
Introduction

One of the tasks of the progressive educator, through a serious correct political analysis, is to unveil opportunities for hope, no matter what the obstacles may be. After all, without hope there is little we can do. It will be hard to struggle on, and when we fight as hopeless or despairing persons, our struggle will be suicidal . . . (Freire, 1995:9)

The relationship between ethnic identity and power has important consequences in a modern world that is changing rapidly through global immigration trends. Over a hundred million people have left their countries of origin to seek the satisfaction of the important needs of safety (away from physical and mental violence) and assured sustenance, as well as in search of a better life (better education and higher standards of living). As ethnic groups abandon their home countries and towns of origin, they carry with them a worldview, a lifestyle, a language and a family structure that they try to maintain in the host country. For as long as they maintain their cultural markers and other symbolic components of their identity, they seem to muster the energy and courage needed to adapt and survive. In fact, as immigrants and ethnic groups reaffirm and redefine their identities in contrast with other groups as well as mainstream peoples, they seem to hold power, to control their destiny, and to succeed in their risky ventures as immigrants. To a certain extent, internal migrations within a country that allow ethnic groups to maintain their sense of peoplehood and togetherness seem to provide them with the power to face the psychological challenges of change. But a second and third generation of children

must also adapt and reconstruct their identities, and must compromise their efforts to retain their ethnic identity without becoming marginalized and stereotyped by the mainstream society. The studies of conflict of ethnic identity become necessarily studies of political power, social status, school achievement, and allocation of resources. The recognition of power by an ethnic group, however, creates competition for control and rivalry for power over public arenas. It is in this context that the present volume provides interesting insights into the dilemmas faced by immigrants, members of ethnic groups, school personnel, and policymakers.

The First World has indeed always been an example of scandals of every sort, always a model of wickedness, of exploitation. We need only think of colonialism—of the massacres of invaded, subjugated, colonized peoples; of the wars of this century, of shameful, cheapening racial discrimination, and the rapine [sic] that colonialism has perpetrated. No, we have no monopoly on the dishonorable . . . *Pedagogy of Hope* . . . is written in rage and love, without which there is no hope. It is meant as a defense of tolerance—not to be confused with connivance—and radicalness. It is meant as a criticism of sectarianism. It attempts to explain and defend progressive postmodernity and it will reject conservative, neo-liberal postmodernity. (Freire, 1995:9–10)

Scope and Content of Volume

The “hegemony of violence” or “cultural war” (alluded to by Donaldo Macedo and Lilia I. Bartolomé in this volume) that perpetuates a climate of racism and xenophobia in American and other Western societies, is intended to kill any hope for empowerment among the oppressed. Using Paulo Freire’s metaphors and philosophy, this book weaves a beautiful and powerful tapestry of important contributions by researchers from different cultures, ethnic groups, and disciplinary traditions in North America, Europe, Mexico, Brazil, and China. Through different academic voices and intensity, a single powerful message emerges from this volume, which invites reflec-

tion about self-identification processes, and allows a deeper understanding of the empowering consequences of a clear and strong personal, cultural, ethnic, and social identity. These pages offer a keen grasp of the undeniable political contexts of education and how it metamorphosizes into political action or *praxis* in schools and society.

As with any other intellectual endeavor in the educational arena, research takes place in a highly sensitive climate of tempestuous unexpected storms of righteousness and moral debate. More than ever our modern world critically examines the role of researchers and demands a new integration of ethical principles associated with the generation and acquisition of new knowledge. A group of outstanding scholars from multiple generations and disciplinary backgrounds (anthropology, sociology, art, critical theory, communications, applied pedagogy, cultural psychology, and educational ethnography), have given us honest, profound, and stimulating accounts of their struggles to decipher self-identification processes in various political contexts, as well as their personal reflections on the study of ethnicity. Ethnic identity, ethnic loyalty, and political action are inseparable in the context of oppression, conflict, and fight over scarce resources in daily human interaction.

Many of the international crises the Western world experienced during the twentieth century are related to power control and cultural purity, about the rejection of ethnic groups (and even their systematic destruction through genocidal long-term planning), as well as, in the end, the emancipation and resiliency of oppressed human populations. If we had to identify the single most important departure from traditional research canons and practices at the turn of the twentieth century (a century of incredible violence and unexpected global change), we probably would have to say that researchers can no longer retain political neutrality or hide their political values behind the pretense of objectivity or the shield of methodological or theoretical purity. Social science researchers cannot be indifferent to genocide, slavery, child labor, or child exploitation through pedophilia, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, gender inequities, and other abuses of persons by their fellow humans; there is no possible objectivity in the study of human exploitation because the abuse of any human being is an offense against all human beings.

