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Immigrant Adults and Their Teachers: Community and Professional Development Through Family Literacy

- In this piece, Weinstein describes her work with a program serving Cambodian families in Long Beach, CA. She begins by contrasting mastery versus constructivist orientations to curriculum and argues for a model for learner-centered teaching that integrates these two orientations. The model, which she calls *Learners' Lives as Curriculum*, builds on the premise that teachers must listen for learner stories to discover the most pressing issues that will bring language learning to life. In this article, Weinstein illustrates how this model was applied to themes and issues identified by the Cambodian families with whom she worked. Finally, she proposes a model for connecting materials development with professional development, in family literacy or any other language or literacy program. Weinstein argues that teachers are also learners who benefit from communities of peers who solve problems together.

Introduction

*I*t is a custom that Cambodian women drink hot water after they have a baby until the child is 3-4 years old. One day I left a cup full of hot water on the dresser. Suddenly, I heard a loud scream. It was my son, Nathan. He was 1 and a half years old then. The hot water poured all over his body. I rushed him to the bathtub and soaked him with cold water. My husband came to help. I was so nervous, I could hardly think!

I remembered that a friend told me the aloe vera plant is good for burns. I ran to the backyard to get some aloe vera from my garden. I pulled a stem off and ran inside to put it on Nathan. His skin was red and some skin peeled off. An hour later his skin turned normal. He was okay, but I was shaky for a long time!

Saphay Nan, the author of this narrative, is on the staff of the Cambodian Association of America in Long Beach, California. Along with her colleagues, she wrote her own story and then collected additional stories

about home accidents from Cambodian learners served in their Even Start program. With this material, the teachers collaborated to create a thematic unit for learners based on material drawn from their own lives. In the process of listening to learners, collecting stories, and writing ESL/family literacy material, the practitioners are creating learner-centered lessons and curricula while developing their own professional skills.

In this article, readers are invited to consider the implications for family literacy practice of addressing adults' needs as learners and parents; to contrast mastery versus constructivist orientations to curriculum; and to consider a learner-centered approach to teaching and curriculum development that integrates these orientations for effective ESL family literacy practice. Positive directions for adult and family ESL/literacy instruction are proposed, with a focus on a model for connecting materials development with professional development.

Adult Learners and the Context for Family Literacy Instruction

The terms *family literacy* and *intergenerational literacy* were used first to describe how literacy is valued and used in the lives of children and adults. This provided an important theoretical construct for examining language and literacy use in the context of family life. With the growth of local and government initiatives, the terms came to describe educational programs designed to strengthen literacy resources by involving at least two generations for a variety of stated goals. The term served as an umbrella for programs with foci as diverse as parent involvement efforts, library book-reading nights, college students tutoring elders, or adult education programs with a focus on family issues, to mention just a few examples (Weinstein, 1998). More recently, through national legislation crafted by the National Center for Family Literacy (NCFL), the term *family literacy* has been operationalized to fund specific kinds of programs with consistent components:

The term family literacy services means services that are of sufficient intensity in terms of hours, and of sufficient duration, to make sustainable changes in a family, and that integrate all of the following activities:

- Interactive literacy activities between parents and their children
- Training for parents regarding how to be the primary teacher for their children and full partners in the education of their children
- Parent literacy training that leads to economic self-sufficiency
- An age-appropriate education to prepare children for success in school and life experiences. (NCFL, 2003, p. 2)

While family literacy legislation focuses primarily on supporting children's success, when adults do not think that their own needs are addressed, they "vote with their feet." That is, they choose not to participate in our pro-

grams or they drop out soon after they've begun. I will argue here that meeting the needs of adults, as they themselves perceive and define them, is essential for effective family literacy practice.

The Role of Adults in Family Literacy: Issues and Challenges

When I was a child my mother taught me to cook. My father taught me to work on the farm. They always wanted me to take care of myself, behave well, and know that they are there for me. I want to pass on to my son my customs from Mexico. I want him to have respect for the family. (Liz Murillo, in Samson, Williams, Johnson, & Pon, 2003.)

