional behavior that contributed to the breakdown of discipline and respect and

could not be allowed in an orderly school. (pp. 27-28)

This long-held view of the teacher-student relationship has served to maintain the hierarchical status-quo that exists in schools and society. When teachers become respected as mentors and advocates, they will be empowered to be encouragers and motivators to their students.

Collaborative Learning

Henkin and Nguyen (1981) maintain that Vietnamese students are not as independently motivated as their American counterparts, and generally prefer group efforts that resemble the support found in the family setting. The problem posing methodology lends itself to small group, collaborative work which mimics the caring atmosphere of community and family. Further, through dialogical practice, students can feel free to take risks in voicing their opinions and feelings. Williams and Snipper (1990), believe that such skills can foster social reform and personal empowerment because in the outer society, "Those who have a voice in their community receive what they ask for. . . Those without a voice can't even ask" (p. 11).

Democratic Empowerment

The reproductive functions of schooling have been well established throughout the history of American education (Spring, 1989). Schools teach students the skills and ideals that have been chosen by those in power (Apple & Beyer, 1982; Spring, 1989). If the goal of empowerment education is to teach

students to realize the ideals of freedom, equality, and democracy in their lives and in society, then it is important that school curriculum and teachers model those ideals. When teachers honor students as human individuals with inalienable rights, they model the kind of democracy upon which the United States was built.

Limitations of Critical Problem Posing

There is no single methodology that can transform an existing educational system. Critical problem posing is no exception to that rule. Problem posing must be introduced to teachers in the context of existing educational traditions, curriculum, and administrative framework, each presenting its own obstacles to the implementation of critical pedagogy.

Teaching Standardized Curriculum

There is great pressure in the school system to teach subjects deemed important to the maintenance of society's economic, political, and social institutions (Spring, 1989). For this reason, many teachers are held to a traditional curriculum by quantitative learning measurements such as standardized tests. Few teachers have the creativity, time, or freedom to devise whole curriculums around critical teaching practice such as was done by Sylvester (1994). Although teachers can seize opportunities in their regular teaching to develop problematic topics that surface incidentally, this strategy can interrupt their long-term goals and be criticized by unsympathetic administrators. At one point in my research, I

the library. I remember feeling uncomfortable practicing critical teaching with my students, especially when other teachers passed our table. I was afraid that they would misunderstand critical teaching for anti-American propagandizing, knowing that few teachers at this site had an understanding of liberatory instruction.

Intimidation and political alienation are the risks of radical teaching which teachers must weigh against the gains in student achievement and democratic empowerment.

The Lack of Teacher Time and Funding

The lack of time for planning and implementing critical problem posing in the elementary setting has been discussed in previous chapters. The teacher is unaware of what topic might surface from group discussions, therefore little planning or materials-gathering can take place in advance of the generative phase. This can be very limiting to teachers who are stressed for time at school, or in their personal lives. Operating in a system that lacks financial incentives for these additional efforts, is another serious limitation.

Finally, a great deal of creative energy must be expended in the development of a problem posing topic. Students, especially second language learners, need the stimulation of hands-on activities and interesting prompts in order to become fully engaged in the rigor of the process. Simply providing readings on generative topics will not result in the rich dialogue that spurs critical reflection, language, and learning. The expertise needed to create critical lessons requires training and professional development. Critical educators also

need time for peer collaboration and support to further facilitate their implementation of problem posing lessons.

Positivist Educational Traditions

An underlying obstacle to critical problem posing exists in our history of technical schooling and its dominant-ruled administrative practices. The structure of the existing school system promotes a hierarchy of power and voice in schools. Teachers are required to follow rules derived from administrative policy and expectations. Classroom orderliness and silence, student obedience and conformity, and dominating, "teacherly behaviors" are traditional requirements of the profession. The standards of critical teaching oppose many of these traditional expectations. Critical pedagogy seeks to re-order the power hierarchy in schools by encouraging a bottoms-up educational model. In critical teaching, students are regarded as knowledge-holders and constructors, and are encouraged to collaborate and dialogue in the classroom. This idea upsets the standards of traditional classrooms which seek orderly silence and one-way teaching. Critical teachers are regarded as facilitators who show respect for students as human beings and able learners. The challenge of making these changes at all levels of the power hierarchy, has become a formidable limitation to the success of critical pedagogy.

Seeing schools from the inside unveils many grim realities of racism, class and economic reproduction, and authoritative and oppressive classroom practice

(Kozol, 1992). In order to be freed from repeating these historic traditions, educators must reflect on and critique present practice. Critical problem posing has the potential to move us closer to this ideal, but it requires that teachers and administrators give up some of their power and control in the process. When the classroom can be made an autonomous and altruistic place of knowledge construction and seeking, the limitations of radical innovations such as problem posing can be overcome.

Tomorrow's Vision

The observations described in this study have affirmed the existence of many of inequalities and inequities in schools. In addition, this study has added to the body of literature on critical pedagogy, especially in the stories of learning and growth revealed by the Vietnamese immigrant elementary students who participated in the problem posing activities. The insights derived from the dialogues, journal writings, and personal interactions of these participants support the postmodern vision of critical educational practice in the education of America's growing language minority student population.

Understanding that schools are a reflection and tool of the wider society, I have concluded that the necessity for change must begin in America's economic, political, and social arenas. But, who are the students being trained to enter those powerful social institutions? The literature indicates that European,

dominant students have traditionally been chosen and trained for these roles.