Many social scientists aim at doing a better job in documenting their biases in the study of human conflict and in pursuing the implications of their research to reach adequate solutions. Critical theory (the heart of critical pedagogy) offers a great deal of hope to social scientists attempting to do quality advocacy research. Some critical theorists, however, seem to stay away from empirical research and genuine grounded research in schools and communities. Consequently, much of their time and energy is spent in sharpening their discourse and criticizing each other, rather than in engaging in substantive data collection and analysis. This volume offers precisely the opposite; it is based on a new trend among critical theorists, a new trend characterized by three unique features: (1) research grounded in specific geographical settings and clearly focused theoretical issues about the power struggle of ethnic groups, (2) theoretical claims which are modest but clearly organized to open new horizons for further research and development, and (3) a pragmatic and unambiguous recognition of the need to pursue cross-cultural research on issues of race, ethnicity, power, and equity.

Ethnic identification processes are today a main preoccupation of many social scientists. Concepts of the self are a moving target in a world of rapid change and hectic interpersonal interactions with diverse audiences. We seem to develop and maintain multiple identities *vis-à-vis* the people with whom we interact in specific domains; we redefine ourselves as we change from one cultural world to another, from one linguistic group to another, from one crisis to another. This book takes us to different places and settings in search for answers. The first part of the book consists of specific studies of ethnic identity. Chapter 1, by George and Louise Spindler, confronts America's most controversial drama of the "White Ethniclass." In direct and specific language the Spindlers share their profound psychoanalytical views of the traumatic experiences faced by white males in a world that is turning brown and that is culturally different. Their response seems to take form in radical militias, angry anti-immigrant groups, and an anxious nostalgic search for the America they knew when they thought they had control of their lives and could display their cultural capital at times in contradictory fashion as hard work, individualism, freedom, conformity, sociability, achievement, and collective success. This theme is revisited in a more detailed theoretical statement by

Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco in Chapter 10, in the following section. The first chapter offers a predominant view of the people who are in power but begin to see the conspicuous presence and rising power of ethnic minority groups, especially African Americans and Latinos. Chapters 2 and 9 are dedicated to culturally and linguistically diverse groups in the United States and abroad. Chapter 2, by Cirenio Rodríguez and Enrique T. Trueba, offers the perspective of the Latinos who are discovering their political power and beginning to articulate their determination to become an integral part of American society, while demanding political representation and the benefits of belonging to mainstream society. Chicanos struggling for liberation are also struggling for a new identity. Their marginalization during years of struggle is reflected in their somewhat contradictory views of themselves collectively, and their debates over the appropriate course of action needed to succeed in the academic, political, and academic world of high achievers.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are examples of how educators in the United States perceive the challenges of educating culturally and linguistically diverse students, and what strategies are designed in order to create more effective instructional practices and policies. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 illustrate political and pedagogical movements in Mexico, and Chapter 9 is a special case study of Moroccan children in Holland and their socialization within the family. All these studies provide both the historical and political contexts that affect ethnic identification of children and the pedagogical approaches used to educate them.

Chapter 3, by Jon Wagner, brings us directly into the arena of school socialization where the struggle for self-identification is intense and decisive. The needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students require new approaches that cannot be taught at the university and must be learned as part of on-the-job training. This chapter, in a very detailed and clear fashion, shows how high school teachers and administrators design and implement specific reform policies and programs in a multiethnic setting. A number of teaching strategies are discussed, including heterogeneous groups with the intent of detracking students, interdisciplinary teaching teams to assist or resocialize teachers, and a number of collaborative school-wide decision-making groups of teachers and administrators. The combination of politics and pedagogy, the goals set

forth in the school and efforts at creating interdisciplinary teaching teams and curricula, are a symbolic expression of the value placed by the school on cultural and linguistic diversity. The experimental approaches and new pedagogical initiatives enhanced students' commitment to learn, and transformed the role of teachers and the essence of schooling. Indeed, new educational goals and a new relationship between teachers and administrators, teachers and students, and students with each other, created a strong sense of community and a high level of enthusiasm. The reaffirmation of ethnic identities in students empowered them to achieve academically. In a clear and precise way Wagner spells out the way school empowers students, the role of ethnicity in this process, the role and primary responsibilities of teachers, the role of students, the role of administrators, the functions of the curriculum and of extra-curricular activities, how teachers and administrator view the community, and finally, the meaning of success. This chapter is an extraordinary and rare example of a well-documented study of educational change in contemporary American schools, with clear analytical statements of the process of empowerment and the factors of success. The significant implications of this study for educational reform policies in the country cannot be overemphasized.

