Museum Education and Yemeni American Children's Immigrant Identity From a Vygotskian Perspective: A Mother's Diary

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Abstract

This is a report from the field, where an immigrant mother journaled about her Yemeni American daughters (ages 7 and 13, born and raised in the U.S.) visiting museums for the first time. Her diary documented how mother–child and sibling interactions in museum education contributed to building cognitive and affective skills required for academic success in formal schooling. Her diary entries included: (1) anecdotal observations, (2) interviews of her daughters and her immigrant father, and (3) reflective and photographic journaling. Her daughters' journaling and photo documentations further supported their mother's entries. Vygotsky's sociocultural theory is the conceptual framework for this project. The mother promoted her daughters' immigrant identity via visits to museums and activities related to the museum and the family's immigrant identity offered before, during, and after the museum visits. The project culminated with her daughters creating their unique family museum and dramatizing as docents. We recommend (1) museum-related interactive literacy activities, and (2) creating and dramatizing a family museum.We buttress these recommendations with research, Vygotsky's theory, and our evidence-based practice. We conclude that the daughters demonstrated the cognitive and affective skills required for academic success in formal schooling while simultaneously developing their immigrant identity. We suggest replicating this project to promote immigrant identity among other cultural groups. We lastly present an educational case study of the grandfather's immigrant experiences in the appendix.

Key Words: museums, Vygotsky, Yemeni American children, immigrant identity, cognitive, affective outcomes, informal, multicultural education, dramatization, literacy activities, family museum, reflective journaling, case study

Need: Significance of Yemeni Immigrants

The Arab American Institute (2022) reports that Arab immigrants began coming to the U.S. in large numbers in the 1880s, estimating that 3.7 million Americans now trace their roots to an Arab country. Harjanto and Batalova (2022) report that between 2000 and 2019, the immigrant population from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region doubled from 596,000 to 1.2 million. In 2019, out of the total 1,203,000 MENA immigrants, 822,000 (68.3 %) were from the Middle East, and the remaining 381,000 (31.7%) were from North Africa (Harjanto & Batalova, 2022). These numbers make Arab immigrants a significant group worth examining for educators. Amongst this increased diaspora, Yemeni immigrants comprise 59,000, and they are 4.9% of Middle Eastern immigrants (Harjanto & Batalova, 2022). However, among U.S. educators, little is known about Yemeni immigrant families and their children. Thus, there is a need to know more about their immigrant identity.

Yemeni immigrants rapidly increased after the 1965 Immigration Act. Prior to this act, U.S. immigration policy followed the National Origins Formula established in 1920, which primarily promoted immigration from Western and Northern Europe; the 1965 Immigration Act removed discrimination against Southern and Eastern Europeans, Asians, and other non-western ethnic groups (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, 2023). Newly arrived Yemeni immigrants typically worked at farms in California, automobile factories in Detroit, or opened small family businesses in New York (Walker, 2023). They have multiple identities (e.g., Yemeni identity, Arabic identity, family identity, immigrant identity, Islamic identity). This project addresses the intersections of these identities in children born in America to Yemeni immigrants.

Mother's Journal: An Overview—Mother, Daughters, and Museums

The mother, who is the second author, is proficient in Arabic and English. She has received a Bilingual Bicultural Master's in Education. Her education exposed her to Vygotsky's theory, which provided her a framework for designing this museum project (i.e., planning activities for before, during, and after museum visits) to maximize positive benefits for her children. Additionally, this theory enhanced her understanding of how her social interactions contributed

to her daughters' cognitive and affective developments. (Not all parents are so fortunate to have this knowledge of how to plan theoretically grounded, educational, meaningful, and fun parent–child interactive activities for before, during, and after museum visits. Our hope is that such parents and the teachers, family liaisons, or other school or museum staff working with them may find this article helpful.)

This mother also had, at the time of the project, four years of work experience as an English Language Learner (ELL) paraprofessional, four years as an ELL teacher, and one year as ELL coordinator in schools which predominantly serve Muslim immigrant and refugee children from Yemen, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Bosnia. She kept a journal based on the advice of her academic mentor, who is the first author. The mother's journal focuses on her two daughters, Haneen, then a 13-year-old eighth grader and Leena, then a seven-year-old third grader. (Note: both parents and these daughters have given permission to use their actual names.) Both are above average academically, as assessed on standardized tests. They understand, speak, read, and write English at home, but they speak in a Yemeni dialect of Arabic with their grandparents. Haneen had been exposed to the standardized Arabic language through weekend Arabic learning school. Thus, she could read standard Arabic, but with limited comprehension. Leena only knew the Arabic letters and could read two and three letter words. They were born in the U.S.; their parents immigrated from Yemen in 1999. One of the daughters did visit Yemen when she was very young but does not remember her visit, while the other daughter has never visited.

The mother's rationale for undertaking this museum project was to address the following gaps in her daughters' background knowledge. First, they had never been to any museums. Thus, visiting a museum and participating in museum-related activities seemed like a highly worthwhile and novel experience for them. Second, they had no knowledge of their family's ancestral experiences in America nor in Yemen. Thus, this museum education exposed them to their ancestral family's immigrant experiences in America, and their traditional, historical, and cultural daily life experiences in Yemen.

To address the above gaps, the mother documented that she and her daughters visited the Arab American National Museum (AANM) four times, which focuses on Arab American immigrants (Arab American National Institute, 2022; Arab American National Museum & Kayyali, 2019). A composite and integrated picture of all four AANM visits are reported, to avoid mentioning redundancies across visits.

The mother kept a journal which focused on social interactions during museum visits and related activities contributing to Yemeni American families'

immigrant identity. The following question emerged, based on mother's journal entries: How can a museum, along with related activities, promote cognitive and affective outcomes that are required for academic success in formal schooling, while simultaneously developing immigrant children's family identity? This question is addressed in this article.

Our Conceptual Framework: Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory

The mother used Vygotsky's sociocultural theory as her conceptual framework because it considers social interactions and human activities with cultural and historical objects essential for promoting higher mental processes, such as language and cultural understanding (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986). Given that museum visits are social, cultural, and historical experiences, multiple scholars acknowledge Vygotsky's theory as a highly appropriate framework in museum education (e.g., Ash, 2003; Bhavnagri & Kamash, 2019; Coffee, 2007; Mayer, 2005; Pierroux, 2003). Thus, the mother interpreted her journal entries on the mother–child and sibling interactions during museum education using Vygotskian concepts: (1) interpersonal dialogue contributing to intrapersonal thought resulting in shared cognition, (2) scaffolding, (3) physical and cultural tools, (4) the zone of proximal development (ZPD), and (5) dynamic assessments. Given that each of these concepts are not mutually exclusive but overlapping and highly interrelated, we next briefly explain their interconnectivity and provide suitable examples from our project, as appropriate.

According to Vygotsky (1978, 1986), learning happens during social conversations (which he calls interpersonal dialogues) between an expert and a novice (e.g., mother and her daughters; older and a younger sibling; Wink & Putney, 2002) resulting in what Vygotsky calls intrapersonal thought (e.g., growth in cognitive skills/expansion of mental capacity in mother and daughters). Every child needs assistance with new concepts, which are first understood only within interpersonal dialogues, also called public speech or external speech (Vygotsky, 1978, 1986) and called intersubjectivity between the expert and novice (Rogoff, 1990; Wood, 1980). It finally becomes internalized, an intrapersonal dialogue, also called private speech or internal speech. The neo-Vygotskian scholars call this process of dialogue impacting thought socially shared cognition, distributed cognition, co-construction, joint attention, and collaborative learning (Bodrova & Leong, 2007; Finn & Vandermaas-Peeler, 2013; Povis & Crowley, 2015; Rogoff, 1990).

