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A Message from the Editor

In This Issue…
A Message from the Editor

Equity and Access for Language Learners

The theme of the 2020 Virtual INTESOL conference is "Equity and Access for Language Learners." This year, we welcome keynoter, Dr. Jose Medina. Medina leads a consulting firm, that specializes in dual language bilingual education. The dual language bilingual education or DLBE is used in an effort to centralize equity for emergent bilinguals (namely, English Learners). His social media presence illuminates his passion for DLBE being centered around the multilingual identities of emergent bilingual students, and their rights in language maintenance and development. Medina's advocacy holds important implications for Indiana that is scaling up its provision of DLBE in K-12 schools, where emergent bilinguals are not always primary considerations.

In our 2020 Fall INTESOL Journal issue, language education is addressed across different contexts including English as a foreign language (EFL), elementary and secondary settings and the families of language learners. Themes revolve around identity, multilingualism, the teaching of reading and writing, engagement with families and a book review. Our first article studies a Korean-American adolescent boy and how his multiple languages shape his identity. Jung Han and Hyeong Kyun Park demonstrate that his multilingualism affirmed his claimed heritage language of Korean. In our second article, Su Jin Park and Beth Samuelson also focus on language, identity, and place. Park and Samuelson examine the intersectionality of the multiple identities among Korean immigrant women as they incorporate and resist particular identities. The third article by Deliya Kuleshova focuses on the code-switching behaviors of college-aged students whose heritage language is Russian. Kuleshova analyzes the differences between a social and academic conversations and how more technical expressions represent more incidences of code switching.

In the fourth article, we move onto the domain of writing where Sara Mechraoui studies Algerian students and how she develops and implements strategies for argumentative writing. Mechraoui supplies ample suggestions and lesson plans for educational practitioners. In the fifth article, Salena Anderson details how college-aged ESL students being tutored in a writing center focus on sentence level accuracy, whereas tutors are focused on organization and idea development. To address this incongruence, she discusses the differing communities of practice that inform student's and tutor's differing foci. Moving to the domain of reading, our sixth article by Sara Kane, Jordan Gusich and Thomas Upton draws our attention to extensive reading (ER) and how such practices increase comprehension, vocabulary and motivation. Kane and colleagues also provide an extensive list of suggestions she has employed in her own ESL teaching context.

In our seventh article, we learn from Haiyan Li about the motivational techniques in English as a Foreign Language teaching. Li comprehensively reviews the literature on what galvanizes and/or impedes engagement in language learning. In our final article, we learn from David Pratt about the importance of engaging our emergent bilingual families and not merely focusing on language alone. Pratt provides strategies, centering families as experts in their child's learning. We end Volume 17 with a book review from Haiyan Li on Horner, B. & Tetreault, L. (Eds.). (2017). *Crossing Divides: Exploring Translingual Writing Pedagogies and Programs*. Li highlights how students appropriate different writing devices to more fully express their ideas.

The Editors of the INTESOL Journal and the INTESOL Board would like to thank all our authors for their rich contributions to the Fall 2020 issue of the INTESOL Journal. You will find all contact information at the end of each article, so you can follow up with any of our contributors. Further, the international review board also thanks contributors for their richly diverse submissions in content, which all address equity and access for language learning, and affirming the multilingual identities of emergent bilinguals. As a result of the number and quality of submissions, and our double-blind review process, the INTESOL Journal is moving toward a more esteemed designation that will ensure wider distribution of its scholarship.

This year's Fall journal issue of INTESOL features the artwork of Lal Rem Ruati, an 8th grader from Greenwood Middle School, submitted by her ESL teacher, Mrs. Leticia Hubbard. Lal Rem is from Myanmar and her first language is Mizo. Her work is entitled, "One Family, Many Races… Unification." Lal Rem captures the spirit of *equity and access* in her representation of women whose identities intersect across location, language, time, and space. Thanks to Lal Rem for your insightful and empowering contribution.

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Language, Culture, and Identity Development in Adolescence: A Case Study of a Sixteen-Year-Old Multilingual Boy

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ABSTRACT

A language learner has a complex social identity, which should be understood in a larger social context and interactions. The current study aimed to investigate the relationship between language and identity development through narrative inquiry. The participant of this case study is a sixteen-year-old Korean boy who speaks three languages and has been educated in the United States from kindergarten to high school. The study adopted narrative inquiry as the method, and interviews, observations, and journals were collected analyzed to produce the case story collaboratively. The results indicate that the child, who was exposed to multiple languages and raised by a family of immigrants, identifies himself in between different languages and cultures. Additionally, the linguistic and cultural identity of the participant was found to have influenced his heritage language maintenance. Finally, it was found that socio-cultural awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity impacted his multilingual competency during his adolescence.

