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APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY

*New Frontiers
and Rewarding Careers*

Edited by

Stewart I. Donaldson

Dale E. Berger

Kathy Pezdek

Claremont Graduate University



2006

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Applying Developmental Psychology to Bridge Cultures in the Classroom

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Applied developmental psychology provides an opportunity to use what is known from developmental research and apply this knowledge to solving social problems. This chapter provides the reader with a tangible example of how developmental psychology can be used in this way. The example utilizes basic developmental research demonstrating cross-cultural value conflict between Latino immigrant families and U.S. schools. This research serves as the foundation for a cross-cultural teacher training program entitled Bridging Cultures. Bridging Cultures was designed to ameliorate this cross-cultural value conflict, thereby improving the lives of Latino immigrant children, their parents, and their teachers.

WHAT IS BRIDGING CULTURES?

Bridging Cultures is a research-based cross-cultural training program for educators based on the notion that implicit value differences between school and home cause the most basic problems for immigrant or Native American children and their families, and, specifically, for most of the Latino immigrant population that comes to California. In particular, our project focuses on the difference between a collectivistic value orientation and an individualistic value orientation in order to conceptualize and organize these implicit value differences. Here, we use constructs that have a venerable history in cross-cultural psychology in a new way. The fundamental

TABLE 7.1
Contrasts Between Collectivism and Individualism

<i>Collectivism</i>	<i>Individualism</i>
Helping/being helped	Independent task completion
Social responsibility	Choice, personal responsibility
Sharing	Personal property
Narrative knowledge with a social purpose	Factual knowledge for its own sake

value orientations of individualism and collectivism lead to differences in many domains, a number of which are pertinent to the educational setting. Table 7.1 shows a few that we have found relevant in the elementary school context.

But the news in our research is not to put everyone in a box labeled individualism or collectivism (and there are of course individual differences in every group). Instead, the news is to demonstrate how these two orientations meet and clash in educational settings when immigrant families send their children to school. The news is in figuring out that these orientations apply to a dynamic real-world problem and how they animate real-world, lived experience.

The other news in Bridging Cultures is to demonstrate how an awareness of these two value orientations can result in a constant stream of innovative practices created by teachers and other school personnel, practices that create a bridge between the two cultures, between the culture of individualism, the dominant culture in the United States, and the culture of collectivism, brought from Mexico and Central America, as well as from other immigrant-sending countries.

CROSS-CULTURAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

Between 1967 and 1973, IBM gave a questionnaire assessing individualism and collectivism to thousands of its middle-class workers around the world (Hofstede, 2001). Table 7.2 presents selected results. Note first how the United States scored as the most individualistic country in the world. Note second how all of the countries currently sending large numbers of immigrants to the United States in general and to California in particular were high on collectivism. For example, the Latin American countries of Mexico, El Salvador, and Guatemala were high on collectivism. But so were Asian countries such as the Philippines and Korea. This situation sets the stage for cross-cultural value conflict, not just in the schools, but in society at large.

TABLE 7.2
Country Rankings on Individualism and Collectivism

USA	1	Most individualistic
Australia	2	
Great Britain	3	
Canada, Netherlands	4.5	
Italy	7	
France, Sweden	10.5	
Germany	15	
Israel	19	
Spain	20	
.....	Median
Philippines	31	
Mexico	32	
Hong Kong	37	
Singapore, Thailand, West African countries	34	
El Salvador	42	
South Korea	43	
Taiwan	44	
Pakistan, Indonesia	47.5	
Guatemala	53	Most collectivistic

Note. This table presents selected results based on factor analysis of questionnaire items given to IBM workers concerning work goals (Hofstede, 2001). Hofstede's full sample contains 53 countries.

Although the Hofstede analysis focused primarily on nationality, Hofstede and others have noted other factors that seem to influence basic value orientations. The first is socioeconomic: The rich tend to be more individualistic, the poor tend to be more collectivistic (Hofstede, 2001; Lustig & Koester, 1999). The second is demographics: Urban people tend to be more individualistic, rural people tend to be more collectivistic (Hofstede, 2001). The third factor is education: Formal education tends to make people more individualistic and less collectivistic (Tapia-Urbe, LeVine, & LeVine, 1994).

