UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Parachuting into Private Christian Schools: The Educational Experiences of International
High School Students at US Parochial Schools

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

August J. Champlin

June 2021

Dissertation Committee:
        Dr. Begoña Echeverria, Chairperson
        Dr. Margaret Nash
        Dr. John Wills

The Dissertation of August J. Champlin is approved:

_____

_____

_____
Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Parachuting into Private Christian Schools: The Educational Experiences of International
High School Students at Two Christian Academies

by

August J. Champlin

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Education
University of California, Riverside, June 2021
Dr. Begoña Echeverria, Chairperson

In this qualitative comparative case study, I investigated the educational

experiences of international students at two private Christian schools in Southern

California, focusing on their positioning, curricular experiences, and systemic supports. I

found that school personnel positioned international students into three categories:

exceptional, normative, and at-risk based primarily on international students' perceived

linguistic and intercultural capital. School personnel positioned those international

students who used their linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant

American culture of the school as exceptional, those who did not integrate but received

passing grades and socialized with other international students as normative, and those

who demonstrated little interest in academics or socializing as at-risk. Domestic students

positioned international students who used their linguistic and intercultural capital to

integrate into the dominant American culture of the school as social insiders—

befriending them and interacting with them in and out of class, while those who did not

integrate, they positioned as outsiders—ignoring them, criticizing their allegedly poor English proficiency, or only minimally interacting with them in assigned group work. I observed *de facto* segregation between international and domestic students at both sites, evidenced by their seating arrangements and socialization in class, chapel, lunch, and other settings.

International students demonstrated engagement in classes where teachers articulated clear learning and language objectives for each lesson, involved students in active learning, and employed dialogic instruction. International students demonstrated disengagement in classes where teachers did not articulate clear learning and language objectives and positioned students as passive learners through an over reliance on lecture, video watching, and IRE-style discussion.

Although international students at both sites expressed respect and appreciation for their teachers and classmates, those at Elmshaven benefitted from a mutually supportive system that school personnel and students co-constructed, which lent positive synergy to their efforts and promoted authentic caring between them. Meanwhile, Fremont's culture prized individual effort, not mutual support. It functioned only inconsistently as a mutually supportive system, as its personnel worked in parallel, not cooperation, resulting in much negative synergy, overwork, personnel turnover, and a culture that tended to promote aesthetic caring.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

Chapter 3

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Focus of Study

Research suggests that international students comprise a significant population in US schools, where they collectively infuse millions of dollars into local economies and pay double or treble the tuition of domestic students, forming a significant portion of some university, and graduate schools' budgets (Bound, Braga, Khanna, & Turner, 2016; Cantwell, 2019; Vickers & Bekhradnia, 2007). The majority return to their home countries after studying abroad, where some assume positions of leadership in government and business that have international ramifications (Farrugia, 2014; Hazen & Alberts, 2006; Yan & Berliner, 2011). However, international students also arrive in the US to study at private high schools with the hope that these will better prepare them to gain acceptance into prominent universities in the US (Farrugia, 2014; Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). More than half of the private schools which they attend in the US are Christian and largely immune from federal and state oversight (Baker, 2009; Broughman & Swaim, 2016; Farrugia, 2014; U.S. Department of Education, 2009). Some research suggests that a number of these parochial schools underperform elite private schools, charter schools and public schools, raising questions about the quality of instruction international students face at such institutions (Baker, 2009). While several studies have examined the adjustment issues that international high school students face (Byun, 2010; Chiang-Hom, 2004; Chung, 1994; Hom, 2002; Hsieh, 2008; A. J. Lee, 2006; H. H. Lee & Friedlander, 2014; Newman & Newman, 2009; Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998), few studies have investigated their educational

experiences at America's private Christian schools (L. Yin, 2013). The current study

attempts to address this gap in the research literature through a comparative qualitative

case study design (Baxter & Jack, 2008; R. K. Yin, 2018). This population deserves study

because it consists of young, largely unaccompanied minors, vulnerable to financial

exploitation, neglect, and abuse that form a significant but overlooked English language

learner group (Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). Moreover, since little

research has examined the quality of the education they receive in the United States at

private Christian schools, little data exists on which to make sound policy decisions. In

what follows, I shall discuss what prior research has brought to light about international

high school students' educational experiences in the US, provide a rationale for the

present study, present the questions that inform this research, explain the significance of

this research, and provide an overview of the chapters into which this study divides.

Problem

Research raises questions about the quality of K-12 international students'

educational experiences in US schools. Casto, Steinhauer, and Pollock (2013) report on

how one secondary school, facing dwindling enrollment and flagging finances, recruited

international students, but then struggled to meet their linguistic, social, cultural, and

academic needs. International students at this school reported feeling unwelcomed and

culturally alienated from mainstream students. Moreover, teachers reported feeling

untrained to meet international students' needs. While school and district officials

claimed their interest in international students extended beyond the financial resources

they provided, international students quickly realized that they were primarily cash cows,

whom the school could not properly accommodate but needed to remain solvent (Casto, Steinhauer, & Pollock, 2013).

Similar incidents of international student exploitation have been reported by other scholars as well (J. Lee, 2013; Sherry, Thomas, & Chui, 2010). J. Lee (2013) describes the problem aptly, when she writes that "While massive efforts are now being made to internationalize [education], less attention is [being] paid to determining the quality and educational return [on] investment" of these programs for international students (p. 5).

Background

Definition of "Parachute Kids"

The research literature on international high school students uses a variety of terms to refer to this population, with perhaps "Parachute Kids" being the most common. The term Parachute Kids refers to unaccompanied minors who travel to the US to attend school during the K-12 years (Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). Distinct from unaccompanied minors who come to the U.S. seeking asylum or refugee status (Doering-White, 2018; Kohli, 2005), these unaccompanied minors are perhaps best described as K-12 international students or "early" international students (Bras, 2012; Orellana et al., 2001).[1] Unlike many asylum or refugee students, Parachute Kids usually come with the full financial support of their families, who sponsor their

---

[1] Researchers have employed several other terms for K-12 international students, including "Parachute Kids" (Sun, 2017; Zhou, 1998), "early study abroad students" (Lo, Abelmann, Kwon, & Okazaki, 2017; Shin, 2014), "early international students" (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001), "unaccompanied sojourners" (Kuo & Roysircar, 2006), "unaccompanied minors" (Popaduik, 2009) and "little overseas students" (Tsong & Liu, 2009). The term parachute kid seems to have first appeared in the popular press in news articles describing unaccompanied minors studying in the US and then been adopted by scholars referring to the same phenomenon (e.g., Zhou, 1998).

education, housing, travel, and living expenses while they study abroad—generally, though not always, with the intent for them to return home after they complete their education (Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). The term parachute kid highlights the popular, but not always accurate, conception of unaccompanied minors as isolated students, dropping out of the sky, as it were, to study in a new land without the visible social, cultural, and economic support networks that children who live with their families generally possess (Chiang-Hom, 2004; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998).

Origins of Parachute Kids

Scholars trace the origin of this phenomenon to the 1980s, when US immigration policies changed, allowing international families to send unaccompanied minors to the US for part or all of their K-12 education (Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). While Parachute Kids may come from any country, research suggests that the majority living in the U.S. since the early 1980s have come from Far East Asian countries, such as China, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan (Farrugia, 2014; Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). In recent years, the majority have hailed from China, the greatest exporter of international students to the world (Farrugia, 2014). They arrive as early as age six (Tsong & Liu, 2009), although some research suggests the majority arrive between age 13 and 17 (H. H. Lee & Friedlander, 2014).

Motives for Studying Abroad

Research suggests that international students study abroad for several reasons. Restricted opportunities for advancement in the home country's schools ranks as a

primary factor (Zhou, 1989). These restrictions may arise from a meritocratic system

that only advances a few pupils with the top scores on standardized tests into the best-

rated national middle schools, high schools, colleges and universities (Tsong & Liu,

2009; Zhou, 1989). A lack of comparable educational opportunities in the home country

ranks as a secondary factor (Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1989). For example, in the

geographic area where a family lives, there may not be a well-ranked school, and

opportunities to send their child to a more distant well-ranked school within the home

country might be limited or non-existent due to factors such as competition, limited

enrollment caps, etc. (Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1989). Other factors include the

perceived prestige and marketability of a US education, the presence of family and

friends in the US who can house an unaccompanied minor, the belief that an American

education will prepare a child for future international business opportunities, and the

desire to acclimate a child to the US school system before the whole family immigrates

to the States (Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1989). Many consider K-12 schooling a

pipeline to a prestigious US university degree, which they view as a means to achieve

success and influence in adult life (Farrugia, 2014; L. Yin, 2013).

Housing Parachute Kids

Housing arrangements for international high school students vary. In some

cases, they reside with a relative living in the states or a close family friend (Popadiuk,

2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). In other cases, parents purchase or rent a home

where the child lives alone or with a hired guardian (Popadiuk, 2009; Tsong & Liu,

2009; Zhou, 1998). When an older sibling attending school in the States can serve as a

guardian, families may opt for this arrangement (Tsong & Liu, 2009; Zhou, 1998). A number live in homestays—or with US families who provide housing, food, and transportation for a fee (Brown, 2019). The parents of international students often contract with agents or companies to arrange for and monitor their child's homestays (Brown, 2019).

Financing Parachute Kids

Sponsoring a Parachute Kid represents a serious financial investment on the part of parents. Research by Popadiuk (2009), Tsong and Liu (2009), and Zhou (1998) supports the notion that parents tend to place their children in middle and upper-middle class communities where friends or family members live and where private schools that accept international students exist. Nonetheless, Farrugia (2014) reports that a majority of international secondary students hail from middle class homes. In contrast, Tsong and Liu (2009) report that some of the Parachute Kids they studied came from wealthy families, which provided abundant financial resources but little social or emotional support. It seems reasonable to suppose that most come from middle class or wealthy families, as the cost of sponsoring Parachute Kids would be prohibitive for poor families.

The Parachute Kid Loophole

Federal law prohibits international students from studying at a US public high school for more than one year as an exchange student on a J-1 VISA (Farrugia, 2014). However, a loophole in federal regulations allows early international students to receive an F-1 VISA (or long-term student VISA which can be used for a multi-year study program resulting in a degree) at any age for as long as they are enrolled as a full-time

6

student in a private K-12 school (Farrugia, 2014). As a result, 95% of international K-12 students in the US attend private schools—more than half of these being Christian schools (Farrugia, 2014).

Lax Regulations at Private Schools

The present study seeks to assess the quality of the most common educational programs for international K-12 students—those provided by private Christian schools. Fifty-seven percent of international K-12 students attend religiously affiliated schools, and 99% of these are Christian (Broughman & Swaim, 2013; Farrugia, 2014). Due to the historic divide between church and state in America, federal, state, and local governments have not required private schools to abide by the same regulations as public schools (Fraser, 2016). For example, Washington, D.C. and 35 of the 50 states do not require private school teachers to have a license or credential (U.S. Department of Education, 2009), although research suggests credentialed teachers' students outperform un-credentialed teachers' students (Clotfelter, Ladd & Vigdor, 2010). Research comparing secular private schools, religious private schools, and public schools found that school funding and standardized test scores varied by sector with private Christian schools spending the least on students and reporting the lowest scores on standardized tests (Baker, 2009). Problematically, international students' standardized test scores may not even factor into the data available on private schools, as English Language Learners (ELLs) (a category into which most international K-12 students fall) are often excluded from such tests altogether (Theoharis & O'Toole, 2011). Thus, little is known about the quality of international K-12 students' education at private schools in the US.

Weak Federal Oversight of Schools for Parachute Kids

The only federal oversight of schools that recruit international students comes from the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) program. Lawmakers established the SEVIS program after 9/11 to protect against terrorists entering the country on student VISAs (Ingarfield, 2005). SEVIS provides a certification process for schools requesting VISAs for international students and a centralized database to track them for national security purposes (Ingarfield, 2005). The certification process requires schools to self-report whether or not they meet SEVIS criteria and face an inspection; however, the inspector only evaluates the completeness of the school's documents, not the factuality of their claims (SEVP, 2006). As the official SEVIS application document, last published in 2006 and never updated, explains, "The site inspection is NOT a pass/fail situation and the site inspector does not have the authority to pass or fail the school" (emphasis original) (SEVP, 2006, p. 8). Problematically, such a system provides no significant oversight of schools that admit international students.

Gap in Literature

Much of the research on unaccompanied international K-12 students emanates from the fields of educational psychology, educational sociology, policy studies, and migration studies. This research, mostly qualitative in nature, typically focuses on the issues such students face adjusting to their host countries and new schools. Few, if any, studies directly examine the educational experiences of K-12 students. While research indicates that a majority of international secondary students attend private Christian schools (Farrugia, 2014), little is known about the quality of their educational experiences

at these institutions, which operate with far less federal and state government oversight and regulation than public schools. Thus, a gap exists in the scholarly literature on international K-12 students at private Christian schools.

Purpose and Nature of Study

To address this gap in the research literature, I employed a comparative qualitative case study method (Baxter & Jack, 2008; R. K. Yin, 2018) to investigate the educational experiences of international students at two private Christian high schools. To collect data, I employed semi-structured observations (Bailey, 2007), semi-structured interviews (Boeije, 2002; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011), and document analysis (Bowen, 2009). To interpret my data, I employed the following theoretical frameworks: social reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986), intercultural capital theory (Pöllmann, 2009, 2013), community cultural wealth theory (Yosso, 2005), positioning theory (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991), and a body of theory related to best practices in second language and English language learning instruction (Berk, 2009; Chamot, 2009; Chi, 2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Hobbs, 2006; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008; Wei, 2011). To analyze my data, I used standard qualitative coding procedures (Bailey, 2007; Bowen, 2009). Based on my findings, I make recommendations for international student programs, future research, and theory.

Research Questions

My central research question asks, "What are the educational experiences of international students at private Christian high schools?" I pose several sub-questions:

1. What are the curricular experiences of international students at private Christian schools? How do international high school students describe these experiences? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the research on effective pedagogy (Berk, 2009; Cazden, 2001; Chamot, 2009; Chi, 2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Hobbs, 2006; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008; Wei, 2011)?

2. How do administrators, faculty, staff, US students, and international students position each other within the hierarchical space of a school and how does this positioning impact educational experiences for international students (Martin-Beltrán, 2010; Harré & van Langenhove, 1991; Yoon, 2008)?

3. To what forms of capital (i.e., aspirational, cultural, economic, familial, navigational, resistant, social, linguistic, intercultural, and symbolic, etc.) do international students at a private Christian high school have access (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Pöllmann, 2009, 2013; Yosso, 2005)? How do others at the school respond to international student capital, for example, by recognizing and building on it or by not perceiving it and stigmatizing it as lacking? How does this (mis)recognition affect the educational experiences of international students?

I focus on these questions because they help elucidate qualities prior research suggests significantly influence the educational experiences of English Language Learners (ELLs), of which international K-12 students comprise a subset (Martin-Beltrán, 2010; Fairbanks & Ariail, 2006; Yosso, 2005).

Significance

This study presents data relevant to teachers, administrators, recruiters, parents, international students, and policymakers—the stakeholders in a growing, but unregulated industry, the education of international K-12 students in America's private schools (Farrugia, 2014). With such data, these stakeholders can better understand and respond to the issues faced by international students at private secondary schools in the US. Ultimately, I hope that they can use the data to create local and federal policies that will improve international student programs, regulations, teacher training, financial stewardship, etc. This study also fills a gap in the research literature on the educational experiences of international students at private Christian schools, providing scholars with data on sites largely overlooked by previous researchers.

Overview

In Chapter 2, I describe the theoretical frameworks that inform my research, conduct a review of the literature relevant to my study, and describe the methodology that informed my study.

In Chapter 3, I describe how systemic processes influenced the educational experiences of international students at both my sites. I argue that school personnel and students co-constructed a mutually supportive system at Elmshaven that promoted the wellbeing of all stakeholders, and fostered a culture of authentic caring (Noddings, 1984/2013; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008). This system provided positive synergy to (international) students, supporting their various endeavors through mutually supportive and caring relationships. Conversely, I argue that Fremont functioned as an inconsistent

system, sometimes marshalling personnel into a mutually supportive system only to interfere with their efforts to support each other through uncoordinated processes on campus. Thus, school personnel and (international) students had to labor much harder at Fremont than at Elmshaven and with fewer supports. The inconsistent system at Fremont tended to promote aesthetic caring, limiting the supports available to international students and other school stakeholders.

In Chapter 4, I examine international students' curricular experiences through vignettes of 8 of the 47 classes I observed, comparing History, Religion, Literature, and Mathematics courses I observed at both sites. I argue that teachers varied in their effectiveness. Those who engaged (international) students in active learning demonstrated more effective pedagogical practices than those who did not, judged by a broad body of research on effective teaching. I conclude Chapter 4 by examining an issue I observed at both sites—the segregation of domestic and international students, which I problematize.

In Chapter 5, I examine the impact of positioning and capital on international students' educational experiences. I present evidence that school personnel positioned international students into one of three categories: exceptional, normative, and at-risk based on a number of factors, with linguistic and intercultural capital ranking foremost in their assessment. I argue that school personnel positioned international students whom they considered to possess sufficient linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school as exceptional. They positioned international students who did not integrate but did well academically and associated with other international students as normative. International students who did not do well

academically or socially school personnel positioned as at-risk. I profile two exceptional international students, Andrew Lee and Micky Kim. I argue that both possessed the linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school, and, therefore, school personnel and domestic students positioned them as insiders in the social life of the school.

In Chapter 6, I discuss six normative international students. I profile Susana Wong, an international student whom school personnel and domestic students positioned as normative. I argue that domestic students perceived her English proficiency as low and therefore ignored and marginalized her. I draw quotes from my interviews with Ben Siu, Ella Su, Grace Woo, Megan Chin, and Mindy Khoo, whom I argue represent the largest body of international students I observed at both sites—those whom school personnel positioned as normative. They varied in their school performance, and mostly associated with other international students. They reported feeling ostracized by their domestic student peers.

In Chapter 7, I conclude by summarizing my findings, describing the limitations of my study, and making recommendations for practice, research, and theory.

CHAPTER 2: THEORY, LITERATURE REVIEW, METHODOLOGY

Theory and Literature

To help illuminate the educational experiences of international students at private Christian schools, I drew on theories other researchers had used to investigate international students or English language learners, a category into which all the international students in my sample fell. I drew on Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (1984, 1986), Pöllmann's (2009) intercultural capital theory and several related theories, and Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth theory to understand how the capital international students possessed influenced their educational experiences at my two sites. To understand how school personnel, domestic students, and international students positioned each other in the social and hierarchical spaces of their schools, I drew on Harré and van Langenhove's (1991) positioning theory, as lensed by Yoon (2008) who demonstrated how to apply this theory to educational contexts. To evaluate the quality of international students' educational experiences, I drew on a body of theory related to best practices in pedagogy (Berk, 2009; Cazden, 2001; Chi, 2009; Chi & Wylie, 2014; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Hobbs, 2006; Makalela, 2015; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008; Wei, 2011, 2018). I summarize the constructs from each theory relevant to my research below and review the literature on how scholars have employed these constructs in research that informs my study.

Social Reproduction Theory

From Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) social reproduction theory, I use the concepts of social, cultural, linguistic, and symbolic capital to describe the social networks, cultural

knowledge, cultural skills, linguistic skills, educational degrees, and prestige associated with international students. According to Bourdieu's social reproduction theory (1984, 1986), all human activity occurs within a given field of production (e.g., the field of education, the field of medicine, the field of art, the field of botany, the field of fashion, etc.). In any field of production, prestigious capital is not distributed equally among agents, leading to social inequality. Those who have more prestigious capital have more power, influence, and wealth than those who do not. For Bourdieu, capital is not merely economic; it exists in other forms as well, such as social, cultural, linguistic, and symbolic. Moreover, by converting capital from one form to another and maintaining it within their family and class, people with more prestigious capital reproduce their class differences across generations. Bourdieu (1984) postulates that individuals become acclimated to their habitus, or conditioning resulting from lifelong exposure to the capital associated with their class, and even when presented with opportunities to pursue the capital associated with a higher class (e.g., high art), they may not do so, owing to their unfamiliarity with it and preference for the familiar. Thus, habitus further limits class mobility, helping to reproduce social inequality, as parents condition their children into the habitus associated with their class from generation to generation.

From Bourdieu, I use the concept of social capital to describe the network of social relations that international students have to support them as they study abroad. Bourdieu (1986) describes social capital as "the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership

in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (pp. 248-249). For example, the network of social relationships that allows an international student to gain advantages based on whom she knows constitutes social capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986).

I also use Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to refer to the knowledge, skills, and educational qualifications international students possess or pursue. Bourdieu (1977, 1986) postulates that cultural capital exists in three forms: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. Embodied cultural capital refers to "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body," or knowledge and skills (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). For example, linguistic capital—or the knowledge and skills to use language appropriately and skillfully within the multiple fields of endeavor an individual transacts in—qualifies as a form of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Objectified cultural capital refers to "cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)" that an individual or individuals may possess which have an exchange value and provide them with some advantage (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Institutionalized capital refers to educational qualifications, such as a degree, certification, or other legally binding "certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). Bourdieu's forms of cultural capital—embodied, objectified, and institutionalized—helped me to ask questions to query how cultural capital impacted international student experiences and code data to find answers.

16

I also draw on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of linguistic capital—a form of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1991) defined linguistic capital as "the capacity to produce expressions *a propos* for a particular market" (p. 18). Morrison and Liu (2000), synthesizing from Bourdieu's writings on the topic, provide a more complete definition of the term as he uses it in relation to power; they define it as "fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society" (p. 473). Bourdieu (1991) postulated that "Linguistic exchange…is also an economic exchange...In other words, utterances are not only…signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed" (p. 502). For Bourdieu, language did not function merely as a medium with which to communicate information. Speakers (producers) and listeners (the market) engaged in a constant process of evaluation not only about the basic information being communicated, but the manner in which it is being communicated and how that reveals markers of social distinction, power, wealth, prestige, insider status, etc. All these markers lend language the capacity to accrue what Bourdieu termed "symbolic profit" or the benefits that come with power and prestige. I use Bourdieu's (1991) concept of linguistic capital to discuss how international students' mastery of English helps provide them with prestige and power.

I also draw on Bourdieu's (2013) notion of symbolic capital to analyze how some forms of capital international students possess or acquire take on additional leverage when infused with social prestige. When people in a society value any form of capital—

for example, the capital available to the rich—it takes on a new dimension, which Bourdieu describes as symbolic capital, a marker of class standing, prestige, authority, and legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 2013). Bourdieu (2013) notes that "Any difference that is recognized, accepted as legitimate, functions by that very fact as a symbolic capital providing a profit of distinction" (p. 297). Elsewhere, he describes the accumulation of symbolic capital as "the acquisition of a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honourability that are easily converted into political positions as a local or national notable" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 291). The construct of symbolic capital helped me to analyze how prestige catalyzed the capital that some international students had, lending them additional social, cultural, and political power at a school.

Community Cultural Wealth Theory

Yosso (2005) has critiqued research based on Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1991) social reproduction theory for advancing a deficit view of minorities. She describes the problem with such research as follows:

> Bourdieu's theoretical insight about how hierarchical society reproduces itself has often been interpreted as a way to explain why the academic and social outcomes of People of Color are significantly lower than the outcomes of Whites. The assumption follows that People of Color 'lack' the social and cultural capital required for social mobility. As a result, schools most often work from this assumption in structuring ways to help 'disadvantaged' students whose race and class background has left them lacking necessary knowledge, social skills, abilities, and cultural capital…(p. 70)

18

While Bourdieu's theory yields considerable theoretical insight, a consistent application of it can lead researchers to a deficit view of minorities, who would seem—by necessity—to have less prestigious capital than their White counterparts—at least in a society, such as the US, where prestige maps onto Whiteness (Yosso, 2005). To address the problems that arise from comparing the allegedly "prestigious" capital of Whites with the "less prestigious" capital of People of Color—such as a forced deficit view of the latter—Yosso (2005) proposes an alternate theory of capital which finds value in the forms of capital People of Color have. Citing Anzaldua (1987), she writes, "If we have been gagged and disempowered by theories, we can also be loosened and empowered by theories" (p. 70).

Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth Theory attempts to loosen the bonds that have fettered People of Color in research and empower the disempowered by advocating an asset view of their unique forms of capital. Toward this end, she extends the forms of capital Bourdieu discussed to include aspirational capital, or hope in the face of structured inequality; navigational capital, or "skills of maneuvering through social institutions," especially those hostile toward minorities (p. 80), linguistic capital, or "the intellectual and social skills attained through communication…in more than one language and/or style" (p. 78); familial capital, or "those cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural institution" (p. 79); and resistant capital, or "those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (p. 80). I draw on these forms of capital to describe the data I collected in this study related to international students' aspirations,

19

familial support networks, ability to navigate institutions, bilingual and translanguaging proficiency, and resistance to oppression.

Literature Review of Research Based on Social Reproduction Theory

Several educational researchers have used Bourdieu's social reproduction theory and Yosso's community cultural wealth theory to explain how schools reproduce inequity, especially for minority students, English language learners, and international students (Akom, 2003; Fairbanks & Arial, 2006; Horvat & Antonio, 1999; Lu, 2013; Shin, 2014; Valdes, 2001). A consistent finding in these studies is that when educators do not recognize or build on student capital, students do not perform as well academically or socially (Fairbanks & Ariail, 2006, Horvat & Antonio, 1999; Valdez, 2001).

Some research suggests that parents of international students use the symbolic capital associated with a western education to obtain or maintain a desired class standing in their country of origin. For example, Shin (2014) uses Bourdieu's social reproduction theory to study how international K-12 students from Korea pursue study abroad opportunities to reproduce their class status, when they lack the perceived skills to succeed academically at home. Thus, they convert their economic capital into symbolic capital, a prestigious foreign-earned degree, in hopes of maintaining their class distinction when they return home (Shin, 2014).

Other research demonstrates the importance of linguistic and cultural capital for international student adaptation to living and studying abroad. Su (2020) found an important link between linguistic capital and social adjustment in Chinese international high school students' study abroad experiences in Canada. Those international high

school students with greater linguistic capital (English proficiency) and intercultural capital[2] (the ability to adapt to a foreign culture and navigate it much as a native would) reported adapting better to Canada and enjoying higher levels of personal wellbeing, while those with lower levels of English proficiency and cross-cultural competence reported challenges adapting to life in Canada and lower levels of general wellbeing.

Literature Review of Studies Drawing on Community Cultural Wealth Theory

I am not the first researcher to apply Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory (CCWT) to the investigation of Asian international students or immigrant students. Lu (2013) uses CCWT to discuss how the children of Chinese immigrants use a Western classical music education to signify that their child is well-rounded (i.e., well-educated and refined) and thus help them gain an advantage in college entrance. Pang and Macdonald (2015) employ CCWT to discuss how Chinese students in Australia used the various forms of capital Yosso (2005) describes to resist stereotypical identities that Australians foisted on them and to map out their own path toward achieving their educational and career goals.

Limitations of Cultural Capital and Community Cultural Wealth

Neither Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) conception of cultural capital nor Yosso's (2005) conception of community cultural wealth completely describes the cultural knowledge and skills that international students and other transnationals develop shuttling

---

[2] Su (2020) uses Bourdieu's (1986) term of cultural capital, not Pöllmann (2009) term of intercultural capital; however, she does so in ways that stretch Bourdieu's original meaning to include features that Pöllmann discusses. See below for a fuller explanation of the differences between the theorists' use of these terms.

between two or more worlds—their home and host countries. Bourdieu (1984, 1986) describes cultural capital as cultural knowledge, skills, and possessions that have exchange value within a single, class-based society and that people learn to use primarily in the family unit, as parents habituate their children to the forms of cultural capital available to their class. For example, in *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) notes that "because capital is a social relation," it functions as, "an energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced" (p. 113). Carrying this idea further, Pöllmann (2013) observes that capital "tends to lose force with increasing distance from the field(s) of its (re)production" (p. 2). For international students who leave their families, home country, and prior fields of endeavor behind, Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) notion of cultural capital seems a strained descriptor at best for their cultural knowledge and skills, as according to Bourdieu (1984) cultural capital should not operate outside of the field in which it (re)produces or the culture that co-constructs its exchange value, and this is precisely where international students operate—outside of their home culture and the fields of endeavor where its cultural capital have meaning.

Strictly speaking, researchers using Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) nationalist framework would seemingly have to conclude that international students possess inert or impotent forms of capital, as what capital they possess exists far from the field(s) in which it has value; however, for researchers concerned with social justice and equity, following this 'logic' would seem to force a deficit view, reifying a common issue in educational research on minorities, that blames the victim rather than seeking solutions at

the systemic level. While we might concede as obvious the fact that the ability to speak Mandarin fluently in most cases will have less symbolic power in an American high school than the ability to speak English fluently, this finding simply highlights the problem rather than pointing toward how it can be solved at the systemic level through recognizing the unique strengths Chinese international students have and how school personnel can build on these to provide them with more equitable educational opportunities.

As noted, Yosso (2005) advanced Community Cultural Wealth theory (CCWT), recognizing how a consistent application of Bourdieu's social reproduction theory led many researchers to invoke a deficit view of minorities. She argued that CCWT offered a more robust description of the assets that minorities bring to bear in the struggle between the dominant white class and minorities in the US. She, too, however, locates the forms of capital associated with her theory in the minority communities in which these forms of capital (re)produce—ergo Community Cultural Wealth. Arguably, the cultural knowledge, skills, possessions or assets that international students and other transnationals possess from having rich experiences in their home country and host countries do not map onto those that individuals who live primarily in the US in minority families and communities have. As we have noted, one defining characteristic of Parachute Kids is that they live away from home and family—and therefore, by definition, live apart from their community and its cultural wealth. Thus, CCWT, while it avoids the forced deficit view that a consistent application of Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital would seemingly entail, still does not aptly describe transnationals, that is,

individuals or groups operating in more than one nation or across borders, especially when they are separated from their families and communities of origin.

Intercultural Capital and Related Constructs

Recognizing the limitations of Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1991) and Yosso's (2005) notions of cultural capital and community cultural wealth for studying transnationals, researchers interested in international students have argued that "in a global context, cultural capital needs to be examined as intercultural capital (Pöllmann, 2013) or [de-territorialized] cultural capital (Üstüner and Holt, 2010)" (Wimooktanon, 2018, p. 19). To fill the theoretical void left open by Bourdieu and Yosso's narrowly nationalist conceptions of capital, Pöllmann (2009, 2013) has advanced the notion of intercultural capital, which he defines as "a personal reservoir of intercultural experiences and skills (e.g. experience of living abroad, intercultural friendships, and language skills) that enable the respective individual to competently engage in intercultural encounters" (Pöllmann, 2009, p. 540). He distinguishes between Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and his notion of intercultural capital as follows:

> For Bourdieu, capital, in its various forms, constitutes 'an energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced,' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 113) and, consequently, tends to lose force with increasing distance from the field(s) of its (re)production. Intercultural capital, to the contrary, functions as a potent marker of sociocultural distinction within a wider range of contexts of (re)production and is likely to retain, or indeed enhance, its exchange value when 'moved' across more distant fields (p. 2).

Simply put, Bourdieu's (1984, 1986) social reproduction theory and Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth theory operate within a nationalist framework and aptly described how class-based societies reproduced social advantage within a single nation-state or local community. However, they lack the theoretical constructs to describe the economic exchanges that occur in transnational contexts. As Carlson, Gerhards, and Hans (2016) put it, "Bourdieu's theory of capital and social class argues essentially within a nation-state frame, neglecting the fact that globalization has significantly altered the basic parameters of social reproduction" (p. 751). The same could be said for Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth theory—although perhaps at the community level. While both theorists' work continues to inform valuable research within national contexts, their theories require amendment to address transnational contexts with any theoretical validity. Pöllmann's (2009, 2013) intercultural capital theory responds to the transnational trends emerging in our increasingly globalized, cosmopolitan world, providing a coherent lens with which to understand the capital developed by transnationals.

How does the capital developed by international students differ from that of their domestic student counterparts? For one, most international students hail from the middle class or higher classes (Farrugia, 2014; Tsong & Liu, 2009). Thus, they enjoy in their home country the capital and benefits associated with the dominant class. Moreover, research suggests that they desire to obtain the high-status capital that an international education can afford (Bahna, 2017; Lu, 2014; Shin, 2014). Thus, they intend to add distinction to distinction, borrowing Bourdieu's (1984) terminology. To the degree they

succeed, becoming bicultural and bilingual, they develop what translanguaging scholars term a third space culture and language—one with hybridized and sometimes totally original emergent properties not found in either home or host cultures or languages (Wei, 2011, 2018). When interactions between cultures produce hybridized or even original linguistic and cultural knowledge, skills, and possessions unlike that of monocultural natives of either culture, then cultural capital or community cultural wealth fail to serve as adequate constructs to account for this, as neither anticipate or describe it. I shall term this hybridized or emergent phenomenon intercultural capital and describe a variety of scholarly synonyms and conceptions of it below before arguing that only through a combination of all of these concepts can we begin to account for the true complexity of the phenomenon under question.

Scholars studying international students, international businesspeople, migrant workers, and other transnationals have developed a plethora of terms and theories to describe the cultural skills and knowledge that these individuals develop through continued exposure to the varied cultures, languages, and peoples they encounter in their diverse cultural interactions. Bennett (1997), Einbeck (2002), Randlesom and Myers (1997), Scott (1999) and others use the term cultural fluency to refer to the knowledge and skills individuals shuttling between cultures develop. Scott (1999) defines cultural fluency as "the ability to cross cultural boundaries and function much like a native" (p. 140). Einbeck (2002) notes that cultural fluency "does not imply the ability to adopt the host culture completely, but rather the ability to mediate between one's own culture and that of the host country" (p. 60). Exemplifying cultural fluency, Steele (1996) "speaks of

the 'intercultural speaker,' who is able to 'mediate between cultures' in whatever situation may present itself" (qtd. in Einbeck, 2002, p. 60). Other scholars refer to cultural knowledge and skills as intercultural sensitivity (Bennet, 1986; Chen, 1997; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003) distinguish between intercultural sensitivity and intercultural competence. They "use the term 'intercultural sensitivity' to refer to the ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences," while they "use the term 'intercultural competence' to mean the ability to think and act in interculturally appropriate ways" (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003, p. 422). Meanwhile, Özüorçun (2014) refers to cultural knowledge as the "fifth language skill" a common notion among second language teachers that suggests culture should be taught alongside listening, speaking, reading, and writing—the other four language skills according to mainstream ESL pedagogical thought—to develop well-rounded L2 speakers. Perhaps overstating the case for this perspective, Özüorçun (2014) notes that "many researchers…believe that language teaching is culture teaching and foreign language teachers are actually foreign culture teachers" (p. 680).

A major weakness of all these conceptions of transnational capital stems from what Beck (2004) would describe as their methodological nationalist bias. In other words, they view transnational phenomena through nationalist theoretical lenses, and perceive culture and language as monoliths that exist in separate geopolitical spheres rather than as interactive cross-cultural phenomena. To understand this critique, we must briefly examine Beck's (2004) view of cosmopolitanism. Beck (2004) theorizes on the complex interactions of nation-states within the 21st century's increasingly global society. He

argues that "The national perspective and national grammar have become false because they fail to recognize that political, economic and cultural activity, together with all its known and unknown side effects, knows no frontiers…" (p. 133). In contrast to methodological nationalism, Beck (2004) argues for a cosmopolitan theoretical framework for sociological research. He posits that "Cosmopolitanism…involves the formation of multiple loyalties, the spread of various transnational lifestyles, the rise of non-state political actors…[and] highlights the irreversible fact that people have long been joined together…in a relationship of actual interdependence" (p. 136). An interesting point that Beck (2004) makes is that whether actors wish to engage with cosmopolitanism or remain nationalist, they carry out their actions on a global stage, and thus cosmopolitanism forms the context for both globalism and (reactionary) nationalism. Moreover, economic forms of exchange that used to operate merely within a nationalist context in the past, now increasingly operate in international contexts—economically and culturally. Thus, any theory of the transnational agent (e.g., the international student, the international businessperson, etc.) that does not recognize the global stage on which she acts obscures her context rather than illuminating it. Moreover, research that operates under the biases of methodological nationalism will likely inadequately address transnational phenomena.

Not surprisingly, Beck's (2004) theorizing on cosmopolitanism has implications for capital theory, which other theorists have realized and discussed. Bühlmann, David, and Mach (2012) have proposed that researchers interested in Bourdieu's social reproduction theory consider adding a new theoretical construct to it—cosmopolitan

capital, which they define as: "experiences abroad, international networks, language skills, and transnational degrees" (p. 212). They note that "those who acquire cultural cosmopolitan capital almost automatically also acquire social cosmopolitan capital—in other words, it is quite likely that the two forms mutually reinforce each other." (Bühlmann, David, & Mach, 2012, pp. 215-216). Thus, cosmopolitan capital has both cultural and social dimensions and exchange values that operate on an international, and sometimes, global stage. Delval and Bühlmann (2020) extend the notion of cosmopolitan capital further by defining it as "a combination of cultural, linguistic, social, and institutionalized assets acquired through transnational mobility or exposure to an international environment" (p. 477). For Bühlmann and colleagues, then, it seems that cosmopolitan capital includes all forms of capital acquired in an international context that have exchange value in an individual's home country or on a global scale. While I find Beck's (2004) theorizing on cosmopolitanism helpful for my research project, much research on cosmopolitan capital focuses on cultural elites—members of the dominant class who send their children abroad or to international schools at home, where they can develop the luster of cosmopolitan capital, a prerequisite for leadership in a global age. Since not all of the international students in my sample reported hailing from the upper middle class or the wealthy class or coming to America to obtain cosmopolitan cultural capital, I used Pöllmann's intercultural capital as it better fit the reported experiences of my participants.

Meanwhile, in the fields of communication studies and business communication, scholars refer to cultural knowledge as cultural intelligence or cross-cultural capital (Ang

et al., 2007; Earley & Ang, 2003; Lindsay & Shen, 2014; Livermore, 2009, 2015; Peterson, 2018). However, as Pöllmann (2009) suggests, proponents of human capital theory often reduce cultural intelligence or cross-cultural capital to a competitive advantage possessed by experienced international agents engaged in international business. For the purposes of this study, such a definition of cultural intelligence or cross-cultural capital seems inappropriate to refer to the struggles adapting to and mastering communication in a foreign language and culture which international students report in study after study (Andrade, 2006; Bastien, Seifen-Adkins, & Johnson, 2018; Popaduik, 2009; Tsong & Liu, 2009; Shu et al., 2020; Zhou, 1989). Moreover, it ignores the social justice challenges that many immigrant students and international students face in societies that deem their linguistic and cultural knowledge insufficient and in which they, for this reason, face prejudice, marginalization, or ostracism (Xie, Liu, Duan, & Qin, 2019).

Mindful of these larger sociocultural dimensions, I find Pöllmann's (2009, 2013) notion of intercultural capital most useful for understanding transnationals, their unique capital, and the nature of their social justice concerns. Pöllmann (2009) specifically envisions intercultural capital in terms of learning about others so as to promote tolerance. He writes, "I am primarily interested in the potential impact of intercultural capital on intercultural tolerance and understanding in contemporary multicultural societies" (Pöllmann, 2009, p. 540). My own interest in research motivated by social justice concerns for minority students aligns with Pöllmann's promotion of intercultural capital as a means of promoting mutual understanding. However, since no term I found in

the research literature fully addresses the unique forms of cultural capital that international students develop in transnational contexts, I extend the definition of intercultural capital by using it as an umbrella term to refer to intercultural-capital, cross-cultural capital, cosmopolitan capital, the comparative knowledge bicultural individuals have of the two or more cultures in which they transact, and third space cultural and linguistic practices.

The last component of my list stems from the insights of translanguaging theorists, such as Wei (2011, 2018) and Martin-Beltran (2014), who have demonstrated that bilingual speakers develop third spaces—culturally and linguistically—in which they enact emergent cultural and linguistic practices. Thus, cultural knowledge does not merely reinscribe the received knowledge of dominant cultures, it creates new forms of emergent linguistic and cultural practices.

Literature Review of Studies Drawing on Intercultural Capital Theory

Researchers have employed Pöllmann's (2009) construct of intercultural capital in their investigations of international students. In a qualitative study of 13 female Japanese international students studying at a US university, Oikonomidoy and Williams (2013) found that participants reported feeling socially and culturally marginalized in the US. Nonetheless, they did not wish to return to Japan at the end of their stay but wished to pursue transnational career opportunities in the US or other countries. Despite the marginalization these women reported, they strove to develop cosmopolitan identities through the development of intercultural and linguistic skills—which Oikonomidov & Williams (2013) associate with the development of intercultural capital, noting that "their

cosmopolitanism could be characterized as latent or in progress" (p. 391). Interestingly, Oikonomidov and Williams (2013) found that social and cultural marginalization mitigate against the development of intercultural capital.

Meanwhile, Wimooktanon (2018) studied the reasons former international students from Thailand had studied overseas. He found that they viewed an international education as a marker of prestige that gave them a class advantage within Thailand's social elite. Thus, he argued that even the accumulation of intercultural capital can still operate within Bourdieu's (1984) nationalist framework by functioning as desirable symbolic capital giving its possessors a perceived advantage over their peers who do not have intercultural capital.

Literature Review of Studies Drawing on Cosmopolitan Capital Theory

Researchers have used cosmopolitan capital as a theoretical framework with which to investigate the educational experiences of international students and domestic students who participate in cross-cultural education programs (e.g., bilingual education programs, international schools, etc.). Weenink (2008) studied Dutch secondary school students who participated in domestic international education programs that featured bilingual schooling in Dutch and English as well as opportunities for "exchange [programs] and/or internships at English-speaking organizations abroad or in the Netherlands" (p. 1090). He found that parents wished for their children to participate in such programs to acquire cosmopolitan capital to compete in the global economy. Meanwhile, Friedman (2018) compared "global citizenship education…at two high-status and two low-status universities in the United Kingdom" and found that "some [elite]

32

students are being encouraged to cultivate a sophisticated cosmopolitan disposition for positions of leadership, while other students [from the lower classes] are not—even if they are being encouraged to learn more about the world, or to develop social tolerance" (p. 436). Thus, research suggests that the upper middle class and the ruling elite view cosmopolitan capital as a mark of distinction which will help them (re)produce their class standing.

Positioning Theory

Positioning theory also informs my research, helping explain how identity work is discursive in nature; that is, individuals construct their identities through communicative acts carried out in social interactions pregnant with social, cultural, and moral meanings. Positioning theory draws on Davies and Harré (1990) and Harré and van Langenhove's (1991) work. However, I draw on Yoon's (2008) synthesis of positioning theory here to inform my research, as she provides an example of how to use positioning theory in educational research. Following Davies and Harré (1990), she describes two forms of positioning—self-positioning and interactive positioning. She uses the first term as a synonym for what Davies and Harré (1990) call "reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself" (p. 499) and the second term to refer to Davies and Harré's (1990) notion of how "what one person says positions another" (p. 48). Yoon (2008) notes that "individuals' self-positioning guides the way in which they act and think about their roles, assignments, and duties in a given context" (p. 499). For example, how an international student might view herself as studious and diligent or lazy and carefree exemplifies self-positioning. With regard to interactive positioning, Yoon (2008) notes

33

that "positioning people in particular ways limits or extends what those people can say and do" (p. 499). Harré and van Langenhove (1991) develop this idea further, stating that those "positioned as incompetent in a certain field of endeavor…will not be accorded the right to contribute to discussions in that field" (p. 1). For example, if domestic students position an international student as incompetent, they may not allow her to participate in a group work project or dismiss her attempts to contribute to the group as less than worthwhile. I found positioning theory helpful in understanding how international students positioned themselves and others and how school personnel and domestic students positioned international students. Positioning theory helped to illuminate hierarchical relationships of power in my study, showing how some international students with the requisite English language fluency (linguistic capital) and understanding of American teenager and high school culture (intercultural capital) rose to positions of dominance in their schools, while those who did not develop this capital often remained socially marginalized, ostracized or ignored by domestic students (and sometimes school personnel).

Literature Review of Studies Drawing on Positioning Theory

Several researchers have used positioning theory to study ELL students. Yoon (2008) shows how the positioning of ELL students influences their identity and academic success. Her research demonstrates that ELL students perform well when teachers position them as welcomed guests in their classrooms who have unique histories and talents worth sharing with the rest of the class. Conversely, ELLs perform poorly, when teachers position them as unwelcomed guests without valuable histories or contributions

to make to the class (Yoon, 2008). Meanwhile, Martin-Beltrán (2010) demonstrates how teachers subtly position students in a hierarchy of proficiency within a classroom, thereby limiting their status as legitimate participants in classroom discourses thought appropriate only for students of higher proficiency. As these studies and others suggest (Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Sugimoto & Carter, 2017), positioning theory serves as a useful tool to understand how international students and those who interact with them in school co-construct identities that have implications for academic success (e.g., good student, bad student, language proficient, remedial, etc.). These findings guided me as I examined my own data, searching for similar or dissimilar patterns.

Literature Review on Effective Pedagogical Practices

To evaluate the educational experiences of international students at my two sites, I drew on a broad body of research describing effective pedagogical practices for English language learners, immigrant students, international students, and domestic students. I describe the theory and research I found best suited to analyzing my findings below.

SIOP

In *Making Content Comprehensible for English Learners: The SIOP Model*, Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013) present a book-length review of empirically validated teaching practices that research suggests enhance both domestic and ELLs' academic outcomes. SIOP, or sheltered instruction observation protocol, developed as a rubric to measure the presence and effectiveness of in-service teacher's use of sheltered instructional practices. Sheltered instruction refers to methods of making academic content comprehensible to English language learners through a variety of research-based

techniques and rests on Krashen (1981, 1982, 2003) and others' research which suggests that language acquisition occurs when language learners receive comprehensible input. SIOP developed from a rubric into a method of designing and implementing sheltered instruction in any content area or academic subject (e.g., math, science, history, literature, etc.) (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). It consists of eight components and thirty features. The eight components include research-based strategies in (1) lesson preparation, (2) building students' background knowledge, (3) maximizing comprehensible input for language learners during a lesson, (4) using a variety of learning strategies, (5) providing opportunities for substantial student interaction, (6) providing opportunities for language and content practice and application, (7) lesson delivery, (8) review and assessment (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). As an example of some of SIOP's thirty features, the category of Lesson Preparation contains six features, the first, second, and sixth of which, I found useful for analyzing the data I collected.

- SIOP Feature 1: Content Objectives [Are] Cleary Defined, Displayed, and Reviewed with Students

- SIOP Feature 2: Language Objectives [Are] Clearly Defined, Displayed, and Reviewed with Students

- SIOP Feature 6: Meaningful Activities That Integrate Lesson Concepts with Language Practice Opportunities [Are Used]. (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013, p. v)

SIOP aims to make academic content comprehensible to English language learners, a category into which all of the international students in my sample fell. Thus, its

recommendations—all simple and easily implemented—constitute a basic set of research-based pedagogical procedures to ensure international students and domestic students understand and learn what teachers intend to present to them. For this reason, I found it a useful theoretical framework for evaluating pedagogical practice.

Active vs. Passive Learning

I draw on research that supports the use of active learning strategies over passive learning strategies, as the former correlate with greater engagement, comprehension, and retention of content and higher performance on standardized assessments (Cazden, 2001; Chi, 2009; Chi & Wylie, 2014; Hamer, 2000; Mahmood, Tariq, & Javed, 2011; Pitterson et al., 2016; Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013) argue that English language learners benefit from active learning as it provides them with opportunities to learn from doing or interacting and not merely passively processing language or content lessons in their L2, a challenge for ELLs. Thus, I find theories of active learning appropriate for evaluating educational practices at both of my sites.

