



Context:

Southeast Asians & other newcomers in California's classrooms
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Context is published five times during the academic year as a way to provide staff with information and ideas concerning their newcomer students and parents. While the focus is on Southeast Asians, most articles and resources apply to other newcomer groups as well. District staff with LEP students receive a free subscription (contact Nguyet Tham at the Transitional English office). Compliance file clerks should place a copy in CON24.

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc. (TESOL) has posted draft standards for ESL on Center for Applied Linguistics' internet site (www.cal.org). Three samples from Goal 2 (English for achieving in subject areas) are in this article, selected for application to classrooms that have a variety of languages and proficiency levels.

ESL Standards

Reading, writing, math, science..... there are content and performance standards for these core curriculum subjects. What about English as a Second Language, both as a class and as a methodology? The national association of teachers of speakers of other languages has been at work. The standards specify the language skills that elementary and secondary school English learners need to become fully proficient in English, to have unrestricted access to grade-appropriate instruction in challenging academic subjects, and ultimately to lead rich and productive lives. These standards have been coordinated with other national standards, particularly for English language arts and foreign language. At the core of the three language standards is an emphasis on the importance of:

- language as communication
- language learning through meaningful and significant use
- the individual and societal value of bi- and multilingualism
- the role of ESL students' native languages in their English language and general academic development
- cultural, social and cognitive processes in language and academic development
- assessment that respects language and cultural diversity

Standards Framework

The ESL standards succeed in making no assumptions about the configuration of students; they work with classrooms that develop full proficiency in two languages as well as those that develop students' English while they are learning content. The framework is based on three goals for ESL learners at all age levels that include personal, social, and academic uses of English. Each goal is followed by the content standards associated with it. Following each standard are behavior descriptors of that standard.

Progress indicators are organized by grade level clusters. Because ESL students enter school at varied levels of English proficiency, the progress indicators also represent three proficiency levels of English (beginning, intermediate, advanced), and they take into account students with limited formal schooling in the native language.

Pre-K-3 Vignette

Grade Level:	Kindergarten in a regular class.
English Proficiency Level:	Various
Language of Instruction:	English.
Focus of Instruction:	Mathematics
Progress Indicators:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •ask a teacher to restate or simplify directions •join in a group response at the appropriate time •distribute and collect classroom materials •ask for assistance with a task

Background

The following vignette describes a kindergarten class in an urban school district. ESOL and non-ESOL students are present in the class which is taught by a monolingual English-speaking teacher who is trained to work with ESOL students. The class is multilingual and multiethnic, and the students have various levels of English language proficiency. Many of them are beginners with no previous schooling.

Instructional Sequence

Prior to this lesson the children have learned the labels for circle, square, rectangle and triangle, and have identified objects in the classroom that utilize these shapes. Today, Mrs. Olson is reading the story, *Friends*, by Alma Flor Ada to her class in a big book format. This is a story of how the little circles, the little rectangles, the little triangles, and the little squares learn how much fun it is to play together. As she reads the story the first time, Mrs. Olson points to the pictures. Then she passes out a large pre-cut construction paper shape to each student. As she re-reads the story, she asks the students to respond by showing their shape and calling out its name as she comes to the appropriate part of the story.

Then Mrs. Olson asks the children to stand and she leads them in playing Simon Says to review the names of the parts of the body, which have been taught previously through songs and stories in other lessons. Mrs. Olson invites the children who are more fluent to have a turn being Simon.

Then Mrs. Olson asks the children to return to their seats. She holds up samples of large pre-cut shapes that the children will use in making a self

portrait. The teacher asks the children, “Which shape will you use to make your head?” as she gestures and points to her own head. Some children respond by pointing to the shape or saying “circle.” Mrs. Olson continues by asking the children to show her which shape they might use for the body, the arms, and the legs. She also demonstrates how they will paste the shapes onto a sheet of paper to make their bodies.

Mrs. Olson next calls on several ESOL students to help her pass out materials the children will need, explaining that she wants each helper to ask, “Do you want some ____?” Four children hand out the shapes; one child hands out paste; one child distributes crayons; one child is in charge of paper; and one child puts yarn of various colors on the worktables. As Lucien puts yarn on one table, Karin asks, “What’s that for?” Lucien explains it can be used for hair. “I want brown,” replies Karin.