But the collectivistic side of this equation constitutes a demographic portrait of the overwhelming majority of people who come to California from Mexico, and even Central America. They are poor, rural, and have had little opportunity for formal education: Their collectivism is multiply determined. And so is the individualism of the United States. We not only inherited from northern Europe an ideology of rugged individualism, but we are predominantly rich, urban, and well educated. These contrasting demographic portraits explain why the value conflict is especially severe for Latino immigrants from Mexico and Central America.

Note too that the Latino immigrant population in our studies and in our Bridging Cultures classrooms is much more homogenous, compared with many Latino populations elsewhere in the United States. Our population, mainly from Mexico, is also poorer and has had less opportunity for formal

and Individualism

Individualism

Independent task completion
Choice, personal responsibility
Personal property
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education in their home countries. For example, in the scenario study presented shortly, the average educational level of the parents was fifth grade.

RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF THE BRIDGING CULTURES PROJECT

Methodologically, the Bridging Cultures Project utilizes mixed methods, integrating qualitative and quantitative techniques. We began with qualitative ethnographic classroom research (Greenfield, Raeff, & Quiroz, 1996), which was ongoing throughout the project. We then proceeded to a quantitative study of social dilemmas (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000) and a discourse study of parent-teacher conferences (Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000). The results of these basic studies were then used in training our seven core teachers during the Bridging Cultures workshops (Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2001).

The workshops and their effects also became a focus of study. We carried out before-after questionnaire assessments and also videotaped the workshops for later discourse analysis of change processes (Trumbull, Diaz-Meza, Hasan, & Rothstein-Fisch, 2001). By the end of the workshops, our teachers had become full participants in our research, and their changed practices became research data documenting effects of the training. Following the workshop series and over a period of about 5 years, they helped us document their new practices in longitudinal ethnographies that included teacher reports in our periodic group meetings and researcher observations in the teachers' classrooms, followed by an interview with each Bridging Culture teacher who had been observed.

Finally, Isaac (1999) and Correa-Chávez (1999) carried out quasi-experimental discourse studies comparing teacher-student and student-student interaction in a Bridging Cultures and a non-Bridging Cultures classroom (Correa-Chávez, 1999; Isaac, 1999). All of these data sources have contributed directly or indirectly to the present overview.

THE WORKSHOPS AND THE TEACHERS

With funding from WestEd, a federally funded regional educational R&D center with headquarters in Northern California, we held a series of three workshops over a 4-month period. Our trainees were seven elementary school teachers from all over Southern California, all teaching in bilingual Spanish-English classrooms (see acknowledgments for the list of participants). Participation was by invitation, and we selected teachers based on reputation and interest in cultural issues in teaching. Our seven partici-

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pants stretched from two schools centrally located near downtown Los Angeles north to a farm worker school in Ventura County, south to Whittier, and west, just two blocks from the Pacific Ocean, to a school serving a poor immigrant community, many of indigenous origin in the Mexican state of Oaxaca. An eighth teacher, from a university elementary school, did not continue after the first workshop; this is relevant to the point that successful training probably depends on a certain amount of selectivity and self-selection in choosing trainees. Grade levels varied from kindergarten through fifth grade. We paid our teachers for their participation and always served breakfast and lunch at the workshops, which were held at UCLA. The food was important because it made the teachers feel respected, in that their needs were being taken care of, something that they felt they did not experience in their public school systems.

In Workshop 1, teachers were asked to complete several home-school scenarios as a pretest (based on Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000, 2003). Bridging Cultures researcher, Blanca Quiroz, and I presented the teachers with our research findings on cross-cultural value conflict between individualism and collectivism in schools serving Latino immigrant families (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000; Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000); these findings are a key component of the present chapter. At the end of Workshop 1, we gave the teachers a homework assignment. We asked them to look for and observe in their school settings in the coming weeks examples of individualism and collectivism in conflict. Discussion of their reports constituted the main activity of Workshop 2. At the end of Workshop 2, we gave another assignment, this a very creative one: We asked the teachers to utilize the Bridging Cultures paradigm to make a change in their own educational practice, with the goal of better bridging between the home culture of collectivism and the school culture of individualism. Reports and discussion of their new practices and attitudes was the major activity of Workshop 3.