Chi (2009) developed the ICAP framework for differentiating passive, active, constructive, and interactive learning activities, which she later clarified in an article cowritten with a colleague (Chi & Wylie, 2014). Chi and Wylie (2014) define "a passive mode of engagement as learners being oriented toward and receiving information from the instructional material without overtly doing anything else related to learning" (e.g., listening to a lecture without taking notes; watching an educational video without taking notes or discussing it; watching a demonstration without taking notes or without trying it yourself; etc.) (p. 221). They define an active mode of engagement as "some form of

overt motoric action or physical manipulation" of the learning materials (e.g., using manipulatives in a math class, examining primary source photos or artifacts in a history class, doing an experiment in a science class, taking notes in a lecture, etc.) (p. 221). They define a constructive mode of engagement as one in which learners generate "new ideas that go beyond the information given" (e.g., drawing a concept map, paraphrasing, posing problems, comparing and contrasting, integrating information from two or more sources, making plans, hypothesizing, drawing analogies, generating predictions, monitoring one's learning, etc.) (p. 222). They define an interactive mode of engagement as "dialogues that meet two criteria: (a) both partners' utterances must be primarily constructive, and (b) a sufficient degree of turn taking must occur" so that all participants make substantive contributions (p. 223). They do not limit interactive engagement to dyadic interactions between two students, but allow for small group discussions, student-teacher discussions, student-parent discussions, student-interactive technology discussions, etc. Interestingly, they classify whole-class discussions as passive for the majority of students who merely listen to them passively and constructive for those who participate, as the opportunities for extended turn taking are generally limited and all participants generally do not make substantive contributions to the discussion.

I used Chi's (2009) ICAP framework (passive, active, constructive, interactive) to analyze the types of learning activities teachers designed for students to determine whether they positioned students as active or passive learners, as research suggests that positioning students as active learners correlates with improving their learning outcomes

38

(Cazden, 2001; Chi, 2009, 2014; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Hammer, 2000; Mahmood, Tariq, & Javed, 2011; Pitterson et al., 2016; Schneider & Preckel, 2017).

Dialogic Instruction vs. IRE Instruction

Cazden (2001) differentiated between traditional and nontraditional classroom discourse. Traditional classroom discourse consists of patterns of turn taking she describes with the acronym IRE, or initiation, response, and evaluation. An initiation occurs when the teacher asks students a question to which she knows the answer. Students respond by providing an answer to the teacher's question, based on either their general knowledge or prior learning in the class. The teacher then evaluates the answer as correct or incorrect. Cazden problematizes this form of discourse as it does little to engage students in higher order critical thinking skills (e.g., analyzing, evaluating, creating) according to Bloom's Taxonomy[3] (Anderson et al., 2001). Generally, it does not require students to move beyond the first level of Bloom's Taxonomy—remembering (Anderson et al, 2001; Cazden, 2001). She found that such forms of class discussion correlated with lower student engagement and performance. Chi and Wylie's (2014) contention that whole-class discussions qualify as passive accurately describes IRE-style discussions.

However, Cazden (2001) describes another form of classroom discourse, which she describes as nontraditional or dialogic. In such discourse, the teacher asks an open-ended question or a question that does not have a yes-no or simple one-word answer with

---

[3] Here I refer to the 2001 revision of Bloom's Taxonomy (Anderson et al, 2001), not the classic 1956 version (Bloom, 1956).

an attitude of sincere curiosity about what students think on a topic. Students generally find this interest in them motivating and offer an answer. Rather than evaluating students' answer as correct or incorrect, the teacher asks follow-up questions, which help the student to develop, clarify, or defend her thinking. The teacher may also provide summaries of what the student said and ask if they have understood the student correctly before asking others in the class to weigh in on what the student said. Other students may summarize, add to, disagree with, or question the first student, or provide their own contrasting answer or opinion. The discussion continues in this way, generally until all students have participated (who wish to) or the teacher moves on to the next point. Cazden (2001) found this style of classroom discourse correlated with higher levels of critical thinking on Bloom's Taxonomy than IRE-style discourse, greater student engagement in learning, and higher academic performance.

Authentic Caring Theory

I found Valenzuela's (1998, 2008) take on authentic caring, which she derived from theorist Nel Noddings (1984/2013, 2015), helpful for analyzing interactions between school personnel and (international) students at both sites. Valenzuela (1998) describes authentic caring as "teachers and other school adults having as their chief concern their students' entire well-being" (p. 342). She contrasts this with aesthetic caring, which she describes as "superficial…[giving] emphasis to form and nonpersonal content (e.g., rules, goals, and 'the facts') and only secondarily, if at all, to their students' subjective reality" (p. 343). In other words, teachers who practice authentic caring care for students' wellbeing regardless of how they perform in class or school, whereas

teachers who practice aesthetic caring care for students only if they prove themselves

worthy, by for example, being well behaved, quiet, and cooperative; turning in their work

on time, getting good grades, and not challenging the teacher's authority. Meanwhile,

Noddings (1984/2013) describes how dyadic and mutually responsive caring is in the

following excerpt, in which she summarizes her thoughts on the relationship between the

caregiver, whom she calls the "one-caring" and the care receiver, whom she calls the

"cared-for."

> A caring relation requires the engrossment and motivational displacement of the
>
> one-caring, and it requires the recognition and spontaneous response of the cared-
>
> for. When caring is not felt in the cared-for, but its absence is felt, the cared-for
>
> may still, by an act of ethical heroism, respond and thus contribute to the caring
>
> relation. This possibility…gives weight to our hope that one can learn to care and
>
> learn to be cared for. (Noddings, 1984/2013, p. 102).

The type of caring that Noddings envisions exists in a reciprocal relationship in which the

one-caring becomes engrossed in the care for the one receiving care. However, for care to

be relational, the cared-for must recognize and respond to the one-caring. Valenzuela

(1998) found that Latino students at a high school she studied desired to be in such a

caring relationship with their teachers. She describes students "who skip most classes

chronically but who regularly attend the one class that is meaningful to them. Without

exception, it is the teacher there who makes the difference. Unconditional, authentic

caring resides therein" (Valenzuela, 1998, p. 343). Valenzuela found that students not

only desire to be in relationship with authentically caring teachers, but that they learn

more from them and do better academically in their classes. Moreover, she found that they resisted engaging in learning, when they felt teachers or school personnel did not authentically care for them. In other words, Valenzuela (1998) provided research support for the old adage "Students don't care how much you know until they know how much you care." In my research at both sites, I found Valenzuela's take on Noddings helpful for analyzing the relationships between school personnel and students.

Effective Multimedia Use

I drew on research about best practices in incorporating multimedia (e.g., videos, podcasts, music, audio, etc.) into lessons (Berk, 2009; Hobbs, 2006). According to Berk (2009) and Hobbs (2006), teachers enhance the educational value of multimedia clips using strategies before, during, and after presenting them. For example, effective teachers introduce a multimedia clip by naming it, describing its source, providing a rationale for presenting it, foreshadowing its content, and providing questions or statements about what they desire students to learn from the multimedia clip. During the clip, they might use transport controls (e.g., pause, rewind, fast forward, play, stop) to pause and review important sections or skip to the most germane sections. They might also pause after scenes to engage in class discussions, summaries, or explanations of vocabulary. After the multimedia clip plays, effective teachers might ask comprehension questions about it, summarize it, lead students in a discussion of it, or have them engage in active, constructive, or interactive learning activities related to it. All of these strategies used before, during, and after the presentation of the multimedia clip should relate to the larger goals for the lesson, supporting them. In contrast, ineffective teachers play multimedia

clips without introducing them, do not highlight or emphasize important content while playing them, and do not lead students in meaningful and preferably active learning activities related to them afterward. This research helped me to evaluate the frequent use of multimedia clips in lessons I observed at both sites.

Translanguaging

I drew on translanguaging research to evaluate the use of international students' bilingual resources. The term translanguaging was coined by Williams (2002) to refer to practices he observed in a bilingual Welsh-English program, in which students used all of their linguistic resources to improve their language learning and content learning outcomes. For example, students might read a text in their L2 and discuss it in their L1 or vice versa. This proved beneficial when students could comprehend an L2 text but lacked the appropriate vocabulary to discuss it at a high level of abstraction. The teacher could then help them with the L2 vocabulary. Williams (2002) found that students who engaged in prolonged translanguaging practices achieved near native fluency in Welsh, as compared to other programs that used different methods.

Research by Makalela (2015) suggests that language learners who use their L1 knowledge and skills to learn an L2 do better on standardized language tests and report greater satisfaction in their learning than students only allowed to use their L2 as a medium for learning. This finding challenges the common belief among educators that language learners should not be allowed to use their L1 knowledge or language skills in an L2 classroom for fear that their L1 will interfere with their L2.

Wei (2011, 2018) has shown that bilingual students use translanguaging as a learning strategy, daily language practice, mediator of identity, and manifestation of their emergent border culture. The Chinese-English students he studied did not wish to be referred to as only Chinese or only British but valued the border culture their bilingual and bicultural capital allowed them to enjoy. Furthermore, they sought ways to engage in relationships with other bilingual and bicultural individuals (Chinese or not) who could appreciate and expand their translanguaging spaces and introduce them to other languages and cultures. I found this research helpful in analyzing bilingual practices at my two sites, for example, teachers speaking in English and Mandarin or Cantonese to students or teachers requesting students to read English and Chinese parallel versions of the Bible in Religion classes, as it highlighted effective bilingual practices and helped me to contrast them with less effective practices (e.g., English only classroom policies).

Systems Theory

Finally, I drew on a body of theory that describes systems (Arnold and Wade, 2015; Beehner, 2020; Corning, 2000; Kim, 1999; Lichtenstein and Stroh, 2017; Orgill, York, & MacKellar, 2019; Senge, 2006). In brief, much educational research suggests that schools function as systems (K. M. Cheng, 2017; Feigenberg, Watts, & Buckner, 2010; Kolman, Roegman, & Goodwin, 2016; Moyi, Ylimaki, Hardie, & Dou, 2020). I, therefore, drew on systems theory to understand how the two schools in my study influence the educational experiences of (international) students at the systemic level. Kim (1999) defines a system as "any group of interacting, interrelated, or interdependent parts that form a complex and unified whole that has a specific purpose" (p. 2).

44

Curiously, not all schools (companies, or organizations) function as systems, according to Kim's (1999) definition of the term. Only those with differentiated components that interact in mutually supportive relationships to achieve a common goal qualify as a system. Organizations having components that work in parallel, for example, rather than in cooperation, often reproducing labor or even competing with each other for resources and time do not qualify as systems, according to Kim (1999) and other systems theorists (Arnold & Wade, 2015). Rather, these organizations qualify as collections. Kim (1999) posits that an organization "[w]ithout such interdependences" constitutes, "a collection of parts, not a system" (p. 2). I found systems theory useful in analyzing how my two sites differed in terms of their performance—with one functioning more like a system, where individuals cooperated to achieve common goals, and one more like a collection, where individuals worked in parallel to achieve their separate goals, often competing for time and school resources with one another.

One emergent property of a system manifests itself in the form of synergy. Corning (2000) differentiates between positive and negative synergy. Positive synergy occurs when the interactions of components in a system produce results greater than what the individual components could produce on their own, while negative synergy occurs when the interactions of components in a system produce results less than what the individual components could produce on their own. I found the constructs of positive and negative synergy useful in understanding how at the school site that functioned as a system, individuals could achieve more than at the site that functioned as a collection because they received help from the other components of the system.

Since most systems change over time, systems theorists have developed theoretical constructs to describe change in a system. Beehner (2020), Kim (1999), Lichtenstein and Stroh (2017), and Senge (2006) describe two key factors affecting change in a system: reinforcing processes and balancing processes. Kim (1999) defines reinforcing processes as "information that compounds change in one direction with even more change in that direction. In other words, successive changes add to the previous changes and keep change going in the same direction" (p. 6). Whereas reinforcing processes create continued change in a particular direction, balancing processes seek to maintain a state of equilibrium or stability in a system. In other words, they resist change. As Kim (1999) notes, "Whereas the snowballing effect of reinforcing [processes] destabilizes systems…balancing [processes] are generally stabilizing…They resist change in one direction by producing change in the opposite direction…" (p. 8). Reinforcing and balancing processes can result in both positive and negative outcomes for a system. Sometimes systems need to change to survive; in such cases, balancing processes may prevent them from adapting to changing conditions and result in their failure or collapse (Kim, 1999). At other times, reinforcing processes snowball in negative directions, resulting in the collapse of a system (Kim, 1999). Alternately, balancing processes may mitigate against changes in a negative direction and reinforcing processes may snowball in positive directions, resulting in the expansion or "success" of a system over time (Kim, 1999). In analyzing my sites as systems, I found the constructs of reinforcing processes and balancing processes useful in understanding factors that

counteracted school personnel and/or (international) students' attempts to enact positive change.

Literature Review of Studies Drawing on Systems Theory

Various researchers have applied systems theory to educational research. Pagano and Paucer-Caceres (2013) evaluated how learning occurred as an interactive system between an instructor and students in university courses employing classroom response technology (CRT), such as clickers. They found that CRT could help instructors teaching tertiary courses with significant numbers of international students to assess the level of understanding in a class and make adjustments to their teaching that improved understanding and learning. The use of CRT also lowered international students' anxiety about participating in class when English was not their native tongue—increasing overall student participation. This study demonstrates how analyzing classroom learning as a system can improve educational experiences for (international) students.

Meanwhile, Pasura (2014) used systems theory to analyze the educational experiences of international students in seven Australian for-profit vocational schools. She found that these vocational schools did not take into consideration international students' prior educational qualifications, experience, or aspirations, and, therefore, offered educational programs that did not match students' expectations. This mismatch resulted in many international student graduates from these programs not working in their desired vocational fields. Pasura (2014) used systems theory to analyze the "degree of congruence or fit amongst the education system's components" in these vocational schools. Systems theory predicted that "when an organisation's strategy is supported by

and congruent with each of the other components [in its system], the organisation's actual results will be similar to its expectations" (p. 230). However, she found that these vocational school's strategies and systemic components did not support each other. Therefore, these institutions did not meet international students' expectations regarding education or future employment. As such, they did not deliver the desired return on investment that international students sought by enrolling in their programs. Pasura's (2014) research demonstrates the effective application of systems theory to the evaluation of schools as systems.

Methodology

My research employs a qualitative comparative case study design (Baxter & Jack, 2008; R. K. Yin, 2018) to provide a description of the educational experiences of international students at two private Christian schools. Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that a case study design is appropriate when a researcher seeks to understand a larger "phenomena within its context using a variety of data sources" (p. 544). They argue that such an approach "ensures that the issue is not explored through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses which allows for multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood" (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 544). Similarly, R. K. Yin (2018) suggests that case study design is appropriate to investigate present day phenomena that the researcher wishes to study in their real-world contexts. R. K. Yin (2018) also recognizes that case study design can serve an evaluative function. He argues that "case study evaluations can (1) capture the complexity of a case, including relevant changes over time, and (2) attend fully to contextual conditions, including those that interact with the case" (p. 270). Since

I wished to investigate the educational experiences of international secondary students from a variety of lenses, with the purpose of evaluating programs for them, I deemed a comparative case study method an appropriate research design for my study. Below I describe my site selection criteria, sampling method, data collection methods, and data analysis methods, citing precedent for using these methods in the work of other qualitative researchers.

Site Selection

The research literature on Parachute Kids identifies California as one of several prime sites in which to study international students attending K-12 schools (Farrugia, 2014; Li, 2006; Tsong & Liu, 2009). After New York, California has the highest population of international K12 students (Farrugia, 2014). Moreover, a number of private Christian schools cater to international students in California (Farrugia, 2014). Thus, I deemed California an effective site to carry out my study.

I have chosen to research at two sites, as R. K. Yin (2018) recommends a multiple case study design for its ability to provide more data on how cases vary. Accordingly, I obtained permission to conduct my research at two private Christian schools in Southern California—one in the San Gabriel Valley, the other in the Inland Empire. W. Li (2006) and Tsong and Liu (2009) have identified the San Gabriel Valley as a significant parachute kid landing site, and, thus, this school's location places it in one of America's largest parachute kid communities, arguably an ideal location to study the phenomena I wish to investigate. Meanwhile, research by Alfattal (2017) suggests that the Inland

Empire boasts a large concentration of international students, making it an appropriate sister site.

Site Descriptions

Elmshaven Academy,[4] a private Christian school in California's San Gabriel Valley, enrolled about 492 students in grades K-12 during the time of this study. According to statistics it collected and reported to the federal government, approximately 53% of the student body consisted of males and 47% of females. Of these, 50% identified as Asian, 30% as Hispanic, 10% as multiracial, 8% as White, 2% as Black, and less than 1% each as Pacific Islander or Native American. About 70 international students attended the school—the vast majority studying at the high school level with a few at the junior high level. The high school, where I focused my study, employed 19 teachers during the time of this study, with most teaching two or more subjects. Of these 10 identified as Asian, 6 as White, 2 as Hispanic, and 1 as a Pacific Islander. Meanwhile, its administrative team consisted of a head principal, vice principal, elementary school principal, registrar, a director of advancement, and a director of student affairs and international recruitment.[5]

Fremont Academy, a private Christian school in California's Inland Empire, enrolled about 555 students in grades K-12 during the time of this study, according to statistics it maintained and published on its website. Approximately, 51% of the student body consisted of females and 49% of males. Of these, 23% identify as Hispanic, 22% as

---

[4] I use pseudonyms to refer to both of my sites as well as all my participants in this study.
[5] I drew all statistics describing Elmshaven's student body from the National Center for Educational Statistics. Statistics describing its administration and faculty come from my data collection.

Asian, 17% as White, 7% as Black, 4% as multiracial, 1% Indian, 1% as Pacific Islander, 0.01% as Native American, and 21% as other. About 40 international students attended the school—almost all studying at the high school level. The high school, where I focused my study, employed 14 teachers, 6 of whom identified as Latino, 6 as White, and 2 as Asian. The school's administrative staff consisted of a TK-12 lead principal, a TK-12 vice principal, a vice principal of finance, and a registrar/instructional coach.[6]

Sampling Method & Sample Description

Following Robinson (2014), I have used a purposive sampling strategy to select subjects for my qualitative case study. This sampling method serves my purposes well as it ensures that "certain categories of individuals [who] may have a unique, different or important perspective on the phenomenon in question" based on a researcher's "*a priori* theoretical understanding of the topic" are present in the sample (Robinson, 2014, p. 32). I describe my criteria for purposive sampling below.

I have selected Chinese Parachute Kids[7] to populate the international student portion of my purposive sample. Research suggests that the single largest parachute kid population in the world consists of Chinese international students (Farrugia, 2014). Moreover, the majority of Parachute Kids at private Christian schools in the U.S. hail

---

[6] I drew all statistic describing Fremont from its website, which helpfully listed these data. During the first year of this study, the Head Principal was White. During the second year, a new Latina principal assumed leadership of the school.

[7] One student in my sample, Andrew Lee (pseudonym), was joined by his family after living abroad as a Parachute Kid for one year. Thus, he had been a Parachute Kid but was an immigrant at the time of our interview.

from China (Farrugia, 2014). Thus, I sampled from this population as they represent the normative parachute kid population as a whole.

       To understand how Parachute Kids' educational experiences vary over time, I selected students from all four grades of high school: three Freshman, three Sophomores, four Juniors, and eight Seniors (n = 18). I had originally obtained consent to interview four international students per grade; however, one Freshman and one Sophomore withdrew, while three additional Seniors showed interest in my study, so I asked them to participate, and they agreed. Through my interviews, I heard reference made to another Senior international student at Elmshaven, whom I asked for an interview, and she agreed.[8] My sample of eighteen international students consists of 10 females and 8 males. The chart below shows their distribution. All personal names and school names in this study are pseudonyms.

---

[8] Our interview took place in the Fall of 2020, after she had graduated and begun her second year of college.

Table 3.1: International Student Participants

	Name	Gender	Grade (2019)	School
1.	Adam Lin	M	Senior	Fremont
2.	Andrew Lee	M	Junior	Fremont
3.	Ava Jiao	F	Freshman	Elmshaven
4.	Ben Siu	M	Senior	Fremont
5.	Charlie Tan	M	Senior	Elmshaven
6.	Dianna Hu	F	Sophomore	Fremont
7.	Donald Hua	M	Senior	Elmshaven
8.	Micky Kim	F	Senior	Elmshaven
9.	Ella Su	F	Senior	Elmshaven
10.	Grace Woo	F	Junior	Fremont
11.	Joshua Ming	M	Sophomore	Elmshaven
12.	Lu Ben Wei	M	Freshman	Fremont
13.	Megan Chin	F	Junior	Elmshaven
14.	Mindy Khoo	F	Freshman	Fremont
15.	Sophia Shin	F	Sophomore	Elmshaven
16.	Tracy Lee	F	Senior	Fremont
17.	Susana Wong	F	Senior	Fremont
18.	Walter Yan	M	Junior	Elmshaven

To understand how school personnel and domestic students position Parachute Kids, I used purposive sampling to select administrators (n = 8), teachers (n = 23), host parents (n = 2), and mainstream students (n = 1) to participate in my study. I selected from these groups as prior research suggests that each group helps shape student

experiences and contribute to their positioning on campus (Brown, 2019; Martin-Beltran, 2010; Yoon, 2008; Theoharis & O'Toole, 2011).

Triangulation

R. K. Yin (2018) recommends that case study researchers collect data from multiple sources, reasoning that "any case study finding or conclusion is likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information" (p. 128). Thus, I have employed three methods of data collection: interview, observation, and document analysis. I describe the methods I used below in greater detail.

Observations

I employed a structured observation protocol to guide my research (Bailey, 2007; Creswell & Poth, 2017) (see Appendix E). Bailey (2007) suggests that using a structured observation protocol helps researchers to remain focused on their research questions and observe more purposefully and selectively. I used observation protocols to help organize, record, and develop the data I observed for coding and analysis, in alignment with recommendations by Bailey (2007) and Creswell and Poth (2016) (see Appendix D).

I observed international students in 47 classes over the span of three quarters at both sites. Having greater access to each school's ESL classes than their mainstream classes, I observed these on multiple occasions. Having limited access to each school's mainstream content courses, I could arrange to visit several of these only once though sometime twice. At Fremont, I observed ESL, ESL Literature, and ESL Religion multiple times each; in addition, I observed two History classes, one Anatomy and Physiology class, one Art class, three Senior English classes, and one AP Physics class. Meanwhile,

at Elmshaven, I observed ESL and ESL Religion courses multiple times, three Religion 9 classes, 2 Biology classes, 2 Chemistry classes, 1 Honors Algebra class, 2 History classes, 1 Physics class, 1 English class, 1 Art class, 1 Orchestra class, and 1 Choir class. I also observed international students participating in extracurricular experiences at both schools, as well as at lunch and in chapel.

To analyze the data that I collected from observations, I employed a method of initial and focused coding (Bailey, 2007). Bailey (2007) recommends initial and focused coding as a way of finding meaningful patterns in the data that help answer one's research questions. During initial coding, I sorted my raw data according to which research questions they helped answer. If data answered more than one question, I related them to as many relevant questions as possible. During focused coding, I read through my data multiple times to find themes relevant to my research, such as, examples of interactions related to capital, positioning, or curricular experiences. Using a process of memoing (Bailey, 2007), I journaled on emerging themes, convergences, categories, and ideas that arose from the coding process. I crosschecked these memos and codes against my research questions and wrote notes on how the coding process either answered or left unanswered my questions.

Interviews

In addition to observations, I collected data relevant to my research questions from semi-structured interviews. DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) argue that semi-structured interviews allow for spontaneity while ensuring adequate coverage of research questions. For this study, I collected 52 interviews from 18 international students, 1 domestic

student, 2 homestay parents, 19 teachers, and 8 school administrators. As mentioned, some of my participants I interviewed twice. Others, I observed but did not have the opportunity to interview. (See Appendices A-D for interview protocols.)

Following precedents established by University of California researchers, I transcribed interviews using Trint.com—a computer program that uses artificial intelligence to transcribe recorded speech to text automatically (Huang, 2019; Timberlake, Laitinen, Kinnunen, & Rimpela, 2019). Then I edited each machine-generated transcript line-by-line to ensure accuracy. To protect data security and ensure privacy, Trint.com stores these transcripts on 256-bit at-rest encrypted servers, in password protected accounts to which not even Trint.com employees have access (trint.com/security).

To analyze the data that I collected from interviews, I employed a method of initial and focused coding, similar to that described above for observations. Bailey (2007) recommends initial and focused coding as a way of finding meaningful patterns in the data that help answer one's research questions. During initial or open coding, I coded descriptively, summarizing what interviewees said using key terms, to allow for emergent data not anticipated by my research questions. During focused coding, I read through my data multiple times to find themes relevant to my research, such as, examples of interactions related to capital, positioning, or curricular or extracurricular experiences. Using a process of memoing (Bailey, 2007), I journaled on emerging themes, convergences, categories, and ideas that arose from the coding process. I crosschecked

these memos and codes against my research questions and wrote notes on how the coding process either answered or left unanswered my questions.

R. K. Yin (2018) recommends that triangulation include not just divergent data collection methods (data triangulation) but also divergent data analysis methods (methodological triangulation). Toward this end, I followed interview analysis procedures recommended by Harding (2019) and Bailey (2007) to analyze international student interviews and procedures recommended by Bailey (2007) to analyze school personnel interviews (see description above). Harding (2019) recommends that researchers make summaries of interviews, as this process helps the researcher "to see through the mass of detail and repetition to the points that are most relevant to the research question(s)…" (p. 120). To make thorough and useful summaries that assist in analysis, Harding (2019) recommends that researchers follow these steps.

1. Identify the research objective(s) that the section of the transcript is most relevant to.

2. Decide which pieces of information or opinion are most relevant to the objectives/s and which are detail that do not need to be included in the summary.

3. Decide where (if at all) there is repetition that needs to be eliminated.

4. On the basis of these decisions, write brief notes. (Harding, 2019, p. 121)

Using these criteria, I summarized my international student interviews. Since the purpose of creating summaries, according to Harding (2019), is to facilitate comparisons of their key details, I wrote each summary as a numbered entry within a larger Microsoft

Word document, which I read and reread multiple times. I then selected key interviews

which illustrated the themes I saw in the data, transcribed them and coded them using

initial and focused coding, as described above (Bailey, 2007). I found this combination of

summarizing and selective transcription and coding helpful, as each method provided

contrasting but complementary means of showing convergences and divergences in the

data. I used Dedoose, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis program, to archive

my data, coding, and memoing for all transcribed interviews.

Document Analysis

Following Bowen (2009) and Mason's (2002) advice, I engaged in document

analysis as a complement to observations and interviews, allowing for data triangulation,

or "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility" (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). Using a semi-

structured approach to document analysis, I generated a document analysis protocol, a set

of specific questions that assisted me as I selected, queried, and analyzed documents (see

Appendix F).

To analyze data in a document, Bowen (2009) recommends the researcher engage

in content analysis and thematic analysis. He defines content analysis as "the process of

organizing information into categories related to the central questions of the research,"

and thematic analysis as "a form of pattern recognition within the data, with emerging

themes becoming the categories for analysis" (Bowen, 2009, p. 32).

Bowen (2009) recommends that the researcher maintain a critical stance, in which

she does not merely assume that the document is "necessarily precise, accurate, or

complete" (p. 33). Evaluating a document involves critically examining the document to

understand "the original purpose of the document…the target audience…[i]nformation about the author…[and] original sources of information…whether [it]…was 'written as a result of firsthand experience or from secondary sources, whether it was solicited or unsolicited, edited, or unedited, anonymous or signed, and so on'" (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966, as cited in Bowen, 2009, p. 33). In keeping with Bowen's (2009) advice, I analyzed my documents critically to determine their origin, authorship, purpose, audience, authenticity, and reliability using the strategies recommended. I occasionally used member checks to evaluate the credibility of claims in the documents I collected, following recommendations by Kornbluh (2015) and Morse et al (2002).

The documents I collected consisted of yearbooks and other school publications related to international students (e.g., international student handbooks, forms for international students, policy statements, saved webpages related to international students, blogs, etc.). Caudill (2007) studied yearbooks as a genre and found that "Yearbooks are part of a social activity system and therefore reflect and help enact social actions" (p. 112). She notes that "Yearbooks are a reflection of the context and community that created them. They offer a way to examine what people find salient about their school year…" (p. 112). I, therefore, have used yearbooks as important documents to investigate the social positioning of international students. In general, I found that the school yearbooks I examined were produced by members of the Senior class and focused mainly on their fellow Senior class members, and less on Freshmen, Sophomores, and Juniors—aside from the obligatory headshots section devoted to each class. Where the yearbooks for the time of my study contained data on my participants, I

used them as sources to understand how the students who made the yearbook positioned the international students in their Senior class. Since the yearbooks I examined did not provide equal coverage to all my participants, I could only feature these data in my study where they were available.

I did not systematically collect student grades, graded schoolwork, or graded homework from international students on ethical grounds, as federal law protects the confidentiality of student educational records. Many of the international students in my sample consisted of minors whose parents lived in China. Obtaining informed consent from them proved impractical. While I obtained informed consent from international students' American guardians for them to participate in this study, I felt I could not ethically ask guardians to decide on behalf of parents whether their children's legally protected data should be used in this study. Nonetheless, several of my participants were 18 years old or older. In such cases, if they volunteered information about their grades, I collected their self-reports as data. In three cases, adult student participants granted me access to their transcripts. Thus, I was able to use these data in my assessment of their school performance.

CHAPTER 3: SYSTEMIC FINDINGS

According to much research, schools function as systems (K. M. Cheng, 2017; Feigenberg, Watts, & Buckner, 2010; Kolman, Roegman, & Goodwin, 2016, Smith, Frey, Pumpian, & Fisher, 2017). These systems influence (international) students' educational experiences, and, thus, I am interested in exploring how. According to systems theorists, such as Corning (2000), systems have the power to add synergy to individual and group efforts. Corning distinguishes between positive synergy, which enhances the efforts of individuals and groups, and negative synergy, which detracts from them through, for example, interference or lack of coordination.

Although both of my sites shared the same denominational affiliation and followed similar curricula, they differed markedly when considered as systems. At Elmshaven, school personnel and students co-constructed a mutually supportive system dedicated to all stakeholders' holistic wellbeing (Forbes, 2003), which supported authentic caring (Noddings, 1984/2013, 2015; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008). At Fremont, individuals and groups primarily worked independently rather than in cooperative, mutually supportive systems that lent positive synergy to their efforts; in fact, I observed much negative synergy arising from interference and lack of coordination—all of which tended to promote a culture of aesthetic caring rather than authentic caring (Noddings, 1984/2013, 2015; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008). In what follows, I present evidence for this argument from my data.

Part 1: Elmshaven's System

According to my informants, Elmshaven did not always possess a well-developed system of mutual supports dedicated to the wellbeing of stakeholders (i.e., school personnel and students). Before Principal Sapio's administration (2010-present), it had experienced a period of unstable leadership, where principals came and went on average every 2-3 years. This resulted in a demoralized atmosphere on campus among faculty and students, who felt undervalued and under-supported by administrators who refused to commit to them long-term. When Principal Sapio arrived, he recognized the problem, assured the faculty and board of his intention to commit long term, and sought to transform Elmshaven into a positive, mutually-supportive working and learning environment by building a system that realized its denominations' educational goals and promoted stakeholders' holistic wellbeing. He did this by creating systemic supports for stakeholders' physical, social-emotional, mental, and spiritual health and wellbeing based on research-supported practices. For example, he hired a physical trainer to help school personnel achieve their weight loss and exercise goals. He paid for school personnel to attend social-emotional intelligence conferences, so they could learn principles that would help them create a healthy social and emotional working and learning environment at Elmshaven. He paid for his faculty to receive over 400 hours of professional development (2010-present), so as to develop expertise in teaching using research-supported strategies. He held daily worship services for faculty to ground them in their spiritual practices. He also articulated his vision for transforming Elmshaven at faculty, staff, and school board meetings. By the time of my study (2018-2020), administrators,

faculty, staff, and students at Elmshaven had constructed a remarkable system that supported them holistically and lent positive synergy to their efforts. I present evidence for this claim in what follows.

Component 1: Promoting Physical Wellbeing

Principal Sapio reasoned that to improve teachers' performance and morale, he needed to improve their overall wellbeing, and the quickest way to start that process would be to improve their physical wellness. Thus, he hired a champion bodybuilder to be a personal trainer for his teachers. Those who participated in this program reported how it helped them to improve their interactions with students, providing them with greater holistic care.

The ESL Teacher at Elmshaven, Mr. Ryan Chang, exemplifies how teachers' physical health relates to their ability to provide better holistic care to (international) students. He reported having participated in the physical training program Principal Sapio initiated, remembering fondly his workouts with its champion bodybuilder. By the time of our interview, however, this program had ended. Nonetheless, Mr. Chang maintained an active lifestyle, as he discussed in several of our informal talks. Mr. Chang reported to me that he stays in shape through a rigorous personal exercise and diet program that he occasionally lets lapse only to hit with renewed energy when he feels he has let himself go too far. Although he is 48 years old, he walks so fast that I can barely keep up with him. On the weekend, he can often be found in the school's gym playing basketball with the students—many of whom are international students. As I observed in my time at Elmshaven, students compete to spend time with Mr. Chang, whom they affectionately

refer to with familial nicknames. As Mr. Chang put it in our interview, "…my students straight up call me Dad." In addition to teaching ESL during the first year of this study, Mr. Chang also served as the assistant coach to the girls' basketball team, a role he had held for the prior eight years. Mr. Chang's energy helps him to remain youthful and vivacious even as he nears fifty. He maintains a punishing schedule of attending extra-curricular school activities, coaching girls' basketball, and playing sports with students, as his Facebook posts reveal.[9] He reports that he maintains this intensity and commitment in large part because he has bought into the holistic health message practiced at Elmshaven. He sees his students as the beneficiaries of his physical health, as it allows him to better engage with them. Thus, Mr. Chang's health and fitness regimen energizes his teaching and interactions with (international) students, generating positive synergy. Because (international) students enjoy being around him, they engage with him in sports, which promotes their physical fitness and overall wellbeing.

Mr. Chang was not unique among Elmshaven school personnel and students in his focus on physical wellbeing. On almost every visit to Elmshaven, I overheard school personnel talking about their latest diet or exercise program. I observed several of the female teachers use their breaks to walk around the track, hoping to log in the required footsteps on their personal electronic devices to meet their goal for the day. In short, physical wellness ranked as a central focus among school personnel at Elmshaven. Meanwhile, (international) students seemed to respond to this cultural emphasis on

---

[9] All Facebook posts were used with permission. To check the accuracy of my memory of our informal conversations, I performed a member check, asking Mr. Chang to read this passage and suggest any corrections needed to make it more accurate.

physical fitness by participating in athletics, as I shall describe below. On almost every visit to Elmshaven, I heard (international) students discussing one of their sports team's recent or upcoming games. Among the most frequent prayer requests raised by international students were prayers that God would help their team do well at an upcoming game. Although most of the international students I spoke with at both sites identified as agnostic or atheist, they seemed to see no contradiction between their private beliefs and praying for the success of their home team.

The Impact of Physical Training on Students

In my interviews with Josh Brenner, the Head Coach at Elmshaven, and Ryan Chang, the ESL teacher and Girls' Basketball Coach, I learned that Elmshaven had recruited many of its star athletes from other countries with the lure that the school could provide them with a quality preparatory education while allowing them to pursue their passion for sports. Local newspapers regularly featured stories about the Elmshaven Boys' Varsity Basketball team, as they generally trounced the competition. Colleges have recruited several of Elmshaven's star athletes, awarding them full scholarships to play college basketball. Though not in my study, these star players were among those in the ESL and other classes I observed at Elmshaven. Some of them formed friendships with the Chinese students in my sample, and much informal discussion in the classes I observed at Elmshaven focused on the school's sports teams. Thus, the star players among the international student body at Elmshaven enhanced school pride and helped create a schoolwide culture devoted to celebrating the local team. As such, athletics

functioned as something of a way of life at Elmshaven, where it fit into the school's overall emphasis on holistic wellbeing.

Elmshaven's general focus on athletics and physical health influenced the educational experiences of international students, many of whom reported that this was a new focus for them in their schooling, as Chinese schools did not emphasize athletics. Of the 18 international students whom I interviewed, almost all discussed playing sports, either on a team or for P.E.—regardless of gender. Those in varsity or junior varsity reported that playing on a team allowed them to make friends with non-international students and practice their English, as the following excerpts attests.

Excerpt 3.1: April 22, 2019
Interview with Donald Hua, Senior International Student, Elmshaven

> August: …Did you want to come [to America]? Did your parents want it [or] suggest it? How did it happen?
>
> Donald: Uh, for me—I just think—cuz I like basketball. And, you know, America is so good at basketball. And my parents want me like try some different culture. Yeah. So I just come here.
>
> …
>
> August: Could you speak English well, when you first came?
>
> Donald: Uh, not really.
>
> August: …How long did it take you to learn to speak English or understand it?

Donald: It's not too long, cuz I play in basketball team. I always talk with local

students.

August: Mm-hmm. So how many months or years? …When did you start to feel

comfortable…in English?

Donald: Three months.

August: …Cool!...What could you understand after three months—like

everything or 50% or…[trails off]?

Donald: Like 60%. Yeah. Because they're just talking about like…uh…simple

word.

As this excerpt reveals, some international students in my sample came to America to play sports, reporting that the interactions they had with American students on a sports team helped them to learn conversational English. Judged through the lens of systems theory, the interaction of athletics and language represents an instance of positive synergy, where two components of a system interact to produce effects greater than either one acting alone could produce (Corning, 2000). Students who did not play on athletics teams (e.g., Junior or Senior Varsity teams) did not report the same benefits to their language acquisition and social capital that those who did reported. This suggests that playing sports with domestic students helped promote not only international students' health and wellbeing, but also their language acquisition and socialization—an example of positive synergy.

The international student girls I interviewed at Elmshaven also mentioned their interest in sports and the benefits of playing sports for cultivating friendships with domestic students, as the following excerpts from my interview with Sophia Shin, a Sophomore international student at Elmshaven, illustrate.

Excerpt 3.2: November 8, 2018
Interview with Sophia Shin, Sophomore International Student, Elmshaven

> August: Okay. So how do you feel? Do you think that the education you're getting in America is better than China, equal, less than? What do you think?
>
> Sophia: I think it's better. It fit me. Yeah.
>
> August: Can you explain maybe why?
>
> Sophia: Uh…because I like doing some activities after school, like playing basketball, but in China, we don't have enough time to do that.

For Sophia, playing basketball implied interacting with domestic students in English. This resulted in enhancing her linguistic and social capital. Later in our interview, I asked Sophia about her friends. She told me that she had about 20 friends at Elmshaven—roughly half were international students and half were domestic. In contrast, most international students in my sample reported having far fewer domestic student friends.[10]

Excerpt 3.3: November 8, 2018
Interview with Sophia Shin, Sophomore International Student, Elmshaven

> August: How do you make friends with someone who is not Chinese?

---

[10] In my observations of Sophia Shin, I seldom saw here interact with her twenty friends on campus. She often sat by herself in class and walked alone between classes. I am tempted, therefore, to view her 20 friends as 20 acquaintances.

Sophia: We study together. [Chuckles] Yeah. And we play basketball together…

As these excerpts illustrate, both boys and girls reported enjoying participating in sports at Elmshaven and spoke of how it helped them to interact with domestic students more, and, in the process, improve their English conversation skills. This suggests that Elmshaven's athletics programs lent positive synergy to international students. One might predict that playing sports would improve their physical wellbeing; however, international students reported that it also improved their social and linguistic skills, and these would qualify as emergent or synergistic outcomes.

Component 2: Promoting Social-Emotional Wellbeing

Principal Sapio also paid for his teachers to attend conferences over a two-year period in social-emotional intelligence. Those that attended the conference the first year described it as life changing. Mrs. Macey, the Director of Advancement, spoke of it as follows.

Excerpt 3.4: April 2, 2019
Interview with Mrs. Macey, Director of Advancement, Elmshaven

August: …How did the social-emotional intelligence piece get here?...

Mrs. Macey: …A whole bunch of us went to an emotional intelligence thing…Karis [a colleague and close friend to Mrs. Macey] didn't go because I think she had something going on with her leg, but…she said, "You guys came back weird."…She went the next year, and she said, "Ah! I get it!" …it just makes you more conscious.

I observed this consciousness in the years I spent observing at Elmshaven. I noticed how

social-emotional intelligence mediated every level of the school hierarchy.

Administrators spoke to faculty respectfully and collegially. With one notable exception,

faculty returned the respect and collegiality. The exception was an older, ill-tempered

English teacher who remained recalcitrant throughout all of Principal Sapio's attempts to

train the faculty and support them. All other teachers I observed spoke to administrators,

peers, and students respectfully. Remarkably, students almost universally returned the

respect they received from teachers and administrators.

Students—both international and US—appeared to relish being in the mutually

supportive atmosphere of Elmshaven. Maria Lopez, the Elmshaven Registrar, described

to me how international student graduates would visit campus on their term breaks in

college just to experience its family environment again, as the following excerpt relates.

Excerpt 3.5: November 20, 2018
Interview with Mrs. Lopez, Registrar, Elmshaven

August: What do you notice…as maybe something positive coming out of the

international student community…?

Mrs. Lopez: …Louise [Mrs. Macey, the Director of Advancement and former

government, history, and economics teacher at Elmshaven] has a lot of

international students that come back—like in the three years…or four

years I've been here. They come back…And they were international

students...They go to college. Every vacation they get, they're here. They

come to visit their families, but they're on campus visiting. They come to

all of our offices, give us hugs, say hello. They can't get enough of this

school, even after they've graduated….

I saw this for myself in my observations of Mr. Chang's classes, Elmhaven's ESL teacher

during the first year of this study. International Elmhaven graduates who had gone to

college would show up and ask to just sit in Mr. Chang's class. He would interrupt class

briefly to greet them, explain who they were to me, and resume teaching. While students

were engaged in individual or group work, he would briefly catch up with the visiting

student before returning his attention to the class.

I am not suggesting that Elmshaven is without its problems. It has a crumbling

infrastructure in serious need of renovation. Nor am I suggesting that I never heard

teachers raise their voices to discipline students; however, this was the rare exception

rather than the norm. Nor am I suggesting that teachers never experienced conflicts

among themselves or with administrators. What I am suggesting is that the social-

emotional training school personnel had received at Elmshaven resulted in a campus

where most acted with consideration for others and when conflicts arose, those involved

worked to resolve them respectfully.

The Impact of Social-Emotional Intelligence Training on Students

The culture of social-emotional intelligence at Elmshaven influenced the social

interactions of (international) students, who under the generally respectful and supportive

care of school personnel behaved with respect toward one another and toward school

personnel. Students attested to the climate of mutual respect on campus, as my interview

with Jennifer Oh, a domestic student at Elmshaven, affirms. Leading up to this exchange, Jennifer had compared the generally caring atmosphere at Elmshaven to that of her public elementary school, which she characterized as brutal and uncaring.

Excerpt 3.6: February 20, 2020
Interview with Jennifer Oh, Senior Domestic Student, Elmshaven

> August: You said, "Students at your elementary school could be brutal." …Why is that brutality not here?
>
> Jennifer: That's a fantastic question. I really can't answer that because I don't know myself.
>
> August: [Member checking] Well, here's my theory, see if it makes sense to you. My theory is because the adults here are practicing care. The administration is caring for the teachers, and the teachers are caring for the students, [so] you feel like you're in a warm, welcoming family. And when you feel like you're in a warm, welcoming family, you want to live up to its standards, like its unwritten rules. And so everyone's kind of playing by the unwritten rulebook, which is be nice, play nice.
>
> Jennifer: Actually, now that you put it that way, I'd say…you will be singled out here if you're mean.
>
> August: Okay. Talk more.
>
> Jennifer: …I think if you…if you're not kind and polite and you don't treat people well, you're actually…like…you're the outcast here. Like being nice is the

norm here. So I think like because of this whole family setting we have here, maybe, maybe we learn from the teachers to some extent. But you know what? I think the teachers make the school. So because the teachers are nice and caring people for the most part, like…they set that mood and they set that tone…I'm friends with a lot of people who you might say are…mean…sometimes. Especially, like, when they talk, they're insensitive. They'll just be like, "Ha-ha! That guy's just stupid!" But…um…they will still be respectful and kind when the time comes. And whether that be because they want to be—like because they naturally are that way—or because they're worried that they'll be seen as bad people if they're not that way, the fact remains that they are nice here because if you're not nice, people will not like you.

I argue that the coordinated efforts of administrators, faculty, staff, and students to enact a school culture based on social-emotional intelligence generated positive synergy as evidenced in its self-policing practices. This suggests that the training that school personnel received helped them to model socially and emotionally intelligent behaviors to students. Students, in turn, found these behaviors winsome and attractive enough to adopt and imitate them in a reciprocal act of cultural co-construction. This serves as another example of synergy. The polite interactions among school personnel, I argue, inspired generally polite behavior among students, as it set the tone for the school's culture.

As an example of how students co-constructed a positive social-emotional culture at Elmshaven, I cite the case of Rodney Fu, an international student with autism who blossomed under the school's authentically caring culture. When he first arrived at Elmshaven, Rodney did not interact with others with whom he felt uncomfortable, as I observed many times sitting in his ESL classes. On one particularly memorable occasion, students from Mrs. Ensworth's Yearbook class visited Ryan Chang's ESL class to interview ESL students for the yearbook. Two attractive, well dressed girls approached Rodney and asked if they could interview him. Planting his face on his desk between his folded arms, Rodney refused to speak or even look at the girls. They continued to speak to him in a gentle and friendly manner, attempting to coax him out of his self-protective posture to no avail. After a few minutes, they left him alone. As the years passed, I saw Rodney transform from avoiding eye contact and communication altogether with those whom he felt anxious to smiling, making eye contact, and speaking to others in a shy, but friendly manner.

Others made similar observations. Teachers and students who brought up Rodney in our interviews described his positive social development. For example, Jennifer Oh, my domestic student informant at Elmshaven, described how Rodney would not at first make eye contact, smile, or speak to her. Nonetheless, she made it a point to greet him in a friendly manner every day she saw him. Eventually, Rodney began to make eye contact with her, smile and shyly wave at her. She described how Rodney became a well-liked student on campus, whom other students regarded with affection, though he preferred his own company. Arguably, students had no reason to treat Rodney with politeness or

genuine warmth, as at first, he did not reciprocate; nonetheless, they did so, and, as a result, he learned to reciprocate the kindness he was shown. I argue that this illustrates how students and school personnel co-constructed a culture at Elmshaven dedicated to social-emotional intelligence. Indeed, Rodney's mother told Ryan Chang that she credited Elmshaven with helping to socialize her son, equipping him with a skillset she feared he would never develop.

Component 3: Promoting Mental Wellbeing (Competence)

Principal Sapio's emphasis on developing his faculty's physical and social and emotional health allowed them to have the energy and desire to take on his next goal: the development of their pedagogical expertise through intensive professional development (PD). He hired individuals with Master's and PhDs who had successfully done work in areas he deemed relevant to the school's mission to provide over 400 hours of PD to his faculty (from 2010-2018). As school personnel reported, about 20% of the graduating class—with many of these being international students—went on to prestigious colleges and universities each year from Elmshaven, suggesting that Principal Sapio's investment in PD paid off in terms of student outcomes.

Implementing a schoolwide program in Standards Based Grading served as the central focus of Principal Sapio's professional development. Drawing on the work of Alcock, Fisher, and Zmuda (2018), Guskey (2008, 2010), and Marzano (2011), Standards Based Grading describes a method of designing and delivering instruction that combines mastery learning, project-based learning, and standards-based assessment. Principal Sapio hired Dr. Marie Alcock, a nationally famous teacher educator, to provide PD to

75

Elmshaven teachers in Standards Based Grading. One key feature of this system is that students can retake assessments as many times as necessary until they demonstrate mastery of the required standards. This initiative significantly impacted international students' educational experiences. In observing classes at Elmshaven, I would hear students ask teachers if they could retake a quiz or test if they received a low score. Although I knew the school's policy that allowed students an unlimited number of retries, I still felt surprised to hear the teachers always reply, "Yes." The philosophy at Elmshaven is that students should learn to mastery and not be denied any opportunity to meet the standards.