Based on the premises established by critical theorists and researchers who focused on hegemonic discourses in the classroom, Rebecca Constantino and Christian Faltis present, in Chapter 4, another concrete example of self-initiated response by teachers seeking change. Deeply committed to the education of all children, the teachers under study insisted on finding more effective pedagogies for culturally and linguistically diverse students. Some teachers' courage in opposing conformist pedagogies that ignore the linguistic and cultural capital which children bring to school was demonstrated in how the teachers confronted political decisions on a daily basis, in their use of nonstandard discourse and the Spanish language when deemed appropriate, in their choice of curriculum materials, and in other efforts to resist hegemonic discourse in school. These teachers publicly opposed the transitional bilingual education policies of federal agencies and boycotted the National Association of Bilingual Education for accepting such policies. They also refused to use commercial assessment instruments in English that they perceived as unfairly used and applied to children who

spoke other languages, thus measuring English proficiency rather than intellectual or academic abilities. Perhaps one of the most important contributions of these teachers was in the day-to-day organization of their instruction in conformity to their own high standards of an adequate pedagogy that takes into consideration children's sociocultural capital and other assets.

Chapter 5, by James and Penelope Shackelford and Enrique Trueba, describes programs at the University of California, Davis, that were established in various engineering and science units in partnership with other institutions. These efforts, based on affirmative action policies which existed until recently, have been abandoned as a result of California Proposition 209. The authors discuss the political context of affirmative action in California with Proposition 209 and the resulting discontinuation of some of their efforts. The future of activities such as those described in this chapter is extremely uncertain, and the absence of these activities will have significant negative consequences for culturally and linguistically diverse students (particularly Latinos and Blacks). Affirmative action continues to be debated on many campuses, and it is under serious revision by legal experts, philosophers and educators.

Chapter 6, by Beatriz Calvo, the first of three chapters dealing with education in Mexico, provides the reader with a general historical background that explains the governmental modernization movement and resource allocation policies constituting a symbolic gesture toward the creation of a new and genuine democratic climate. The chief goal of this modernization is to decentralize programs, fund them adequately, and give momentum to regional planning to meet the needs of specific students. There are clear tensions between a rhetoric of modernization and the conspicuous lack of resources to train professionals in some regions. In this environment of highly diversified populations, the ideal of democratization in Mexico takes on a new political character in the context of Indian education. The author discusses the contrast between official discourse (government rhetoric) of the democratic nature of education and the practical daily discourse of selective access to education and differential quality. Public education in Mexico advocates three values: (1) solidarity with and social participation of those who have less, who are marginalized in the poorer regions of the country; (2) political independence and cultural autonomy; and

(3) equity of opportunity for all. The author alludes to the impact of *maquiladoras* and the economic development of border cities, such as Ciudad Juárez, that attract thousands of potential employees. The proximity with the United States also creates high expectations for many undocumented groups of immigrants in search of employment. The schools in the border cities of Mexico have become highly diversified with children of families from different parts of the country and different ethnic traditions. The implications of these rapid sociopolitical and economic changes require new approaches and philosophies, and new teachers who understand children from such diverse backgrounds. The parallel between problems in the United States Southwest and in the northern Mexican border towns reflects a reality of a binational existence with two entirely different educational and political systems. Coordination and dialogue are urgently needed between the two sides of the border.

Chapter 7, by Robert DeVillar, provides a sociopolitical and historical context for Indian education as a result of the Mexican Revolution that gave voice to the poor and enslaved peasants. The revolution showed that the submissive and patient behavior of the Indian soul did not completely repress the Mexican potential for violence. The rhetoric of democracy is in clear contrast with electoral fraud, corruption, patronage, and paternalism. The frustration of many Mexicans is fueled by their conviction that the profound inequities between the poor and the rich cannot be resolved by state or municipal governments, because the federal government is in total control. The conflict in Chiapas with the *Zapatistas* is but one example of the central control. The towns controlled by the *Zapatistas* in Chiapas in their revolt of desperation and hunger were taken back by the *federales* with a conspicuous display of force and cruelty. The author discusses in great and rich detail the multiple indigenous images and identities of Indian groups and the role of the media in the process of democratization. DeVillar presents a forceful picture of the restrictive and selective policies of acculturation that curtail channels of education for indigenous peoples. The contexts in which the media point to these selectivity are: (1) the brutal examples of Chiapas' Zapatista National Liberation Front and the killings of Mayan Indians by the *federales*, (2) the new policies of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and (3) the persistent economic crises in the Mexican