Scaffolding takes place during this interpersonal dialogue. Scaffolding is the process of an expert (e.g., an adult) assisting a novice (e.g., child; Jones et al., 1998; Rogoff, 1990), but then the expert gradually reduces assistance as the

novice gains competency (Berk & Winsler, 1995). Furthermore, Vygotsky purports that not only interpersonal dialogue, but also physical and cultural tools promote scaffolding.

Physical tools contribute to a mental tool, namely language (Newman & Holzman, 1993), thus scaffolding and expanding human beings' mental capacity (Bodrova & Leong, 2007). Physical tools in this project included: (1) written materials, namely, white boards, notebooks, and labels related to artifacts; (2) children's story books on immigrants; and (3) technology, namely, a tablet, smartphone, and laptop used for informational research, photo documentations, and developing a video. Cultural tools in this project included: (1) museum artifacts documenting immigrant's cultural experiences through oral history, photographs, and legal papers; (2) objects in one's family representing their immigration and used to create a family museum; and (3) daughter's video to represent their family's immigrant roots. According to some scholars, museum artifacts are cultural tools because they communicate social and linguistic practices of a particular time in history (e.g., Coffee, 2007). Other scholars extend this further and state that these cultural museum artifacts are best understood by associating personal meaning, co-constructed through social discourse (e.g., Pierroux, 2003). For example, the daughters discussed the family museum artifacts and related them to their personal life experiences.

Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (ZPD) is a distance between actual developmental level as determined by level of independent performance (i.e., lower ZPD), and level of potential development as determined by assisted performance from a more knowledgeable adult or peer (i.e., upper ZPD; Rogoff & Wertsch, 1984; Vygotsky, 1978). For example, the daughters on their own had no real understanding of immigrants' stressors and resiliencies. Thus, that was their lower ZPD. Hence, when the mother read and discussed a story of an immigrant family, they expressed the immigrant child-protagonist's perspective, which was an indication of them having a better understanding than before. Thus, their empathetic responses to an immigrant child demonstrated that that they had a potential to develop this understanding with their mother's assistance, thus reaching their upper ZPD.

Vygotsky's dynamic assessment occurs when the child's abilities are evaluated both at the lower and upper ZPD levels and when teaching and assessment are integrated and not considered as two mutually exclusive tasks (McAfee et al., 2016). In informal learning settings, such as in daily parent–child interactions (Rogoff, 1990) and in museum education (Rogoff et al., 2016) where teaching and learning is integrated, this dynamic assessment can be nonverbal, such as silent observations, facial and hand gestures, body movements, and physical demonstration of an activity. The Vygotskian dynamic assessment is

examined further below; it includes the other four concepts mentioned above: (1) interpersonal dialog contributing to intrapersonal thought, (2) scaffolding, (3) physical and cultural tools, and (4) ZPD.

Vygotskian Dynamic Assessment: Museum and Yemeni American's Immigrant Identity

We present here the mother's teaching and assessment as an integrated activity taking place simultaneously and not as two mutually exclusive tasks; thus, it is a Vygotskian dynamic assessment, as defined above. Furthermore, the assessment was not a formal written test requiring prescribed true/false or multiple-choice responses. Instead, it examined informal social interactions during performance-based and context-specific activities; thus, this dynamic assessment was authentic in nature. It evaluated her daughters' cognitive and affective outcomes during relevant participatory activities. The mother's dynamic assessment was supervised and guided by her mentor, who is the first author of this article.

During this dynamic assessment, this mother used multiple action research strategies and methods. Action research also requires you to be dynamic and change as you observe, reflect, and record (Mukherji & Albon, 2015). Thus, action research strategies and methods are a good fit to integrate in Vygotsky's dynamic assessment. Her action research strategies and methods included (a) observations and then taking detailed anecdotal notes, reflecting, and writing inferences using Vygotsky's theory; (b) audiotaping her daughters' thoughts (i.e., cognitive development) and feelings (i.e., affective development) by interviewing them in a conversational manner; and (c) documenting her daughters' learning outcomes (e.g., processes and products of learning) in her reflective journal, supplemented with her photographic documentation (Mukherji & Albon, 2015). Besides recording her perspective, she encouraged her daughters to report from their perspective by documenting their thoughts and feelings in their journals after returning from museum visits and supplementing it with photographs of artifacts they liked at the museums using mobile technology. (Parents and daughters have granted permission for their photographic documentation submitted for this article.) These daughters' recordings were also used as assessment tools for this project. The social–interactive activities that were offered before, during, and after the museum visits to promote Yemeni families' immigrant identity are discussed next.

Before the Museum Visits

The mother scaffolded her daughters' learning through her conversations during the following activities, resulting in affective and cognitive outcomes contributing to their immigrant identity. She anticipated that these would be further reinforced when they later visited the museum.

Family's Immigrant Story

The mother audiotaped her interview of her father (i.e., her daughters' maternal grandfather) about his life experience because she wanted to preserve his story (i.e., their family's oral history on immigration) to develop her daughters' immigrant identity by emotionally connecting them to the hardships their grandfather faced as an immigrant to the U.S. and his coinciding resiliency and by cognitively enhancing their background knowledge of their family's immigrant history. Their grandfather's life history matches the types of jobs and the locations where nearly all Yemeni immigrants historically worked as we have described in the introduction of this article and reflected in museum exhibits. For example, he too, like the other Yemenis portrayed in the museum photographs, worked on the farms in California and in a small family business in New York, while his brother worked on the California farms and in the automobile factories in Detroit. (For details about his life in Yemen and the U.S., see the Appendix, presented as a mini case study.)

Haneen and Leena found it cognitively incomprehensible and emotionally disturbing as to what all their grandfather had to go through at a young age. Leena asked with concern and empathy, "How come my grandfather started working in the silver jewelry factory-shed when he was six years old? That is younger than me!" The mother then explained that their grandfather had to work as a child in Yemen to support the whole family because their great-grandfather's remittances from the U.S. were paltry and irregular. The transfer of money then was not electronic and immediate as is today. A Yemeni immigrant in the U.S. had to physically return home to Yemen to bring that money to the family, and those trips could be months or a year apart.

Thus, the audiotaped case study of the grandfather was a physical tool which provided the girls with the Vygotskian shared cognition of their family history. Sharing family stories has many potential desirable affective outcomes. First, it provided an opportunity for them to take their grandfather's perspective, that he had no choice but to work at a very young age. They felt empathy for their grandfather's trials and tribulations and a deeper understanding of the challenges the immigrant's family that is left behind faces when the breadwinner immigrates. Second, it provided an opportunity to heighten her daughters' social–emotional realization of the resiliencies of new immigrants like their

grandfather, such as surviving the stress of not having the best working conditions, and despite the immigrants at times not having a skill set for high paying jobs, they typically still save enough to send remittances to their impoverished family members living in abject poverty in their country of origin. Third, it provided an opportunity to increase their emotional awareness that despite earlier Yemeni immigrants also having limited financial sources, they selflessly provided financial support, hospitality, and shelter to the new arrivals like their grandfather. Thus, it provided an opportunity for the girls to be aware that an individual community member can contribute to a larger good by being altruistic, helpful, and accepting social responsibility towards others in need.

Sharing family history as an activity also had many potential desirable cognitive outcomes. First, it brought awareness of their family's historical roots within the larger sociocultural context of rural Yemeni society. For example, the girls began to understand that their grandfather's story represents daily life of a child brought up in Yemeni's rural, labor-intensive, and subsistence agricultural economy, which included child labor, hunger, poverty, and limited literacy. Second, the mother's accurate description with vivid details of her father's immigrant story helped her daughters to conceptualize their family's immigrant identity. Through the twists and turns in their grandfather's life, they began to understand for the very first time the trials and tribulations many immigrants face, for example, economic hardships, psychological loneliness resulting in homesickness, and inadequacies of not knowing the language and culture of the host country.