With a focus on the needs of adults, certain challenges and issues emerge. While the goal of many family programs is to improve the school achievement of children, the narrative above, collected by a family literacy teacher team in Oakland, California, is a poignant reminder that there is more to family life than school success. The work of ethnographers such as Valdes (1996), cited in the overview article of this theme section (p. 97), is one of many ethnographic studies that illustrate tensions when the culture of schooling violates the norms of family values. Other studies illustrate the ways in which schoolteachers and personnel can inadvertently undermine parental authority by valuing certain kinds of knowledge, while discounting the knowledge of the home culture.

Second, a majority of family literacy programs are designed in a way that seems to foster participation primarily of children and their mothers, while overlooking fathers or other significant caretakers who may be equally important in children's lives. Elders continue to be an undertapped resource, with a wealth of knowledge that can help to anchor children in their own culture and history at a time of enormous change and potential disconnection. Such grounding is especially critical at a time when children long for connection and belonging to deter their seeking it in other forms, such as gang membership.

Finally, family literacy programs give careful attention to addressing early childhood education as a key component. If programs grew directly from the needs of adults and their own priorities as parents, how would they be different? When adults are asked about the family issues that concern them most, they rarely mention their preschool children. Rather, they tend to be particularly concerned about their older children, who face the perils of adolescence—such as drugs, gangs, and other dangers associated with coming of age in modern times.

In constructing curricula for programs that take adult concerns into account, there will be many challenges to ensure that programs strengthen families; honor the authority of parents; recognize and celebrate the wisdom of elders; and address the needs that adults themselves see in the challenging work they have to raise a family in a complex world.

Orientations to Curriculum and Instruction

There are a wide variety of approaches to ESL instruction, each with underlying assumptions about teaching and learning as well as associated techniques and procedures. While it is problematic when a program pursues one approach with a rigidity that precludes responding to learner styles or changing learner needs, Wrigley and Guth (2000) caution that there is cause for equal concern when programs become so “eclectic” that they have no philosophical coherence or unifying vision.

This section briefly examines two general orientations to ESL literacy instruction as well as a variety of approaches and activities consistent with those orientations. These are contrasted with the advantages of integrative approaches.

Mastery or Transmission of Knowledge

Most programs aim to help students learn facts, concepts, and skills (procedural knowledge) through guided and sequenced practice. In adult ESL, a mastery-based orientation is exemplified by a focus on linguistic structures, language skills, specific content, and/or competencies.

From early techniques such as grammar-translation to modern-day textbooks organized by verb tense and language form, mastery of *language structures* appears in most ESL curricula to a greater or lesser extent. A glance at the table of contents of any ESL textbook will reveal the degree of prominence that language structures have in the organization of material that is taught.

Language skills are also featured in most curricula, with varying degrees of attention to the “four skills” of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Focus on listening and speaking activities, according to the “What Works” study (Pelavin, 1999), constitute an *ESL acquisition model* and may include vocabulary, pronunciation, language functions, and strategies to engage in oral communication with native speakers. In contrast and according to the same study, an *ESL literacy model* is constituted by reading and writing skill development; it may entail providing ESL literacy learners with opportunities to engage with print, skills and strategies for fluency in reading, and aiming for automaticity in decoding.

Content-based approaches to ESL literacy instruction are those in which the language and literacy curriculum is woven around specific subject matter. Workplace literacy programs have long incorporated the specific vocabulary and language functions needed for a given job or profession into their curricula. Family literacy programs have begun to follow suit, often providing language for teaching child development, an orientation to the structure of U.S. schools, or other topics central to supporting children’s schooling.

