



Context:

Southeast Asians & other newcomers in California's classrooms
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Context is published six 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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Resiliency is .the ability to thrive, mature, and increase competence in the face of adverse circumstances or obstacles."
(K. Gordon, Ph.D.)

The resilient child is one who "works well, plays well, loves well, and expects well."
(Garmezy, 1974; Werner and Smith, 1982).

Resiliency

Simply put, "resilience" is the ability to "bounce back" from adversity, to overcome the negative influences that often block achievement. The National Research Council recently concluded that "many young people survive and lead productive, contributing lives, but large numbers of others do not; the odds against them are too great." Resilience research asks how some of these kids, surrounded by poverty or other deterrents, still beat the odds and succeed. "Lots of kids make it," says Dr. Richard Jessor, a University of Colorado professor and director of the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Successful Adolescent Development Among Youth in High-Risk Settings. "The task is to identify the insulating, buffering factors, as opposed to just the risk factors."

The bulk of resiliency research is targeted towards drug and alcohol abuse prevention. How can resiliency research relate to our assumptions about immigrants, refugees, and sojourners who are also "at risk"? The Northwest Regional Lab in Portland Oregon has produced several related papers on resiliency. Their findings are in this article, along with snippets from other researchers. None of the research yet discusses culturally diverse populations, except to say that a multicultural approach, authentic parent involvement, and cooperative learning are all beneficial. Educators may be able to use the existing resiliency research as a springboard to find out specifics about the newcomer populations in their locales and may be able to pass this information along when parents ask what to do.

Research has identified the attributes of social competence, problem-solving ability, autonomy, and sense of purpose as the common threads that run through the personalities of resilient children. The environments of resilient children offer opportunities to be successful, provide a meaningful relationship with an adult, who in turn helps the child use internal and external resources to deal with stressors.

Immigrants and refugees have demonstrated resiliency. Those with an "immigrant personality" make a deliberate decision to re-begin lives in new cultures. No matter their level of sociability or problem-solving ability, they have demonstrated key components of autonomy and a sense of purpose. Refugees, different from immigrants in that the decision to emigrate was a last-minute, do-it-or-die grab at survival, may or may not possess that sense of purpose and autonomy; certainly the element of preplanning is absent. However, both kinds of newcomers earn the confidence that comes with

Emmy Werner's longitudinal study of Hawaiian children from 1955 to 1985. Resilient children had:

- inborn sociability, lack of shyness.
- others who responded positively to outgoing nature.
- unconditional acceptance by at least one person.
- at least one skill that peers admired.

Norman Garmezy's resilience indicators

- Effectiveness in work, play, and love.
- Healthy expectations and a positive outlook.
- Self-esteem and internal locus of control.
- Self-discipline.
- Problem-solving and critical thinking skills and humor.

overcoming great difficulties. How do their children, separated from their protective groups in American schools, fare in terms of resiliency? How can awareness of resiliency and the ways in which protective factors differ from group to group help educators deal effectively with the children of refugees and immigrants?

Sociability

Resilient children are blessed with friendly, optimistic, outgoing dispositions. They are considerably more responsive (and can elicit more positive responses from others), more active, and more flexible and adaptable even in infancy (Werner and Smith, 1982; Demos, 1989). Resilient children have a sense of humor, in that they can generate comic relief and find alternative ways of looking at things. They can also laugh at themselves and ridiculous situations (Masten, 1986). As a result, resilient children—from early childhood on—tend to establish more positive relationships with others, gaining protection from peers and assistance from adults. (Berndt and Ladd, 1989; Werner and Smith, 1982).

Immigrant children from some cultures fare better in this area than others. For example, Vietnamese tend to be respectful and harmonious, smiling often, but Russians tend to be unsmiling and assertive. As one might guess the Asian approach engenders more peer and adult support than the Russian approach. (Fortunately, the Russians quickly learn that Americans expect

smiles even from strangers and in response to no discernible comedy, and quickly adopt this odd tooth-baring greeting behavior.)