Interviewing Mrs. Elizabeth Hoffman, a History and Math teacher at Elmshaven, I learned that students receive a learning support guide that gives them instructions on how to prepare for the assessment. They can request to meet with a teacher after school or during a free period for additional assistance.

Excerpt 3.7: December 4, 2018
Interview with Mrs. Hoffman, History and Math Teacher, Elmshaven

August: …How would you compare what happened before [Dr. Marie] Alcock in terms of measuring student outcomes and after [Dr. Marie] Alcock?...

Mrs. Hoffman: …One thing that I think is really helpful for international students is that with Standards Based Grading, we either say it's correct or incorrect. We don't give…partial credit. It's either, "You've got it!" or, "This is what you need to work on. Try again, and then you can get it."…I think it's helpful because the structure encourages them to redo things if

76

they're struggling with it rather than to just move on…Like one thing I do

with my math class is at the very beginning of a new unit, I print off a

handout. It has the standard and under the standard, it has each skill that

they need to be able to do that standard…I have international students in

that class…So at the beginning of the unit, I give them that. And at any

point, they always have a reference. I'll still write on the board this is what

we're working on today, but they can see at any point in time, "This is the

skill I'm missing or that I need to work on."

Mrs. Hoffman discussed how Standards Based Grading brought transparency to the

learning process, allowing (international) students to know exactly what they would learn

and be assessed on and how they were progressing through the learning goals for a

course. I saw several other teachers use standard guides as well.

Standards Based Grading as Authentic Caring

While Standards Based Grading promoted mastery learning, it also contributed to

the school's practice of authentic caring. In *Building Equity: Policies and Practices to

Empower All Learners*, Smith, Frey, Pumpian, and Fisher (2017) note that students at

Carlos Rivera High School felt that their teachers liked them but did not care about them,

because in the students' words, "You don't give us a second chance when we don't do

well in your class" (p. 59). As a result, teachers revised their grading policies, adopting a

"mastery, or competency-based, grading" system, similar to that at Elmshaven. As a

result, 'the overall grade point average…increased, as did student performance on state

tests" (p. 61). Thus, Standards Based Grading policies promote mastery learning,

allowing students to develop competency no matter what their level, which constitutes a practice of caring in a community devoted to developing competency. It not only represents authentic caring on the part of teachers, who show their caring for students by allowing them to retake tests and quizzes, it also invites students to engage in authentic caring about their learning, as it requires them to learn to mastery, not just to pass a test or quiz with a B, C, or D. All standards must be met in full for students to progress.

The Impact of PD on Students

Students who had attended Elmshaven before and after the implementation of Standards Based Grading reported that they had observed improvements in teaching and learning, as the following excerpt from my interview with Jennifer Oh, a domestic student at Elmshaven, attests. Leading up to this description of Standards Based Grading, Jennifer and I had discussed what she liked and disliked about her classes at Elmshaven. She reported disliking classes in which teachers did not have a clear lesson plan and seemed to improvise lessons—a practice she described as "winging it." She then described how the introduction of Standards Based Grading had hampered this practice, requiring teachers to develop clear learning goals and measure their attainment.

Excerpt 3.8: February 20, 2020
Interview with Jennifer Oh, Senior Domestic Student, Elmshaven

August: How common is "winging it" as a teaching style at Elmshaven?

Jennifer: …With this new Standards Based Grading thing we've got going on, like…they're pretty much forced to have a curriculum. So it's only the teachers that haven't fully converted yet, or [are] blatantly ignoring it and

78

expressing how much they hate it in the middle of class, like Mrs. Roberts.

They're the ones that don't have like as much of an organized structure to

their class.

August: So Mrs. Roberts is openly hostile to it. Anyone else?

Jennifer: No. It's really only her.

August: I want to explore Standards Based Grading, since you brought it up.

Jennifer: Sure.

August: Tell me about it.

Jennifer: I think in concept, it's great…Basically, there's these things called

standards and it's graded on a…you could say 4.0 [scale], but to get an A,

you want a 3. So it's on a scale of 0-3, 0 being you didn't even answer the

question and 3 being… "Student has shown that they understand the

concept," is basically what it says. And then there are a few teachers who

are doing really great with it, like they are on top of it. They know what

they're doing, like they have implemented it into their curriculum pretty

well. And among those teachers, I'd say [Mr. Chad] Cunningham [a

science teacher at Elmshaven] is the forerunner…Yeah, if you get him

started on Standards Based Grading, you can tell he's very…he's actually

like really for it…So…you end up retaking a lot of stuff if you don't

understand it, which is great actually, because it kind of forces students to

like understand it. The main thing, I think…like, you know, the students

that would just do like pretty good on the test and then they would just be

like, "Oh, whatever! Like I passed," or "I got a B," or "I got an A," and

they wouldn't give the questions they got wrong a second thought. But,

um, this system is meant to stop that from happening. So now you actually

have to look at your mistake and you have to say, like, what did I do

wrong? Because you have to retake it and get a 3 on it.

This excerpt suggests the PD in Standards Based Grading helped Elmshaven teachers to

develop better teaching practices, which resulted in improved student learning. These

required greater care on the part of teachers and students who had to align their lesson

preparation, study habits, and test taking accordingly, contributing to the school's overall

ethos of caring. Thus, Standards Based Grading synergized teaching, learning, and caring

practices at Elmshaven—another example of positive synergy at work in its well-

integrated system. Moreover, it had micro-, meso-, and macro-level import. At the micro-

level, it helped teachers and students focus on mastery learning and transparent

assessments aligned with standards. At the meso-level, it promoted interactions among

students and teachers before, during, and after class, as students could ask for additional

help and take tests repeatedly outside of class time until they mastered a standard. At the

macro-level, Standards Based Grading helped Elmshaven to realize its overall goal of

providing students with Christian holistic education by ensuring they learned its

curriculum to mastery.

Component 4: Promoting Spiritual Wellbeing

Principal Sapio viewed the spiritual component of his overall holistic education program very philosophically. Spirituality, for him, functioned as the emergent property of a community collectively practicing holistic wellbeing. In other words, when individuals practiced physical, social-emotional, and mental wellbeing, in communion with God and each other, the result as a whole qualified as spirituality. Thus, spirituality was practiced in the presence of God and others in loving community. Principal Sapio held morning worship services for school personnel. Though I participated in these on several occasions, I never found them well attended. Teachers reported wishing to attend but their busy preparations seldom allowed them to do so. The school also held the religion courses expected of a Christian school. Beyond these, it held daily small-group worship periods for students, lasting 10 minutes and carried out by students' homeroom teachers. In addition, the school held weekly chapel services, and offered students opportunities for mission trips and community service. However, Principal Sapio viewed none of these features of Elmshaven's spiritual life as the sole depository for what he viewed as the spiritual component of his holistic education system. Rather, he saw spirituality as a principal of redemptive love practiced by living honestly and openly in a healing community devoted to the wellbeing of self and others. I take this as evidence that he used religious language to describe a community pursuing what Valenzuela (1998, 2008) calls authentic caring as the basis of his understanding of genuine spirituality, as the following excerpt from our interview relates.

Excerpt 3.9: May 13, 2019
Interview 1 with Principal Sapio, Elmshaven

August: …Obviously, when you have international students who aren't Christian, you must think about… "How are we going to present the gospel to them?...What do we expect in terms of religious teaching…with people who come here probably not even wanting that?"…What's your thinking on that topic?

Mr. Sapio: …I don't think we have to build a program that's attractive to students. I think we have to build a program that's attractive to us, in such a way that we want to live it. And when we do that, students will have the best chance to make their own decision. …There's only one way to reach students. "Christ's love compels us," it says, right? Can I see that love and be compelled to the point that I accept a change in understanding? When we set that environment, students come in, and they can—they can choose. They can see models of people who have victory in Christ. They can see people who understand our weaknesses and are willing to walk with you and are going through that journey themselves…So a lot of kids come here and say, "You know what? I was an atheist when I came. I'm an atheist as I leave, but I understand the value of Christianity in terms of what it does here."

In short, the spirituality Principal Sapio wishes to implement at Elmshaven fosters an environment of mutual authentic caring—one dedicated to the healing and total wellbeing of all participants.

My observations at Elmshaven suggest that Principal Sapio succeeded in creating a community dedicated to his notion of spirituality as healing and holistic wellbeing for all involved. I argue that the spirituality at Elmshaven had as its chief concern what Nel Noddings (1984/2013, 2015) and Angela Valenzuela (1989, 2008) would term authentic caring, a concern for the total wellbeing of others. I find evidence of this in the caring practices I observed at Elmshaven and student testimonials. At one particularly notable chapel service I observed at Elmshaven, several students presented their testimonies. One humorously described how when he first arrived at Elmshaven he thought everyone seemed fake, because they acted too nice. Having come from a public school where competition, violence, and disrespect were commonplace, he could not believe people would act toward each other in any other way. Daily interactions with school personnel and students at Elmshaven eventually persuaded him of the sincerity of those whom he had once doubted and he decided to affirm his commitment to Christianity, believing it inspired the love he felt at Elmshaven. I call attention to his testimony to emphasize how he perceived Elmshaven as an authentically caring environment that made him "understand the value of Christianity in terms of what it accomplished." If the end product of Christianity is a personal decision, then we should expect little transformative good from it for the greater society. However, if the end product of Christianity is a loving community, then we should expect to find evidence for that in Christian practice.

The Impact of Spirituality on Students

In this section, I examine the impact of Elmshaven's spiritual practices on school personnel, students, and the system as a whole. To account for the impact of spirituality, I shall consider a variety of viewpoints, as no clear consensus on its value emerged from my study. Those within the Christian faith waxed eloquent about the spiritual life at Elmshaven, describing how international students converted to Christianity in moving testimonials. In general, those outside the faith fell into one of roughly two camps at Elmshaven. Those in the first camp saw no value in religion and thought of the religion classes, chapels, and extracurricular activities at Elmshaven dedicated to religion as a "waste of time," a common phrase those in my sample used. In the second camp, non-Christians viewed learning about religion as interesting as it helped them to understand another culture. They viewed Christianity much like an anthropologist might view the religion of a people group she studied, as a fascinating window into local cultural values and practices. Interestingly, some participants in my study expressed more than one of these perspectives on religion, suggesting that participants had a range of ambivalent and often conflicting attitudes toward religion at Elmshaven.

Jennifer Oh, a domestic student at Elmshaven, related how some international students converted to Christianity after experiencing the school's caring culture.

Excerpt 3.10: February 20, 2020
Interview with Jennifer Oh, Senior Domestic Student, Elmshaven

August: How would you describe the spiritual atmosphere at Elmshaven?

Jennifer: [After a lengthy description of the various curricular and extracurricular spiritual programs the campus offers] It's actually—I keep saying touching—but a lot of the time it really is that international students will be brought to Christ through…just the school…To the point…they're so moved…that these international students will go up during Week of Prayer[11] to give their testimony about how they found Christ through the school. And a lot of them will say they came to this school, and because everyone was so weirdly nice and caring, they were like, "There has to be something here."….They'd be, like, "This Jesus thing! Is it because of this thing that all of you are so nice here?" And they would get curious themselves. And people would bring them to church…And they would go, and then they would keep going…and then they'd get baptized. And so, especially with the international students, I see a lot of them convert, and that's really sweet.

Although school personnel I interviewed reported similar stories of international student conversions to Christianity, only two international students in my sample of 18 reported converting to Christianity at Elmshaven, although two others reported that they had international student friends who had converted. Nonetheless, Jennifer Oh's eyewitness

---

[11] Week of Prayer refers to a special week of spiritual emphasis and evangelical outreach at both campuses, characterized by daily rather than the usual weekly chapel services. At these special chapel services, a special guest speaker may present, and/or students may present, often, but not always, by sharing their religious testimony. While topics at weekly chapels vary, usually one or more appeals, altar calls, or opportunities for students to accept Jesus as their Lord and Savior characterizes Week of Prayer.

testimony suggests that for at least those (possibly rare) students who do convert, Elmshaven's authentically caring environment plays a contributing factor.

Representing the opposite extreme, Ella Sue, a Senior international student at Elmshaven, described religious activities at the school as a nuisance and a waste of time for non-Christian students, as the following excerpt reveals. The following exchange occurred in a discussion of her Freshman year at Elmshaven, during which she took mainly ESL classes, including Introduction to Christianity, an ESL Religion class.

Excerpt 3.11: October 30, 2018
Interview with Ella Su, Senior International student, Elmshaven

August: So did you feel academically challenged like in that first year?

Ella: That first year? I think it's not that hard.

August: Mmmm-hmmm.

Ella: Mmm. Mr. Chang will like…gives [pronounced gifs] you some homework to remember the words. And that's help…But everyday you do it? Mmmm? And then, you know, that she…uh…he teach the Bible, too. Mmmm. We are not actually believe the Christian, and we are not Christian. We jus' think waste time to study that class. But this school is, uh, Christian school. We have to…Yeah.

…

August: So overall, like going to chapel, how do you feel about going to chapel?

Ella: I feel so boring.

August: Bored?

Ella: Yeah.

August: Can you understand the talk?

Ella: Actually, mos' of the time, I'm not listening.

As this excerpt reveals, for Ella (and several of the international students I interviewed), religion at Elmshaven seemed a waste of time. It simply did not engage her, as she did not believe any reality lay beyond it. Her view and that of other students I interviewed who identified as non-religious conforms to prior research, which suggests the majority of Chinese students view Christianity with indifference (C. Wang, 2016; K.T. Wang et al., 2018).

Walter Yan's opinion of religion at Elmshaven represented another common view I found among international student participants in my study. He suggested that it helped him to learn more about local culture and values, as the following excerpt reveals.

Excerpt 3.12: April 2, 2019
Interview with Walter Yan, Junior International Student, Elmshaven

August: So when you came to Elmshaven, what was your attitude about religion, and how has it changed as a result of being at Elmshaven, if it has changed?

Walter: So I am…I'm not religious, but I respect to the religions, any religions, because it is also a kind of culture. So I-I respect cultures. I respect peoples. It's basically the same thing. Even though I won't…trust in some religions, but I still respect them.

…

August: So you came to Elmshaven, and it's a Christian school. Did they try to make you a Christian, or how did they treat you?

Walter: No, they…they didn't try to…uh…make me a Christian. But some of my friends, my Chinese friends, they start to be a Christian.

August: Do they talk about it?

Walter: They talk about it, and…uh…also I'm happy that they can find their own religion.

…

August: [Walter had described how his friends in China were taught at school that religion is "bad"] So it sounds like maybe you have a different opinion than those friends who hate religion because you have experienced a different culture.

Walter: Yeah.

August: Can you talk more about that?

Walter: Yeah…At first, I came here…I was brought to a church—a Christian

church—by my family here. I tried to…accept that and learn about that,

but I found that I cannot, so I told them…"Don't bring me to church

anymore, but I will still respect their religions." And then…um…yeah.

August: They were okay?

Walter: Yeah.

August: No fighting about that?

Walter: No.

August: …So do you enjoy Bible class, or is it boring? Do you enjoy chapel, or is

it boring? What do you think?

Walter: Um…it depends, I think. For Bible classes that Mr. Chang [taught], it was

fun. But for Bible classes with-with Mr. Rojo, it was boring.

August: How does Mr. Chang make religion class fun?

Walter: He doesn't talk too much about the Bible, but he will use some actual

events that in society to…to…to make us ready to think in Bible. And I

think that is a good way to study.

August: And chapel?

Walter: Chapel. It depends on the theme. Sometimes the theme is interesting. I

will listen. Sometimes it's not; then I won't.

As this excerpt reveals, Walter held an anthropological view of religion as culture, which allowed him to respect it without feeling compelled to practice it.

As we have seen from the foregoing excerpts, the range of views on religion varied widely. Some students who converted affirmed it, as Jennifer Oh attests. Others thought of it as a complete waste of time, as Ella Su did. Still others viewed it as culture and, therefore, as worthy of respect, as Walter Yan did. These views represent larger patterns in my data with the majority of international students holding to a view similar to that of Ella Su or Walter Yan. Understanding how international students responded to the religious practices at Elmshaven sheds light on a significant portion of their educational experiences at this private Christian school. These practices included daily worship services, weekly chapels, and required Bible classes. For most, these qualified as interesting cultural practices which held no personal appeal or interest to students in my sample.

Summary of Systemic Findings at Elmshaven

In Part 1 of this chapter, I have explored the impact of the systems that Principal Sapio, school personnel, and students co-constructed at Elmshaven—noting their effects on individuals, their interactions, and the school culture as a whole. I noted that as stakeholders engaged in the components of the Elmshaven system (i.e., physical, social-emotional, mental, and spiritual training), they experienced the benefits of these support mechanisms. Being supported individually, they reciprocated by supporting each other through social interactions that lent positive synergy to their group interactions. The only part of the system to generate controversy, its religious instruction, one group viewed as a

90

waste of time, another group viewed as culture, and a third group viewed as helpful in molding their spirituality. Considered as a whole, Elmshaven exemplified a system that produces positive synergy, one where the parts interact to create effects greater than they could operating alone. This positive synergy aided Elmshaven in realizing its goal of offering holistic education by supporting the total wellbeing of all stakeholders.

Part 2: Fremont's Inconsistent System

I characterize Fremont as an inconsistent system. I observed attempts at Fremont to marshal mutually supportive components into functional systems only to see these fledgling systems counteracted by uncoordinated school forces that interfered with their functioning. Thus, I observed much negative synergy at Fremont and little administrative effort to minimize it. Corning (2000) posits that negative synergy occurs when components in a system interfere with each other producing outcomes less than the sum of what these components could produce working alone. I argue that the systemic issues at Fremont helped fashion a school culture based on individual effort rather than communal support. In other words, individuals primarily worked independently at Fremont rather than in cooperative, mutually supportive systems.

Fremont's systemic issues impacted its practice of caring. While I found school personnel at Fremont deeply caring and committed to (international) students as individuals, the system in which they worked provided so few supports for them or students that it mitigated against individual efforts to enact caring. In so doing, it tended as a system to promote what Nodding (1984, 2015), Valenzuela (1999, 2008), and Rodriguez (2017) would term aesthetic caring, or caring contingent on students following

rules, affirming curricular "facts," and demonstrating model citizenship rather than on their subjective sense of reality or holistic wellbeing.

I am not suggesting that Elmshaven was a utopia, and Fremont a dystopia. My data paint a much more complex picture of both sites than this reductive equation would allow. Both sites offered quality private Christian education delivered by mostly caring and competent school personnel. However, from a systems theory perspective, school personnel at Fremont labored with fewer systemic supports than school personnel at Elmshaven enjoyed. Thus, they could do less than their Elmshaven counterparts and experienced greater resistance from uncoordinated school forces while performing their day-to-day tasks. This ultimately influenced the experiences of (international) students at Fremont, who likewise could do less than their Elmshaven counterparts, as a well-integrated, mutually supportive system did not add positive synergy to their efforts. Thus, effort at Fremont was limited to what individuals or collectives (individuals working in parallel) could do. Moreover, the lack of coordination among the various subsystems in the school produced negative synergy, detracting from what each subsystem could have achieved uninterrupted by other systems. In what follows, I examine how Fremont functioned and sometimes did not function at the systemic level and how this impacted the educational experiences of (international) students. In particular, I note how Fremont's inconsistent system interfered with (international) students' ability to form relationships with domestic students and teachers and curtailed their access to quality instruction from teachers by substituting it with computer-based learning under certain

circumstances, although international students reported finding this method of instruction disengaging.

Fremont: An Inconsistent System

How does Fremont operate as a system? Judged from the perspective of systems theory (Beehner, 2020; Kim, 1999; Lichtenstein and Stroh, 2017; Senge, 2006), I argue that Fremont qualifies as an inconsistent system, one where personnel work in parallel at times as a collection and where they work in coordination at other times as a system. As a system, Fremont sometimes produces reinforcing processes, or processes "that [compound] change in one direction with even more change in that direction," (Kim, 1999, p. 6) promoting enhanced systemic functionality or dysfunctionality, and at other times balancing processes, or processes that "resist change in one direction by producing change in the opposite direction," promoting equilibrium or resisting change, positive or negative (Kim, 1999, p. 8). These systemic and collective behaviors have profound impacts on the educational experiences of (international) students. Where they produced balancing processes, these tended to mitigate against positive changes attempted by school personnel to improve the educational experiences of (international) students. In other words, these processes tended to counter the attempts of school personnel to enact caring practices at Fremont.

Balancing Process: Inconsistent Scheduling

One example of a balancing process influencing the extracurricular experiences of international students manifested itself in the Buddy Program, which matched first year international students with domestic student "buddies," who served as mentors and

friends tasked with helping the new international students to adjust to life at Fremont and socialize. Mrs. Romero, the ESL and Religion teacher at Fremont, designed the Buddy Program to address the problem of segregation between domestic students and international students. As almost all school personnel discussed this issue with me in our interviews, I deemed this an initiative worthy of the full support of the school. Even Elmshaven did not have a Buddy Program. Thus, if Fremont could mount a successful Buddy Program that matched domestic student buddies with international students to help mentor the latter and socialize with them, it would have ranked as a significant achievement. Indeed, prior research points to the many benefits that programs which facilitate domestic and international student interaction can have for both groups, such as developing intercultural competence (Jon, 2013), "inclusiveness and social tolerance" (Devereaux, 2004, p. 1), perspective broadening and social adjustment (Popaduik & Arthur, 2004), and retention of international students at US schools (Ozturgut, 2013).

However, I found that the school's unpredictable scheduling interfered with the regular meeting of the Buddy Program on Wednesdays at noon. If Fremont's scheduling had been consistent, students would have brought their lunches to Mrs. Romero's classroom each Wednesday and eaten it with their buddies, followed by conversation activities and games. However, other school programs pre-empted the Buddy Program on short notice. For example, I observed the Buddy Program one week, and at the end of it observed Mrs. Romero ask which student would lead out the next week. A student agreed to do this. When I arrived the next Wednesday at noon with Mrs. Romero's blessing, she regretfully informed me that the student body government had called a meeting for all

students in the gym. Mrs. Romero had no choice but to cancel the program and tell

domestic and international students to go to the gym. When I asked Mrs. Romero by

correspondence how often school functions pre-empted the Buddy Program, she

estimated about once every two months or one-eighth of the time.

In creating the Buddy Program, Mrs. Romero promoted what Noddings

(1984/2013, 2015), Valenzuela (1999, 2008), and Rodriguez (2017) would call authentic

caring between domestic and international students by providing a safe environment for

them to socialize and support each other without the competitive pressures they faced in

typical classroom interactions. In my interviews with international students at Fremont, I

learned that typical interactions between domestic students and international students in

the classroom—such as small group work or pair work—often required international

students to attempt to perform at the same linguistic or cultural level as domestic

students. When they could not, international students reported feeling stressed and

ashamed. In contrast, the buddy program allowed the two groups to interact without the

performance anxiety or judgement present in regular classroom interactions. My

interviews with the international students at Fremont suggested that they appreciated

these opportunities to interact with domestic students as friends. However, the school's

inconsistent schedule signaled that the friendships, mentoring, and socialization of

international students held less importance than the latest student body activity.

Ironically, all the school personnel at Fremont whom I interviewed reported that

international students participated little in student body activities, where they felt

marginalized. However, my interviews with international students suggested that they prized their time in the Buddy Program.

That the school's inconsistent schedule could interfere with the only program designed to help international students socialize and acclimate to campus demonstrates how systemic processes interfered with authentically caring practices, and in so doing, promoted aesthetic caring, or caring contingent on rule following and conformity to school expectations (such as attending student body events, even when these marginalized large segments of the student body) (Nodding, 1984; 2015; Rodriguez, 2017; Valenzuela, 1998, 2008).

Balancing Process: High Turnover Rate

Another balancing process manifested itself in the high turnover rate I observed among school personnel at Fremont. At the end of the first year of my study, its head principal retired. During the second and third year of my study, a new principal, who happened to have been a former pupil of mine, came to power. Several teachers in its (elementary, middle school, and) high school also came and went during the time of my study. In my interviews with teachers at Fremont, I learned that these personnel changes affected the relationships (international) students had built with teachers whom they came to know and like. For example, Mr. Armstrong, the History teacher, and Mrs. Bowers, the English and ESL teacher, reported in my interviews with them that a colleague who had taught English during the first year of this study ranked among the most popular teachers with international students on campus. However, at the end of the first year of this study, he left. Several international students described him in our interviews. Just as the school's

inconsistent schedule could pre-empt the Buddy Program, its inconsistent personnel meant that the relationships (international) students built with teachers one year may not be present the next. Thus, while individual teachers practiced authentic caring toward (international) students, the high turnover rate of school personnel functioned as a balancing process that tended to interrupt meaningful relationships, therefore, moving the system as a whole in the direction of aesthetic caring by disrupting personal relationships with buddies and teachers.

The personnel changes I observed at Fremont contrasted with the relatively stable personnel I observed at Elmshaven during my study. Moreover, these personnel changes made it difficult to assess Fremont as a system, as its components were in flux throughout my study. Nonetheless, these facts seem to tell us something significant about working conditions for school personnel at Fremont, which, when viewed as a system, seems to have difficulty maintaining steady personnel and a low turnover rate compared to Elmshaven.

Balancing Process: Credit Recovery Program

Another example of a balancing process at Fremont that promoted aesthetic caring manifested itself in its credit recovery program. The U.S. Department of Education (2018) has defined credit recovery "as a strategy that encourages at-risk students to re-take a previously failed course required for high school graduation and earn credit if the student successfully completes the course requirements" (p. 1). At Fremont, this took the form of students repeating a course they had failed using Acellus, an online credit recovery program. The administrators I spoke with at Fremont spoke of how they strove

to hire personnel and enact policies that would promote student achievement. However, when students at Fremont failed, its credit recovery program functioned as a balancing process mitigating against the school's overall trend of placing students in the care of well-trained educators.

As mentioned, for credit recovery and remedial education, Fremont relied on Acellus, an accredited, online K-12 curriculum provider to schools and individuals. According to the international students whom I interviewed, learning from Acellus involved using a computer or tablet to access its online lessons that consisted of reading and taking assessments. The international students I interviewed almost universally described Acellus as disengaging. They also reported that they could take pictures of Acellus questions with their cell phones and look up the answers online, hacking the system. These findings align with prior research by Noble, Pelika, and Coons (2017) that describes issues with online credit recovery programs, such as Acellus, as they lack "supports including scaffolding and motivation" and may not provide "rigorous instruction to prepare students for college" (p.1). These researchers note that even the U.S. Department of Education does not recommend fully online credit recovery programs, but suggests schools use blended programs that combine online resources and face-to-face instruction from qualified and motivating instructors.

In Fremont's ESL English Literature class, Mrs. Jennifer Bowers chaperoned students while they independently used Acellus to work through a remedial English course. In my multiple observations of this class, I rarely saw students fully engage in their Acellus work, even if they had the school-provided Acellus tablets on their desks.

Rather, I saw them covertly play games on their cell phones and laptops, watch unrelated videos, surf the web, or work on other homework. Meanwhile, Mrs. Bowers sat at her desk, quietly tending to her own work. In this regard, she operated the course much like a study hall on the days students used Acellus.

For two days a week, Mrs. Bowers would teach lessons in vocabulary and idioms to students in this class, while on the other days of the week, she provided them time to work on Acellus. On the days she taught, I observed students engage in her lessons, pay attention to her and their classmates, and respond to the instruction actively. This contrasted starkly with how they disengaged from their Acellus lessons. Even Mrs. Bowers acknowledged the weaknesses of Acellus in our interview.

Excerpt 3.13: November 13, 2019
Interview 1 with Mrs. Bowers, English and ESL teacher, Fremont

> August: Okay, so then in your own opinion, do you think that Acellus is working and is a useful structural tool?

> Mrs. Bowers: I don't know myself. I know that it looks…[chuckles]…It looks too easy to be…good…Like it-it's just too simple of a solution to be really working. So that's kind of my skeptic [talking].

> August: So you doubt it?

> Mrs. Bowers: Yes.

> August: Is it…

> Mrs. Bowers: [Overlapping] For credit recovery, specifically, I doubt it. I think it works when the ESL students use it correctly. It works.

> August: Are they interested in it, or are they bored by it?

99

Mrs. Bowers: Yeah, they're bored, and they find ways to cheat. And so most of

    my time when they're doing Acellus is spent like…[searches for words]

August: Monitoring?

Mrs. Bowers. Yes. Yeah, which is a pain in the butt. But when it works, it…When

    they do it, it works…in the ESL version.

August: So it sounds like…it sounds like Acellus may not be the best solution for

    what you need to do with them.

Mrs. Bowers: [Sighs]

August: Or what do you think?

Mrs. Bowers: It might depend on teacher personality type. I'm just not…I'm not

    an authoritarian, disciplinarian style of teacher. So for me, it's like, it's a

    hassle to constantly have to be on them. So a lot of times, I get to the point

    where I'm just like, "You know what? You guys are 16 years old. You

    made the decision to cross the world to come here, and if you want to

    cheat your way through life, then it's going to bite you in the butt

    eventually." So I like eventually…I get to that place personally…just

    because it gets so discouraging but for other personality types, I think it

    might work really well, so I don't know…That's [chuckles, trails off]…

August: So it sounds like Acellus isn't your favorite thing about teaching here.

Mrs. Bowers: No, it's not my favorite thing.

As this excerpt reveals, Fremont's credit recovery policies put teachers, such as Mrs.

Bowers, and international students in oppositional roles, in which neither wanted to do

what school policies required of them. International students reported not liking Acellus, and so they found ways to hack the system. Mrs. Bowers, aware of their efforts to circumvent the system, reported not wanting to play the role of the disciplinarian and constantly monitor students. In effect, Acellus promoted aesthetic caring in both students and teachers, as neither authentically engaged with it or each other.

In short, Fremont's credit recovery policies divested teachers of responsibility for their students' failure and thereby promoted aesthetic caring. As noted earlier, Smith et al. (2017) found that students at Carlos Rivera High School felt that their teachers liked them but did not care about them, because in the students' words, "You don't give us a second chance when we don't do well in your class" (p. 59). At Fremont, failure meant teachers disengaged with students and turned them over to a computer system to work independently toward credit recovery, while monitoring them to ensure they did not cheat. The school also employed Acellus for students who needed remedial help in a subject, such as those in Mrs. Bowers' ESL English Literature course. These policies align with what Nodding (1984, 2015), Valenzuela (1998, 2008), and Rodriguez (2017) would term aesthetic caring, or caring contingent on students' successful school performance. They contrasted markedly with Elmshaven's policies, which required teachers to work with failing students, giving them unlimited retries until they mastered all standards.

Summary of Systemic Findings at Fremont

In part two of this chapter, I have examined how Fremont functioned at the systems level. I have argued that a number of balancing and reinforcing processes

101

prevented Fremont from achieving positive synergy. Instead, its uncoordinated

components tended to interfere with one another, reducing the effectiveness of each

component. I discussed how this affected the educational experiences of international

students. I maintained that the lack of systemic supports at Fremont resulted in teachers

and (international) students working harder to achieve the same results as their

Elmshaven counterparts, who enjoyed systems that leveraged the power of positive

synergy, enhancing their efforts and supporting them holistically. In contrast, Fremont

teachers and (international) students, without these supports, functioned as a collective, or

individuals working in parallel, rather than a system, or individuals working in

cooperation. As evidence for this claim, I noted that Fremont's inconsistent schedule and

high turnover rate made it difficult for international students to forge and maintain

relationships with domestic students and teachers, even though they valued these

relationships highly. Moreover, its credit recovery and remedial education program,

Acellus, removed (international) students from the tutelage of caring human teachers and

forced them to work on disengaging online lessons. Thus, Fremont's balancing processes

tended to reduce opportunities for international students to benefit from the caring

relationships they desired to be in and the personalized care that would have helped them

to thrive at Fremont.

CHAPTER 4: CURRICULAR EXPERIENCES

In this chapter, I answer my research question, "What are the curricular experiences of international students at Elmshaven and Fremont, and how well do these conform to recommended practices described in the research literature on effective pedagogy?" To do so, I describe eight of the forty-seven classes I observed, contrasting two History classes, two Religion classes, two Literature classes, and two Mathematics classes—one of each pair from Elmshaven and the other from Fremont. I argue that these classes represent key contrasts between more effective and less effective pedagogical practices that I observed at both sites and that these contrasts have ramifications for schools interested in hosting international students. The less effective practices I observed included teachers (1) positioning students as passive learners; (2) using ineffective strategies to teach vocabulary and academic language; (3) improvising lessons without clearly articulated learning objectives, (4) using culturally insensitive teaching materials; (5) allowing international students to opt-out of participating in class; and (6) allowing segregated seating between domestic and international students. I contrast these problematic practices with more effective practices that I observed at both sites, such as teachers (1) positioning students as active learners; (2) using research-based methods of teaching vocabulary; (3) preparing carefully planned lessons with clearly articulated learning objectives; (4) not allowing students to opt-out of participating in class; and (5) integrating domestic and international students in their classroom seating arrangements. I analyze both sets of practices with reference to the research literature on effective pedagogy.

Cross-Case Comparisons

International students had roughly parallel curricular and extracurricular experiences at Elmshaven and Fremont, since both schools belonged to the same Christian denomination, followed similar denominationally endorsed curricula, and used comparable or, in some cases, the same textbooks. Where international students' curricular and extracurricular experiences differed related to the skill of the teacher in using effective methods to engage students in learning and peer interactions, as the following vignettes attest.

History Classes

Comparing the History Curricula at Both Sites

The U.S History classes I observed at Elmshaven and Fremont employed roughly parallel curricula, yet they differed in the degree to which they engaged students in active learning, according to Chi's (2009) ICAP model. In the two vignettes which follow, I shall compare Mr. Park's U.S. History class at Elmshaven with Mr. Armstrong's U.S. History class at Fremont on the day they each introduced the topic of the American Civil War. I observed these classes roughly 10 days apart and found they discussed an identical topic—the advantages and disadvantages of the North and South at the onset of the war—using similar questions to guide instruction. Nonetheless, Mr. Park positioned students as passive learners (Chi, 2009) by relying mostly on lecturing, IRE-style class discussions (Cazden, 2001), and video watching during his 90-minute lesson, while Mr. Armstrong positioned students as active learners (Chi, 2009), assigning them meaningful learning

tasks, as measured by Echevarria, Vogt, & Short's (2013) sheltered instruction

observation protocol (SIOP), to complete in small groups during his 30-minute lesson.

History at Elmshaven

Mr. Park's class lasted 90-minutes, in accordance with Elmshaven's block

schedule. In this time, he presented two mini lessons and began a third which he would

complete the following day. The first lesson focused on the advantages and disadvantages

of the North and South at the onset of the war. The second focused on key early battles in

the war. The third focused on the plight of slavery, the political struggle Lincoln faced

attempting to appease abolitionists and border states that practiced slavery but remained

loyal to the North, and the Emancipation Proclamation. During this class period, he

engaged in direct instruction, IRE-style class discussions, presenting PBS-style video

clips related to the lesson, one cooperative learning activity, and one roleplaying activity.

Mr. Park began each mini lesson by stating the topic of the lesson and reading a

Bible text.[12] However, he failed to clearly articulate content or vocabulary learning goals

for any of these mini lessons, leaving it unclear what he wanted students to learn from

them. He also failed to explain the relevance of the Bible text to the lesson, missing

opportunities to make the religious component of each mini lesson meaningful to

students, as the following three excerpts from the beginning of each mini lesson attest.

---

[12] Teachers at both sites varied in their practices regarding beginning class with prayer or a Bible reading. Some prayed but did not read Bible texts; others did neither, but simply began class. That Mr. Park chose to both pray and read a Bible text at the beginning of each class suggests that he saw these practices as valuable; however, his manner of presenting his prayer and Bible texts in a quick, sing-song manner and without explanation or opportunities for discussion had the effect of giving these a hurried, perfunctory feel.

Excerpt 4.1: October 24, 2019
Transcript of Mr. Park's U.S. History Class

MINI LESSON 1

Mr. Park: [Beginning the lesson] All right, our theme text is Galatians 6:7: "Be

not deceived, God is not mocked. Whatsoever a man soweth, so shall he

also reap." All right, notice this video as we begin.

Mr. Park played a two-minute video clip from a PBS Civil War documentary.

During the video, he looked down at his cell phone, ignoring the class and the

video. Some students looked at the screen and watched the video. Others appeared

inattentive, looking at their personal electronic devices, browsing books, or

looking off in the distance.

Mr. Park: [After the video clip finishes] All right, so we're talking about the Civil

War now, when it begins. Before I begin, I want to say this: Are there

other examples of civil wars in other nations? [Students mentioned China,

Vietnam, and Korea, and Mr. Park drew parallels between their civil wars

and the American Civil War, building on background knowledge, an

effective pedagogical strategy according to research (Echevarria, Vogt, &

Short, 2013).]

About 30 minutes later, Mr. Park introduced mini lesson 2 in a similar manner.

MINI LESSON 2

Mr. Park: We're moving on to the next section. So we're going to describe the

outcomes and the effects of the early Civil War battles. Proverbs 22:8:

"He who soweth injustice shall reap vanity, and the rod of his fury shall

fail." All right, so now I have to give you some recap. When I talk about

the South, the South can be referred to [by] these [words projected on

overhead PowerPoint slide]…[Mr. Park discusses the names and

nicknames by which the North and South were known during the Civil

War (e.g., North: Union, Yankee, Yanks, Federal, etc.; South:

Confederacy, Rebels, Rebs, Confederate, etc.)]

About 34 minutes later, he introduced mini lesson 3 in a similar manner.

MINI LESSON 3

Mr. Park: All right. Continuing on. We are going to deal with the Emancipation

Proclamation. But we're not going to do all of it…[We're] going to begin

it, and then we'll finish that up on Friday. We're almost done…All right.

We're going to analyze the…[leaves thought incomplete] Our theme text

is this: "For the Lord has called me because he hath anointed me to preach

the gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, preach

deliverance to the captives, recovery of sight to the blind, and set at liberty

them that are bruised" All right. So again, recap. Three sides. I mean, two

sides. …What are they called?...[Students provide the names and nicknames by which the North and South were known.]

As these excerpts illustrate, Mr. Park announced the topic of each mini lesson, but did not clearly state his learning objectives for them. Research by Echevarria, Vogt, & Short (2013) suggests that all learners, but especially English language learners (ELLs), benefit from understanding what a teacher wishes them to learn from a lesson in clearly worded content and language objectives, which the teacher presents at the beginning of the lesson using a multimodal presentation (e.g., writing these objectives on the board, chorally reading them with students, discussing them, etc.). This helps students to filter the vast amount of information they receive in a lesson, focusing on the key themes of the lesson and relating all learning to these themes. It also helps them to track their own understanding of the lesson and mastery of its objectives. Without clearly worded content and language learning objectives students have difficulty knowing what to focus on in a lesson and may develop inaccurate pet theories about the lesson's key learning objectives (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013).

Problematically, in the 90-minute period I am describing here, Mr. Park powered through two mini-lessons and began a third, effectively tripling the number of unstated content and language objectives which English language learners and mainstream students would have to track. Echevarria, Short, & Vogt (2013) recommend that teachers focus a lesson on only a few manageable objectives, as research suggests that learning depends on attention, comprehension, retention, and connecting with and building on

108

prior learning (Chamot, 2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). Presenting only a manageable number of topics in a class period helps ensure that students will have the time, focus, and cognitive resources to learn the lesson objectives effectively (Chamot, 2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013).

While Mr. Park taught this lesson using lecture, class discussion, one role-playing activity and one cooperative learning activity (described below), the majority of his 90-minute class consisted of nine extended video clips from PBS style documentaries on the Civil War. Problematically, he failed to introduce two of these clips, simply playing them without an introduction. For another three, he simply announced that he would play a video: "All right, notice this video as we begin…So now this video…All right, notice this video…" For three of the clips, he introduced the topic but not the learning objectives: "All right, this is a video on General Lee…Notice the video about [the Battle of] Manassas…Notice this video on ironclad ships…" For only one video did Mr. Park provide an extended introduction.

Excerpt 4.2: October 24, 2019
Transcript of Mr. Park's U.S. History Class

> Mr. Park: Notice this [video] about slavery. By the way, this has some graphic pictures and some graphic language—just to…let you know, but it tells [of] the brutality of slavery, how bad it was. All right. So I just want to give you that notice. It's from PBS anyway. From Public Television, so…[plays video]

Although Mr. Park introduced the video by way of warning students of its graphic content, his warning named the topic (slavery) and previewed the content ("it tells [of]

109

the brutality of slavery, how bad it was"). This was as close to stating a clear learning objective for a video clip as Mr. Park came.

Just as problematically, Mr. Park did little to engage students in meaningful discussions of the video clips after showing them. He simply moved on with the class, discussing other topics after presenting five of the nine videos. For one video, he mentioned that the host and videographer were friends of his, which sparked a brief conversation with students, although I consider this discussion unrelated to the learning objectives for the lesson. For two of the videos, he presented lecture-style summaries and explanations. After only one video did Mr. Park engage students in a cooperative learning exercise, a continuum activity. We shall analyze this activity below. However, for now it shall suffice to note that it constituted the only active learning opportunity Mr. Park engaged students in after showing a video clip during his 90-minute lesson, according to Chi's (2009) ICAP model.

Research on the effective use of multimedia in education supports the practices of (1) articulating clear learning objectives for each video clip presented in a class and (2) following up these presentations with meaningful discussions (Berk, 2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Hobbs, 2006). Echevarria, Vogt, and Short's (2013) advice on clearly stating learning objectives at the beginning of a lesson also applies to each aspect of a lesson, especially videos. Research on the best use of videos suggests that effective teachers clearly introduce the topic of a video, briefly preview its content verbally, and explain what they want students to learn from it (Berk, 2009; Hobbs, 2006). Moreover, after showing a video clip, effective teachers discuss it, connecting it to the larger themes

of the lesson, and invite students to dialogue about the video and what they learned from it (Berk, 2009). In other words, showing a video clip is not teaching, and watching a video clip is not learning. Teachers and learners co-construct their teaching and learning in meaningful interactions that occur before, during, and after the video clip plays. Playing video clips without clearly introducing them, stating learning objectives for them, or following them up with meaningful class discussion relegates them to the status of time fillers (Hobbs, 2006). By presenting a series of lengthy video clips to students with little introduction or discussion afterwards, Mr. Park underutilized these potentially powerful aids to learning. His use of these clips would have benefitted from clear introductions which stated their topics, previewed their content, articulated clear learning objectives, and followed these with meaningful discussions (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). In the absences of these contextual discussions, Mr. Park's use of media positioned his students as passive viewers, who were not privy even to the rationale for watching the clips he showed them.

Aside from showing videos and lecturing, Mr. Park occasionally engaged the class in discussions, using what Cazden (2001) would call an IRE discourse pattern. IRE refers to initiation, in which a teacher asks a question; response, in which one or more students answer the question; and evaluation, in which teachers evaluate the answer as correct or incorrect. Cazden (2001) and others have found that IRE discourse correlates with reduced student engagement, lower order thinking skills (as measured by Bloom's Taxonomy), and lower performance on standardized tests. When students answered incorrectly in Mr. Park's class, he provided the correct answer or asked the question

again. When students gave him the desired answer, he simply repeated what they had said

verbatim, incorporating their words into his lecture or affirming their answers as correct,

as the following excerpts attest.

Excerpt 4.3: October 24, 2019
Transcript of Mr. Park's U.S. History Class

Mr. Park: …So these are some of the advantages of the North. This is what the

North had. [The] North had more people. [Cites population statistics] […]

Why were there more people in the North?

Joe: Because there's industry. Industry needs workers.

Mr. Park: Industry needs workers…

…

Mr. Park: [Referring to one of the advantages of the North—its extensive

railroads] So a question: What would railroads do?

Johnny: Transfer resources.

Mr. Park: Transport resources and transport?

Wayne: [international student] Soldier.

Mr. Park: Soldiers. Very good. Very good…

…

Mr. Park: [Referring to the North's blockade of the South during the U.S. Civil

War] Oh, so…so if they're blocked from the ships, what's going to happen

to [the] cotton?

Robert: The economy is going to be dropped.

Mr. Park: Very good. Very good. You're giving me hope for humanity. All right.

…

    Mr. Park: [In a discussion on how Lincoln kept a large contingent of troops in

        Washington, D.C. to protect it against Confederate attack, Mr. Park

        referred to a fieldtrip to Washington, D.C. some students in the class had

        taken with him a few years prior] How close was Washington, D.C. to

        Virginia?

    Mike: It was super close.

    Sam: Across the river, right?

    Mr. Park: Across the river…Potomac River. [Pointing at a map on his PowerPoint

        slide] So this is Virginia. This is Washington, D.C., and this is the river…

As these excerpts illustrate, Mr. Park engaged in an IRE discourse pattern in which he either repeated students' correct answers verbatim or affirmed them, most often with "Very good. Very good." Chi (2009) notes that "rehearsing or repeating words," as Mr. Park did when he repeated students' answers, "is a passive strategy of learning because it leads to less learning and remembering as compared to deeper levels of processing" (p. 77). Thus, Mr. Park's repetitions of student contributions did little to promote class discussion, extend student thinking, or promote deeper analysis. For these reasons, Cazden (2001) and others suggest that IRE discourse correlates with lower engagement and academic performance.

    Only twice in the 90-minute lesson did Mr. Park use strategies designed to position students as active learners in the class. As mentioned, once he had students participate in a continuum exercise, a cooperative learning activity in which students

stand in a line representing their position between two opposing extremes on an ideological continuum. After forming the line, students then discuss why they chose that position in the continuum with those standing next to them before reporting their reasoning to the class (if called upon to do so by the teacher). The question Mr. Park asked students to consider was [paraphrased], Would you side with family and state against your conscience, as General Robert E. Lee did [a critic of slavery and secession, who nonetheless led the Confederate armies because he could not fight against his fellow Virginians], or would you side with conscience and fight against your family and state? However, Mr. Park bypassed the part of the activity in which students discussed their position on the continuum with each other, only asking individual students to report to the class. Thus, the majority of students stood passively listening to whomever had the floor.

Using Chi's (2009) ICAP model (passive, active, constructive, interactive), I rate Mr. Park's continuum activity active in a physical sense for all students, but only active discursively for those who spoke. Chi (2009) notes that research suggests physical activities result in less impact on learning and achievement than discussion activities. Mr. Park's continuum activity could have risen from active to constructive in the ICAP model, had he extended the activity by asking a follow up question, "Have you ever had a crisis of conscience where you had to take a stand against friends, family, or others because of something you believed was right?" This would have allowed students to create their own connections with the lesson, constructing knowledge that moved beyond passively listening to or actively responding to the video, text, or questions. Moreover, it

would have allowed students to relate the point of the activity to their own lives, thereby deepening their identification with a key issue faced by many in the Civil War. The continuum activity could have risen from constructive to interactive had he asked students to roleplay with their discussion partners how they would critique and defend their imaginary Civil War allegiance against a family member who criticized their view. Such an extension would have qualified the continuum activity as interactive by engaging students in creating new knowledge through discussions in which all speakers must make substantive contributions that require higher order thinking skills (Chi, 2009). Thus, by only allowing individual students to speak while the remainder of the class stood passively listening, he limited students' opportunities to engage in active learning, as well as peer-to-peer learning unmitigated by the instructor. On another occasion, he had two students stand before the class and demonstrate a blockade by having one student prevent the other from passing him, while the others sat passively watching them. These moments briefly enlivened the class. However, no sooner had they finished then the lecture or video watching resumed.

Overall, Mr. Park's teaching strategies positioned students as passive participants in his class. Aside from the two active learning opportunities discussed above, his teaching style required students to sit at their desks and listen to his lecture and watch his video clip selections—both passive activities. Though the video clips were sometimes more engaging than his lectures, as evidenced by students' vocal responses to seeing battlefields strewn with bodies, these functioned as extensions of his lecture, as they served as proxies for his own voice in passively imparting information to students. As

mentioned, Mr. Park asked students frequent questions, but merely repeated correct answers verbatim, missing opportunities to help students develop their ideas and deepen their learning through asking follow-up questions.