Williams and Snipe (1990) have concluded that:

. . . forms of school-reinforced behavior have varied according to the particular social class of each group of students. From the lower classes, the stress has been on docility, the self-discipline needed to perform repetitive tasks, and respect for authority. From those of higher classes, it has been on verbal or analytical skills and reasoning. (p. 6)

I believe that if educators consistently taught minority students advanced academic and empowerment skills, the future vision of America would move closer to the ideals of democracy in a multiracial society.

The empowerment goals of critical pedagogy begin with the success of individual students learning to learn, learning to voice, and learning to participate in the making of their world. These empowerment skills, however, must be modeled and taught in the school curriculum. A possible reason why empowerment education has not moved into school practice is that it poses a political threat to the dominance of the white, middle-class, ruling majority. Raising the consciousness of teachers, administrators, and political and economic community leaders to this reality is a primary goal of postmodern reformers.

Transforming education through dialogic and critical practice is another goal of the empowerment movement which must begin in the area of teacher training and professional development. I believe that teachers should be screened, psychologically and through personality profiles, before they are accepted into

the field. New and existing teachers who have highly controlling personalities need more supervision to insure that collaborative and democratic teaching occurs in their classrooms. I also believe that teachers should attend compensated, periodic re-training, in light of the rapid changes in demography and educational research that have dramatically affected the field over the past decade.

The need for more research and education in critical teaching strategies is important to the realization of the postmodern vision and one of the goals of this piece of critical social research. In addition, critical reformers hope to break down the wall of resistance that maintains traditional teaching methods and obstructs the movement toward democratic empowerment teaching in America's public elementary school classrooms. It is further hoped that future critical teacher-researchers will endeavor to practice and chronicle problem posing activities in their elementary language minority classrooms. Although this can be exhausting and time-consuming work, the gains in academic growth and political efficacy for both teachers and students, help to make the problem posing methodology a valuable educational investment.

The final insight of this study is that individual teachers can play a vital role in the transformation of public education for the twenty-first century. In the postmodern role of co-learner, friend, advocate, and critical mentor, tomorrow's educators can help change the lives and futures of America's language minority

students. If postmodern teachers gain the power to challenge traditional educational practice and win a critical empowerment role in the classroom, I believe they could realize the utopian vision of education pictured in the words of Cummins (1989):

Students who are empowered by their interactions with educators experience a sense of control over their own lives and develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity and appropriate strategies for accessing the information or resources they require in order to carry out academic tasks to which they are committed. In other words, through their role of empowering students, individual educators represent a major force in reversing school failure among minority students. (p. 4)

EPILOGUE

When I began, I had only memories
of low voices in other tongues.
I never questioned the silence
trapped in pain-filled eyes.

I was innocent and they would
protect me from Otherness.
Quietly we smiled and hid
the urge to be ourselves.

When I began, I had doubts
that old wounds could be lanced
with queries and voice: That's
not how it was for me.

I learned obedience and conformity.
They taught those lessons from
podiums and never heard me
scream behind my lowered head.

When I began to read of freedom,
I heard the voice within begin to
speak! It asked a lifetime of whys?
and why not?

I soared on wings of hope until I met
Reality. I saw their silence, just
like mine. I felt their sadness
and their Otherness.

To love them *and* the learning;
give up ourselves for just a
day. Float on their adoration,
find their voices hidden away.

Can't we finish this domination?
Offer space to speak and say,
why? and why not? End the
silence and begin again.
(Sugishita, 1995)

The research study which is described in these pages began two years ago when I first confronted the radical writings of Giroux (1983, 1991, 1992), Freire (1970, 1973, 1987), Shor (1987, 1992), Doll (1993) and other postmodern critical educational theorists. My historical biography, however, traces an earlier beginning to my personal journey into critical educational theory. Years before, as I raised my own small children, I discovered an internal discomfort with dominant, status-quo reproductive education and chose to gift my own children with early training in their Japanese cultural history. After having studied the literature on minority education and postmodern empowerment pedagogy, I am thankful that my own childhood memories of silence and shame in being Japanese, were not passed on to my children.

I pursued this study in the hope of finding a way to break the silence-of-difference among ethnic minority students in American public elementary schools. I found that the pursuit of empowerment education is shackled by dominant traditions and power. I also found that many teachers, many of whom are members of the dominant power structure, perpetuate silence by demanding that children learn only the knowledge that has been mandated by schools and society. Educators also administer programs that destroy the spirit of learning and joy in many non-English speaking children. In doing so, teachers destroy their own love of children and the profession, as well as their responsibility to empower children with skills to build successful lives in American society.

My journey into schools tempered my original hopes, but did not destroy them. The children kept my vision alive. The privilege of working with the adoring and intelligent individuals with whom I shared this journey, inspired me to want to move aggressively in the direction of critical empowerment education. I cringe to think how easily children are destroyed by teachers who are experiencing personal frustrations and exhaustion. I wonder how a system can ignore the non-English speaking child who, day after day, sits in the back of the classroom without the language to allow participation in the education offered to those around him.