The mother explicitly recorded in her journal that her daughters had gained a deeper understanding of the challenges and resiliencies of being an immigrant (i.e., cognitive outcome) leading to empathy (i.e., affective outcome) for new immigrants. Thus, listening and discussing their grandfather's story had moved them to their upper ZPD because they had shifted in their social cognition, namely from an egocentric perspective based on their limited, comfortable, and relatively stress-free life experiences in the U.S. to a sociocentric perspective of what other immigrants go through.

Additionally, both daughters were informally learning about the social history of immigrants through this case study, thereby supplementing their formal learning of the immigrants' history as taught in social studies in schools. Since this informal learning about immigrants at home and at the museum was related to their own family, it resulted in a positive cognitive outcome of a meaningful and personal understanding of social studies, as reported by the girls during the museum visit. Furthermore, their cognitive learning fit perfectly within our Vygotskian conceptual framework because his theory has a cultural focus, thus named "sociocultural theory"; a social focus, thus also

called "social interaction theory"; and a historical focus, thus also named "socio-historical theory."

Thus, overall, these daughters received socially, culturally, and historically focused affective and cognitive learning, which were expressed later during the museum visits, after the museum visit activity, and in creating a family museum, all mentioned below. (To fully understand the above stated affective and cognitive outcomes for learners, see the grandfather's life story as reported as a mini case study in the Appendix. Additionally, his mini case study is a potential Vygotskian physical tool to teach about challenges and resiliencies of immigrants in social studies, immigrant history, and multicultural education courses in K–12 or higher education.)

Interactive Literacy Activity

The mother and daughters participated in interactive reading about Arab immigrants in a book titled, *Coming to America: A Muslim's Family Story* (Wolf, 2003). It was a joint collaborative activity of a bidirectional nature, emphasized by neo-Vygotskian scholars, mentioned earlier in our conceptual framework. The book was a physical tool that scaffolded her daughters to cognitively co-construct a deeper understanding of the acculturation processes encountered by immigrant family members and their immigrant child and to recognize that it is similar to what their grandfather experienced as a new immigrant. For example, they actively understood that economic hardship is a pull factor for many male immigrants to come alone, leaving their close family members behind. That was true of the father (daughters' grandfather) in this story. Leena constructed her own meaning when explaining that "he didn't want to leave his wife by herself with three children, but he had to come first to America to make money so he can bring them." Additionally, the daughters also reflected on their intrapersonal thoughts regarding the aspirations of immigrant parents during the acculturation process. For example, Leena eagerly identified that her grandfather's goal was "to have his own work and take his family to a bigger apartment." Haneen also clearly demonstrated understanding of his goals by saying, "to have his own business, to go to a bigger apartment, and be able to buy things that they are not able to afford before." Furthermore, the daughters co-constructed their knowledge that during acculturation, family support buffers the stress and strengthens the resiliencies of the family members left behind. For example, Haneen, said, "His wife's family were living next to them, so they helped her when he is in America."

The acculturation processes encountered by the immigrant child in the book also helped the daughters take the perspective of what the protagonist, Rawan, confronts in her new country. Hence, when the mother asked, "How do you

think Rawan feels about her life in America?", Leena responded, "I think that she likes it because she is with her family. She misses her friends and school in Alexandria, but now she is in a new school, and she made new friends." The mother next asked her daughters to imagine that they are Rawan and write a letter to their friend in Egypt about life in America as a newly arrived immigrant child. She was thus scaffolding them emotionally to their upper ZPD by taking the protagonist's perspective. Leena's letter expressed Rawan's positive integration and acculturation to the American way of life (see Figure 1), "School here is better, teachers do not hit you for not doing your homework." Haneen wrote (see Figure 2), "In America houses/everything is super expensive. Classes have only 25 to 30 children. Barely anyone knows each other." These letters reflected perspective taking ability of the daughters regarding the positive and negative aspects of Rawan's life in her new host country, as well as the daughters' intrapersonal thoughts regarding the Rawan's acculturation process when developing her new American immigrant identity. Thus, the collaborative reading followed by writing moved them to their upper ZPD, expanding cognitively as well as affectively.

Figure 1. Leena's letter.

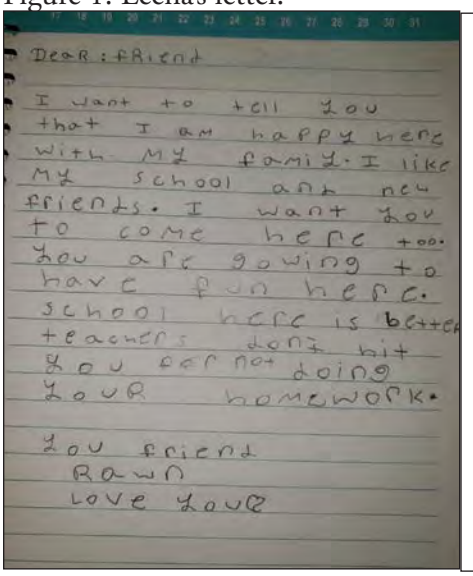
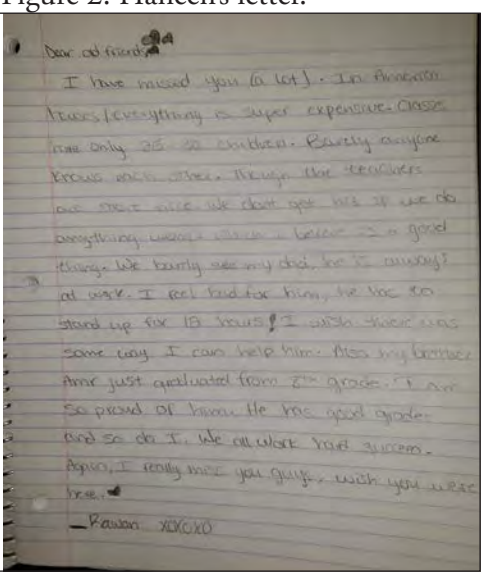


Figure 2. Haneen's letter.



During the Museum Visit

At the AANM, the daughters examined artifacts related to Yemeni immigrants' experiences documented through their oral history, photographs, and legal papers. During this visit, they learned about their family's immigrant identity while also informally practicing cognitive and affective skills required for academics.

Both daughters heard the oral history of what immigrants were saying about their journey to America, thus practicing their focused listening skills. Additionally, they were silently solo reading the descriptions next to the photos. When they came across the Yemeni immigration photo exhibit, they were very excited, joyous, and engaged. Haneen immediately initiated explaining the labels to help Leena to comprehend the exhibit showing that, upon arrival, many Yemeni immigrants worked on the farms in California, in car factories in Michigan, and in small businesses in New York. This was exactly what Haneen had heard on her grandfather's audiotape about his own and his brother's immigrant experiences. Despite this, Haneen did not verbally connect the information at the exhibit to her grandfather's audiotape. Leena on the other hand immediately connected, for she chuckled and said, "I told you; this is talking about my grandfather. He went to the same places."

When Haneen promoted comprehension of semiotic labels next to the exhibits, she was the expert and Leena was a novice. On the other hand, Leena was the expert and Haneen was the novice when she activated Haneen's memory and expressed personal meaning by linking photos to their grandfather's experience. Thus, Haneen and Leena moved from solo silent reading to a dialogue, promoting Vygotskian collaborative co-construction of knowledge of a bidirectional nature. Additionally, they practiced cognitive skills (e.g., focused listening, reading, co-construction of knowledge, ability to explain, comprehension, memory, personal meaning making) that facilitate success in academics.

