Section C: Diversifying Curriculum

8. Curriculum and Cultural Diversity
   Gloria Ladson-Billings and Keefrellyn Brown
   Consulting Authors: Kathryn H. Au and Geneva Gay
   153

9. Identity, Community, and Diversity:
   Rhetoric and Multicultural Curriculum for the Postmodern Era
   Sonia Nieto, Patty Bode, Eugenie Kang, and John Ralibe
   Consulting Authors: Cherry A. McGee Banks and Sofia Villenas
   176

10. Students' Experience of School Curriculum:
    The Everyday Circumstances of Granting and Withholding Assent to Learn
    Frederick Erickson with Rishi Bagrodia, Alison Cook-Sather, Manuel Espinoza, Susan Jayow, Jeffrey J. Shultz, and Joi Spencer
    Consulting Authors: Robert Boast and Pedro Noguera
    198

11. Immigrant Students' Experience of Curriculum
    Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, Elaine Chan, and Shijing Xu
    Consulting Authors: Jim Cummins and Stacey J. Lee
    219

12. Teaching for Diversity: The Next Big Challenge
    Mel Ainscow
    Consulting Authors: Chris Forlin and Roger Slee
    240

Section D: Teaching Curriculum

13. Teacher Education as a Bridge: Unpacking Curriculum Controversies
    Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Kelly E. Demers
    Consulting Authors: Ann Lieberman and Ana Maria Villegas
    261

14. Cultivating the Image of Teachers as Curriculum Makers
    Cheryl J. Craig and Vicki Ross
    Consulting Authors: Carol Conole and Virginia Richardson
    282

15. Teachers' Experience of Curriculum: Policy, Pedagogy, and Situation
    William Ayers, Therese Quinn, David O. Stovall, and Libby Scheirn
    Consulting Authors: Freema Elbaz-Luwisch and Janet L. Miller
    306

Section E: Internationalizing Curriculum

16. Indigenous Resistance and Renewal:
    From Colonizing Practices to Self-Determination
    Donna Deeyhae, Karen Swisher, Tracy Stevens, and Ruth Trinidad Galván
    Consulting Authors: Teresa L. McCarty and Linda Tuthiwai Smith
    329

17. Globalization and Curriculum
    Kathryn M. Anderson-Levitt
    Consulting Authors: Lynne Paine and Fazel Rizvi
    349

18. Community Education in Developing Countries:
    The Quiet Revolution in Schooling
    Joseph P. Farrell
    Consulting Authors: Ash Hartwell and John N. Hawkins
    369

Part III: Curriculum in Theory

Introductory Essay
   William H. Schubert
   391

Section F: Inquiring Into Curriculum

19. Curriculum Inquiry
    William H. Schubert
    Consulting Authors: Craig Kridel and Edmund C. Short
    399

20. Curriculum Policy Research
    Edmund C. Short
    Consulting Author: Nina Bascia
    420

21. Hidden Research in Curriculum
    Robin J. Enns
    Consulting Author: Margaret Haughey
    431

22. Reenvisioning the Progressive Tradition in Curriculum
    David T. Hansen, Rodino Anderson, Jeffrey Frank, and Kiera Nieuwejaar
    Consulting Authors: Gert J. J. Biesta and Jim Garrison
    440

23. What the Schools Teach:
    A Social History of the American Curriculum Since 1950
    Barry M. Franklin and Carla C. Johnson
    Consulting Authors: Gary McCulloch and William J. Reese
    460

24. Curriculum Development in Historical Perspective
    J. Wesley Null
    Consulting Authors: Geoffrey Milburn and Wiel Vuykelsers
    478

25. Curriculum Theory Since 1950:
    Crisis, Reconceptualization, Internationalization
    William F. Pinar
    Consulting Authors: Donald Blumenfeld-Jones and Patrick Slattery
    491

26. The Landscape of Curriculum and Instruction: Diversity and Continuity
    M. Michael Connelly and Shijing Xu
    Consulting Authors: Elliot W. Eisner and Philip W. Jackson
    514

Author Index
   534

Subject Index
   558

About the Editors
   586

About the Part Editors
   588

About the Consulting Authors
   589

About the Contributing Authors
   597

Immigrant Students' Experience of Curriculum
Ming Fang He
JoAnn Philion
Elaine Chao
Shihong Xu

The changing multicultural and multilingual world landscape

The world landscape is becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual as international migration rates grow each year (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2003). UNESCO reported that in 2000, more than 6,090 languages were in use, including 114 sign languages, in 228 countries. Approximately 185 million people worldwide live outside their countries of birth, up from 80 million three decades ago. In 1999, the foreign-born population in Australia was 23.6%, Canada 18.4%, Sweden 11.8%, the United States 11.1%, the Netherlands 9.8%, and Norway 6.5% (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development [OECD], 2001).

The cultural and language diversity in the United States and Canada, focal countries of this chapter, demonstrate this world phenomenon. In 2000, the foreign-born population of the United States (31.1 million) represented 11.1% of the total population (281.4 million; United States Census Bureau, 2002). Latin America represented 52%, Asia 26%, Europe 16%, and other areas of the world 60% of the foreign-born population. In addition, over 22 million people in the United States were domestic migrants who changed their state of residence between 1995 and 2000. Immigration and migration have brought cultural and language diversity to areas of the United States, such as the Midwest and rural South, that have not historically experienced this phenomenon (Pipher, 2002; Yee, 1999).

In Canada as of 2001, 5.4 million people, or 18.4% of the total population (30.01 million), were born outside the country. Of the 1.8 million immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 2001, 58% came from Asia and the Middle East; 20% from Europe; 11% from the Caribbean, Central, and South America; 6% from Africa; and 3% from the United States (Minister of Industry, 2003). This global migration diversifies cultures and languages in countries, locales, and inevitably schools. Cultural
DIVERSIFYING CURRICULUM

IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

The United States Immigration and Nationality Act (2005) broadly defines who is or is not a "foreigner". It is an alien in the United States, except one legally admitted under specific non-immigrant categories. In Canada, in the 1961 and 1986 Census, the immigrant population was defined as "people who were not Canadian citizens by birth" (Statistics Canada, 2002a). The United States and Canada do not include undocumented residents in the categorization of immigrants.