Keywords: adolescence, bilingual, culture, identity, language, multilingual

Introduction

Investigating how to tap into the complex nature of students with different social backgrounds is critical for a successful and inclusive language education, especially for language minority students. The relationship between language and identity has always been one of the biggest issues in the second language education field. Norton and Toohey (2011) noted that "language learner's identities are always multiple and in process" (p. 437). She also posited that students who bring their language identities from different cultures need to be supported to construct positive identities under varying societal contexts (Norton & Toohey, 2011).

According to poststructuralists, language is a tool for participating in specific language communities, and using language is a social and political practice (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009). However, languages exist under power structures of society, and each language implies different power depending on who speaks it. Therefore, educators need to consider power relations between the language learners and native speakers since language learning and learner's identity construction are closely related (King, 2008).

This research is a case study of a sixteen-year-old Korean boy who has experienced US public school education. The main topics of this study were language, cultures, and children's identity development in adolescence.

Research Questions

How does exposure to different languages and cultures influence the identity of a multilingual child?

How and why does an immigrant child lose or maintain his heritage language and culture?

How does a bilingual/multilingual child's socio-cultural awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity influence his multilingual competencies during his adolescence?

Literature Review

Language and Language Ideology, and Identity Development

Language, identity, and language ideologies are all intertwined in social contexts. Regarding language and ideology, Oriyama (2010) argued that schools are the most crucial institutions that reproduce social ideology and language hierarchy. According to Oriyama (2010), heritage language speakers' identities are developed through their L1 speeches, and their language uses reflect their desires to identify themselves. However, linguistic demands and requirements establish hierarchies in educational programs, and learners' heritage languages and cultural backgrounds are often not valued in the school context (Rojo, 2013). Additionally, a group with the dominant power also tend to establish a hierarchy that is beneficial to itself, which enables the identities of the dominant groups to be the norm while language minority groups are required to conform to the norm of the dominant group (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). In the U.S., the privileged status of English remains to be the dominant norm widely supported by society as minority language groups remain inaudible and invisible (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). Therefore, the identities of language minority students or second language learners are clearly different from that of mainstream learners in this society of inequalities (Darvin & Norton, 2016). Since identity constructions of language learners are influenced by the power relationship in society, ignoring their identities would cause a negative impact on their second language learning (King, 2008).

Language Minority Children's Identity

Peirce (1995) argued that a language learner has a complex social identity, which indicates that social context and interaction are critical for language learner's identity formation. According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), dominant ethnic group languages are positioned above minority group languages, and language minority children often feel disrespected and marginalized.

Regarding language and the immigrant status, investment in the target language is the investment in that society and the learner's identity at the same time. Mckay and Wong (1996) insisted that learners negotiate identities while they develop English skills. They remarked that limited English-speaking ability and the immigrant status are often regarded as difficulties in general abilities of an individual. However, the lack of fluency in English in second language learners does not translate to poor learning abilities. As Peirce (1995) argued, since a language learner and the learning context are closely related, we should consider the complex relationship of language learners to the target language and respect the immigrant learner's agencies while they are identifying, negotiating, and constructing their identities and developing a new language in the target language society.

Heritage Language Speakers' Identities and Bilingual/Multilingual Competencies

Heritage language speakers reflect their desire to identify themselves and develop their identities through their first language (L1) use. Therefore, bilingual/multilingual competency should be respected not just as an L2 (social dominant language) facilitator but also as the way of configuring their identities (Oriyama, 2010).

The ideology of racial, cultural, and linguistic superiority has a long history, and racism and linguistic intolerance are closely linked (Wiley & Wright, 2004). According to Wiley and Wright (2004), historically, multilingual competency has been overlooked as an ability of peripheral language speaker, and bilingualism was not valued in our society to protect the interests of center speakers of English. However, students from different cultures and language backgrounds should be understood not as inferior but diverse, and we should value the rich linguistic backgrounds of English language learners (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

Method

Based on the literature review, the current study further investigated the relationship between language and identity development through a narrative inquiry. "Narrative identity is a person's internalized and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose". Therefore, researchers adopted narrative inquiry to investigate the participant's personal stories told from young childhood to adolescence years, which reflect his meaning-making strategies in the process of his identity development (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233).