During Workshop 3, the teachers also requested that we continue to meet as an ongoing support group and they completed a posttest of additional scenarios from previous research (Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). The results indicated that the teachers' individualistic perspective in problem solving was initially very strong (86%), whether they were Latino or Euro-American in background, whereas collectivistic responses were rare (7%) (Rothstein-Fisch, Trumbull, Quiroz, & Greenfield, 1997).

FROM RESEARCH TO PRACTICE: THE PROCESS OF TEACHER CHANGE

In the posttest, individualistic responses decreased to 21%, whereas collectivistic problem solving increased to 57% after the third workshop (Rothstein-Fisch, Trumbull, Quiroz, & Greenfield, 1997). In other words, the teach-

ers went from an overwhelmingly individualistic perspective to a perspective that was more balanced between individualism and collectivism. The Latino teachers were able to once again express their home-culture perspective, whereas the Euro-American teachers were able to realize that they had a culture too. One Latina teacher later told us that she had been taught in school that her home culture would be a detriment to her education, and so she felt that she should also eradicate it from her young pupils. The Bridging Cultures experience had, for the first time, made her realize that home culture could be of value in the education of children from Latino immigrant homes.

We did continue to meet after the workshops ended, and the teachers continued to develop new practices inspired and informed by the Bridging Cultures paradigm. Examples of these practices constitute a significant aspect of the Bridging Cultures effect and the second key component of the present chapter.

The seven teachers also began to become principal disseminators of Bridging Cultures to other teachers, to teacher trainers, and to educational researchers; whether in their schools, in their school systems, or at regional and national meetings. In taking on these new tasks, the teachers began and completed a transformation from trainees to collaborators. At the same time, the teachers' new roles, practices, and attitudes became key data concerning the real-world effect of our training.

In sum, the research before the Bridging Cultures training documents cross-cultural value conflict between Latino immigrant families and the schools. The research during and after the Bridging Cultures training documents the effects of learning about research on cross-cultural value conflict on teacher behavior. Therefore, instead of presenting results in the standard way, I present a few key findings concerning cross-cultural value conflict in school and show how the Bridging Cultures teachers responded to these findings with altered attitudes and practices in their school settings. The organizing construct and link between research and practice will be the particular value conflict(s) in play.

Value Conflict #1: Helping Versus Independent Task Completion; Social Responsibility Versus Choice

The Research. I begin with a quasi-experimental study. This cross-cultural comparative study took place in two elementary schools; one served a mainly Euro-American population, while the other served a Latino immigrant community (Raef, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). We gave parents, teachers, and fifth-grade students a set of eight scenarios. Each scenario presented a dilemma that could be resolved either by collectivistic or individualistic means. To illustrate this research, I present a scenario that in-

volves two major issues, helping vs. independent task completion, and social responsibility vs. choice, as seen in Table 7.1. We embedded these issues in our "jobs scenario," which went as follows:

It is the end of the school day, and the class is cleaning up. Denise isn't feeling well and she asks Jasmine to help her with her job for the day, which is cleaning the blackboard. Jasmine isn't sure that she will have time to do both jobs. What do you think the teacher should do?

Note that both Denise and Jasmine have jobs to do. The issue is whether Jasmine should help Denise even if it means not being able to complete her own job. One frequent response which we called "find third" was the idea that a third party would be found who would volunteer to help, so that Jasmine could finish her own job. The other major response category we called "help"; the idea was that Jasmine should help no matter what her own situation.