Problem-solving skills

These skills include the ability to think abstractly, reflectively, and flexibly and to attempt alternate solutions for both cognitive and social problems. For example, Rutter found that neglected and abused girls who later became healthy adults consciously planned to meet and marry non-deviant men (1984). The literature on "street" children growing up in the slums of the United States and other countries provides an extreme example of the role these skills play in the development of resiliency. These children must continually successfully negotiate the demands of their environment or not survive (Felsman, 1989).

The backgrounds of refugees and immigrants show the presence of problem-solving skills in planning for and securing the best survival outcome for the family. Take for example, the hot issue of welfare dependence. Residents argue from the view that people "shouldn't" rely on welfare, as though there is a choice between more- and less-preferred alternatives. In fact, the choice of welfare (or SSI or other aid program) demonstrates application of problem-solving skills in an unfamiliar language and environment.

As with social competence, research on resilient children has discovered that these problem-solving skills are identifiable in early childhood. According to Halverson and Waldrup's research on preschoolers, "A child who can demonstrate at an early age that he or she is an agent capable of producing change in a frustrating situation tends to be active and competent in grade school as well" (1974). It will be necessary for educators to understand that problem-solving may not result in the teacher-favored solution. For example, a Hmong preschooler frightened of tomato hornworms during "green" week may stay at home until his spirits can be enticed to return. If the spirit-calling ceremonies and the strings tied around the wrist are not effective, or if the preschool environment continues to produce fear, then the family may just move.

Sense of purpose and future

Another characteristic of resilient children is a sense of purpose and future. This factor appears to be a most powerful predictor of positive outcome. According to Brook's research on risk and protective factors for adolescent alcohol and drug use, high achievement orientation appeared to have a protective influence which offset even the effects of alcohol consumption by peers, the most commonly identified risk factor (1989). Furthermore, Newcomb and Bentler found that "educational aspirations" were an even more powerful predictor of high school graduation than actual academic achievement (1986).

Cameron-Bandler's research into why some children of alcoholics developed into healthy, successful adults identifies the critical variable as their "sense of a compelling future." As she explains, "When a compelling future is generated, we are easily persuaded to subordinate immediate gratification for a more fulfilling later gratification, or to save ourselves from some intensely unpleasant future experience" (1986). Edelman, commenting on the Children's Defense Fund's ongoing adolescent pregnancy prevention initiative, concludes that "a bright future is the best contraceptive!"

Werner and Smith also validate the power of this attribute in summarizing their 35-year study of resiliency in childhood: "The central component of effective coping with the multiplicity of inevitable life stresses appears to be a sense of coherence, a feeling of confidence that one's internal and external environment is predictable and that things will probably work out as well as can be reasonably expected" (1982).

According to these researchers, this sense of coherence, of purpose and meaning and hopefulness, lies in direct contrast to the "learned helplessness" that Seligman and others have consistently found present in individuals experiencing mental and social problems (1982).

For many (but not most) refugee children, learned helplessness is a risk factor difficult to overcome. Those refugees who made an early decision to flee, before the majority of the others in their situation, are more likely to have an "immigrant personality." They are decisive, more in

Autonomy

- strong sense of independence;
- internal locus of control;
- sense of power;
- self-esteem;
- self-efficacy;
- self-discipline;
- impulse control;
- ability to separate oneself from a dysfunctional family environment;
- sense of one's own identity;
- ability to act independently and exert some control over one's environment.

Problem-solving skills

- forecast consequences
- think abstractly
- try alternate solutions

Social Competence

- responsiveness,
- flexibility,
- empathy and caring,
- communication skills,
- a sense of humor,
- other prosocial behavior.

control of their lives.