As the children begin to work, Mrs. Olson moves among them. Several children raise their hands to get her attention and ask, “What I do?” “I don’t know.” “Help me.” Other children seek assistance from peers or watch what their friends are doing and take their cues from them. Mrs. Olson repeats the directions for the children who have asked, illustrating what she means with gestures and the shapes. As the children finish their portraits, Mrs. Olson directs them to write their names on them. She asks several students, including some ESOL learners, to collect the materials that have been used. She reminds the children that they need to ask if the children are done with the materials, not simply take them away. As the helpers collect the materials, Mrs. Olson begins to display the portraits around the room. “I’m not done yet,” Julio tells Benjamin as he tries to take the paste. “I must collect it,” replies Benjamin. “Wait,” says Julio. “Collect the paste at the other tables first. I need

Discussion

Because of the numbers of ESOL beginners in this class, Mrs. Olson is careful to make her input comprehensible. Mrs. Olson uses several routine activities in class and helps the students use routine language patterns for general interactions. In this lesson, she used a big book. The children could see the pictures as well as hear the story she was reading, and many recited the repeated language expressions. Mrs. Olson provided the ESOL learners with opportunities to participate in the activities non-verbally as well as verbally or to respond as part of a group as well as having to respond individually. She accomplished this by providing the children with paper shapes to use to indicate that they were following the story. The students recognized appropriate points in the story to join in by naming and holding up shapes. Mrs. Olson paid a lot of attention to classroom routines because she believes understanding and being able to negotiate these routines facilitate learners’ success in school. She also encouraged students to ask for assistance when needed and then provided it. The conversations involving Lucien and Julio demonstrate ability to use language to negotiate.

Discussion

Bilingual assistants are present, and students' levels of English proficiency are balanced in each group. This both facilitates primary language support and provides language support from more fluent peers.

The teacher demonstrates what the students are to do by carrying out a similar activity. This presentation allows her to preteach the vocabulary necessary to comprehend and discuss the concepts, and to complete the tasks. She puts the language into a visual context, thus making the English more comprehensible. The poster-sized word bank provides a written version of the words and a handy reference for the students. Less proficient students are able to participate fully for two reasons: 1) there is as much primary language support as they need; and 2) the activity involves kinesthetic, hands-on interaction with concrete, demonstrable concepts.

As the students paraphrase the teacher's directions and carry out the activity, they demonstrate that they are able to follow spoken and written instructions. They request the necessary supplies and they ask for help from the teacher, assistant, or peer. The students are also able to form groups and negotiate their roles.

4-8 Vignette

Grade Level:	7th grade in a sheltered content class.
English Proficiency Level:	Various, high beginners to advanced
Language of Instruction:	English (with 5 minute overviews of activities in Vietnamese and Spanish)
Focus of Instruction:	Science
Progress Indicators:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • negotiate cooperative group roles and task assignments • paraphrase the teacher's directions orally or in writing • request supplies to complete an assignment • ask for assistance with a task

Background

The following vignette describes a self-contained, seventh grade science classroom in an urban school district. The class consists mostly of immigrant students from Vietnam, Central America, and Mexico. All of the students are ESOL and range from high beginners to advanced. The teacher has training and experience working with ESOL students. Two bilingual instructional assistants work in the class on a daily basis. One is a Spanish/English speaker; the other is a Vietnamese/English speaker.

Instructional Sequence

Today the class is going to examine containers of various shapes and sizes; hypothesize which contain more or less liquid; and then evaluate the predictions by measuring the capacity of each container. At the beginning of the class, the teacher, Ms. Smith-Sung, and the two assistants provide a five minute overview of the day's activities in their respective languages. Then the teacher, using English, demonstrates what the groups are to do by showing the class four glass containers of different shapes and sizes. As she makes her predictions, she models language such as, "I think this one will hold less," or "I think this one has the greatest capacity," and uses vocabulary such as, "more, less, most, least, equal, amount, capacity, ounces." She also adds the vocabulary words to a poster-size wall chart during the demonstration. The teacher then demonstrates how to measure each container's capacity, read the measure in

ounces, and record the amounts in a log. Then she asks two students to review orally for the others what each group has to do.

The teacher then divides the class, creating eight groups of four students, with each group including as wide a range of English proficiency levels as possible. Two members from each group are instructed to pick up the materials their group will need to perform the activity. These students check off the materials on their group's materials list. When Tien looks for a graduated cylinder, she cannot find one. "Excuse me, Ms. Smith-Sung," she says. "Where is another cylinder?" The teacher directs her to a glass cabinet. "Thank you." The groups also receive written instructions. The teacher asks each group to begin by having one student read the written directions to make sure that everyone understands the tasks. The teacher and assistants circulate among the groups, clarifying the instructions in the students' native languages and/or English as needed.

