

Bridging Cultures

PATRICIA GREENFIELD



LOS ANGELES,
CALIFORNIA,
USA

ELISE TRUMBULL



OAKLAND,
CALIFORNIA,
USA

CARRIE ROTHSTEIN- FISCH



NORTHRIDGE,
CALIFORNIA,
USA

Schools are prominent arenas for development. Schooling and its implications for the development of a cultural identity (self) and competence have been, and still are, targets of controversial debate. On the one hand, indigenous methods and contents of schooling are strongly advocated as an alternative to the Western type of schooling to support the acquisition of locally adaptive knowledge (Nsamenang, 1992; Serpell, 1979). On the other hand, the acquisition of similar skills across cultures is being claimed as a necessary step for improving peoples lives on a global scale (Kagitcibasi, 1996). These discussions center on the role of culture in the process of knowledge acquisition in different cultures, including the culture of the school. However, they leave out the multicultural reality that is a social fact in many immigrant societies. One major implication of this multicultural reality concerns the possibility of different cultural values among students, between students and teachers, and between home and school. "Bridging Cultures" began with basic research documenting cross-cultural value conflict between Latino immigrant families and the schools. Immigrant parents were generally much more collectivistic in their orientation to child socialization than were their children's teachers (Greenfield, Quiroz,

We are grateful for the financial support of WestEd, San Francisco through its grant from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement. We also would like to acknowledge our wonderful teacher partners, Marie Altchech, Catherine Daley, Kathryn Eyles, Elvia Hernandez, Giancarlo Mercado, Amada Pérez, and Pearl Saitzyk

If you would like to receive any of the Bridging Cultures materials, please correspond with us at the e-mail addresses in the About the Authors sidebar.

& Raeff, 2000; Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). We then utilized this research to help teachers and schools understand home culture and school culture, in order to create educational "bridges" between them.

Through the Bridging Cultures project, we have been exploring with teachers the ways in which deep value orientations of cultures (including the dominant U.S. culture) result in different expectations of children and of schooling. These orientations are less visible than the material elements of a culture or the ways in which a culture celebrates holidays, observes religious beliefs, or creates works of art. They are more difficult to capture than the histories of groups. Yet they form the basis for ways of viewing the world and vast ranges of behaviors including the way people communicate, discipline their children, and carry out everyday tasks. If schools are to succeed in promoting meaningful school involvement for parents and successful education for children, they need to understand how these orientations shape a whole host of beliefs, expectations, and behaviors—on the part of families on the one hand and of teachers and school personnel on the other.

INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM: THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE BRIDGING CULTURES TRAINING

The continuum of individualism/collectivism represents the degree to which a culture emphasizes individual fulfillment and choice versus interdependent relations, social responsibility, and the well-being of the group. Individualism makes the former a priority, collectivism, the latter. Although the dominant U.S. culture is extremely individualistic, many immigrant cultures are strongly collectivistic, as are American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian cultures. African-American culture has been described as more collectivistic than the dominant culture, more oriented toward extended family, and kinship-help patterns but still stresses the importance of individual achievement (Hill, 1972).

About 70 % of the world's cultures can be described as collectivistic (Triandis, 1989). At the most basic level, the difference is one of emphasis on individual success versus successful relations with others in a group. It could be characterized as the difference between "standing out" and "fitting in." In collectivistic cultures, people are more likely to identify their own personal goals with those of the group—extended family, religion, or other valued group (Brislin, 1993). When asked to complete the statement, "I am ..." collectivists are more likely to respond with reference to an organization, family, or religion. Individualists tend to list trait labels referring to aspects of their personalities, such as "hard-working," "intellectual," or "athletic" (Triandis, Brislin, & Hui, 1988).

APPLIED DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

Series editor: Heidi Keller

A collection of articles intended to demonstrate the mutual interdependence of developmental perspectives, culture-specific viewpoints, and our treatment of practical problems.