Participant

The participant was a sixteen-year-old Korean boy who has experienced US public school education- kindergarten to high school. At the time of the study, he was in eleventh grade attending a public high school located in a college town, where people from a variety of foreign countries live. When he was five years old, he and his middle class family moved to the U.S. from Korea. The participant spoke his first and second languages with high proficiencies. He achieved a TOPIK (Test of Proficiency in Korean) score in the highest category, which proved that his first langage proficiency was at the level of a native speaker's. Additionally, he was learning his third language, German, in high school. The participant had two younger siblings, who also spoke Korean and English. From now on, this participant will be noted with the pseudonym Jiho.

Researcher Identity

The first author is Jiho's mother, who has a master's degree in the Education department, majoring in Literacy and Language Education. The first author's undergraduate major was German Language and Literature, so she speaks Korean, English, and German. The first author was a bilingual teacher, who taught Korean immigrant children in Korean school. She also taught Korean in the International Center in the neighborhood of a large university.

Data Collection

All available data were collected for an in-depth qualitative study. The data were interviews, observations, participant's biography, and journals of the participant and the parent (first author). The researchers adopted narrative inquiry as the method as it has the potential for the researchers and the participant to produce the story collaboratively (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

Interviews were conducted by the first author using English. The interview was semi-structured. Based on the interview questions, the participant was asked to describe his story more in detail as needed. The interview questions consisted of Patton's (2015) interview questions types which include the questions of experience, behavior, opinion, values, feeling, and personal background.

Additionally, at the age of eleven in sixth grade, the participant created an autobiography that he had named as *Years of Understanding* as part of his school project. In this document, he recorded all about him from birth to sixth grade based on interviews with family and relatives, his journals, and his memories.

The interview analysis followed three steps of process, which included coding, categorizing, and reorganizing, to find important features to be discussed. Interviews were transcribed, and the words and sentences related to identity, culture, language, minority, and social interaction were coded and categorized as a positive or negative influence on language identity and learning. For example, the comment, "Korean is not really a popular language", was coded as LMFN (Language-Minority-Opinion-Negative) while "The United States has a really nice culture including aspects such as diversity and acceptance" was coded as CDOP (Culture-Diversity-Opinion-Positive). Coding and emerging themes were crosschecked by the first and second authors. Journals and documents from kindergarten to high school years of the subject were also used as data. The journals and biographies of the participant were analyzed in the same way as the interview analysis, which followed the proceess of coding, categorizing, and reorganizing. Same codes were used for interviews, participant's biography, and journals.

Based on the data analysis and literature review, the researchers selected meaningful findings, which can be applied to current identity theories that are influential in Second Language Studies.

Results

Multilingual Adolescent's Identity Negotiation

Jiho was born in South Korea and moved to the U.S. when he was five years old. In his middle-class family, he has two younger siblings, and as the first child in the family, Jiho had a strong sense of responsibility. His favorite hobby was soccer since the time he was in Kindergarten. The autobiography revealed how he felt about his relationship with others, the influence of family and friends, and the difficulties he experienced from his language barrier. In one of the chapters, he described his fourth-grade period as his *Dark Age*.

> This (fourth-grade) was the year where I've been doing terrible things. I bragged, cried, and failed every test I've taken. I even fought with somebody over a friend! But my teacher never punished me in a harsh way… While fourth grade could have been my worst year, I was able to set an example for myself to not repeat (Autobiography, 6th grade).

A significant memory from the first author regarding the above quote was that all the people that Jiho had troubles with were from immigrant families. This reflects how a language minority student's identity construction is influenced by the power relationship in the society (King, 2008). Since Jiho did not belong to the mainstream group, he demonstrated his struggles with peers from immigrant families like himself, which indicates that he conceded to the idea that he belong to the group with cultures of minorities. Jiho was trying to construct his identity and be recognized by others in the new society, but he often revealed his struggles to those who were in the same situation as him.