Although the students are used to working in groups, some initial organization still takes place. In one group, two students, Rebecca and U Thi, offer to record the measurements. Ricardo reminds Rebecca that she was the recorder last time. She concedes and lets U Thi record this time. In another group, Altagracia, an advanced beginner, checks on the directions. "Do we put in water antes de guessing the big ones?" Joel, an high intermediate student, clarifies. "No, we make predictions first. Then we fill them with water."

The groups work on their assignment for the rest of the period, occasionally asking for help from the teacher, an instructional assistant, or another group. Near the end of the period, they clean up their supplies and prepare to share their findings with the whole class.

9-12 Vignette

Grade Level: 10th grade in a self-contained, ESL class.

Language Proficiency: Low intermediate.

Language of Instruction: English

Focus of Instruction: Language arts

Progress Indicators:

- respond to a teacher’s general school-related small talk
- explain the reason for being absent or late to a teacher
- listen to and incorporate a peer’s feedback regarding classroom behavior

Background

The following vignette describes a 10th grade ESL class in a Southwest suburban high school. All of the 21 students are native Spanish speakers who have been in the US from 1 to 2 years. Most of the students arrived from Mexico and were literate in Spanish. However, three of the students had limited formal schooling before coming to the US. Several students are more comfortable writing and reading than they are speaking. Their teacher is an experienced, certified English speaker who recently has completed her Masters degree in ESL education. She speaks Spanish and uses it on occasion in the class.

Instructional Sequence

As the students enter the classroom, Ms. Judson greets each of them and asks how they are. She uses a variety of phrases: “Good morning.” “Hi. How are you?” “How’s it going?” “How are you feeling?” She also asks individual students some questions about other classes, assignments, tests, presentations, and so forth. Ms. Judson generally spends the first few minutes of class in this way; she call this a warm-up. Two of the students have been absent for a couple of days and Ms. Judson asks them why. Jose replies, “I been sick.” Rafael nods his head and says, “Me too. I had a flu. I couldn’t finish my reading paper. Could I stay after school? I have some questions for you.” Ms. Judson agrees to meet with him later.

For the past few weeks Ms. Judson has been working with this class on literature response. In her regular English classes, she engages the students in reading and responding to poems, short stories, and novels, and she wants her ESOL students to have the same kind of experiences. Two weeks earlier she had explained to the students that the focus of the literature study is their own personal response to literature—what they think and feel about what they are reading.

Since that time Ms. Judson has worked to en-

- interpret a teacher’s indirect command to behave appropriately
- justify changes in assignments, need for extensions, and so forth

gage all of the students in sharing their ideas and feelings. More students are responding now, but she is dissatisfied with how the students listen and converse with each other. Virtually all of the comments are directed to her, and the students do not listen to and respond to each others’ comments. So she decides to try to demonstrate how she wants the students to work together. She asks the students to sit in two circles with the classroom chairs, an inner circle and an outer circle.

She distributes copies of a Piri Thomas poem, “La Peseta,” about a teenage boy caught taking money from his father’s dresser. The poem is lighthearted, and some Spanish is sprinkled throughout. Ms. Judson tells the students that she is going to read the poem, and then ask the inner circle of students to talk about their reactions. She tells the students that she is not going to respond this time; she is going to take notes on what they say. She asks the students in the outer circle to pay close attention to what the ones in the inner circle are doing. “How do they behave with each other? How do they work together?”

Ms. Judson reads the poem out loud and then says, “So, what do you want to say about this poem? How do you respond?” She then lowers her head and prepares to write. Some student in the outer circle begin to chat quietly. Ms Judson looks up and clears her throat. Jasmine elbows Rosa and they settle down. After some silence and shuffling, one student in the inner circle comments and then another. Since Ms. Judson does not make eye contact with the group members, they gradually begin to make eye contact with each other and pay more attention to what each person is saying. They begin to build on previous statements, agreeing or disagreeing, as they become more conversational.

After about 10 minutes, Ms. Judson stops the discussion and asks the students in the outer circle to comment on what they saw. The first student comments focus on the content of what the inner circle group said. Ms. Judson acknowledges these observations but notes that she

Discussion

Each class period begins with small talk. Ms. Judson wants the students to be comfortable with the type of chit chat that takes place between teachers and students. Jose and Rafael are able to explain an absence as well as a reason for not completing an assignment. Rafael asks for the teacher’s assistance in finishing the task.