These two orientations of individualism and collectivism guide rather different developmental scripts for children and for schooling; and conflicts between them are reflected daily in U.S. classrooms. Keener awareness of how they shape goals and behaviors can enable teachers and parents to interpret each other's expectations better and work together more harmoniously on behalf of students.

We believe that a framework characterizing the features of individualism and collectivism is both economical and generative. It is economical because it incorporates and explains the relationship among many elements that have previously been regarded as separate, such as conceptions of schooling and education, attitudes toward family, expectations for role maintenance or flexibility (including gender roles), duties toward elders, authority structures, attitudes toward discipline, ways of dealing with property, and many aspects of communication. The framework is generative because it suggests interpretations of and explanations for an endless set of interactions among students in a classroom, between teacher and student(s), between teacher and parents, and between school and community.

If schools are to engender and sustain both student and parent involvement, they will need frameworks for understanding cultural differences and strategies for actively bridging those differences.

Teachers' expectations can lead students to feel as though they do or do not belong in the classroom, affecting their engagement in learning and, consequently, their achievement. Likewise, parents can come to feel at home in or alienated from their children's schools depending on the way in which the school and its personnel interact with them. If schools are to engender and sustain both student and parent involvement, they will need frameworks for understanding cultural differences and strategies for actively bridging those differences.

We must emphasize that there are elements of both individualism and collectivism in any society and that cultures change, particularly when they come in contact with each other. As Goldenberg and Gallimore observed, "Both continuity and discontinuity across generations are part of the process of cultural evolution, a complex dynamic that contributes to change and variability within cultures" (1995, pp. 188). For example, parents' views about appropriate education for girls of the current generation of Mexican-American families are different from their parents' views on the same topic (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1995; Greenfield, Raeff & Quiroz, 1996). The new generation puts greater emphasis on individual educational development; the older generation put greater emphasis on family responsibility.

Intergenerational trends toward the host culture notwithstanding, there currently exists tremendous cross-cultural value conflict between Latino immigrant families and the schools. Most of these families have immigrated from rural Mexico, with a minority from urban

Mexico and Central America. They were generally poor in their homelands, with little opportunity for educational advancement.

We now turn to examples of individualism-collectivism conflicts experienced by this population when they send their children to school in Los Angeles or other U.S. communities. The examples which follow emerged from our ethnographic research. They were subsequently used in our Bridging Cultures training (described later in this article) to help teachers become more aware of the existence and nature of home-school value differences for their immigrant Latino students.

EXAMPLE OF AN INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM CONFLICT: SHARING OR PERSONAL PROPERTY?

The emphasis on social relationships rather than on the individual extends to notions of property: in collectivistic cultures, the boundaries of property ownership are more permeable. Personal items such as clothing, books, or toys are readily shared and often seen as family property rather than individual property.

ANALYSIS OF "THE CRAYONS INCIDENT"

The crayons incident involves an underlying conflict between the values of sharing and personal property. The kindergarten teacher was an immigrant Latina parent herself, and her arrangement of the crayons was implicitly based on her collectivistic orientation. When she responded to the wishes of the supervising teacher by rearranging the crayons, the children, largely immigrant Latinos themselves, began to experience conflict between the sharing orientation that was familiar to them at home (and previously at school) and the new orientation to personal property. The children "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" (Quiroz & Greenfield, 1996, pp. 12-13).

THE CRAYONS INCIDENT

A mentor teacher paid a visit to a kindergarten class, where she observed that the teacher had arranged the crayons by color in cups. There was a cup for the green crayons, a cup for the red crayons, and so on. Each cup of crayons was shared by the entire class. The mentor suggested to the kindergarten teacher that it would be much better if each child had his or her own cup of crayons with all the colors in it. She explained that it made children feel good to have their own property and that they needed to learn how to take care of their own property. Furthermore, those who took good care of their "property" would not have to suffer by using the "crappy" (her word) crayons of those children who did not know how to take care of their things (Quiroz & Greenfield, 1996).