While Cazden (2001) describes the direct instruction that Mr. Park engaged in as typical of traditional classroom discourse, much research shows that students learn information better, remember it longer, develop skills in applying it, and think more critically about it when they engage in active versus passive learning (Chi, 2009, 2014; Hammer, 2000; Pitterson et al., 2016; Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Moreover, research by Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013) suggests that lecture ranks among the least suitable teaching methods for English language learners (ELLs), as it presents them with the challenge of decoding academic English in a decontextualized format. They argue, based on much research, that ELLs learn better when teachers create activities that enhance comprehensible input. Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013) note that teachers can increase the amount of comprehensible input in their teaching by using images, manipulatives, and other means to connect new information with information students already know (scaffolding). While Mr. Park's videos helped to contextualize the Civil War through their visuals of battle fields and Civil War participants, their reliance on "talking head" experts and narration to explain the visuals, required ELL students to engage in sustained listening to unfamiliar content for the better part of 90-minutes. Their reaction to the class, with about five of twelve international students in a class of about twenty-two students putting their heads on their desks and sleeping by the end of the period, impugns the efficacy of Mr. Park's approach.

History at Fremont

In contrast, Mr. Armstrong's class provided students with multiple opportunities to engage in active learning. The class began with a quiz. Mr. Armstrong asked for absolute silence, and the class of 22 students, 11 of whom were international students, obliged. After the quiz, students traded papers and graded each other's quizzes. Then Mr. Armstrong announced that he would begin the lesson with a prayer. However, before he could pray, students begged him to tell them a story for their devotional thought, as they claimed to enjoy his devotional storytelling, although I suspected they also enjoyed the opportunity to pass the time. Mr. Armstrong consented with a smile, presenting a devotional thought about heaven, describing it as an opportunity to bring closure to the pain and suffering of this life. He became emotional, mentioning how he hoped to meet all his students in heaven one day. During the devotional, the international students seemed somewhat disengaged, as evidenced by their inattentiveness and unresponsiveness to his talk (e.g., not making eye contact with him, looking down at their desks, looking off in the distance, shifting in their seat as if bored). In contrast, most of the domestic students listened to his story and responded to his emotions with vocalizations (e.g., "Mmmm," "Ahhh"), making eye contact with him, and appearing serious and thoughtful when he became emotional.

While Mr. Park had read Bible verses in a perfunctory manner for the devotional thoughts accompanying each of his mini lessons, Mr. Armstrong delivered a brief talk that he related to students' lives, one that appeared to move at least the majority of domestic students, although not the international students. Research by Schneider &

Preckel (2017) suggests that effective teachers relate lesson content to students' lives helping enhance its meaningfulness and relevance to them. Unlike Mr. Park, whose devotional ideas appeared perfunctory, Mr. Armstrong positioned them as relevant to both his lesson and his students' lives by developing them at length and applying them to the academic lesson to which they related. In so doing, he helped operationalize one of his religious denomination's educational ideals. As stated on his church's official website, "…true education…fosters a balanced development of the whole person—spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social-emotional…" dimensions. By juxtaposing his lesson on the Civil War with his spiritual lesson on bringing closure to pain and suffering, Mr. Armstrong set the tone for the lesson, which by inference would not be a lesson that glorified violence or war, but one which perceived it as an example of the pain and sufferings he wished to help his students overcome through the practice of their spiritual, not physical power—a power he would have seen as emanating from his God. Put simply, a history lesson on the Civil War became the vehicle for Mr. Armstrong to teach both history and spiritual values related to overcoming pain and suffering, in accordance with his church's emphasis on holistic education, or education that harmoniously develops the spiritual, intellectual, physical, and social-emotional aspects of the whole person. He revisited this theme later in the lesson when he described Lincoln's suffering and how it prepared him for one of the greatest challenges any U.S. President has faced—the Civil War.

After the devotional, Mr. Armstrong announced the topic for the day's lesson—the American Civil War. As a warm-up activity, he asked students to close their eyes.

They did so. He asked them to imagine their two best friends. He then asked which they would save if they could only save one. Students responded, exclaiming that it was an unfair question. The teacher explained that those who lived during the Civil War had to make similar choices, as family members often fought each other, as some sided with the North and others with the South. From the very beginning of his lesson on the Civil War, Mr. Armstrong engaged students in active learning, having them visualize their best friends and confront an engaging dilemma, which would they save if they could only save one. This contrasted markedly with how Mr. Park began his lesson by having students watch a video clip that he himself did not watch, comment on, or ask students to respond to meaningfully. Arguably, Mr. Armstrong's warm-up contained all the hallmarks that Schneider and Preckel (2017) associate with enhanced learning "by presenting information in a clear way, relating it to the students, and using conceptually demanding learning tasks" (p. 1). Mr. Armstrong's warm-up activity immediately immersed students in the dilemma faced by those who lived during the American Civil War, dramatizing it, relating it to their lives, and requiring them to think about it in ways which challenged them with an insoluble dilemma.

After the warm-up activity, Mr. Armstrong asked students to work in small groups for five minutes, using their personal electronic devices to research the advantages and disadvantages the North and the South faced during the Civil War. Students quietly worked together on this task over the next few minutes. Although Mr. Armstrong's research activity ranks as only a basic active learning task on Chi's (2009) ICAP model, being one step above passive on her phased continuum (i.e., passive, active, constructive,

119

interactive), it reinforced important academic skills—skimming academic texts, synthesizing information, creating lists, and comparing and contrasting (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). In contrast, Mr. Park lectured students on the advantages and disadvantages the North and South enjoyed during the Civil War—a purely passive learning method associated with low engagement and retention (Chi, 2009). Although Mr. Park asked students IRE-style questions during this phase of his lesson, only the three or four students who conversed with him benefitted from this limited opportunity for active learning. In contrast, every student in Mr. Armstrong's class engaged in active learning doing research on the advantages and disadvantages of the North and South at the outset of the Civil War.

While the students worked on the research activity, Mr. Armstrong remained mostly quiet, except for two interruptions. During one, he asked students a trivia question: "What number President was Lincoln?" A student called out 16th, and Mr. Armstrong gave him a piece of candy as a prize. Other students clamored for candy, but the teacher laughed them off. The second interruption occurred as the group activity ended. Before going over the answers that students had found in their research, Mr. Armstrong held up a bust of Lincoln and discussed the troubles the president faced in his life. He described how his mother had died, how one of his girlfriends had died, how Lincoln did not get along with his father, and how he struggled with depression during his lifetime, yet he became one of America's greatest presidents. Mr. Armstrong concluded by applying the lesson to students' lives. No matter what their struggles, he suggested, they could become successful and make important contributions as Abraham

Lincoln had. An African American boy sitting next to me scoffed and rolled his eyes at Mr. Armstrong's inspirational talk, while other students appeared moved by it, as evidenced by their quiet attention, thoughtful facial expressions, and supportive subvocalizations (e.g., "Mmmm," "Ahhh"). Even Mr. Armstrong's asides conformed to what Schneider and Preckel (2017) associate with enhanced learning by relating a lesson to the students' lives.

Mr. Armstrong asked the students to report the advantages and disadvantages the North and South enjoyed, and students called out their answers. Mr. Armstrong discussed these briefly. Then he showed a slide containing a list of vocabulary words and asked students to copy it into their notebooks. They did so. Chi (2009) would characterize taking notes—even copying down information—as an active learning activity, although a rather low level one on her ICAP model (passive, active, constructive, interactive). Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013) inventory many more effective strategies of teaching students vocabulary. Nonetheless, Mr. Armstrong's activity engaged students in a basic form of active learning. In contrast, Mr. Park defined words in the context of his lecture, positioning students as passive learners, although his demonstration of the meaning of blockade was active for at least the two students who demonstrated it.

Analysis of History Classes

My analysis of Mr. Park and Mr. Armstrong's lessons suggests that while they each taught a lesson on the same topic, they differed in how they engaged students in active versus passive learning. Mr. Park positioned his students as passive learners, by planning only one activity—the continuum—that allowed them to engage in active

learning. Meanwhile, the remainder of Mr. Park's lesson consisted of lecture and video

clips—activities that students had only to sit passively and observe. In contrast, Mr.

Armstrong's lesson—apart from his devotional thought, dramatic extended description of

how family member fought family member during the Civil War, and inspirational talk

on Mr. Lincoln's life—consisted entirely of active learning opportunities. Nevertheless,

neither teacher engaged in what Chi (2009, 2014) describes as constructive or interactive

learning, by allowing students to construct their own understandings or dialogue with

others so as to engage in critical thinking on the topic of discussion, which would have

enhanced students learning further according to research (Cazden, 2001; Chi, 2009, 2014;

Hammer, 2000; Pitterson et al., 2016; Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Moreover, neither

used the most effective strategies to teach ELLs or domestic students vocabulary,

although Mr. Armstrong's method enjoys more research support than Mr. Park's (Chi,

2009; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). Thus, while Mr. Armstrong's teaching aligned

with recommended practices more than Mr. Park's, both could stand to increase the level

of active learning in their courses.

<div align="center">**Religion Classes**</div>

International Student Views on Their ESL Religion Teachers

Mrs. Romero and Mr. Chang, the respective ESL teachers at Fremont and

Elmshaven, ranked among the most popular instructors at their schools, according to

international students. The international students I interviewed described them in devoted

terms as almost surrogate parental figures. They were among the first teachers many

international students met and studied under. They reported remaining in friendly contact

with each other throughout the years international students studied at each school.

However, these teachers contrasted markedly in how they planned and implemented

instruction in their ESL Language and ESL Religion courses. Mrs. Romero almost

always came to class prepared to teach with a well thought through lesson plan and

engaging activities. In contrast, Mr. Ryan Chang often improvised his lessons.

Nonetheless, students adored him, as he treated them with the respect and affection of a

kindly older brother, and despite their age differences, related to students on their level,

sharing their interests and affirming them.

ESL Religion at Fremont

No class I observed at either school seemed to engage international students more

than Mrs. Romero's ESL Religion class. She had a BA in Theology and a TEFL

Certificate and used both to plan highly effective instruction for this course that engaged

ESL students in philosophical reflection and discourse. These discourses required

students to engage in higher order critical thinking, according to Bloom's Taxonomy.

Judged by Chi's ICAP model, these discourses engaged students in interactive learning

activities, where they co-constructed new knowledge by engaging in logical inferences

that moved beyond what the Bible texts they read said by considering their implications

and ramifications. I interviewed two students in her ESL Religion class, and although

neither identified as Christian, they seemed to enjoy the opportunities for critical thinking

and philosophical discourse that the class afforded them. One of these students, Lu Ben

Wei, features prominently in the vignette below, showing off the high-level inferential

thinking that often characterized class discussions.

I entered Mrs. Romero's classroom on the day she engaged in a remarkable discussion with students to find it empty. The school had a policy that students could not enter a classroom without the teacher present. Mrs. Romero used this rule to enact an elaborate but much-loved daily greeting ritual, according to my international student interviewees. Mrs. Romero arrived a few minutes after me and stood inside her classroom near the entrance, initiating the ritual. As if on cue, students filed into the classroom one-by-one. Mrs. Romero offered each student a personalized greeting upon entering. She hugged the female students and offered handshakes to the male students, unless they hugged her, in which case she offered them a side-hug. She spoke to each student, calling the students by name and inquiring about their lives and wellbeing in a manner that revealed she had a close knowledge of each student in her class. This warm show of affection served as a daily ritual in her ESL Religion and ESL English courses—helping to reinforce her persona as a mother figure to international students.

After students had taken their seats, Mrs. Romero made some preliminary announcements, and then asked students to join her in prayer. She asked students for prayer requests. One girl raised her hand and said that she wanted to lose weight. Mrs. Romero exclaimed that she did too. The two walked toward each other and humorously hugged each other in a display of solidarity. The other students chuckled. "We will help each other," Mrs. Romero said. "I will be your cheerleader, and you will be mine, okay?" This exchange illustrates how Mrs. Romero showed support and solidarity with international students regarding the issues that concerned them. Other students voiced their prayer requests, and Mrs. Moreno prayed about each request—positioning herself

and her God as caring about international students. When she prayed about weight loss in a sincere and imploring voice, some of the students in the class snickered. Even I found it humorous while reviewing the audio recording of the class. However, she did not merely pray about weight loss, but for health and wellbeing, connecting a prayer request that elicited snickering with her concern for students' entire wellbeing. Valenzuela (1998, 2008), drawing on Noddings' (1984/2013, 2015) caring theory, describes authentic caring as caring for students' entire wellbeing. Even Mrs. Romero's prayers modeled this form of caring.

After prayer, she reviewed the previous day's lesson, reminding students that they had discussed the trinity and God's character, viewing him through the metaphor of God, the father. Then she announced the topic for the day's lesson with a question: Have you ever thought of God as a mother? She turned to the whiteboard and wrote "God as a father" on one side of the whiteboard, an ellipsis in the middle of the whiteboard, and "God as a mother" on the other side of the whiteboard. After putting the question to students for consideration, one international student male, Lu Ben Wei, responded in a dazzling display of logical reasoning, which Mrs. Moreno complimented him on, though she ultimately affirmed an opposite point of view to his—gently leading the class to this viewpoint by asking them to read a Bible verse that illustrated it.

Excerpt 4.4: January 23, 2019
Transcript of Mrs. Romero's ESL Religion Class

Mrs. Romero: Have you ever thought of God as a mother?

Lu Ben Wei: No.

Mrs. Romero: No?

Various students answer under their breath.

Mrs. Romero: [to Lu Ben Wei] You've never…

Lu Ben Wei: Because…because…

Mrs. Romero: [Gently and curiously, affirmingly] Why?

Lu Ben Wei: Because Jesus is the so-son of God, and…[non

fluencies]…Mary…uh…got…uh…[searches for words]

Mrs. Romero: Pregnant?

Lu Ben Wei: Uh, yeah, pregnant. So why not God pregnant by herself if she, if

she is a woman?

Mrs. Romero: [proudly affirming him in loud, musical, and prolonged tones]

Ohhhh, that's a good point! I never thought about it that way. If God was a

woman, then he wouldn't have needed Mary. He could get pregnant by

himself.

Lu Ben Wei: Yup…And Jesus is the represent of God, right?

Mrs. Romero: Yes!

Lu Ben Wei: And Jesus is a man [therefore, God is a man].

Mrs. Romero: [Impressed, Affirmingly, Musically, Prolonging

Syllables]…Okay…Very good point! Very, very good point, Lu

Ben…[Gently] However, I want you guys to open your Bibles to Genesis

1:27. Okay? Genesis 1:27, okay?...

Lu Ben Wei: [Raises his hand.] And-and…and one more point.

Mrs. Romero: [Excitedly] And one more point, yes! Lu Ben is on a roll here.

[Claps her hands together.] Okay! Listen to Lu Ben. Go ahead.

Lu Ben Wei: So God created…uh…Adam first, and…uh…like himself, so Adam

is a man, so God is a man, because God created Adam like himself.

Some students subvocalized (e.g., "Hmmm").

Mrs. Romero: [Thoughtfully] Hmmmm…What Lu Ben is saying is Adam was

created in the image of God. So, Lu Ben, because he created Adam first,

that means he [God] is automatically a male?

Lu Ben Wei: Yeah.

Mrs. Romero: [Affirmingly] Hmmmm…. Very interesting! Alright, but what does

Genesis 1:27 say, though? Margery, can you read [it]?...

Margery: "So God created mankind in his own image…in the image of God he

created them; male and female, he created them."

Mrs. Romero observed that the Bible explained that God created mankind in his

image, which according to this verse contains both masculine and feminine traits. She

affirmed that if God's image contained both masculine and feminine characteristics, then

she as a woman must have features that align with those of the divine. She affirmed the

orthodox Christian teaching that God is neither male nor female, as if he were gendered

or had a biological sex, for the Bible describes God as a spirit; however, God loves

humans, she affirmed, with both male and female, or fatherly and motherly,

characteristics. As the class continued, Mrs. Romero asked students to read from various

Bible verses, asking them to read from a parallel Chinese-English version of the Bible.

First, they read the passage in Chinese, then in English. At one point she asked a girl to read Matthew 23:37, where Jesus says, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you who kill the prophets and stone those sent to you, how I have longed to gather your children together, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you were not willing" (New International Version). She asked the class what metaphor Jesus used to refer to himself. An international student suggested hesitantly, "A chicken?" Mrs. Romero laughed, affirmed this as a literal reading and also explained the more typical reading of this passage, that Christ referred to himself as wanting to act toward Jerusalem as a mother hen acts toward her chicks, gathering them under her wings. Thus, he used a feminine metaphor to refer to himself—implying that Jesus' love encompassed both masculine and feminine traits.

Mrs. Romero discussed the texts she asked students to read using a combination of direct instruction and dialogic teaching strategies. She connected the idea of God loving us as a father and mother to the larger idea of God as a God of love and used this idea to consider what theologians term the theodicy (Griffin, 2004), the question of how an allegedly all powerful, all knowing, and loving God could allow evil to exist, although she did not use the term theodicy in her discussion. Nystrand (1997) describes how teachers can integrate dialogic and direct instruction to create new opportunities for discussion. Mrs. Romero did this, using her brief comments on how the ideas of the lesson connected to move students to the next discussion point, while keeping in mind the previous point, thereby expanding the scope of the discussion. For example, against the backdrop of considering God through the metaphors of a loving father and mother, Mrs. Romero asked students, "Would you rather live in a world that had freedom of choice—

[where] you can do what you want--and [there is] evil, or would you rather live in a world where you don't have any freedom of choice, but everything is good?"[13] The connections between these questions became clear later, when Mrs. Romero talked about how a loving God could allow evil to exist.

Lu Ben Wei translated the question into Chinese for the benefit of two classmates that did not understand it, illustrating the common use of translanguaging in the class. According to researchers, bilingual students learn better when they can access academic content using all their linguistic and cultural skills, and not, for example, only through their L2 (Wei, 2011). Translanguaging practices include reading a text in L1 and discussing it in L2 (or vice versa), translating L2 texts, codeswitching, and using interlanguage and other bilingual and bicultural skills in creative, humorous, and intellectually insightful manners (Wei, 2011). Thus, Mrs. Romero's classroom practices align with what research recommends as effective bilingual pedagogy.

Mrs. Romero asked students to vote by raising their hands. Six voted for a world with free choice and evil, while two voted for a world with no free choice but where everything was good. She called on individual students to explain their reasoning. She reiterated their answers, but unlike Mr. Park who repeated what students said almost verbatim, Mrs. Romero paraphrased their remarks, translating their often nonstandard English into standard English and explaining it in alternate ways that frequently clarified their reasoning and connected it with the key points of the lesson. Research by

---

[13] Philosophers of religion generally reject the possibility of a world where people had free will and there was no possibility of evil as a logical impossibility, as if a person wished to do evil, but could not, then that person would not be genuinely free (Griffin, 2004).

Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013) supports the use of paraphrasing ELLs' talk to model correct pronunciation and grammar, while validating their opinions and leading to enhanced discussion.

Mrs. Romero explained that Satan's test of God's character involved the accusation that God treated sinners unfairly and unjustly punishing them in hell forever for the sins committed in this brief life. However, she noted that though the Bible states that the penalty of sin is death, God did not immediately destroy the guilty, though he could have. Moreover, he provided a means of salvation for humans through Christ's sacrificial death. In this way, he showed his love. She then had students research Bible texts that described God as a father, asking them to look up 15 verses in the Bible, using a worksheet, and summarizing each in their own words, and explaining how each helps us to understand the characteristics of the Christian divinity through the metaphor of God as a father. She gave them the last 10 minutes of the class to work on this assignment. She walked around the class, monitoring and giving feedback. Students worked quietly on the assignment. At the end of the period, Mrs. Romero dismissed the class, asking them to complete the worksheet as their homework.

Analysis of ESL Religion at Fremont

Mrs. Romero used a variety of research-based practices to enhance her teaching. She asked students questions that prompted critical thinking, such as, "Have you ever thought of God as a mother?" This prompted an extended response from Lu Ben Wei, which she showed appreciation for, encouraging him to share more of his thinking. She did not focus on the "right answer" but on his impressive logical inferences. Thus, she

130

engaged in what Cazden (2001) would call dialogic instruction—or instruction based on asking questions, eliciting student thinking, and extending it through follow-up questions or responses designed to elicit further thinking. She also asked questions that required students to engage in textual analysis and non-literal interpretation of religious imagery. She presented students with a series of metaphors that described her church's teachings on the characteristics of God and asked them to use these metaphors to explain the character of God "as a father" and "as a mother." These types of extended thinking tasks align with what Chi (2009) describes as constructive and interactive learning activities on her ICAP continuum (passive, active, constructive, interactive), where students go beyond the meanings provided by a text to create their own understandings, co-constructing these in dialogue with peers and the teacher. She also used paraphrasing to model correct grammar and pronunciation, a recommended strategy of second language instruction (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013).

Religion 9 at Elmshaven

Mr. Chang's Religion 9 class at Elmshaven integrated domestic Freshmen and international Sophomores (who had taken ESL Religion the year before). On one of the several days I observed the class, he began class with roll call and prayer. He asked an international student to pray, and she did so. At the end of the prayer, Mr. Chang said, "Amen" loudly. Some of the other domestic students echoed his amen. Mr. Chang asked if there were any prayer requests and apologized for not having asked earlier. Students called out their prayer requests, and Mr. Chang wrote them on the board.

In my many observations of Mr. Chang's ESL, ESL Religion, and Religion courses, I noted that he reserved one half of one of the two white boards at the front of his classroom on which to write students' prayer requests, which he filled with names (e.g., Suzy's Aunt) and sometimes their conditions (e.g., broken leg). After praying over a friend, family member, or acquaintance, he would ask follow-up questions on succeeding days to see how the person faired. In this way he positioned himself as a caring father figure or big brother to his students. In our interview, he also spoke of how this practice allowed him to track answered prayers with all his students, but particularly his international students, a phenomenon he hoped would inspire faith in them.

After prayer, Mr. Chang announced, "A famous company's stock is going to have an IPO tomorrow? Do you know what [an] IPO is?" One student said no, and Mr. Chang put the question to the class again. When another student produced the answer, "They're going public," Mr. Chang complimented him, "Very good. Very good," and expanded on his answer, explaining what an IPO was and how a company would use this tool to generate additional capital to invest in their business ventures. After explaining IPOs for the next 2 minutes, Mr. Chang reiterated "Another famous company is going [to offer an] IPO. It's one that a lot of my international students use every single day." Students called out, "Oh, Uber?" To which, Mr. Chang replied, "UUU-BERRR!" emphasizing and prolonging each syllable. One girl giggled at his exaggerated pronunciation, saying it sounded funny.

Mr. Chang continued his discussion of Uber's IPO. "I was…I was debating if I should purchase stocks in Uber tomorrow." To which a domestic student girl responded,

132

"Ooooh! Do it! Do it! You could!" However, Mr. Chang asked the class if they remembered what Sandra, one of their classmates, had done for her research project. Some said no, while one boy exclaimed, "It's on Uber." Mr. Chang confirmed this fact and explained that Sandra had investigated the reported cases of sexual harassment and violence involving Uber and found over 350. Sandra qualified, "And that was just in the last five years," indicating there may have been more from prior years. Then Mr. Chang asked the class if they would invest in Uber. Some students said yes and others no. One girl said, "I don't want to support a company, if I don't believe in them." To which Mr. Chang responded, "So this is eventually my [answer]…I was struggling. I was like, 'Ooohhh! This could be another Apple. This could make a lot of money.' And then I was like, 'But I don't really believe in what they do…I don't like the way they handle things." He went on to describe in detail their unethical business practices—paying workers as independent contractors so they could deny them benefits, not vetting employees or vehicles adequately, having a history of shocking sexual and/or physical crimes perpetrated by Uber drivers, not cooperating with police investigators, and reporting 3 billion dollars of debt in 2017.

It seemed like Mr. Chang's example of Uber was a hook leading into the class's discussion, capturing the attention of most students as evidenced by their willingness to listen to him, make eye contact, and discuss the subject. However, after discussing it for about ten minutes, he said, "So anyway, I'm going to show you a video." The video he showed turned out to be the true beginning of class, and the Uber discussion had been off topic. Nonetheless, in his Uber digression, Mr. Chang had the opportunity to share a

personal ethical dilemma and how he had resolved it using a students' research to inform his final decision. On other occasions, I had seen Mr. Chang give students almost the entire class period to work on their research projects, so the apparent digression on Uber functioned as a validation of their classmate's research and an opportunity to discuss the moral reasoning behind not profiteering off exploiting others—arguably, a worthwhile lesson in a class that focused on, among topics more religious in nature, creating research projects to make life better for those who experience hardship.

At the true beginning of the lesson, which followed the Uber discussion, Mr. Chang showed three brief videos on an eighth-grade star athlete, Jaylon McKenzie, who had been offered two full sports scholarships by colleges interested in recruiting him to play on their football teams. The first two showed his prowess on the field, or his "moves," as Mr. Chang described them. He invited students to "Watch him in this game. Watch what he does…You don't even need to know football or like football to appreciate his skill set." Students responded enthusiastically to these videos, cheering as McKenzie caught footballs and ran past his opponents, making touch downs, gaining yards, or avoiding tackles by casually pushing over his opponents. Students exclaimed "Whoa!" or "Wow!" to his combination of aggressive play, skilled catching, and outstanding speed on the football field. The third video consisted of a TV news report discussing the death of Jaylon McKenzie, after he had been struck by a stray bullet at a prom party he had attended. Mr. Chang discussed the tragic nature of the athlete's death with students and how it had affected his family members who must have questions for God about why he allowed the death of their son.

With McKenzie's case laid open for students to consider, Mr. Chang asked the lesson's central question, "Why do bad things happen to good people? Well, I'm not sure. Is there an answer? Here's the thing. We focus on, 'Why me?'" He related how he would listen to the news while driving to work in Irvine before he became a teacher at Elmshaven and how he would hear of deadly accidents on the freeway on an almost daily basis. He would ask, "Why not me?"—wondering why God allowed him to live another day while others perished in accidents. He reasoned that God must have something for him to do each day he was alive and that since life might end at any moment, he should be grateful to God for every day of life he received. He urged students to feel similarly grateful.

Mr. Chang then discussed Jake Paul who had recently made headline news because two teenaged girls had attended a party he threw at his house and had awoken half naked and in need of medical attention. Mr. Park discussed this with students, problematizing a world in which girls wanting to enjoy a party had been allegedly drugged, disrobed, and harmed.

He then showed students a news clip about two college-aged brothers who had been killed in a hit and run, when a drunk driver and his passenger had crashed into their parked car at 80 miles per hour. The video showed their family and girlfriends grieving. Mr. Chang concluded his discussion of the news clip by asking, "Wouldn't you think their parents would ask God, 'Why?'…Where are you going to get the answer to that?" Silence followed Mr. Chang's unanswerable question. He used this question to segue into

an introduction of a worksheet assignment he wanted students to complete individually at their desks about how Jesus experienced pain, suffering, and betrayal, as we do.

Analysis of Religion 9 at Elmshaven

Domestic students showed high levels of engagement in Mr. Chang's free flowing and seemingly improvised lesson, watching his videos, discussing them, and responding in vocalized exclamations to many of his comments and the dramatic events depicted in the video clips. While seemingly extemporaneous, Mr. Chang's lesson allowed domestic students to grapple with complex moral and ethical dilemmas, which he presented in a series of dramatic discussions, illustrated by weighty questions. While his improvisatory method seemed to work well for domestic students, international students appeared disengaged during the lesson, especially after the Uber discussion ended. Several put their heads on their desks and slept during the videos and discussion that preceded the worksheet. Mr. Chang had to rouse them during the worksheet time and ask them to work on their assignment. He scolded them for being present in body but not in spirit, speaking to them first in English and then Mandarin. Interestingly, my observations in Mr. Chang's class echo those of Yoon (2008) who found that when a teacher in her study "focused on discussion-based approaches with an emphasis on American culture [such as American sports or TV shows]," he inadvertently positioned the international students in his class as outsiders, as they did not understand the cultural references that so engaged domestic students, and, therefore, could not share in the class's enthusiasm for them. When Mr. Chang discussed Uber, which the international students I interviewed reported using frequently, he had their attention. However, when he transitioned to a series of seemingly

unrelated videos on an American football player, two female victims of sexual harassment at a party, and two brothers killed in a hit and run, he gradually lost a number of his students. Of the 10 international students in this class of 30, about 7 put their heads down on their desks and appeared to sleep before Mr. Chang roused them to complete the worksheet activity. I argue that their disengagement may be attributed, at least in part, to their unfamiliarity with American football, and its seeming irrelevance to a class on religion. Mr. Chang could have improved the chances that international students would have understood his learning goals for this lesson had he stated them in advance, explaining why he was showing the videos and what he hoped students to learn from them. He might have also benefitted from positioning students as more active learners by having them engage in think-pair-shares after each video, discussing the questions he posed to the class, such as, "Why do bad things happen to good people?" and "What questions might the loved one's of the deceased have for God?" Choosing videos that even his international students could relate to would further enhance their engagement (Yoon, 2008).

Prior research suggests that allowing students to opt-out of learning activities (e.g., by sleeping in class) correlates with lower performance on standardized assessments (Lemov, 2015). However, my research indicates, in alignment with Yoon's (2008), that preparing culturally-sensitive learning activities for all students to engage in serves as a prerequisite for participation and attention, while failure to do so, leaves students with few options but to opt-out. Furthermore, in lessons, such as Mr. Chang's, without clearly stated learning goals, all students, but especially international students,

will have difficulty opting in, as it will be unclear just what teachers expect of them and to what they should attend. Had Mr. Chang articulated his learning goals at the beginning of each lesson and each activity, as Mrs. Romero did, he might have had an easier time helping international students to remain engaged in his lessons.

Literature Classes

Literature at Elmshaven

The literature courses I observed at both schools used similar textbooks and curricula—discussing important authors in American, British, and World Literature and contextualizing them in their historical periods. For example, I observed Mrs. Cecelie Kim's Junior English class at Elmshaven on the day they began discussing American Romanticism, reading from a large textbook (Prentice Hall Literature) that consisted of an anthology of literature punctuated by discussions of authors divided by the literary periods to which they belonged. During the class, Mrs. Kim asked students to tell her what they knew about the period in history they would be discussing (American Romanticism: 1800-1860). Students called out answers, which she briefly discussed. Mrs. Kim spoke in a measured rhythm, without seeming slow, carefully pronouncing her words in a mellifluous tone of voice that conveyed elegance, kindness, and respect.

Excerpt 4.5: October 22, 2019
Transcript of Classroom Observation, Mrs. Kim's Junior English, Elmshaven

Mrs. Kim: So on these pages, you see three timelines. The top timeline is what?

What is the top timeline about?

Janet: …United States Literary Events

Mrs. Kim: So literary events. So things that happened in…things that were published…things that were written, so these are the writers, the people we'll be reading in this unit. So literary events. Do you guys recognize any names there…maybe from US History class?

Janet: James Fenimore Cooper. But I know him not from history class.

Mrs. Kim: Okay, James Fenimore Cooper. And how do you know that name?

Janet: I don't know, but I know it.

Mrs. Kim: You may have watched a movie called The Last of the Mohicans. Did you guys watch that?

Students: [in chorus] No.

Mrs. Kim: Oh, man. Okay, you guys are maybe too young…

Maggie: [with unbridled enthusiasm] Oh, my gosh! Are we watching The Great Gatsby here?

Mrs. Kim: We will watch The Great Gatsby. That comes way later. Way later. Okay, so you guys might recognize names like Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Students: [in chorus] Oh, yeah.

Mrs. Kim: …So what was Emerson known for?

Students: [long pause]

Mrs. Kim: There was this big, long word that starts with a T.

Johnny: [Sardonically] Tyrannosaurus. [Students chuckle.]

Marc: [Sardonically] Tennessee.

Mrs. Kim: [Mildly amused] Not Tyrannosaurus. Not Tennessee. T-R_____?

Students: [A variety of students guess incorrectly.]

Mrs. Kim: Transcendentalism.

Sally: I was going to do transcontinental, but…[chuckles].

Debby: Transgender? [Students laugh]

Mrs. Kim: No, not transgender. [Chuckles] So transcendentalism. So Ralph

Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau were transcendentalists. They

believed that you had to look beyond this natural world to find…um

truth…to find the truth. Like you have to transcend…you have to

transcend. And so…other names you might recognize from this list?

Joan: Walt Whitman and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

In this excerpt, Mrs. Kim used IRE-style discourse to quiz students on their background knowledge about American Romanticism. Later in the lesson, she allowed for think-pair-shares and other types of discourse, as we shall see below. According to Echevarria, Vogt, and Short (2013), this phase of the lesson, reviewing background knowledge, helps students to relate what they will learn in the lesson to what they already know, and thus qualifies as an effective and recommended teaching strategy. Unfortunately, Mrs. Kim primarily used class talk and the timeline from the textbook to build background knowledge. Had she used a PowerPoint with images of the writers, or even realia (in the form of books or other artifacts), it might have helped the ELL students in her class to better understand the topic under discussion (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013).

As this excerpt illustrates, Mrs. Kim's class discussions included friendly banter—something I noticed in most of the classes I observed at Elmshaven. However,

despite the students' proclivity for lightheartedness, they remained generally focused on the discussion Mrs. Kim initiated. Research suggests that humor "has been shown to lower the affective filter and stimulate the prosocial behaviors that are so necessary for success within a communicative context" (Askildson, 2005, p. 45). Thus, Mrs. Kim's allowances for humorous exchanges in her classroom likely lowered students' affective filter and increased their engagement, according to research (Askildson, 2005; Bilokcuoglu & Debreli, 2018; Ketabi & Simin, 2009).

After reviewing timelines with students, Mrs. Kim presented a brief lesson on American Romanticism, asking various students to read passages from the chapter's description of the time period and discussing these using comprehension questions. Students generally answered these by skimming the passage just read and calling out the answer.

Excerpt 4.6: October 22, 2019
Transcript of Classroom Observation, Mrs. Kim's Junior English, Elmshaven

> Pam: [finishing reading a longer passage] "…Romantics did not reject rational thought for all purposes, but for the purposes of art, they placed a higher value on intuitive, felt experience."
>
> Mrs. Kim: Okay, very good. So the Rationalists were all about logic and reason. What were the Romantics about?
>
> Pam: Feelings
>
> Mrs. Kim: Feelings. What else?
>
> Jack: Emotions.
>
> Mrs. Kim: Emotions. And what else?

Maggie: Intuitions.

Mrs. Kim: Intuitions. Very good! So things you just kind of know. You don't know why. You just kind of feel that it is true. So this is about feeling and emotion, and it's not to say that they were purely, purely illogical, but when it came to art…um…they…

Maggie: [Overlapping] They placed more value on [unclear] than [unclear].

Mrs. Kim: Yes, they definitely did place more value on…art. Um…Let's see here. What else? Okay, then in this section that Pam read to us, it talked a little bit about the Industrial Revolution. So what happened as a result of the Industrial Revolution…[pause]…What happened as the result of it?

[Long pause]

Frank: [Tentatively] Bad working conditions?

Mrs. Kim: [Affirmingly] Really bad working conditions.

Frank: [Tentatively] Crowded cities?

Mrs. Kim: [Affirmingly] Very crowded cities. And then during this time period, we have more immigrants coming into the country as well. There was more work available too, as we were industrializing. There were more factories, and so…um…with the factories, come pollution, right? There was a lot of pollution, and there was, as the textbook describes it, a lot of squalor in the city. So the Romantics aimed to escape all of this to find this…truth. So let's move on to Romantic Escapism. Is there another volunteer to read?

…

As this excerpt illustrates, students generally participated in Mrs. Kim's discussion,

although she used IRE-style discussion strategies. At times, her questions met with rather

long pauses, but generally one or more students answered her, while the others scoured

their books for the answer.

After reading passages from the textbook describing Romanticism in American

literature, Mrs. Kim introduced the lesson's focal author, William Cullen Bryant, briefly

lecturing on his life and achievements, before reading his poem Thanatopsis, in a

beautiful, poetic recitation voice, pausing at punctuation, not line breaks. Afterwards, she

asked students to work in pairs discussing the view of death by the speaker in Bryant's

poem. After giving students time to discuss this question, she asked them to share their

answers with the class. She concluded the class with a line-by-line analysis of the poem,

in which she reread the poem and discussed it, pausing after every line or sentence to

review its vocabulary, imagery, mood, and meaning. She did not merely lecture but asked

questions that provoked students to discuss the poem's details.

Excerpt 4.7: October 22, 2019
Transcript of Classroom Observation, Mrs. Kim's Junior English, Elmshaven

> Mrs. Kim: All right. It sounds like everyone at least came up
>
> with…something…with [chuckles] something for his view of death. So
>
> let's go through and look at these by stanza…So the very first one…the
>
> very first one...He says, "To him who in the love of Nature holds
>
> communion with her visible forms, she speaks a various language…" And
>
> so he said that nature will speak to you differently. And how does she do

143

this? Or what is it that she says to you, or how can Nature be a companion to you?...

[Long pause]

Mrs. Kim: So you can look at the lines of poetry. And what is it that nature does? What does nature do?

Sally: It communicates through your soul.

Mrs. Kim: Okay, it communicates through your soul. It says, "She has a voice of gladness, and a smile." It says, "for his gayer hours," so when you're happy, during your happy hours, nature will be happy with you. Nature will be happy with you, and during your "darker musings," she will offer a "healing sympathy." And so…um…nature adapts with you. If you're happy in nature, nature will be happy with you.

Janet raises her hand.

Mrs. Kim: [to Janet] Yes.

Janet: You know how people like…tree huggers—they believe like nature talks to them, what if it's God talking to them through nature?

Mrs. Kim: Yeah. That's definitely a…a…possibility. And that is what the Romantics and the Transcendentalists believed…that you can arrive at truth through nature. And, yes, perhaps that is God's voice speaking to you through nature. And some of you guys have probably gone on hikes with your friends, with your [church group]…or whatever it may be. And it does seem like you can have a spiritual experience out there. Right?

144

Where you feel more in tune with God because of this natural creation that

has remained untouched. And so…the speaker of the poem is trying to say

we can go out to nature, and nature will give you what you need…

This excerpt illustrates how Mrs. Kim engaged students in an analysis and discussion of

the imagery of William Cullen Bryant's Thanatopsis. Although Mrs. Kim used IRE-style

discourse to conduct class discussions, she maintained a friendly, calm demeanor,

treating students respectfully, laughing with them when they told funny jokes and taking

seriously their apparent digressions, such as Janet's question about whether it was God

speaking to tree huggers by relating these digressions back to the lesson. In so doing, she

managed to engage students in a sustained, interactive discussion of Romanticism

throughout the class period.

Much research on classroom discourse problematizes the use of IRE-style

discourse and recommends the use of dialogic instruction (Cazden, 2001; Emler, 2019;

Kelly, 2007; Nystrand, 1997; Samei et al. 2015). Therefore, Mrs. Kim's successful use of

IRE-style discourse to engage students in discussion may seem surprising. However,

Christoph and Nystrand (2001) profile a teacher who used IRE-style discourse but who

nonetheless demonstrated the ability to engage students in learning and discussion. She

did so, they argue, by "developing an ethos of involvement and respect, using scaffolding

and specific ways of phrasing questions to encourage discussion, and, most importantly,

acknowledging and making space for the presence of students' interpersonal

relationships" (p. 249).

I observed Mrs. Kim engage in these same practices. For example, we noted how Mrs. Kim used IRE-style questions to build on students' background knowledge above—which illustrates scaffolding, a synonym for building (on) background knowledge. I suggest that Mrs. Kim's allowances for friendly banter and willingness to accept questions that at first glance might seem off-topic (such as Janet's question about tree huggers) illustrates her ethos of involvement and respect. Every student's contributions were accepted and treated as valid. Mrs. Kim met their attempts at humor with gentle appreciation, sometimes chuckling when she found them amusing, and, thereby, validating students' bids at humor. She met students' apparently off-topic questions with respect by discussing them and relating them back to the lesson—a means of demonstrating her appreciation for their ideas. Finally, she showed respect for students' interpersonal relationships first by cultivating respectful and caring relationships with her students and second by allowing them to interact with their friends in class in ways that facilitated classroom goals. For example, when Mrs. Kim asked students to work in small groups discussing the imagery in Bryant's Thanatopsis, she asked if students wanted her to choose their partner. However, students clamored to partner with their friends, as the following excerpt illustrates, and Mrs. Kim assented to their requests, while ensuring that those students who did not have partners were included in nearby groups.

Excerpt 4.8: October 22, 2019
Transcript of Classroom Observation, Mrs. Kim's Junior English, Elmshaven

> Mrs. Kim: And so…in the next couple minutes…maybe…let's take five minutes…for you to chat with a partner, and I want you to think about what his view of death is. What is William Cullen Bryant's view of death?

And, "I don't know is fine." I just want you to check to see what your

friend thinks…See what your friend thinks. Maybe I should assign you

someone to talk to.

Students: [Various voices clamor for the teacher's attention.]

Janet: [Overlapping] No, that's okay. We'll…we'll…take care of it.

Sally: [Overlapping] I have a partner.

Mrs. Kim: You found a partner? Alright. Daniel, who's your partner? You can

join a group of three, if you want.

[Mrs. Kim walks around the class making sure every student has a partner. Those

that do not, she assigns to a nearby group.]

…

Mrs. Kim: Mr. Sam, who are you joining? This group as well? Okay.

Janet: What's the question?

Mrs. Kim: [To the class, calmly, positively] What's the question? What do I want

you to answer?

Students: What's his view of death?

Mrs. Kim: Yes. What's his view of death? Yes, and look at these lines. Try to

make some sense of these lines. What is he saying? What is his view of

death?

By allowing students to partner with their friends and ensuring no student felt excluded,

Mrs. Kim demonstrated her respect for interpersonal relationships. Indeed, Mrs. Kim's

classroom was a space of safety and respect. I noted that when the bell rang, students did

not immediately bolt out of their seats and leave the class, as they did in other classes I observed. Rather, they lingered as if reluctant to break the spell of being in Mrs. Kim's kind and affirming presence. I mentioned this to Mrs. Kim after observing her. Jennifer Oh, my domestic student informant at Elmshaven, who happened to have entered the class at its conclusion to consult with Mrs. Kim, agreed with me, noting that she too had noticed students lingered in Mrs. Kim's class because they enjoyed the mood so much. I argue that this is evidence that Mrs. Kim met the criteria that Christoph and Nystrand (2001) describe in their study of a teacher who used IRE-style discourse but achieved results—such as student participation in discussions—that other studies suggest remain in the domain of teachers who use dialogic instruction (Cazden, 2001; Kelly, 2007; Nystrand, 1997; Samei et al. 2015).

Literature at Fremont

On the day that I observed Mrs. Bower's Senior English class at Fremont, Mrs. Bowers presented a brief Prezi slideshow lecture on Tennyson, discussing the historical time period to which he belonged as well as key details of his life. During her lecture, some students paid attention, as evidenced by their eye contact and their vocal responses to her, while other students tuned her out, as evidenced by their lack of eye contact and engagement in other tasks—such as looking at their cell phones, sleeping, or browsing unrelated books. Nonetheless, Mrs. Bowers continued in a calm, friendly and warm manner with her lecture. After which, she showed two videos in which speakers recited The Light Calvary Brigade; one was Tennyson himself, the other, a modern YouTuber. She then had students discuss in pairs the poem, using comprehension questions she had

written in a Prezi slide and projected on the white board. The class then engaged in a group discussion of the poem, sharing their answers to the comprehension questions. After this, Mrs. Bowers introduced Tennyson's poem The Lady of Shallot, which she asked students to read to each other in pairs. Finally, she asked them to discuss Tennyson's (or the speaker's) attitude on death, as exemplified in this poem. Like Mrs. Kim, Mrs. Bowers used a thick textbook (Prentice Hall Literature, Common Core Edition, A British Tradition) that consisted of a literary anthology and discussion of authors and the time periods to which they belong. However, when students appeared disengaged in class, Mrs. Bowers did nothing to prompt them to participate. Thus, I observed one student sleeping in class and others playing with their cell phones during her lecture.

Although Mrs. Bowers lesson paralleled Mrs. Kim's in its focus on a central author and his writings on death,[14] the manner in which the two used class time differed markedly. Mrs. Bowers used class time laxly, while Mrs. Kim used it efficiently. For example, Mrs. Bowers began her 46-minute class by offering students a proposal. She offered them 10 minutes of silent free reading time, on the condition that they would remain quiet. She threatened that if they talked among themselves loudly, she would stop and make everyone read something boring, as the following excerpt reveals.

---

[14] Technically, literary critics distinguish between the author's view and the speaker's view in a poem, arguing that poets can and do write poems that express viewpoints other than their own (Harrison, 2013). Both Mrs. Kim and Mrs. Bowers made comments to this effect but fell back on the casual vernacular of referring to "his view on death," casually conflating the author and speaker's views on the topic.

Excerpt 4.9.: March 6, 2019
Transcript of Mrs. Bower's Senior English Class, Fremont

>Mrs. Bowers: [Speaking over general clamor] All right, guys. I am…Shhhhh
>
>[hushes students]…[the class quiets]…I have a proposal for you. I'm
>
>willing to give you ten minutes of silent reading today, on the condition
>
>that it is actually silent reading.
>
>Russel: Okay.
>
>Mrs. Bowers: If it becomes loud talking and not silent reading, then we will stop,
>
>and read something really boring together.
>
>Students: [Groan in chorus.]
>
>Russel: I mean it might not be boring to us.
>
>Mrs. Bowers: [Joking] [I'll] throw things at you to make sure you stay awake.
>
>Russel: What's the boring thing?
>
>Mrs. Bowers: [Sighing] I don't know. I'll decide. [The students continue talking.
>
>Mrs. Bowers answers a few of their questions.] All right, guys! Here we
>
>go! I am starting your time…Your silence begins…now! [Students
>
>continue to chat, laugh, and talk among themselves only eventually
>
>settling down after about a minute.]

In effect, Mrs. Bowers offered students free time so long as they were quiet, as she made

no attempt to ensure that they were reading. Moreover, she threatened them with a group

reading, presumably of "boring" literature, if they made too much noise—a problematic

way to motivate students to enjoy reading and literature. Although Mrs. Bowers offered

students 10 minutes of quiet reading time, a full 17 minutes of class time elapsed before

the day's lesson on Tennyson began. She announced "Your silence begins….now" at 01:18 after the bell had rung and began her lecture on Tennyson at 17:14. To be fair, she projected a 10-minute count down on the screen, but after it ended and she asked students to take out their textbooks, some went to their lockers to fetch them. Thus, she taught for about 29 minutes or 63% of the period. Since the class period lasted 46 minutes, students spent 15% of it in unstructured time and another 22% of it in quiet reading, which some used as additional unstructured time.

Indeed, my observations suggest that a number of students did not take full advantage of the quiet reading time to read. When Mrs. Bowers announced, "Your silence begins…now," I observed some students open a book and appear to read from it, while others sat idly doing nothing, and still others walked around the classroom getting materials. Two boys sitting nearby me had an off-topic conversation in hushed tones about sports. A girl sitting near me completed a worksheet for another class. One international student sat idly looking at the TV monitor in the classroom which flashed rotating announcements. Another student slept. Some students looked at their cell phones. Meanwhile, Mrs. Bowers sat at her desk looking down at the work with which she remained engaged. I observed Mrs. Bowers' classes on a number of occasions. Although she did not always offer students quiet reading or writing time, she did so in the majority of classes I observed. Problematically, however, she did nothing during these quiet times to ensure students were on task.