Vision should not be blurred by extreme altruism or radical negativism. Rather, clarity comes from following the steps of critical evaluation, dialogue, reflection, and change. This was the course I followed in this critical social research study. I had to confront who I was, as a person and as an educator, and the realities that existed in my profession and in the outer society. I endured many days of discouragement and discomfiting disequilibrium. But, as I close this research story and reflect on my growth and transformation, I am thankful for having been enlightened by my discomfort and for having really known the students with whom I worked and whose voices and smiles I will always remember.

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APPENDIX A-1

LESSON PLAN: Introducing Dialogue Journals

Subject: Language Arts, Literature
Subject Aspect: Journal and letter writing

Goal: Obtain student background data

Objectives:

1. Conditions: Use literature book as prior knowledge to introduce and discuss dialogue journaling
2. Content: To understand that journaling is a way of getting to know oneself and others
3. Behavior: Make a journal entry that begins a dialogue on personal background, beginning with questions asked about the teacher.

Materials:

1. Five new journal notebooks
2. The book, Dear Mr. Henshaw, Beverly Cleary
3. Tape recorder
4. Stickers for journals

Introduction: Ask if anyone has ever had a pen pal? Was it fun?

Instruction:

1. Talk about what the children think of the book, Dear Mr. Henshaw. Discuss the relationship that Leigh Botts has with the author, Mr. Henshaw (teacher-student relationship).
2. Ask them if they know what a pen pal is and whether they think it might be fun to have a pen pal. Talk about letter writing style and format. Talk about the difference between writing letters and writing research papers. Talk about the difference between diary journals and dialogue journals.
3. Explain that you would like to be their new pen pal and that they could start a book modeled after Dear Mr. Henshaw, but called Dear Mrs. S.
4. Read or have the children read "September 20" on page 7. Tell the students that in the entry they will write today, marked with today's date, they can include list of 2-3 questions addressed to

the teacher, asking about her life as a teacher, student, mother, etc. Tell them you will try to answer them by the next day of journaling, Wednesday, 3/8/95.

5. Activity: Give the children time to write their names on their journals and write their first entry modeled after "September 20". Collect the journals.
6. Closure: Ask the students if they could bring pictures of their families, pets, neighborhoods, relatives, friends, or things that interest them for Wednesday.

APPENDIX A-2

LESSON PLAN: Sharing About Ourselves

Subject: Background Information through Language Arts
Subject Area: Writing and oral language

Objectives:

1. Conditions: By discussing our pictures and other things brought in to share,
2. Content: the students will find out more about each other
3. Behavior: by engaging in paired and group oral sharing

Materials:

1. Pictures, realia, personal items from home
2. Stickers
3. Poster Tablet and pens
4. Tape recorder
5. Journals and pencils
6. Dear Mr. Henshaw

Introduction:

Tell the students that you enjoyed answering their journal letters and give them time to read your responses and write.

Lesson Activities:

1. Share your personal pictures, etc.
2. Ask students to share their personal pictures
3. Ask students to read aloud "November 20" on pages 14-15
4. Discuss the two questions posed:
 - a. "Who are you?"—discuss the statement, "I am just a plain boy. This school doesn't say I am Gifted and Talented, and I don't like soccer very much the way everybody at this school is supposed to. I am not stupid either". Ask, how does the school figure out if you're gifted? What does Leigh mean that he is supposed to like soccer? Who determines what we are supposed to like? Why does Leigh have to say that he's not stupid? Who says that he is stupid?
 - b. "What do you look like?"—"I am sort of medium. . . kids used to call me Leigh the Flea. . . I guess you could call

- me the mediumest boy in class." Discuss name-calling and fitting in. Ask, "What does it take to fit into school?" society?
5. Show the two questions on the poster board. Ask students to discuss how they might answer these questions. Ask them to answer those questions in their journals.
 6. **Closure:** Recap things to think about regarding school and society.

APPENDIX A-3**LESSON PLAN:**
What is your family like?

Subject: Language Arts, Literature
Subject Aspect: Journaling, reporting

Goal: Obtain student background data

Objectives:

1. Conditions: Use literature book as prior knowledge to introduce and discuss the question: what is your family like?
2. Content: To listen for information and report information on a partner
3. Behavior: Report on a partner's family

Materials:

1. Five journal notebooks (hand these out in large group journaling time)
2. The book, Dear Mr. Henshaw, Beverly Cleary
3. Tape recorder
4. Stickers for journals
5. Poster board
6. Reporter's lists

Introduction: Ask if everyone has seen "Superman" on television. What is Clark Kent and Lois Lane's job? Talk about what it takes to be a good reporter.

Instruction:

1. Have volunteers read "September 22" on page 16-17. Tell them that today we're going to find out more about our own families. Pair the students and explain that they are going to take turns being a reporter. They will each have five minutes to find write down the information about what our families are like. Then each person will report that information to the group.
2. Refer to the questions on the poster board.
3. Hand out the reporter's list of questions.
4. After giving the students time to get information, let them report on their partners.

5. **Closure:** Return their journals. Tell them that on Friday morning, they can journal on anything they would like to. Would they like to ask me more questions about my research project and what they think of their work in the group so far. On Friday, tell them that you will be recording personal interviews to talk about their journaling for the week.