Parallel to the way we presented our results to the teachers in the first Bridging Cultures workshop, I first summarize responses in the Euro-American school when we gave this scenario to Euro-American children, to their parents, and to teachers in their school. Figure 7.1 presents the three most frequent categories of response. Note that the dominant response in all three groups is "find third." In essence, "find third" expressed the idea that a volunteer should be found so that Jasmine could complete her own job. The notion of finding a volunteer indicates a priority placed on choice. The notion of enabling Jasmine to complete her own job indicates a priority

School 1: Euro-American Families

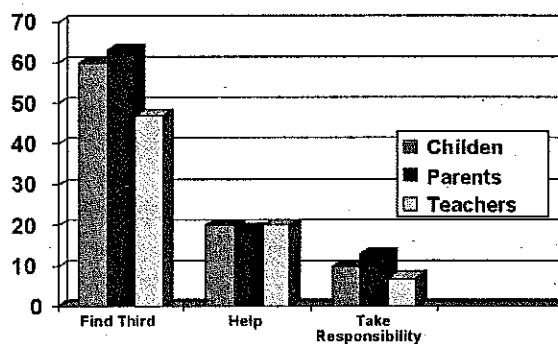


FIG. 7.1. Percentages of the three major categories of response by parents, children, and teachers to the "Jobs Scenario" in a predominantly Euro-American school. (Percentages do not add up to 100 because infrequent categories have not been included.)

dent Task choice

mental study. This cross-cultural study compared two types of schools; one served a predominantly White middle-class population and the other served a Latino immigrant population (Garcia, 2000). We gave parents, teachers, and students eight scenarios. Each scenario was designed to be either by collectivistic or individualistic values. I present a scenario that in-

placed on task completion. These are both part of the individualistic value complex (Fig. 7.1).

There are also minority responses as well. "Take responsibility" was a second response type we coded as individualistic (Fig. 7.1). This response type meant that Denise should take the personal responsibility of completing her own job even though she was sick. "Help" was another minority response. This code meant that Jasmine should help no matter what her own situation; it was classified as collectivistic (Fig. 7.1).

The most important point from the Bridging Cultures perspective is that there is cross-cultural harmony. The data show that in this school parents support the value system of the teachers, and vice versa. The dominant response of both groups is the same—the individualistic response "find third"—and individualistic responding is even greater if one adds in the category of "take responsibility." Note too that the children follow in the same footsteps as their two primary socializing agents. But also note the within-group variability. About one fifth of parents, teachers, and children choose the collectivistic pathway of the "help" response.

Figure 7.2 depicts the results in the Latino immigrant school. Here the situation is very different; parents and teachers do not agree most of the time. These results indicate that the child is pulled in two directions—between parents who say Jasmine should help no matter what and the teachers who say the teacher should respect Jasmine's right to complete her own job and helping is a matter of personal choice, not social responsibility. The graph indicates that school tends to win this battle between the two developmental

School 2: Latino Families

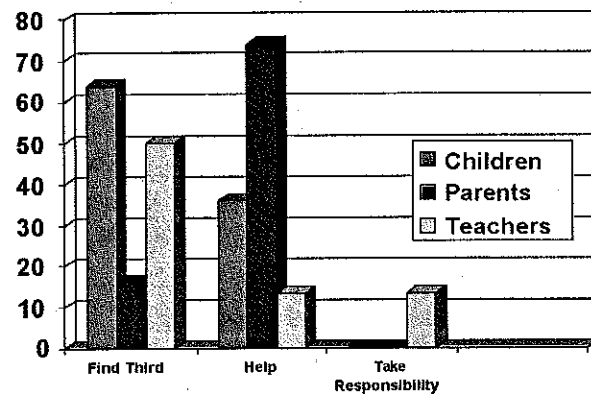


FIG. 7.2. Percentages of the three major categories of response by parents, children, and teachers to the "Jobs Scenario" in a Latino immigrant school. (Percentages do not add up to 100 because infrequent categories have not been included.)