economy. The extremely important role of the media as apologist and catalyst is captured and eloquently presented by DeVillar. Public discourse and government rhetoric continues to blame the Indians for their poverty and isolation without alluding to historical systematic exploitation and isolation policies. Thousands of Indians died of hunger and curable diseases in Chiapas in 1944 during the *Zapatistas'* struggle with the federal government. The dramatic effects of domination and control, the creation of hegemonic structures to exploit Indian groups, the consequences for ethnic identity, and the precarious present condition of these groups, is discussed with forceful clarity by DeVillar.

As a followup, Chapter 8, by Robert DeVillar and Victor Franco, describes the role of the media during the armed and peaceful struggles for identity on the part of various ethnolinguistic groups in Mexico. The oppressed peoples from Chiapas, ignored by Mexican authorities, are brought to an international audience by TV cameras, and this fact instantly changes the attitude of the Mexican government. This phenomenon is what the authors call the "demarginalization" of indigenous causes. Without the power of the media, this demarginalization would never be possible. Indians in Mexico found their voice in the stormy encounters between the *federales* and the *Zapatistas* documented by international TV cameras. Their pronouncements essentially unveiled the lack of democracy, the lack of freedom, and the lack of respect for human rights. Furthermore, it was the *Zapatistas* who exposed the practice institutionalized in Mexico of enlisting reporters on the government's payroll and paying the newspaper to publish propaganda. Video images as cultural expressions giving legitimacy to various ethnic identities have become very important in Mexico.

The video study of the Ñahñu Indians from the State of Hidalgo gave their cause a voice and an image that could no longer be avoided and forgotten by the government. Their way out of their economic and cultural isolation was handled by the Indians themselves by taking over the control of initiatives to make their lifestyles public via video. The dilemmas of cultural assimilation and self-determination in the maintenance of their ethnic identity is discussed by the authors. With support from government organizations and a research center, this Indian group organized a video project to document their alphabet and writing, their life as shepherds

(with the modernized production of caprine and ovine livestock), their family life, and their migration to urban centers in Mexico and the United States. The results of this project are analyzed by the authors as an outstanding example of the Nāhñu Indians' determination to promote their self-identity and to fight marginalization. This chapter brings back the notions of Freire's critical pedagogy about the inherent relationship between politics and education, political actions as praxis, and the struggle for liberation. It documents a powerful example of how media, in the hands of the oppressed, can alter history. A unique combination of self-determination and international media attention shows the vision of modern Indians in Mexico. They are creating drastic changes in their mode of negotiation with the Mexican Government because they know that the credibility of Mexico as a civilized country—one in which humans rights must be respected in order to keep foreign investments—is of paramount importance.

The last chapter of this section, Chapter 9, by Lotty Eldering, offers by contrast and comparison the study of Moroccan children in the Netherlands. The author takes the theoretical position that identity formation does not occur in a vacuum, but in the specific sociocultural context of family and society where values and norms are internalized. Minority children, however, get messages at home that are contradicted by messages in the larger society. Using a socioecological model, the author describes the Moroccans' subordinate status in society, their different cultural background, and the mechanisms of socialization. Moroccans, the third-largest ethnic group in the Netherlands, number 165,000 people. The author, having learned a Moroccan-Arab dialect, worked intensively with a sample of 45 Moroccan families in a small Dutch town. She describes the formation of ethnic networks and communities that function to reconstruct cultural life and provide mutual support and solidarity to the families. The visits to Morocco by these families facilitated their biculturalism and reinforced the cultural and religious values of the family. Afraid that the more permissive life of Dutch society may ruin the children (get them into drugs and delinquency), parents arrange marriages for their children at a young age. Traditional values of virginity in women and the submissiveness of women to men is stressed in the socialization of children. The author describes the crises of women who are forced

to seek divorce and protect themselves and their children against their husbands' violence. The problems in the socialization of children are different from those in two-parent families. The author explores the biculturalism of these children "living in two worlds" and their adjustment process to the Netherlands. This is an important chapter because it underlines the similarities and differences between culturally and linguistically diverse students in the United States and those in Europe facing similar lower status and oppressive circumstances. This chapter is an appropriate transition to the following chapters which have a clear theoretical focus because it explores the relative validity of the cultural ecological model and the peculiar ways in which Moroccan families in the Netherlands socialize children. The use of ethnic networks and community institutions (with their stratified structures) is brought to the Netherlands from Morocco and used, along with the religious belief system, by immigrant families in the socialization of young children. Moroccan women in this context are most instrumental and clearly involved in assisting children to adapt to the Netherlands and to succeed academically.