APPENDIX A-4**LESSON PLAN:
Game: More Leigh Botts Questions!**

Subject: Language Arts, Literature

Subject Aspect: Journaling, reporting

Goal: Obtain student background data

Objectives:

1. Conditions: Use literature book as prior knowledge to introduce and discuss Leigh Botts' questions.
2. Content: To share information about oneself
3. Behavior: By playing the game

Materials:

1. Five journal notebooks (hand these out in large group journaling time)
2. The book, Dear Mr. Henshaw, Beverly Cleary
3. Tape recorder
4. Game and tokens
5. Poster board

Introduction: When Mr. H. asks Leigh Botts questions, what information does he want? (to know more about Leigh)

Instruction:

1. Why is it important for teachers to know about their students?
2. Introduce the game and rules
3. Play the game
4. **Closure:** Return their journals. Tell them that you will see them again next Wednesday. Reporters can share what they learned about their partners on Wednesday.

APPENDIX A-5

LESSON PLAN: Getting Information: Using petitions to activate change

Subject: Language Arts, Social studies

Subject Aspect: Reporting and petitioning

Goal: Understanding that asking questions is an important part of discovering problems and building understanding between people: learning the language of critique and petitions are a means of activating change to help solve problems

Objectives:

1. Conditions: By asking their partners the questions on the interview sheets
2. Content: The students will practice gathering and reporting information
3. Behavior: Students will report on the information gained from their partners and write in their journals about initiating petitions to change something that they see as a problem

Materials:

1. Five journal notebooks (hand these out in large group journaling time)
2. Tape recorder
3. Poster board to brainstorm words
6. Reporter's Questions #2

Introduction: Last week when we talked about steps to forming a community action organization, the idea of talking to find out information and making petitions to change situations surfaced. Talk about **asking questions** to gather information and brainstorm about the use of **petitions to initiate change**

Important Words: Change, Talk/Communication, Questions, Reporting, Petitions

Instruction:

1. Complete reporting of personal information sheets in partners
2. Report on information to group
3. Journal about a petition you might want to start
4. **Closure:** Review the importance of asking questions in order to gather information (understand needs and problems) and initiate change (petition)

APPENDIX A-6**LESSON PLAN:
Reading About the Immigration Issue**

Subject: Language Arts, Social studies

Subject Aspect: Immigration Law

Goal: Reading about an important issue from a news article

Objectives:

1. Conditions: By reading the news article,
2. Content: The students will gather more information about an issue of interest and concern to them
3. Behavior: The students will write their reflections on their reading in their journal

Materials:

1. Five journal notebooks (hand these out in large group journaling time)
2. Tape recorder
3. Poster board to review vocabulary words
4. Newspaper Article: "End of a Dream," SJMN, 3/17/95

Instruction:

1. Introduce the article: theme of immigration
2. Discuss key vocabulary
3. Read the article together
4. Journal about the issue discussed: what are your feelings about what you read and discussed today?
5. **Closure:** Review the importance this issue in the community and in your life? Note that you will continue to read this article tomorrow

APPENDIX A-7**LESSON PLAN:
"Kids Back War Hero"**

Subject: Language Arts, Social studies

Subject Aspect: Deportation

Goal: Understand how deportation affects people in the community

Objectives:

1. Conditions: By interactively reading the article, "Kids Back War Hero" from SJMN, 3/17/95
2. Content: the students will become familiar with deportation and how it has affected Major An, a Vietnamese war hero
3. Behavior: and write their understandings of the article on the sheet, "What you should know about Major An"

Materials:

1. Five journal notebooks
2. Tape recorder
3. News article, "Kids Back War Hero"
4. Vocabulary Lists
5. Worksheets, "What you should know about Maj. An"
6. Poster board with the names of Maj. An and Col. Masuoka and with the word "deportation" and "repatriation"

Introduction: Introduce the Subject of Deportation (and how it differs from repatriation). Discuss Major An and Colonel N. Masuoka's deportation story

Instruction:

1. Review the vocabulary words
2. Interactive reading aloud
3. Work in groups to complete the forms
4. Share the answers
5. **Closure:** Have the kids journal about what they learned about the deportation story today and add any questions to those they wrote on Fri. Remind the students to journal during the regular journaling time on Tuesday.

APPENDIX A-8

LESSON PLAN: Whole Class Introduction

Name: Judy Sugishita
Time: 9:00 a. m.
Length: 45 minutes
Grade: Fifth

SUBJECT: Social Studies and Geography
Subject Aspect: Vietnam and immigration/deportation issues

OBJECTIVE

Conditions: After discussing the geographical area of Vietnam and Major An, a Vietnamese war hero being affected by U.S. immigration and deportation laws,
Content: The students will understand Major An's plight
Behavior: And be able to write further questions to ask him on his visit.

MATERIALS

Large, magnetized cutouts of Vietnam and surrounding parts of Asia
 Large, magnetized cutouts of words describing geographic areas
 Large, magnetized cutouts of the words: immigration law and deportation to direct discussion
 Large, magnetized cutouts of the words: Col. Masuoka and Maj. An
 5x7 cards for students to write questions

ANTICIPATORY SET

After putting up a labelled cutout shape of China, attach an unlabelled cutout of Vietnam to the China cutout and ask the students to guess what country it might be.