In a shift away from grammar-based curriculum, *competency-based education* emerged in the late 1970s when newly arriving refugees needed English for immediate application in their new lives. A competency is an instructional objective described in task-based terms that begin “Students will be able to...” and end with a phrase describing a demonstrable skill such as “find

information on a bus schedule.” The aim is to teach learners *about* language and grammar and to enable them to *use* language to accomplish a nonlinguistic end. In family literacy contexts, this might include how to contact school personnel, how to read report cards, how to state a concern about a child in a parent-teacher conference, and so forth.

Meaning-Making or Constructivism

A constructivist orientation to teaching and learning is one in which it is assumed that knowledge is not only transmitted to learners from teachers or books, but rather, that both meaning and knowledge can be created collectively by learners or by learners and teachers. A variety of approaches, methods, and techniques may be associated with this orientation. This section mentions a few, including whole language, participatory approaches, and project-based learning. These approaches have significant overlap, differing primarily in emphasis.

The *whole language approach*, a movement born in U.S. elementary classrooms, grows from a perspective on language learning and teaching in which language is seen as social and as learned in interaction with other speakers, readers, and writers. In whole language-oriented classrooms, learners work together to read and write for and with each other, and they evaluate products together. While phonics or bottom-up methods that break down language are not precluded, they are used in service of larger communicative events. As my colleague Carole Edelsky once explained it, “You teach the sound *b*, not because it is H Week, but, rather, because someone wants to write instructions for how to take care of the hamster.” (personal communication, May, 1990)

The *Language Experience Approach*, or LEA, a technique that became more visible within the whole language tradition, enables adult ESL literacy learners to engage with print from the outset by drawing on stories that they dictate to a teacher or more able classmate, either in the native language or in English. These stories become the basis for a language or literacy lesson.

A *participatory*, or Freirian, approach to adult literacy education revolves around the tenet that education and knowledge have value only insofar as they help people liberate themselves from the social conditions that oppress them. In his classic book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1972) outlines an approach to teaching literacy in which researchers study the conditions in a community and identify generative words to describe situations familiar to learners. Literacy teachers then develop materials using these generative words to help learners decode the syllables as well as deconstruct their social conditions.

Most ESL educators who rely on a Freirian approach do not have the luxury of relying on social scientists to study learners’ communities; nor do they focus on the analysis of syllables as the only way to attack the mechanics of language. However, those who ascribe to the primary tenets of participatory education (see Spener, 1992), tend to agree on:

- Use of generative words and themes drawn from learners' experiences;
- The notion of teachers as facilitators rather than transmitters of knowledge;
- Use of problem-posing, a technique in which learners look at pictures or objects to discuss their situation and explore solutions to problems encoded in those situations.

Project-based learning is an approach in which learners investigate a question, solve a problem, plan an event, or develop a product. Learners do not receive knowledge only from a teacher or book. Rather, they collectively share and create knowledge for real readers or listeners outside the classroom (Beckett, 2002). Several examples illustrate this approach. Mien hill-tribe women work in groups to describe photos of village life in Laos. With help from a bilingual aide, they create a book that will be given to their children born in the US (Agard, 1999). A mixed group of ESL learners create "family web pages" with their art and writings for their school's Web site (Hovanesian, 1999). Students at El Barrio Popular investigate neighborhood problems that they have identified and compile their research for collective advocacy (Rivera, 1999). In an Internet project, English language learners from across the country contribute to a Web page for folk remedies, thus pooling their knowledge to the benefit of all (Gaer, personal communication, 2001).

The Case for an Integrated Approach

ESL programs for adults, and the teachers who work in them, tend to prefer either a mastery orientation or a constructivist orientation. While it is impossible to make absolute generalizations, it is often the case that teachers with linguistic training and orientation to language and grammar may have special expertise at identifying language forms, generating examples of language functions, creating grammar practice exercises, isolating pronunciation points, and creating minimal pair lists to practice key phonological distinctions. Their linguistics training may serve them less well in finding out what is going on behind the scenes, resulting in more of a struggle for such practitioners to engage immigrant learners in conversations about issues that concern them most deeply.