In contrast, Mrs. Kim did not allow students to opt-out of any activity she designed for them. When students were off task, she would address them in a friendly

and warm manner, reminding them of the activity, and asking them to do it, and they would generally comply almost immediately. When students were having sidebar conversations while she addressed the class, she would gently call them by name, and they would almost immediately fall silent and pay attention. For example, in the same period Mrs. Kim taught a lesson on American Romanticism, she began the 90-minute class with a 30-minute writing lab, in which she asked students to complete writing business letters for their quests. Following Dr. Marie Alcock's advice, students at Elmshaven worked in small groups in most classes on quests or project-based learning. In small groups, they identified a social problem they wished to address and worked together to create a practical solution for it, or for a part of it, that they could implement. The letters Mrs. Kim asked her students to write were intended to ask important leaders in business, industry, and other fields to partner with the students in implementing their solution. However, unlike Mrs. Bowers, Mrs. Kim monitored students to ensure they were on task, as the following excerpt attests.

Excerpt 4.10: October 22, 2019
Transcript of Classroom Observation, Mrs. Kim's Junior English, Elmshaven

> Students work on their letters. Mrs. Kim walks throughout the classroom,
> monitoring students and giving them feedback, answering their questions, and
> advising them on how to phrase their letters. Two students, Mona and Alice, start
> a rather loud sidebar conversation.
>
> Mrs. Kim: Mona. Alice. Have you completed your letters?
>
> Mona and Alice grow quiet and return to work.

As this excerpt illustrates, Mrs. Kim monitored students and gave feedback, unlike Mrs. Bowers who remained at her desk absorbed in her own work. Moreover, she called on students who were off topic and asked them politely if they had finished. This usually was enough to motivate students to return to task. In so doing, Mrs. Kim did not allow students to opt out of any learning activity she designed for the class. Lemov (2015) found that students perform better academically when teachers do not allow them to opt-out of learning. Thus, Mrs. Kim's policy of not allowing students to opt-out of her classroom learning activities resulted in greater engagement than Mrs. Bower's policy of allowing students the freedom to opt-in or out.

Moreover, the two teachers differed in their use of discussion. I seldom observed Mrs. Bower's engage students in class discussions. Rather, she preferred to lecture, although occasionally she engaged students in small-group activities or small-group discussions of literary works. In contrast, Mrs. Kim engaged students in discussion throughout the period, either personalized discussions while monitoring and giving feedback during the writing lab, or whole class discussion during the lesson on American Romanticism. Research suggests that students learn more in classes when teachers engage them in discussions than in classes that depend almost exclusively on lecture (Nystrand, 1997; Sedova et al., 2019).

Mathematics Classes

Mathematics at Elmshaven

The math classes I observed at both schools focused on giving students extensive individual sample problems in class, followed by teacher explanations of how to properly

solve each problem. I observed Mrs. Belinda Aragon's Honors Algebra 2 class on a day

they discussed factoring polynomials. She asked students to fetch small white boards and

markers from the classroom's supply cabinet, which they used to complete sample

problems. Holding up their whiteboards, students could give Mrs. Aragon instant

feedback on who understood how to solve a mathematical problem and who needed

additional help. The teacher asked students to factor several polynomials in this way.

After each, she paused and demonstrated how to solve the problem correctly, standing at

the side of the class at an elevated table and writing out each problem, explaining step-

by-step how to factor it, while a document reader projected her work onto the white board

in the front of the class. In this way, students had an unobstructed view of the white

board, without the teacher's back obscuring what she was writing. Meanwhile, Mrs.

Aragon had an unobstructed view of the students and the white board. While the students

worked on factoring problems, she walked among them, checking comprehension and

giving feedback. She also noticed students off-task and asks them to do the task at hand,

reiterating the directions and waiting until they were doing so before leaving. In this way,

she allowed no student to opt-out of participating. After the white board activity, the

teacher asked students to engage in a longer assignment that required individual work

using Showbie, Elmshaven's online classroom management system. Students used their

personal electronic devices (mostly iPads and tablets) to access Showbie and do their

work. Showbie allows teachers to upload scanned worksheets and students to write

directly on them using their tablet and a stylus. This manages all paperwork efficiently, as

Showbie saves all student work and ensures it is submitted to the teacher for grading

(showbie.com). While students worked on Showbie, Mrs. Aragon allowed them to discuss their work with peers, and some did so. At the end of the class, she went over a previous day's homework, asking what questions students had. They called out the number of the problems they had difficulty solving, and she demonstrated how to solve each. The class ended with her reminding students of an upcoming quiz, for which they could practice on Showbie.

Mathematics at Fremont

I observed Mrs. Connie Hudson's AP Statistics course at Fremont on a day when she discussed the difference between paired-samples T-tests and independent-samples T-tests in preparation for the AP Statistics exam. After reviewing students notes from a previous day's class, she asked students about the difference between paired-samples T-tests and independent-samples T-tests. They remained silent, and she explained the difference. She asked students to take out a worksheet from the day before and complete it. It contained a series of word problems and required students to evaluate whether the test to solve each would require a paired-samples T-test or an independent-samples T-test. Students completed the worksheet quietly at their desks. Afterward, she asked them for their answers. Students responded by telling her their answers, many of which she identified as incorrect. When a student responded incorrectly, she asked follow-up questions to elicit a discussion about why the answer was wrong. Students remained largely quiet, despite her efforts to engage them in discussion, with only occasional answers, when called upon directly. After completing the worksheet, Mrs. Hudson asked students to tabulate T-test data and plot it on scatterplots she had drawn the axes to on the

board. Students worked quietly at their desks, tabulating their data and then went to the whiteboard to plot their data. Mrs. Hudson then discussed how to read the scatterplot and what it suggested. She had them complete two activities like this. The lesson concluded with Mrs. Hudson reviewing key points of the lesson using a slideshow on her iPad that she projected on the white board. She then introduced the homework assignment and asked students to preview it and ask any questions they might have. One student raised his hand and asked how to solve a certain type of problem on the homework assignment. Mrs. Hudson explained how to solve the problem. As she did so, the bell rang, and students rose to leave. Mrs. Hudson said goodbye, but few students responded.

<div align="center">

Analyses of Math Classes

</div>

Analysis of Elmshaven Math Class

As my discussion of Mrs. Aragon and Mrs. Hudson suggests, both teachers used roughly similar approaches to teaching mathematics. They presented students with a series of challenging problems and asked them to solve them. Students engaged in mostly individual work in both classes, although occasionally Mrs. Aragon and Mrs. Hudson allowed them to help each other. However, these teachers differed in the way they used effective strategies to engage students in learning. Mrs. Aragon avoided using what Cazden (2001) refers to as traditional classroom discourse strategies in her teaching, such as initiation, response, and evaluation (IRE), where a teacher asks a question, students answer, and the teacher evaluates the answer as correct or incorrect. Nor did she use what Cazden (2001) refers to as nontraditional discourse strategies, such as dialogic instruction, where a teacher asks an open-ended question, listens to a student's answer,

<div align="center">

156

</div>

withholds evaluation and asks follow-up questions to elicit further critical thinking, discovery, and understanding. Rather, Mrs. Aragon's class resembled what Lave and Wenger (1991) describe as a community of practice—a formally organized group of individuals who regularly meet to engage in specific practices together—learning and teaching each other in the process how to do these better. Mrs. Aragon did not teach from the front of the classroom, but from the side, positioning herself as working alongside her students. After asking them to do a math problem and checking their answers, Mrs. Aragon did not render a verdict on whether their answers were correct or not. Rather, she demonstrated how she solved the same problem. Students watched this, and many realized in the process where they had made a mistake and how they should have attempted the problem, as evidenced by vocalizations such as "Oh, that's how you do it!" or "Mmmm" or "Ahhh!" She allowed for questions during her demonstrations and addressed them. Then the class as a whole moved on to the next problem. Thus, no student was under the spotlight, as it were, being judged for getting the right or wrong answer. Rather, class time focused on working together to help each other understand how to do the mathematical processes required in the lesson. At several points, students even corrected Mrs. Aragon, when she made a minor mistake. Rather than appearing embarrassed or upset by this, Mrs. Aragon looked at her work, admitted when she was wrong, apologized and corrected the mistake. In this way, the responsibility to ensure correct answers was communal and not top down.

Analysis of Fremont Math Class

In contrast, Mrs. Hudson relied on what Cazden (2001) would describe as traditional classroom discourse strategies, such as initiation, response, and evaluation (IRE), to assess student comprehension. She asked them for the answer to each problem (initiation), listened to their answer (response), and then judged it correct or incorrect (evaluation)—missing opportunities to ask follow-up questions to engage students in critical thinking that might have led them to arrive at the correct answer themselves. After evaluating students' answers as incorrect, she then asked critical thinking questions, such as, "How do you know this is the right answer?" However, while these questions appeared to elicit higher order thinking skills based on Bloom's Taxonomy, as they asked students to evaluate how they arrived at their answers, such questions functioned as merely additional IRE questions. If students did not answer these follow-up questions correctly, Mrs. Hudson would simply provide them with the correct answer. Thus, even Mrs. Hudson's critical thinking questions appeared as such in form only, not in how they functioned within the larger discursive practices within her classroom, for she maintained sole responsibility for offering correct answers and doling out evaluation. Thus, her discourse style helped promote a passive attitude among her students. If they merely waited, she would tell them the correct answer, so they did not need to risk offering a wrong answer unless directly called upon to answer a question—the only time most students spoke in her class. Moreover, her discourse patterns emphasized that all she valued were correct answers, not student's thought processes. Perhaps for this reason, students seemed disinclined to speak in class. Cazden (2001), Nystrand (1997) and other

researchers have observed similar student disengagement in response to a teacher's use of

IRE discourse patterns in many classes they observed. Thus, we see that Mrs. Aragon's

teaching strategies lent themselves to greater classroom participation, while Mrs.

Hudson's lent themselves to greater passivity and disengagement. Much research

suggests that students learn, retain, and apply what they learn better when they engage in

active as opposed to passive learning (Chi, 2009, 2014; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013;

Hammer, 2000; Pitterson et al., 2016; Schneider & Preckel, 2017). Mrs. Aragon's

teaching practices supported active learning, while Mrs. Hudson's promoted passive

learning.

A Schoolwide Issue at Both Sites: Segregated Seating

One issue that I observed at both sites concerned the lack of integration between

domestic and international students in their seating arrangements—a phenomenon I

observed in every school setting but two, as I relate below. While research supports the

integration of international students into mainstream content courses (Echevarria, Vogt,

& Short, 2013), the seating arrangements in most Fremont and Elmshaven courses

allowed international students and domestic students to self-segregate and ignore each

other. This is problematic as research suggests that English language learners (ELLs)—a

category into which all of the international students in my sample fell—learn English and

content better when they meaningfully interact with domestic students and teachers as

social insiders in a class setting (Yoon, 2008; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013).

However, in all content courses I observed with two exceptions, domestic students and

international students sat in segregated groups, precluding opportunities for meaningful interactions and cross-cultural learning.

Only two teachers I observed assigned seats: Mr. Armstrong, the History teacher at Fremont, and Mr. Cunningham, a science teacher at Elmshaven. Both required the domestic and international students to intermingle in cooperative learning activities. Mr. Armstrong arranged his seats such that four desks were arranged in a cluster facing each other. In our interview, he revealed that he carefully planned his seating chart to place domestic and international students together in small groups to facilitate cooperative learning. My observations of his classes bore out the utility of his seating arrangements, which required domestic and international students to interact meaningfully to complete cooperative learning activities. Meanwhile, Mr. Cunningham, a science teacher at Elmshaven, allowed students to choose their seats when they entered his class but assigned them to groups during cooperative learning activities. He distributed the international students among the domestic students, thereby facilitating cross-group interaction.

In contrast, teachers in most of the other classes I observed allowed students to sit wherever they pleased. This inevitably resulted in self-segregated seating with international students and domestic students sitting in separate groups. For example, in Mrs. Aragon's Honors 2 Algebra class, two columns of tables divided the class neatly into two seating areas, each with rows that stretched from the front to the back of the classroom. The majority of students consisted of Chinese international students who occupied one half of the classroom—the left half. Due to their numbers, they occupied

the seats from the front of the class to the very back. Meanwhile, on the right half of the classroom sat domestic students. Far fewer in number, they occupied only the first few rows of seats. During pair work and group work activities, students in Mrs. Aragon's Algebra class talked with whomever was near them, resulting in international students speaking with international students, almost exclusively in Mandarin, and domestic students speaking with domestic students, almost exclusively in English. While all the Elmshaven students I interviewed praised Mrs. Aragon for her excellent math instruction, her class's seating arrangement did not facilitate cross-group integration, which would have allowed them to practice speaking in English and developing social relationships with their domestic student peers. In addition to Mrs. Aragon's Honors Algebra 2 course at Elmshaven, I observed international students self-segregate in other classes where they formed the majority of students, such as Mr. Casillas's Anatomy & Physiology course at Fremont and Mrs. West's Art course at Fremont.

In classes where domestic students outnumbered international students, the international students sat at the margins of the classroom—usually the back or side. For example, in Mrs. Bower's Senior English class at Fremont, the international students sat to the far right of the class from the teacher's perspective, occupying the margin of the classroom. There they appeared inattentive and disengaged, looking at their cell phones, reading books, and doing homework for other classes, with a few exceptions. Meanwhile, domestic students generally appeared much more engaged, as they made eye contact with the teacher and responded to her presentation with comments, laughter, and questions. I saw international students assuming similarly marginalized seating arrangements at

Elmshaven in Mr. Chang's Religion 9, Mrs. Nevarez's Biology, Mrs. Hoffman's World History, Mrs. Kim's English 11, and Mr. Malon's Art courses. At Fremont, I observed similar marginalized seating habits among international students in Mrs. Romero's Senior Religion and Mrs. Hudson's AP Physics courses.

Wherever teachers allowed segregated seating, I observed international students speaking mostly in Chinese with each other. While their parents had sent them abroad to learn English and develop intercultural capital, classroom practices allowed them to self-segregate and avoid the interactions that would have facilitated their second language acquisition, namely, meaningful interaction with English-speaking domestic students. Conversely, domestic students, by not interacting with international students missed out on opportunities to develop intercultural capital and expand their ability to understand a variety of spoken forms of English.

When I asked school personnel and students about the segregation I observed, all admitted that they had observed it. However, it remained something of a taboo topic—one that school personnel, domestic students, and international students seemed to think was better left unaddressed, as it reflected student preferences rather than official school policy, and to address it would push everyone out of their comfort zone. For example, in my interview with Diego Casillas—the Biology and Anatomy and Physiology teacher at Fremont—he described how he had observed self-segregation between domestic and international students, but heard no students openly discuss it, as if it were a topic not to be discussed.

Excerpt 4.11: October 30, 2019
Interview with Diego Casillas, Life Sciences Teacher, Fremont

August: I'm curious about this. So when I walk around here at lunch, I see…the

Chinese group pretty much sitting together at tables and the US group

sitting together at tables and not mixing.

Diego: Yeah.

August: So is this kind of like something that the teachers notice too and talk

about?...

Diego: …I haven't…I haven't honestly…heard teachers talking about it. I've

noticed it…I don't see the US kids sitting with some of the international

kids.

August: So those divisions.

Diego. Yeah. Exactly…And they even have their own club, too.

August: International student club?

Diego: Yeah. Yeah, they do. And I'm like, "Huh! That's cool!" But like I

mean…like…how much more are we secluding them, too, or allowing

them to seclude themselves…Yeah…like what opportunities are we giving

them to mix, to kind of push them, nudge them out of their comfort zones?

August: So what do students say about that?

Diego: Um…I don't…I don't really hear anything, honestly. The kids don't

usually say anything, talk about it, or anything like that.

August: Because it's there. It's like right in front of your eyes.

Diego: Yeah, it's there. Nobody says anything. They're just there. You know.

Yeah. No, they don't talk about it. I've never had a conversation with a

student about that.

As this excerpt suggests, school personnel and students knew that segregation existed on

campus, but neither group discussed it openly, suggesting that the school had developed

an informal, tacit understanding of and toleration for the practice.

In contrast, Mrs. Romero, the Religion and ESL teacher at Fremont, saw the self-

segregation and attempted to address it by talking to students about it; however, she

reported experiencing resistance from them, as the following excerpt attests.

Excerpt 4.12: December 13, 2018
Interview 1 with Mrs. Romero, ESL & Religion Teacher, Fremont

August: Describe how international students might not always interact with

domestic students and then what steps you've taken to sort of say, "Okay.

Let's, let's fix this."

Mrs. Romero: Uh…I think something that's interesting is what you mentioned.

[International students] They…they become very isolated, whether it's

just with themselves or their group. Like we could see it…And you still

now could see it. You go to Fremont Academy during lunch, and you'll

see the tables. They're very marked. Like this is the Chinese international

students. This is the American students. And they each have their own

academy almost. And that's what we've been trying to break. And the

American students will say, "Oh, no-no-no, but they have their own group.

Okay. They speak a whole different language. They act completely

164

different than we do. So I'm sure they're happy on their own." "No, we're trying to mesh both worlds." "No, they're fine." Or the Chinese kids will say, "Oh, the American students, they won't let us in their group. They've got their own language. They've got their own things that they like. They are very different from us, so we're gonna keep each other isolated, or we're gonna keep each other separated." I think that's been one of the biggest issues: to socially interact with American students, and the American students to interact with the Chinese students. And you're right. The kids show up in class, if they're all mainstreamed—the Chinese students on one side, and the American students on the other side. The American students are talking up a storm. They're talking in English. And they're talking over here in Mandarin or Cantonese…Right? Very marked. Very different.

I observed very few school personnel at either site who attempted to integrate the two groups. Mrs. Romero numbered among the exceptions. As mentioned, she launched a Buddy Program that placed first-year international students with domestic student mentors to help socialize them into campus life and develop their English proficiency and American cultural competence. She gave international students in her ESL classes credit for attending school functions and assignments to complete while there, such as to participate in a game or talk to a domestic student.

The international students whom I spoke to about the self-segregation I observed brushed it off as a natural or justified response to the difference in cultures and languages

between the international students and domestic students, as the following excerpt from my interview with Susana Wong illustrates.

Excerpt 4.13: February 20, 2020
Interview with Susana Wong, International Student Senior, Fremont

> August: If I were to ask you have you experienced rudeness or racism or discrimination or segregation, what would you say?
>
> Susana: No. [Chuckles]
>
> August: Really?
>
> Susana: I might be experienced, but I don't really care, so that's why I don't think so.
>
> August: So all the students say the same thing as you, "No, everything's nice and friendly." Right? But when I go observe, I see like at lunchtime, all the international students sit together, and all the American students sit together.
>
> Susana: [Casually] Yeah. Because of different culture, some…yeah…just…some part of us can understand each other.
>
> August: So you don't feel any bad feelings, any hurt, any negativity toward them?
>
> Susana: [Patiently, as if trying to explain a basic concept to me] Because of a different culture…

As this excerpt illustrates, Susana chuckled at my question, dismissing my suggestion that racism or segregation factored into her experiences at Fremont. She rationalized the open segregation at Fremont as a reflection of students' preference to interact with others who shared their culture and read nothing more into it than that. Her reading of the open

segregation at her school seemed representative of those who viewed the segregation between domestic and international students as unproblematic at both sites. They tended to see it as a matter of preference for associating with others who share linguistic and cultural ties. I have argued here, however, that it adversely impacted both domestic and international students as it limited their ability to develop their linguistic and/or intercultural capital—both valuable assets in our global economy.

The only domestic student informant to participate in this study, Jennifer Oh, painted a similarly benign portrait of the open segregation that I observed at Elmshaven in our interview, as the following excerpt attests.

Excerpt 4.14: February 20, 2020
Interview with Jennifer Oh, Domestic Student Senior, Elmshaven

August: How about the way US students treat international students?

Jennifer: [Excitedly] Mmm! This is fantastic, actually. I love this because even though it's very obvious that international students prefer each other's company more. You'll see like after school or during lunch or even in class, they all group together. They all sit in the same place. They all go to the same classroom and have lunch together. But a lot of them are very comfortable with the locals here. Like…I have seen like…people I wouldn't expect…to approach locals, I'll see them like fist-bumping locals…Yeah…You know, like-like they're doing like their whole bro thing or whatever it is, it's cute…I think we actually like taking them in…

Interestingly, Jennifer speaks of "taking them in" and describes them as "cute"—arguably using language that infantilizes international students. Her word choice positions

167

international students as stray animals seeking shelter. She describes international students as social inferiors who benefit from the condescension they receive from their betters. She paints a portrait of inter-group harmony based not on authentic knowledge of each other but on tokens of cultural hegemony, such as fist-bumping, a marker of US pop cultural hegemony over the Chinese other. In the same glowing terms, she goes on to describe an international student who entered the school's prestigious chorale and functions something like an international student mascot for the chorale member boys who dogpile him, an act she suggests he is fine with and which demonstrates his acceptance by the group.

Excerpt 4.15: February 20, 2020
Interview with Jennifer Oh, Domestic Student Senior, Elmshaven

> Jennifer: [continuing from the discussion above] …I think the best example of this might be James, actually, again, where he…I mean…he's, he's this big guy. He's six foot…six foot two. He…he looks intimidating, but he's very endearing, actually. And…um…let's say in our whole chorale of about 30, 40 something people, all of us love him. We all took him in. He's perfectly comfortable fooling around with everyone. He's actually, you know…Like boys like to dogpile…And James has no issue being the bottom of the dogpile. Like everyone's very comfortable with each other…

As this excerpt illustrates, Jennifer singles out James, an international student who functions as a mascot for the chorale, a large imposing male whom the other boys assert masculine dominance over by dogpiling (Pascoe, 2011), yet who allows this behavior signifying his acceptance and assent to the social order at Elmshaven and, thus,

reassuring all chorale members that the American-dominated social hierarchy remains unchallenged.

Mrs. Bowers, the English teacher at Fremont, described a similar international student mascot in her senior class, as the following excerpt from our interview relates. Leading up to this exchange, I had asked Mrs. Bowers about conflicts between domestic and international students that might arise through teasing or other such behaviors.

Excerpt 4.16: November 14, 2018
Interview 2 with Mrs. Bowers, English and ESL Teacher, Fremont

Mrs. Bowers: …And sometimes like I-I'm thinking of one of my senior boys who's an international student…He's very small, and he's so sweet. And he speaks great English now that he's been here for a while. Um…but he's kind of…he's almost like the…like the mascot of the class, you know, or of the classroom. I wouldn't say of the—like the entire collective [Senior] class. But in the classroom, they're…they'll go…It's never malicious. And he definitely doesn't give off the vibe that he's like offended or hurt by it, but it is—it is kind of like that's what defines him as a person in class, like he's from China…like instead of…

August: So is it like doting or teasing?

Mrs. Bowers: I'd say it's like good-natured teasing. Yeah. It's not…

August: He puts up with it like a sport? Or do you think he secretly thinks like, "I hate this?"

Mrs. Bowers: No…He seems…He seems to be okay with it. It's hard to know, but…yeah.

In a school where international and domestic students self-segregated in almost every class I observed, Mrs. Bowers described one student whose identity in his Senior English class stemmed not from whom he was as a person, but the fact that unlike the majority in the class, he was Chinese. Mrs. Bowers described this clear instance of ethnic profiling and othering as "good-natured teasing" and referred to this student as "the mascot of the class." I argue that such examples suggest the degree of segregation that existed at both sites, where international students who joined the ranks of domestic students in their traditionally exclusive spaces experienced dogpiling or "good-natured teasing" for being Chinese. Troublingly, domestic students and school personnel did not see such behaviors as problematic, even though they clearly demeaned international students.

I am aware that I am framing the separation I observed between domestic and international students as segregation, a potentially problematic designation. International students, such as Susana Wong, whose testimony I cite above, described the separation as a natural preference for associating with peers who spoke the same language and shared the same cultural values. The majority of international students and school personnel I interviewed at both sites viewed this separation in similar terms. Why do I not simply follow the majority opinion and pronounce these practices natural and benign? After all, Greir-Reed (2010) described the importance of "creating sanctuaries and counterspaces for coping with racial microaggressions" for African American students attending predominantly white institutions [PWI] (p. 181). She defines sanctuaries as "safe spaces to help Black students make sense of and cope with their experiences at PWIs" (p. 181). Could the self-segregated spaces international students occupy function as sanctuaries? I

do not believe that this is a permissible reading of the segregation I observed at both sites for reasons I explore below.

The safe space argument is not an endorsement of systemic segregation, whether *de facto* or *de jure*, but an endorsement of sanctuaries *from* segregation where minorities can find solidarity and support processing and resisting the microaggressions and stresses of segregation. For example, Greir-Reed's (2010) research focuses on "a weekly networking group" for African American students that helped them deal with microaggressions. She did not argue that segregation between Whites and Blacks offered Blacks a sanctuary. Similarly, Gibson, Bejinez, Hidalgo, and Rolon (2004) describe a migrant student club that offered sanctuary and social support for Mexican immigrant students at an American high school that marginalized students of color. They did not argue that segregation served as a sanctuary for Mexican students.

Peach (1996) argued for a distinction between two types of segregation, which he termed "the good and the bad; the voluntary and the imposed; the ethnic village and the ghetto" (p. 380). He argued that "One of the errors in the literature [on segregation] is attempting to see discrimination as responsible for voluntary segregation; another is formulating positive explanations for what is, in fact, enforced segregation" (Peach, 1996, p. 380). Lest I be accused of committing these errors, I concede that my participants described the social segregation between domestic and international students as *de facto* (self-segregation) and not *de jure* (forced segregation). Moreover, I concede that while some domestic students I observed ignored and excluded international students in social interactions in and out of class, most international students practiced self-

segregation because they had no viable alternative. Some teachers I spoke with about this issue even admitted that they did not know how to address it, as they feared that forced integration would cause greater social disharmony and resistance than their school's unofficial policy of tacitly accepting segregation. However, those teachers—such as Mrs. Romero, Mr. Armstrong, and Mr. Cunningham—who took small strides toward addressing the issue of segregation demonstrated the efficacy of creative and positive approaches to solving the problem. Their policies encouraged domestic students and international students to interact, and the results of my observations and interviews suggest that both domestic and international students appreciated these opportunities, ranking these teachers as among the best on campus. Moreover, their simple strategies to integrate the two groups suggests that the dilemma some teachers perceived in their school's segregation was not insoluble.

CHAPTER 5: EXCEPTIONAL STUDENTS

Introduction

In this chapter, I address the questions of how positioning and capital influenced the educational experiences of international students. I found that international students at Fremont and Elmshaven had complete access to their school's curriculum; however, their educational experiences varied based on their social positioning and capital. School personnel, in interview after interview, described international students as falling into one of three categories—exceptional, normative, or at-risk—based on a number of factors with students' perceived linguistic capital and intercultural capital ranking as primary determiners. I argue that this classification system evidences how school personnel positioned international students within a hierarchy of ability, telescoped through lenses which emphasized two forms of capital at the expense of all others. Meanwhile, domestic students positioned international students with sufficient capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school as social insiders, befriending them, including them in group interactions, vaulting them into leadership positions, and praising them in school publications (e.g., yearbooks). Conversely, domestic students positioned international students they deemed to possess insufficient linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate as outsiders, excluding them from social interactions inside and outside of class, seldom speaking to them or even looking at them, perceiving their Chinese English accents as indecipherable and their culture as foreign. Perhaps in response, international students self-segregated, almost exclusively sitting with and

speaking to other international students and ignoring domestic students—unless group work activities forced them to interact with their domestic peers.

The international students in my sample of 18 possessed many forms of capital; however, these went unrecognized or undervalued by school personnel and domestic students, if the international student lacked the perceived proficiency or desire to assimilate. These other forms of capital include many that Yosso (2005) inventoried in her discussion of community cultural wealth: navigational capital, familial capital, aspirational capital, linguistic capital, and resistant capital. They provided a hidden arsenal of resources that international students utilized to survive abroad, often separated from family and loved ones. In what follows, I shall provide evidence that linguistic and intercultural capital functioned as primary determiners of social positioning at both sites, influencing international students' educational experiences. In this chapter, I will focus on two exceptional students. In the next chapter, I will focus on six normative students (who represent the majority of my sample and the international student populations at both sites).

School Personnel's Classification of International Students

Evidence that school personnel classified international students into three categories (exceptional, normative, and at-risk) comes from several of my interviews. For example, Mrs. Karis Ensworth—who taught Visual Arts, Typing, Computers, and Yearbook at Elmshaven during the time of this study and who had previously taught P.E. and served as the registrar over her 29-year tenure at the school—described how she positioned international students into three categories in our interview. She discussed

how a few international students had come to Elmshaven to escape the watchful eye of their parents, so they could enjoy a carefree lifestyle in America—away from controlling authority figures. This small subset of international students did not apply themselves to their studies, according to Mrs. Ensworth, and, therefore, qualified as at-risk of failing. I wanted to know how many students she estimated fell into this last category, prompting my question in the excerpt below. In answering me, Mrs. Ensworth described the three categories of international students—exceptional, normative, and at-risk—profiling an exceptional international student and explaining that at-risk students constitute only a fraction of the overall international student population.

Excerpt 5.1: May 1, 2019
Interview with Mrs. Ensworth, Visual Arts Teacher, Elmshaven

August: What's your guess on the…number [of international students] who are problematic in the ways we've been discussing?

Mrs. Ensworth: So it's not a huge amount, but it's what you remember. You know? It's-it's... There's some that are extremely amazing. Like Micky Kim is just—she's just—she's great. She's—she's involved in [the hand bells ensemble]. She's involved in the chorale. She's involved in SA [Student Association, aka, Student Body Government]. She's involved in a lot of things. Her English is good. She studies hard, you know. And then...but...and she kind of sticks out because she's so amazing. But then there's a big group that's just kind of...they're good kids. They do *okay*. They're…you know…they're fine. And then there's those few that are just really problems. But the few that are the real problems, those are the ones

175

you remember. You know those are the ones when you're thinking, those

are the ones you think about. And then you kind of pour them all into

there. And then it's like, "No, they're not all like that."

This excerpt reveals criteria Mrs. Ensworth used for classifying international students into three groups—those that are "extremely amazing" (exceptional), those that are "good kids" and "do okay" (normative), and "those few that are just really problems" (at-risk). Notice the characteristics she suggests align with an exceptional student, such as Micky Kim. Mrs. Ensworth commends her linguistic capital: "Her English is good." She commends her academic achievement: "She studies hard, you know…and she kind of sticks out because she's so amazing." She commends her participation in campus life, mentioning her involvement in the handbell ensemble, the chorale, the Student Association, and other campus activities. In contrast, Mrs. Ensworth describes normative students as "good kids" who "do *okay*." In my interviews with school personnel, I learned that the majority of international students fell into this category; however, I also noticed that school personnel seemed to give them scant attention in their descriptions of international students, focusing rather on exceptional and at-risk students. Lastly, Mrs. Ensworth characterizes at-risk students as "those few that are just really problems." Synthesizing comments from many of my interviews with school personnel regarding at-risk international students, I learned that they did not apply themselves to their studies, often stayed up all night playing video games or watching Chinese-language movies/TV shows, slept in class, and did not show interest in cultivating relationships with school personnel, domestic students, or, in some cases, even other international students. My

informants suggested that a few at-risk students also used controlled substances and engaged in premarital sex.

Ryan Chang—the ESL Teacher, Religion Teacher, and Girls' Volleyball Coach at Elmshaven during the first year of this study and the Director of Student Affairs and International Recruitment during the second—also described a three-part system of categorizing international students, as the following excerpt from our interview illustrates. In our conversation up to this point, Mr. Chang had discussed several of the issues he saw with the international student program at Elmshaven. Since our conversation had focused primarily on the negative aspects of the program, I asked him to discuss positive aspects of it. In response, he described the characteristics of exceptional international students. However, before I could ask a follow-up question, he described in detail, those students he deemed at-risk.

Excerpt 5.2: May 14, 2019
Interview with Ryan Chang, ESL Teacher & Coach, Elmshaven

> August: …So we've kind of been talking about the negative aspects [of the international student program], but I've heard stories, and I think…you've mentioned some of these stories about students who just adapt and excel and go on to great colleges…Can you briefly tell me about a positive experience where a student did adapt, did make friends?
>
> Mr. Chang: Oh, my! Absolutely! We've had a few. We have a kid from Hong Kong. We have a kid from Korea—South Korea. And we definitely have kids from China that have decided to [chuckles] take my advice to make friends with the local students and sort of separate yourself a little bit from

your homeland people—your countrymen—and those students get

involved with student government offices and run. And they're popular

schoolwide. The whole school recognizes them. Even though they're

international, they're a force to be reckoned with. And these are the

students that graduate and go to UC Berkeley, Stanford, UCLA.

August: So like…um…

Mr. Chang: Ready for the negative?

August: Alright then.

Mr. Chang: …So this is how I kind of…kind of group the international students,

and it's probably—it's probably true even for the local students…The

majority of people fall within the 98% in the middle. Right? And then

there's about 1…1 percent—that are just super go-getter…smart, studious,

students. And then there's that 1 percent who just don't…either don't want

to put in the effort or [are] a little slow and have special needs. But [the]

majority of the people fall within that 98 percent…But what I've seen is

that towards the bottom half of the 98 to the last 1 percent, we have

students that…when they came to America, it's because their parents

[would have felt] ashamed if they had continued to remain in their

countries. They would bring shame to the family because of their lack of

effort and…attitude towards learning. And so, they were almost dumped

here by their parents: "Listen! If you're going to…make us lose face, do it

in America. At least we don't have to answer to these people [our

community members], and we can just tell them, you know, 'My son is studying in America.'" And that, that's prestigious because not every family can afford it…And then there's that small—well, I probably shouldn't say small. It probably will extend to about…10 to 20 percent of the students—the top 10 to 20 percent of the international students who-who understand their mission here is to get into a good college. That's the only mission that the parents ever…asked of them. Then they accomplish that. We've had—we've enjoyed a good three, four years and running of 20% of our graduating seniors—and the majority of them being international—making it into UC system schools.[15]

Interestingly, in Mr. Chang's description of exceptional international students, he suggests that they possess the linguistic capital to "make friends with the local students…and…get involved with student government…"—suggesting that they use their linguistic capital to acquire intercultural capital. Pöllmann (2009) defines intercultural capital as "a personal reservoir of intercultural experiences and skills (e.g. experience of living abroad, intercultural friendships, and language skills) that enable the respective individual to competently engage in intercultural encounters" (p. 540). Thus, making friends and participating in student government in a foreign country qualify as intercultural capital, or put another way, for an international student in America to develop social networks (social capital) that include school personnel and domestic

---

[15] During the first year of this study, 2019, the Senior Class at Elmshaven numbered 68, with approximately 16-20 of these being international students, according to the 2019 Elmshaven Yearbook.

students likely requires intercultural capital (i.e., cross-cultural linguistic, cultural, and social capital). According to Mr. Chang, even at-risk students benefit from intercultural or cosmopolitan capital, as they and their parents can boast of them studying abroad, rather than face shame for them failing at home. Delval and Bühlmann's (2020) notion of cosmopolitan capital as "a combination of cultural, linguistic, social, and institutionalized assets acquired through transnational mobility or exposure to an international environment" applies to both groups, those exceptional students who lay a school-endorsed claim to it and those at-risk students who lay a school-contested claim to it (p. 477).

Linguistic capital figured even in tracking decisions—a further evidence of its widespread use in classifying international students at both sites. As I learned in my interviews with Maria Lopez, the Registrar at Elmshaven, and Raquel Hernandez, the Registrar at Fremont, both used informal assessments of international students' linguistic capital to place them in mainstream or ESL classes, as the following excerpts reveal.

Excerpt 5.3: November 20, 2018
Interview with Maria Lopez, Registrar, Elmshaven

> August: What's your intake process for international students?...Do they have
> to have certain grades? Do they have to have a certain…TOEFL
> score…?

> Mrs. Lopez: We don't do the TOEFL. We do...um…um…interviews. So I
> Skype interview with them…And so we just measure their level of
> English. If they understand…We kind of have some little key things
> that we ask, like, "When's your birthday?" And if they say it correctly,

like "November 20, 1998," then we know they know—you know.

Sometimes they'll just say one thousand nine hundred and ninety-

eight.

Excerpt 5.4: October 17, 2019
Interview with Raquel Hernandez, Registrar, Fremont

August: What are the criteria that you use to place certain students in ESL and

others in mainstream courses?

Mrs. Hernandez: Well, that's a good question. And I…uh…it's kind of hard

to answer that because I was with a previous principal, [and] there was

no assessment…like I would have a conversation with them. The ESL

teacher would come and assess them and then would let me know

where they should be placed. That was as much of an assessment as we

had before.

Problematically, neither school used valid and reliable assessment data to place

international students in appropriate coursework. Rather, the registrars at both sites

attempted to assess prospective international students' academic English (CALP) by

evaluating their conversational English (BICS)—an invalid measure. Cummins (2000,

2008) distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), or

conversational language, and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), or

academic language. Research suggests L2 learners acquire conversational English (BICS)

in 1-3 years of informal language practice and academic English (CALP) in 4-7 years of

English-language schooling (Cummins, 2000; 2008; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013).

Thus, what the registrars at both sites measure in an informal Skype conversation (BICS)

does not accurately predict L2's proficiency in academic language (CALP), which is only used and, therefore, learned in English-language school contexts (Cummins, 2000; 2008; Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013). Based on this invalid assessment, the registrars place those they deem low English proficient in ESL classes, and those they deem English proficient in mainstream classes. Using assessments that gather valid and reliable data would help identify and support at-risk students. Mrs. Hernandez, the Fremont Registrar, indicated that the new principal at Fremont, Mrs. Teresa Avila, to her credit, had insisted on using valid and reliable assessment data to place international students moving forward (e.g., from a TOEFL or iTEP test and an interview).

In my interviews with principals, registrars and teachers at both sites, I heard them describe exceptional, normative, and at-risk students in terms of their linguistic, social, and intercultural capital and how well they used these to integrate into campus life and pursue their educational goals. Therefore, I consider this a prevalent rating system employed by school personnel to evaluate and position international students. Using data from interviews, observations, and document analysis, I shall present three profiles and five vignettes in this chapter and the next, illustrating two exceptional students and six normative students. No student in my sample qualified as at-risk, so I cannot offer detailed profiles of at-risk students—a limitation of my study and an opportunity for future research.[16]

---

[16] Although I asked three students whom school personnel identified as at-risk to participate in my study, and they reported their willingness to join, they reported that their guardians had refused to allow them to participate. Whether this was a face-saving maneuver on their part, or an actual refusal on the part of their guardians, I could not ascertain.

Andrew Lee, a Junior at Fremont Academy, when I interviewed him during the first year of this study, represents an international student whom school personnel positioned as exceptional. He possessed the four traits common to international students in this category: (1) he acquired English proficiency sufficient to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school; (2) he used his linguistic capital to develop social networks that included school personnel, domestic students, and international students; (3) he actively participated in campus life, pursuing a variety of curricular, co-curricular, and extracurricular activities; and (4) he did well academically in high school gaining entry into a prestigious university.[17]

Andrew Lee

Andrew Lee hails from a large, prominent city in China, where his parents worked as medical doctors before leaving their practices to start an X-ray technology business, which prospered. Meanwhile, he attended a Chinese elementary school. By the sixth grade, Andrew had become exasperated by the grueling amount of homework and test taking that characterized Chinese education and the exhausting hours of study required to maintain a competitive position in his class rankings. He reported having to attend school early in the morning and study until almost midnight every day, leaving him feeling like a slave—a common report among the international students in my sample. He determined to study abroad to improve the quality of his life and shared his dream with his parents. Hearing his resolve to study abroad, they took his aspiration

---

[17] At the time of this writing, Andrew Lee reports studying Biochemistry at a prestigious University of California campus.

seriously and researched schools in America through an agency, eventually selecting

Fremont for its well-regarded international student program. They bought a house in a

nearby city of California that has attracted many Asian businesses and families, where

they could live together in what international student researchers call an astronaut

family—one "characterized by the head of the household living and working in the

country of origin while the remaining family members reside in the host country" (Aye &

Guerin, 2001, p. 9).

While their new home was completing escrow, Andrew began his schooling in the

States, living with a homestay family, with whom he reported enjoying a warm,

supportive relationship. He attended a private Christian school near his homestay family

during the eighth grade.

By the ninth grade, Andrew's father and younger brother had joined him in the

States, where they lived in their new home, while his mother remained in China to tend to

the family business, frequently visiting them during school breaks. His social support

network soon swelled, as extended family wishing to make a new start in America moved

in with his nuclear family. He reported that his grandmother, uncle, aunt, and their two

young children shared his home, as well as an international student whose mother and his

were friends.

Andrew attended Fremont Academy, starting in the ninth grade, and reported that

the academics there were superior to those of his former school. Andrew reported liking

most aspects of Fremont, from the teachers to the domestic students to the social life of

the school. He reported getting easy A's in most teacher's classes just by listening in

class and doing well on the tests, a strategy he estimated he could use in about 80% of his courses. In the other 20%, Andrew reported that he had to study hard to obtain an A—something he disliked doing, as it reminded him of his slave-like existence in China. Nonetheless, Andrew excelled academically at Fremont Academy, graduating third in his class of 62 with a cumulative GPA of 4.09. His high school transcript shows that his GPA only dropped below a 4.0 once during his four years at Fremont, during the second semester of his Freshman year when he earned a B+ in Art. For every other semester he was in school, he maintained a 4.0 or higher GPA, thanks to the five AP classes he took (3 his Junior year, and 2 his Senior year).

Coming from a large, supportive family, Andrew emphasized the value of social relationships to him throughout our interview. In keeping with this value, he sought to make friends with the domestic students at Fremont Academy. Through interacting with them in PE, Andrew developed friendships that vaunted him into a prominent social position on campus. During his Freshman year, domestic students elected Andrew the captain of their P.E. football team, citing his ability to throw a football well. During his Junior year, the student body elected him to the position of International Student Liaison. During his Senior year, his classmates elected him to the position of Senior Class Treasurer.

Through his participation in school activities, Andrew became active in the social life of Fremont and rose to a position of prominence and influence. He served as an unofficial translator to school personnel needing assistance speaking to international students as well as to international students seeking assistance with understanding

schoolwork and communicating with school personnel or domestic students. Almost all the school personnel whom I interviewed at Fremont mentioned Andrew as an example of a high achieving international student with excellent English proficiency.

Andrew distinguished himself from other international students in my sample through his pursuit of extracurricular activities. While many international students in my sample participated in choir, band, or a club, and some reported going on field trips or mission trips, only Andrew reported participating in extracurricular activities in which he primarily interacted with domestic students in English. He attended a leadership conference for high school students, focused on cultivating student leaders that could enrich their schools and help address any institutional issues that students could work to solve. He went on a mission trip in New Mexico, where he and other students helped locals with a construction project, designed to give Fremont students an opportunity to engage in community service and learn about the needs of Native American communities and how to address them.

When describing his fondest memories of his time at Fremont, he spoke of, among other things, making friends with many of the domestic and international students there. He reported valuing opportunities to socialize with others and establish or enhance friendships, whether it was through participating in mission trips, leadership conferences, sports, student government, or auditioning for the elite choir so he could enjoy traveling on choir tour with his friends.

At the time of our interview, during his Junior year, he aspired to attend UC Berkeley and study medicine, computer science, or biology. If he pursued medicine, he

would be following in his parents' footsteps, who had given him so much and supported him so closely in his own academic journey.

Andrew's Linguistic Capital

Andrew developed English proficiency sufficient to integrate into the dominant American culture of Fremont Academy. Morrison and Liu (2000) define linguistic capital as "fluency in, and comfort with, a high-status, world-wide language which is used by groups who possess economic, social, cultural and political power and status in local and global society" (p. 473). Andrew spoke an informal register of English with near native-like fluency. In other words, he spoke like the domestic students I overheard talking in class and in the hallways at Fremont Academy. Specifically, he spoke with the prosody—the word stress and intonation—of a native speaker and usually—but not always—the pronunciation. For example, in the following excerpt from our interview, Andrew describes his parents at length, characterizing them as "chill," and contrasting them with other Asian parents he has heard about. His speech contains minor errors in the pronunciation of segmentals (vowels and consonants); however, his production of suprasegmentals (intonation and word stress, i.e., prosody) could pass for that of a native English-speaking teenager at Fremont. In the following excerpt, I have indicated word stress (force or loudness) using boldface font, phonemic omissions using square brackets, intonation and speaking rate using bracketed descriptors, connected (run together) speech using italics, and speech emphasized by timing delays or slower enunciation (e.g. vowel elongation) using underscores.

Excerpt 5.5: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

August: Can you describe your family?

Andrew: My **fam**ily? [rising intonation]

August: Mmmm.

Andrew: My **fam**ily [pronounced **fam**-ly both times] is

pretty…chill…[intonation rises at family, which he accents, and then falls

to "chill," which he utters using a relaxed intonation, matching the word's

meaning in this context] And…like…um…*to be* **hones**[t] [/t/ omitted],

like, **they** *want me to go to, like*, *a* **good college**, which is… like [what] all

the **Asian** parents want. But like, *I would say, they're* **<u>more</u>**

<u>friendly</u>…[intonation starts high at "I" and falls to "friendly"] cuz…*they*

let me **choose** what **I** can <u>do</u> and stuff. *Like, you know, like* for

[pronounced like the word *fur*] *I heard like* **other** Asian parents, they force

their kid to take this class and…whatever and so on. *But like* **my** parents,

they let me <u>choose</u>, like, whatever I want to take *and stuff like **that.***

As this excerpt illustrates, Andrew uses suprasegmentals (intonation and word stress)

much as a native speaker would. He consistently emphasizes the important content

words in each sentence, such as the key nouns or adjectives (e.g., family, chill; they,

good college; Asian parents; I, more friendly). Moreover, he uses connected (run

together) speech as a native speaker would to de-emphasize the structure words (e.g.,

prepositions, conjunctions, articles, auxiliary verbs, to be verbs) and stock phrases

(e.g., "to be honest," "and so on," "stuff like that") (Gilbert, 2012). Where Andrew

mispronounces words, even his mispronunciations fall within the boundaries of

accepted non-standard pronunciations used by some native speakers of regional American dialects (Farrington, 2018). For example, he omits the terminal /t/ in honest, and pronounces for like the English word *fur*—which some dictionaries list as a standard pronunciation for this word when used in an unstressed context (see Dictionary.com, the Cambridge Dictionary, and the Oxford Dictionary). In other words, even his minor deviations from General American pronunciation fit within the category of casual speech patterns commonly used by native speakers in dialectical or informal contexts. Indeed, Kang, Thomson, and Moran (2020), in their study of English intelligibility note that segmentals (vowels and consonants), except under certain circumstances, influence intelligibility less than suprasegmentals (word stress and intonation). In other words, the minor deviations from standard pronunciation apparent in Andrew's speech are not of the type that prior research suggests would interfere with native speakers understanding him. In fact, since they accord with informal variants, they lend his speech an authentic dialectical fluency (Farrington, 2018). Moreover, Andrew's informal English allowed him to integrate into domestic student social networks more effectively than formal English would have, as the informal English he spoke conformed to the speech conventions in use by domestic students at Fremont.

Although Andrew only used informal English during our interview, his writing shows that he had the ability to communicate clearly in formal English, as the following excerpt from an AP English essay he composed during his senior year attests. In this essay, Andrew analyzed several poems by A.E. Housman. The following passage presents his analysis of Housman's "Into my heart an air that kills," which he interprets

189

as reflecting the speaker's homesickness for a land he has left behind. I italicize

nonstandard usage and mechanics and comment on them in brackets.

Excerpt 5.6: June, 2020
Extract from Andrew Lee's Essay for Senior AP English, Fremont

…In the poem, "*into* [the first letter of *into* should be capitalized] my heart an air

that kills," A.E. Housman *gives away* [nonstandard word choice] a nostalgic tone

where he is missing the homeland he once enjoyed spending time at, and now he

can't return to that happy land anymore. [Andrew conflates the poem's speaker

with the poet.] However, *you* [nonstandard switch of person from third person to

first person] could never forget the joyful feeling *your* [ibid] homeland has once

brought upon *you* [ibid]. And sometimes, *we* [nonstandard switch from the

singular *you* to the plural *we*] should focus on the happiness we *had gone through*

[nonstandard word choice] instead of just missing the good old days. He uses

alliteration, *tone* [optional comma omitted] and the traditional quatrain form for

the poem to illustrate the happiness he had at his original home and the sadness he

felt after he left his homeland.