Immigrants coming to the United States and Canada are more diverse than ever; they arrive from a broad spectrum of countries with a wide range of linguistic, cultural, racial, and socio-economic backgrounds and are increasingly of non-European origin (Statistics Canada, 2001; United States Census Bureau, 2002). In the United States from the 1890s-1960s, immigrants came largely from the British Isles and Northern and Southern Europe. More recent immigrants come from Asia, Central America, and the Caribbean (United States Census Bureau, 2002). In Canada for the first 60 years of the past century, European nations such as the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, as well as the United States, were the primary sources of immigrants. Today, immigrants to Canada are most likely to be from Asian countries (Minister of Industry, 2003). These changes in immigration patterns contribute to diversity in the United States and Canada. More than 500 ancestries were reported in the United States Census 2000 (United States Census Bureau, 2004) and more than 200 different ethnic origins were reported in the Canada 2001 Census question on ethnic ancestry (Minister of Industry, 2003).

From 1970 to 1995, the number of immigrant children aged 5 to 20 living in the United States grew from 3.3 to 8.6 million. This number will increase to 9 million by the year 2010 to represent 22% of the school-aged population. Currently one in 5 schoolchildren is born outside of the United States, and one in seven speaks a language other than English at home (Ruiz-de-Velasco, Fox, & Clewell, 2000). In Canada from 1991 to 2001, there were 310,000 school children between the ages of 5 and 16 among the 1.8 million immigrants. For many of these children, the first language learned and used at home is neither English nor French (the two official languages in Canada).

Many immigrant students in our schools are learning to speak, read, and write in their new languages while their families' values, traditions, and economic insecurity or poverty (Cummyns, 1989, 2000, 2001). For these students, academic, physical, emotional, and social development challenges associated with economic insecurity are exacerbated by language barriers, migration and acculturation processes, and limited access to safe and healthy neighborhood environments (Ruiz-de-Velasco et al., 2000). The educational system fails to meet the needs of a significant portion of this population. Implications of this phenomenon for curriculum policymakers, curriculum planners, educators, and parents— all curriculum stakeholders—are enormous.

RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

The ethnic and cultural diversity that has resulted from changes in immigration patterns is reflected in the diversity of student populations in elementary and secondary schools in North America. Learning about the educational needs of diverse immigrant students has become more urgent, and research on issues of diversity in schooling has become of paramount importance in the United States and Canada in the past two decades. These disciplines as anthropology, ethnic studies, psychology, sociology, and education pay particular attention to diversity issues. A full review of relevant literature in all disciplines, however, would be too extensive to include in this chapter. An initial review of research on immigrant and minority students in the United States and Canada, including empirical research, reflective essays, and book reviews to identify major issues and concerns, was daunting. Not only was the number of journals addressing immigration large, but issues pertaining to the education of students from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds were also addressed in journals in the social sciences in addition to the journals in fields more obviously connected to the education of minority students, such as, in Curriculum, Teacher Education and Development, and Minority or Heritage Language Education, this literature has contributed significantly to understanding the education of immigrant students.

Educational research on immigrants addresses, amongst other issues, demographic research (Hajiv, 1999), immigration patterns and policies (Dentler & Hafner, 1997; Moodley, 1995), acculturation and ecologization (Brown, 1994; Hernandez, 1999; Schlemmer, 1999), volume with economic insecurity or poverty (Cummins, 1989, 2000, 2001). For these students, academic, physical, emotional, and social development challenges associated with economic insecurity are exacerbated by language barriers, migration and acculturation processes, and limited access to safe and healthy neighborhood environments (Ruiz-de-Velasco et al., 2000). The educational system fails to meet the needs of a significant portion of this population. Implications of this phenomenon for curriculum policymakers, curriculum planners, educators, and parents— all curriculum stakeholders—are enormous.

RESEARCH ON ETHNIC GROUPS

Many researchers in the social sciences and education have been engaged in research, primarily ethnographic, on ethnic groups. Much of the research is derived from their experience as ethnic minorities or immigrants with commitment to the concerns of the participants and their communities. Their inquiries focus on language, culture, identity, and power issues within specific sociopolitical contexts, which, for us, is at the heart of understanding immigrant students' experience of curriculum. This body of literature spans the last two decades. There is a large body of research literature on the experiences of African American and Black students inside and outside schools (Constine, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Thompson, 2002; a growing body of literature addressing the experiences of Hispanic students, including Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Chinese, Latinos (Ada, 1988; Begda&omo-Diez, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Flores-Gonzalez, 2002; Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004; Levinson, 1998; Olneck, 2004; Nieto, 1995; Noguera, 2003; Ochoa, 2001; Soto, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Tapia, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999; Voll, 1997); Aboriginal and Native American students (Dykke & Marginson, 1995; Hermes, 2005; Sommers, 1995); and Inuit students (Craig, Annahatauk, & Nitigigmi, 1993). There is a developing literature on school experiences of students from other cultural and ethnic groups, such as,睑 (1999; 2001; 2004); and Vietnamese (Zhou & Bautista, 1998) in schools and communities is growing. Research on the experience of other groups, however, such as, Khmer (Smith-Hefner, 1993) and Tibetans (Phuntso, 2000), is relatively sparse. Despite this growing body of literature focused on ethnic groups, there remains much we do not know about the experience of immigrant students of particular racial and language groups in North American schools. Garcia (1995) stated that Hispanics are often presumed to be "in" or "out" of the ethnic group, and that there is little appreciation for diversity among individuals within the group. The same might be said of other ethnic groups; although the extent of diversity is sometimes acknowledged, the continued practice of conducting research with individuals of a specific ethnic group with
the goal of enhancing understanding about the experiences of this group suggest that there is an expectation of generalizability to other members of the same ethnic group. While the tendency may reflect an attempt to enhance our understanding of individuals within the group, the extent of diversity highlights the importance of being wary of generalizations.