Those who waited show that they are less able to make decisions; their lives are determined by the actions of others. During the refugee experience, they have been held in camps, lives in abeyance, as food and water is trucked in. For children born of parents unable to decide to leave a refugee camp, who have been raised to wait, learned helplessness is more likely than a sense of future and purpose. To overcome

helplessness's powerful effects, entire family groups need to experience choice and consequence. Rather than ask them to make major decisions, we should ask them to choose between limited alternatives, with the limits expanded as their confidence grows. (This phenomenon is most characteristic of the Hmong refugees many of whom have been approved for resettlement for nearly twenty years but who have declined to exercise their option. An entire generation was born and raised in camps. The last 5,000 Hmong will be coming to America between now and October. Learned helplessness may also be characteristic of the refugees held in Hong Kong since the late 1970s; they are supposed to be repatriated to

Sense of purpose & future

- healthy expectancies,
- goal-directedness,
- success orientation,
- achievement motivation,
- educational aspirations,
- persistence,
- hopefulness,
- hardiness,
- belief in a bright future,
- sense of anticipation,
- sense of a compelling future,
- sense of coherence.

Four methods for promoting resiliency:

- Stop the negative chain of events
- Remove the stressor
- Provide an alternate route to success
- Increase the student's self-esteem

Teachers create opportunities for success when they:

- help the student set realistic and manageable goals
- allow enough time for the student to complete the task
- furnish the necessary resources
- help the student problem-solve difficult situations
- start classes on time
- interact with all the students—not just a select few
- recognize and understand cultural differences among the students
- use visual aids
- offer “hands-on” experiences
- create opportunities to make observations of accomplishment
- create a trusting atmosphere in the classroom

adapted from Kimberly Brown, Ph.D.

Resilience Strategies

- Ensure each child some significant contact with a supportive adult.
- Develop peer support programs.
- Train students in self-motivation (e.g., attribution training).
- Create circuit-breaker mechanisms for intervening in negative chains of events that jeopardize students.
- Develop learning approaches that build on the prior cultural knowledge children bring to school.
- Pursue topics of personal interest to each child.
- Bring integrated social services into the school.

Vietnam, but they could end up here in a close-up move just before Hong Kong reverts to China next year.)

A Club of Rome study of several years ago provides support for the importance of “un-learning” helplessness. It identified that a sense of anticipation, the taking “responsibility for our ability to influence—and in some cases, determine—the future” is one of the traits that not only is essential to individual success but will be a trait essential for human survival in the increasingly complex world of the future (Botkin et al,

1979).

Autonomy

Autonomy is called many things. Anthony refers to a “strong sense of independence” (1987); Garnezy and Werner and Smith to an “internal locus of control” and “sense of power” (1974 and 1991; 1982); Rutter and Garnezy to “self-esteem” and “self-efficacy” (1984; 1983); and others to “self-discipline” and “impulse control.” The protective factor that underlie all these concepts is a sense of one's own identity, an ability to act independently, and the power to exert some control over one's environment.

Several researchers have also identified the ability to separate oneself from a dysfunctional family environment—“to stand away psychologically from the sick parent”—as the major characteristic of resilient children growing up in families with alcoholism and mental illness (Anthony, 1974). According to Berlin and Davis, “In our work with children and families of alcoholics we have begun to view the crucial task that they must master, if they are to cope successfully with the dilemmas of alcoholism, as the task of adaptive distancing,” the process of breaking away from the family focus on the dysfunctional behavior (1989; also see Chess, 1989).

Similarly, Beardslee and Podorefsky found that the resilient children they studied “were able to distinguish clearly between themselves and their own experiences and their parents' illness” and, thus, realized they were not the cause and that their future would be different (1988).

It is this research that provides a strategy for the children of refugee parents who are seemingly unable to cope with American life. Their

Components of successful mentoring

- personalized attention and caring;
- access to cultural, vocational resources;
- positive and high expectations (view of youth as a resource to be nurtured, not a problem to be fixed);
- reciprocity, mutual benefit;
- personal commitment (predictable, available, accessible, responsive);
- (eventually) trust and mutual respect.

children must be presented with the kinds of choice-making and attribution that fosters confidence in their decisions, but they must also understand that their lives will be different from those of their parents. This has to be accomplished without widening the gap between parents and children, a tricky business. The successful Southeast Asian children seem to have adults in their lives who often tell them that their lives will be different, and in fact, they have sacrificed to make that a reality.