The preceding example makes it very clear that values are in the head, not in the situation, and that they are used for the symbolic construction of social relations and social life, at school as at home. In terms of the external situation in this example, the crayons in actual fact belonged to the school. Through her actions and words, the teacher symbolically constructed them as belonging to the class as a whole, while the mentor symbolically constructed them as belonging to individual students. The mentor was clear that she wanted the children to learn a lesson about the importance of personal property; the teacher, implicitly, was communicating a message about the necessity to share. The teacher's message harmonized with the children's prior socialization at home; the mentor's did not. The children's behavior indicated that the teacher's approach was meaningful to them; the mentor's was not.

COOPERATION, COMPETITION, AND SCHOOLING: ANOTHER ARENA FOR CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

The ways teachers and students interact in the classroom reflect a relative emphasis on the needs of the group or of the individual. Competition is the natural companion of a focus on the individual, while cooperation is the natural companion of a focus on the group. Although "cooperative learning" has been widely promoted, sometimes on the grounds that it will include students' later success on the job, the norm of cooperation has clearly not overridden the norm of competition. Indeed, our analysis of "cooperative learning" in schools indicates that there are two basic modes of cooperation, one more individualistic, the other more collectivistic. The more individualistic mode is characterized by division of labor; the more collectivistic by people focusing together on a common task. A comparison of more schooled and less schooled Maya mothers, guiding their children in a puzzle task, showed that formal schooling promotes the individualistic mode of cooperation (Chavajay & Rogoff, 2002). Cooperative learning, as it is practiced in schools, also involves division of labor as a central element (e.g., Aronson et al., 1978); it is therefore not necessarily a comfortable mode of learning for children who have been socialized to focus together on a common task.

The conflict between the two norms is seen most clearly in settings such as Southern California, where immigrant Latinos are introduced to U.S. schooling, or Alaska, where students from indigenous cultures meet "mainstream" teaching. Yup'ik Eskimo teacher Vicki Dull explains the situation in the village where she taught: "...in the Yup'ik culture, 'group' is important. There is little, if any, competition among Yup'ik people. When the Western school system entered the picture, the unity of the group slowly shattered. Children were sent hundreds and often thousands of miles away to be schooled in boarding schools where they were forced to abandon their own language for the foreign English with its accompanying foreign ways. They learned the Western value of competition. They learned to be individuals, competing against each other, instead of a group working in unity ... There are seldom, if any times when they were allowed to help each other, which would have been construed as 'cheating'" (Dull, in Nelson-Barber & Dull, 1998, pp. 95). It is difficult for educators used

to U.S. "mainstream" norms to comprehend how drastic a shift this represents for students from a collectivistic culture.

IMPACT OF HOME-SCHOOL VALUE CONFLICT

Here and elsewhere we have presented examples of how these two different value orientations often collide as children from immigrant families move from home culture into U.S. schools (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Greenfield, Raeff, & Quiroz, 1998; Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). Children of immigrant families may be torn between the values and expectations of their native culture and those of the "mainstream." Parents and teachers (the latter representing the "mainstream" culture) may observe the same behaviors in children but interpret them differently, because they are viewing them through very different cultural lenses. When the individualistic teacher says the child is "able to work well independently," the collectivistic parent may hear the teacher as saying the child is "too separated from the group." When the collectivistic parent asks more than once about his or her child's social development, the individualistic teacher may hear the parent as saying, "I don't really care whether she does well in school."

AN OVERVIEW OF INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM CONFLICTS BETWEEN LATINO IMMIGRANT PARENTS AND U.S. SCHOOLS

Our research on individualism and collectivism has identified multiple areas of potential conflict that teachers may observe in the classroom or in interactions with parents (see Greenfield, Quiroz, & Raeff, 2000; Raeff, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000; Greenfield, Raeff, Quiroz, 1996; Quiroz & Greenfield, 1996). Table 1 summarizes these conflicts; the last two have already been discussed at some length. Although space prevents full discussion of the others, each is a manifestation of an underlying conflict between a more individualistic and a more collectivistic perspective. Each occurs when the collectivistic tradition of Latino (and likely many other) immigrant families encounters the individualistic tradition of U.S. schools.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: GUIDING TEACHERS TO BRIDGE CULTURES