Much of the research examining the experiences of minority students in North American schools suggests that we may learn more about the complex ways in which identities are constructed and shaped in school contexts by acknowledging the ways in which influences may interact, rather than dichotomizing perceptions about schooling and identity among immigrant and minority students. Using interviews and informal conversations to explore cultural and social-historical influences contributing to the disproportionately high number of female Mexican students dropping out of school, Smith (1995) conducted a 30-month ethnographic study of female high school students and their families in metropolitan Boston. Hennings (1996), in an ethnographic study using interviews and observations of Black student communities at two high schools, examined the interaction of social class, gender, and other factors within the school communities and found that academically successful Black students adopted their behaviors and attitudes, effectively altering their sense of identity, in an attempt to be accepted by groups they deemed worthy. Rolon-Dow (2004) conducted interviews and observations of Puerto-Ricoan students from low-income homes and their teachers in their urban middle school as part of a two-year ethnographic study. She explored how images created by and about the girls shaped their learning experiences and academic success. Rolon-Dow argued that dichotomizing the sexuality of Puerto Rican female students against their intellectual development obscured the complex ways in which identities are constructed.

**Experience, Culture, and Curriculum**

As early as the 1920s, some prominent educational theorists, such as Bobbit (1918/1972) and Dewey (1938, 1956) began to include students’ experience of curriculum in their work. However, as Schubert and Lefkowitz (1994) conceptualized or imagined students’ experience of curriculum from adults’ perspectives rather than students’ perspectives. Since the 1980s, there has been a major shift in the field as researchers and others began to study students’ experience of curriculum from multiple perspectives. There is a body of literature that examines students’ experience of curriculum from an anthropological perspective that focuses on students’ everyday life experience and the cultural contexts of this experience (Erickson, 2001; Smiley & Shultz, 1997). There is literature from the perspective of teachers attempting to improve curriculum to meet the needs of diverse student populations (Ballenger, 1999; Chen & Boone, 2001; Jones, 1995) and from the perspective of immigrant parents on their children’s education (Villemas, 2005). There is also a large body of literature in which students act as researchers or participants to explore their school experience (Cook-Sather, 2005; Shultz, 2001). There is an expanding body of literature, particularly in ethnography, that examines immigrant students’ life experiences in schools, families, and communities (Olswang, 1997; Soto, 1997; Tochey, 2000; Valdés, 1996; Valenzuela, 1996). There is also a developing body of literature in narrative inquiry that explores the nuances of immigrant students’ experience (Cargen, 1996; Chan, 2003; Phillion, 2002a).

In this chapter, we explore immigrant students’ experience of curriculum from multiple perspectives. We draw on Dewey’s (1938) theory of experience and education. Experience for Dewey has both temporal and existential dimensions: temporal in that every experience, no matter how instantaneous or historical, has a quality of past, present, and future; existential in that experience occurs in a personal and social dimension. Experience for Dewey is embedded in the term culture. Dewey stated,

I would abandon the term ‘experience’ because of my growing realization that the historical accidents which prevented understanding of my use of ‘experience’ are, for all practical purposes, insurmountable. I would substitute the term ‘culture’ because with its meanings as now firmly established it can fully and freely carry my philosophy of experience. (Dewey & Borsdorf, 1951, p. 36)

Dewey’s sense of experience is compatible with an anthropological sense of culture (Clifford, 1988; Erickson, 2001). Culture has temporal and existential dimensions: temporal in that every culture embodies past, present, and future; existential in that every culture is embedded and changing within interactions among people and social milieus, just as for Dewey is embodied in culture for us culture is embodied in experience. This notion is key to understanding immigrant students’ experience of curriculum.

We also draw upon diverse conceptions of curriculum. The term curriculum has multiple, often contested, meanings (Jackson, 1992). There have been several major conceptual shifts in the field—from conceptions of curriculum as subject matter, textbooks, courses, objectives, models, and outcomes (Jeter, 1950) to a notion of curriculum as life experience (Bobbit, 1918/1972; Connelly & Clandinin, 1988; Dewey, 1938). Schwab (1969, 1971, 1973, 1978) provided a framework for understanding curriculum as interaction among four components: students, teachers, subject matter, and milieu. Connelly and Clandinin (1988; 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 1992), building on Dewey (1938) and Schwab (1978), developed a narrative conception of curriculum by bringing experience to the center of curriculum concerns. For Connelly and Clandinin, curriculum has temporal and existential dimensions: temporal in that curriculum has past, present, and future; existential in that curriculum is experienced in situations.

In the 1970s, the field was reconceptualized (Pinar, 1973) by an array of educational theorists who critically examined social and political forces enacted on curriculum; who brought forward issues of race, class, and gender; and who raised awareness of systemic deempowerment of minorities and immigrants (Apple, 1979; Giroux, 1981; Pinar, Reynolds, Stattery, & Taubman, 1995). In the past four decades, multicultural theorists (Gay, 1985; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 2000) and critical multicultural theorists (McCarth, 1999; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995) have brought issues of language, culture, identity, and power to the center of concerns in the education of immigrant and minority students.

Curriculum for us is a dynamic interplay between experiences of students, teachers, parents, administrators, policymakers, and other stakeholders; content knowledge and pedagogical promises and practices; and cultural, linguistic, sociopolitical, and geographical contexts. To understand this dynamic interplay of immigrant students’ experience of curriculum, it is our contention that we need an eclectic approach, as Schwab called for in his work (1978), that is to draw upon multiple theories and conceptions of curriculum, not only on one unitifying theory. We draw upon Dewey’s theory of experience (1938) and culture (Dewey & Borsdorf, 1951), Schwab’s (1969, 1971, 1973, 1978) eclectic conception of curriculum, Connelly and Clandinin’s (1988, 1990; Clandinin & Connelly, 1992) narrative conception of curriculum, and multicultural or critical multicultural perspectives (Gay, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 2000; Sleeter & McLaren, 1995).