They also saw legal documents, such as citizenship tests, birth certificates, passports, and identification cards. Haneen connected those documents to her learning about immigration in her school. When examining a game with citizenship test questions, she particularly referred to a specific question on the test and said, "I learned these [citizenship questions] in my history class, but I don't remember this one [question]. If I was not a U.S citizen, I [would have] had to remember ALL of these history questions!" She thus expressed empathy for new immigrants who must learn a plethora of information (e.g., the constitution, its amendments, the Bill of Rights) to become a citizen.

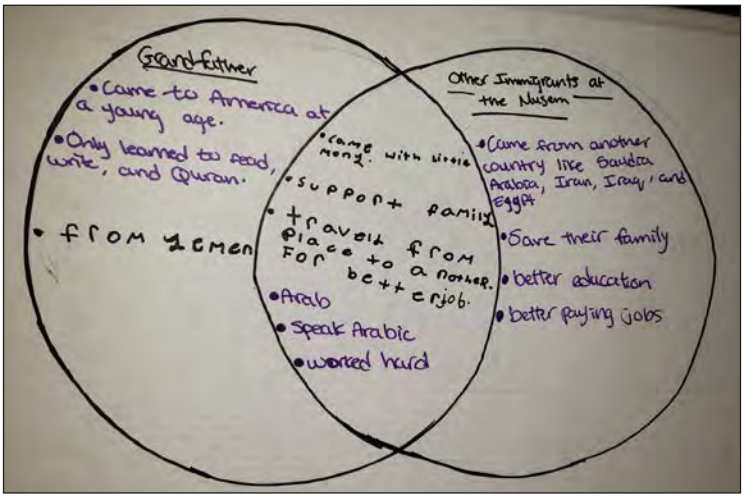
After the Museum Visit

The mother suggested that her daughters jointly co-construct a common Venn diagram, classifying the similarities and differences between their grandfathers' immigrant journey and other Arab American immigrants' journeys as reported at the museum. Haneen used Vygotskian physical tools (i.e., audiotapes at the museum, her grandfather's audiotape, and the photos she had taken of the museum artifacts with informational labels) to jog her memory and assist her to classify information on their Venn diagram. While writing in the

Venn diagram, Haneen said, "Immigrants in the museum also came to America for the same reason [as grandpa]" and "I remember that the first immigrant we listened to said that he had to work right away, and my grandpa said that he had to do the same." Thus, after the museum visit, Haneen finally linked her grandfather's experiences to the audio exhibit at the museum although she had not spontaneously done so at the museum. Using purple magic marker, she wrote some similarities, such as they all are "Arab" who speak "Arabic" and "worked hard." She also inserted the differences, that the Arab immigrants who spoke on audiotapes at the museum came from "another country like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, and Egypt" (see Figure 3). This Venn diagram is evidence that, unlike before, she could now notice some similarities and differences between her grandfather and other non-Yemeni Arab immigrants across Middle East. The Venn diagram thus documented that the museum visit, along with her mother's expertise, had scaffolding Haneen to expand her concept of Middle Easterners, thereby moving her to her upper ZPD.

Leena expressed her enthusiasm in this co-construction of knowledge by grabbing a black marker and hurriedly putting in her inserts, lest they ran out of space for her new ideas. She excitedly stated aloud, "I have another one [i.e., idea]. They [grandfather and his brother] travelled from one place to another. For better job." The mother scaffolded Leena by asking, "Where does your statement belong in the Venn diagram?" Leena replied with confidence, "In the middle of the Venn diagram because other immigrants did that, too." Thus, constructing this Venn diagram was an authentic dynamic assessment that documented that both daughters could classify and conceptualize (i.e., two academic skills) their family immigrant identity within the context Arab American immigrant identity.

Figure 3. Venn Diagram by Haneen (purple) and Leena (black)



Family Museum Dramatization: Culminating Activity

The daughters created a family museum as a culminating experience where they then dramatized as docents who displayed cultural artifacts and conducted tours of their family museum. The mother and her daughter's definition of this family was not limited to a nuclear family (i.e., parents and their children). Instead, they held the traditional definition of a family amongst Yemeni people, which includes children's grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins. What westerners may call extended family, they culturally view as their very immediate family. Hence, the artifacts displayed in their family museum also belonged to grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins.

Before Dramatization: Preparation and Planning

The daughters saw a western-style white wedding dress worn by an Arab American bride at the museum, and that reminded them of their aunt's (mother's sister) Yemeni and American weddings. Their aunt, who too is an immigrant to the U.S., had two weddings: a western wedding where she wore a similar white dress, and a traditional Yemeni wedding where she wore traditional Yemeni wedding clothes. The daughters had actively participated in both of these weddings. For the Yemeni-style wedding, they had decorated their hands using henna, wore traditional Yemeni clothes, and served Yemeni tea and food. Haneen was the bridesmaid and Leena was the flower girl at the western wedding. Their participation in American and Yemeni cultural wedding practices is evidence of their acculturation and furthering their American Yemeni immigrant identity. As a result, they immediately made connections between the museum artifact and their aunt's wedding without any scaffolding from their mom.

Given that they were so interested in the wedding celebration, upon their return from the museum visit, the mother showed them a YouTube video on her tablet titled, "*Traditional Yemeni Wedding*." It is a clip demonstrating traditional wedding attire with jewelry, ceremonies, and dancing, taken from a larger video titled, "*Yemen: Capital of Culture*" (TED Tiaz, 2014). This video was highly similar to their aunt's Yemeni wedding. The mother and daughters then made comparisons between Middle Eastern and Muslim wedding celebrations to the Western and Christian weddings. During this discussion, both girls demonstrated awareness of their immigrant Yemeni cultural roots. Haneen demonstrated pride, saying, "I am glad that we still have our traditional wedding as part of the celebration. So, our [Yemeni immigrant] culture is still there." The mother also had informal conversational interviews with them to assess their cognitive and affective outcomes. For example, she asked them,

"Why is it important to you both that a traditional Yemeni wedding dress is still kept as part of the Yemeni wedding celebration?" Haneen responded, "Because that is part of our culture, and we should be proud of our culture." Leena expressed, "If we don't do the traditional wedding, then it is not a Yemeni wedding anymore."

Both girls again wanted to wear the traditional wedding clothes they wore at their aunt's wedding and pretend that they were brides. Hence, the mother next dressed her daughters in traditional women's attire, jewelry, silver headband, and chiffon with traditional textile designs, like their aunt wore at her wedding and like the ones worn by the bride in the video. The mother recorded in her journal that they were very excited to dress up in the traditional Yemeni wedding attire. Later, the girls independently (i.e., without any scaffolding from their mother) came up with the idea of wearing their same wedding outfits and other Yemeni adornments when dramatizing as docents who displayed artifacts in their family museum. This is evidence of how a museum artifact was a physical tool which scaffolded them to generate independent new ideas on dramatization.

Haneen prepared for this dramatization by creating a video on her tablet of her grandfather's immigrant experiences. She expressed to her mother that her cousins, who will be visitors at their family museum, must know her grandfather's inspiring immigration story. Haneen narrated her grandfather's story on the video to match his childhood photographs with his family, his village, places he went to in America, and his most recent photographs. She narrated, "His children grew up in Sanaa, and among them was my mother. They went to private schools, and everything was provided for them. They grew up thinking that the luxury life they lived in was the same for their father. Little did they know that it was their father's determination, hard work, and perseverance that led to their happier upbringing." She ended the video by saying, "You are a true inspiration to all of us. Thank you, grandpa." Thus Haneen, on her own initiative, expressed her intrapersonal thoughts very creatively regarding her family's immigration history and cultural roots through this documentation. Her creative work product was almost a replica of the oral history audios and photos she had seen at the museum. Thus, those museum Vygotskian cultural tools scaffolded to her higher ZPD, evidenced by creating this video.