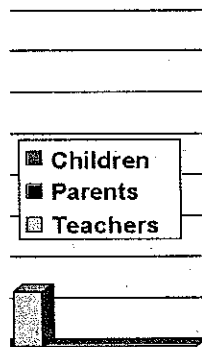
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pathways; that is, the Latino children select "find third" even more often than their parents. They have been taught and internalized the rules of the school, to the point of abandoning, in this instance, their parents' socialization goals.

Let us turn for a moment to the teachers. One final point concerning the results has important implications for cross-cultural teacher training. The teachers were multiethnic, including Latino teachers in both schools—yet the Latino or other ethnic minority teachers were no less individualistic in their responses. This finding was replicated in our Bridging Cultures teachers, as we saw earlier. School, especially teacher training, appears to enculturate teachers to the dominant culture, at least on the level assessed by our scenarios.

In sum, our findings indicated a conflict between prioritizing help as a social responsibility and prioritizing individual task completion, help being optional. We found that Latino immigrant parents generally favored helpfulness, whereas their children's teachers favored independent task completion.

The Bridging Cultures Teachers Respond to the Research Findings.

When we presented the results in Figs. 7.1 and 7.2 in the workshop, the Bridging Cultures trainees had already responded to this scenario on the pretest and discussed their responses in the workshop. Because every single trainee had responded in a uniformly individualistic manner, the Latino immigrant results (Fig. 7.2) provoked shocked surprise and an "ahaa" experience. At that moment, we, the researchers and trainers, knew the Bridging Cultures workshops were going to have an impact.

Indeed, in response to the results from the jobs scenario, teachers expressed some new insights into their own practices in the course of the workshop. For the first time they realized that they were in fact restricting helpfulness in their Latino immigrant classrooms. One example of such restriction that came up in the group discussion was the standard public school system of classroom monitors. Monitors are children who are assigned specific classroom jobs (e.g., cleaning the chalkboard or collecting homework). As was standard school practice, our Bridging Cultures trainees were in the habit of assigning only one child to each job. But in these Latino immigrant classrooms, the teachers reported that everyone wanted to help. Until the Bridging Cultures workshops, the teachers had all considered this a classroom management problem. However, once the scenario results made them aware of its source—in the Latino families' strong commitment to helpfulness as a value—our teachers developed new practices. One Bridging Cultures teacher, Giancarlo Mercado, went from single monitors to pairs of monitors, allowing greater participation in helping and permitting the monitors to help each other. Other teachers abandoned assigning tasks to individuals and allowed all who so desired to help.

This variability reflects another important point about the Bridging Cultures training methodology. We did not present any cookbook practices or "how to" material. We gave the teachers nothing but a research-based theoretical paradigm for understanding and changing the cultural dynamics of their classrooms. The teachers utilized this paradigm creatively; out of it came new attitudes toward parents (Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, & Greenfield, 2000) and children and a plethora of new practices (e.g., Quiroz, Greenfield, & Altchech, 1999; Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 1999). We, the researcher-trainers, were amazed; we had had no preset ideas of what would come out of the paradigm. The new practices varied from teacher to teacher, from situation to situation, and from grade level to grade level; however, all were based on the paradigmatic conflict between individualistic and collectivistic values. The paradigm of cross-cultural value conflict presented was generative in the same way that grammatical rules generate an infinite variety of sentences. For this reason, the teachers' generation of new practices has never stopped to this day.

The teachers not only created new practices as a result of the training. They also, with the research team's encouragement, engaged in efforts—local, regional, and national—to disseminate Bridging Cultures to other school personnel (about 50 in the first 5 years of the project; Trumbull et al., 2000). In so doing, they made ethnographic discoveries of manifestations of cross-cultural value conflict in other teachers and other schools. One example of such discoveries relates to the value conflict under discussion: helpfulness vs. individual task completion.

Often in U.S. schools, helpfulness is considered cheating; however, this may not always be true in more collectivistic countries of origin (Rothstein-Fisch, Trumbull, Isaac, Daley, & Perez, 2003). One of the Bridging Cultures teachers, Giancarlo Mercado, in the course of his own Bridging Cultures workshop for local colleagues, elicited the following autobiographical narrative from a fellow teacher of immigrant origins in South America:

My first experience in the public school was not a very positive one. I migrated to this country in 1981 and entered the eighth grade. I arrived with very good academic skills and a sense of a collectivist approach. I was very used to working with partners in solving problems. Even the homework required the sharing of ideas but most importantly sharing our materials. Our economic situation did not allow us to have pencils and crayons readily available.