With this eclectic approach, we claim that immigrant students enter curriculum situations with knowledge and experience, both social and cultural. They come with personal and cultural histories, experience an uncertain present, and hope and dream about the future. They enter a milieu of people with experiences, cultures, and languages different than their own: places as strange as new countries, communities, and schools, and events where they encounter differences. In the following sections, we employ four key terms (language, culture, identity, and power) and two major lenses of inquiry (ethnography and narrative inquiry) to eclectically examine the complexity of immigrant students’ experience of curriculum.
practice. Key language issues center on English language learning and heritage language maintenance (Cummins, 2001; Kouritzin, 1959; Wong-Fillmore & Myers, 1992). ESL education and culturally inappropriate curriculum (Au & Jordan, 1981; cf. Trzeba, Guthrie, & Au, 1981), length of time to attain academic English proficiency (Cummins, 1989), and English proficiency and academic achievement (Valdes, 2001). Closely related to language issues are culture issues, which include cultural discontinuity between homes, schools, and communities (Ada, 1988; G. Li, 2002; 2003; Valdes, 1999; Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez, & Shannon, 1994); cultural incompatibility in learning and teaching styles (Rost, 1985; Irvine & Yerk, 1995); and race, gender, and class (Grant & Sherer, 1996). Issues of language and culture are at the center of controversy over identity. Key identity issues recognize identity as complex, fluid, and changing over time and place (He, 2003); developed in relationship with peers, teachers, parents, and grandparents (Chan, 2003, 2006); and shaped by ethnic groups to which immigrant students belong and societal perceptions of specific ethnic groups (Lee & Zhou, 2004; Olsen, 1997); and impacted by sociopolitical and cultural contexts (Cummins, 2001; Nieto, 2000). The term power and the cultural viewpoint (Greenfield, 1995) on language, culture, and identity (He et al., 1999). Research on power language issues includes the marginalization and disempowerment of minorities (Cummins, 2001; Darder, 1991), racism (McCarthy, 1996; West, 2001), poverty (Koiri, 1991), educational inequalities (Darity, Hammond, 1995; Oakes, Oromsha, Bell, & Camp, 1990), and critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1988; McLaren, 1989).

Language, culture, identity, and power are closely interconnected in immigrant students' experience of school curriculum. We now turn to specific studies to discuss this interconnectedness with a particular focus on how the dynamic interplay of language, culture, identity, and power impacts immigrant students’ school success. Examining this interaction of factors contributing to these students’ school success is of utmost importance, given that significant numbers of immigrant students leave school without a diploma (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000).

Research indicates that heritage language maintenance and bilingual education support English language acquisition (Cummins, 2001), which helps develop self-esteem and contributes to school success (Kouritzin, 1959; Wong-Fillmore & Myers, 1992). Learning English in order to be accepted by their English-speaking peers, North American-born immigrants in Kouritzin’s (1959) study later regretted their limited ability to speak their heritage languages. Those who abandoned their heritage languages to overcome initial English difficulties as American peer groups due to their inability to speak English, later felt excluded from their ethnic communities due to their inability to communicate in their heritage languages. Their English and heritage language proficiency shaped their sense of identity and sense of belonging to their ethnic communities and North American society.

Acknowledgment and inclusion of diverse cultures and languages in school contexts are critical to promoting immigrant students’ school success (Cummins, 2001; Wong-Fillmore, 1991a, 1991b). In a critical ethnographic study on the literacy development of immigrant children in her own classroom, Iggo (1995) found that the inclusion of home languages and cultures in classroom activities and lessons had positive effects on students’ sense of belonging in their new American classrooms and on their sense of identity as members of American society and an ethnic community. Iggo argues that the cultural resources children of diverse backgrounds bring into classrooms contribute to their social and academic development rather than being detrimental to their academic success and adjustment to school life.

Wong-Fillmore’s (1991a) work also addresses the detrimental effects of heritage language loss on families and ethnic minority communities when parents, who are not fluent in English, lose the ability to communicate with, to guide, and to teach their children. Wong-Fillmore (1991a, 1991b) examined the role of schools in contributing to the heritage language loss of children of immigrant and minority families. She found that some children in her study had teachers who advised parents to speak to them in English rather than in their home language and whose parents were significantly influenced in English. She highlighted the important role of educators in preventing heritage language loss by supporting its maintenance. Cummins (2001) strongly advocates for the inclusion of ethnic culture and languages in the classroom. He argues that heritage language proficiency is a distinct advantage as knowledge of language structures and components in the heritage language may be transferred to enhance the acquisition of English. This phenomenon, referred to as the linguistic interdependence principle, provides evidence against practices of encouraging ethnic minority families to abandon heritage languages in favor of English only.

Other research demonstrates that immigrant students are more likely to succeed in school settings when they are not alienated from their cultural values (Heath, 1983; Ogba, 1995). The lack of acknowledgment of culture for home cultures was also identified as contributing to the high dropout rate among Latino/Latina students in Zanzer’s (1994) study of the schooling experience of academically successful and unsuccessful Latino/Latina high school students. Hertberg (1998), in her study of Mexican and Latino students, found that a nurturing school setting with a culturally flexible teaching approach that validated linguistic and cultural diversity contributed to the educational success of immigrant students.

Cummins (2001) emphasizes the role of language and culture at school and home in shaping immigrant students’ identities. In his work, language, culture, identity, and power are intertwined. Immigrant minority students in his work did not have a sense of belonging when their heritage languages and cultures were not acknowledged in schools and more specifically not incorporated in regular classroom activities. The academic and subsequent career success of immigrant and minority students was jeopardized when the curriculum did not draw on the linguistic and cultural knowledge they brought to school. Incorporating immigrant students’ linguistic and cultural knowledge in school curriculum creates an empowering school environment where immigrant students have a sense of belonging, feel proud of their heritage languages and cultures, and experience learning situations in which they are able to succeed.