To determine if knowledge of the cultural value systems of individualism and collectivism could affect teaching and learning, we began with professional development workshops for seven elementary teachers from bilingual Spanish-English classrooms in Southern California (see list of participating teachers in the author note). The grade level of their classes ranged from kindergarten through fifth grade. Four teachers were Latino; three were Euro-American. Three of the four Latino teachers were immigrants to the United States (two from Mexico, one from Peru); one of the Euro-American teachers was an immigrant (from Germany). All of the immigrant teachers had come to the United States when they were young (between two and eight years of age).

TABLE 1. SOURCES OF HOME-SCHOOL CONFLICT

Individualism	Collectivism
Child as individual	Child as part of the group
Independence	Helpfulness
Praise (for positive self-esteem)	Criticism (for normative behavior)
Cognitive Skills	Social Skills
Oral expression	Listening to authority
Parents' role is to teach	Teacher's role is to educate
Personal property	Sharing
Competition	Cooperation

(Based on Quiroz & Greenfield, 1996)

These seven teachers participated in a series of three half-day workshops. In the first workshop, the staff researchers (the three authors plus Blanca Quiroz) presented the theory of individualism and collectivism, as well as the results of our research on cross-cultural value conflict between Latino immigrant families and the schools (Raef, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000).

The format was quite participatory; so, for example, we asked the teachers how they would solve certain individualism-collectivism dilemmas before showing them what our research had revealed about how Latino immigrant parents and their children's teachers resolved the same dilemmas (Raef, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2000). The teachers were noticeably surprised to find out that the Latino parents favored a different (i.e., collectivistic) way to resolve dilemmas that the teachers had generally solved in an individualistic mode. (In this way, we found out that the schooling process, particularly teacher training, wiped out, at least on the surface, the collectivistic values with which our Latino teachers, as they later told us, had been raised.) We also presented examples of cross-cultural conflict between individualism and collectivism in the schools, such as the crayons incident above.

At the end of the first workshop, we asked the teachers to observe in their schools and to bring back to the second workshop an example of conflict between individualism and collectivism that they had noticed. During the second workshop, they shared their examples, and we refined understanding of the two value systems through discussion. At the end of the second workshop, we asked the teachers to try to make one change before the next workshop that would reduce a conflict between individualism and collectivism in their classroom or school and to observe its impact. In the third workshop, they reported on what they had done and how it had worked. We discussed their interventions, and this was the beginning of a process by which teachers used the individualism-collectivism paradigm to generate

new practices and learn from each others' innovations. Researchers could also record these innovations to present as important "results" of the training, for purposes of broader dissemination to the educational community.

At the end of Workshop 3, the teachers agreed that it would be worthwhile to continue to meet to explore applications of the theory in their own classrooms and schools. We held a fourth, debriefing, workshop and then arranged to keep meeting several times a year. These meetings, at which teachers reported their latest Bridging Cultures innovations, researchers reported ongoing research and publications, and teacher-researcher teams practiced for upcoming outreach presentations, lasted five years. Workshops and meetings always included food and drink and an opportunity for socializing. The group turned into a collaborative support team, as the line between teacher and researcher became increasingly blurred.

TEACHERS AS RESEARCHERS

A key feature of "Bridging Cultures" is the role teachers take. The seven participating teachers in our original Bridging Cultures workshop are themselves acting as researchers in their own classrooms and contributing both to a deeper understanding of the theoretical framework and to the collection of examples of school-based experiences and practices that bring the framework alive. These teachers are truly "teacher-researchers" because they experiment with new ways of bridging cultures, and they report the results for others to learn from. We refer to ourselves (the authors) as "staff-researchers." One of the teachers (Catherine Daley) and one of the researchers (Patricia Greenfield) are currently engaged in a formal study applying the Bridging Cultures training to parent education. We believe that teacher research is an important and unique source of knowledge about teaching and that artificial boundaries between the practice of teaching and research on teaching need to be challenged.