On the other hand, those with community-organizing or immigrant-advocacy backgrounds, and those practitioners who come from the communities they serve, tend to identify easily "hot" issues and have clear knowledge about the obstacles faced by uprooted adults raising their children in an alien environment. These allies of the community easily gain learners' trust and uncover their stories, yet they may have less facility for breaking down the linguistic components and the language structures entailed in discussing those issues. They may be daunted by English grammar and may have little practice in isolating structures or providing practice for mastering the linguistic units embedded in the discourse they are fostering.

Adults who come to our family literacy programs need both. They benefit most when they have the opportunity to discuss and problem-solve about their most pressing concerns related to family life, to gain information about how the English language works, and to learn how the “nuts and bolts” of literacy can be used in service of addressing those concerns. While Wrigley and Guth’s (2000) warning about chaotic eclecticism without grounding in a coherent vision is well taken, there is a case to be made for an integrated approach to curriculum that provides systematic information about the building blocks of language and uses those building blocks to talk about things that matter.

Learners’ Lives as Curriculum: Learner-Centered Teaching With Accountability

Learners’ Lives as Curriculum (LLC) is a model for curriculum development in which learner texts (e.g., language-experience dictation, poem, story, folktale, or interview) are used as catalysts for discussing themes of interest or concern to learners (Weinstein, 1999). A *thematic unit*, according to this model, provides learners with personal stories of others like themselves, along with an opportunity to respond to those stories, generate their own narratives, and prepare for a collective project while learning specific language skills and structures.

According to *Learners’ Lives as Curriculum*, thematic units include four main components:

1. *Narratives or stories from learners and teachers* with a contextualized focus on themes and *hot topics* of interest to learners. Finding such stories requires cultivating an inquiring stance, i.e., ways of learning about learners, learning about the context in which they are raising their children, and finding ways to invite and share those stories that bring these issues to life. At the Cambodian Association in Long Beach, reports from several home visits hinted at interest in first aid and home safety. As soon as we began asking learners directly about their experiences, we knew we were on to something. Accounts of accidents came spilling out like water from a rain-soaked reservoir.

2. *Language skills, structures, competencies.* Like native speakers, immigrant learners must master the mechanics of reading and writing English. Unlike native speakers, however, second language learners also need support for developing listening and speaking skills and strategies in their new language. All four skills require the acquisition of vocabulary and grammar structures. These are entailed in mastering competencies and those things that learners wish to do with the language. *Learners’ Lives as Curriculum* assumes that these building blocks are essential and that learners benefit most when forms and functions of language are taught explicitly and are made available in the service of authentic communicative tasks. For the unit on home accidents, for example, the teacher-authors focused on vocabulary for cuts, bruises, burns, and poison. They created a picture dictionary to provide the language that learners would need to tell their own home-accident

stories. The other vocabulary and grammar activities for the unit were written last to provide support or to scaffold the discussions and projects in which learners would be invited to engage.

3. *Creating a sense of classroom community.* There are many ways to build engagement, interdependence, and trust in an ESL class. We have come to believe that certain kinds of activities create a natural momentum for building a community in the classroom. The first ingredient is for learners, no matter the level of their language proficiency, to have opportunities to get acquainted by using language to express themselves and share their experiences. Once the accident stories started to flow, there was no stopping them—even if they had to be told in Khmer or drawn first!

In addition, it has been our experience that learners who have been uprooted benefit from an opportunity to integrate the past with the present by reflecting collectively on what it was like before and what it is like now. In our Cambodian group, we practiced Venn diagrams to visualize similarities and differences between dangers in the homeland and the new country. There's no danger of being trampled by water buffalo in the US, but there is no carpal tunnel syndrome or electrical shock from uncovered outlets in the Cambodian countryside! Learners mused that a child can drown in either place, and that rivers and bathtubs provide different venues for the same danger. By comparing notes, learners can draw on what has been familiar and make sense of what is new.