PROCEDURE

- I. Explain the the geography puzzle rules game:
 - a. Each table is labelled and has one chance to respond for 10 pts
 - b. If the table members do not answer correctly, any quiet hand can gain 10 pts. for their table

- c. Shouting out answers will cause a deduction of 10 pts
- d. One warning will be give (-) for tables that are too loud
- e. Everyone is given 3 minutes to look at the atlas and study the shapes and locations of countries surrounding Vietnam and near the East and South China Seas, and the Indian and Pacific Oceans

2. Play the puzzle game.

- a. First put up China
- b. Second put up Vietnam.
 - 1. Ask for the sections of the country: No. and So Vietnam
 - 2. Ask for the line that divides the country: 17th Parallel
 - a. Explain a brief history: 1954 at the Geneva Conference the country was divided into Communist North, under Ho Chi Minh and non-Communist south under Premier Ng Dinh Diem
 - b. In 1964 the U.S. Congress passed a resolution giving President Johnson power to act in the national interest in Southeast Asia: that year he sent over 200,000 troop and by 1968 over 500,000 were in Vietnam
 - c. Many protests were held in the U.S. during the 1970's and finally in 1973 a ceasefire agreement was signed in Paris by Pres. Nixon.
 - d. In 1975 the southern government fell to the Communists and Saigon became Ho Chi Minh City.
 - e. Briefly talk about resettlement camps
 - 1. INTRODUCE THE TERMS "immigration" "repatriation" and "deportation"
 - Immigration: come into a new country to settle
 - Repatriation: return to the country you were born in
 - Deportation: in another country and returned home
- c. Put up Laos (green)
- d. Put up Thailand (blue) in 1994 held 6,121 asylum-seekers
- e. Put up Cambodia (red) in 1994 held
- f. Malaysia (red) 5,339
- g. Singapore (brown) 98
- h. Korea

- i. Hong Kong (black on yellow) 24,310 held
 - J. Put up islands of Japan (481)
 - k. Put up islands of Phillipines: 3,330
 - l. Put up islands of Indonesia 6,618
3. Introduce the topics discussed by the Research Group and that through their input, we came upon the SJMN article on Major An
 4. Ask small group members to come forward and help tell Major An's story.
 5. Ask students if they have any QUESTIONS FOR THE GROUP
 6. Give out certificates of Appreciation to group members
 7. Brainstorm some questions they might like to ask Major An
Ask students to offer examples of questions that would be inappropriate or too personal to ask.
 8. Close: By telling the students that Col. Masuoka has agreed to bring Major An to our school to talk with us and that we will write some questions down to ask them when they come.
 9. Pass out 3x5 cards
 10. *Put copies of the article on Major An out for students who finish their questions early.

EVALUATION OF STUDENT LEARNING

1. Pass of 3/5 cards on which to write questions
2. Circulate among students as they write their questions
3. Ask if anyone would like to share a question. Remind the students of those questions that would be inappropriate
4. Collect cards and check for appropriateness before returning to students

APPENDIX A-9**LESSON PLAN:****Culminating Activity: An and Masuoka Visit**

Name: Judy Sugishita

Time: 10:00 a. m.

Length: 60 minutes

Grade: Fifth

SUBJECT: Social Studies

Subject Aspect: Immigration Law and the Deportation of Maj. An

OBJECTIVE

Conditions: After listening to speakers, Col. Masuoka and Major An

Content: The students will understand the plight of Major An in his legal battle to remain in the United States under humanitarian parole,

Behavior: And demonstrate that understanding by writing a journal entry on their feelings about what the speakers discussed.

MATERIALS

- I. Videotape

ANTICIPATORY SET

Show the SJMN clipping and ask if anyone knows the story of Major An. Briefly tell about the article and the letters written by Ms. Nilssen's class and then tell the students that Col. Masuoka and Maj. An have come to visit our school today.

PROCEDURE

1. Introduce guests
2. Ask Col. Masuoka to explain how he came to help Major An
3. Introduce Major An and tell students to save their questions until the end
4. Major An tells his story
5. Ask students for questions
6. Close with thanks to speakers—deliver fruit baskets

APPENDIX A-10**LESSON PLAN:**
Thank You Letters and Scrapbooks

Name: Judy Sugishita
Time: 9:00 a. m.
Length: 45 minutes
Grade: Fifth

SUBJECT: Language Arts
Subject Aspect: Writing correspondence: Thank You letters

OBJECTIVE

- Conditions:** After discussing and reading a personal thank you letter and a business letter
- Content:** The students will understand the parts and variations in letters
- Behavior:** And demonstrate their understanding by writing thank you letter to Major An and Col. Masuoka and mounting them in a gift scrapbook.

MATERIALS

1. Dear Mr. Henshaw, Beverly Cleary
2. Poster sized letters
3. Special lined writing paper
4. Construction mounting paper and tag board to make a scrapbook
5. Glue and felt tip pens

ANTICIPATORY SET

Ask the students if they know what is different about Dear Mr. Henshaw in terms of the way the story is told? (it is in letter/diary form)

PROCEDURE

1. Explain that letters are for communication—write that word on the chalk board. Ask if anyone can find the root of the word and underline it. Ask if anyone knows what the root word means?
Commune: to share
Communicate: to give or exchange information or messages