Haneen and Leena artistically displayed their family's artifacts which had personal meaning for them, depicting their immigrant roots. Furthermore, when arranging their displays, they kept in mind the messages those family museum artifacts would convey and the visitors (i.e., their adult relatives as well as their cousins) who were the intended recipients of those messages. Thus, they were accurately playing the role of curators who too must take on

the perspective of the museum visitors when arranging their displays. Leena helped by cutting and making labels for each of the exhibits, which were then placed next to the artifacts. The girls designed these labels to resemble the museum labels they had seen.

During Dramatization: Conducting Tours

Both girls seriously played their roles as museum docents, giving tours to their cousins (see Figure 4). They sustained their dramatization by taking turns and referring to the labels describing various Yemeni cultural artifacts. Most of these artifacts were brought by their grandmother when she first immigrated (e.g., blue dress with white floral print and platters; see Figures 4 and 8). Other artifacts were gifted to the grandmother and had special family memories associated with them (e.g., grandmother's eyeliner which she had for over 30 years, gifted to her by her mom, namely the children's great-grandmother, and calligraphy plaques gifted to her by her daughter, the children's aunt; see Figures 6 and 10). The few remaining artifacts were brought to the U.S. by other family members when they later visited Yemen (e.g., Leena's doll wearing their aunt's wedding veil; see Figure 9), or cultural artifacts sent as gifts from Yemen (e.g., Yemeni daggers gifted to their male cousins; see Figure 7).

The girls' scripts mentioned how each artifact was constructed, used in their family, and the cultural meaning behind it. This script was based on the cultural knowledge they had gained from their mother, other family members, and searches on the internet. When they began their participation, their mother scaffolded them to their upper ZPD by participating in their dramatization with explanations related to their family's culture, answering their questions as well as their cousin's questions, and asking provocative questions. However, when the girls were dramatizing as docents and giving museum tours to their cousins (see Figure 4), they were able to make connections of the artifacts to their family members' life experiences, without any further assistance from their mother. For example, they independently stated that: (1) this oud is played by our grandfather, especially during family gatherings (see Figure 5); (2) these festive Yemeni clothes were worn by our family members during our aunt's wedding; (3) our uncle wore a dagger at our aunt's wedding just like our cousins' daggers displayed here (see Figure 7); and (4) this silver jewelry was worn with pride by all the women at weddings. Thus, dramatization as docents and describing their family's immigrant roots is evidence of the girls expressing their immigrant identity. (Note: Parents of all children pictured have provided permission to publish the photographs appearing in this article.)

Figure 4. Leena as Docent

Note. Leena wearing traditional clothing, giving a tour of the textiles section displaying clothing and prayer rugs, pointing to a hand-embroidered traditional Yemeni dress, worn for any occasion, belonging to a cousin. Her boy-cousin Waleed and girl-cousin Jannah pretend to be museum visitors.

Figure 5. Family Museum Artifacts

Note. The display included the grandfather's oud (musical instrument) and a large, round, hand-woven, plant fiber mat on which pastry dough is kneaded, cut, and molded. Other items are detailed below.

Figure 6. Kohl Eyeliner Container

Note. The grandmother's eyeliner, a gift from her mom, the children's great-grandmother.

Figure 7. Daggers and Belts

Note. Curved daggers with plastic sheaths and belts traditionally worn by men as a symbol of power and status, particularly at wedding dances. These belonged to their young male cousins.

Figure 8. Hand-woven Platters

Note. Made of dyed plant fibers, brought by the grandmother when she first immigrated, these are used as decorations and for serving foods on special occasions.

Figure 9. Doll and Frankincense

Note. Leena's doll is wearing a traditional Yemeni wedding dress and a veil which their aunt wore at her wedding. On the right are two Frankincense containers, household staples. The bigger and more elegant ones are used for special occasions.

Figure 10. Calligraphy Plaques

Note. Two carved wooden Islamic calligraphic decorative artifacts, one saying Allah and the other Mohammed, used for protection and gifted to the children's grandmother on Mother's Day by her daughter (i.e., the children's aunt, sister of the author).

After Dramatization: Follow Up and Summative Assessment

Both girls asked if they could leave the family museum display for a longer time than originally planned, so that other family members who were unable to visit on the day of the invitation could still have a chance to see their museum exhibits. Furthermore, the daughters would also then have repeated and additional exciting opportunities to dramatize as museum docents. Thus, the display was extended in the home for two more weeks when additional family members attended. Her daughters finally reluctantly removed the exhibits given that out-of-town guests were arriving and needed that space. This entire dramatization provides evidence of the girls' (1) creativity, (2) pride in their grandfather's immigrant experience, (3) intense joy as evidence that they were not satiated even after extending the display for two weeks, (4) awareness of how household artifacts (like the museum artifacts) communicate their family's immigrant heritage and identity, and (5) understanding that it is typical for immigrants to bring objects that have special meaning to them.

After the daughters shared their video of their grandfather with their family and conducted the family museum tours, the mother interviewed Haneen and Leena and asked two summative assessment questions. The first one was, "What did you like about being a guide in the family museum you created?" Leena excitedly replied, "It was easy to place the cards with the written artifact because we wrote the descriptions and interviewed our family. I can't wait to be the guide. It was like I am the teacher, teaching my cousins about our culture

and everything you taught me." Haneen replied with a sense of accomplishment, "It was like a real museum, and I was the expert of all the artifacts. I liked when my cousins were asking me questions and I was able to answer them." This summative assessment is clear evidence of the daughters' appreciation of their family's cultural roots contributing to their immigrant identity.

The mother next asked the second summative assessment question, "What did you like about the video you all created about your grandfather?" Leena replied, "I really liked seeing the pictures of my grandfather, and it was easier to understand because of the pictures." Thus, Leena who is the younger in age compared to Haneen, self-reflected that her comprehension was enhanced (i.e., scaffolded) via pictorial documentation on mobile technology, a physical tool, which moved her to her upper ZPD. When Haneen was asked the same question, she expressed with joy that what she liked best about the video she had created was, "seeing the tears of happiness in my grandfather's face and knowing that now all my cousins know his inspiring story."

Recommendations: Literacy and Dramatization Activities

We recommend offering interactive literacy and dramatization activities, which are developmentally appropriate practices for museum education. These recommendations are buttressed with: (1) scholarly and research evidence of best practices, (2) Vygotsky's theory, and (3) our practices, namely this project grounded in scholarly and research evidence.

Museum-Related Interactive Literacy Activities

We recommend the following developmentally appropriate practices for museum education: (1) to prepare for interactive literacy activities by selecting suitable literature and family stories, (2) then conduct those interactive literacy activities through collaborative reading, and (3) then have follow-up writing activities. We describe how we too implemented these recommendations in this project.

Children's Literature and Family's Stories

We recommend that children's literature which scaffolds the readers to easily understand the new immigrant's true humanity be selected and then connected to the artifacts displayed in the museum. For example, books on (1) the complexities and adversities immigrants face (Banks, 1997), such as immigrant children's stress, resiliencies, and coping strategies (Baghban, 2007); (2) where each immigrant has to make personal and at times very difficult choices to selectively acculturate on some dimensions and yet maintain his/

her own culture on other dimensions (Bhavnagri & Willette, 2011), and (3) how they feel living in a strange new country and how that immigrant's perspective changes over time (Freeman et al., 1997). Additionally, books should be depicting visual media and artifacts (e.g., riveting photographs, engravings, lithographs, drawings, paintings, other cultural objects) from an immigrant's viewpoint (Freeman et al., 1997). Mabry and Bhavnagri (2012) reported that the books they selected did depict visual media from a new immigrant's viewpoint and clearly messaged various aspects of immigrant's humanity as stated above. Mabry and Bhavnagri's book selection with follow-up activities was grounded in Vygotsky's developmental approach and resulted in social–emotional developmental outcomes, namely empathy and perspective taking towards immigrants, and the children moved to a higher ZPD on Selman's stages of interpersonal understanding (Selman, 1980).