Change in approach

“The shift in thinking about resilience requires a change in beliefs, structures, and policies,” insists UCLA professor Linda Winfield. She concedes that “tracking, readiness testing, Chapter 1, special education, and ability grouping may serve the needs of some students.” Nevertheless, she points out that they “are inconsistent with the notions of protective mechanisms and fostering resilience. There needs to be a critical rethinking of what we do with and to students in urban schools.” Above all, Winfield contends, educators have to look at students in a more positive light, paying greater attention to their inherent strengths and developed abilities. We need to downplay student inadequacies and risks, and instead foster daily success. No longer are we repairmen fixing what’s broken; we are coaches, pushing and pulling students “over the bar.”

Winfield suggests conducting in-depth evaluations and inventories of each student’s personal strengths, interests, and learning styles. Then, the task before the school system is to see that each student has the opportunity to work in an area of interest and to demonstrate strength on a regular basis.

Mentoring

As protective factor researcher David Offord concludes, “A compensating good experience, good programs in the schools, or one good relationship can make a difference in the child’s life” (1991). Werner and Smith stated in their seminal study of 700 youth growing up in high-risk environments that the key to effective prevention efforts is to reinforce, within every arena, the natural social bonds—between young and old, between siblings, between friends—“that give

meaning to one’s life and a reason for commitment and caring.”

Bernard Lefkowitz’s book, *Tough Change: Growing Up on Your Own in America*, is based on interviews with 500 disadvantaged youth, a majority of whom credited their success to the support of a caring adult in their lives.

For a discussion of mentoring programs, Benard’s paper, *Mentoring Programs for Urban Youth: Handle with Care*, is available from the Western Regional Center for Drug-Free Schools and Communities, 101 S.W. Main Street, Suite 500, Portland, OR 97204, (800) 547-6339, ext. 486. In California, call SWRL, (213) 598-7661, or FWL, (415) 565-3000.

Immigrant resiliency

The 1989 book, *The Boat People and Achievement in America* (Caplan, Whitmore, Choy), presents tantalizing clues to the success of certain recent immigrants—“first wave” (4/75) and “second wave” (1975-78) refugees from Vietnam and Laos. The children of these groups were high achievers in American schools, as shown by grades and scores on norm-referenced tests. Despite harrowing environmental conditions and personal tragedy, these children were not damaged by the risk factors in their lives. What would a background interview reveal?

What is your family like? Most would describe a mother, father, 3-4 siblings, grandparents, or other relatives. Most of the parents had attended school, and could read and write Vietnamese, Chinese, or Lao. Few could speak or read English, however.

Who are the significant adults in your life? Who do you trust? Who is disappointed if you get into trouble? Who disciplines you? In all households, there were many adults, living and dead, who expected a child to do well. In addition to the adults and older siblings in the household, there were the relatives and other friends who also had children (with whom one competed), the monk or priest, and so on. The shame of the ancestors was perhaps the heaviest burden, because ancestor spirits who are restless and displeased can cause all kinds of havoc for the living. The study indicated that 87% of the adults used family honor and pride to urge the children to do well.

Who are you? What is your identity? Are you proud of who you are? The Vietnamese and Chinese came

from cultures in which education was a sign of status, and in which one's name identified the family and even others in the area who shared the same lineage. Anonymity was not possible. The Lao, 20% of the group studied, were the most different, but those who came in the early waves were most likely those who had earned position, influence, or status through the French-based secondary school system. Both the Vietnamese and Lao were the majority groups in their home countries, and had no experience feeling shame for their heritage. The Chinese carried with them a strong Chinese identity that they nurtured during their time in Vietnam. Even the linguistic systems reinforced identity in every utterance; from the family name and generation name comes the lineage identity, and from the pronoun choices come affirmations of relative status, and often role.

Deeply entrenched in the identity of these families were the teachings of Buddha. Where life in America promotes the expectation of happiness, Buddhism assures one that suffering is an unavoidable part of living. Life stressors are not as great a shock—or evidence of personal failure—to Buddhists as they are to Americans. Buddhism also offers a way to deal with suffering: the “right behavior.” Behaving right offers a plan of action in the midst of stress, providing one with a sense of personal efficacy.