In our project, we discuss ways to improve home-school relationships and children's education that are based on the experimentation of the teacher-researchers in their own classrooms. This experimentation is then disseminated to the broader educational community through publications and professional workshops (Quiroz, Greenfield, & Altchech, 1998, 1999; Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Trumbull, 1999; Rothstein-Fisch, Trumbull, Isaac, Daley, & Pérez, 2001; Trumbull, Diaz-Meza, Hasan, & Rothstein-Fisch, 2001; Trumbull, Rothstein-Fisch, Greenfield, & Quiroz, 2001). Teachers are important partners in the dissemination process.

TEACHERS USE THE THEORY TO GENERATE NEW PRACTICES

Indeed, the framework itself has proven more generative than we dreamed possible. There has been no end to the applications teachers have identified and innovations they have developed. Teachers can apply the framework in ways that make sense in their classrooms and schools and which they are comfortable with. Not all innovations are of equal value or success. They need to be evaluated in light of the framework and research, as well as tested by teachers, to see how they work and what outcomes they drive. There is no recommended

mix of individualism and collectivism in the classroom, although most of the innovations have, quite naturally, been in the direction of making uniformly individualistic classrooms more collectivistic. It is important to note that our method is nonprescriptive. We provide the paradigm; the teachers use the paradigm to generate their own innovations, which vary greatly from teacher to teacher. Here are a few examples:

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Patricia Greenfield received her Ph. D. from Harvard University and is currently Professor of Psychology at UCLA, where she directs the FPR-UCLA Center for Culture, Brain, and Development and the Children's Digital Media Center, and chairs the developmental psychology program. Her central theoretical and research interest is in the relationship between culture and human development. Her books include *Mind and Media: The Effects of Television, Video Games, and Computers* (Harvard, 1984), *Interacting with Video*, coedited with R. R. Cocking (Elsevier, 1996), and *Cross-Cultural Roots of Minority Child Development* (Erlbaum, 1994). She has done field research on child development, social change, and weaving apprenticeship in Chiapas, Mexico since 1969. This cumulative work is presented in a new book titled *Weaving Generations Together*, to be published by SAR Press in 2003. A current project in Los Angeles investigates how cultural values influence relationships on multiethnic high school sports teams.

greenfield@psych.ucla.edu

Carrie Rothstein-Fisch, Ph.D. is Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology and Counseling in the Michael D. Eisner College of Education at California State University, Northridge. She is a core researcher from the Bridging Cultures Project. Dr. Rothstein-Fisch developed the Bridging Cultures Teacher Education Module, a training resource for teacher educators working with teachers-in-training or teachers in continuing education.

carrie.rothstein-fisch@csun.edu

Elise Trumbull is an applied psycholinguist specializing in research on relationships among language, culture, and schooling. She completed her doctorate (Ed.D.) at Boston University in 1984. Since 1991, Trumbull has been Senior Research Associate at WestEd (San Francisco), where she co-founded the Bridging Cultures Project and has conducted research on the assessment of English language learners. Trumbull is co-author of six books (three of them currently in press) and numerous articles and chapters. She has studied five languages in addition to English and is currently learning Haitian Creole (Kreyòl) in the context of an assessment research project funded by the National Science Foundation.

etrumbu@wested.org

In the area of home-school relations, examples include transforming parent-teacher conferences, with their traditional focus on one individual child, into a group format where the teacher meets with parents of several children. In the area of classroom management, helping tasks (such as cleaning the blackboard) stopped being restricted to one assigned child; children were allowed to help freely and to work together on a wide variety of classroom tasks. In the area of instruction, children were encouraged to help each other in preparing for standardized tests (while the bottom line of individual assessment was also made clear!). In language arts, teachers designed writing prompts and selected literature based on students' interest in the topic of "family"; they also supported students' forms of discourse that integrated academic topics with social topics (such as experiences with family).