Besides using published fictional stories, we additionally recommend that immigrant families share their true but unpublished stories of themselves and/or their ancestors immigrating to the U.S. This can be documented by audiotaping the narration and/or presenting a multimedia format, such as a PowerPoint with authentic quotes from immigrant family members, video clips, drawings, and photographs. Given that the museum artifacts are stationary objects, the content knowledge about these artifacts is more relatable and better understood and appreciated when embedded in personalized family history. This recommendation is based on the empirical findings of Palmquist and Crowley (2007) who examined the degree to which the parents exposed their children to books at home about the museum artifacts and particularly the content knowledge related to those artifacts. Their study reported that parents of the children who were "experts" on the content knowledge about museum dinosaur exhibits had provided their children with significantly more dinosaur-themed books along with multimedia, such as videos, websites, games, and toys at home, when compared to the parents of the children who were "novices" on the content knowledge regarding the museum dinosaur exhibit.

Collaborative Reading

We recommend that parents collaboratively read aloud with their children and have meaningful verbal interactions (Mason et al., 1986), thus co-constructing a connection between the experiences described in the children's books and the museum artifacts. This co-construction results in Vygotskian socially shared cognition (Berk & Winsler, 1995; Bodrova & Leong, 2007), also called joint attention (Rogoff, 1990). We additionally recommend that the same books be then taken during the museum visit to discuss their content as linked to the museum artifacts, based on Tenenbaum et al.'s (2010) research

findings. They reported that when books were used at the museum, parents and children spent more time at an exhibit and parents also asked more questions related to the exhibit when compared to a control group which had no books.

Reflective Writing

We recommend that the intrapersonal thoughts regarding the content of the book be further expressed, using appropriate follow-up writing activities. Theilheimer (2001) reported that immigrant and non-immigrant students successfully scaffolded each other's perspective by discussing the children's literature but, more importantly, because they followed it up by writing reflective journal responses to those books. Mabry and Bhavnagri (2012) reported that the content of the book was followed up by children writing reflective journal entries, letters to the protagonists, and recording immigrant's emotions on a class group chart. Additionally, Freidus's (2010) study used children's literature to build background knowledge before museum visits and then used follow-up quick reflective writing to debrief students after their return.

Our Project Grounded in the Above Scholarly and Research Evidence

As illustrated in our descriptions, the mother in this project also practiced the recommendations stated above, grounded in scholarly and research evidence. First, she linked research evidence on children's literature and family stories to our project. For example, the mother selected *Coming to America: A Muslim's Family Story* (Wolf, 2003) for it portrayed a Muslim immigrant family's humanity, stress, and resiliency as referenced by Banks (1997) and Baghban (2007)—for example, in the family facing economic hardship and child's stress of separating from her father and her friends—and their selective acculturation process as stated by Bhavnagri and Willette (2011), seen in their maintaining their Arabic identity and integrating into an American lifestyle. Additionally, the mother followed Freeman et al.'s (1997) recommendation in selecting this book because it was written from an immigrant's perspective and was visually appealing (e.g., authentic; colorful photographs; distinctive Islamic cultural details of family lifestyles). Besides the children's story book, the mother shared the children's grandfather's true immigrant story. The children, as a result, related the content of their grandfather's story to museum audiotapes on the immigrant experiences.

Second, the mother linked scholarly and research evidence on collaborative reading to our project. For example, based on Mason et al.'s (1986) study, this mother and her daughters had meaningful verbal interactions during their joint collaborative reading session, and they co-constructed connections between the immigrant experiences described in the children's book and the museum artifacts. Third, the mother linked scholarly and research evidence on

reflective writing to our project. For example, based on Theilheimer (2001), Mabry and Bhavnagri (2012), and Freidus (2010), her daughters participated in the writing activities (e.g., their reflective journals after each read-aloud session and after each museum visit; a letter to the immigrant protagonist's friend in her country of origin, and the Venn diagram comparing similarities and differences between all Arab immigrants and Yemeni immigrants).

We thus recommend that educators (e.g., K–12 teachers, faculty in higher education, parents, volunteers, docents, community members) who use museums for informal education: (1) select children's literature and/or authentic family's immigrant stories, which are Vygotskian semiotics, related to their immigrant identity; (2) co-construct knowledge related to museum artifacts when reading aloud collaboratively, which is also a Vygotskian approach; and (3), follow it up with writing wherein the learners make personal connections between themselves and the protagonist's thoughts and feelings. All of these strategies are developmentally appropriate practices.

Museum Related Dramatization Activity

We next recommend dramatization related to museum education at historical and classrooms sites resulting in positive cognitive and affective outcomes. According to Vygotsky, dramatic play "leads" (i.e., enhances) development (Berk & Winsler, 1995; Rogoff, 1990), and the dramatization strategies we recommend below have elements of dramatic play (e.g., role playing) and thus are developmentally appropriate practices. We then state how we too implemented these recommendations in this project resulting in positive cognitive and affective outcomes.

Historical Sites

We recommend empirically grounded dramatizing strategies as described below wherein participants role played real persons from the past at historical sites which are now museums and at a museum theater. Ruso and Topdal (2014) reported that through charade and mime within a game-like situation, museum staff undergoing drama training and their family members enacted the lives of characters living in Darves Pasa Konagi, a historical mansion from the Ottoman empire in Cyprus. The other drama training candidates and their family members then had to guess and discuss what exact activity (e.g., playing ancient games, miming the character's favorite dish, weaving by making noises of weaving tools and rhythmic body movements) and personality (e.g., posing like a statue displaying the characters' personality) was being dramatized. The participants reflected and opined that dramatization was "more effective, permanent" and an "instructive" experience for them; they said, "We improved

our self-knowledge and could easily express ourselves." (Ruso & Topdal, 2014, p. 631). Thus, it had positive cognitive outcomes. Additionally, they reflected that playing games while dramatizing was fun for them because it aroused their childhood memories. Furthermore, they could empathize with those who lived in the past; thus, it had positive affective outcomes, as well.

Davies (2001) too reported that dramatizing the roles of real persons at Beningbrough Hall, a Georgian mansion in the U.K., embedded within in a game-like communal setting was an effective strategy. Participants not only had to gain the greatest personal advantage within the rules of the game to "win," but, more importantly, they had to also demonstrate that their winning had to result in "losing" participants to still gain some possible great personal advantages as well. Thus, they were cognitively challenged to figure out a win–win strategy in dramatization, resulting in spirited debates, a deeper understanding of decision-making processes, and an improvement in knowledge. Affectively, in trying to design this win–win dramatization, it also heightened the participants' awareness that a personal advantage of winning could at times also result in negative outcomes for others, especially for marginalized groups with limited powers (e.g., social injustices, power-related conflicts, disenfranchisement, resistance, loss of communal ancestral property). Thus, they learned to take other's perspectives.