The other deeply ingrained tradition (for Vietnamese and Chinese) is Confucianism, which promotes unity within groups and the prosocial skills of benevolence, respect, and interpersonal harmony. Contrast this with the value given to adversarial relations among individuals in American society.

How have you learned self-discipline? How do you motivate yourself to finish boring homework or study when others are out playing? In addition to using family honor to encourage children, the adults told the children they could do well (71%), and gave them rewards (57%) or special privileges (47%) for good performance. Poor performance resulted in use of shame (55%), removal of privileges (37%), or corporal punishment (7%). Adults also sacrificed their own time to give daily study time a high priority in the family routine. The average amount of time spent on homework was two to three hours each weekday, even for young children. Often older siblings were paired with

younger siblings for mentoring and tutoring. The culture itself emphasized hard work as one of the three most important values, after education/achievement and cohesive family. (This was in contrast to their mainstream neighbors, who ranked fun and excitement and material possessions highly.) In fact, the concept of “potential” or “unused intelligence” has no significance in any of these groups; if one learns more slowly, s/he sleeps less and works harder. When asked for the cause of their children's high achievement, 99% ranked “love of learning” first; “hard work” second (97%); “perseverance” third (94%).

What is your future? Children were given a very clear view of their future, at least the future the adults envisioned. The parents' sacrifice was made in order for the children to receive an education and to be successful in life. The sacrifice was real, and the children felt the burden of ensuring that their sacrifice was not in vain. The opportunity for achievement in this culture provided hope to those who would not have had an opportunity in their home countries. In fact, the study indicated that the socioeconomic status of the parents or grandparents was not correlated at all with the achievement of the children. (However, most of the parents did possess literacy in the home language, and had spent some time in school.)

Thus, even though there were family and environmental risk factors, these Vietnamese, Chinese, and Lao refugee children were “protected” by other factors, including a reciprocal relationship with a significant adult, high expectations, guidance in learning self-discipline, a favorable identity in a culture that values hard work and achievement, and a strong sense of the future. As we have seen, however, not all the youth from these groups have enjoyed the same protective conditions. Factors such as being an unaccompanied minor, acculturative stress in the adults and children, family disintegration, disruption of role, and loss of purpose place many Southeast Asian children at risk. Are there ways that educators can increase the number of protective factors in the lives of these “at risk” children, to make them as resilient as others? These suggestions provide a beginning for a list of “essential” practices:

1. Find out about each student: background, language, family, interests, strengths. Provide opportunities for success and peer admiration.
2. Understand the social network of the child, and avoid increasing the conflict between group-based and individual-based cultural preferences. Avoid pressures to “Americanize” at the expense of a proud identity. Instead, encourage the development of biculturalism.
3. Be a match-maker: pair up “at risk” youth with adults who will provide the essentials of good mentoring (see the box).
4. Hold high expectations. Provide support and help so that expectations are met. Realize that some (poor) choices are learning experiences, not careers. Help the child and parent understand the lesson learned, the necessity for consequences, and the chance for different choices in the future.
5. Offer many examples of the future; talk about others from similar backgrounds; introduce students to “examples.”

An example

Hung is a Vietnamese high school student who is about to be expelled for fighting with a black student.

His parents have broken up, and provide little in the way of guidance, support, direction, or discipline. He arrived in the US as a toddler, and has been in American schools since kindergarten. He doesn't know how to read or write Vietnamese. He dresses like a gangster, with all the emblems carefully in place. His demeanor around white and black adults in positions of power at the school is one of sneering, slouching, and general toughness. His most recent report card shows a 3.8 GPA, with A's in college prep science and math. What's going on with this kid?