I met this friend in a math class who had been here for more than a year. Naturally he had a good grasp of the language. I was exceptionally good at math computations. However, because of the language, I had a hard time solving word problems. I would immediately turn to my friend for help in understanding the problem. Once I understood the word problem, I was very good at coming up with a solution. I always assumed it was all right with my teacher until one day when he accused us of copying each other during a test. Both of us were sent to the office

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and were scolded by the principal. No matter how many times I tried to explain my situation, my teacher didn't want to hear it. Somehow this math class was never the same. I felt humiliated and embarrassed over this whole incident.

Clearly, this kind of incident is an extremely negative experience, with potentially damaging consequences for self and education.

What can be done to prevent this kind of experience? Once they had understood that helping another with academic work was considered a positive quality and practice in a collectivistic framework, the seven Bridging Cultures teachers encouraged, rather than discouraged, this kind of helping. For example, in a fourth grade taught by Bridging Cultures teacher, Marie Altchech, a Bridging Cultures researcher observed a student who knew more English helping a student who knew less with her writing. In a kindergarten taught by Bridging Cultures teacher, Kathy Eyler, a Bridging Cultures researcher observed one boy helping another with a math puzzle.

The teachers were very conscious about this change of attitudes toward helping behavior. One teacher said:

When I first started teaching at the school, I, they . . . were "no cheating nobody helps, you're doing their own work, so I know what you're capable of doing." Nobody was capable of doing anything. So it seemed to me, that's because I didn't even let them use that which makes them the best learner, each other. So I got rid of the whole idea of cheating, except when I use the test . . . but aside from that, when we're learning how to take the test, help each other please, help each other out. I don't care if you copied the answer, that's fine with me.

In their UCLA honors theses, Correa-Chávez (1999) and Isaac (1999) compared this teacher with another teacher who taught the same level (second grade) to the same population, but had not received the Bridging Cultures training. In line with the dominant culture and our findings in the scenario study, the non-Bridging Cultures teacher expressed an ideology of individual learning and achievement. The following is an observation made by Isaac (1999).

The children are whispering answers among themselves after one student is called on to respond to the teacher. The teacher then announces to the classroom, "I have heard people whispering and I really don't like it because why? They need to learn by themselves and you really aren't helping them learn."

This attitude on the part of the teacher led children to conflicted emotions about helping itself. Isaac (1999) observed that, in this non-Bridging Cultures class, the children were very conscious of the teacher's do-it-by-yourself values when she was around and showed signs of internal conflict

between helping other students and requiring them to show independence. However, they helped each other freely when she was not around.

Value Conflict Situation #2: Sharing Versus Personal Property

Another key cross-cultural value conflict involved a collectivistic emphasis on sharing, in contrast with an individualistic emphasis on personal property.

The Research. One of the dilemmas in the scenario study related to the issue of sharing. The scenario, presented to the same samples of elementary school teachers, children, and the children's parents, went as follows:

Adam and Johnny each get \$20 from their mother, and Johnny buys a t-shirt. A week later, Adam wants to borrow Johnny's t-shirt, and Johnny says "No, this is my t-shirt, and I bought it with my own money." And Adam says, "But you're not using it now."

What do you think the mother should do?

The key results are presented in Table 7.3. In the Latino immigrant school, the dominant response for the parents was to insist that the children share. In contrast, the dominant response for the teachers was that this was personal property and sharing should be only by personal choice, not out of social obligation. In this scenario, unlike the first one, the children's distribution of responses fell in between that of their parents and that of their teachers. If we compare this pattern of responding to that in response to the helping scenario, we note that children are more like their parents in the "t-shirt" scenario, more like their teachers in the "helping" scenario. This could illustrate domain-specific rates of acculturation in which children's acculturation to the host culture is more rapid in the domain of school than in the domain of home (Angela Nguyen, personal communication, May, 2005).