MAJOR LINES OF INQUIRY INTO IMMIGRANT STUDENTS’ EXPERIENCE OF CURRICULUM

There is a large set of qualitative methodologies in educational research that focuses on experience, including autobiography (Gruner, 1992; Pinar, 1988), biographical method (L. Smith, 1994), cross-cultural cultural (Cano, 2000; He, 2002a, 2002b, 2006a), ethnography (Olesen, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999), hermeneutics (D. Smith, 1991), life history research (Hatch & Wientjes, 1995), memoirs (Weinman & Petersen, 1997), narrative history (Phillion, 2002a, 2002b, 2002d), and personal narrative and narrative inquiry (Chardin & Connolly, 2000), phenomenology (van Manen, 1990), and portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Within this array of methods, we have identified two major lines of inquiry: ethnography and narrative inquiry, that collectively examine language, culture, identity, and power as key issues in immigrant students’ experiences of curriculum. Language, culture, identity, and power for us are interconnected in immigrant students’ life in the school, family, and community.

In the following sections, we review one ethnography and one longitudinal narrative program of study that examine these interconnected phenomena to demonstrate significant contributions these two lines of inquiry make to the study of immigrant students’ experience of curriculum. We feature studies on Asian American and Asian Canadian immigrant students for reasons addressed in the following section. We acknowledge that the terms Asian American and Asian Canadian are contested and historically pejorative, and we recognize diversity within those terms, such as in terms of ethnicity, language, culture, religion, and geographical areas. For the purpose of this chapter, however, we employ these terms since they are commonly used in the literature and census categories.

WHY ASIAN AMERICAN AND ASIAN CANADIAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS?

The United States Census 2000 reported six major race categories: White, Black or African American, American Indian, Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, and other races. Of 31.1 million immigrants in the United States by 2000, 11.1% of the total population (2814 million), 26% were Asian (11.9 million). Five groups—Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipinos, Korean, and Japanese—make up approximately 80% of the Asian population. Chinese was the largest group, representing approximately 24% of the Asian population (United States Census Bureau, 2002).

In Canada, there has been a substantial increase in the number of immigrants from Asian
since 1991. Of 1.8 million immigrants who arrived between 1991 and 2001 (6.2% of the total population), 58% came from Asia. Immigrants from Asia represented 47% of immigrants during the 1980s, 33% during the 1970s, and 3% before 1961. The People's Republic of China was the leading country of birth among immigrants in the 1990s, followed by immigrants from India, the Philippines, the Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Taiwan. These seven Asian countries alone accounted for over 49% of all immigrants who came to Canada in the past decade. Chinese is the largest visible minority group, surpassing one million in 2001 (Ministers of Industry, 2003).

Unprecedented numbers of Asian immigrants came to the United States and Canada in the past two decades (United States Census Bureau, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2002b). These immigrants and their children brought linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity to North American communities, schools, and classrooms. The linguistic heritage, cultural knowledge, and experience they bring to schools, however, are often ignored or overlooked. Although there is an abundance of research on these immigrants, the absence of their "experiences and perspectives from academic and policy literature stands in stark contrast to their growing presence in U.S. and Canadian schools and societies" (Park, Goodman, & Lee, 2003, p. vii).

Further, Asian immigrant students are perceived as having "common experiences, backgrounds, aspirations, and stories" (Park et al., 2003, p. viii). The ethnic and cultural diversity within Asian and Pacific American groups is often obscured and ignored in mainstream scholarship (Park, Goodman, & Lee, 2001). Asian and Pacific Americans are either excluded entirely from studies that focus on people of color or compared with European Americans and other minorities. One of the major reasons supporting the exclusion of Asian American and Canadian students from the dominant discourse in education is "the stereotype that Asians do not have any problems [i.e., they are model minorities]" (S. Lee, 1996, p. 51). As a result, many Asian students struggle and difficulties Asian students face. Thus for us Asian immigrants may be double-marginalized (Chen, 1992; Zhou & Gertow, 2000)—they do not fit in the mainstream, dominant discourse nor do they fit in marginalized minority discourse.

A number of educators have focused on the negative effects of the model minority myth (S. Lee, 1994, 1996; Park et al., 2003). Yeh (2002) points out that misinterpretation of similar data has led to the stereotype of Asian Americans as a group of high-achieving students who possess the skills and knowledge needed to succeed at all levels of education (also see Allen, 1993; Hu, 1989; Nakashima, 1995; Nakashima & Nishida, 1977/1995; Sia, 1986; Suzuki, 1989). This perception makes the effective amount of time and effort expended and overshadowed the learning needs of those with limited English and a lack of resources and support (O. Lee, 1997; Xu, Connolly, He, & Phillips, in press). O. Lee calls for a better understanding of strengths and limitations of Asian students' academic achievement and social and emotional adjustment (see also Xu et al., in press).

In addition, the model minority myth perpetuates resentment and hostility from members of the majority and other minority groups. It has also contributed to crimes being committed against Asians (Nakanishi, 1995; Suzuki, 1989).

Many researchers call for attention to the needs of Asian students who are by and large neglected in educational policymaking in terms of funding programs, services, and educational resources (Sia, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999; Uba, 1994; Yeh, 2002). This relative absence from discourse in educational policy and practice, despite their growing presence in schools and society, are major reasons for the need for research on policy and practice. To understand Asian immigrant students' experience of curriculum, we need to dialectically examine the nuances and complexities their experiences entail. The complex nature of experience that immigrant students and their families bring to schools calls for approaches, such as ethnography and narrative inquiry, that not only recognize diverse perspectives, but also draw on differences as a resource for interpreting immigrant students' experience to inform education policy and practice.

ETHNOGRAPHY

Over the past two centuries, ethnographers have engaged in research that foregrounds lived experience of different ethnic and cultural groups (Tedlock, 2003). Ethnographers ground research purposes and theoretical interpretations in the actual experience of their participants and embedded inquiry in social, cultural, and political contexts. Ethnographers spend extensive periods of time in the field, experience lives of the participants, and respect knowledge held by participants and their communities. One feature that stands out in some ethnographic work is the advocacy stance researchers take as they develop a nuanced understanding of their experience in the field, critically examine experience, and seek to represent and improve the lives of their participants (Behar, 1996).