Social skills. Hung says he has to defend himself. Yet he engages others more quickly and more often than most. Does he have social skills appropriate for a American high school setting? Does he know how to avoid confrontation or is he choosing to confront? Is challenge and fighting the skill that brings admiration from peers? Talking to him one-on-one might help; the ingrained respect for adults and education will emerge eventually. Talking to the teachers who

gave him A's might reveal a few insights. Soliciting his participation in a tape-recorder project might help him analyze his role in fueling confrontations. What about his body language? Use videotape to help him analyze how others see him. Look to see if he's approachable and sociable: smiling, using other people's names, initiating friendly conversation (all of which may be culturally unfamiliar). Who are his friends? Does he understand that a bad reputation takes a very long time and many tests before people will believe that he has changed?

Problem-solving skills. Does he use appropriate skills for evaluating his choices? Does he hesitate before committing to a course of action (“count to ten”). Can he forecast the consequences of choices? Is there a reason that he doesn't care about consequences? Does he know conflict resolutions strategies, especially involving peers of other ethnic or cultural groups?

Autonomy. What is his reference group? If the family is disintegrating, what group has taken its place? Does he have an internal locus of control? Have consequences happened so inconsistently that he is testing the limits of the system? Who are his “heroes”? Who does he want to be like? Does he have examples to follow? Does he have a relationship with an adult who can mentor him—and who demonstrates by his time and interest that Hung is a worthwhile person?

Sense of the future. Is there anyone in Hung's life who talks about the future? Do the adults in his life predict the worst? Have they thrown him out on his own because his individualistic behavior at home is seen as disrespect and lack of filial piety? With A's in chemistry, college is a real possibility; has anyone taken him to see a college, to talk to other Vietnamese students? Is he living with his natural parents, or did he arrive as an “unaccompanied” minor?

Consequences and resiliency

Hung has to deal with the consequences of his choice to fight. But, this could be the beginning as well. He could be offered a “lesser sentence” if he agrees to have a mentor. An effective mentor relationship may help him to develop the social and problem-solving skills and sense of the future that are essential to autonomy. In Denver, the police are rounding up youth who are out after curfew. Violators receive a ticket, and the

judge "sentences" them to a social worker, who links them to experiences that reduce the effects of risk. It's been effective but expensive.

Resilience Resources

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Membership in Violent Gangs Fed by Suspicion, Deterred through Respect

Bodinger-deUriarte, Cristina, Southwest Regional Lab., Los Alamitos, CA. Mar 1993

This document addresses the problem of violent youth gangs, with discussions of who is in gangs, what gangs offer their members, positive prevention and intervention approaches, and approaches to avoid. The suggested approaches are applicable to any gang setting, but may prove most helpful in settings with relatively new gang problems.

A section on demographics and related dynamics in gangs presents a brief picture of who is in gangs, looking at ethnicity, gender, and age of gang members. The following section looks at negative responses to gangs, including repressive policies, labeling, and suspicion; enforcement and the threat of imprisonment; and a tendency to treat the gang as the unit of intervention. The next section suggests a number of positive responses: respecting one another, cooperative learning, engaging in direct dialogue, and providing job opportunities. The conclusion lists four strategies, brief descriptions of 26 sample gang intervention/prevention programs. (Contains 59 references.)

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Coping Strategies of Resilient African American Adolescents

Turner, La Shaun K., Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association (100th, Washington, DC, August 14-18, 1992). ERIC Accession Number: ED366900