TABLE 7.3
Distribution of Responses by Parents, Children, and Teachers
to the "T-shirt Scenario" in a Latino Immigrant School

	<i>Share</i>	<i>Choice/Property</i>
Parents	58%	42%
Children	32%	50%
Teachers	6%	69%

Note. Row totals can be less than 100% because only the two most popular categories are shown in the table.

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Choice/Property

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Sharing Versus Personal Property at School. This conflict between home values and school values was visible in the school itself. A.B. became an apprentice bilingual kindergarten teacher. She had immigrated as an adult from Mexico. As we all do, she began, quite naturally and without training, to construct teaching practices that came out of her own cultural background. Unconsciously and automatically, she began to develop practices that built on the strengths of the collectivistic orientation that many Latino children bring from home to school. What happened next shows the need for systemic change that goes beyond individual teachers in individual classrooms. The positive responses of the children were very encouraging. However, the negative responses of supervisors and administrators were equally discouraging.

The example that follows takes the collectivistic value of *sharing* as an expected behavior and instantiates it in a basic classroom practice. In contrast, the teacher's mentor treats *personal property* as the expected behavior.

Crayons in the kindergarten classroom

A teacher-mentor came to visit A.B.'s bilingual kindergarten classroom. The mentor observed that A.B. had arranged the crayons in cups by colors, all the red crayons in one cup, all the blue in another, etc. and that the class was sharing each cup of crayons as needed. The mentor suggested putting each child's name on an individual cup that would contain multicolored crayons and would be used only by that particular child. The reason for doing this, the mentor said, was that it was very important for children to have their own property because it made them feel good. She also said that this practice would help children take care of their own property and that it was only fair that children who took care of their things would not have to use the "crappy" (her word) material of children who did not know how to take care of their things.

However, the response of the mainly Latino children in the classroom may have surprised the mentor-teacher. In a respectful fashion, A.B. followed her mentor's suggestion.

However, the children did not seem happier or more enthusiastic with the materials than they had been before. Furthermore, they did not care if their materials were misplaced, so their "personal" materials ended up having to be rearranged by the teacher every day. It was not that the children were incapable of arranging their materials in a systematic fashion, because they had done so before. However, the category "personal material" simply was not important to them.

Crayons as personal property did not fit with the orientation to sharing they had brought from their home culture. Our conclusion was that this

was an example of building-from-weakness unconsciously embodied in teacher-training methods.

The crayons incident shows how established educational practices often go against the grain of Latino immigrant students. The children kept their crayons better and were more interested in them when they were treated as communal property; it made teaching harder to transform the crayons into individual property. The Bridging Cultures training helps teachers to utilize children's collectivistic practices and values as strengths, rather than trying to eradicate ingrained values, treating them as weaknesses (Quiroz & Greenfield, 1995).

Value Conflict Situation #3: Narrative Knowledge With a Social Purpose Versus Factual Knowledge Valued for Its Own Sake

The following observation illustrates a cultural difference in the kind of knowledge that is valued in the two cultures. It is a difference between prioritizing narrative knowledge with a social purpose vs. prioritizing factual knowledge valued for its own sake (Table 7.1). This difference has many ramifications in academic settings. During one of our observations of a Los Angeles prekindergarten class made up of mostly Latino children,

the teacher was showing a real chicken egg that would soon hatch. While teaching the physical properties of the egg, she asked children to describe eggs by thinking about the times they had cooked and eaten them. One child tried three times to talk about how she cooked eggs with her grandmother, but the teacher disregarded these comments in favor of a child who explained that the insides of eggs are white and yellow.

The disregarded child was expressing knowledge in narrative form; the teacher wanted knowledge of the factual type. The disregarded child saw the eggs as a means to talk about a relationship with her grandmother; the teacher saw the bare facts about eggs as important in themselves.