The second part of this book focuses directly on some of the lessons learned from social science research on ethnic identification and the critical study of equity, with its implications for pedagogy. Chapter 10, by Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, entitled *State Terrors: Immigrants and Refugees in the Post-National Space*, addresses the cultural malaise pervasive in postindustrial democracies replete with contradictions and conflictive positions. The fear of losing control of the forces around us, the vacuum of legitimacy leading to a collective paranoia, and our irrational rage over a world we cannot recognize as "ours" has targeted immigrants as culprits responsible for all our problems. Suárez-Orozco takes us through a subtle and profound psychoanalysis of American personality at the turn of this tumultuous century, suffering *dis-locations*, downsizing, economic threats, and massive influxes of "new" immigrants (immigrants of color from Latin America, and the Caribbean, with very diverse cultures). The author feels that as the old concepts of "nation," "community," and "home" fall apart during crises of lost jobs, homes, and communities, and lost faith in our nation, "we find ourselves struggling to create a new language to imagine new 'postnational' communities" with conflicting positions

regarding immigration. At times we view immigrants as sharing our values and qualities, and we display confidence that their children are tough, brave and smart enough to face the challenges of our nation. But soon we turn around and view immigrants as the enemy—"illegal, criminal and alien—attempting to take over our country. The struggle then is to control our borders and stop the "torrent of people flooding" our land with terrorists and criminals. These polar positions, according to the author, intimately relate to serious problems in "our" own identity and our sense that we are losing control of "our" land. In a cross-cultural comparison with similar crises in Europe, with rich details of current events, public opinion, and federal policies in the United States, Suárez-Orozco discusses the global context for the crisis that has resulted in the current xenophobia, antiimmigrant violence, and the high level of anxiety among mainstream populations of Western democracies. This chapter is a powerful statement with profound psychoanalytical observations based on systematic and serious reflections of the crises affecting members of postindustrial democracies entering a new age of transnational collectivities.

Chapter 11, by Elvira and Marcelo Lima, focuses on the pedagogical implications of the crises described in the previous chapters. The common denominator of the oppressed populations of immigrants, or other groups with unique ethnolinguistic, racial, socioeconomic or gender characteristics, is that they all are excluded from adequate instructional pedagogies in schools. Based on the research by L. S. Vygotsky and the Neo-Vygotskians, Elvira S. Lima and Marcelo G. Lima analyze the concepts of cultural diversity and identity, multiculturalism, group affiliation and the structure of social relationships defining a person's symbolic membership in a group. The authors ask questions about the basic need for social identification and the need we all have for creating adequate pedagogical environments in which teachers and students co-construct knowledge. Toward the end of this introduction I will discuss some of the theoretical foundations of the position taken here by the Limas. The important issue in this chapter is the recognition that a sound pedagogy must consider the cultural experiences of students and acknowledge the critical role of language and culture in the acquisition of knowledge for individuals who belong to different cultural groups.

In Chapter 12, Donaldo Macedo and Lilia Bartolomé focus on the roots of faulty pedagogies that result in the academic failure of oppressed groups. Racism, ethnic violence, the prevalence of hegemonic discourse in schools and other educational institutions, all have a similar ideological basis that explains attacks against immigrants. This chapter unveils in clear analytical terms the impact of prejudice among educators working with children of immigrants. Symbolic violence, sexism, racism, and cultural war are different labels to characterize the crises alluded to in previous chapters by the Spindlers, Rodríguez and Trueba, Constantino and Faltis, Suárez-Orozco, the Limas, and later on by David M. Smith and Peter McLaren.

Chapter 13, by David Smith, carries further the implications of prejudice in the context of Alaska's educational system. The history of the education of Native Alaskans reflects policies and practices that illustrate the politics of exclusion in contrast with the norms of sound pedagogy. Critical pedagogy and the need for "cultural therapy" link this chapter to Chapter 1 by the Spindlers and to other chapters alluding to the embedded conflict in conducting research among oppressed peoples (for example, Chapter 14, by Yali Zou). We will discuss more about the relationship of critical pedagogy to cultural therapy at the end of the introduction.