For literature study, Ms. Judson chooses poems and short stories by Hispanic authors. She believes that her ESOL students will relate well to these selections culturally and personally. She reads the texts out loud while the students follow along, as a strategy to assist students with limited formal schooling.

Ms. Judson has found that it is most effective to demonstrate the classroom behaviors she wants the students to engage in and then talk about them. Therefore, she asks some of the students to watch the others as they respond to the poem and then analyze what they did. To keep the students on task, Ms. Judson uses some indirect commands, such as throat clearing or eyebrow raising. Her students have learned to interpret these appropriately and modify their behavior accordingly. Jasmine used a non-verbal gesture to communicate with Rosa.

Publications available from NCRCDLL

National Center for Research on Cultural Diversity and Second Language Learning
at the Center for Applied Linguistics

Communicative Math and Science Teaching Video and Training Guide. Center for Applied Linguistics. 1990. \$50.00

How to Integrate Language and Content Instruction: A Training Manual. Deborah J. Short. 1991. \$10.00

The Pre-Algebra Lexicon. Dunstan Hayden & Gilberto Cuevas. 1990. \$15.00

Research Reports (\$4.00 each)

RR 2 The Instructional Conversation: Teaching and Learning in Social Activity (1991), Roland G. Tharp, & Ronald Gallimore

RR 5 Mathematics and Middle School Students of Mexican Descent: The Effects of Thematically Integrated Instruction (1992), Ronald W. Henderson, & Edward M. Landesman

RR 12 Enacting Instructional Conversation with Spanish-Speaking Students in Middle School Mathematics (1995), Stephanie Dalton, & June Sison

RR 15 Conceptualizing Academic Language (1995), Jeff Solomon & Nancy Rhodes

Educational Practice Reports (\$4.00)

EPR 2 Instructional Conversations and Their Classroom Application (1991), Claude Goldenberg

EPR 4 Rating Instructional Conversations: A Guide (1992), Robert Rueda, Claude Goldenberg, & Ronald Gallimore

EPR 7 Instructional Conversations in Special Education Settings: Issues and Accommodations (1993), Jana Echevarria, & Renee McDonough

EPR 8 Integrating Language and Culture in Middle School American History Classes (1993), Deborah J. Short

EPR 10 Effective Instructional Conversation in Native American Classrooms (1994), Roland G. Tharp, & Lois A. Yamauchi

EPR 11 Integrating Language and Content: Lessons from Immersion (1994), Fred Genesee

EPR 13 Making Change Happen in a Language Minority School: A Search for Coherence (1994), Claude Goldenberg, & Jessie Sullivan

EPR 17 Learning Science and English: How School Reform Advances Scientific Learning for Limited English Proficient Middle School Students (1996).

Video Series (\$40.00 each)

VS 3 Instructional Conversations: Understanding Through Discussion (1995), (VHS Format), Jana Echevarria & Jon Silver

VS 4 Profile of Effective Teaching in a Multilingual Classroom (1996), (VHS Format), Jon Silver

Related Publications

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Vignettes have been written for grade and proficiency level clusters. These vignettes describe attainment of the standards. Each vignette is followed by a discussion that relates the standard and the progress indicators.

ESL Standards Overview**GOAL 1: To use English to communicate in social settings**

Standards for Goal 1. Students will:

- 1) use English to participate in social interaction.
- 2) interact in, through, and with spoken and written English for personal expression and enjoyment.
- 3) use learning strategies to extend their communicative competence.

GOAL 2: To use English to achieve in all content areas

Standards for Goal 2. Students will:

- 1) use English to interact in the classroom.
- 2) use English to obtain, process, construct, and provide subject matter information in spoken and written form.
- 3) use appropriate learning strategies to construct and apply academic knowledge.

GOAL 3: To use English in socially and culturally appropriate ways

Standards for Goal 3. Students will:

- 1) choose appropriate language variety, register, and genre according to audience, purpose, and setting.
- 2) vary nonverbal communication according to audience, purpose and setting.
- 3) use appropriate learning strategies to extend their

Hmong Professional Degrees

Chimeng Yang recently posted the names and degrees of the 66 Hmong who have completed professional degrees (Ph.D. level). The first Hmong Ph.D. was Dr. Yang Dao, who earned the degree in 1972. AT that time, there were 37 Hmong in the world studying at any post-secondary school. Twenty-four years later, thousands are in college and these 65 individuals have received post-graduate degrees. 16 doctors, 11 pharmacists, and 15 lawyers. At least 7 are women, 4 in law (it’s difficult to tell as some names can be either gender). What would be interesting is to look at the sub-lineage and in-law relationships represented by these individuals.