REASON FOR OPTIMISM

The outcomes of the Bridging Cultures Project are causes for optimism. Some of the most striking effects have to do with (1) the perspective teachers have gained on their own culture and school culture, (2) the degree to which this has begun to influence their thinking and their practice in ways that reduce conflicts between home and school culture, and (3) the increased confidence teachers have in their own abilities to build the kinds of relationships with families that will support student success in school. They know how to learn from their students' families, and they have new ways of understanding what parents are sharing with them. What they have learned will stand them in good stead whenever they encounter students from other collectivistic cultures, although the specifics may be different. We believe the project has been successful for the following reasons:

- It uses a theory- and research-based framework to guide experimentation with new educational methods.
- It offers teachers opportunities to share and analyze practice over an extended period of time.
- It has a committed group of teacher-researchers and staff researchers.
- It is not prescriptive but offers a generative framework.
- It includes meetings that incorporate both rigorous intellectual work and enjoyable interpersonal activities such as sharing meals, humor, and personal celebrations.

In the final analysis, teachers recognize that neither value system is all good or all bad. One teacher said, "I think that it is a good point to bring out about culture...that...we're not saying collectivism is right and individualism is wrong. We're just saying to recognize it. It's different."

REFERENCES

- Aronson, E., Stephan, C., Sikes, J., Blaney, N., & Snapp, M. (1978). *The jigsaw classroom*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Brislin, R. (1993). *Understanding culture's influence on behavior*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.
- Chavajay P, Rogoff B. (2002). Schooling and traditional collaborative social organization of problem solving by Mayan mothers and children. *Developmental Psychology*, 38(1), 55 – 66.
- Goldenberg, C. & Gallimore, R. (1995). Immigrant Latino parents' values and beliefs about their children's education: Continuities and discontinuities across cultures and generations. In P. Pintrich & M. Maehr (Eds.), *Advances in achievement motivation* (Vol 9) (pp. 183-228). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Greenfield, P. M. & Cocking, R. (Eds.). (1994). *Cross-cultural roots of minority child development*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Greenfield, P. M., Quiroz, B., & Raeff, C. (2000). Cross-cultural conflict and harmony in the social construction of the child. In S. Harkness, C. Raeff, & C. M. Super (Eds.), *Variability in the social construction of the child* (pp. 93-108). New Directions in Child Development. No. 87. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Greenfield, P. M., Raeff, C., & Quiroz, B. (1996). Cultural values in learning and education. In B. Williams (Ed.), *Closing the achievement gap: A vision for changing beliefs and practices* (pp. 37-55). Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.
- Hill, R. B. (1972). *The strengths of Black families*. New York: Emerson Hall.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). *Family and human development across cultures: A view from the other side*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Nelson-Barber, S. & Dull, V. (1998). Don't act like a teacher! Images of effective instruction in a Yup'ik Eskimo classroom. In J. Lipka (Ed.), with G.V. Mohatt in the Cuiolistet Group. *Transforming the culture of schools: Yup'ik Eskimo examples* (pp. 91-105). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Nsameng, A. B. (1992). *Human development in cultural context. A third world perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Quiroz, B. & Greenfield, P. M. (1996). *Cross-cultural value conflict: Removing a barrier to Latino school achievement*. Department of Psychology, UCLA, Unpublished manuscript.
- Quiroz, B., Greenfield, P. M., & Altchech, M. (1998). Bridging cultures between home and school: The parent-teacher conference, *Connections*, 1, 8-11.
- Quiroz, B., Greenfield, P. M. & Altchech, M. (1999). Bridging cultures with a parent-teacher conference. *Educational Leadership*, 56(7), 68-70.
- Raeff, C., Greenfield, P.M., & Quiroz, B. (2000). Conceptualizing interpersonal relationships in the cultural contexts of individualism and collectivism. In S. Harkness, C. Raeff, & C. Super, (Eds.), *Variability in the social construction of the child* (pp. 59-74). New Directions in Child Development. No. 87. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rothstein-Fisch, C., Greenfield, P. M., & Trumbull, E. (1999). Bridging cultures with classroom strategies. *Educational Leadership*, 56(7), 64-67.
- Rothstein-Fisch, C., Trumbull, E., Isaac, A., Daley, C., & Pérez, A. (2001, April). *When "helping someone else" is the right answer*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle, WA.
- Serpell, R. (1979). How specific are perceptual skills? A cross-cultural study of pattern representation. *British Journal of Psychology*, 70, 365-380.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism. *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, 37, 43-133.
- Triandis, H., Brislin, R., & Hui, C. H. (1988). Cross-cultural training across the individualism-collective divide. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 12, 269-289.
- Trumbull, E., Rothstein-Fisch, C., & Greenfield, P. M. (2000). *Bridging cultures in our schools: New approaches that work*. Knowledge Brief. San Francisco: WestEd
- Trumbull, E., Diaz-Meza, R., Hasan, A. & Rothstein-Fisch, C. (2001) *Five year report of the bridging cultures project*. San Francisco: WestEd. www.wested.org/bridgingcultures.
- Trumbull, E., Rothstein-Fisch, C., Greenfield, P. M., & Quiroz, B. (2001). *Bridging cultures between home and school: A guide for teachers*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