2. Tell them that there are different ways to communicate with each other in writing: Name them books, reports, letters, fax
3. Tell them that today we are looking at a special way of communicating in writing that will help them with two of their homework assignments this week: What is it? **LETTER WRITING**= correspondence is communication by letters.
Root word: respond is to "answer or reply"
Prefix: Co is "together" such as in coherent: sticking together
4. Ask students to come up with different kinds of correspondence: Apology, thanks, invitation, congratulations, get well, greetings, information request, receipt. Write them on the white board
5. Tell them that all of these letters have some **COMMON FEATURES** and I am going to show you the skeleton of a letter and let's see how many common features you already know.
 - a. date: with or without the year
 - b. Forms of address: ask them for other kinds of form of address, other than "dear". Read page 18: Write them on the board.
 - b. Body: Talk about the body paragraphs: tell them that in a moment we are going to talk about a particular kind of letter body
 - c. Closure: refer to Mr. Henshaw to find different closures Ask them to get out their Henshaw books and find other ways Leigh closes his letters
 - d. After note: Refer to Mr. Henshaw for after note examples. (pages 5 and 12) Define "P.S." and enclosure.
4. Ask what the **CORRESPONDENCE** assignments are for this week.
5. Ask them if anyone can find two thank you letters that Leigh wrote to Mr. Henshaw. Pages 58 and 91.
 - a. Ask them to read the first paragraph on page 91.
 - b. explain that he is not only thanking him, but referring to things he learned in the letter by using some verbs such as "surprised" "think" "understand" "can see" "suppose"
6. "So, one of your assignments was to write to Maj. An. Let's talk about our visit from yesterday for a moment."
 - a. Ask them if they enjoyed the visit by Col. Masuoka and to Maj. An.
 - b. Ask them what they liked about it. Put specifics on the board
 - b. Ask them what they learned. Write on white board
 - c. What they think —write on white board

7. Transfer some of these ideas into possible thank you letter sentences
8. Tell them that they will be writing thank you letters on their own.
 - a. If they have already written to Maj. An, they will work on a thank you letter to Col. Masuoka: Talk about him briefly
 - b. Explain that their letters are going to be saved in a scrapbook that we will make after they are finished and can go to the art center:
 - c. There should be no more than 4 people at the art center.
 - d. Show them how to mount their letters and how to finish a letter of the cover.
9. Close: Ask students to tell you what they are to do and write it on the white board.

APPENDIX B

**REPORTER'S QUESTIONS:
"WHAT IS YOUR FAMILY LIKE?"**

***Who lives at your house or apartment?**

***How many brothers and sisters do you have?**

***What kind of work does your dad do?**

***What kind of work does your mom do?**

***What is your neighborhood like? (Describe it in the person's own words, using quotation marks)** Example: Cherry said, "I like my neighborhood because. . ."

Reporter

Person being reported on

APPENDIX C

**REPORTER'S QUESTIONS #2:
WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE?**

**WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE IN YOUR HOME? (SUCH AS
RULES, CHORES, RELATIONSHIPS)**

**WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE IN THE WAY YOUR SCHOOL
RUNS?**

WHAT WOULD YOU LIKE MOST TO CHANGE IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

**DO YOU THINK MANY OTHERS WOULD SIGN A PETITION TO
CHANGE THE SAME THINGS IN YOUR SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY?**

Reporter's Name

Person who answered

APPENDIX D-1**LEIGH BOTTS' GAME QUESTIONS**

How many languages can you speak? What are they?

What language or languages do you speak at home? Can you also write in those languages?

Do you think it is important to be able to speak Vietnamese? Why or why not?

Do you think it is important to be able to speak English? Why or why not?

How long have you been in the United States? What are two things that you like most about school? What are two things that you like least about school?

United States? What are two things you like most about it and two things you don't like about the U.S.

When did your family come to the United States and how?

What Vietnamese traditions or celebrations does your family still do in the U.S. they did when they lived in Vietnam? (example, eat the same foods, same church, . . .)

APPENDIX D-1 Game Questions, con't

Would you like to move back to Vietnam one day? Why or why not?

Do you think that your parents or grandparents would like to return to live in Vietnam one day? Why or why not?

Does your father or mother have the same kind of job in the U. S. as they had in Vietnam?

What kind of work do you want to do when you grow up? Why?

If you were the President of the United States, what three things would you change and why?

What is the most unfair thing about the way things are: (1) in school? (2) at home? (3) in the United States?

If you were the teacher, how do you think you could teach students the best?

How does the U.S. government help people? How might it hurt individuals?

Has the U.S. government ever helped your family? In what ways? How might it help more people?

APPENDIX D-2
GAME RULES

GAME RULES
"MORE LEIGH BOTTS
QUESTIONS!"

1. PICK UP A CARD. YOU MAY ANSWER IT FOR A TOKEN OR YOU MAY PASS.
2. AFTER YOU ANSWER OR PASS ON A CARD, PUT IT AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PILE
3. IF YOU GET A 'FREE TICKET,' YOU WIN A FREE TOKEN
4. IF YOU GET A 'TRADE TICKET' YOU CAN HOLD IT AND A FUTURE CARD CAN BE HANDED OFF TO ANOTHER PLAYER OF YOUR CHOICE.

APPENDIX D-2 Game Rules, con't

5. IF YOU DRAW A CARD THAT
YOU HAVE ALREADY ANSWERED,
YOU GET A TOKEN.

APPENDIX E-1
"THE END OF A DREAM"

End of a dream

U.N. tells boat people to give up hope of asylum

A Vietnamese woman cries out from the roof of a bunkhouse at a Philippine detention camp — where more than 200 Vietnamese have spent years seeking asylum in the West — in a standoff in which many Vietnamese threatened to harm themselves.