Nelson (1988) reported about a first-person interpretation in dramatization performed at a museum theater, located at a late 1880s settlement schoolhouse in the U.S. Each child reenacted a personal interpretation of a full day's happenings in the life of a real school child that was mentioned in one teacher's multiple diaries, archived at the local museum. This teacher was a student who had attended this settlement school and later taught at the very same school. This reenactment resulted in children achieving cognitive outcomes, namely, learning how to do historical research, use archival materials, and relate it to their personal experiences. Jackson and Leahy (2005) also had one-character story dramatization. They reported that during the museum visit, children were exposed to a museum theater where they met, listened, viewed, and interacted with one character, who dramatized her story from the past. She additionally interspersed her dramatization with children directly interacting with her character and participating in discovery-interactive activities with museum artifacts related to her character. Cognitively, they could then easily recall historical concepts because now they had a personal connection to it through dramatization. Affectively, children enjoyed it tremendously and felt a deep empathy because they were authentically transported to the situation in that time period which they dramatized.

Classrooms Sites

We next shift our recommendation from historical sites to classrooms where children's role playing and creating personal museums also results in cognitive and affective developmental outcomes. Singer and Singer's (2004) reported role playing and creating a "Museum of Immigration" for preK all the way up to fourth grade provided a cultural context for learning through (1) family artifacts, (2) family history, and (3) family stories. It transformed their social studies curriculum, strengthened family literacy curriculum, introduced multicultural education, and promoted culturally appropriate practice. As a result of the improvement in academic curricula, the cognitive outcomes included children attentively listening and better understanding the cultural similarities and differences. The affective outcomes included students' enjoyment in sharing their family's artifacts, pride in their family's stories, and values associated with family artifacts to be passed on to the future generation within their family. Hope (2018) reported that 4- and 5-year-olds, when creating their museum with everyday classroom objects, acted as though they were curators. For example, like curators: (a) cognitively, they learned to display objects in highly imaginative ways and perceived the properties of objects as sending personal messages and telling stories about their classroom culture; and (b) affectively, they learned to keep the perspective of viewers in mind. Singer and Singer (2004) and Hope (2018) reported on evidence-based practices, which were also developmentally appropriate.

Gupta (2008) recommended a Vygotskian approach to dramatization as a developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood classrooms, resulting in cognitive and affective developmental outcomes. She proposed that Vygotskian dramatization can be an adult-directed, guided participation (e.g., during initial planning) and child-initiated dramatization (e.g., when children are fully engaged in leading and suggesting to other children during high social interactions) at the same time. Her study found it resulted in cognitive outcomes, namely increasing children's creativity, and affective outcomes, namely intrinsic motivation, self-confidence, and self-esteem. Scharer (2017) recommended a Vygotskian perspective of dramatic play-learning environment, such as dramatization of a museum in an early childhood classroom. She proposed that when children are role playing in a museum setting, the adults need to scaffold children to collect materials for display; next children can discuss and decide (i.e., co-construct) how those materials (i.e., physical tools scaffolding dramatization) be displayed. Children can describe the exhibits on cards and read those cards when explaining the artifact to the visitors (i.e., cards as Vygotskian physical and semiotic scaffolding tools). Additionally, children must dress up for this dramatization (i.e., a physical scaffolding tool for

dramatization). Thus, Scharer (2017), like Gupta (2008), also suggested that dramatization can be an adult-directed and child-initiated activity. Since she did not report that she had implemented her own suggestions, the cognitive and affective outcomes of her proposed developmentally appropriate practices are not reported here. Gupta's and Scharer's recommended classroom practices are undergirded in Vygotsky's theory.

Our Project Grounded in above Scholarly and Research Evidence

We now shift our discussion to the dramatization of a family museum in this project, created by the daughters and undergirded by scholarly sources and research evidence. The mother in this project used the following Vygotskian teaching strategies recommended by Gupta (2008) and Scharer (2017). She scaffolded her daughters by providing (1) initial support for planning of the dramatization, (2) cultural objects for display, (3) her personal knowledge regarding those family artifacts that were eventually written up as labels and read by her daughters when explaining to the visitors, and (4) Yemeni wedding clothes for her daughters to dress up in when they role played as docents.

Her daughters played the role of docents, similar to what was portrayed by Singer and Singer (2004) and Scharer (2017), and conducted tours for their cousins and other relatives. Like in the study by Hope (2018), they also acted as curators, displaying the artifacts, keeping the viewer's perspective in mind, and perceiving that their artifacts were telling stories about their family's immigrant identity. This included the grandfather's oud; family members' clothing worn at their aunt's wedding; and the video, in which the girls were creating a family museum artifact as Haneen narrated their grandfather's challenges and resiliencies as a Yemeni immigrant, similar to the artifact at the AANM museum.

Our family museum dramatization resulted in the following cognitive outcomes, similar to previous scholars. First, the daughters expressed meaningful, cultural, and personal connections, experiences, and messages related to the family's cultural artifacts, similar to the findings reported by Jackson and Leahy (2005), Nelson (1988), Singer and Singer (2004), and Hope (2018). Second, the daughters expressed creativity by creating a family museum and by developing an original video as a museum artifact, an outcome similar to the findings reported by Gupta (2008). Third, the daughters were fully engaged and were actively discussing and deciding, exactly as Gupta (2008) and Scharer (2017) recommended, leading them intellectually to decide about their family artifacts display, descriptions to be written on cards, and how to use those cards as prompts when explaining their visitors, just like Scharer (2017) had suggested.

The family museum dramatization resulted in the following affective outcomes similar to prior research. First, the daughters expressed joy in dramatization and empathy for their grandfather when he was moved to tears,

reflecting the findings of Ruso and Topdal (2014) and Jackson and Leahy (2005). Second, they expressed pride in their immigrant family and cultural heritage, like Singer and Singer's (2004) findings. Third, they expressed heightened intrinsic motivation, self-confidence, and self-esteem to be like a teacher and expert about their culture, similar to the findings of Davies (2001) and Gupta (2008).

We thus recommend that educators (e.g., K–12 teachers, faculty in higher education, parents, volunteers, docents, community members) who use museums for informal education encourage learners to dramatize historical, cultural, and social situations presented at the museums in various locations (e.g., historical sites, classroom sites, family's residence, community centers). This recommendation is supported by Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, also called socio-historical theory. We further recommend creating a family museum and dramatizing as docents, when possible, for it promotes specific cognitive and affective developmental outcomes; thus, it is a developmentally appropriate practice.

Conclusion, Replication, and Modification: Cognitive and Affective Outcomes

To conclude: The children demonstrated the following cognitive skills (i.e., academic learning) related to formal schooling, while simultaneously developing the families' immigrant identity: (1) attentive listening skills (e.g., focused listening to audiotapes at the museum); (2) deeper comprehension of abstract historical concepts (e.g., immigration process learned in school but better understood by examining tangible museum artifacts); (3) activating memory by bringing personal meaning to objects and experiences (e.g., relating museum artifacts to their grandfather's experiences and their history class in school; relating family museum festive artifacts to family wedding in which the daughters participated); (4) organization skills (e.g., noting similarities and differences between grandfathers' immigrant experiences and other Arab American immigrants' experiences, using a Venn diagram); (5) co-construction of meaningful knowledge and creative self-expression (e.g., collaboratively discussing and creating a family museum and a Venn diagram); and (6) reading and writing skills (e.g., collaborative reading, writing letters).

They also demonstrated the following affective skills (social–emotional learning) related to formal schooling, while simultaneously developing the families' immigrant identity: (1) empathy and perspective taking (e.g., grandfather participating in child labor to survive; new immigrants memorizing immigrant tests to become citizens); (2) appreciation of immigrant's resiliencies when economically stressed (e.g., reported in grandfather's case study,

children's book, and museum exhibits); (3) being helpful and altruistic (e.g., earlier immigrants providing social network, economic support, and hospitality to new arrivals; extended family members supporting wife and children of immigrants left behind); and (5) pride in their ancestral immigrant experiences (e.g., grandfather's accomplishments; daughters' positive immigrant identity and self-confidence displayed as docents in family museum).