The chapter on critical ethnography, by Yali Zou, brings home the serious conflicts that exist for the ethnic researcher in doing a study of ethnic identity and power. This conflict exists for all researchers, but in a special way it affects the changes in personal identity taken by ethnic researchers studying their own country's equity problems and pedagogical exclusions. In a very insightful and provocative fashion, Zou raises issues about the authenticity and consistency of ethnic researchers as advocates for the oppressed and as judges of equity in highly explosive and risky research environments, as China is today. Can the researcher (a Han Chinese woman educated in this country as an immigrant since 1988), ask questions to minority students in China without imposing her own hegemonic notions? What is the role of a critical ethnographer who is at the same time a member of the most powerful group in China? Zou attempts to answer these questions.

Chapter 14, by Peter McLaren, describes the precarious conditions of confrontation and uncertainty for ethnic groups who

negotiate their ethnic identities in the current historical juncture of racism, white supremacist growth and political right radicalism. The author's Afterword statement on the entire volume shows his commitment to eliminate racism and promote critical ethnography. He also comments on the various chapters and warns us about the problems associated with the use of terms such as *race* in an environment of culturally marked distinctions and usages that turn these terms into "a racialized category" when, in fact, racial groups are not monolithic categories of existing human beings. McLaren recommends that we move to a discussion of racial relations and practices, exploitation and resistance. He also comments on the multiple identities of the contributors to this volume as educators, researchers, intellectuals, social agents, and members of various ethnic groups. He discusses, in passing the important issue of *essentialized identities* and the need to understand the *denationalized, de-Mexicanized, and trans-Chicanized, and pseudo-internationalized* identities of Latinos. In a time of rapid mobility and rapid hybridization of all human groups, especially those in this hemisphere, multiculturalism is the point of departure for critical pedagogy.

Theoretical Contributions of This Volume

Traditional disciplinary barriers are often crossed at some risk, even when the complementarity of approaches seems to be clear and productive. For years a number of scholars from anthropological, sociological, and psychological traditions have used critical pedagogy concepts that eclectically combine their own main disciplines with genuinely new epistemological and methodological inquiries related to issues of equity, curriculum reform, institutional racism, effective teaching strategies, and the role of the ethnic community in the development of adequate pedagogies (Apple, 1989, 1993; Freire and Macedo, 1987; Freire and Macedo, 1996; Macedo, 1991, 1993; Gutierrez, Larson and Kreuter, 1995; Gutierrez, Rymes, and Larson, 1995; McLaren, 1989, 1995; McLaren and da Silva, 1993; Bartolomé, 1996; Moll, 1986, 1990). Since the mid-1970s until today, various contributions from anthropology in the study of cul-

tural adaptation and academic success (vis-à-vis the cultural and linguistic continuities and discontinuities faced by immigrants and refugees) often focused on the differential performance of immigrant children. Those classified as “caste-like” (Ogbu, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1987, 1992; Gibson and Ogbu, 1991) seem to display permanent characteristics that prevented them from adapting to mainstream schools and society. The unsettling features behind the rigidity of this model are that, (1) by creating the appearance of providing a full explanation of the failure of those “others” who are not like us—that is, the “caste-like” ethnics—we are taking away their voices and denying them an opportunity to respond to our “theories” of failure; and (2) we stopped our inquiry without getting into the complex and difficult area of knowledge acquisition, and the role of the home language and culture in that process. Effectively, a rigid explanation based on structural theories that argues the individual “caste-like” or their teachers cannot do anything to bring about academic success, thus offering a culturally deterministic explanation of success or failure in the United States. Social scientists have developed parallel trends of resistance to ethnocentric and rigid explanatory models of differential success and failure across ethnic, racial, socioeconomic and “other” nonmainstream groups, by developing emancipating discourses such as critical pedagogy. Until recently, however, critical discourse was dominated by mainstream scholars, some of whom appeared to be less interested in gathering empirical data on emancipation in field-based settings (actual schools and communities), than in debating each other and dissecting each other’s discourse. The actual development of alternative, creative, and constructive pedagogies based on genuinely interdisciplinary and cross-cultural approaches is a recent development. The fact is that we know of many successes, many exceptions to the rule of caste-like performance—children who everybody expected to see fail in school, yet who managed to succeed, individually and collectively.