Reflecting on the first author's memory and journals, Jiho had a high spirit to submit to another. He was smart and hardworking in everything, but when he felt that he was despised or neglected, he often revealed his frustrations. Jiho confessed in his autobiography that

> back when I was in kindergarten through fourth grade, I bragged to a lot of people for being smart, such as knowing multiplication in kindergarten, division in first grade, fast arithmetic skills in second grade, fractions in third grade, and so on. Those days I thought that I was doing better than anyone in the school. Well, as I look back now to what I was doing in fifth grade, I realize I wasn't even doing all that great in school my worst year, I was able to set an example for myself to not repeat (Autobiography, 6th grade).

The above narrative demonstrates the efforts of Jiho to demonstrate his identity as not marginalized or inferior but rather superior to other children. As Wiley and Wright (2004) noted, the ideology of racial, cultural, and linguistic superiority permeated into our society, and children from different cultures and language backgrounds are often regarded as inferior.

When Jiho entered his adolescence, he struggled to find his identity like his peers. He described how he thought about his own personality in the interview.

> Um, my personality … I'm really impatient sometimes and I um, have a really bad tendency to get really angry at something or sad about something. So, my personality, I guess, is that I get really impatient sometimes and am emotional. It's something that has been worse in earlier years (Interview, 11th grade).

As noted in the above quote, Jiho described his unstable emotions and mixed feelings like his peers. However, the following quote also reveals his struggle to construct and negotiate his identity in specific socio-cultural, racial, and family relationships.

> I'm not 100% proud of my racial identity, but I'm mostly proud of it, because Koreans have a really good reputation for being smart, hard-working… and so on… my dad wants me to focus more on my academics when I try to sign up for a soccer team. I really like soccer, and I do care about my academics. My dad sometimes doesn't trust me sometimes on whether I would be able to juggle everything. And, um, we get into few arguments because he does not trust me. Hopefully, he could become more supportive of the decisions I make even though I understand his intentions (Interview, 11th grade).

Notably, Jiho had a strong awareness of his ethnicity and language. He spoke only Korean at home and was often upset whenever he heard his younger siblings speaking in English at home. He said that Koreans should be able to speak Korean. This opinion was influenced by his parents, who allowed only Korean at home. However, on top of his parents' rule, Jiho also liked his heritage culture, history, and language. He was familiar with Korean literature and history, watched Korean movies and drama, and communicated with Korean friends through a Korean social network service system. Furthermore, he described in his journal that his trip to Korea in sixth grade as the best memory. He confessed in the interview:

> There are a lot of places I want to live in, but I want to live in Korea because that is where I was born and where I feel most comfortable. I love a lot of things about Korea, so I would want to live there… Korean is not really a popular language compared to Chinese, English, Spanish… It is not as popular, but it is getting there. For Korean culture, some representative aspects are K-pop, which is really famous internationally.

> The food is really nice, that's for sure. Um, respect is a big part of our culture… I can honestly say a lot more about the Korean culture my worst year, I was able to set an example for myself to not repeat (Interview, 11th grade).

As described above, his interest in his culture and language helped him maintain his heritage language. Oriyama (2010) pointed out that identity and identification influence a bilingual's language ability because both factors influence the functions and the degree of language use of the individual (p. 78).

Language and Identity

Language speakers produce and reproduce their particular identities continually through their language use (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). However, When Jiho first came to the U.S at the age of five, he was shocked not only at the cultural difference but also at the fact that he was not able to communicate with his teacher and the classmates. His autobiography describes what he felt at the time:

> I was ready for America! I learned a lots and lots of English in Korea, and I believed that I would be able to communicate with the people…However, I was terrified by how intense it was to talk to my teacher and my new classmates when I came to my elementary school! I was so stressed that I wanted to quit and go back to Korea. I thought I wouldn't be able to survive school! (Autobiography, 6th grade)

As Jiho has described, he found himself embarrassed in the new situation that was completely different from where he came from. Under this circumstance, Jiho confronted difficulties in interaction with people who use English as their first language. Peirce (1995) argued that there are "complex relationships between power, identity, and language learning" (p. 17). According to her, language learners have complex social identities, and target language learners continually construct a sense of who they are and how they relate to their societies. McKay and Wong (1996) conceptualized the second language learners as complex social beings and noted that understanding the power issues in second language learning is critical in examining how second language learners negotiate multiple discourses in which they are situated.