Education

Charles C. Chang, Ed.D.
 Cha Yer Soung, Ed.D.
 Pao Ge Thao, Ed.D.
 Lue Vang, Ed.D.
 Na Vang, Ed.D.
 Tony Vang, Ed.D.
 Kou Yang, Ed.D

Pharmacy

Kee Fang, Pharm.D.
 Pa Heu, Pharm.D.
 Chai Lor, Pharm.D.
 Tou Moua Noutoua, Pharm.
 D.
 Mai Yia Xiong, Pharm.D.
 Chao Yang, Pharm.D.
 Chue Yang, Pharm.D.
 Long Yang, Pharm.D.
 Mai Yang, Pharm.D.

Tou Theng Yang, Pharm.
 D.

Law

Ilean Her, J.D.
 Hlee M. Lee, J.D.
 Pacyinz Lyfoung, J.D.
 Sher Ly, J.D.
 Vang Pao Lee, J.D.
 Chapao Paul Lo, J.D.
 Sia Lo, J.D.
 Song Lo, J.D.
 T. Christopher Thao, J.D.
 See V. Thao, J.D.
 Koua C. Vang, J.D.
 Nkajlo Vangh, J.D.
 Yia Vang, J.D.

Fue Vue, J.D.

Tou Ker Yang, J.D.

Medicine

Cheng Her, M.D.
 Touxa Lyfoung, M.D.
 Fong Lo, M.D.
 Vang Lor, M.D.
 Yang Koua Lo, M.D.
 Ly Pao Moua, M.D.
 Long Thao, M.D.
 Phoua X. Thao, M.D.
 Xoua Thao, M.D., M.P.H.
 Bobby K. Yang, M.D.
 Keng Fue Yang, M.D.
 Jerry Yang, M.D.
 Kou Yang, M.D.
 Pa Foua Yang, M.D.

Peter Thai Yang, M.D.
 Yeng Yang, M.D.

Ph.D.

Serger C. Lee, Ph.D.
 Leng Moua Noutoua, Ph.D.
 Tou Ger Moua, Ph.D.
 Bruce Thowpaou Bliatou,
 Ph.D.
 Sam Thowpaou Bliatou,
 Ph.D.
 Dao Yang, Ph.D.
 Thao Yang, Ph.D.

Dentistry

Laota Lynoukhai, D.D.S.
 Pase Lor, D.D.S.
 Fue Vang, D.D.S.
 Kou Vang, D.D.S.
 Geryoung Yang, D.D.S

Optometry

Cha Thao, O.D.

Ministry

Lue Thao, D. Min.
 Kao Yang, Ph.D.
 Nha Long Yang, D.Min

Clan	Ed.D.	M.D.	Pharm.D.	O.D.	D.D.S.	D.Min.	Ph.D.	D.Min.	Total
Chang	1								1
Fang			1						1
Her/Heu		1	2				1		4
Lee/Ly		1			1		5	1	8
Lo/Lor		3	1			1	2		7
Moua		1	1					2	4
Soung	1								1
Thao	1	3		1			2	2	10
Vang	3					2	3		8
Vue							1		1
Xiong			1						1
Yang	1	7	5		1	2	1	2	19
Total	7	16	11	1	5	3	15	7	65

Mexican Cultural Groups

Matute-Bianchi conducted ethnographic research at a high school in California between 1983 and 1985. She found that the students fell into one of five cultural groups, listed below (1990, "Report to the Santa Clara County School District: Hispanics in the Schools," in Garcia, *Student Cultural Diversity*, Houghton-Mifflin, 1994, p. 204):

Recent Mexican immigrants

Self-identity as "Mexicanos." Arrived within 3-5 years. Refer to Mexico as home. Came for economic opportunity. Considered "unstylish" by other students. Spanish proficiency (oral and written) is an indicator of school success.

Mexican oriented

Strong identity as Mexicano. Probably Mexico-born, lived in US most of lives. Parents are immigrants. Bilingual. Adept at English academic work. Speak English to teachers, Spanish and English to peers, and Spanish at home. Proud of Mexican heritage. Probably in college prep courses.

Mexican Americans

US-born, More American oriented than previous two. May not speak Spanish at home unless it's necessary. Tend not to call attention to ethnicity.

Chicanos

At least second-generation in the US. Loyal to peer group. Refer to academically successful students in derogatory terms. Avoid school activities; alienated from school.