In the alliteration throughout the poem, the speaker [whereas Andrew

incorrectly conflated the poet and speaker above, here he correctly uses the term

speaker] fully emphasizes the sadness he is feeling. "From you far," (line 2) "land

of lost," (line 5) "see it shining," (line 6) "happy highways," (line 7) and "cannot

come" (line 8) all contain an echo sound with the beginning letter of the words,

which further expresses the speaker's nostalgic feeling and his wish to re-enter his

homeland. [Andrew accurately identifies a literary device, alliteration, used by the poet and cites examples of it.]

This poem started with blue hills that the speaker saw, which reminded him of his homeland that he had left. His audience *are* [the subject and verb disagree in number; standard usage: *is*] all those who are far away from their home right now: [effective use of a colon] you could be studying abroad, working abroad, or even on vacation, but you must always remember the happiness that only your very first home brought you. This is his *purpose*-- he [nonstandard spacing; standard: delete the space between the dash and *he*] wants to show the importance of remembering you [nonstandard word choice; standard usage: *your*] home no matter where you are.

As this excerpt illustrates, Andrew Lee could use formal English to write a paper containing a claim and supporting it with evidence. Although his writing betrays minor usage and mechanical errors, which I have italicized above and commented upon in brackets, it nevertheless demonstrates his clear understanding and appreciation for the poetry of Houseman and his ability to analyze it using some of the conventions of literary analysis. Notably, Andrew analyzes the poem in terms of its tone, alliteration, audience, and purpose. As Mrs. Bowers, his AP English teacher noted in her assessment of Andrew as a student, "His writing had some grammatical flaws, but his ideas were

sophisticated."[18] My analysis of Andrew's essay supports Mrs. Bowers' assessment of his writing.

Evidence that Andrew used his English proficiency to integrate into the life of the school comes from my interviews with him and school personnel. In our interview, he reported how soon after arriving in the US, he aspired to befriend domestic students and enjoy close personal relationships with them.

Excerpt 5.7: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

> Andrew: …Like…when I first came, I felt kind of uncomfortable because I had like few friends. And then people treat[ed] me like…as if I'm an international student, which I was…Well, I'm still…I still am….Cuz I wanted them to treat me like their friends, like how they're friends with each other—through like joking around and stuff. But they treated me as…like I'm like a little kid, you know…and that was kind of weird to me…but then I made friends with everyone, and now we're like real friends, I guess.

Andrew's desire to fit in and make friends at Fremont with domestic students motivated him to interact with his US classmates, who at first viewed him with polite condescension as a cultural and linguistic "child." Nonetheless, his continued interactions with them, led

---

[18] From a text message response to the question: "How did Andrew Lee do in your class? In your opinion as an English teacher, how would you rate his writing and academic abilities?" Mrs. Bower's full response read: "Andrew did well. He took the AP Lit exam in May, but didn't pass. It was more from the lack of engagement because of COVID than his abilities, though, I think. He's incredibly capable and pushed himself a lot in the classroom. Very willing to get help and work toward improvement. His writing had some grammatical flaws, but his ideas were sophisticated."

to the language acquisition he required to transition from a cultural outsider to a cultural insider.

Andrew's desire to enjoy friendships with domestic students that included humorous discourse and interaction corresponds to findings in prior research. B. Cheng (2019) found that the ability to joke with friends served as a defining characteristic of the friendships international high school students reported desiring with domestic students but felt unable to attain due to linguistic and cultural differences. She notes how one student in her study reported not feeling as close to domestic students as to international students because they could not "make fun of each other and even play rough a little bit…[or] play any jokes [on] one another," as these were likely to result in possible misunderstandings and hurt feelings across cultural lines (B. Cheng, 2019, p. 10). Thus, Andrew's desire to be friends "through like joking around" aligns with prior research, while his eventual success in doing so indicate the significant social, linguistic, and intercultural capital necessary to form meaningful friendships between international and domestic students.

In our interview, Andrew described how he often had to explain jokes to his fellow international students or diffuse tensions that arose when a domestic student attempted to tease an international student leading to a misunderstanding between the two. Leading up to this excerpt, I had asked him what the good points and bad points of Fremont were for international students. After discussing the friendliness of teachers and students on campus, he described the cultural misunderstandings arising from failed humor.

Excerpt 5.8: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

August: Are they mean [domestic students when joking about international

students], or just…[trails off]?

Andrew: Like I don't really care because I know they're joking. So I don't feel

any…I don't really feel offended, but for some other international

students…Like, you know, American students, they joke around a lot,

right? So if they don't even know him, like if they don't even know the

international student, they might even like joke around about it, but the

international student might take it seriously. And I gotta explain to him or

her like it's just a joke and stuff.

August: Do they relax after you explain it to them, or are they still upset?

Andrew: Well, if they, if the American student goes…goes too far, then they'll

still be upset, but normally, like I barely need to explain it to them because

they know it's a joke.

Research suggests that understanding cross-cultural humor ranks as an advanced skill for

language learners (Bell, 2009, 2015; Valencia-Cabrera, 2008; Pomerantz & Bell, 2011).

Bell (2015) argues that humor functions as a means for speakers to construct discursive

identities for themselves. She describes failed humor—attempts at joking not perceived

as humorous by auditors—as important moments for negotiating identity, relationships,

and preserving face. The opportunities for failed humor increase across cultural and

linguistic barriers (Bell, 2009, 2015; Valencia-Cabrera, 2008; Pomerantz & Bell, 2011).

Clearly, Andrew's ability to negotiate these cross-linguistic and cross-cultural spaces

suggests that he had developed significant linguistic and cultural fluency. Scott (1999) defines cultural fluency as "the ability to cross cultural boundaries and function much like a native" (p. 140). Since Andrew developed this cultural fluency while studying abroad, it qualifies as what Delval and Bühlmann (2020) describe as cosmopolitan capital—"a combination of cultural, linguistic, social, and institutionalized assets acquired through transnational mobility or exposure to an international environment" (p. 479) or what Pöllmann (2009), defines as intercultural capital—"a personal reservoir of intercultural experiences and skills (e.g. experience of living abroad, intercultural friendships, and language skills) that enable the respective individual to competently engage in intercultural encounters" (p. 540).

Andrew's Social Capital

Andrew used his linguistic capital and intercultural capital to develop his social capital, cultivating social networks that included school personnel, domestic students, and international students. As mentioned, Andrew served as captain of his P.E. football team during his Freshman year, International Student Liaison during his Junior year, and Class Treasurer during his Senior year. He also served as an informal translator for Mrs. Hernandez, Fremont's Registrar, when she advised international students, and its teachers, including Mrs. Bowers, who called on him to translate for international students in class.

Not surprisingly, international students came to rely on Andrew's linguistic capital for help translating schoolwork, especially male international students with whom Andrew reports sharing a close personal relationship. Thus, his linguistic capital helped

promote his social capital. In our interview, Andrew had suggested that international

students often had difficulty understanding the English spoken around them on campus,

and that they called upon him to translate, as the following excerpt relates.

Excerpt 5.9: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

> August: So…like…how could…how could we make maybe [things] easier for
>
> > international students to understand...?
>
> Andrew: …[After discussing other ways] But like for some of them [international
>
> > student males], when we have like the same class, they do ask me like
> >
> > how to do the problem, like what's going on in the chapter, like, when
> >
> > we are home and stuff…
>
> August: So…maybe the guys will come to you [for help]?
>
> Andrew: Oh, yeah. Cuz I'm chill with the guys.

He reported that the international student females felt more comfortable requesting help

from one of two prominent female international students on campus.

More than international students turned to Andrew for help. Both administrators

and teachers mentioned that they relied on him for help communicating with other

international students on campus. Fremont Registrar Raquel Hernandez provided the

following description of a student liaison, who volunteered to help her register

international students for classes. Since I had already interviewed Andrew and other

school personnel—all of whom spoke of him in their interviews as the International

Student Liaison—I asked if she was referring to Andrew. Acknowledging she was, Mrs.

Hernandez then described how she relied on him for help when advising international

students.

Excerpt 5.10: October 17, 2019
Interview with Raquel Hernandez, Registrar, Fremont

> August: What resources—socially and personnel-wise—do you have access to
>
>   when you work with international students?

> Mrs. Hernandez: We have in the high school an international [student] liaison. So
>
>   in the student association, there is a student liaison…So they help with all
>
>   that. And so sometimes we'll call them and have them translate.

> August: Andrew?

> Mrs. Hernandez: Yeah…He's a good kid! Good kid! Yeah. So we-we rely on him
>
>   a lot. Oh, even for registrations…He was there…and it was out of his
>
>   initiative. He said, "I can be here if you need help." And, yeah, he stayed
>
>   there the whole entire registration, because we need to communicate with
>
>   the student what classes they are going to be taking. And then he got
>
>   another student to help him, too. So it was, it was really nice to have their
>
>   support.

This interview excerpt shows that Andrew's role as liaison places him in a unique position among international students—one in which he serves in a semi-official capacity as translator, student assistant to the registrar, and point person for international students.

Jennifer Bowers, the English teacher at Fremont, expanded on this description of Andrew in our interview, as the following excerpt attests. Leading up to this comment, I had asked her if she heard any complaints about international students on campus. She mentioned that the only complain she had heard about international students as a group surfaced because they often did not participate in campus life events, such as inter-class competitions, inviting the ire of their domestic student classmates, especially when it meant a loss of points. She described Andrew Lee's Junior class as having the largest group of international students in the high school, and its class officers as voicing frustration when international students did not, for example, wear their class shirts, causing the class as a whole to lose points in an inter-class competition.

Excerpt 5.11: November 14, 2018
Interview 2 with Jennifer Bowers, English & ESL Teacher, Fremont

> Mrs. Bowers: …So we kind of all go to Andrew, like, "Could you tell our
>
> [international] friends in the class here that they have to wear their [class]
>
> shirts [for a school function]?" or whatever it is [we need them to know].

From these excerpts we can see that Andrew's status on campus was liminal. While a student himself, he also served in a semi-official position on campus as assistant to administrators, such as Raquel Hernandez, the Registrar, and teachers, such as Jennifer

Bowers and her colleagues. His ability to speak English fluently and interact competently in culturally appropriate ways (intercultural capital) positioned him as a cultural insider and provided him with social capital that entrenched him in the life of the school.

Domestic students also embraced Andrew Lee. In the following excerpt from our interview, he describes how they selected him as captain of their P.E. football team during their Freshman year. He refers to domestic students—following common practice at both my sites—as American students, and international students as Chinese.[19] Shuck (2006) and other scholars have noted that in normative White discourse, the term *American* often serves as code for a White, middle class speaker of standard English. However, in the context of my study, I found no evidence that the term carried these racialized meanings for my participants. Eighty-three percent of Fremont students and 92% of Elmshaven students identified as non-White, according to statistics my sites maintained. Moreover, a majority of school personnel at both sites consisted of minorities. However, international students viewed all domestic students and school personnel—regardless of race or ethnicity—as American and themselves as Chinese. Incidentally, the school personnel I interviewed adopted these conventions in their speech as well. Regardless of their race or ethnicity, they referred to themselves as American.

---

[19] At one point in our interview, Andrew described his roommate, a fellow Chinese international student, in the following words: "…he, like, stays up late playing games, which is like what all the Chinese do, I believe." Here he is not referring to all of the citizens of his homeland, which would presumably include people who sleep at night and work during the day, but a stereotype of the disengaged, male Chinese international student at Fremont, whom he and others described as staying up all night playing video games or watching movies or TV shows.

Excerpt 5.12: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

> August: Tell me what it felt like when you first came to Fremont Academy. Were
>
> people friendly? You know, you look at the campus. It's kind of old. Like,
>
> what did you think about when you first came to Fremont?

After a lengthy answer in which Andrew recalled his first impressions of Fremont,

he concluded by recalling his interactions with domestic students in P.E.

> Andrew: Yeah, for the PE class, all the American students, they were, like, nice.
>
> Like, I remember we played football. I never played that sport before.
>
> And-and like they said I could throw really well. I thought they were
>
> being, like, polite. And I was like, "Thank you." And then, like, we had to
>
> choose teams and stuff. So one guy—like, I didn't even know who he
>
> was—he was like, "Oh, I think Andrew can do it. And then he can be the
>
> team leader. He can throw really well." And then I was like, "But, I don't
>
> even know that guy. Like, how does he even know my name?"

This excerpt illustrates both Andrew's social capital, as evidenced by how his peers

vaunted him into a leadership position based on his ability to throw a football well, and

his linguistic capital. His use of *like* signals an informal register of English commonly

associated with teenager talk, illustrating his linguistic and intercultural capital, in that he

understood how his peers spoke and could produce their normative speech fluently and

idiomatically—a blending of linguistic and cultural knowledge, which since he had

acquired abroad also counted as intercultural or cosmopolitan capital (Delval &
Bühlmann, 2020; Pöllmann, 2009, 2013).

Corpus research by sociolinguist Dailey-O'Cain (2000) found that "younger
people use…*like* more often than older people" (p. 60). Moreover, Dailey-O'Cain (2000)
distinguishes between two uses of *like*, both of which we find in Andrew's speech. For
example, Andrew uses *like* to signal "non-contrastive focus," or as a "highlighting
device" in "they were, like, nice" and "Like, I remember," and "Like, how does he even
know my name?" (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000, p. 60). He uses *like* "as a quotative, used to cite
reported speech or thought" in "And I was like, 'Thank you,'" and "he was like, 'Oh, I
think Andrew can do it…'" and "I was like, 'But I don't even know that guy'" (Dailey-
O'Cain, 2000, p. 60). These uses of *like* demonstrate that Andrew could use *like*, an
informal speech marker, in ways sociolinguists have identified as characteristic of
teenager talk (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000). They further demonstrate his overall English
fluency. Research by Azzolini, Campregher, and Madia (2020) found that "informal
English exposure…is strongly and positively associated with ELC [English Language
Competence]" (p. 1). Not only does Andrew's speech demonstrate his exposure to
informal English, but it also demonstrates his intercultural capital, which manifests itself
in his awareness of what register has the most prestige value at Fremont and his ability to
use it fluently. Since my observations of Fremont's ESL and English classes suggests that
teachers do not instruct international students in the use of informal teenager talk, they
must learn it from interacting with their peers. Thus, even Andrew's linguistic capital

provides indirect evidence of his social capital—his interaction with domestic student peers.

Research on international high school students suggests that strong social capital positively correlates with academic achievement, social and emotional wellbeing, and successful acculturation (B. Cheng, 2019; Su, 2020). Su (2020) found that "strong social capital…enhance[s] Chinese Parachute Kids' academic achievement and knowledge acquisition" (p. 87) by increasing their opportunities to participate more fully in the life of their school, learn from others, and develop the support networks needed for academic success. She also found that "investing [in] social capital and connection [among] Chinese Parachute Kids is…associated with increased happiness and independence in personal well-being" (p. 89). From the glowing descriptions that school personnel gave of Andrew and from my own observations of him, Andrew's investment in social capital paid similar dividends to those described by Su (2020). It enhanced his linguistic ability, as it allowed him many opportunities to interact with native speakers. It enhanced his academic experiences, as he reported closely collaborating with both domestic and international students in class. Moreover, he counted school administrators, teachers, and staff in his social networks and described how he hoped to benefit from his close relationships with them by asking them for letters of recommendation as he prepared his college application. By all reports, Andrew seemed a well-adjusted and happy person who counted making friends among his fondest memories of Fremont. Thus, his pursuit of social capital seems to have enhanced his educational experiences at Fremont in ways that align with what other researchers have found (B. Cheng, 2019; Su, 2020).

Andrew's Active Participation in Student Life

Like other exceptional international students whom school personnel described in our interviews, Andrew used his social and intercultural capital to participate in campus life, pursuing a variety of curricular, co-curricular, and extracurricular activities. As mentioned, Andrew served as captain of his P.E. football team during his Freshman year, International Student Liaison during his Junior year, and Class Treasurer during his Senior year. He also participated in mission trips and a youth leadership conference.

At the time of our interview, during his Junior year, he held the position of International Student Liaison. When we met for our interview in Mrs. Romero's classroom after school, she introduced Andrew to me by boasting about his popularity and how students responded enthusiastically when he announced his candidacy for International Student Liaison during his Sophomore year.

Excerpt 5.13: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

> Mrs. Romero: [Brimming with excitement] August, I have to tell you, when he was running for office [vocalizes] "Hooo!" I have never heard the kids shout so loud in so much excitement for someone, for any candidate. They went crazy! Not even Fred [the former International Student Liaison, whom both Mrs. Romero and Andrew described to me in their separate interviews as an exceptional international student]!

> Andrew: [Modestly] They were all my boys.

Mrs. Romero: Huh?

Andrew: They were all my boys.

Mrs. Romero: It was more than the boys. It was more than the boys! That's for
sure. It was the girls, too, Andrew. Right?

Andrew: [Embarrassed] No.

Mrs. Romero: It was everybody!

Andrew: [Smirking] I didn't know any girls, like, my Sophomore year.

Mrs. Romero: I don't know about that. I don't know about that, Andrew.

Andrew: [Playing innocent] I just made more friends this year, so…[trails off].

As this excerpt illustrates, Andrew could engage in playful banter with teachers on
campus, such as Mrs. Romero, and she could embarrass him by suggesting that he
achieved popularity with the young ladies on campus—suggesting that Mrs. Romero and
Andrew were close enough to joke with each other. This exchange indicates a high level
of linguistic and intercultural capital on Andrew's part; however, it also suggests that
Andrew used his linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into campus life,
campaigning and winning a position in student body government. Moreover, Andrew's
popularity contrasts with the usual treatment of international students at both of my sites.
At Elmshaven and Fremont, I observed that during school functions—such as chapels,

assemblies, and class sessions—international students seldom garnered public recognition from domestic students. Moreover, at both schools, international students generally sat in segregated groups of other international students, often on the sidelines of the school venue (e.g., the chapel auditorium, gymnasium, or classroom), where they chatted with each other but seldom spoke to the whole class or to school personnel, unless directly called upon to do so. Thus, Andrew's popularity with domestic students and international students suggests that his social capital allowed him to transcend the barriers that separated the two groups. Put another way, he used his linguistic, intercultural, and social capital to integrate into campus life.

Another way that Andrew used his capital to integrate into school life manifests itself in his pursuit of co-curricular and extracurricular activities. In our interview, I asked him about his participation in such activities, and he regaled me with detailed stories of the "fun" he had participating in mission trips and leadership camp, as the following excerpt reveals.

Excerpt 5.14: December 12, 2018
Interview with Andrew Lee, Junior International Student, Fremont

August: …What kind of extracurricular activities have you experienced?

Andrew: I'm in choir right now, and I went on the mission trip. I don't know if that counts.

August: Yeah-yeah-yeah.

Andrew: That's like...You know what mission trip is, right?

August: Yeah.

Andrew: Okay.

August: Tell me about your experience, though. I don't know what you
       experienced there.

Andrew: Oh, okay...We like had a lot of fun. And we basically like...um...do work
       for the people there. We went to New Mexico—La Vida, I believe. That's
       the...what the city…that place was called. And then we helped them to
       build a fence. And we went as a group. And we, we lived…like… in their
       houses and stuff. And that's pretty funny because obviously my friends
       were there, and we did like a lot of work. And then we could hang out and
       then joke around doing work, like doing work. And yeah, it was really fun
       to me. And that was a week. And I also went on the leadership camp cause
       I'm in SA [Student Association]. That's like, um, you…All like the SA, the
       student associations of other schools, we meet...we met like on the
       mountain. I forgot where that was, but we had like…Basically, they teach
       you how to be a leader. Like, what problems are you facing at your
       school? So you can share with others and then learn and then apply it to
       your school. And we were there for like three or four days, and then like
       we separated into groups, and we played like Mario Kart, maybe zip line

and everything. Like...we experienced a lot and that was super fun. And I

would say it's better than Mission Trip, or no, it's not. Well, they're even,

kind of, even, cause that one is like learning. But mission trip is like

working. But we also had like free time and stuff, and we get to, we got to

hang out with our friends.

As this excerpt illustrates, Andrew used his linguistic, intercultural capital, and social

capital to integrate into campus life by pursuing co-curricular (choir) and extracurricular

(mission trip, leadership camp) activities.

Andrew's Academic Performance

Like other exceptional international students, Andrew Lee used his linguistic,

intercultural, and social capital to perform well academically and go on to a prestigious

university. At the time of this writing, Andrew Lee attends a prestigious UC campus

where he studies biochemistry.

School personnel also positioned Andrew as academically proficient. In follow-up

correspondences I conducted with Mrs. Romero, Mrs. Bowers, and Mr. Armstrong, I

asked them to provide their professional opinion of Andrew's academic abilities.[20] As the

following statements attest, each teacher positioned Andrew as academically proficient,

---

[20] Due to the Coronavirus Pandemic of 2020, I deemed it unwise to seek face-to-face follow-up interviews, so I communicated my follow-up questions via text message and email. I also asked for permission to use their responses in my study, and they agreed. To protect confidentiality, I will delete the correspondences after successfully defending this dissertation.

while delineating his academic strengths and weaknesses. Since neither school in my study had separate standards for international students, we should interpret the teachers comments in these excerpts as evaluations of Andrew against the same standards to which they hold domestic students.

Excerpt 5.15: August 6, 2020
Text Message Correspondence with Mrs. Romero

> August: How did Andrew Lee do in your classes? In your opinion as a teacher, how would you rate his writing and academic abilities?
>
> Mrs. Romero: Andrew did extremely well for an ELL student.[21] He tried his very best in his writing, but he does have room to grow. He struggled with things such as using correct pronouns and tenses.

Excerpt 5.16 August 6, 2020
Text Message Correspondence with Mrs. Bowers

> August: How did Andrew Lee do in your class? In your opinion as an English teacher, how would you rate his writing and academic abilities?
>
> Mrs. Bowers: Andrew did well. He took the AP Lit exam in May, but didn't pass. It was more from the lack of engagement because of COVID than his abilities, though, I think. He's incredibly capable and pushed himself a lot

---

[21] Both Fremont and Elmshaven required international students to complete all the degree requirements for graduation expected of domestic students. Both schools offered three tracks—a general high school diploma, a college preparatory diploma, and an honors diploma (available to those who completed the college preparatory track with a GPA above 3.6). Fremont and Elmshaven offered sheltered instruction to international students in ESL classes. Otherwise, the same standards applied to domestic and international students in mainstream courses at both schools.

in the classroom. Very willing to get help and work toward improvement.

His writing had some grammatical flaws, but his ideas were sophisticated.

Excerpt 5.17 August 6, 2020
Email Correspondence with Mr. Armstrong

August: How did Andrew Lee do in your classes? In your opinion as a teacher,

how would you rate his writing and academic abilities?

Mr. Armstrong: Andrew Lee did well in all of his classes he took from me

including U.S. History, Economics, and Government. His writing ability

was a little above average, but I would say his critical thinking and

academic abilities were very high. Andrew was able to argue facts and

thoughts in order to create original thoughts and ideas.

These excerpts suggest that Andrew's teachers positioned him as a competent, creative,

and critically savvy student, while recognizing his limitations as an ELL writer. While it

may be tempting to read their critique of his writing skill as damning, I read it as high

praise, since in my interviews with teachers at Fremont and Elmshaven, they bewailed

the generally low quality of international students' writing.

Summary of Andrew Lee's Case

In this profile of Andrew Lee, I have argued that school personnel positioned him

as an exceptional international student based on his perceived linguistic, social, and

intercultural capital. Following the expectations school personnel had for exceptional

international students, Andrew used his capital to integrate into the dominant American

culture of the school; develop social networks that included school personnel, domestic

students, and international students; actively participate in campus life; perform well

academically, and enter a prestigious university. From school personnel accounts, such features characterized exceptional international students in their experience.

Micky Kim

Micky Kim exemplifies an exceptional international student at Elmshaven. Graduating sixth in her class of 68 with a cumulative GPA of 3.99,[22] she used her linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school. She developed social networks that included school personnel, domestic students, and international students. Actively participating in campus life, she pursued a number of curricular, co-curricular, and extracurricular activities, including student body government. Upon graduating, she gained entrance into a prestigious private Christian university, where she pursues a major in music. Below I present evidence for these claims from my interviews and document analyses.

Micky Kim hails from a working-class family with roots in Inner Mongolia, where she lived in a provincial city from birth until about age 10, when she moved to Beijing to attend better rated schools, starting in the 4th grade. She spent her childhood living with a variety of extended family members. She lived with her maternal grandparents in elementary school; however, when her maternal grandmother contracted cancer and passed away, she went to live with her paternal grandparents. When she moved to Beijing, her family remained in Inner Mongolia, but family members rotated the responsibility of staying with her and caring for her. At one point, she reported that her paternal grandfather lived with her, and a nurse cooked their meals.

---

[22] I draw this data from her transcript.

By middle school, it became apparent that Micky was struggling in school. This caused her frequent conflict with her parents, especially when her teachers called them to discuss her grades, which she describes as mostly B's and C's. She asserts that due to the daunting workload students face in Chinese schools, she did not have enough time to complete all her homework, but thinks that if she did, then she could have earned A's, as she liked learning. As she had not been born in Beijing, she faced certain restrictions to her progress in school there related to taking tests which would determine which high schools and colleges she could attend. She would have to return to her province of birth to take these tests and score very high indeed on them to escape having to attend provincial high schools and colleges. These requirements effectively threatened to halt her educational progress in Beijing, the site of the most prestigious schools in the country and relegate her to provincial schools where her parents deemed her prospects limited.

Looking for an alternative, her mother suggested that Micky attend high school in America, where two of her cousins attended Elmshaven. Micky happily assented to her mother's suggestion, as like many international students in my sample, she reported wishing to escape the Chinese school system. She lived with her cousins who attended Elmshaven until upon graduating, they relocated, after which she moved in with a Chinese American homestay family that hosted several international students. She reported enjoying a family-like bond with her homestay family. Since middle school ends in China with the 9th grade, she repeated Grade 9 after arriving in the States, easing her transition into American school.

Micky's Linguistic Capital

Micky Kim developed English proficiency sufficient to integrate into the dominant American culture of Elmshaven Academy. She began studying English formally in the third grade in China and studied conversational English at two afterschool institutes. As a result, she reported finding the English at Elmshaven easy upon her arrival in the ninth grade, although she admitted not being used to speaking English all the time, as the following excerpt from our interview attests. Leading up to this excerpt, I had asked her about her first impressions of Elmshaven, and she had described being interviewed by the registrar and beginning her ELI classes (a yearlong transitional ESL program) under Mr. Chang (and other teachers at that time[23]), whom she described as "nice," and where she reported finding the English requirements easy.

Excerpt 5.18: November 15, 2020
Interview with Micky Kim, International Student Alumna, Elmshaven

> August: So you just said something interesting. You said that English was fairly
>
> easy in ELI. Had you studied English every year when you were in school
>
> in China?
>
> Micky: I started studying English when I was in third grade.
>
> August: Hmmm.

---

[23] The ELI Program during Micky's Freshman year at Elmshaven consisted of several ESL classes taught by three teachers, including Mr. Ryan Chang. School personnel at both sites reported that during the presidency of Donald Trump (2016-2020), the federal government enacted strict student VISA requirements, making it difficult for Chinese international students to study in the States. As a result, international student enrollments at both sites dwindled and Elmshaven's ELI program shrank from a multi-course, multi-teacher program to a single ESL class taught by Mr. Chang. The other teachers were reassigned or retired.

Micky: I also studied…like uh…like uh…I took like…I had tutor outside of

school…like uh…uh…I don't know how to say it in English, but it's like

uh….uh…

August: It's like a…

Micky: [Overlapping] It's like a small class.

August: So it's like an afterschool institute?

Micky: Yeah. And also…uh…like oral speaking…just studying speaking English.

August: So conversational English.

Micky: Conversation.

August: Was your teacher a native speaker like me, or was your teacher Chinese?

Micky: Chinese.

August: Were they fluent? Did they have a good accent?

Micky: Yeah.

August: What do you call those in Chinese—those afterschool institutes?

Micky: Uh….I actually had two different. The first is like a small class where I

learn with younger kids…

As this excerpt suggests, Micky spoke English proficiently, likely owing to her near

lifelong study of the language. Most of the international students in my sample reported

that they had studied English in school since about the third grade. However, unlike

Micky, most reported experiencing difficulty understanding the English spoken by native

speakers in America upon their arrival. That Micky described the English used in the ELI

program as "fairly easy" suggests that she had developed a fluency in conversational

English such that she did not feel challenged by her initial experiences with American schooling.

Research by Liu (2012) suggests that privately-run afterschool English language programs, such as those Micky reported attending in China, serve an important role in China's educational system, helping to prepare students for its national college entrance exam, which assesses students' English proficiency among other subjects. Thus, these programs often tutor students to meet the requirements of the English courses they take in school, which privilege English literacy, or reading and writing, above conversational fluency (Liu, 2012). Notably, Micky reported studying English conversation in China in addition to English literacy. She would have learned English literacy in school and English conversation and literacy after school (Liu, 2012). Research by Cummins (2008) suggests English proficiency divides into conversational English skills (i.e., BICS, basic interpersonal communication skills) and academic English skills (or CALP, cognitive academic language processing). Thus, Micky's coordinated study of conversational English (BICS) and academic English (CALP) in China distinguishes her from some other students in my sample who reported only studying English in school or for academic purposes (whether in school or at a private afterschool language institute). Language learners as long ago as Francois Gouin (1892) have reported that without basic conversational fluency they felt lost while studying a foreign language abroad. Meanwhile, more recent research by Opperman (2020) supports these reports, suggesting that insufficient mastery of BICS may adversely impact the learning of CALP. In light of

this research, Micky's solid foundation in both BICS and CALP likely eased her transition into American schooling.

Micky's writing demonstrates her ability to communicate in formal English, as the following excerpt from a five-paragraph essay she composed for her English 12 course attests. In the introductory paragraph of this essay, Micky identifies three themes in English Renaissance literature—love, time, and death—which she will discuss. In three body paragraphs, she comments on each, briefly citing an example from a literary work that focuses on it and relating it to her own life. In a concluding paragraph, she summarizes her argument. In the following excerpt, body paragraph 2, Micky describes love, referencing Edmund Spencer's Sonnet 30 and discussing its themes in relation to her own life. I comment on her nonstandard usage in brackets.

Excerpt 5.19: March 17, 2019
Extract from Micky Kim's Essay for English 12, Elmshaven

One theme is to express love to our loved ones [redundancy: *love, loved ones*]. When people want to have a partner, to praise the beauty of their lover, or to show love to their partner in order to alleviate their worries, they put their words into marvelous poems that amazed [Nonstandard tense. Standard tense: *would amaze*] people in the future. This theme is valuable because we need to express our love and to communicate. People nowadays have more ways to express and widespread [Nonstandard usage. Here Micky uses an adjective, *widespread*, as a verb] their feelings fast, but they lack the courage and the ability to make it into arts [Nonstandard word choice. Standard: *art*] that can last. In the past, poets thought that the power of love can [Nonstandard usage. Standard:

215

could] change the course of nature. In Edmund Spenser's "Sonnet 30",

[Nonstandard punctuation. Most style guides recommend placing the comma

before the end quote. See APA and MLA style guides.] he described love as ice

and himself as fire, but his hot passion cannot move his love. It [Unclear pronoun

reference; native speakers would generally use the determiner *this* here rather than

the pronoun *it*.] reminds me of myself. When I was young, my mom rarely came

home because she worked hard, wanted [Nonstandard tense; standard: *wanting*] to

give me a better life. But I did not understand her love. I thought she did not love

me. So [Some style guides would discourage beginning a sentence with a

conjunction. See MLA and APA.] when she came home, I was cold to her, refuse

[Nonstandard tense; standard: *refused*] to talk to her, even not willing to give her

a hug [Nonstandard usage. Standard usage: "and was not even willing to give her

a hug."]. I regret that I have hurt her so deep [Nonstandard usage. Using an

adjective in place of an adverb. Standard: *deeply*]. Now I learned the way she

express [Nonstandard tense. Standard: *expresses*] her love, and I finally

understood [Nonstandard tense shift. Standard: *understand*] her love for me. Love

will melt the ice. I will express my love for her, too.

This essay demonstrates Micky's basic proficiency in writing. However, she only

engages in a superficial analysis of Spenser's Sonnet 30. She does not quote from it

extensively or analyze it in terms of its literary devices. She speaks of its themes but does

not cite evidence from the text of the sonnet to support her reading of it (aside from the

allusion to fire and ice). Therefore, her essay is personal in tone, rather than analytic.

Nonetheless, it demonstrates a basic familiarity with the conventions of essay writing. Her introductory paragraph presents her topic, English Renaissance literature, and previews three themes it explores—love, time, and death. Her three body paragraphs each examine one of these themes, with one exception, and her concluding paragraph summarizes her argument. The one exception, her third body paragraph, discusses encouragement, not a theme of English Renaissance literature she previews in her introduction. Her transcript reveals that she received a B+ for the first semester of English 12 and an A for the second semester (when she composed this essay). Thus, Micky possessed sufficient English proficiency to understand and produce competent written discourse in formal English, a skill which allowed her to meet the challenges posed by attending high school in the US. In short, Micky Kim possessed conversational and academic English proficiency (linguistic capital) sufficient to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school. Moreover, she used her linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate, as I shall demonstrate below.

Micky's Social Capital

Micky Kim's social network included school personnel, domestic students, and international students—a distinguishing factor of an exceptional international student according to my informants. Unlike most international students in my sample, Micky Kim converted to Christianity, prompting her to identify less with her international student peers, many of whom remained dismissive of Christianity, and more with the Christian teachers and predominantly Christian domestic students at Elmshaven. This influenced the manner in which she built her social network, helping her to integrate into

the dominant culture of the school more than she might otherwise have felt motivated to do so, as the following excerpt from our interview attests. Leading up to this exchange, she had been discussing her friendship with a domestic student girl, Lily, whom she considered a close friend. I asked her how this friendship had begun, and she described how her conversion led her to associate more with domestic students and teachers than international students.

Excerpt 5.20: November 15, 2020
Interview with Micky Kim, International Student Alumna, Elmshaven

> August: …Not every international student becomes friends with a domestic student. How come you did? …
>
> Micky: Um…I think…um…with the help of teachers. Like when we had same group…like study groups…or just like…When I was in choir, I don't really have like a close friend. And I kind of like…I have a Chinese close friend, and we're kind of like different. Like she's…I became a Christian, but she's…not into it, so we kind of grow apart. So I don't really have a close friend. And so Mr. Alcala [the choir director] was nice, so…he just introduced me to play with Lily…And also we had…Lily and I had same classes…We took the same classes…like AP classes and English…

As this excerpt suggests, Micky's conversion to Christianity influenced her social capital, prompting her to network more with fellow believers and less with her nonbelieving international student peers. This no doubt prompted her to integrate into the dominant culture of the school more than she might otherwise have felt motivated to do so.

218

Micky credits two Elmshaven teachers—the choir teacher, Mr. Alcala, and the religion teacher, Mrs. Presci—with whom she formed close, personal relationships, with influencing her to embrace Christianity—suggesting that her social network shaped her religious views, and her religious views shaped her social network. Evidence for this claim comes from both my interview with Micky and my interview with Jennifer Oh, a Senior domestic student at Elmshaven. In our interview, I asked Jennifer Oh if she had taken any music classes, and she proceeded to tell me about Mr. Alcala, the Choir Director, a kindly Filipino man, whom I had met and interacted with on many occasions during my visits to Elmshaven.[24] As an example of his kindness, Jennifer told of how Mr. Alcala had helped bring Micky Kim to Christ. Jennifer also described the strong relationship Mr. Alcala and Micky had and the social capital that Micky enjoyed as a result of it.

Excerpt 5.21: February 20, 2020
Interview with Jennifer Oh, Senior Domestic Student, Elmshaven

> August: How about music? Did you take any music classes?
>
> Jennifer: Yeah! Oh, I actually have a lot to say about music…in terms of, like, especially in terms of international students…[After a lengthy discussion of the Choir Director, Mr. Ramone Alcala, she described how Micky and he enjoyed a close personal relationship that served an instrumental role in the latter's conversion] Micky is a student that graduated last…two years

---

[24] I also had the opportunity to observe his choir class and interview him.

ago,[25] and she really liked chorale, and she really took…um…She-she got

really close to Mr. Alcala because I guess—I don't know—he was, he's a

kind person. But he helped bring her to Christ actually, which I think is

even more difficult to do with an international student sometimes,

especially if…

August: [Interested] What was her name?

Jennifer: Oh, Micky. Micky Khoo, I think. Oh! Micky Kim. Yeah. Micky Kim.

Yes. He like even outside of class, like he would like…He connected with

her. And like he-he said…He-he's so admirable. He told me himself that

he wants to try and bring at least one international student to Christ every

year. And so far, it's been pretty good, even though he's only been here for

a little bit. But you can tell he really cares about them. And so he brought

her to Christ and she got baptized and everything. That was really

heartwarming. He also helped her with her college stuff, getting into like

auditioning for their choir program and stuff.

This excerpt illustrates how Micky Kim's relationship with Mr. Alcala added to her

social capital in two ways—helping her to enter college and enter a church. As

mentioned, Micky Kim, upon graduating from Elmshaven, gained acceptance into a

prestigious private Christian university in Southern California known for its music

program. Thus, her social capital increased her intercultural capital, allowing her even

greater leverage as she pursued her goals. If we allow that intercultural capital, which I

---

[25] Actually, Micky Kim graduated in 2019, the year prior to my interview with Jennifer Oh.

use synonymously with cosmopolitan capital, includes degrees earned abroad, then

Micky's music degree qualifies as intercultural capital. Since both Micky and Jennifer

suggest that Mr. Alcala helped her to develop her passion for music and enter a

prestigious music school, we can conclude that her social capital synergistically enhanced

her intercultural capital. Arguably, her close relationship with Mr. Alcala would not have

been possible had Micky Kim lacked the linguistic capital to communicate effectively

with him. Moreover, her conversion no doubt reinforced their friendship.

Micky Kim's church attendance also enhanced her social capital, expanding her

social network beyond Elmshaven. During our interview, Micky indicated that she

considered her church a second family—in some ways preferring it to her own, as she

reported not appreciating her mother and father's frequent verbal conflicts and preferred

what she characterized as the peaceful, loving interactions she had with church members.

Regardless of her reasoning, Micky's church attendance enhanced her social capital.

Excerpt 5.22: November 15, 2020
Interview with Micky Kim, International Student, Elmshaven

August: What do you like about church? What do you get from church?

Micky: It's a big church, and it's very diverse. And there's people from all

different cultures, all different countries. And a lot of Filipinos [chuckles].

[Micky's best friend, Lily, is Filipino] And my best friend's mom's there.

And the pastor, Dan and his wife, Auntie Lenore—they're very nice

people. And there's Pastor Aaron and other pastors, and they are friendly.

And I'm kind of like a daughter...in my church...daughter of Aunty

Lenore, my best friend's mom.

August: So would you say you get a lot of social support from your church?

Micky: Yeah…

This excerpt illustrates that for Micky Kim, church attendance provides her with social capital. In fact, she describes her church as family-like and feels its members embrace her as a daughter. This finding aligns with prior research. Ding and Devine (2017) studied the reasons international students converted to Christianity in New Zealand and found that in "church activities," international students "met and built ties with church members who showed their love and care for the participants, thus developing a sense of emotional connectedness and social belonging" (p. 1167). Notably, Micky reports that one benefit she derives from church attendance is a close, family-like bond with people there—an evidence of that her social capital extended beyond Elmshaven into the local Christian community.

Another evidence of Micky's extensive social network comes from her representation in the 2019 Elmshaven yearbook. Caudill (2007) studied yearbooks as a genre and found that "Yearbooks are part of a social activity system and therefore reflect and help enact social actions" (p. 112). She notes that "Yearbooks are a reflection of the context and community that created them. They offer a way to examine what people find salient about their school year…" (p. 112). As such, I argue that the representations of Micky Kim appearing in the 2019 Elmshaven yearbook position her as a social insider on campus. As a senior that year, Micky featured more prominently in the yearbook than any

other international student in her class.[26] Beside appearing in the obligatory headshots section and several group shots or photo collages dedicated to the senior class, she appeared in four prominent photos documenting her participation in campus life. Three of these contain captions which name and describe her. By comparison, only one other international student in her class received a captioned photo—outside of the obligatory headshots section.

Micky Kim's church paid to take out an advertisement in the 2019 yearbook, congratulating her for graduating, and listing its address, website, and phone number—a subtle advertisement for the church. This congratulatory note followed a trend in the yearbook by which parents or other interested parties could pay to have a full-page dedicated to their child. These usually contained photo collages and congratulatory messages written from family members or loved ones. Thirteen such pages adorn the 2019 yearbook, none featuring international students. However, Micky's church paid for one-fourth of a page to feature a note to Micky Kim, congratulating her on her graduation. It features a photo of Micky Kim and a brief message, which reads as follows.

Excerpt 5.23
2019 Elmshaven Yearbook

Congratulations Micky Kim on your graduation. You are one of our newest church members, and we are so proud of you. Continue following God's pathway.

---

[26] Micky's graduating class of 68 contained approximately 20 international students.

No other individual or institution paid to recognize an international student in the pages of the 2019 yearbook. Thus, this congratulatory note positions Micky as an insider—one valuable enough to her church that they would pay to recognize her accomplishments in the yearbook. Notably, Micky Kim belongs to an English-speaking church, not a Chinese-speaking church, another evidence that she possessed the linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the institutions in which she socially networked.

I shall discuss the remaining yearbook photos and captions below, when considering Micky's active participation in campus life. However, here I note they serve as evidence of her extensive social network. Her church, friends on the yearbook staff, and the yearbook's faculty sponsor, Mrs. Ensworth, singled her out for more attention than any other senior international student in the yearbook, suggesting that her social network included school personnel and domestic students who viewed her as a notable person on campus—evidence of her considerable social capital.

Micky's Active Participation in Student Life

Micky used her various forms of capital to participate actively in campus life—partaking in several co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. As mentioned, Micky joined the hand bell ensemble, the chorale (the elite touring choir), the cross-country running team, and the Student Association (where she served as a senator). All of these evidence her active participation in campus life, a characteristic of exceptional international students according to my informants.

The 2019 Elmshaven yearbook devotes two pages to the school's Chorale and Orchestra. Micky Kim appears prominently in photos on both pages singing in the front row. One picture portrays the chorale singing outdoors at the school's annual Christmas program. Chorale members stand on bleachers set up on the school's sports field. Behind them against a navy-blue satiny backdrop appears the school name Elmshaven Academy, emblazoned in large, cursive gold letters. The choristers appear in navy blue outfits, bundled for the cold night air at this annual mid-December Christmas program with matching red scarves tied around their necks. The caption to this photo reads as follows.

Excerpt 5.24
2019 Elmshaven Yearbook

Even through the cold nights of [the outdoor Christmas program], the chorale makes beautiful music.

In effect, this caption positions the choir, and by extension Micky Kim, as talented and resilient. It also documents her active participation in campus life. Through perhaps no fault of her own, her appearance in the front row of each photo means that whenever students review the 2019 yearbook, they will likely see her picture prominently displayed in association with the school's elite choir.

A second photo on the opposing page shows the choir performing indoors at a local church. They receive an ovation. Micky Kim again appears smiling in the front row. The caption to this photo reads as follows.

Excerpt 5.25
2019 Elmshaven Yearbook

The chorale members lift their voices singing praise to God.

This caption positions the choir, and by extension Micky Kim, as spiritual and musically talented. However, it also positions them as active in community life, representing the school at local denominationally affiliated churches. As another caption on the same page makes clear, "The orchestra and chorale travel to area churches spreading God's love through music. They are giving concerts almost three times a month." Again, Micky Kim's prominent position in the front row of the chorale means that those reviewing these pages will associate her with its musical life and community outreach programs. In effect, this photo portrays her as a prominent campus ambassador—evidencing her active participation in campus life.

As another evidence of her active participation in campus life, the yearbook contains a photo showing Micky Kim participating in a cross-country race, the caption to which reads as follows.

Excerpt 5.26
2019 Elmshaven Yearbook

> **Greatness in its TIME.**
>
> Cross Country is a varsity sport for running. There are nine willing girls competing against other schools. They have to run 3 miles of steep and up and down hill trails to reach the finish line. Their goal is to improve their time and places from the previous races.

The photo accompanying this caption occupies a full page and portrays an exhausted looking Micky Kim jogging. She wears a matching blue Adidas tank top and shorts outfit. Despite her apparent exhaustion, she continues jogging. Notably, a small caption at the bottom of the yearbook page reads, "Micky Kim, running through her tiredness, is

motivated to finish the race." This photo and its associated captions positions Micky Kim as a resilient athlete—worthy of special feature in the pages of the yearbook. They provide evidence of her active participation in campus life and her role as a representative of school values.

Indeed, the text accompanying this photo associates her with greatness, motivation, and resilience. On the next page, a collage of six smaller pictures, featuring other Cross Country athletes appears. None receive the prominence of Micky Kim, whose photo dwarfs theirs. One of the photos depicts Lily, Micky's best friend. The caption under her photo reads, "I learned to enjoy Cross Country and I learned some valuable lessons from it—hard work and perseverance. Looking back, Cross Country was an important part of my high school experience." Clearly, the yearbook staff meant for this photo collage to valorize the moral ideals that student athletes learned from the sport— values such as "hard work and perseverance." If so, then the full-page devoted to Micky Kim suggests that she served as an exemplar of these school values. Thus, she used her linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school and to identify with its values so closely as to exemplify them in the eyes of others. In exchange, she was celebrated in the pages of the school's yearbook.

Another yearbook photo depicted Micky presenting the Senior class's banner, an annual Elmshaven ritual. This further illustrates her active participation in campus life, which the yearbook caption describes as follows.

Excerpt 5.27
2019 Elmshaven Yearbook

> The class banner competition is an event that is both looked forward to and
> dreaded. The creative thinkers in the class spend hours coming up with a new idea
> that will represent all of the people in their class, and the artists spend hours
> designing, drawing, and painting the banner…Then, the class spokesperson
> describes the banner to all in the general assembly and judging commences…The
> Class of 2019 won for the very first time. Their "banner" started out as a booklet,
> and quickly unfolded to represent the journey they are taking to get to graduation.

The yearbook picture associated with this caption occupies an entire page and shows the
Class of 2019's banner held up by students, including Micky Kim, flanked by classmates
on either side of her. She smiles at the audience and is the only person fully shown in the
picture. Her classmates are partially or fully cropped. By association, the caption suggests
that Micky Kim ranks among the "creative thinkers" associated with the first-place entry
in 2019's Banner Competition. In other words, it positions her as both a creative thinker
and a winner—both forms of symbolic capital associated with elite-ness and legitimacy.
This symbolic capital qualifies as a form of cosmopolitan or intercultural capital, as
Micky developed it while studying abroad. It also positions her as an elite student at
Elmshaven, an exemplar of cherished school values.

Summary of Micky's Case

I have argued that Micky Kim represents what school personnel at both sites
deemed an exceptional international student—one who possessed sufficient linguistic and
intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school;

establish social networks that included school personnel, domestic students, and international students; actively participate in campus life; do well academically; graduate and attend a prestigious college. Micky met all of these standards. Moreover, the 2019 Elmshaven yearbook positions Micky Kim as an important social actor in the life of the school, worthy of highlighting and remembering. In essence, the yearbook documents her high social position in the school, and positions her as resilient, engaged, creative, a winner, athletic, musically talented, Christian, and well respected by others. By contrast, the lack of similar representation for any other international student in Micky's class suggests that none achieved her level of prominence. While there might be any number of reasons for this, I suspect that Micky Kim's prominence in the 2019 yearbooks stems from her choice to embrace and exemplify school values. It also seems clear that no international student whom domestic students and school personnel thought spoke English poorly or failed to integrate into American culture featured prominently in campus life or the records of it enacted in school yearbooks. This supports my contention that linguistic and intercultural capital form the basis for international students positioning by school personnel and domestic students.