Finally, community is built when learners have an opportunity to explore (and sometimes solve) problems together and engage in authentic projects that will benefit them outside the classroom. The teachers who wrote the home-accidents curriculum developed an activity to help learners conduct a safety audit of their homes. This invited learners to generate with the group ways to avoid the hazards depicted in the picture dictionary. The final project for this unit was to assemble First Aid kits for participants to take home after discussing and practicing the use of each item in the kit.

4. *Monitoring progress toward learner-selected goals.* The final component of any thematic unit is to provide all stakeholders with a way to monitor progress. It is a great misfortune that teachers have come to see assessment as something imposed from the outside and/or something to be dreaded. The *Learners' Lives as Curriculum* model assumes that learners and teachers, as well as program administrators and funders, have reasons to want to know what learners are gaining in terms of their linguistic goals (e.g., be able to name 10 vocabulary items related to First Aid) and nonlinguistic goals (e.g., be able to call 911 and report an emergency intelligibly). A good thematic unit must provide opportunities to document those gains in ways that key stakeholders, including the learners themselves, can see.

Communities of Learners and Communities of Teachers

I have a scar on my stomach. When I went to college, one day I got very sick. The doctor didn't believe I was sick. Finally, I had to go to the hospital in

an ambulance. I had to have an operation to take my appendix out. I have many scars on my body. I like them, because each one tells a story!

With my own story as a prompt (the story above is from when I was in college), learners using the home-accidents curriculum work in small groups for some show-and-tell of their own. They write a dialogue journal about an accident and take notes on a story their teacher tells them about his or her own accident. We've found that learners stretch beyond their own level of proficiency to learn something interesting about their teachers.

An elementary school teacher once told me of her frustrations in her attempts to get children to collect and bring in stories from their parents about the homes where they were born. At her wits' end, she wrote her own story about the house where she grew up and sent it home with the children. When the parents saw her story, they responded with their own. Both her model and her willingness to participate as an equal created the trust that enabled reluctant strangers to become participants.

In this way, curriculum developers and teachers become part of the community of storytellers and writers, and they participate in the community they are creating in the classroom. At the Cambodian Association, teachers found that as they told their own stories, they modeled for learners how to participate in the growing community while adding interesting texts to the linguistic repertoire. It is an extra bonus to see the delight when teachers find the faces and stories of their own colleagues in the materials they field-test.

Linking Learner-Centered Teaching and Professional Development

Teachers are also learners. We constantly must respond to new circumstances as the student population, legislative mandates, program constraints, and other conditions change. Like language and literacy learners, teachers often must manage despite difficult conditions and limited resources. Like any learner, teachers need time within and across programs to tell stories about teaching and to compare and analyze experiences.

This kind of sharing and collective problem-solving is especially important in true learner-centered classrooms. Difficult feelings and issues emerge when a safe space is created for learners to talk about things that matter. From a classroom-management perspective, how do we want to handle native language use in our classrooms? On more poignant issues, what do we do when we learn a refugee has witnessed the murder of several members of her family? What if classroom discussion of home accidents raises learners' fears that they are being monitored by child-protection services? There are no easy answers to these kinds of questions, nor are there the answers in professional-development books. Just as learners need to compare experiences about their lives for reflection and/or action, so teachers need to share experience in their teaching. They need to talk about the challenges and what has and has not worked in addressing them.

Instruction will be strongest when teachers are supported in taking time to discuss program goals, reflect collectively on practice, frame questions, explore them systematically, and take action based on their learning. Developing curricula together creates a context not only for addressing the needs of learners but also for learning with and from one another. Curriculum and materials writing can be one of the best forms of project-based learning for the teacher-authors, who often report coming to see their own teaching in a new light.