Within a wide array of ethnographic research in the field of education, we have identified a group of ethnographers who focus on language, culture, identity, and power issues that, as we have elaborated above, is central to an understanding of immigrant students' experience of curriculum (Dolgo-Gaitan & Trueba, 1993; Reuserverger, 2001; S. Lee, 1996; G. Li, 2005; Olsen, 1997; Soto, 1997; Tolleby, 2000; Valdés, 1996, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999; Vasquez et al., 1994). In the following section, we feature Stacey Lee's (1996) ethnographic study as it represents the complexity of Asian American immigrant students' experience of curriculum by dialectically exploring the ethnic and cultural diversity within these groups and challenging the model minority stereotype.

Stacey Lee—Unraveling the "Model Minority" Stereotype: Listening to Asian American Youth

In an ethnographic study in a United States high school, S. Lee (1996) brought forward the voices of Asian American students silenced in the model minority stereotype and challenged this stereotype as inadequate in describing Asian American students' experience of language, culture, identity, and power. She explored the impact of stereotypical perceptions of Asian Americans as model minorities on their school experience, relationship with non-Asian students, and sense of identity. She found that among her students—a small subset of Asian students in the school—the range of diversity in terms of language and culture, commitment to, interest in, and success in academic endeavors varied immensely. She found that social and academic expectations corresponding to these students' membership in peer-labeled groups contributed to their academic performance and success, which in turn influenced their identities. One of her most remarkable findings is that these Asian American students developed their ethnic and racial identities within the context of inter racial relationships in school (also see Olsen, 1997).

Drawing on knowledge gained through a six-month ethnographic study consisting of formal interviews; observations in and out of classrooms; informal conversations with faculty, students and staff; and participation in school activities in the school, S. Lee (1996) examined social, cultural, and personal forces that contributed to the formation of four different Asian American students. The Korean-identified group attempted to accommodate the White dominant group. The Asian-identified group developed a pan-Asian identity despite tensions and disputes carried over from their experiences as a result of excluding Asian American students were perceived as high achievers. The new wave represented a culture of resistance. Each group responded to the model minority image negatively. Asian-identified students were upset with students, such as new waves, who displayed poor behavior and failed at school. High achieving Asian American students were perceived as model minorities felt strongly that the stereotype ignored challenges they had to overcome in order to succeed and overlooked Asian American students who were not doing well. New wave-identified students developed their identities in response to their marginalized position within Asian groups and their negative experience with other groups.

While acknowledgment of similarities and differences within the ethnic group facilitates learning about the academic needs of an increasingly large Asian student population, the model minority myth imposes expectations for Asian students based on sweeping generalizations rather than on specific knowledge about individuals. These students recognize differences that set them apart from their other Asian peers (S. Lee, 1996; Lee & Zhou, 2004) and need teachers and administrators to establish curricula that acknowledge their specific academic strengths and weaknesses rather than relying on stereotypes. Lew (2004) and Zhou and Bankston (1992) also elaborate the negative effect of the model minority myth on Asian Americans who are at risk.

S. Lee (1996) found that some White students and teachers used the success of Asian Americans as proof that equal opportunity existed for students of all races and that the system was colorblind. This perspective, which is used to silence claims of inequality among other
minorities, fuels resentment toward Asian Americans' success. The power of stereotypes to influence people's perceptions negatively was also illustrated in the fact that although Asian Americans themselves disliked the label of model minority, they nonetheless went along with stereotypes of other minority groups.

S. Lee (1996) also explored interracial relationships among Asian American students and their non-Asian peers. She highlighted dangers of relying on stereotypical perceptions to guide interactions among individual members of ethnic groups and identified structural barriers and hierarchy as factors contributing to inter racial tensions. She found that although interracial tensions might not have originated in school, social policies such as ranking top students in each grade contributed to tensions through their culture of competition. S. Lee argued that tensions between members of different ethnic and racial groups were rooted in structural positions in society. More specifically, S. Lee found that White and African American students' attitudes toward Asian Americans depended on their relative position in the system since there was a direct link between a racial group's perceptions of their position in the system and their attitudes toward Asians or Asian Americans and Asian American success. S. Lee referred to the findings of several studies in which White students felt that their status was threatened when Asian American students succeeded academically.

As noted earlier, Asian populations have been increasing in North America in recent years. There is, however, a dearth of research that examines the nuances and complexities of Asian students' experience in schools. Further, there is little research that examines language, culture, identity, and power as interconnected phenomena that coherently represents Asian students' experience of curriculum. S. Lee's (1996) study goes beyond the stereotype of Asian Americans as model minorities to reveal nuances of ways in which students develop ethnic and racial identities within the context of social expectations about academic abilities and social preferences and their interracial relationships in schools. S. Lee has brought the study of Asian American students' experience into the discourse of mainstream scholarship and makes a significant contribution to the debate on the education of all immigrant students.

Narrative Inquiry

There is also a developing body of literature in narrative inquiry that explores language, culture, and identity as interconnected phenomena that contribute to a deeper understanding of immigrant students' experience (Bell, 1997; Cairner, 1996; Chan, 2003; Conné, 2003; Elbaz-Luwisch, 1997; He, 1999; 2002a, 2002b, 2003b; Kanno & Applebaum, 1996; X. Li, 2002; Phillion, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c, 2002d; Roberts & Phillion, 1997; Xu et al., in press). Narrative inquiry focuses on understanding experience in its own terms rather than categorizing experience according to predetermined structures and theories (Phillion, 1999). Experience, the starting point of narrative inquiry, is at the forefront of every stage of research (Connell & Connolly, 2000). One of the most important qualities of narrative inquiry is that it is nonauthoritarian stance of researchers. Narrative inquirers do not control the research setting, nor do they determine in detail what steps to follow in inquiry with the nonauthoritarian orientation, narrative inquirers act not only as researchers, but also as concerned participants (Phillion, He, & Connolly, 2005).

There is as well a body of nonacademic literature that explores nuanced life experience of immigrant students. We term this body of literature life-based literary narratives (Phillion & He, 2004, in press). Life-based literary narratives, including autobiographies, memoirs, and novels, portray in intimate detail immigrant students' language and culture learning and identity development from an insider's perspective that highlights the temporal and existential dimensions of immigrant students' experience of curriculum (Hoffman, 1989; Kingston, 1975; Santiago, 1993).