In order to explain differential achievement within the same ethnic group and in those in similar socioeconomic and political contexts, we can use Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy and Vygotsky’s theory of human development. Each provides a very useful perspective, and both have been highly instrumental in helping educators implement effective pedagogical approaches. Scaffolding,

or joint construction of new knowledge in a collaborative relationship between teacher and students, is best analyzed using Vygotsky's theories of human development. One of the most important contributions of Vygotsky to our understanding of immigrant children's intellectual development and school achievement, especially of those undergoing rapid sociocultural change, was his theory about the relationship between cognitive and social phenomena (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978; Moll, 1986, 1990; Cole, 1985, 1990; Wertsch, 1981, 1985, 1991; Scribner and Cole, 1981; Trueba, 1991). Vygotsky states that the development of uniquely human higher-level mental functions, such as consciousness and the creation of taxonomic cognitive structures (required for academic learning), find their origin in day-to-day social interaction. According to Moll, if teachers follow Vygotskian principles, they will see literacy as "the understanding and communication of meaning" and will make efforts "to make classrooms literate environments in which many language experiences can take place and different types of literacies can be developed and learned" (1990:8). Indeed, Moll stresses the idea that "teachers who follow this approach reject rote instruction or reducing reading and writing into skill sequences taught in isolation or a successive, stagelike manner. Rather, they emphasize the creation of social contexts in which children actively learn to use, try, and manipulate language in the service of making sense or creating meaning" (Moll, 1990:8).

Effective teachers who understand the process of internalization that permits students the transition from interpsychological experience to intrapsychological cognitive categories adopt culturally and linguistically meaningful teaching strategies (D'Andrade, 1984; Cole, 1985; Vygotsky, 1962, 1978); that is, strategies occurring within the zone of proximal development of children. The zone of proximal development was defined by Vygotsky as the distance between a child's "actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving" and the higher level of "potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (1978:86). Furthermore, if we accept the intimate relationship between language and thought proposed by Vygotsky (who sees language as a symbolic system mediating all social and cognitive functions), we must link the lower intellectual development and school achieve-

ment of some immigrant children with the abrupt transition from a familiar to an unfamiliar sociocultural environment, and therefore, the lack of both linguistic and cultural knowledge to interact meaningfully with adults and peers. Consequently, no suitable zones of proximal development are opened up for them by adults or more informed peers, and the discourse and cognitive categories required to function in school are not readily available to them (Brown, Campione, Cole, Griffin, Mehan, and Riel, 1982; Trueba, 1991). In other words, it is impossible to create appropriate zones of proximal development in oppressive and unfamiliar learning environments without the symbolic tools that allow a child to make sense of social transactions and translate them into intrapsychological phenomena. A bilingual and bicultural teacher who understands the predicament of immigrant children, however, can create appropriate zones of proximal development. The use of these zones of proximal development requires not only awareness of the relationship between language, thought, and culture, but also of the principles of critical pedagogy. A teacher's own experience as an immigrant child of a farmworker sensitizes him or her to the traumas of immigrant children of farmworkers.

The book will present contextual information gathered in various interactions between teachers and students, parents and children, to help the reader understand the significance of culturally appropriate pedagogies based on critical consciousness, on efforts to resist domestication and oppression by creating liberating learning environments. Mexican working families in central California (Trueba, 1997) represent the quintessence of resistance to oppression. The conspicuous display of Mexican culture in their daily lives, their civil and religious ceremonies and life events, their family networks, and frequent communication with their hometowns in Mexico, offer children the cultural foundation to reaffirm their identity and refuse to be treated as an underclass by teachers and the surrounding English-speaking society. Bilingualism is the rule, and academic excellence in both languages is the mechanism to earn respect from teachers. These families articulate a vision for their children's economic future through academic hard work. It is a vision of resistance to oppression to show the oppressors that Mexicans are smart and can achieve. It is not an oppositional self-identity in the Ogbuan sense of resigning themselves not to excel

in the arenas where the mainstream population is successful, but to do better than the whites in their own arenas, in school and in various careers and professions. The key role in the socialization of Mexican children for academic success is played by women, the mothers who keep a close watch on their children's schooling.