The Process: Techniques and Teamwork

To write the “home accidents” unit, the staff of the Cambodian Association used several techniques. They began with training in the principles of learner-centered teaching. They then used a variety of planning tools to help them identify themes, collect stories, plan projects, and map out the unit they would write. These included a “thematic unit worksheet,” a “story-board,” a summary worksheet, and other tools we created as we worked. Perhaps most important, teachers kept simple journals about the process. As one Oakland teacher-author engaged in this process wrote, “This all helps me remember why I went into teaching!” (Sue Pon, journal of 8/2003)

Regular face-to-face working meetings were crucial. In addition, an on-line forum gave the staff a venue to post the stories they had collected, share their drafts, and reflect collectively with a wider circle of colleagues without the constraints of in-person meeting time or the boundaries of geographic space. Helping each other master the tools of technology was another community-building experience and writing curricula together entailed identifying one another’s strengths. Who is good at collecting learner stories? In this group, it was the bilingual Cambodian teachers who could collect stories in learners’ most comfortable language. Who will hammer out the grammar activities? For the Cambodian Association team, it was the Anglo teachers who had the most ESL teaching experience. Who is good at designing projects? Two teachers on the team had extensive experience planning field trips. Every person on the team had different strengths to contribute as well as different opportunities to stretch their own skills.

Language-Learners and Teacher-Learners Creating the Canon

In a vibrant learner-centered classroom, attention is given to creating communities of learners who support one another in learning language and literacy while reflecting collectively (and sometimes taking resulting action) on their lives. Learner stories and experiences are the raw materials that can begin the conversation for planning such actions.

This is not to say that this process is easy for anyone involved. Learners who are accustomed to teacher-centered pedagogy are often suspicious when asked to determine the direction of their classes. I remember the first day I taught English to scientists in China, and I asked them to list the skills they most wanted to practice and develop. There was an uncomfortable buzz of

talk, and my interpreter later told me that they had concluded that I didn't know how to teach if I had to ask them what they wanted. In class the next day, I shouted in the most militaristic tone of voice that I could muster, "DICTATION! Take out your pens!" The relief was almost tangible as their traditional expectations were met. Shifting the locus of responsibility took time and trust. Likewise, immigrants in the US may think that their lives and their stories are not worth telling or that their experiences are a distraction from the task of language learning. But when teachers persist, when they take an unrelenting listening stance, when they have concrete tools for eliciting ideas and for working with learner texts, we find that learners begin to rise to the opportunity. As learners begin to trust that talking about their families and their lives is part of what they have gathered to do, it becomes clear that learning English is central, not peripheral, to talking about things that matter. The stories and the language needed to tell them begin to trickle out, first slowly and then in floods.

As difficult as this is for learners, it is no easier for teachers to shift roles from "expert" to listener/guide. Teachers who are accustomed to having a lesson plan in which everything is scripted must adapt to a situation in which they may start a conversation for which the direction is not determined in advance. As learners talk about things that are authentic and that matter, the teacher cannot predict which vocabulary might be most important, or what stories, concerns, and issues will emerge. This is surely a leap of faith, and it requires relinquishing some degree of control over what will unfold in the classroom and a letting go of the comfortable role of the "expert" who "knows." With a truly learner-centered class, teachers know about language and have tools for giving learners a native tour of how the language works, but learners are the ones who "know" and teach us about their lives.

Teachers who take the leap of faith and who engage in this way with the adults in their classes report enormous satisfaction when learners make individual or collective strides. Learners who have felt marginalized find strength and support in the safety of a nurturing classroom community. Moreover, their stories comprise the most powerful material for other learners. Their words and discoveries are more compelling to others like them than anything a professional textbook writer or any other "expert" can make up.

Likewise, communities of teacher-learners thrive when given the opportunity to share their own discoveries. With family literacy as a fledgling field, all practitioners are pioneers. With the right techniques and opportunities, we can support one another in one of the most challenging but rewarding endeavors imaginable—fostering and witnessing the transformations associated with nurturing the development of family literacies that connect generations.

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