To replicate more broadly: Given that we are primarily a country of immigrants from all around the world, the selection of a museum can always be changed to address other immigrant families' identities. Regardless of the country of origin or the host country, the challenges and resiliency of being an immigrant is a shared experience amongst all immigrants and an integral part of an immigrants' family identity. Our immigrant-related activities also depict immigrants' challenges and resiliencies. Thus, if these activities are adapted, and then replicated, then they would be relatable to other immigrants.

To modify: If there is no nearby museum representing the family's immigrant experiences, we then need to modify by encouraging parents and children to participate in virtual tours of immigrant museums on the internet. Those museums could be in the U.S. or in some other countries (e.g., Australia, Germany, United Kingdom). Then the parent–child dyad can have an interpersonal dialogue by following the prompts presented during the virtual tours or can participate in their idiosyncratic yet meaningful personal dialogue about the artifacts as it relates to their family's immigrant experiences. They could also be engaged in participatory interactive activities, if presented during these virtual tours. Additionally, they could discuss children's informational and storybooks as well as videos on the internet on immigrants and then participate in activities related to those books and videos, but also related to their family's immigrant experiences. Here are some possibilities: (1) discussing family photographs from the country of origin and their life on arrival as it relates to books, videos, and virtual museum artifacts; (2) interviewing family members immigrant experiences, writing stories about it, supplemented with drawings, then converting those stories into scripts, and finally dramatizing family plays regarding their immigrant experiences; (3) making replicas of three-dimensional artifacts seen at the virtual museum, but also similar to what their ancestors brought as immigrants; (4) creating an ancestral recipe book and cooking those recipes as a family; and (5) creating a family museum similar to the one discussed in this article. If the children of other immigrant groups participated in a replication or modification of this museum education project, then they too could attain the cognitive and affective outcomes stated in the conclusion. This article has thus answered the question stated in the mother's journal.

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Appendix. Mini-Case Study: Daughters' Yemeni Immigrant Grandfather

This is the summary of a Yemeni mother's interview with her father whose name is Taha (i.e., children's maternal grandfather; he has given permission to use his real name and the real name of his father, Ali). She has documented Taha's immigrant experience to help her daughters, Haneen and Leena, learn about their family's immigrant history for them to develop a Yemeni American immigrant identity. This case study, when read along with the article, could be instructive in higher education courses (e.g., social studies, immigrant history, multicultural education) because it is aligned to the research findings and issues on migrant workers and immigrants' acculturation processes.

Grandfather Taha's Life in Yemen

Haneen and Leena's maternal grandfather, Taha, lived in poverty in a small village in Yemen with his mother (i.e., children's great-grandmother), a big brother, and a sister, but without his father named Ali (i.e., children's great-grandfather) from the age of 6 until the age of 12, because his dad had immigrated to the United States in 1955 to provide for his family. His father, Ali, was unable to send money as often as he would have liked because electronic money transfers were not easily accessible and almost unknown for public to use. Hence, his dad had to wait to send remittance to his family via someone from the U.S. returning to Yemen, which did not happen very often, causing financial hardships to the family back at home.

Therefore, Taha (i.e., the children's grandfather) had to work in a handmade silver jewelry workshed called a "factory" at the age of 6. He made beads for women's jewelry and also worked on his family's meager farm growing wheat and corn, which they

mostly sold, and only occasionally ate as their source of food. Since food was scarce, he typically ate only bread with tea or coffee for breakfast and dinner and had no lunch. Water shortage was another obstacle; so, he had to walk 2 miles to get to the water, enough for drinking and washing hands and face, but not enough to bathe or wash clothes. So, he went to the river to bathe and wash clothes. His dad, Ali, finally returned when Taha was 12, and things started to get better because Ali brought with him money.

Since Taha's village did not have a school, he did not get any formal schooling. However, he did learn how to read and write in Arabic along with religious teachings at Madrasa (i.e., a religious school). He had no school supplies such as books, notebooks, or pens at home. Taha had to make his own writing board from wood, his own ink, using extract from Saber which is a plant, and he used a small stick as a pen.

When his father returned to Yemen after staying in the U.S. for six years, his dad took him to Taiz, a city where—for the first time—Taha saw cars and tall buildings. Ali, his daddy, only stayed with them for a year; then he went back to America to continue working on the farms of California. Nonetheless, he worked in California for only five months and had to come back to Yemen because he was homesick, depressed, and unable to work. Ali told his family that he always heard their voices calling him. No one was able to help him with his mental illness because they didn't have access to doctors in their village nor enough money to take him to a doctor outside the village. Ali was the primary wage earner, but he could not work, and that led the family back to economic hardships. Hence, the girls' grandfather, Taha, now had to additionally go and work on other people's farms in Yemen to feed his parents and siblings and at the same time try to save money to get medical help for his dad. Despite working multiple jobs, the pay was not enough, so then Taha and his big brother applied for an immigrant visa to the U.S.

Grandfather Taha's Life in the USA

Taha's big brother immigrated first to America in 1970 at age 17 and worked on a farm in California to support their family. A year later, on June 7, 1971, Taha, at the age of 14, immigrated to the United States to also support their family with only the clothes he was wearing and a hirz (very small, sealed wallet with Quran verses and "duaa" which means blessings to protect him and keep him safe) that his mom gave him. He traveled from Yemen to New York with a group of people and stayed with them in New York until he located his brother. Taha's older brother came to New York to pick him up and take him to California. The family he stayed with in New York helped him with his forthcoming travel expenses. Taha's brother took him to the farm camp, but the farm owners refused to let him work because he was underage and weak. He then found work on another farm. Both the brothers worked for the same farm company that their dad had worked for when he had immigrated to the U.S. years ago. When he and his brother Taha reached a farm, they were placed in a camp site with about 30 other workers. Every morning they were all bussed to the farm site and returned to the camp at the end of the day. Thus, for two years, from the ages of 15 to 17, Taha had to move from farm to farm, picking asparagus, green peppers, ap-

ples, grapes, and peaches during harvest, and from city to city within California. Even though he belonged to the farm workers' union, the working conditions were terrible. He had to work in the rain, cold, and heat, and the landowners fed the farm migrant workers only soup and bread.

When Taha's brother moved to Michigan and got a job in the Chrysler factory, he joined his brother there. He worked in a restaurant as a waiter for two years. In 1975, he went back to Yemen, got married at the age of 18, then stayed there for a few months with his wife (i.e., children's maternal grandmother). He returned to Michigan and worked in the restaurant for another two years. Then in 1977, at the age of 20, he started working for Chrysler on the assembly line. He worked there for two years. When his brother moved to New York and bought a deli, he joined his big brother to work in that deli. Both brothers worked 12 hours every day. They saved money to buy a car in Yemen for transporting goods like oil and flour from the city to their village and then sell it, for that was one another way to earn money. One brother for a year would then stay in Yemen to drive the car and sell the goods, while the other brother stayed in New York for a year. Then they would switch; thus, taking turns to return to Yemen every alternate year. They continued to save money and were finally able to buy land in Sana'a, the capital of Yemen. They eventually built a huge house in Sana'a, and then the whole family moved there from their village.

Their grandfather, Taha, continued to work in New York and sent remittances to his wife, their children, and the rest of the extended family. He decided eventually to bring his family to the United States because he wanted his children to have the opportunity that he never had, namely a better education and a good life. Thus, the mother who interviewed her dad arrived as an American citizen at the age of 11, and she studied in English in New York. Currently, the girls' grandfather Taha lives with his wife in a home of their own within the same city as his granddaughters, who visit him frequently. He is now happily retired, well-adjusted to his immigrant status, and yet clear about his ethnic roots and identity.