Narrative Inquiry in Bay Street Community School

In this section, we discuss a set of narrative inquiries within a longitudinal narrative program of research in Bay Street Community School (pseudonym) to illustrate the potential of narrative inquiry in developing an enriched understanding of immigrant students' experience of curriculum (see also Connelly, Phillion, & He, 2003). Bay Street Community School, an inner-city, K–8 elementary school, is situated in one of the largest Chinese immigrant residential and business areas in Toronto, Canada. Canada is one of the few societies with an official Multicultural Policy (Minister of State Multiculturalism, 1988) that supports preservation of linguistic and cultural heritages. Toronto, according to the United Nations, is the most multicultural city in the world.

From 1983 to 2001, the annual number of immigrants to Canada rose from 89,188 to 250,746—one of every four new immigrants settled in Toronto. People's Republic of China was the leading country of birth of individuals who immigrated to Canada in the 1990s, and Chinese was the third most common mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2002). In Toronto, 48% of the population in 2001 (2.48 million) were immigrants; 41% of the school-aged population in 2001 (300,000) were born in more than 175 countries and spoke 80 languages (Toronto District Board of Education, 2005). Students at Bay Street Community School speak 31 languages and represent 33 countries, with Chinese as the largest immigrant group (Chan & Ross, 2002). The school and its community have been an immigrant reception site since the 1890s (Cochrane, 1930). Succeeding waves of immigration have changed the ethnic composition of the community and school (Connelly, He, Phillion, Chan, & Xu, 2004).

In order to meet the needs of this changing community, Bay Street Community School provides programs that complement Canada's official Multicultural Policy (Minister of State Multiculturalism, 1988; Mouledy, 1995) that mandates the preservation of cultural and linguistic heritages. In addition, to mandated programs specified in government guidelines, Bay Street Community School has developed in-school and out-of-school programs in collaboration with community groups to meet diverse academic and social needs of immigrant students and families. Various programs are provided for language and literacy development: ESL programs; bilingual books for the promotion of family literacy; the ESL Reception Class for newcomer students; and the Learning Enrichment Academic Program (LEAP) for at-risk bilingual learners. There are also special education and international language programs where students may choose from 12 different language classes. Newsletters and other school correspondence are translated into eight or more languages. Bilingual translators are available for selected school meetings, and parents and grandparents are called upon to help translate in the school.

Staff at Bay Street Community School work with parents, guardians, and local community center staff to meet the needs of diverse students. School community celebrations such as multicultural night, curriculum night, science fair, spring musical, multicultural dinner, and Grade 8 graduations are well attended by community members. A Canadian government immigrant settlement worker has an office in the school, provides bilingual services, and acts as liaison between immigrant families and government organizations. School-community workers facilitate communication between administrators, family and community members, teachers, and students. They also work with school staff and community members to provide health care, dental services, and nutrition programs. The community donates clothes for students and parents. The school council, composed of elected members of the community and school, is a decision-making body with a mandate to consider interests of all stakeholders. In addition to programs aimed at encouraging community partnerships, the school also supports language classes for the neighborhood community. Saturday intensive language classes and afternoon Sai Sing classes are held in the school. These programs are designed to ensure the well-being of immigrant students through community involvement.

Based on the above description, developed further in the following sections, we perceive Bay Street Community School as an embodiment of Dewey (1938), Schwob (1978), and Connelly and Clandinin's (1988) notion of curriculum. The curriculum of Bay Street Community School emerges from the dynamic relationship between the school, families, communities, and government organizations. These groups work together to create programs in all areas of curriculum, taking into consideration the cultural and language heritage of immigrant families, their experience in Canada, and their educational and social hopes, and their dreams for their children's future.

The multiple aspects of curriculum experience by immigrant students in Bay Street Community School are the focal of the narrative program of research featured in this section. Researchers in this program spent extensive time in the school and community, observed and participated in classrooms, attended staff, school board, and other meetings, and school events; and
immersed themselves in the lives of immigrant students, parents, and teachers. Michael Connelly and Jean Cladunia began this longitudinal narrative program of study in the school in 2000, focusing initially on teacher knowledge, classroom practices, and school life (Cladunia, 1998; Cladunia & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Cladunia, 1988, 1995). They also studied the impact of policy on changes in the school through participation in the Board of Education Race Relations Committee work (Connelly & Cladunia, 1984). Since 1996, their research has focused more deliberately on the experience of immigrant teachers, students, parents, and communities. 

This overview on their experience teaching in Japan and working with immigrant teachers and Asian students in Canada, Jo Ann Philion (2002a, 2002b, 2002c). Blended multicultural theory with narrative inquiry in her two-year study of the life of an immigrant teacher and her diverse students in Bay Street Community School. Through her involvement in the school, Philion found that school programs and curricular shaped, and were shaped by the lived experience of the teacher and her students. She also found that a teacher’s knowledge, of, and commitment to, the individual child and a school’s commitment to its partnerships with its communities created a milieu in which immigrant students could thrive. She argues that immigrant children need to be seen as individuals with personal histories and family and community connections rather than stereotypical representatives of categories and labels found in the literature and policy documents.

Ming Feng He’s (2002a, 2002b, 2002c) work with Chinese immigrants in the communities surrounding Bay Street Community School evolved with inquiry in this school. She engaged in a social-historical narrative inquiry of the identity development of Chinese immigrant women teachers as they moved between Chinese and North American cultures and languages. She explored the complicated relationship between the spaces of their lives in-between China and Canada the cultural impact of their move to Canada, and their experience of learning to become North Americans. Building on this research, and her personal experience as an immigrant, she in her current study, explores the impact of Chinese immigrant parents’ cross-cultural identity development and sense of belonging in United States schools, communities, and societies (He, 2004). She argues that learning about immigrant parents’ experience of language, cultural attitudes and identity development, particularly their lives in-between (He, 2005), is central to understanding immigrant students’ experience of curriculum.