Cholos

Small group perceived by others to be gang affiliated because of dress and behavior. Feared and held in contempt by students of Mexican descent and Anglo-American students.

The most academically successful students were Mexico-oriented with an acculturation model that made it desirable to alternate between two cultures and languages. These characteristics made them similar to other voluntary immigrants who believe the theory that education, hard work, and individual effort lead to success. Interestingly, they had both Mexican and Anglo role

Resources

Booz, Katherine Maya. 1992. **Growing Up Between Cultures: Cambodian Refugee Youth in America:** A Project Based Upon an Independent Investigation. Thesis (M.S.), Smith College School for Social Work.

Burki, Elizabeth Anne. 1987. **Cambodian and Laotian Mothers and Daughters in Chicago:** Surviving Crises and Renegotiating Identities. Thesis (Ph. D.), Northwestern University, 1987.

Cambodian Culture Since 1975: Homeland and Exile. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

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Greene, Karen Lisa. 1991. **Narratives of Love and Courtship: Khmer Refugee Women and the Negotiation of Identity.** Thesis (M.A. in Folklore), University of California, Berkeley,

Handelman, Lauren. **Cambodian Elderly Explanatory Models for Illness and Help-Seeking Behavior.** Gerontological Society of America, 1991.

Hein, Jeremy. 1995. **From Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia: A Refugee Experience in the United States.** New York: Twayne Publishers.

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Intergenerational Relationships in Iu Mien Families

Chua Chiem Chao, UC Berkeley
McNair Scholars Program

Sample

The target age groups for this study are Iu Mien adolescents and their parents who have lived in the United States for at least five years. To be in compliance with the guidelines of the Committee for Protection of Human Subjects, minors were not selected to participate in this study. Instead, young adults between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two were chosen and their experiences explored.

Selection

Participants in this study are residents of Oakland and Richmond, California—the two cities in the Bay Area with the highest Iu Mien population. The method of participant selection was snowball sampling. They are either acquaintances of mine or were recommended by my acquaintances. Due to the time limitation for this project, the participants were chosen on the basis of their availability and accessibility.

Procedure

All the participants were interviewed in person. Before the interview session, participants were each given a consent form that described the study and conditions of their participation. Participants were as-

sured of confidentiality and were informed of their right to refuse to answer any questions or provide information that may reveal their identities. The consent form was read and translated into Iu Mien for those who did not read English. Interviews with the young adults were conducted in English and those with the parents were conducted in Iu Mien. Permission to audio tape the interviews were requested but participants were given the option to decline. For purposes of confidentiality the case names are not the actual names of participants.

Topics covered in the interviews with parents include the following: personal history (i.e., age, birthplace, places of residents); childhood in Laos (i.e., what life was like for children in Laos, what roles did they play in the family); parent-child relationships (i.e., what were their relationships with their parents in Laos and with their children in America now; intergenerational conflicts (i.e., how are their children's lives different from their own lives when they were young).

Topics covered in young adult interviews include: personal history (i.e. age, birthplace, education); parent-child relationship (i.e., extent of parent involvement in child's life, their relationships with parents); conflicts (i.e., issues of conflict, conflict resolution).

Results

Cultural value differences between Iu Mien and Western cultures have a significant impact on Iu Mien parent-child relationships. America forces Iu Mien children to maintain dual identities; they are Americans when they are outside their homes but once they

Table 1 Young Adult

<i>Name</i> <i>left Laos</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Year arrived</i>	<i>Age arrived in U.S.</i>	<i>Age</i>
Meuy	F	20	1980	7	4
Nai	M	19	1980	6	1
Kay	F	20	1980	7	3
Seng	M	20	1982	9	6

Table 2 Adult

<i>Name</i> <i>of Children</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Year arrived</i>	<i>Formal Education</i>	<i>No.</i>
Mr. Saelee	40	1980	4 (Lao)	8
Mrs. Saephan	58	1986	None	2

are home, they take on their Iu Mien roles. The parents' efforts to preserve their culture creates problems in their relationships with their children when parents do not recognize their children's biculturalism. As this is a qualitative study, it is best to illustrate the differences of cultural orientation of older Iu Mien parents and children with actual cases. Descriptions of individual cases provide information on the participants prior to the discussion of intergenerational conflicts.

Intergenerational Conflicts

Adolescent years

Intergenerational conflicts during this stage mostly concern issues of extra familial relationships, self expression, and fulfilling their future adult responsibilities. There is a consensus among the young adult interviewees that their parents are very unsympathetic to their needs as teenagers. They feel that their parents impose too much of their traditional values on them and do not try to understand their feelings. All three interviewees, Nai, Kay, and Meuy feel that their parents were too critical about their friends, their style of dress, and the things they do for fun.