► 1: Pax IACCP

whose loyalties rest with their careers and their scientific values, not of national groups that have agendas transcending individual motivations, embedded as they are in their countries' political and economic systems. But nonetheless, the individuals who make IACCP are citizens of nations, and these nations are busily playing out 19th Century balance of power politics in pursuit of competing economic and political interests.

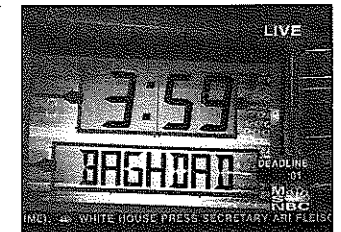
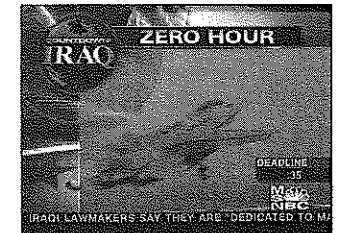
IACCP is surely one of the most polite, careful, decorous, accommodating organizations I've been involved in. It will need all of these wonderful traits to maintain its internationalist values during the stresses that I believe will come with the Pax Americana, whether or not any *pax* is indeed forthcoming during this era.

The Iraq War and the political climate in the U.S. have polarized the nation and my university, come between friends, introduced tensions in classrooms, and sold a lot of flags and patriotic car ornaments.¹ This polarization extends across borders, at least symbolically: a Florida liquor store chain now puts little flags over its wine racks so customers won't fear they might mistakenly purchase French wine.

IACCP needs to actively and vigilantly (preemptively!) address the nationalist and imperialist passions that may diminish it. Although it is unfortunately true that IACCP, like the U.N. and the world economy, is dominated by members from the wealthy, mainly Western, countries, it is still a great idea that we should work to maintain (like the U.N.).²

¹One example of this polarization is the sorry state of American media. There is a sense in the U.S. that the only remaining free media outlet is the Internet (e.g., see www.MoveOn.org), while both sides agree that the unfree media (the TV, radio, and newspaper chains) are controlled by the other.

²This *Bulletin* is a late (what's new?) double issue because the editor (me) was fully distracted by the Iraq War. We organized four anti-war marches in this military town from February through April, often in the face of drive-by curses and charges of traitorism (see www.PatriotsForPeace.info).



War images from American

TV. Top: The networks counted down, but MSNBC (Microsoft + National Broadcasting Company, a subsidiary of defense contractor General Electric) had the tasteless on-screen timer. **2nd:** I second left. **3rd:** Fox News, the most conservative American network, unwittingly contrasting the Realist (Kissinger) and the executor of the Neoconservative agenda (Bush); **Bottom:** CNN buys Al Jazeera video to show us Baghdad being bombed.