Decision affects 50,000 Indochinese

Memorandum News Services

GENEVA — Signaling the end of a 20-year saga of exodus spawned by war, the United Nations said Thursday that 50,000 Vietnamese and Laotian boat people would have to forget their dreams of asylum in the West and return home.

Sadako Ogata, U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, told an

international conference on Indochinese refugees that migrants should not expect to be granted asylum after being denied refugee status and rejected for resettlement in Western countries.

"To those who still linger in the camps in the false hope of being resettled, I wish to say to them again: Do not lose any more time; seize your opportunity now and

return home as quickly as possible to take advantage of international assistance while it still lasts," Ogata said.

A joint declaration by 30 major member states said, "There is no option for these people other than repatriation."

The United States broke ranks over the fate of about 8,000 Lao-
See VIETNAMESE, Back Page

"There is no option for these people

other than repatriation."

■ Vet returns to Vietnam as the peaceful American.

— 2 —

APPENDIX E-1, "The End of a Dream," con't.

U.N. tells boat people to go home

■ VIETNAMESE

from Page 1A

tian migrants, saying they were true refugees who retained the right to resettle abroad. The Clinton administration said it was prepared to consider letting some immigrate to the United States.

The announcement came the same day that 272 Vietnamese were dragged from a Philippine detention camp, ending a standoff in which many had threatened to kill themselves rather than return to their homeland.

Witnesses at the camp in Morong, about 60 miles east of Manila, said they saw at least three men and an elderly woman bleeding from self-inflicted wounds to their hands or stomachs after they scrambled to the rooftops of their barracks and threatened suicide.

With fire trucks spraying them with water, the Vietnamese were dragged from the roofs by police officers carrying truncheons and crowbars.

Although the Philippine government succeeded in uprooting the refugees from the camp, it may face the same sort of violent protest if it moves to the next step — forcing them onto planes or boats bound for their home.

The Vietnamese are being transported by bus and boat to a larger camp on the southern Philippine island of Palawan, which

is expected to be their final stop before they are returned to Vietnam under an agreement between Manila and Hanoi.

The disturbing scene Thursday at the Morong camp could be repeated across Southeast Asia over the next several months as governments prepare to shut camps that now hold more than 46,000 Vietnamese and to force the occupants home. Almost half of the Vietnamese are detained in camps in Hong Kong.

Most of the Vietnamese who were removed Thursday from the Morong camp had traveled to the Philippines — some up to eight years ago — under a U.S. program that offered citizenship to the Amerasian children of American soldiers and their Vietnamese families. After arriving in the Philippines, they were dropped from the program because of allegations by U.S. immigration officers that the Vietnamese had falsified documents.

In preparation for their forced removal Thursday, the Philippine government sent about 400 police officers to the camp Wednesday.

After daylong negotiations Wednesday with the Vietnamese, the Philippine commander of the camp said he would delay their departure to Palawan for another week. But police officials said the extension was canceled by the Department of Interior in Manila and that police were ordered to evict the Vietnamese on Thursday.

day.

As ambulances and firetrucks surrounded them, Vietnamese women and children who had huddled on the roof of a two-story barracks wailed.

"We have been very kind to you, and you are embarrassing us by what you are doing," Lt. Col. Elnora Bernardino told them. "Do not force us to come and get you."

The U.N.-financed camp formally closed Dec. 31, and water and electricity were shut off to the Vietnamese who remained. They have survived since then on handouts from local farmers.

In February, Southeast Asian governments announced final plans to close the camps that have housed the more than 800,000 Vietnamese who fled their homeland after 1975. The closings mean that the 46,000 Vietnamese left in the camps today — those who have been unable to find third countries willing to accept them — will soon be compelled to return to Vietnam.

Forcing them home will be an ugly, possibly dangerous business, as tens of thousands of people are pushed or dragged onto planes headed for Vietnam, which many of them had hoped never to see again.

As the clock ticks down, violent outbreaks are becoming common in the camps. In Indonesia last June, two Vietnamese boat people set themselves on fire and died in

a protest over plans for their forced return to Vietnam.

Hundreds of Vietnamese in camps in Hong Kong have announced suicide pacts, and more than 200 were injured last April in a clash with the Hong Kong police after refusing to move to another camp in preparation for their forced return to Vietnam. There have been scores of cases of self-mutilation by Vietnamese who have insisted they would rather die than return home.

"Many of these incidents were carried out more with a view toward attracting attention than causing real harm," said Jahan-shah Asaad, director of the Hong Kong mission of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. "But we've had attempts at hanging, attempts at self-immolation."

If forced back, many Vietnamese will return to a country different from the one they left years ago. Vietnam has abandoned Marxist economics and embraced the free market. The economy is booming, with job opportunities unimaginable in the 1980s.

Vietnam remains an authoritarian country that imprisons political dissidents. But U.N. investigators who visited there say they found no credible evidence that any of the 68,000 asylum-seekers who have already returned home had faced harassment from the government. The Hanoi govern-

ment has vowed to treat the returning Vietnamese humanely.

While Vietnam's economic boom and the assurances of the United Nations should give comfort to those Vietnamese still held in the detention camps, many are still terrified about what they will confront if they return home.