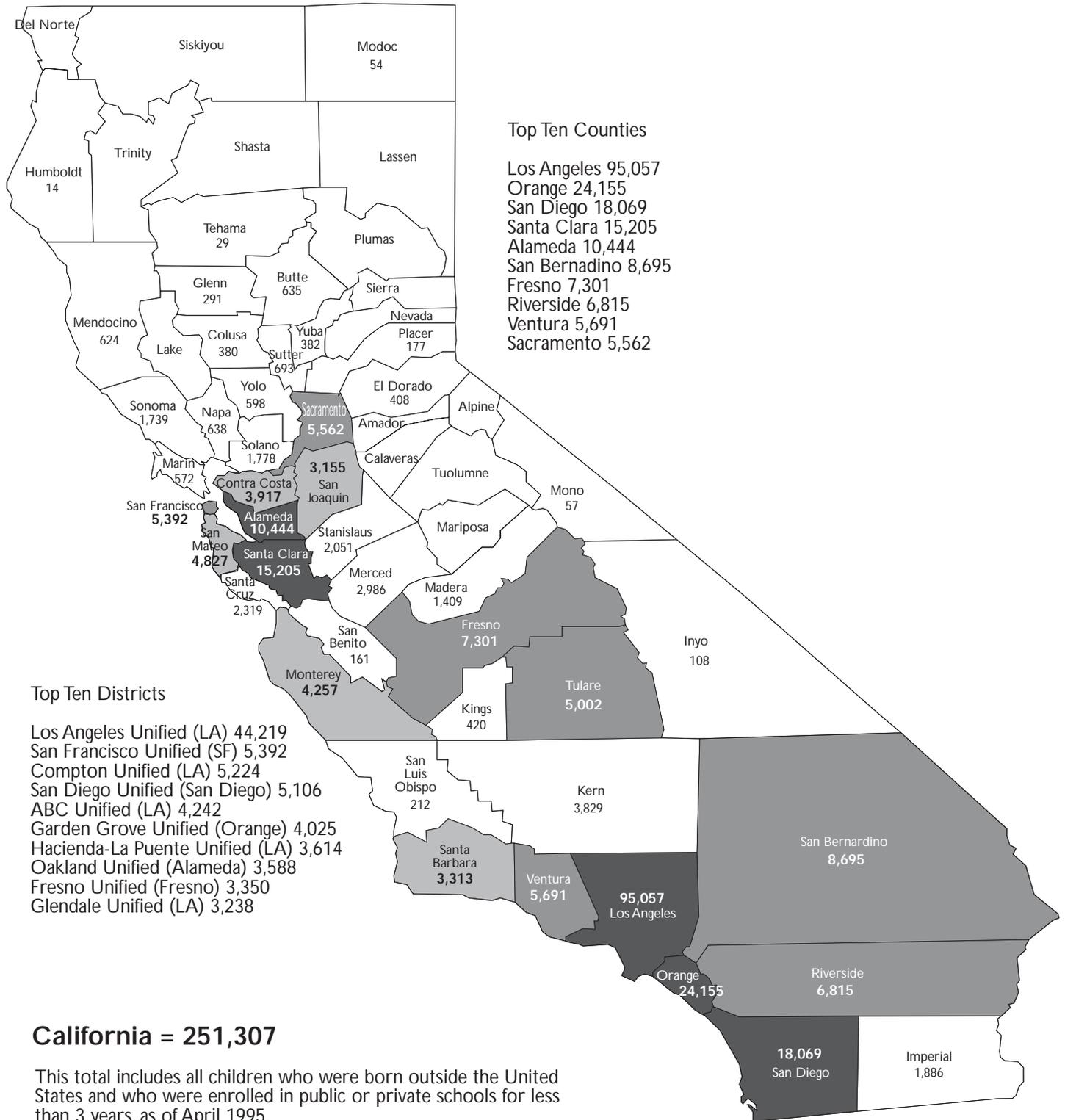
African American adolescents who achieve academically:

- 1) are academically successful because they acculturate to the school culture;
- 2) exhibit two typological patterns of acculturation (they either make a cultural shift or they culturally incorporate the school culture while retaining their own culture).

Gangs and Schools

Arthur, Richard; Erickson, Edsel, Learning Publications, Inc. 1992. Learning Publications, Inc., 5351 Gulf Drive, P.O. Box 1338, Holmes Beach, FL 34218.

Emergency Immigrant Education Program (EIEP) 4/95



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Sage Focus Editions, Volume 41, Harriette Pipes McAdoo

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decline in family size coupled with the unchanging average family income levels (in real terms) between 1970 and 1990 means that family income per child actually increased during this time period.

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National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY, 1980) and the National Education Longitudinal Survey (NELS, 1988). RAND Distribution Services, Telephone: 310-451-7002; FAX: 310-451-6915; or Internet: order@rand.org. RAND.



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