Kay's parents do not allow her to associate with people of other races because they consider them undesirable and a bad influence on her. Although she does not confront them about the issue, she feels that her parents impose their prejudices on her. She continues to be friends with them outside the home without her parents' knowledge.

Nai's parents also disapprove of many aspects of his life. Like many young people today, he likes to keep up with the fashion fads but his parents have a hard time accepting his style of dress. They complain about his baggy pants and shirts, unusual hair cut, and similarly dressed friends. He feels that his parents do not understand young people today. They do not know what it means to "fit in." He continues to dress the same way despite his parents' protests because his friends dress modern.

Meuy's parents also object to her interest in the new-wave style. She says "My friends were dressing new-wave style and I like it but my parents would get very mad when I try to dress new-wave." Generally, she feels deprived.

The parent interviewees have a different view on issues of friendship and self-expression. Their concern is that if children spend too much time with their friends they neglect their homework and other household chores. They are also very concerned about their children engaging in harmful activities and acquiring bad habits. They do not want their children to be with people they do not know. They prefer children to just stay home and not go out because they do not know what the children do once they are out of the house. Mrs. Saephan feels that her son learned bad behavior from his gang friends: "In America, there is something called gangs and they have leaders who recruit and teach young people how to do bad things." She claims that he never tells her where he goes or who he is with and that she does not rest until he is safely back home.

It is not surprising that parents are suspicious and disapproving of their children's extrafamilial relationships. In Laos, the parents lived in small villages where everyone knew one another and children assisted them at home and in the fields, leaving few opportunities for extracurricular activities.

The parents' disapproval of young people's fashion is understandable given that self-expression was not a social phenomenon in traditional Iu Mien culture. In Iu Mien culture clothing was culturally defined with all men and women wearing clothes of the same style; there was no room for individual expression in clothing. Furthermore, as clothing was a scarce item and a person owned only one set of clothing, clothes were treated as a necessity and not a luxury.

On the other hand, young people in the U.S. live in a society where making fashion statements is an important expression of their identity. Parents are unaware of children's fashion needs. Kay remembers

an incident in grade school when she ran home from school in tears because instead of changing into shoes she went to school in thongs. The parents could not figure out why she was so upset about wearing thongs to school. It did not occur to them that in America children do not wear thongs to school. She feels that her parents are unable to make the distinction between private and public dress.

In addition to experiencing conflicts in peer relationships and self expression, Iu Mien parents and their adolescents also have difficulties with the issue of taking responsibility for the latter's sex role: girls are expected to cook, clean, and sew (embroidery) in preparation for their adult roles as wives and mothers; boys are expected to be knowledgeable and perform religious ceremonies, particularly ancestor worship.

The young interviewees, however, do not feel that the traditional gender roles are as important in America, since gender roles are not as explicit here. The female interviewees feel that their parents expect too much from them. For instance, Meuy says her parents "expected me to put food on the table for breakfast and dinner everyday and sometimes lunch. I also did all their laundry." The expectations of Kay's parents were not as severe, but they do expect her to cook, clean, and sew. Although Nai's parents do not expect him to perform religious healing, they would like him to be able to participate in other religious activities like preparing feasts and assisting the elders. He claims that his parents do not ask him to participate in religious activities because they know he does not know how to do them. This, to me, is a sign of despair rather than disregard. The parents could not make him learn it so they gave up.

The parents, however, feel that it is important for young girls to learn to cook, clean, and sew. An individual life span was very short in Iu Mien society, so girls were expected to marry and produce children as young as fourteen years old. So teaching young girls to cook, clean, and sew serves

three purposes: firstly, to catch a desirable husband; secondly, to prepare them for their roles as daughters-in-law; thirdly, to prepare them to become good parents.

Young Adult Years:

Continuing parent-child relationship

Gaining independence is crucial for the young interviewees during their early adult years. They complain that their parents are very inconsiderate of their need for independence. For instance, Kay, after her second year in college, only just convinced her parents to allow her to move closer to campus. Her parents are against her living away from home because it is not customary for young single women to live away from home. She feels that as long as she lives at home with her parents she will not have an identity of her own. Conversely, Meuy is married with two children and never experienced total independence, moving from her biological parents' home into the home of her husband's family.