When the boat people began pouring out of Vietnam after communist forces toppled the U.S.-backed government of South Vietnam in April 1975, they were met with sympathy, especially from the United States, which took in more than 1 million Vietnamese over the last 20 years.

But the West's sympathy has run out. Virtually all of the Vietnamese who have made it to Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian way stations in the 1990s have been labeled economic migrants — not refugees, a label that requires substantiated proof of fear of persecution in Vietnam — and were refused entrance to the United States and other countries.

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INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGE 1A
■ Vietnamese are waiting for My Lai massacre victims. M538

APPENDIX E-2**KEY VOCABULARY WORDS**
("End of a Dream, SJMN 3/17/95)
a long story

saga	a long story
asylum	a place of safety
migrants	someone who moves around a lot
rejected	to throw out
repatriation	to return to the country in which you were born
detention	to keep from going on (to detain)
self-inflicted:	to do to oneself
self-mutilate:	to injure oneself
self-immolate	to kill oneself as a sacrifice
truncheon	a police man's stick or billy club
allegations	an assertion or accusation without proof
falsified	to change illegally
negotiations	to discuss in order to agree
protest	to speak against
incidents	something that happens
dissident	people who disagree
harassment	to worry, attack, or torment continuously
humanely	to treat kindly
persecution	to afflict torment due to race, religion, political position

APPENDIX F-1 "KIDS BACK WAR HERO"

Kids backing S.J. war hero

Third-graders vow not to let ex-Vietnamese copier pilot be deported

BY KEN McLAUGHLIN
Mercury News Staff Writer

Nguyen Quy An, the former South Vietnamese helicopter pilot who may face deportation despite having saved four American lives, has garnered the support of thousands of Americans, from Vietnam veterans to President Clinton.

But Thursday, An met with some backers whom even Congress might not be able to ignore — 26 third-graders who say

they'll never let the U.S. government send him back to Vietnam.

"I won't let them," said 9-year-old Rachel Ringo, crossing her arms and flashing a sweet but stern look.

After reading about An's predicament, Rachel and her classmates at Danville's Greenbrook Elementary School all wrote Valentine's Day letters to An, who lost both arms in a U.S. combat mission a year after he braved North Vietnamese fire to rescue

four helicopter crewmen shot down over Laos.

An, 62, of San Jose, was so touched that he went to the school to thank the children. They bombarded him with questions about his helicopter, the war, his country and his daughter.

"They're cute, they're wonderful," An said after all 26 kids flocked around him and asked for

See VIET HERO, Page 2B

Daniel Sabalos, 8, receives an autograph Thursday from Vietnamese Maj. Nguyen Quy An. Nine-year-old Rachel Ringo waits her turn.

Third-graders rally around Viet hero

■ VIET HERO
from Page 1B

his autograph. He obliged by signing his name with his right hook.

The United States had originally denied An entry to a humanitarian program aimed at helping South Vietnamese military officers come to this country because he had not spent the required year in communist "re-education" camps. The technicality: He had been booted out of the camps after nine weeks because his captors decided he was useless without arms.

When retired U.S. Air Force Col. Noboru Masuoka of Sunnyvale learned of An's plight, he organized a lobbying effort that eventually caught the attention

of the White House. An was granted "humanitarian parole" and was whisked out of Vietnam on an Air Force jet with several U.S. senators.

But then another technicality emanated. Even the president can't overrule immigration law — and An didn't fit into an immigration niche necessary to be granted permanent residency status.

The third-graders couldn't understand this.

After their teacher, Lynn Nilsson, showed them a copy of the article as part of a reading exercise, "they were very touched and concerned and said, 'This is awful, this is unfair.' I asked them if they wanted to write our congressman, and they said, 'No,

we'd like to write Maj. An.'"

Wrote Marcus Lai: "I admire you, I think you are the bravest man I have heard of. I feel so sorry for your arms. I hope you stay here permanently."

Wrote Nathan Helton: "We need more people like you. Our whole class read about you and we all like you."

The kids liked writing the letters so much that they dashed off similar letters to Rep. Bill Baker, R-Walnut Creek. They also plan on writing Rep. Zoe Lofgren, D-San Jose, who has introduced legislation to allow An and his daughter to stay.

"I think it's a wonderful lesson," said Nilsson. "It gives them a feeling they can do something to help someone else."

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INSTRUCTIONS ON PAGE 2A
Full text of two letters to Maj. An 1988

APPENDIX F-2**KEY VOCABULARY WORDS
"KIDS BACK WAR HERO"**

rally	to give support
deportation	to force out of the country
garnered	to gather up
predicament	an unpleasant situation
bombarded	to attack with questions
humanitarian	helping people
technicality	a small point made important to an issue
lobbying	trying to get legislature to support a bill
parole	releasing a prisoner on good behavior
niche	a small place
permanent	intended to last a long time
residency	where one lives

APPENDIX G
THINGS WE NEED TO KNOW
ABOUT MAJOR AN

1. Who is Maj. An and what did he do during the Vietnam War? (par#1)
2. How did Maj. An lose his arms? (par #4)
3. Why did the United States originally deny An entry into the country? (par 7)
4. Who is Col. Noboru Masuoka and how did he help Maj. An? (par #8)
5. Now that Maj. An is in the U.S., why might he be deported back to Vietnam? (par #9)
6. What did Miss Nilssen's students do to help Maj. An and is daughter stay in the U.S.? (par #14)