CHAPTER 6: NORMATIVE STUDENTS

How do capital and positioning influence the educational experiences of international students at my two sites? In the previous chapter, I presented evidence that school personnel positioned international students into three categories—exceptional, normative, and at-risk—based primarily on two forms of capital, linguistic and intercultural. I then profiled two exceptional international students—one from Freemont and one from Elmshaven. In this chapter, I present data on normative international students—the majority of international students in my sample and at both sites. No students whom school personnel identified as at-risk agreed to be in my study, a limitation of my study and an opportunity for future research. Thus, in what follows, I profile Susana Wong, an example of a normative international student. To show that her experiences are typical of normative international students at both sites, I shall present vignettes of five other normative international students that demonstrate their convergent experiences.

Susana Wong represents the treatment that many international students received at both of my sites. Despite possessing considerable linguistic, intercultural, and resistant capital, Susana struggled to adapt to her host culture and communicate across linguistic and cultural divides. She lacked confidence speaking with native speakers. When required to, she often became nervous, causing her to stutter, garble her pronunciation, and speak quietly and hesitantly with many false starts, incomplete sentences, unclear references, and inductive discourse structures. However, when calm, her speech improved markedly. She could communicate sophisticated ideas in complete sentences,

with only occasional mispronunciation, stammering, or false starts. Nonetheless, her linguistic performance under stress caused domestic students to underrate her English proficiency and dismiss her as unintelligible. Though she possessed many forms of capital and successfully leveraged them to help her succeed abroad, domestic students positioned her as an outsider at Fremont, where her perceived lack of English proficiency and American cultural fluency effectively isolated her and marked her as a perpetual foreigner. In her social and cultural isolation from domestic students, she represents the plight of most normative international students at both of my sites. Regardless of their academic performance, which varied, domestic students positioned them as cultural and linguistic outsiders, deeming their linguistic and intercultural capital insufficient to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school. In the face of this ostracism, Susana displayed remarkable resistant capital, ignoring the slights of domestic students and maturely doing what she felt needed to be done to achieve her goals—graduate from high school and attend college in America. In what follows, I present evidence for these claims from my observations and interviews.

Susana's Story

A mature, intelligent, quiet, shy and somewhat withdrawn Senior at Fremont, Susana displayed a touching mixture of honesty and vulnerability as she related the story of her life—one fraught with pain, disappointment, and separation from family. Born and raised in China, Susana Wong has lived for many years on her own. Her parents divorced when she was six, remarried, and have separate families of their own now. Her father hired a nanny to care for Susana in a house near her school in China, when she was a girl.

As a result, Susana feels that she fits into neither of her parent's new families. Moreover, she reports not wanting to impose on either parent's happiness by being present in their new lives. She views herself as a painful reminder of their unhappy past. Having arrived in America four and a half years ago, she does not feel close to her family anymore, seldom having visited with them since leaving China. She reports feeling especially estranged from her father, an upper middle-class businessman who owns a real estate company in China. He worked from early in the morning until late at night when they lived together, resulting in them seldom speaking. After she moved out of his house, they spoke even less frequently. Moreover, she described him as a "bad man" for having cheated on her mother while her mother was pregnant with her—one of the reasons for her parents' divorce. She reports feeling closer to her mother, whom she describes as a middle-class businesswoman who owns gyms in China. She reports that they communicate almost every day via WeChat, a Chinese social media platform.

Her father announced one day that he wished to send Susana to America to attend high school and university. She simply assented to his wishes, as she reported always doing whatever he ordered her to do. After consulting with friends and agents, he arranged for her to study at Fremont Academy. When she first arrived in America, her English comprehension level was so low that she reports sitting blankly in class, not comprehending what was being said. Although she had already completed the eighth grade in China, she repeated the second half of the eighth grade in America. After about six months at Fremont, she started to feel more comfortable with English. Nonetheless, she struggled academically because of the language barrier her Freshman year of high

school, earning a 2.5 GPA during her first semester. Through hard work and discipline, she raised her GPA such that she earned a 3.1 her second semester. Her academic performance gradually improved, culminating in her earning a 4.1 during one semester of her Junior year after taking an AP class. Despite her progress, she still considered her English proficiency level low. Moreover, as we shall see below, some domestic students considered her speech unintelligible. As a result, she reported feeling distant from US students emotionally because of their different cultures.

Susana's Debate Performance

I observed Susana in a debate during her Senior year, which illustrates her capital and how teachers and US students at Fremont undervalue it and marginalize her. The debate occurred in Mrs. Jennifer Bower's Senior English class, after the students had read Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. The debate centered on the question of whether nurture or nature played a greater factor in the character of Frankenstein's monster. At the beginning of the class, Mrs. Bowers explained the rules of the debate. Each team would present an opening statement, arguments, rebuttals, responses to these rebuttals, and concluding remarks. She would give them about five minutes between each presentation to work in small groups to prepare their debate contributions. After explaining these instructions, she asked the class to divide into two teams. On her right would sit the pro-nurture team; on her left, the pro-nature team.

All the international students sat in one of two rows of desks against the far right of the classroom, from the teacher's perspective—in what would become the pro-nurture team. The only international student to stand and move across the room was Susana

233

Wong. When I asked her why in our interview after the fact, she stated that she had read a book in Chinese about nature versus nurture and had learned that both help shape a person's character; thus, she felt well prepared to argue either side. Seeing how few students supported nature, she decided to argue for that side. She thought it would help improve the class debate and provide an easier opportunity for her to obtain participation points as she would have less competition for time to speak, as the nature team consisted of only six members, including herself, while about 15-17 students chose to argue pro-nurture.

On the day of the debate, I happened to sit in the back of the classroom a few desks away from where the pro-nature team sat. Susana sat down in the row of desks next to the small group of pro-nature students who huddle together discussing what they would say for their opening argument. The group consisted of one Asian American boy, three White boys, and one White girl (who joined the group and class late). Although the pro-nature team clearly saw Susana trying to join their group, as evidenced by their quick and casual glances in her direction, they simply ignored her. They did not greet her, ask her into their group, or even speak to her. Several times over the next few moments she attempted to join the group through smiling, making eye contact, leaning forward in her seat, and listening attentively to their talk; however, they did not acknowledge any of these clear overtures or invite her to join them. She turned back to her desk after several seconds of trying to participate only to try again later.

Finally, she turned and faced the Asian American boy, Marc, who sat at the back of the pro-nature team and addressed him. In our interview after the fact, I learned that

Susana and Marc are acquaintances who sometimes talk about their lives and problems. When she addressed him, he smiled and spoke to her, albeit somewhat reservedly, still paying most of his attention to the other domestic students in the group.

A blond White girl, Tyler, walked into class late and joined the pro-nature team. She spoke in a casual and friendly manner with the boys but ignored Susana. Calm and confident, she instantly joined the group. The others welcomed her by name and invited her to participate in their brainstorming session. The group laughed and joked that they were unprepared for the debate and did not know what they would say for the opening argument. They attempted to brainstorm but came up with nothing. Tellingly, their warm reception of Tyler contrasted markedly with their cool dismissal of Susana.

Meanwhile, Susana took out a yellow Post-it Note pad and wrote on it. She passed her finished note to Marc who, along with the three other boys in his group, had hitherto been directing most of his attention toward Tyler. Marc took Susana's note and read it. It summarized her ideas for the opening argument. Realizing that Susana was the only person on the pro-nature team who had prepared for the debate and had an opening argument, Marc momentarily had a side-bar conversation with her. They discussed her ideas for the opening argument.

Marc turned back to the pro-nature team and announced that Susana had an idea for the opening argument, the first time anyone in the group officially acknowledged Susana's presence. Marc suggested the group listen to Susana's ideas. The other group members invited her to speak. She presented her ideas for the opening argument. Susana spoke quietly and did not always enunciate her words clearly. After listening to her

speak, one of the White boys in the group, Russel, said loudly, "I didn't understand a word she just said." Rather than asking her or another group member for clarification, he addressed the others in his group, speaking about Susana in the third person, as if she were not present, although she remained but a few feet away from him, and criticizing her speech as unintelligible.

When it came time to present, the pro-nature team was not prepared. They begged Mrs. Bowers to let the pro-nurture team present their opening argument first, and she consented to their request. A studious White girl from the pro-nurture team volunteered to speak. She read a prepared statement, clearly presenting her team's opening arguments and the three major points that they would defend. She was calm, confident, articulate, and well informed. Her opening statement was well reasoned and convincing. The pro-nature team had a formidable act to follow.

It was the pro-nature team's turn to present, and they were clearly not prepared. After some whispered deliberations in which they discussed what they should do, they decided to allow Susana to present for their group rather than make no presentation whatsoever. Susana asked Mrs. Bowers if she could use the white board to make her opening statement. Mrs. Bowers agreed. Susana walked to the front of the class, drew a diagram on the white board representing her argument, turned and presented to the class. The class had been animated with lively talk since it began. Mrs. Bowers had to speak over this to be heard. However, when Susana rose and walked to the front of the class, her classmates hushed each other. One girl stage whispered, "Shhh! She's going to teach

us!" in an ironic tone that elicited some chuckles. Susana began to speak. Her

nervousness was apparent.

Excerpt 6.1: February 27, 2019
Transcript of Mrs. Bowers' Senior English Class

> Susana:[faces and addresses class] My English* [pronounced "Engrish"] is really
>
>> bad, so maybe you can't understand wha[t]*[/t/ is omitted] I'm saying, so
>>
>> I'll try my best to do this.
>
> Mrs. Bowers: Alright. Okay.
>
> Susana: The first thing is…like…when you know…when you don't know your
>
>> relative, but choose your relative over your…over a stranger…that
>>
>> usually* [pronounced "you-zar-ee"] happen like between all the human,
>>
>> right…because you know okay, [stutters] h-he-he's your blood or
>>
>> whatever but you don't really know him, but you gonna choose him
>>
>> because he's your blood. That's no[t]* [/t/ omitted] because…because
>>
>> of…you like him…or…it just…it-it's in your gene. You know, [stutters]
>>
>> th-the-they make some exper[i]ment* [pronounced "ex-spare-ment"] in rat
>>
>> or whatever that is. If the rat…if the rat—they don't have any feelings,
>>
>> right? They don't have any emotion…like not really…not like human, but
>>
>> they also need, they also will choose their relative because that's what is
>>
>> just in their genes.
>
> Mrs. Bowers: Mmmm. Alright, point…so point one.
>
> Susana: Yeah, that's Point 1. And-and the second point…like…[points to the
>
>> diagram she's drawn on the board, an abstract figure consisting of lines

that she uses to illustrate the alleged proportion of one's genes that control

behavior automatically versus the portion one can control consciously] Is

this your gene?[27] I mean you are like well-educated people, not

like…like…grew…like you grew with some wolves, tigers—not that kind

[laughs]…I mean you got a human. So this is your gene. And this

part…this is the part controlled by your brain…[long pause, draws on

board]…And maybe the lower…like right here…So this part, you can

make your decision. And this part…might against the lower*…Maybe it

steal or murder someone…But…like this part is your gene. But this part

you can choose to, you can, you can choose to do it. So [stutters] you-can-

you-can-you-can-you-can…like your genes right here…like you just

won't do something against the lower…but your genes right here, you can

choose to do something or not. So can you guys see my point…understand

what I'm saying?

[The class remains silent. Looks of puzzlement and confusion animate most

students faces I see. Some tilt their head slightly. Others raise eyebrows.

Some look at each other in bewilderment.]

Mrs. Bowers: [Reassuringly] Yeah. Mmm-hmm. Yeah. So, you're not…So you

still have the choice to act against your genes.

Susana: [Overlapping with Mrs. Bowers's summary] Yeah…Yeah…Yeah.

---

[27] This may have been meant as a statement, but it was expressed as a question with rising intonation.

This excerpt reveals how Susana communicates under pressure. I have marked words with an asterisk that she pronounced using non-standard phonemes—those not recognized as part of the 44 phonemes generally used in what linguists refer to as General American English, or the most common variety of English spoken in the United States. For example, she pronounced the /l/ phoneme in the words *English* and *usually* (IPA: ɪŋɡlɪʃ and ˈjuʒəwəli respectively) with an /r/ phoneme—a common phonemic substitution among Chinese speakers of English, as the phoneme used to pronounce /l/ in the terminal position of an English word is not used in Mandarin or Cantonese; thus, many speakers of Mandarin and Cantonese have difficulty hearing and pronouncing the terminal /l/ phoneme (Burkett, 2009). Moreover, when nervous, Susana would often omit phonemes from a word that native speakers would generally include. I have indicated this using square brackets. Thus, she omitted the /t/ from the word *not* (producing the equivalent of "gnaw") and the /ə/ (or schwa) from the word experiment (IPA: ɪkˈspɛrəmənt) (producing the equivalent of "ex-spare-ment"). Interestingly, Susana's pronunciation becomes increasingly standardized the longer she speaks, indicating that her non-standard pronunciation may be the result of her nervousness rather than persistent "errors" in her speech or pronunciation.

Aside from Susana's use of non-standard pronunciation, we can also note other features of her discourse that native speakers would have had difficulty following. Susana engaged in a generally inductive form of discourse. Rather than stating her main idea first and supporting it with details, she presented a series of details and then asked her audience if they could understand her main idea, which arguably, she had not directly

239

stated. This illustrates what rhetoricians call inductive discourse. Although controversial,

research in contrastive rhetoric suggests that many non-Western cultures generally

employ inductive logic when organizing their discourse, whereas users of academic

English generally employ deductive logic, stating their main idea first and then

elaborating on it with details (Kaplan, 1966; Li & Liu, 2019; Liu & McCabe, 2018; Lu,

Li, & Ottewell, 2016).[28] By organizing her discourse inductively, as well as by speaking

with non-standard pronunciation, frequent pauses within sentences, stuttering, incomplete

sentences, and unclear references, Susana's presentation left many of her classmates

apparently bewildered, as evidenced by the general silence when she asked if others

understood her and the puzzled expressions on many of her classmates' faces.

Interestingly, she spoke much more confidently with me when we sat down for

our interview, as the excerpts that appear later in this chapter attest. This suggests that

much of Susana's difficulties communicating in her L2 may have arisen from her

nervousness and mild stutter rather than from deficits in her language proficiency. If I am

correct in my reading of Susana, then my findings align with those of prior researchers

who have documented how stress adversely impacts second-language learning and

performance (Kormos & Prefontaine, 2017; Krashen, 1981, 1982; Phillips, 1992; Saito &

---

[28] See Kraft (2019) for a review of studies that affirm and contest Kaplan's (1966) original descriptions of non-Western rhetorical features. Notably, Kaplan (1987) acknowledged, "It is probably true that, in the first blush of discovery, I overstated both the difference and my case" (p. 9). While I have no interest in defending Kaplan's original research, which he admits was flawed, I find it instructive that Chinese scholars continue to conduct research along the lines of Kaplan, comparing Chinese and English rhetorical styles, arguing that while "Kaplan's diagram of five cultural traditions has been the source of much criticism, the central tenet of his article remains true to this day: namely, that different languages, and by extension, different cultures, both national as well as disciplinary, operate with different rhetorical paradigms" (Lu, Li, & Ottewell, 2016, p. 101). Helping second language learners to understand these paradigms and operate effectively within should thus be of paramount concern to second language educators and applied linguists.

Samimy, 1996; Steinberg & Horwitz, 1986; Teimouri, Y., Goetze, J., & Plonsky, L.,

2019; Zhang, 2019). In their meta-analysis of 97 studies of anxiety and second language

achievement, Teimouri, Goetze, and Plonsky (2019) found a negative correlation

between L2 anxiety and language achievement (r = -.36). Zhang's meta-analysis of 55

samples and 10,000 participants reached similar conclusions (r = -.34). These data

suggest that as stress increases, second language performance decreases (Teimouri,

Goetze, & Plonsky, 2019; Zhang, 2019).

Susana's interactions with her classmates speak volumes. Her team's indifference

to her presence suggests that they have positioned her as a perpetual outsider, an Asian

who, by virtue of her (allegedly) impenetrable pronunciation is unintelligible, foreign,

and, therefore, not fit for inclusion in the group. They seem to make this judgment with

an almost casual disregard for her feelings. When Russel said, "I didn't understand a

word she just said," he was looking right at her, but addressing his comments to the other

students in his group, as if she had left the room, and therefore could be spoken about in

the third person, yet she remained physically present.

This finding aligns with prior research. Shuck (2006) interviewed "White, middle-

class, native-English-speaking, U.S.-born college students" and found that they "mark

nonnative speakers of English as non-White and foreign" and speak about them in ways

that belittle and infantilize them (p. 259). Her participants perceived nonnative English

speakers as "international…novices in English…non-White or non-

Anglo…behind/slower…hold[ing] everyone else…back…[comparable] to young

children, mentally disabled or 'emotionally disturbed' [persons]…[having]

accents…[being] incomprehensible…[and having] full responsibility for communicating effectively with native speakers…" (p. 262). Her participants discursively othered nonnative speakers using derogatory verbal performances that construed them as inferiors. I read Russel's, a white male's, dismissive tone toward Susana and his description of her speech as unintelligible as othering her; thus, I find congruence between my findings and Shuck's (2006).

Susana's Resistant Capital

Susana's performance in the debate helps highlight her resistant capital, which Yosso (2005) defines as "those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (p. 80). One way that women of color manifest oppositional capital, is to "value themselves and be self-reliant" (Yosso, 2005, p. 81). Yosso (2005) observes that this might take the form of valuing "themselves as intelligent…and worthy of respect" (p. 81). In our interview, Susana and I discussed the debate and how her classmates ostracized her. She said of them, "…They are not really mature, so [stuttering] why-why-why-why I need to take that serious…like…like…right?" In the debate, she had conducted herself with self-respect in the face of the open disregard shown her by her group. Others might have withered under this disregard, but Susana persisted, calmly, confidently, and intelligently pursuing her goal of earning the points she needed by participating in the debate, even though her group made it clear that they did not welcome her as a member.

In her response to Russel, Susana demonstrated resistant capital. Regarding Russel's statement "I didn't understand a word she just said," Susana made the following

observation in our interview: "[Stuttering] Fo-for us, like even [if] he said [that] in Chinese, we don't think that's rude. It's just, 'Oh, you just don't understand.' That's it." In response to a comment directed toward her that I found blatantly dismissive, she chose not to take offense or perceive rudeness. Rather she sought to read the comment in the best possible light. If Russel reported that he did not understand her, then he did not understand her, and that is all he meant by his comment. Of course, to maintain this magnanimous reading of the situation, Susana had to disregard the fact that Marc had understood her argument and thought it worthy of presenting to the team. As an acquaintance with whom she sometimes conversed about her life and problems, Marc could have explained her idea to Russel and stood up for her, but he remained silent, in effect, allowing Russel to dismiss his friend. Indeed, Russel's remark positioned Susana as an outsider, a perpetual foreigner speaking unintelligible words. No one on the pro-nurture team took issue with Russel's positioning of Susana, thereby silently assenting to it and reinforcing it. Nonetheless, Susana retained her dignity, chose to read Russel's slight as a neutral report that he did not understand her, and stood before the class to make a presentation.

Even Susana's response to her teammate's ostracism of her displays her resistant capital. During our interview, I asked her to member check my reading of the debate. I suggested that her team had excluded her from their discussion by not recognizing her or inviting her to join them when she first sat down. I asked her if she agreed with my reading of the situation. She responded by defending her classmate's dismissal of her.

Excerpt 6.2: April 19, 2019
Interview with Susana Wong, International Student, Fremont

> Susana: Yeah...[stuttering] that's-that's-that's…I think that's reasonable because I'm international student. I don't really under…They might think I really don't understand the question. So I think it's okay because sometimes...like…sometimes like a lot of international* [pronounced: internash'nl] students—they just don't want to be a part of the group. Like it's no...a lot of international students, they just want…like the American students…talk for them because [stuttering] they-they-they don't want to do any work. [Stuttering] They-they-they-they want to be involved for the grade, but not for part of the work.

Yosso (2005) reports that sometimes "resistance may include different forms of oppositional behavior, such as self-defeating or conformist strategies that feed back into the system of subordination" (p. 81). I am tempted to read Susana's rationalization of her group's exclusion of her in this light. However, I must note that Susana never lost her dignity, sense of purpose, or steadfast ability to achieve her goal throughout the debate. While I read her teammates' behavior as indefensible, Susana took a magnanimous view of her classmate's ostracism and exploitation of her during the debate. They excluded her from most of their planning, dismissed her ideas as unintelligible, and then used her when they realized they could produce no opening statement of their own. In response, she noted that she is 19, a full year older than many of them and has been living on her own for years, so she is simply more mature than them and unfazed by their behavior. Moreover, she refuses to feel insulted even by what I considered her teams' blatantly

rude behavior. All of this allows her to maintain a philosophical cool in the face of the almost outrageous behaviors she must endure at Fremont. Her mature, magnanimous attitude allows her to value herself as "intelligent…strong and worthy of respect" (Yosso, 2005, p. 81). This manifests her rather formidable resistant capital.

Linguistic and Intercultural Capital: The Basis of Positioning

The debate further highlights the basis of inclusion and exclusion in Fremont Academy's social life. My analysis of the debate suggests that English proficiency (linguistic capital) and American cultural fluency (intercultural capital) position international students as insiders or outsiders. Domestic students position those they perceive to have near native English proficiency and American cultural fluency, such as Andrew and Micky, as insiders, while those whom they perceive as struggling to communicate in English fluently, such as Susana, they position as outsiders. I argue that this is problematic because it allows international students' actual skills and abilities to go unrecognized. Susana could communicate complex ideas in complete sentences when we sat down for our interview. Under the stress of speaking to native speakers in class, however, she came across as almost unintelligible. However, if an individual can speak fluently when not under stress, but struggles to do so when stressed, the issue is stress— not intellectual or linguistic impairment.

My finding aligns with prior theory. Harré and van Langenhove (1991) state that those "positioned as incompetent in a certain field of endeavor…will not be accorded the right to contribute to discussions in that field" (p. 1). We saw the reluctance of Susana's small group to accord her the right to contribute to their discussion or small group work

and how only after they had failed to produce a viable opening statement for the debate did they allow her to speak for the group rather than making no opening statement whatsoever.

However, my findings differ from Yoon's (2008) as they suggest teachers do not need to position themselves as apathetic to the needs of ELL students to create exclusionary classroom spaces and practices. The near universal opinion of the international students in my sample was that teachers and the majority of domestic students at both Fremont and Elmshaven were friendly, caring, and supportive. However, exclusionary practices continued beneath the surface, even in classes that international students reported liking, in full view of teachers whom international students described as friendly, supportive, and knowledgeable. What this suggests is that teachers and domestic students must do more than harbor good will toward international students. Systemic practices must be implemented to integrate domestic and international students and ensure that every student is positioned as an insider. Moreover, attempts to other or ostracize international students must be treated as a breach of social and ethical norms rather than an acceptable practice that can occur without comment from teachers or peers.

Vignettes of International Students

In the preceding section, I profiled Susana Wong, whom I argue represents the experiences of normative international students in general. My basis for this claim stems from evidence I collected from interviews, observations, and documents that attest to how school personnel and domestic students positioned international students based largely on their linguistic and intercultural capital. I present more evidence for this argument below

246

in the form of five vignettes. In Vignette 1, I briefly present evidence from my interview with Ben Siu, a normative international student at Fremont, that linguistic capital and intercultural capital served as the basis of inclusion and exclusion—even from the perspective of international students. In Vignette 2, I briefly present evidence from my interview with Ella Su, a normative international student at Elmshaven, that addresses the feeling of being unknown by per peers and school personnel. This speaks to the sense of social and cultural isolation that I observed to be the plight of normative international students at both of my sites. In Vignette 3, I briefly present evidence from my interview with Grace Woo, a normative international student at Fremont, who attests to the challenges international students reported making friends with domestic students. In Vignette 4, I examine evidence from my interview with Megan Chin, a normative international student at Elmshaven, who describes her relationships with domestic students as more distant than her relationships with international students. In Vignette 5, I present evidence from my interview with Mindy Khoo, a normative student at Fremont, that linguistic and intercultural capital served as the chief distinguishers of international students who integrated into the dominant American culture and those who did not. Taken as a whole, I argue that these vignettes provide further evidence for my claim that school personnel and domestic students position international students as insiders or outsiders based primarily on their ability to use their linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school.

Vignette 1: Ben Siu

Ben Siu exemplifies a normative international student at Fremont. Although most students in my sample did not share their transcripts with me, Ben volunteered his, according to which he ranked 28th of 58 students in the class of 2020 and had a cumulative GPA of 3.28. Like other normative students in my sample, he reported feeling socially ostracized by domestic students. In our interview, Ben explained that domestic students and even older international students viewed his linguistic and intercultural capital as so low that they simply ignored his attempts to communicate with them.

By the time of our interview during Ben's Senior year at Fremont, I had no difficulty understanding him speak, although I detected the features of what linguists have described as a Chinese English accent (Eng, 2012; Xu, He, & Deterding, 2017). For example, Ben spoke in a rapid staccato singsong, accenting almost every word. In this regard, his prosody—word stress and intonation—showed the influence of his L1 on his L2, as he used musical tones to pronounce individual segmentals (vowels and consonants) to a degree not common among native English speakers. Moreover, his emphasis of almost every syllable lent his speech an unintentional aggressiveness that scholars have identified as characteristic of some Chinese English accents (Xu, He, Deterding, 2017). This emphasis linguists have traced to the fact that Mandarin and Cantonese are syllable timed, that is, each syllable receives equal time and emphasis (Mok, 2009). By contrast, scholars describe English as stress timed (Mok, 2009). In other words, native speakers generally accent content words and de-emphasize structure words

(Gilbert, 2012).[29] Ben had difficulty pronouncing terminal /t/ and consonant clusters (*lt* in *culture*, *ckgr* in *background*, and /d/ in *background*)—issues well described in the scholarly literature on Chinese English (Deterding, 2010; Xu, He, & Deterding, 2017). In these situations, he either used phonemic omission or substitution, for example, substituting the *lt* in *culture* with an *sh* /ʃ/ (kosha). In the transcription below, I indicate omissions and substitutions in brackets.

Excerpt 6.3: March 15, 2019
Interview with Ben Siu, Senior International Student, Fremont

> August: So it sounds—to be honest—it sounds like your experiences in America, but also at Fremont haven't been good. Would you agree, or what do you think?

> Ben: So…uh…I don['t]…I don['t] think Fremont uh…uh…helps me a lot…Cuz, you know, it's not easy to be in here, like with [wiz] the [da] people you don['t] know, like the [da] culture [kosha]. Like you don['t] understan[d] it. Like the [da] things…like you don['t] really like…uh…uh…familiar with [wid] and…Even for some international Chinese—international student[t] here, they stay here maybe like for four year. And they're not changin[g]. Why they [dey] not changin[g]? Because they cannot cross the [da] zone, like from the [da] Chinese international zone [shone]. They're

---

[29] A colleague once gave me a memorable example of the stress-timed nature of English. Spoken naturally, the following sentences all roughly have the same number of accented beats, although they differ in the number of weak beats. "Birds eat bees. The birds eat the bees. The birds are eating the bees." Native English speakers will likely say these three sentences in roughly the same amount of time and with the same emphasis in each. In contrast, linguists describe Spanish, Italian, and French as syllable timed. The more syllables in a syllable-timed language, the longer an utterance will take (Conlen, 2016).

not…they're not talking with the [da] local student. They're

not…uh….uh…to join the different [diff'rent] event…the [da] activity.

They just choose to stay the [da] same…Because in China, cuz we speak

the [da] Mandarin, right? We speak the [da] same language. We can talk

like…easily. And we have…like…the [da] same growing backgroun[d]

[back-roun]. We play the [da] game…like the [da] things [zings] we talk

about…like different things like in China. It's easier, but it's more easier

than here to get into uh…into a group. We don['t] have like really

good…we don['t] have, like, really good…We don['t] speak really good

English when we firs[t] get to here. Cuz the school doesn['t] require you

have, like, really high…um…English standar[d], so maybe the [da] other

people here, like the [da] studen[t] here, like when we try to talk with

them, like to join a group, like to have fun, like they don['t] really take

you, and they don['t]…cuz maybe they don['t] understand you…and

maybe they don['t] know you.

August: Are they rude, or do they just ignore you?

Ben: …Oh, here's my experience on…like the [da] firs[t] year [yee-uh], like the

Sophomore year [yee-uh] on the [da] baseball [base-bah] team. And…I

was asking like the [da] teammate…Cuz I was the [da] only Chinese…I

was the [da] only new international studen[t] in the [da] team. So I-I feel

[fee-hull] lonely. I feel [fee-hull] kind of like…um…like…kind of

scare[d]. And there's another [anuhda] Chinese, but he's the [da] Senior.

And…uh…he's…it's kind of quiet. And he…I talk with [wid] him…but

it's not like he really wan[t] to have a conversation with you…So…and,

uh, I talk with the [dee] other teammate. Like asking like different

things…Cuz, you know, it's like weird if you stay in the [da] team and the

other people's talking and you're not talking—just sit there and watching.

It's super weird. So I asked him [ass-him] like the [da]

question…like…bu[t] like [buh-like]…half [haaf] of the time, they just

ignore you, they jus[t] see you asking them…They just ignore you.

August: Wow! So that's rude in my opinion. Is that rude for you?

Ben: It's like maybe my question is not clear, so they…just like…they see you

asking him…just, like, you know, you're like talking with the [da] other

people. They just [ignore you]…That's my experience like for the [da]

baseball [base bah] team.

In this excerpt, Ben Siu identifies the criteria for integrating into the social life of

Fremont as English fluency (linguistic capital) and cultural competence (intercultural

capital). Without these, international students remain socially ostracized by domestic

students, he observes, even if they remain at the school for four years. While I interpreted

domestic students' refusal to acknowledge international students' attempts at

communicating as rude (even racist), Ben offered another explanation: "…maybe my

question is not clear." This echoes Susana's rationalization of Russel's dismissal of her

attempt to communicate, described above. According to my informants, international

students who spoke English fluently (linguistic capital) and integrated into American

culture (intercultural capital) had the opportunity to rise to positions of prominence on campus, while those who lacked these prestigious forms of capital remained socially ostracized at both of my sites.

Vignette 2: Ella Su

Ella Su, a Senior at Elmshaven at the time of our interview, represents a normative international student. She reported feeling unknown by her teachers and domestic student peers, as the following excerpt from our interview attests.

Excerpt 6.4: October 30, 2018
Interview with Ella Su, Senior International Student, Elmshaven

August: …What do people notice about you and say, "Ah! Ella, you're good at this?"

Ella: Mmmm…. I thin[k] [thing] because of the language [barrier], they're [dare] not that really know what you're good at. Yeah. They [dey] just think [thing] your English is not that good. Yeah. Mmmm. In art class, they... If you take that [thaaa], like the [da] teacher maybe [my-be] can…he can notice you are good at—life skills, something. Cause you have to draw. Mmm…Like basketball, the coach [cosh] don['t] know you and then will not let you go on the [thuhhh] court [core] like that [thaa].
And…uh…yeah. And then…uh… because of your…you look like Asian, maybe they [dey] think [thing] your English is not good. Yeah. Like that.

August: Wow. So how do you feel about the coach not knowing your name?

Ella: Mmmm. Is [prolonged vowel /i/] okay. Is [prolonged vowel /i/] normal. They don't…

252

August: You mean most teachers don't know your name here?

Ella: Oh, no-no-no. Some of them, they…like…no-no-no…Like most [mos] of

the teachers know my name, but I think like [names coach], he don't know

me, but I took his class before.

As this excerpt illustrates, Ella Su reports that she feels domestic students and school personnel do not know her. She credits this to the language barrier, but also to a lack of opportunity to reveal her hidden talents and to a lack of interest on the part of one teacher who does not even know her name. I argue that her testimony provides additional evidence for my claim that normative international students often experience social isolation from peers and school personnel.

Even the 2019 Elmshaven Yearbook lends credibility to Ella Su's feeling of invisibility on campus. Unlike Micky Kim who appeared in many captioned photos in the yearbook, Ella Su received one picture and caption—outside of the obligatory headshots and group photos. In it she appears guarding an opponent in a game of basketball. The caption for this photo reads as follows.

Excerpt 6.5
2019 Elmshaven Yearbook

Ella makes sure to cover her opponent during the inbounds play.

While this caption might seem like recognition for Ella Su's contribution to the girls' basketball team, it compares unfavorably with how captions on the two-page spread to which it belongs describe other girls on her team. It describes an unremarkable moment in time, whereas other captions describe player's skills, long-term contributions to the team, or important plays from the season. For example, the

caption for Susanna Gutierrez, one of Ella Su's teammates, reads: "Susanna plays great defense to keep the ball away from her opponent." This caption positions Susanna not merely as a participant in the game, but rates her effectiveness, describing her as a "great" defensive player, a valuable member of the team. Notice how by contrast, the caption for Ella Su does not identify her skills or evaluate them.

Similarly, another one of Ella's teammates, Rebecca Figueroa, receives a caption that notes: "Rebecca played point guard much of the season. She leads the team down the court ready to score." Notice how this caption positions her as one of the team's consistent point guards, suggesting that she had the skill to run down the court, dribble the ball, make passes, and make shots—the role of a point guard. This caption positions Rebecca as among the team's most valuable players. Indeed, her photo occupies an entire page of the two-page spread, while the second page consists of a collage of six photos including Ella Su's. Of Lanie Fischer, another of Ella's teammates, a caption notes: "Lanie makes a smart pass to her teammate." Notice how this caption positions Lanie as a skilled and "smart" player. That Lanie made a smart pass suggests that she has skill handling the ball, for she had it in her possession, had an awareness of her teammate's position on the court, and knew strategically when to pass the ball to advance the team's interest. In contrast to her teammate's captions, Ella Su's seems to describe a moment in time rather than a set of skills or a valuable long-term contribution to the team. I argue that even Ella's portrayal in the 2019 Yearbook lends credence to her claim that her teachers and classmates did not recognize her skills or abilities.

Vignette 3: Grace Woo

Grace Woo represents a normative international student at Fremont Academy. She described the challenges of making friends with domestic students across cultural and linguistic divides in our interview, reinforcing my contention that normative international students reported feeling socially and culturally isolated or marginalized by their domestic student peers.

Excerpt 6.6: March 18, 2019
Interview with Grace Woo, Junior International Student, Fremont

August: How would you describe the relationships between international students and domestic students at Fremont Academy?

Grace: Sometimes we can be…uh…friend. But most of that—most of the time, not close friends. You talk about something, but not like I talk about with my…like…Chinese friends. Yeah.

August: Mmmm. So do you have any American friends?

Grace: Of course. But not that close. Yeah.

August: …When you're friends with international students, are they mostly Chinese, or could you also have a Korean or Vietnamese?

Grace: Mostly Chinese.

August: So is it because of language?

Grace: Because of language.

August: So you can speak Mandarin with them.

Grace: Yeah.

This excerpt suggests that international and domestic students found it difficult to form close friendships across cultural and linguistic divides. Even among international students, Grace reported that she found it easier to maintain friendships with co-nationals with whom she shared linguistic and cultural ties. Based on my observations and interviews, Grace's preference for co-national friendships appears normative for the majority of international students at both sites. The segregation between groups (discussed at length in Chapter 4) illustrates the isolation of normative international students socially and culturally at both of my sites. Although friendships between domestic students and international students were possible, these were often of a different nature than friendships between co-nationals, as the following excerpt suggests.

Vignette 4: Megan Chin

Megan Chin exemplifies a normative international student at Elmshaven. She described the type of relationship she has with her one domestic friend in our interview, providing evidence that even when friendships occurred across cultural and linguistic divides, they were often more distant than friendships with co-nationals.

Excerpt 6.7: November 12, 2018
Interview with Meghan Chin, Junior International Student, Elmshaven

August: Do you have any American student friends here?

Megan: Yeah, I have one.

August: One?

Megan: Yeah.

August: Okay. How did you meet that one friend?

Megan: Um…Is…is…is on my first host family. Yeah. Every [av-ree] day they

bring [brin] us to the [da] school. On the way, they need to go [t'go] to her

house and pick her [up]. So, yeah. So we are on the same…same [sem,

sem] way to go to school. And she's on the Junior, too. She's Junior, too.

Yeah, so we in the [da] same grade, and we have a lot of the [da] same

class.

August: Is she Asian?

Megan: No, she's American.

August: …Do you meet with her? Do you go out with her?

Megan: Uh…no.

August: Just talk?

Megan: Just talk.

August: Like "Hi" and "Goodbye."

Megan: Yeah.

This excerpt suggests that Megan's relationship with her one domestic student friend

seemed confined to casual talk during their commute to school and perhaps occasionally

in or between class. In contrast, Megan described going out with her fellow international

student friends to the mall and to have dinner—suggesting that she enjoyed much greater

closeness with international students than with domestic students.

Excerpt 6.8: November 12, 2018
Interview with Meghan Chin, Junior International Student, Elmshaven

August: …So with your international student friends, do you have a chance to go

somewhere or do something?

257

Megan: Yeah.

August: Where do you go?

Megan: Like some week…in the [da] weeken[d], we go to the [da] mall. Oh,

yeah. Yeah. And sometimes we eat dinner together. Yeah. Like that.

This excerpt suggests that Megan enjoyed much closer relationships with co-nationals

than with her domestic student friends—something that many international students in

my sample reported.

Vignette 5: Mindy Khoo

Mindy Khoo represents a normative international student at Fremont. In our

interview, she described the basis of Chinese international students' isolation from other

groups on campus, whom she referred to as American, as stemming from linguistic and

cultural differences. I argue that her testimony reinforces my contention that linguistic

and intercultural capital distinguish the exceptional international student from the

normative international student at both of my sites.

Excerpt 6.8: December 5, 2018
Interview with Mindy Khoo, Freshman International Student, Fremont

August: What kind of people are there at Fremont Academy—Whites, Asians,

Blacks, Latinos?

Mindy: Yeah.

August: …Which groups mix or are friends or talk to each other or communicate?

After describing how most groups on campus interacted as friends, she singled

out Chinese international students as one of the exceptions.

Mindy: …Chinese people usually make friends with Chinese people.

August: Is that because of language barriers, or because of cultural barriers, or both?

Mindy: Oh, I think both. Because sometimes if I…if some American students ask me something, I…I can't understand. And that's very awkward, I think. And-and culture's also very different. And you-you don't know…what conversation you can have with them…and what they…what they know…or what they think about something. You don't know that.

This excerpt suggests that Mindy observed the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups on campus mix with each other—with the exception of Chinese international students. Mindy's observation that Chinese international students remained linguistically and culturally separate from other groups on campus supports my overall argument that linguistic and intercultural capital (the ability to integrate into the dominant American culture on campus) served as the defining characteristics of students who socially integrated or remained separate. Regardless of race or ethnicity, students who possessed the linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school enjoyed an insider status on campus, while those who did not remained marginalized socially and culturally. Evidence for this claim comes from my observations and interviews.

Summary

In this chapter and the last, I have argued that school personnel position international students into three categories: exceptional, normative, and at-risk. When

they speak of exceptional international students, they describe students who possess the linguistic and intercultural capital to integrate into the dominant American culture of the school, actively participate in campus life, do well academically, and establish social networks that include school personnel, domestic students, and international students. When they speak of normative students, they refer to students who—regardless of school performance—do not integrate into the dominant American culture. These students generally experience social and cultural isolation from domestic students. Although no at-risk students participated in this study, school personnel descriptions of them suggest that such students do not do well academically and do not integrate into the dominant American culture of the school. Rather, they remain ostracized from domestic students, and even other international students.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I summarize my study, identify its limitations, discuss the implications of my findings for theory and practice, and make recommendations for future research. I investigated the educational experiences of international students at two private Christian schools with the goals of describing these experiences and evaluating pedagogical practices teachers use to enact them. This research revealed several key findings, which I describe below.

Findings Reviewed

Systemic Findings

First, I found that how my sites functioned at the systemic level impacted the quality of international students' educational experiences. Elmshaven functioned as a system of mutually supportive personnel, lending positive synergy to school personnel and (international) students' efforts. Fremont functioned as an inconsistent system of mutually interfering and uncoordinated personnel, lending negative synergy to school personnel and (international) students' efforts.

Pedagogical Practices

Second, I found that pedagogical practices varied in quality. In Chapter 4, I noted that the curricula at both Fremont and Elmshaven followed roughly parallel tracks, as both schools belonged to the same denomination and used similar, or in some cases, the same textbooks. However, where international students' experiences varied related to the skill of teachers in engaging students in learning and peer interactions. Specifically, I

found that international students demonstrated greater engagement in classes where teachers positioned them as active versus passive learners, taught them vocabulary using research-based strategies, presented clear content and language objectives for each lesson, used culturally sensitive teaching materials, did not allow students to opt-out of participating in class, and did not permit segregated seating between domestic and international students.

School Personnel Complacency

Third, the segregated seating I observed in most classrooms, at lunch, and in chapel at Fremont and Elmshaven suggests school personnel turned a blind eye to these practices. As I noted in Chapter 4, the marginalization of international students deprives them of the opportunity to learn English and content through meaningful interactions with domestic students, one reason many wished to study abroad. Moreover, it denies domestic students the opportunity to develop their intercultural capital through making friendships with international students, learning about their country, culture, and language, and developing their ability to understand a variety of spoken forms of English, a skill that will help them in adult life.

Capital and Positioning

Fourth, international high school students' educational experiences varied based on their capital and positioning. I noted how school personnel and domestic students positioned international students with significant linguistic and intercultural capital, such as Andrew Lee and Micky Kim, as insiders in the social life of the school. In contrast, they positioned international students whom they thought lacked fluency in English and

American culture—such as Susana Wong, Ben Siu, Ella Su, Grace Woo, Megan Chin, and Mindy Khoo—as outsiders. In effect, this meant that school personnel and domestic students positioned the majority of international students as social outsiders at both campuses.

<div align="center">**Recommendations for Practice**</div>

Pronunciation Instruction

How could Fremont and Elmshaven improve the interactions between domestic and international students? While both schools offer incoming international students ESL classes, these classes focus on developing international students' academic English with a focus on literacy skills rather than oral skills. However, my research suggests that international students, such as Susana Wong, may possess an advanced command of academic English but lack confidence in speaking to domestic students and report difficulty with producing clear English pronunciation. Thus, one recommendation related to practice emerges. In addition to teaching international students academic English, ESL classes should give them opportunities to speak with domestic students and work on their English pronunciation. Prior research suggests that few teachers receive training in how to teach pronunciation and thus they do not include pronunciation instruction or practice in their lessons (L. Lin, 2014; Gilakjani & Ahmadi, 2011). Thus, both schools should contract with ELL pronunciation experts to offer workshops to teachers on how to teach pronunciation. As we have seen in the case of Susana Wong, without confidence and clear pronunciation skills, international students' sometimes advanced command of English will go unrecognized.

Buddy Programs

Another means of integrating domestic and international students would be through an effective Buddy Program, such as Fremont's, which proved popular with both international students and domestic student participants. Much research supports the efficacy of such programs (Devereaux, 2004; Jon, 2013; Ozturgut, 2013; Popaduik & Arthur, 2004). Thus, it would behoove Elmshaven to adopt such a program, and for both schools to ensure that its meeting times remain sacrosanct. Since school personnel at both sites reported that international students did not participate in extracurricular school functions with much frequency, it might be wise to have buddies invite them to such programs and interact with them to increase their engagement. Mrs. Romero's practice of creating assignments that required international students to participate in extracurricular experiences, playing games with domestic students, and completing communicative tasks also serves as a model practice that both sites should adopt. Research by Yoon (2008) supports the use of such assignments in helping immigrant students integrate with domestic students.

How could Fremont and Elmshaven improve pedagogical practices for international students? Based on my research, I would recommend that they provide professional development opportunities to help teachers learn to teach ELLs and native speakers in mixed classes. Echevarria, Vogt, and Short's (2013) *Making Content Comprehensible for English Learners: The SIOP Model* provides a single-volume overview of empirically validated teaching strategies that improve learning for both ELL students and mainstream students. It also addresses most of the concerns raised in this

study regarding pedagogy. Its recommendations are simple and actionable and come with a rubric that teacher trainers or principals could use to measure implementation.

Cultural Sensitivity Training

My research suggests that school personnel and domestic students would benefit from cultural sensitivity training. As mentioned in Chapter 6, domestic students often other international students or assert dominance over them (e.g., dogpiling them in choir, fist pumping them, etc.) in an attempt to show the hegemonic control of American culture over the foreign other. Moreover, school personnel, domestic students, and even some international students view such practices as unproblematic. However, any practices that tokenize students dehumanize them (Shuck, 2006). It, therefore, behooves educators to become aware of the dehumanizing practices and discourses that occur at their school and learn culturally sensitive strategies for countering them. Toward this end, I recommend that both sites engage in honest focus group discussions that include school personnel, domestic students, and international students about how international students are viewed and treated as cultural others and how domestic students and school personnel can learn to better appreciate international students' languages, cultures and practices. A program along the lines of that recommended by Nielson et al. (2020) for a multi-cultural school in South Africa may be apropos.

<div align="center">

Ramifications on Theory

</div>

My study enriches our conception of intercultural capital. Pöllmann (2009, 2013), defines intercultural capital as "a personal reservoir of intercultural experiences and skills (e.g., experience of living abroad, intercultural friendships, and language skills) that

enable the respective individual to competently engage in intercultural encounters" (p. 540). Thus, he conceives of intercultural capital mainly as a form of competence. Although he draws on Bourdieu's social reproduction theory, defining intercultural capital as a form of embodied cultural capital, he does not attend to its economic exchange values. In fact, he even states that he is not interested in them.

> …I am not first and foremost concerned with the transferability of intercultural capital into economic capital—the relative competitive advantage a businessperson might gain by speaking several foreign languages for example. Instead, I am primarily interested in the potential impact of intercultural capital on intercultural tolerance and understanding in contemporary multicultural societies. (Pöllmann, 2009, p. 540).

However, Bourdieu (1977, 1991) makes a strong case for distinguishing linguistic capital from linguistic competence, a distinction I argue applies equally well to intercultural capital and intercultural competence. Bourdieu problematizes Chomsky's (1965) reduction of the human capacity for language to a form of competence, arguing that not all forms of language are equal. Thus, language forms associated with higher class speakers carry more prestige, power, legitimacy, and influence than those spoken by lower class individuals. Bourdieu's argument against conceiving of language capacity as merely competence rests on his assertion that its economic exchange value functions as an indivisible component of it. My research supports this contention. In this study, I have described how those international students who possessed fluency in General American English and who used this fluency to integrate into the dominant American culture of the

266

school (intercultural capital) enjoyed significant leverage to exchange these forms of capital for others that had symbolic value in the school. Specifically, they rose to prominence in campus life; developed social networks that included school personnel, domestic students, and international students; did well academically; leveraged their social relationships with school personnel to help them enter prestigious college programs by garnering letters of recommendation; graduated and entered prestigious colleges. Thus, my study suggests that language competence possesses a commanding economic exchange value in line with Bourdieu (1977, 1991).

Thus, I argue that we should extend the meaning of intercultural capital to include its economic, social, and cultural exchange values. As we have seen in my discussion of Andrew Lee and Micky Kim's intercultural capital in Chapter 5, their ability to act appropriately in both Chinese and American culture, provided them with certain economic advantages that Pöllmann (2009) does not address. Broadening the construct further, I argue that intercultural capital theory should extend to include the phenomena researchers such as Wei (2011, 2018) refer to as translanguaging. My reason for making this suggestion finds its basis in Bourdieu's construct of habitus. Bourdieu (1984) defines habitus as "systems of dispositions…characteristic of the different classes and class fractions" (p. 6). Habitus conditions an individual to prefer, feel familiar with, use, understand, and develop skill acquiring and maintaining the capital associated with her class but not that of a higher class. Thus, habitus tends to reproduce class differences.