Nai also experiences similar difficulties in his relationship with his parents. He is nineteen years old but he feels a lack of control over his own life. Although he knows that he cannot be totally independent, he would like to be treated with more respect as an adult. He is actively seeking employment and he hopes to be able to move out on his own when he is financially independent.

Parents, however, do not subscribe to the concept of independence. They do not view the age of eighteen as a division between childhood and adulthood. They feel that a child is always a child to the parents regardless of age. When children reach a certain age and have families of their own, they have more control over their lives but are never totally independent from their parents. For instance, Mrs. Saechao's oldest son has a family of his own and maintains a separate residence from his parents but he still consults with his parents when making major decisions. She also intervenes in his decisions when necessary.

Parent-child relationships are more active in Iu Mien culture than in Western

cultures. American children have a more independent and passive relationship with their parents. Therefore, Iu Mien children grow up in this country and experience conflicting values. They are constantly exposed to the American ideal of independence through schools, media, and informal social settings.

In Iu Mien culture individual independence is not recognized. Children are born into a web of family ties which are maintained for the rest of their lives. The mutual dependency among their family is based on traditional Iu Mien culture, and results from several factors. First, in a non-technological agricultural society collective effort is a survival skill; second, family identity takes precedence over individual identity; third, the Iu Mien religious system is such that a person is forever bound to his extended family; fourth, a person is not recognized as an adult until he is married; and fifth, in the parent-child relationship, the offspring maintain the status of "child" regardless of age and social standing. Thus, a fifty-year-old man is still seen as a child to his seventy-year-old parents.

Iu Mien children in the United States are forced to live in two worlds because of their biculturalism. They are pulled toward Anglo American culture outside the home but are forced to live by their own cultural values at home. Those who can cleverly maintain the balance between the two cultures experience less conflict than those who are unable or choose not to balance the two systems. In the case of one young adult interviewee, Seng, the parent-child relationship is one of alienation. He admits that his parents disapprove of his association with his friends but they do not discuss it with him. His parents also want him to return to school or get a job, but he feels that it is not a matter of their concern even though he lives with them and pays no expenses. He also claims that his parents have no knowledge of his activities outside the home. And although he sometimes helps his parents deal with community agencies by reading mails and filling out forms, he does it voluntarily.

Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is difficult as both parents and children feel they are right in the context of the referent culture. For the parents it is the Iu Mien culture, and for the children it is the Anglo American culture. As a result of a parent-child disagreement on values—a Iu Mien American girl may not necessarily want to become a housewife and a Iu Mien American boy may not want to become a religious person—conflicts arise.

Additionally, conflict resolution is also difficult because of the hierarchical nature of Iu Mien parent-child relationships. The young interviewees state that they never argue with their parents. Even when they do express their opinions and feelings it is always treated as a retaliatory gesture rather than a need to communicate. In the cases of Kay and Nai, they just listen when spoken to and do not respond regardless of how they feel about the situation. Nai often reveals how he feels to his younger brother rather than directly to his parents. He feels that talking back to parents is disrespectful and he does not want to be disrespectful. Meuy admits that she argues with her parents and usually makes the situation worse. Thus, while the children do not accept their parents' values, they find it difficult to find a way to communicate to them freely.

The parents do not feel that they need to make compromises with their children. They view the parent-child relationship as a one way relationship where children have to obey their parents. There is no room for conflict resolution because children should never argue with their parents; the idea of 'compromise' does not play a part in the parent-child relationship. The presence of intergenerational conflicts may, in part, be due to the parents' lack of awareness of the conflicts in their relationships.

Recommendations for Intervention

There is a great need for educational and social programs that help encourage communication and understanding between Iu Mien parents and their children. As we have seen, parents and children have very little understanding of each other's world

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view; Iu Mien American children increasingly adapt to Anglo American values while parents still hold onto the traditional culture. Programs should focus on improving communication between parents and children.

One way social programs can help parents better understand their children is educating them about the American educational system. Parents need to be more involved in their children's education because the school is where children spend most their time and where they acquire most of their knowledge about the world. Thus, it is important that parents gain some sense of what their children study in school and the kinds of people they interact with at school. All the young adult participants reported that their parents do not make social visits to their schools or know what they study in school. The adult interviewees also admit that they do not know about their children's educational activities. It is equally important that children understand where their parents come from. They need to know how their parents lived in Laos.

The above recommendations can be accomplished through after-school or community sponsored programs. A way to involve parents in their children's education is by teaching them how to read so they can be better informed of their children's school activities. Teachers should include Iu Mien culture in their curriculum, increasing Iu Mien students' awareness of their heritage and culture.

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