Flaine Chan (2003, 2004), a second-generation Chinese Canadian, conducted a three-year narrative inquiry of the experience of four first and second generation Chinese Canadian students in the Bay Street Community School. Chan (2003, 2004) explored how their schooling experience interacted with cultural experience of growing up in an immigrant Chinese household shaped their ethnic identity as Canadians and Chinese. She found that these students expressed an interpreted membership in their ethnic communities in relation to their knowledge of Chinese customs, English and Chinese language proficiency, physical appearance, academic performance, and length of residency in Canada. Learning about these students’ experiences highlighted differences among individuals of the same ethnic group and provided insight into ways in which their childhood experience contributed to their understanding of school experience. Each student’s experience challenged the model minority myth (Kao, 1995; Kim & Chan, 1996; Stevenson & Stager, 1992) in different ways and confirmed it was inadequate to describe the complexities of ethnic identity development. Their experiences support S. Lee’s (1996) argument for the need to better understand diversity within the Asian community. Chan (2006, in press) argues that a deeper, more nuanced, understanding of the complexities of immigrant students’ ethnic identity development and their experiences of curriculum is critical to meeting their curriculum needs in Canada, where individuals are attempting to build ethnic communities that value language and cultural heritages while integrating in meaningful ways into their new country.

Shijing Xu (2006), from the People’s Republic of China, conducted a three-year narrative inquiry of Chinese newcomer families and their children’s cross-cultural experience in Bay Street Community School. Xu collected data from immigrant parents, grandparents, children, teachers, and community workers. Xu found that immigrant family members of different generations hold different views about immigration, the school system, and values that influence children’s education. Xu studied the interaction of student’s family values and school values with school policies and discovered discrepancies between teachers’ expectations and practices and parents’ needs and cultural attitudes and beliefs. She argues that teachers’ cultural awareness and culturally responsive teaching support newcomer students’ learning. She, however, like Philion (2002a, 2002b, 2002c), is concerned that an overemphasis on cultural differences may carry the risk of disregarding individual differences and lead into thinking of immigrant children’s experience of schooling in terms of categories and stereotypes. She found that there was a hidden minority within the model-minority who experienced difficulties achieving school success, although well-intended efforts had been made in grocerie, who are school programs and practice.

There is much to be learned from this long-term program of narrative research in one school consisting of different research projects done at different times, from different perspectives, with different research foci. We argue that to eclectically study immigrant students’ experience of curriculum, we need to locate their experience of language, culture, identity, and power in the context of families, schools, and communities. We believe that multicultural and cross-cultural narrative inquiry, as we briefly described above, which focus on cultural aspects of experience, is an ideal method of inquiry to examine the dynamic relationship between immigrant students’ experience in school, at home, and in the community. Bay Street Community School, we believe, with its history of community involvement with families, communities, and government organizations and its sustained efforts to meet the needs of diverse student populations, is an ideal milieu for eclectic inquiries into immigrant students’ experience of curriculum.

DEVELOPING A CURRICULUM OF SHARED INTERESTS

From our review of the literature, from our inquiries in Bay Street Community School, and from other inquiries on immigrant students and families, we have learned that issues of diversity and equality are of paramount importance in an ever-changing multicultural, multilingual world. We have recognized many challenges immigrant students encounter—unsupportive teachers who are uninterested in students’ experience of language, culture, identity, and power, and a disempowering curriculum that negates their experience. We have learned that immigrant students struggle with identities derived from generalizations and stereotypes imposed on them by societies, schools, and peers (Lee, 1996; Olsen, 1997), rather than being able to negotiate who they are and who they wish to be. We have learned that immigrant parents, with the best of intentions and a strong desire for their children to succeed, are often marginalized in school settings due to inequality in educational expectations in their home culture and their new school culture and difficulties in expressing knowledge due to differences in language, class, and education systems (Cargor, 1996).

We, nevertheless, conclude our chapter on an uplifting note. It is our contention that, in the midst of these obstacles and challenges, there is space of hope and possibility. There are schools that are meeting the needs of immigrant students and helping them reach their highest potential (Dentler & Haffner, 1997). Bay Street Community School strives to become such a school, with a mission to be a place where immigrant students feel they belong, feel respected and cared for, and where their experience of curriculum in the broad sense we have developed in this chapter, is a successful one. We believe that the key to fulfilling the potential for immigrant students is to develop a curriculum of shared interests, a term we have developed to capture what we have experienced and learned from our long-term narrative program of research in Bay Street Community School.

We envision this curriculum of shared interests as one where all members of the school community and policymaking milieu have shared common interests. Families connect their concerns about the education of their children with those of the larger society. Schools share their interests in educating immigrant students with families and communities. Individuals have equal opportunities to "take and receive from others" and to have "free exchange of varying views of life experiences" (Owens, 1946), and are ready to adjust their interests to the interests of others in the larger society. In a curriculum of shared interests, teachers cultivate multicultural competence to recognize contributions of ethnically and linguistically diverse students. They develop pedagogical approaches to enrich the curriculum for immigrant and minority students. Students are encouraged to value their cultural and linguistic heritages, respect and accept
difference, critically examine their positions in society, and perceive themselves as agents of positive curriculum change. Policymakers and administrators learn the nuances of immigrant students’ experience of curriculum. They value the knowledge held by teachers, students, parents, and other curriculum stakeholders and incorporate this knowledge into policymaking. Families and communities share responsibility with schools and government organizations to create a school environment that is equitable, safe, and caring. This environment is the ideal milieu for developing a curriculum of shared interests that commits to a high level of achievement, not only for immigrant and minority students, but for all students.

NOTES


2. The Canadian Employment Equity Act (1986) defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour [sic].”

3. Portions of this description are drawn from Connolly et al. (2004).

REFERENCES


Immigrant Students’ Experience of Curriculum


Yeh, T. L. (2002). Asian American college students who are educationally at risk. New Directions for Student Services, 97, 61-71.


---

DIVERSIFYING CURRICULUM

the politics of difference. Albany: State University of New York Press.