The efforts of immigrant women in central California demonstrate an underlying collective organization through networks, and long-term economic planning necessary to counteract the inherent instability of farm labor and its meager pay. Economic survival is as important as cultural survival. The integrity of the family life both in the United States and the Mexican hometowns requires very careful use of family resources. Many of these families had originally planned to return to Mexico and used about half of their income in various investments in their hometowns (purchase of land, new businesses, construction of homes, and so on). Three factors have forced them to change their long-term plans: (1) new economic crises in Mexico, (2) the backlash against immigrants in the United States (see Suárez-Orozco in this volume), and (3) the academic aspirations of the children who are now well adjusted in the United States. The plan to go back has been placed on the back burner, if not abandoned. Instead, massive requests for citizenship have occurred among the various generations of the families (including retired members of the family now in Mexico, who worked in this country most of their lives). The intergenerational efforts to support children's education in a culturally and linguistically familiar environment among migrant families seen to have been more effective than the rapid loss of the home language and cultures among Mexican youth in neighboring larger cities now infested by marginalized teenagers preyed on by gangs and drug addiction. The use of critical pedagogy (and of critical ethnography, based on Freire's philosophy) focuses not only on the oppression of a given population, but on their strategies for reaching empowerment; that is, it focuses on schooling, on the actions of a teacher who paves the way for the children of an oppressed population to escape the trap of underachievement and marginalization. School children learn that one's own low economic status, clearly resulting from oppressive working conditions, should not destroy their ethnic identity, their aspirations for a better life, and their self-confidence. Classroom instruction provides the home language and culture with a

legitimacy and high status that enhances the strong affiliation of families to their home language and culture, as well as personal confidence to acquire English as a second language and the academic skills necessary to function in American society. Instructional style and its effectiveness in the teaching of mathematics are only the beginning of their empowerment and their successful adaptation to this country. Mexican immigrant women, in particular, express in powerful terms their commitment to the academic success of their children as the cornerstone for cultural and economic survival.

The complementary approaches of critical ethnography and learning theories that recognize the importance of children's home language and culture is considered today part a powerful theoretical and methodological tool to be used in lieu of broad rigid models based on social stratification. Critical ethnography (see Carspecken, 1996) is linked to the work of Paul Willis (1977) and Bowles and Gintis (1976); but its quintessential roots are in the seminal work of the early educational ethnographers such as George Spindler, Margaret Mead, Jules Henry and others (Spindler, 1955). The ideological relationship of critical ethnography to Paulo Freire's pedagogy (1973, 1995) however, is extremely important because it was Paulo Freire who established the fundamental principle that all educational endeavors are inherently political, and that without conscientization (reflective awareness) of oppression, there is no way we can escape it. He urged social science researchers to integrate theory and praxis and demonstrate their commitment to oppose oppression and search for adequate means to liberate people through the acquisition of knowledge. I see critical ethnography in education focused on discussing cultural themes that constitute the essence of oppression in the form of a hidden curriculum and other mechanisms intended to reproduce the social order and exclude the underclass. As McLaren states, students often feel that "they are denied a voice with which to be present in the world; they are made invisible to history and rendered powerless to shape it (1989:233). McLaren and da Silva feel that "emancipatory knowledge is never realized fully, but is continually dreamed, continually revived, and continually transformed in the heart of our memories, the flames of our longing and the passion of our struggle" (1993:59). Critical ethnography permits us to get into the emancipatory knowledge

that motivates students' resistance to the dominant culture in the United States. By retaining their ethnic identity they feel empowered to resist racial and ethnic prejudicial policies and practices. Critical ethnography also permits us to re-examine cultural hegemony and the nature of cultural conflict as a drama taking place right in the classroom via reflection on historical factors of ethnic and racial legitimacy, reproduction of the social order, and the right to a voice in one's own language (Leistyna, Woodrum and Sherblom, 1996:334). In the end, a few reflections from the ethnographer will be presented. Critical ethnography is risky and painful. Carspecken offers the following penetrating remarks:

Any identity that depends on negating the worth of others is ultimately limited and ultimately falls short of human potentiality. Most people gain a sense of worth through cultural systems that pit them against other groups of humans. This is why many people enjoyed a privileged position in society feel threatened by the plight of the poor. They do not want to know too many of the details. They want to explain social inequality by blaming the victims or in any other way that leaves their accustomed identities intact. They are afraid of being wounded (Carspecken, 1996:170-171).

Because critical ethnography is committed to praxis, discourse alone is not sufficient. To explain why relatively powerless immigrant families can create their own systems of resistance to dominant beliefs, values, norms, and practices, may seem irrational or even frightening to some people, especially if heroes of the emancipation movement are the mothers (uneducated, low-income immigrant women who defend at any cost their cultural integrity in all arenas, especially in their home and schools).

In brief, the compatibility and complementarity of critical ethnography and Vygotskian development psychology can help explain differential success among children expected to fail, and may help teachers develop appropriate pedagogical approaches to effectively teach children who are culturally and linguistically different. We need to offer pedagogical solutions and role models to teachers and teacher educators. The purpose is to gain a clear understanding of the instructional requirements for empowering all children (espe-