This incident has a number of educational implications. Let me mention just one. Because the teacher did not even see the invisible culture that generated the description of cooking eggs with grandmother, the teacher devalued the child's contribution and, implicitly, the value orientation it reflected. Indeed, we have observed that teachers frequently make disparaging comments to each other about this socially oriented narrative style: "They're off the subject." "They can't think straight." "I can't stand it." They are critical of Latino immigrant students' cognitive and communicative style, without understanding the social values these children are expressing.

unconsciously embodied in educational practices often elicits. The children kept their distance when they were treated as inferior to transform the crayons into strengths, rather than treating them as weaknesses.

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ral difference in the kind of assessment. It is a difference between a purpose vs. prioritizing fact (table 7.1). This difference has emerged in one of our observations of a group of mostly Latino children,

that would soon hatch. While we asked children to describe the eggs and eaten them. One child described the eggs with her grandmother, in favor of a child who excelled.

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After the Bridging Cultures training, the seven Bridging Cultures teachers did indeed understand. The "eggs" incident had been presented and analyzed in one of the workshops. As a result, the teachers not only listened to and validated children's family-oriented narratives in the classroom; but, equally important, they also used these narratives as a bridge to factual knowledge for its own sake, as for example in science lessons (Rothstein-Fisch, 2003).

WHY AND HOW DID BRIDGING CULTURES WORK?

Our best answer to these questions is to enumerate the distinctive features of the Bridging Cultures approach to teacher training in general and to cross-cultural teacher training in particular.

1. *Bridging Cultures is based on research.* We presented real-world data to the teachers, and the data came from schools with populations just like those of the Bridging Cultures teachers.

2. *Bridging Cultures is an economical framework.* It is economical because it is based on only two concepts, individualism and collectivism. It is simple and easy to learn, but not simple-minded, as I hope this chapter makes clear.

3. *Bridging Cultures makes teaching easier.* Because it goes with the flow of children's home culture, it makes teaching easier. Instead of beating out home culture, teachers are building on students' home-based strengths to facilitate learning.

4. *Bridging Cultures is a generative theoretical paradigm.* Teachers have invented new practices in all aspects of their classrooms, from working with families to assessment (Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2001; Rothstein-Fisch, Trumbull, Isaac, Daley, & Perez, 2003).

5. *Teachers continue using the paradigm after the training ends.* This is highly unusual!

6. *It is applicable on a systemic level.* For example, beyond the work in elementary education which I have detailed in this chapter, we have found that the same implicit value differences between individualism and collectivism lead to misunderstanding and subtle conflict in multiethnic peer relations at the high school level in multiethnic sports teams (Greenfield, Davis, Suzuki, & Boutakidis, 2002). We have successfully extended the Bridging Cultures framework to parent training (Esau, Greenfield, Daley, & Tynes, 2004), as well as to early education (Zepeda, Gonzalez-Mena, Rothstein-Fisch, & Trumbull, in press) and to the Korean immigrant community.

Psychological Ramifications of Conflicting Value Socialization

A major goal of Bridging Cultures is to reduce cultural conflict between home and school. Such conflict becomes internalized in the psyche of a single person. The psychological reality of this conflict is best seen in this quote from one of our Bridging Cultures teachers, herself a Latina immigrant:

I remember going through it [the conflict] as a child—as an immigrant child—and trying to become, to understand this system. And in my family it ended up where the school was right and the teachers were right, and their value became more important . . . and because of that many of my brothers just stopped communicating completely with my father, because he represented the bad, the wrong way, and that was hard.

CONCLUSIONS

I here draw four conclusions from our work with Bridging Cultures. First, it is possible to build from strengths that children bring from a collectivistic value system, rather than treating these characteristics as educational weaknesses. Second, rather than creating divided loyalties between home and school, it is possible to create harmony between these two important social forces. Third, it is also possible to give back research findings to the community and let practitioners make them their own. The fourth conclusion is more general: The sequence from basic to applied research in the Bridging Cultures Project exemplifies how basic developmental research can be applied to solving an important real-world social problem.

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