Using Bourdieu's terminology, we might note that Andrew Lee and Micky Kim have a habitus different from that of monolingual Chinese or English speakers. Their

unique habitus has developed through prolonged exposure to the forms of capital

available to members of both their Chinese home culture and U.S. host culture. Wei

(2011, 2018) describes this borderland between two cultures and two languages as a third

space, following Bhabha (2004). He describes it as a space where emergent linguistic and

cultural practices occur. What my research suggests is that the capital that develops in

these third spaces has economic exchange value and symbolic value, which functions as

an indivisible quality of these practices, and thus deserves theoretical recognition and

discussion.

We can observe these emergent third-space practices in Andrew and Micky. They

are fluent in Mandarin and English. They are competent in the culture of China in which

they grew up and of the United States in which they now live. They also possess

comparative knowledge of their two languages and cultures that monolingual speakers of

either country do not have, an emergent property. Moreover, they can use this knowledge

to discursively create a unique identity for themselves at the convergence of the two

cultures and languages, another emergent property. For example, Andrew used his

linguistic and intercultural capital to assume the role of international student liaison both

formally and informally.

I argue that Andrew and Micky's intercultural capital includes all of what I have

just described. Why? To understand how their intercultural capital arose, we must

describe their habitus, or prolonged exposure to borderland third spaces and the capital

that develops there. What shall we term the capital of third spaces? I suggest we extend

the term intercultural capital to refer to these forms of capital: cross-cultural competence

translanguaging competence, third space cultural practices, third space discursive identities, and the economic exchange value of these in the larger market for them. Only with a richer definition of intercultural capital can we begin to comprehend its full social, cultural, symbolic, and economic value.

Limitations

I wish to acknowledge the limitations of my research. Although I wrestled with whether or not to collect data related to international student grades, I eventually decided against doing so for the minors in my study, as I could not ensure that international students' guardians would represent their biological parents' wishes if they agreed to allow me to collect these data. I did accept self-reports from one adult student and transcripts from three others. However, as a result of not collecting these data systematically from all participants, I could not meaningfully correlate pedagogical practices with grades, a limitation of my study. For the same reason, I did not collect standardized assessment data on international students' performance, a potentially more useful body of data than their grades, as grades may not function as valid, reliable, and useful measures of student learning (Scriffiny, 2008). As Andrew Lee noted in our interview, some teachers at Fremont gave easy A's, for which he did not need to study hard, while others required much work to earn an A. Standardized tests would have presumably shown how international students performed with more valid, reliable, and useful data. Another reason I did not collect such data was because neither school administered standardized tests that prior research had identified as valid for English language learners, a category into which all of the international students in my study fell.

Rather, both schools administered the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, which prior research suggests is not valid for ELLs (Solarzano, 2008).

Recommendations for Future Research

The limitations of my study have ramifications for future research and practice. Those interested in investigating the educational experience of international students at private Christian schools may wish to gain permission from principals to administer a research-supported assessment for international students. In discussions with the principals at both schools, I found them open to my suggestion that they could obtain valuable data from such assessments that could help them improve their programming. If data showed that international students performed well, especially after being at their school for a few years, then they could use these data in their advertising. Principals told me that they wanted to collect these data, but had not identified valid, reliable, and useful assessments or sources of funding to administer one on a school wide basis.

Conclusion

I began this study with grave concerns that private Christian schools might exploit international students for profit without giving them a quality education. While both Fremont and Elmshaven charged international students nearly twice the tuition they charged domestic students, they also provided them with full access to their curricular and extra-curricular offerings. As noted, though, international students' ability to take advantage of these offerings depended in large part on their linguistic and intercultural capital. The greater their linguistic and intercultural capital, the better their educational experience. Moreover, teachers' skill at engaging international students in learning and

peer interactions varied. Those who followed research-based practices achieved higher levels of engagement and learning than those who did not. Thus, while Fremont and Elmshaven were not the failure factories I feared, they both have room for improvement if they desire to be sites that provide a top-quality education to all their students. In particular, both schools must develop ways of better integrating their domestic and international student populations, training their teachers to work more effectively with English language learners, and holding them accountable for doing so through valid, reliable, and useful assessments of students and teachers.

Appendix A: Interview Protocol for Principals

Guiding Research Question		
What are the educational experiences of international students (IS) at a private Christian high school?		
Research Question 1	**Research Question 2**	**Research Question 3**
What are the curricular experiences of IS at a private Christian school? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature?	How do administrators, faculty, staff, mainstream students, and IS discursively co-construct identities, competencies, rights, duties, and moral characters for themselves and each other within the hierarchical space of a school?	To what forms of capital do IS at a private Christian high school have access? How do others at the school (mis)recognize international student capital and either build on it or ignore it? How do these processes affect the educational experiences of IS?
Interview Questions	**Interview Questions**	**Interview Questions**
1. How do you determine the English proficiency of IS? 2. How do you determine what types of courses IS should take? 3. What types of classes do limited English proficient (LEP) and English proficient IS take? 4. How do the courses taken by IS differ from the courses taken by mainstream students, if at all? 5. In what extra-curricular activities do IS participate? 6. Are there any extra-curricular activities that IS choose not to participate in? 7. How do you assess the quality of instruction your teachers offer to IS? 8. What policies or methods do you use to ensure IS develop English and	1. In the course of this school year, what interactions, if any, have you had with IS and in what contexts? 2. How would you describe the way you try to relate to IS? 3. How would you describe some of the more memorable IS you have known? 4. How would you describe the way IS relate to you, other IS, mainstream students, and teachers? 5. Describe the moral character of some of the IS with whom you have interacted. 6. What special knowledge, ability, or competencies do the IS at your school have? 7. Describe the range of proficiencies you see in IS. 8. What rights and duties do IS have at your school?	1. What knowledge, skills, or possessions do IS have that others respect or value? 2. When IS need help, to whom do they turn? 3. What life goals, dreams, or aspirations have IS shared with you? 4. How well do IS understand school policies and culture and function within these confines? 5. How does the ability to communicate in more than one language help or hinder IS? 6. How do IS's family bonds, sense of their history and culture reveal itself in their dress, words, actions, and work, if at all? 7. In what oppositional behaviors have IS engaged? Why do you think they do this?

content knowledge proficiency?		

Appendix B: Interview Protocol for Teachers

Guiding Research Question		
What are the educational experiences of international students (IS) at a private Christian high school?		
Research Question 1	**Research Question 2**	**Research Question 3**
What are the curricular and extra-curricular experiences of IS at a private Christian school? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature?	How do administrators, faculty, staff, mainstream students, and IS discursively co-construct identities, competencies, rights, duties, and moral characters for themselves and each other within the hierarchical space of a school?	To what forms of capital do IS at a private Christian high school have access? How do others at the school (mis)recognize international student capital and either build on it or ignore it? How do these processes affect the educational experiences of IS?
Interview Questions	**Interview Questions**	**Interview Questions**
1. What training have you had to teach ELL or IS? 2. How do you determine the English proficiency of IS? 3. How do you plan a lesson, knowing that ELL students are in your class? 4. What classes do you teach in which IS participate and what challenges do they have in these classes? 5. What is your opinion of English-Only policies? 6. How do you assess IS progress? 7. What policies or methods do you use to ensure IS develop English and content	1. How do you feel about having international students in your class? 2. In your opinion, whose responsibility is it to help international students learn English? 3. Describe each of the IS in your course. 4. What do IS think of you as a teacher? What do they think of other teachers at your school? 5. Describe the moral character of some of the IS with whom you have interacted. 6. What special knowledge, ability, or competencies do the IS in your classes have? 7. Describe the range of proficiencies you see in IS.	1. What knowledge, skills, or possessions do IS have that others respect or value? 2. When IS need help, to whom do they turn? 3. What life goals, dreams, or aspirations have IS shared with you? 4. How well do IS understand school policies, culture, and class rules and function within these confines? 5. How does the ability to communicate in more than one language help or hinder IS? 6. How do IS's family bonds, sense of their history and culture reveal itself in their dress, words, actions, and work, if at all?

knowledge proficiency? 8. What extra-curricular activities do IS participate in and what experiences do they report having in them?	8. What rights and duties do IS have in your class?	7. In what oppositional behaviors have IS engaged? Why do you think they do this?

Appendix C: Interview Protocol for Students

Guiding Research Question		
What are the educational experiences of international students (IS) at a private Christian high school?		
Research Question 1	**Research Question 2**	**Research Question 3**
What are the curricular and extra-curricular experiences of IS at a private Christian school? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature?	How do administrators, faculty, staff, mainstream students, and IS discursively co-construct identities, competencies, rights, duties, and moral characters for themselves and each other within the hierarchical space of a school?	To what forms of capital do IS at a private Christian high school have access? How do others at the school (mis)recognize international student capital and either build on it or ignore it? How do these processes affect the educational experiences of IS?
Interview Questions	**Interview Questions**	**Interview Questions**
1. Which of the classes you've taken at this school are your favorite and which are your least favorite? Why? 2. Who are the good teachers and who are the bad teachers at this school? Why? 3. In addition to attending classes, what else do you do here at this school (e.g., choir, band, orchestra, sports, clubs, etc.)? 4. Have you been on field trips? If so were they educational and enjoyable? Why or why not? 5. Are there things you feel you can't do here because you're an IS	1. Do you feel welcomed by teachers, American students, and others at this school? Why or why not? 2. How would you describe yourself as a student? 3. How would you describe other IS? 4. How would you describe American students at this school? 5. How would you describe your teachers at this school? 6. What are you free to do at this school that you couldn't do at a school in your home country? 7. What are some of your responsibilities or duties?	1. What knowledge, skills, or possessions do you have that others respect or value? 2. When you need help, to whom do you turn? 3. What are your life goals, dreams, or aspirations? 4. Tell me about the rules at this school. How well do you adjust to these rules? 5. What surprised you about American culture or this school? 6. How does the ability to communicate in more than one language help you? 7. Do you think about your family, country, or culture? 8. Have you ever broken rules while in

| that other students can do? If so, what?
6. Are there things you feel you can do here that other students can't do? If so, what? | 8. Who are the good, kind, and friendly people at this school?
9. Who are the bad, unkind, or unfriendly people at this school?
10. Who are the most and least popular people at this school? | America? What did you do and why did you do it? |

Appendix D: Interview Protocol for Parents/Guardians

Guiding Research Question		
What are the educational experiences of international students (IS) at a private Christian high school?		
Research Question 1	**Research Question 2**	**Research Question 3**
What are the curricular and extra-curricular experiences of IS at a private Christian school? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature?	How do administrators, faculty, staff, mainstream students, and IS discursively co-construct identities, competencies, rights, duties, and moral characters for themselves and each other within the hierarchical space of a school?	To what forms of capital do IS at a private Christian high school have access? How do others at the school (mis)recognize international student capital and either build on it or ignore it? How do these processes affect the educational experiences of IS?
Interview Questions	**Interview Questions**	**Interview Questions**
1. Does your child talk to you about any of his/her teachers or classes? If so, what do they tell you? 2. Does your child talk to you about any of his/her extracurricular programs (e.g., choir, band, sports, debate team, international club, field trips, etc.)? If so, what do they tell you? 3. Does your child talk to you about his/her homework? If so, what do they tell you? 4. Have you ever helped your child with his/her homework? If so, how would you describe the homework? What did you find interesting or challenging about it?	1. Does your child feel welcomed by teachers, American students, and others at school? Why or why not? 2. How would you describe your child as a student? 3. Does your child talk about other IS at school, if at all? 4. How does your child describe the American students at school or the other students beside international students? 5. How does your child describe his/her relationships with teachers at school? 6. Has your child ever told you about something they are free to do at this school that	1. What knowledge, skills, or possessions does your child have that others respect or value? 2. When your child needs help, to whom does he/she turn? 3. What are your child's life goals, dreams, or aspirations? 4. Tell me about the rules at your child's school. How well do they adjust to these rules? 5. What surprised your child about American culture or school? 6. How does the ability to communicate in more than one language help your child? 7. Does your child report thinking about his/her

5. Are there things you feel your child can't do at school that other students can do? If so, what? 6. Are there things you feel your child can do at school that other students can't do? If so, what?	they couldn't do at a school in their home country? 7. What are some of your child's responsibilities or duties at school and at home?	family, country, or culture? 8. Has your child ever broken rules while in America? What did he/she do and why?

Guiding Research Question		
What are the educational experiences of international students (IS) at a private Christian high school?		
Research Question 1	**Research Question 2**	**Research Question 3**
What are the curricular and extra-curricular experiences of IS at a private Christian school? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature?	How do administrators, faculty, staff, mainstream students (MS), and IS discursively co-construct identities, competencies, rights, duties, and moral characters for themselves and each other within the hierarchical space of a school?	To what forms of capital do IS at a private Christian high school have access? How do others at the school (mis)recognize international student capital and either build on it or ignore it? How do these processes affect the educational experiences of IS?
Observation Questions	**Observation Questions**	**Observation Questions**
1. What is the daily schedule of IS? 2. What strategies of instruction do teachers use? 3. How well do teachers adapt instruction for ELLs, according to the SIOP rubric? 4. How do IS respond to instruction? 5. Which curricular experiences are open and which are closed to IS?	1. What "I" statements do IS, MS, teachers, and administrators (hereafter stakeholders) make to describe themselves? 2. What "you' statements do stakeholders make to describe each other in second person addresses? 3. What "he, she, or they" statements do stakeholders make to describe each other in third-person addresses? 4. What approbation and disapprobation do stakeholders verbally express toward one another? 5. How do stakeholders describe each other's	1. What knowledge, skills, or possessions do IS have that others respect or value? 2. When IS need help, to whom do they turn? 3. How do IS describe their life goals, dreams, or aspirations? 4. How well do IS navigate school policies, rules, and culture to achieve their goals? 5. How does the ability to communicate in more than one language help IS? How does it hurt them? 6. How do IS speak about their family, culture, and customs?

	proficiencies and deficiencies? 6. How do groupings in classrooms, at lunch, and outside of class position students as competent or incompetent, included or excluded within social hierarchies?	7. How do IS resist inequity or injustice, if at all?

Appendix F: Document Analysis Protocol

Guiding Research Question		
What are the educational experiences of international students (IS) at a private Christian high school?		
Research Question 1	**Research Question 2**	**Research Question 3**
What are the curricular and extra-curricular experiences of IS at a private Christian school? How well do these conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature?	How do administrators, faculty, staff, mainstream students (MS), and IS discursively co-construct identities, competencies, rights, duties, and moral characters for themselves and each other within the hierarchical space of a school?	To what forms of capital do IS at a private Christian high school have access? How do others at the school (mis)recognize international student capital and either build on it or ignore it? How do these processes affect the educational experiences of IS?
Observation Questions	**Observation Questions**	**Observation Questions**
1. How do school publications (SP) describe the curriculum available to IS? 2. How do SP describe the extra-curricular activities available to IS, if at all? 3. How well do handouts, lesson plans, lesson materials, or classroom decorations conform to recommended practices described in the SLA, TESOL, ELL, translanguaging, and ESL literature? 4. What do samples of IS class work or homework say about their educational experiences at a Private Christian school?	1. What "I" or "we" statements do SP contain from IS? 2. What "you" statements addressed to IS appear in SP? 3. What "he, she, or they" statements related to IS appear in SP? 4. What approbation and disapprobation do stakeholders express toward one another in SP? 5. How do stakeholders describe each other's proficiencies and deficiencies in SP? 6. How do SP represent IS's place in school hierarchies and social groupings?	1. What IS knowledge, skills, or possessions do SP describe? 2. What resources or support systems or staff for IS do SP describe? 3. How IS life goals, dreams, or aspirations represented in SP? 4. How do SP portray the navigational capital of IS, that is, their ability to navigate school rules and culture? 5. How do SP portray IS's ability to communicate in more than one language? 6. How do SPs portray IS's families, cultures, and customs? 7. How do SP portray IS resistance to inequity or injustice, if at all?

REFERENCES

Akom, A. A. (2003). Reexamining resistance as oppositional behavior: The Nation of Islam and the creation of a Black achievement ideology. *Sociology of Education*, 305-325.

Alcock, M., Fisher, M. L., & Zmuda, A. (2018). *The quest for learning: How to maximize student engagement*. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.

Alfattal, E. (2017). "Globalization, internationalization, marketing, and college choice: Key factors affecting international students' mobility. [Master's Thesis, California State University, San Bernardino]. *Electronic Theses, Projects, and Dissertations*. 494. https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/494

Anderson, L. W., Krathwohl, D. R., Airasian, P. W., Mayer, R. E., Pintrich, P. R., Raths, J., & Wittrock, M.C. (2001). *A taxonomy for learning, teaching, and assessing: A revision of Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives*. New York, NY: Longman.

Andrade, M. S. (2006). International students in English-speaking universities: Adjustment factors. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *5*(2), 131-154.

Ang, S., Van Dyne, L., Koh, C., Ng, K. Y., Templer, K. J., Tay, C., & Chandrasekar, N. A. (2007). Cultural intelligence: Its measurement and effects on cultural judgment and decision making, cultural adaptation and task performance. *Management and organization review*, *3*(3), 335-371.

Anzaldúa, G. (1987) *Borderlands/La frontera: The new Mestiza.* San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Book Company.

Arnold, R. D., & Wade, J. P. (2015). A definition of systems thinking: A systems approach. *Procedia computer science, 44*(2015), 669-678.

Askildson, L. (2005). Effects of humor in the language classroom: Humor as a pedagogical tool in theory and practice. *Journal of Second Language Acquisition and Teaching*, *12*, 45-61.

Aye, A. M., & Guerin, B. (2001). Astronaut families: A review of their characteristics, impact on families and implications for practice in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, *30*(1), 9-15.

Azzolini, D., Campregher, S., & Madia, J. E. (2020). Formal instruction vs informal exposure. What matters more for teenagers' acquisition of English as a second language? *Research Papers in Education*, 1-29.

Bahna, M. (2018). Study choices and returns of international students: On the role of cultural and economic capital of the family. *Population, Space and Place*, *24*(2), e2082.

Baker, B. D. (2009). *Private schooling in the U.S.: Expenditures, supply, and policy implications.* Boulder and Tempe: Education and the Public Interest Center & Education Policy Research Unit. http://epicpolicy.org/publication/private-schooling-US

Bailey, C. A. (2007). *A guide to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Bastien, G., Seifen-Adkins, T., & Johnson, L. R. (2018). Striving for success: Academic adjustment of international students in the US. *Journal of International Students*, *8*(2), 1198-1219.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, *13*(4), 544-559.

Beck, U. (2004). Cosmopolitical realism: On the distinction between cosmopolitanism in philosophy and the social sciences. *Global networks*, *4*(2), 131-156.

Beehner, C. G. (2020). *System leadership for sustainability*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bell, N. D. (2009). Responses to failed humor. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *41*(9), 1825-1836.

Bell, N. D. (2015). *We are not amused: Failed humor in interaction*. Boston, MA: De Gruyter Mouton. http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/25216

Bennett, M. J. (1986). A developmental approach to training for intercultural sensitivity. *International journal of intercultural relations*, *10*(2), 179-196.

Bennett, M. J. (1997). How not to be a fluent fool: Understanding the cultural dimension of language. *New ways in teaching culture*, 16-21.

Berk, R. A. (2009). Multimedia teaching with video clips: TV, movies, YouTube, and mtvU in the college classroom. *International Journal of Technology in Teaching and Learning, 5*(1)*,* 1–21.

Bhabha, H. K. (2004). *The location of culture*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge

Bilokcuoglu, H., & Debreli, E. (2018). Use of humour in language classes: An effective 'filter' or affective filter? *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies, 14*(3), 347-359.

Bloom, B. S. (1956) *Taxonomy of educational objectives: The classification of educational objectives. Handbook 1: Cognitive Domain.* New York, NY: McKay.

Boeije, H. (2002). A purposeful approach to the constant comparative method in the analysis of qualitative interviews. *Quality & Quantity*, *36*(4), 391-409.

Bound, J., Braga, B., Khanna, G., & Turner, S. (2016). *A passage to America: University funding and international students* (No. w22981). National Bureau of Economic Research. http://www.nber.org/papers/w22981

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, *16*(6), 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. (R. Nice, Trans.). In J.G. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. (pp. 241-258). Westport, CN: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.) Oxford, Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2013). Symbolic capital and social classes. *Journal of Classical Sociology, 13*(2), 292-302.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *9*(2), 27-40.

Bras, H. J. (2012). *Preparing a face to meet the faces you will meet: Korean early international students and the signaling value of English composition*. (Purdue e-Pubs: AAI3555225) [Doctoral Dissertation, Purdue University].

Broughman, S.P., and Swaim, N.L. (2013). *Characteristics of Private Schools in the United States: Results From the 2011–12 Private School Universe Survey (NCES 2013-316)*. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch

Brown, J. R. (2019). *A portrait of United States ACSI schools' homestay programs*. (ProQuest No. 13811726) [Doctoral dissertation, Columbia International University]. ProQuest Dissertation Publishing.

Bühlmann, F., David, T., & Mach, A. (2012). The Swiss business elite (1980–2000): How the changing composition of the elite explains the decline of the Swiss company network. *Economy and Society*, *41*(2), 199-226.

Byun, B. (2010). *South Korean high school parachute kids in Southern California: Academic, psychological adjustment and identity formation* (Publication No. 3434405) [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California]. ProQuest Dissertation Publishing.

Cabrera, M. V. (2008). *Learning about humor: Teaching second language humor in ESL* (Doctoral Dissertation, Washington State University).

Cantwell, B. (2019). Are international students cash cows? Examining the relationship between new international undergraduate enrollments and institutional revenue at public colleges and universities in the US. *Journal of International Students*, *512*, 512-525.

Casto, H. G., Steinhauer, A., & Pollock, P. M. (2013). Potential synergy: Rural school districts and international student programs. *The Rural Educator*, *34*(1).

Caudill, M. (2007). *Yearbooks as a genre: A case study*. [Master's Thesis, Clemson University] *All Theses*. 281. https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_theses/281

Cazden, C. (2001). *Classroom discourse: The language of learning and teaching*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Chamot, A. U. (2009). *The CALLA handbook: Implementing the cognitive academic language learning approach*. White Plains, NY: Pearson Longman.

Cheng, B. (2019). Sociocultural adaptation of "parachute kids" from mainland China. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling 48*(6), 1-18.

Cheng, K. M. (2017). Advancing 21st century competencies in East Asian education systems. *Center for Global Education. Asia Society*, *2*.

Chi, M. T. (2009). Active-constructive-interactive: A conceptual framework for differentiating learning activities. *Topics in cognitive science*, *1*(1), 73-105.

Chi, M. T., & Wylie, R. (2014). The ICAP framework: Linking cognitive engagement to active learning outcomes. *Educational psychologist*, *49*(4), 219-243.

Chiang-Hom, C. (2004). Transnational cultural practices of Chinese immigrant youth and parachute kids. In J. Lee & M. Zhou (Eds.) *Asian American youth: Culture, identity, and ethnicity*, (pp. 143-158). New York, NY: Routledge.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press

Christoph, J. N., & Nystrand, M. (2001). Taking risks, negotiating relationships: "One teacher's transition toward a dialogic classroom". *Research in the teaching of English*, *36*(2), 249-286.

Chung, C. L. E. (1994). *An investigation of the psychological well-being of unaccompanied Taiwanese minors/parachute kids in the United States* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Southern California]. http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll17/id/465253

Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. L. (2010). Teacher credentials and student achievement in high school a cross-subject analysis with student fixed effects. *Journal of Human Resources*, *45*(3), 655-681.

Corning, P. A. (2000). "The synergism hypothesis": On the concept of synergy and its role in the evolution of complex systems. *Journal of Social and Evolutionary Systems, 21*(2), 133-172.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power, and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire* (Vol. 23). New York, NY: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2008). BICS and CALP: Empirical and theoretical status of the distinction. In B. Street & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 487499). New York, NY: Springer.

Dailey-O'Cain, J. (2000). The sociolinguistic distribution of and attitudes toward focuser *like* and quotative *like*. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *4*(1), 60-80.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *20*(1), 43-63.

Delval, A. S., & Bühlmann, F. (2020). Strategies of social (re) production within international higher education: the case of Swiss hospitality management schools. *Higher Education*, *79*(3), 477-495.

Deterding, D. (2010). ELF-based pronunciation teaching in China. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics (Foreign Language Teaching & Research Press)*, *33*(6), 3-15.

DeWalt, K. M., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Lanham, MD: Altamira.

Ding, Q., & Devine, N. (2017). Agency and social capital in Chinese international doctoral students' conversion to Christianity. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, *49*(12), 1-12.

Doering-White, J. (2018). The shifting boundaries of "best interest": Sheltering unaccompanied Central American minors in transit through Mexico. *Children and Youth Services Review*, *92*, 39-47.

Earley, P. C., & Ang, S. (2003). *Cultural intelligence: Individual interactions across cultures*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Echevarria, J, Vogt, M., & Short, D. J. (2013). *Making content comprehensible for English Learners: The SIOP model*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Einbeck, K. (2002). Using literature to promote cultural fluency in study abroad programs. *Die Unterrichtspraxis/Teaching German, 35*(1), 59-67. http://www.jstor.com/stable/3531954

Eisner, E. W. (1991). *The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice*. Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada.

Emler, S. (2019). Dialogic teaching in a detracked high school ELA class: "We talk here." (Publication no. 22620729) [Doctoral Dissertation, Molloy College] Theses & Dissertations. 74. https://digitalcommons.molloy.edu/etd/74

Eng, S. (2012). *Standard Mandarin Chinese as an accent*. [Paper presentation] VASTA, 2012: Asian Accents Panel, A Voice for Good. http://www.yorku.ca/earmstro/asia/

Fairbanks, C. M., & Ariail, M. (2006). The role of social and cultural resources in literacy and schooling: Three contrasting cases. *Research in the Teaching of English 40*(3), 310-354.

Farrington, C. (2018). Incomplete neutralization in African American English: The case of final consonant voicing. *Language Variation and Change*, *30*(3), 361-383.

Farrugia, C. A. (2014). Charting new pathways to higher education: International secondary students in the United States. *Research Brief One: Key Issues in*

Academic Mobility. New York, NY: Institute of International Education. https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications

Feigenberg, L. F., Watts, C. L., & Buckner, J. C. (2010). The school mental health capacity instrument: Development of an assessment and consultation tool. *School Mental Health*, *2*(3), 142-154.

Fraser, J. W. (2016). *Between church and state: Religion and public education in a multicultural America.* Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Friedman, J. Z. (2018). The global citizenship agenda and the generation of cosmopolitan capital in British higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *39*(4), 436-450.

Gibson, M. A., Bejínez, L. F., Hidalgo, N., & Rolón, C. (2004). Lessons from a migrant student Club. In M. A. Gibson, P. Gandara, & J. P. Koyoma *School connections: US Mexican youth, peers, and school achievement*, 129-149. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gilakjani, A. P., & Ahmadi, M. R. (2011). Why is pronunciation so difficult to learn? *English Language Teaching*, *4*(3), 74-83.

Gilbert, J. B. (2012). *Clear speech: Pronunciation and listening comprehension in North American English.* Cambridge University Press.

Gouin, F. (1892). *The art of teaching and studying languages.* London: George Philip & Son.

Grier-Reed, T. L. (2010). The African American student network: Creating sanctuaries and counterspaces for coping with racial microaggressions in higher education settings. *The Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education and Development*, *49*(2), 181-188.

Griffin, D. R. (2004). *God, power, and evil: A process theodicy.* Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Guskey, T. R. (2008). *Practical solutions for serious problems in standards-based grading.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Guskey, T. R. (2010). *Developing standards-based report cards.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Hamer, L. O. (2000). The additive effects of semistructured classroom activities on student learning: An application of classroom-based experiential learning techniques. *Journal of Marketing Education*, *22*(1), 25-34.

Hammer, M. R., Bennett, M. J., & Wiseman, R. (2003). Measuring intercultural sensitivity: The intercultural development inventory. *International journal of intercultural relations*, *27*(4), 421-443.

Harding, J. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis: From start to finish*. (2nd Ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Harré, R., & van Langenhove, L. V. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, *21*(4), 393-407.

Harrison, S. J. (2013). Author and speaker(s) in Horace's Satires 2. In A. Marmodoro & J. Hill (Eds.), *The Author's Voice in Classical and Late Antiquity*, (pp. 153-71). Oxford University Press.

Hazen, H. D., & Alberts, H. C. (2006). Visitors or immigrants? International students in the United States. *Population, Space and Place*, *12*(3), 201-216.

Hobbs, R. (2006) Non-optimal uses of video in the classroom. *Learning, Media and Technology, 31*(1): 35-50.

Hom, C. L. (2002). *The academic, psychological, and behavioral adjustment of Chinese parachute kids* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]. ProQuest Information & Learning.

Horvat, E. M., & Antonio, A. L. (1999). "Hey, those shoes are out of uniform": African American girls in an elite high school and the importance of habitus. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *30*(3), 317-342.

Hsieh, P. (2008). *Taiwanese parachute kids: A retrospective qualitative exploration of adults who came to the United States as unaccompanied minors*. [Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation]. Alliant International University.

Huang, J. (2019). Racial dynamics among clients in residential substance use disorder treatment facilities. *UCLA: Center for Community Learning*. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/26z1j0c6

Ingarfield, L. (2005). International students and immigration: The introduction of SEVIS. *Journal of Student Affairs*, *13*. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.546.4795&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Jon, J. E. (2013). Realizing internationalization at home in Korean higher education: Promoting domestic students' interaction with international students and intercultural competence. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *17*(4), 455-470.

Kang, O., Thomson, R. I., & Moran, M. (2020). Which features of accent affect understanding? Exploring the intelligibility threshold of diverse accent varieties. *Applied Linguistics*, *41*(4), 453-480.

Kaplan, R. B. (1966). Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning, 16*, 1-20.

Kayi-Aydar, H. (2015). Teacher agency, positioning, and English language learners: Voices of pre-service classroom teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *45*, 94-103.

Kelly, S. (2007). Classroom discourse and the distribution of student engagement. *Social Psychology of Education*, *10*(3), 331-352.

Ketabi, S., & Simm, I. S. (2009). Investigating Persian EFL teachers and learners' attitudes towards humor in class. *International Journal of Language Studies*, *3*(4).

Kim, D. H. (1999). *Introduction to systems thinking* (Vol. 16). Waltham, MA: Pegasus Communications.

Kohli, R. K. (2006). The sound of silence: Listening to what unaccompanied asylum-seeking children say and do not say. *British Journal of Social Work*, *36*(5), 707-721.

Kolman, J. S., Roegman, R., & Goodwin, A. L. (2016) Context as mediator: teaching residents' opportunity and learning in high-need urban schools, *Teaching Education*, *27*(2), 173-193.

Kormos, J., & Préfontaine, Y. (2017). Affective factors influencing fluent performance: French learners' appraisals of second language speech tasks. *Language Teaching Research*, *21*(6), 699-716.

Kornbluh, M. (2015). Combatting challenges to establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *12*(4), 397-414.

Kraft, D. B. (2019). Contrastive Analysis and Contrastive Rhetoric in the Legal Writing Classroom. *New Mexico Law Review*, *49*(1), 35-58.

Krashen, S. D. (1981). *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. University of Southern California. http://196.189.45.87/bitstream/123456789/58723/1/26pdf.pdf

Krashen, S. (1982). *Principles and practice in second language acquisition*. University of Southern California. https://independent.academia.edu/SKrashen

Krashen, S. (2003). *Explorations in language acquisition and use: The Teipei lectures.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Kuo, B. C., & Roysircar, G. (2006). An exploratory study of cross-cultural adaptation of adolescent Taiwanese unaccompanied sojourners in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*(2), 159-183.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge University Press.

Lee, A. J. (2006). Asian American studies: Identity formation in Korean American parachute kids. (Undergraduate Student Research, University of Pennsylvania). http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/7.

Lee, H. H., & Friedlander, M. L. (2014). Predicting depressive symptoms from acculturative family distancing: A study of Taiwanese parachute kids in adulthood. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *20*(3), 458.

Lee, J. (2013). The false halo of internationalization. *International Higher Education*, (72), 5-7.

Lemov, D. (2015). *Teach like a champion: 62 Techniques that put students on the path to college.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass

Li, F., & Liu, Y. (2019). Toward an intercultural rhetoric: Improving Chinese EFL students' essay writing through outline writing. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, *10*(1), 83-91.

Li, W. (2006). Spatial transformation of an urban ethnic community: From Chinatown to ethnoburb in Los Angeles. In L. Wei (Ed.) *From urban enclave to ethnic suburb: New Asian communities in Pacific Rim countries* (pp. 119-33). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Lichtenstein, B., & Stroh, D. P. (2017). Engines of entrepreneurial growth: Resources, complexity, capacity and emergence. In *The World Scientific Reference on Entrepreneurship: Volume 3: Sustainability, Ethics, and Entrepreneurship* (pp.

281-305).
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311971994_Engines_of_Entrepreneurial
_Growth_Resources_Complexity_Capacity_and_Emergence_In_4_Volumes

Lin, L. C. (2014). Understanding pronunciation variations facing ESL students. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, *5*(1), 16-20.

Lindsay, V. J., & Shen, K. N. (2014). Extending definitions on international entrepreneurs: The case of cross-cultural capital. *University of Wollongong in Dubai–Papers*. https://ro.uow.edu.au/dubaipapers/668

Liu, P. (2012). After school English language learning in China. In J. Ruan & C. B. Leung *Perspectives on teaching and learning English literacy in China*. (pp. 115-127). New York, NY: Springer.

Liu, X., & McCabe, A. (2018). *Attitudinal evaluation in Chinese university students' English writing*. Singapore: Springer.

Livermore, D. A. (2009). *Cultural intelligence (youth, family, and culture): Improving your CQ to engage our multicultural world*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Livermore, D. A. (2015). *Leading with cultural intelligence: The real secret to success*. New York, NY: Amacom.

Lo, A., Abelmann, N., Kwon, S. A., & Okazaki, S. (Eds.). (2017). *South Korea's education exodus: The life and times of early study abroad*. University of Washington Press.

Lu, W. T. (2013). Confucius or Mozart? Community cultural wealth and upward mobility among children of Chinese immigrants. *Qualitative sociology*, *36*(3), 303-321.

Lu, W. T. (2014) *Confucius, Yamaha, or Mozart? Cultural capital and upward mobility among children of Chinese immigrants*. [Master's Thesis, City University of New York] CUNY Academic Works. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/448

Lu, Z., Li, L., & Ottewell, K. (2016). Rhetorical diversity and the implications for teaching academic English. *The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *3*(1), 101-113.

Mahmood, M. A., Tariq, M., & Javed, S. (2011). Strategies for active learning: An alternative to passive learning. *Academic Research International*, *1*(3), 193.

Makalela, L. (2015). Moving out of linguistic boxes: The effects of translanguaging strategies for multilingual classrooms. *Language and Education*, *29*(3)*:* 200-217.

Martin-Beltrán, M. (2010). Positioning proficiency: How students and teachers (de)construct language proficiency at school. *Linguistics and Education*, *21*(4), 257-281.

Martin-Beltrán, M. (2014). "What do you want to say?" How adolescents use translanguaging to expand learning opportunities. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *8*(3), 208-230.

Marzano, R. J. (2011). *Formative assessment & standards-based grading*. Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree Press.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching*. London: Sage.

Mok, P. (2009). On the syllable-timing of Cantonese and Beijing Mandarin. *Chinese Journal of Phonetics*, *2*, 148-154.

Morrison, K. & Lui, I. (2000) Ideology, linguistic capital and the medium of instruction in Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 21*(6), 471-486.

Morse, J. M., Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K., & Spiers, J. (2002). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, *1*(2), 13-22.

Moyi, P., Ylimaki, R., Hardie, S., & Dou, J. (2020). A Bourdieusian approach to educational leadership in culturally diverse schools. In *Multiculturalism and Multilingualism at the Crossroads of School Leadership* (pp. 33-49). Cham, Springer.

Newman, P. R., & Newman, B. M. (2009). Self-socialization: A case study of a parachute child. *Adolescence*, *44*(175), 523-537.

Noble, K., Pelika, S., & Coons, A. (2017). Online credit recovery programs. *NEA Research Brief. NBI No.* 2. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED595237.pdf

Noddings, N. (1984/2013). *Caring: A relational approach to ethics & moral education*. (2nd Ed.) Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Noddings, N. (2015). Care ethics and "caring" organizations. In D. Engster & M. Hamington *Care Ethics and Political Theory*. Oxford University Press.

294

Nystrand, M. (1997). Dialogic instruction: When recitation becomes conversation. In M. Nystrand, Gamoran, A., Kachur, R., and Prendergast, C. *Opening dialogue: Understanding the dynamics of language and learning in the English classroom.* (pp. 1-29). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Oikonomidoy, E., & Williams, G. (2013). Enriched or latent cosmopolitanism? Identity negotiations of female international students from Japan in the US. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *34*(3), 380-393.

Opperman, I. (2020). Time limits and English proficiency tests: Predicting academic performance. *African Journal of Psychological Assessment*, *2*, 2617-2798. https://doi.org/10.4102/ajopa.v2i0.20

Orellana, M. F., Thorne, B., Chee, A., & Lam, W. S. E. (2001). Transnational childhoods: The participation of children in processes of family migration. *Social Problems*, *48*(4), 572-591.

Orgill, M., York, S., & MacKellar, J. (2019). Introduction to systems thinking for the chemistry education community. *Journal of Chemical Education*, *96*(12), 2720-2729.

Ozturgut, O. (2013). Best practices in recruiting and retaining international students in the US. *Current Issues in Education*, *16*(2). http://cie.asu.edu/ojs/index.php/cieatasu/article/download/1213/495

Özüorçun, F. (2014). Teaching culture as a fifth language skill. *Journal of International Social Research*, *7*(29).

Pascoe, C. J. (2011). *"Dude, you're a fag": Masculinity and sexuality in high school.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Pagano, R., & Paucar-Caceres, A. (2013). Using systems thinking to evaluate formative feedback in UK higher education: the case of classroom response technology. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, *50*(1), 94-103.

Pang, B. & Macdonald, D. (2015) Recognising young Chinese Australian's perceived resources within and beyond schooling. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society,* 23(3), 435-453.

Pasura, R. (2014). *Looking into "a black box"— Vocational education and training for international students in private registered training organisations in Melbourne, Australia* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Melbourne). http://hdl.handle.net/11343/41789

Peach, C. (1996). Good segregation, bad segregation. *Planning perspectives*, *11*(4), 379-398.

Peterson, B. (2018). *Cultural intelligence: A guide to working with people from other cultures*. Across Cultures.

Phillips, E. M. (1992). The effects of language anxiety on students' oral test performance and attitudes. *The modern language journal*, *76*(1), 14-26.

Pitterson, N. P., Brown, S., Pascoe, J., & Fisher, K. Q. (2016). Measuring cognitive engagement through interactive, constructive, active and passive learning activities. In *2016 IEEE Frontiers in Education Conference (FIE)* (pp. 1-6). IEEE. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311314086

Pomerantz, A., & Bell, N. D. (2011). Humor as safe house in the foreign language classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, *95*, 148-161.

Pöllmann, A. (2009). Formal education and intercultural capital: towards attachment beyond narrow ethno-national boundaries? *Educational Studies*, *35*(5), 537-545.

Pöllmann, A. (2013). Intercultural capital: Toward the conceptualization, operationalization, and empirical investigation of a rising marker of sociocultural distinction. *Sage Open*, *3*(2). DOI: 10.1177/2158244013486117

Popadiuk, N. E. (2009). Unaccompanied Asian secondary students studying in Canada. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, *31*(4), 229.

Popadiuk, N., & Arthur, N. (2004). Counseling international students in Canadian schools. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, *26*(2), 125-145.

Robinson, O. C. (2014). Sampling in interview-based qualitative research: A theoretical and practical guide. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *11*(1), 25-41.

Randlesome, C., & Myers, A. (1997). Cultural fluency: Results from a UK and Irish survey. *Business Communication Quarterly*, *60*(3), 9-22.

Rodriguez, C. (2017). "We don't care about these kids": Chicago, ethnic studies, and the politics of caring. *#CritEdPol: Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies at Swarthmore College*, *2*(1), 1-21.

Saito, Y., & Samimy, K. K. (1996). Foreign language anxiety and language performance: A study of learner anxiety in beginning, intermediate, and advanced-level college students of Japanese. *Foreign Language Annals*, *29*(2), 239-249.

Samei, B., Olney, A. M., Kelly, S., Nystrand, M., D'Mello, S., Blanchard, N., & Graesser, A. (2015). *Modeling classroom discourse: Do models that predict dialogic instruction properties generalize across populations?* [Paper Presentation]. Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Educational Data Mining. Madrid, Spain. https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED560879

Schneider, M., & Preckel, F. (2017). Variables associated with achievement in higher education: A systematic review of meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*. Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/bul0000098

Scott, J. C. (1999). Developing cultural fluency: The goal of international business communication instruction in the 21st century. *Journal of Education for Business*, *74*(3), 140-143.

Scriffiny, P. (2008). Seven reasons for standards-based grading. *Educational Leadership 66*(2), 70-74.

Sedova, K., Sedlacek, M., Svaricek, R., Majcik, M., Navratilova, J., Drexlerova, A., Kychler, J., & Salamounova, Z. (2019). Do those who talk more learn more? The relationship between student classroom talk and student achievement. *Learning and Instruction*, *63*, 101217.

Senge, P. M. (2006). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization.* New York, NY: Currency.

SEVP Certification Process. (2006). U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. https://www.ice.gov/doclib/sevis/pdf/i17_process.pdf.

Sherry, M., Thomas, P., & Chui, W. H. (2010). International students: A vulnerable student population. *Higher education*, *60*(1), 33-46.

Shin, H. (2014). Social class, habitus, and language learning: The case of Korean early studyabroad students. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *13*(2), 99-103.

Shu, F., Ahmed, S. F., Pickett, M. L., Ayman, R., & McAbee, S. T. (2020). Social support perceptions, network characteristics, and international student adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *74*, 136-148.

Shuck, G. (2006). Racializing the nonnative English speaker. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *5*(4), 259-276.

Smith, D., Frey, N., Pumpian, I., & Fisher, D. (2017). *Building equity: Policies and practices to empower all learners*. Alexandria, VI: ASCD.

Solórzano, R. W. (2008). High stakes testing: Issues, implications, and remedies for English language learners. *Review of educational research*, *78*(2), 260-329.

Steele, R. (1996). Developing intercultural competence through foreign language instruction: Challenges and choices. *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*, 70-83.

Steinberg, F. S., & Horwitz, E. K. (1986). The effect of induced anxiety on the denotative and interpretive content of second language speech. *Tesol Quarterly*, *20*(1), 131-136.

Su, Y. (2020). Challenges and social supports of Chinese parachute kids in a Canadian secondary school: A case study. (Publication no. 7041) [Master's Thesis, University of Western Ontario] Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/7041

Sugimoto, A. & Carter, K. (2017). English learners' positioning during interactions with monolingual English-speaking students. *Curriculum and Instruction Faculty Publications and Presentations*. 30. http://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/ci_fac/30.

Sun, K. C. Y. (2017). Negotiating transnational ambivalence: how ageing parents grapple with family separation across time. *Identities*, *24*(5), 590-605.

Theoharis, G., & O'Toole, J. (2011). Leading inclusive ELL: Social justice leadership for English language learners. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *47*(4), 646-688.

Teimouri, Y., Goetze, J., & Plonsky, L. (2019). Second language anxiety and achievement: A meta-analysis. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *41*(2), 363-387.

Timberlake, D. S., Laitinen, U., Kinnunen, J. M., & Rimpela, A. H. (2020). Strategies and barriers to achieving the goal of Finland's tobacco endgame. *Tobacco control*, *29*(4), 398-404.

Tsong, Y., & Liu, Y. (2009). Parachute kids and astronaut families. *Asian American psychology: Current perspectives*, 365-379.

U.S. Department of Education, Office of Innovation and Improvement. (2009). *State Regulation of Private Schools*, Washington, D.C. https://www2.ed.gov/admins/comm/choice/regprivschl/regprivschl.pdf.

U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development. (2018). *Issue brief: Credit recovery.* https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED591002.pdf

Üstüner, T., & Holt, D. B. (2010). Toward a theory of status consumption in less industrialized countries. *Journal of consumer research*, *37*(1), 37-56.

Valencia-Cabrera, M. (2008). Learning about humor: Teaching second language humor in ESL. [Master's Thesis, Washington State University]. https://www.academia.edu/452254/Learning_About_Humor_Teaching_Second_Language_Humor_In_ESL

Valenzuela, A. (1998). Subtractive schooling, caring relations, and social capital in the schooling of U.S.-Mexican youth. In D. J. Flinders & S. J. Thornton (Ed.) *The Curriculum Studies Reader* (3rd Ed.) (pp. 336-347). New York, NY: Routledge.

Valenzuela, A. (2008). Ogbu's voluntary and involuntary minority hypothesis and the politics of caring. In J. Ogbu's *Minority status, oppositional culture, and schooling*, 496-530. New York, NY: Routledge.

Vickers, P., & Bekhradnia, B. (2007). *The economic costs and benefits of international students*. Oxford: Higher Education Policy Institute. https://www.hepi.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/32Economiceffectsofinternationalstudents.pdf

Wang, C. (2016). Research Note: College Students' Attitudes toward Christianity in Xi'an, China. *Religions*, *7*(5), 58.

Wang, K. T., Xie, Z., Johnson, A. M., Cao, Y., Zhang, L., & Parsley, A. (2019). Attitudes Toward Religion Scale: development and initial psychometric evaluation among Chinese college students. *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, *40*(1), 104-121.

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. C., & Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive measures: Nonreactive research in the social sciences*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Weenink, D. (2008). Cosmopolitanism as a form of capital: Parents preparing their children for a globalizing world. *Sociology*, *42*(6), 1089-1106.

Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43:1222-1235.

Wei, L. (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied linguistics*, *39*(1), 9-30.

Williams, C. (2002). A Language gained: A study of language immersion at 11-16 years of age. *Educational Transactions, Series B: General*. School of Education,

University of Wales.
https://www.bangor.ac.uk/addysg/publications/Language_Gained%20.pdf.

Wimooktanon, K. (2018). *Status strategies among Thai elites: International education, cosmopolitanism, and ideas of 'the West'*. (Publication no. 13850043). [Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Manchester]. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Xie, M., Liu, S., Duan, Y., & Qin, D. B. (2019). "I Can Feel That People Living Here Don't Like Chinese Students": Perceived Discrimination and Chinese International Student Adaptation. In H. E. Fitzgerald et al. *Handbook of Children and Prejudice* (pp. 597-614). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Xu, Z., He, D., & Deterding, D. (Eds.). (2017). *Researching Chinese English: The state of the art.* Multilingual Education *22*. Cham: Springer.

Yan, K., & Berliner, D. C. (2011). Chinese international students in the United States: Demographic trends, motivations, acculturation features and adjustment challenges. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, *12*(2), 173-184.

Yin, L. (2013). Coming to America for spiritual or academic growth? Experiences of international students at one Christian school. *Journal of Research on Christian Education*, *22*(2), 139-152.

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Yoon, B. (2008). Uninvited guests: The influence of teachers' roles and pedagogies on the positioning of English language learners in the regular classroom. *American Educational Research Journal*, *45*(2), 495-522.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*(1), 69-91.

Zhang, X. (2019). Foreign Language Anxiety and Foreign Language Performance: A Meta-Analysis. *The Modern Language Journal*, *103*(4), 763-781.

Zhou, M. (1998). "Parachute kids" in southern California: The educational experience of Chinese children in transnational families. *Educational Policy*, *12*(6), 682-704.