Within linguistics, differences construct hierarchy, and the group with the greater power constitutes itself as the norm. Researchers termed this hierarchical structuring as 'markedness' and argued that marked identities are ideologically associated with marked language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). From the interview, Jiho expressed difficulties he felt as a foreigner.

> Certainly, there are difficulties…There's a lot of segregation and discrimination that happens anywhere, so I guess there are difficulties there. There's no such thing as no difficulties as international (people) since it is difficult for them to adapt to the foreign country (Interview, 11th grade).

Jiho's feeling about difficulties may relate to what Bucholtz and Hall (2004) noted about the process to conform to the norm of the mainstream society. Bucholtz and Hall (2004) posited that speakers cannot disregard existing linguistic and social norms, which constrain speakers who resist and subvert social inequalities.

Language and Investment

Jiho spoke three languages, Korean, English, and German. He said he liked learning languages and exploring diverse cultures of societies where the languages are used.

> Well, I really enjoy learning languages and diverse cultures, although I don't know a lot of them…think I'm doing pretty well on it … German culture, um, there is a lot of food and historic sites. They have a fantastic culture. The United States has a really nice culture including aspects such as, um, diversity and acceptance… I do want to learn more

> languages if I can. I have a lot of languages that I am interested in, including Japanese, Chinese, French… and also Spanish. I want to learn all of them, but the problem is the time. If I happen to find spare time, I would be able to learn a few languages (Interview, 11th grade).

Jiho's comment above shows his interest in languages and cultures, which is reinforced by his mentioning of *diversity and acceptance.* However, unlike Jiho, most of his Korean friends did not use their native language inside and outside of their homes. When the first author asked Jiho how he thought about his Korean friends and their families' language uses and attitudes, he answered;

> Well, I have a lot of Korean friends and families because we are next to a University that many Asian people apply to. A lot of my Korean friends have been like living here for like almost their entire life. Some people were just born here. One of them has never been to Korea until like two years ago. I went with him and hung out with him in Gangnam, a place in Seoul, and um, as I watched him speak Korean to Korean people, I noticed that he wasn't really fluent. That was obvious because he did not know how to speak it until he came to Korea that year for the first time. What I thought after seeing that was that Koreans who are born here or have lived here for a really long time put less effort into learning the language because it's technically useless in knowing the language while living in the United States. I feel like, um, they don't really care about learning and getting better at the language (Interview, 11th grade).

As Jiho commented, people who live in the United States, where English is the dominant language, may not feel the necessity to invest in learning other languages, let alone even their heritage languages. According to Lam (2004), language learning is "an important social practice through which a society constructs and reproduces its dominant beliefs, values, and social relations" (p. 44). Therefore, language minority people feel that their heritage languages may not be valued enough for them to invest their efforts into them.

Discussion and Limitations

The current study was guided by three research questions. For the first question, *How does exposure to different languages and cultures influence the identity of a multilingual child?,* Jiho identified himself as in between different languages and cultures. He showed that he was positioned in diverse cultures while exposed to multiple languages. Even though this experience created difficulties for him as a minority student within the mainstream society, it also positively influenced his multilingual competency. As he noted, diversity and acceptance were critical for foreign language learning and his heritage language maintenance.

For the second research question, *How and why does an immigrant child lose or maintain his heritage language and culture?*, individual effort with strong will to maintain one's heritage language seems critical. Jiho worked hard to learn his culture and language unlike his other immigrant friends. As Jiho noted, many immigrant children may have felt that their heritage languages are useless in a dominant language society, which lead to the loss of their first languages.

For the third question, *How does a bilingual/multilingual child's socio-cultural awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity influence his multilingual competencies during his adolescence?*, Jiho's awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity seemed to critically affect his language learning. As indicated in the response to the first and second research question, acceptance of cultural diversity and respect for diverse languages may influence language learner's bilingual or multilingual competencies.

As we see from Jiho's case example, along with individual difference, social norms played an important role throughout his identity development. Under the society that reproduces social inequalities, language minority students may conceive themselves differently from that of mainstream learners.

Jiho also showed that motivation, investment, and social ideology played critical roles during his identity development and language learning. Language is in the center of identity formation, and diverse discourses have effects on language learners' identity negotiation (McKay & Wong, 1996). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2004), "identity is constructed through a variety of symbolic resources, especially language" (p. 370).

Language learning is not only developing learners' linguistic fluencies but also developing multiple and sophisticated identities in the target language society. Therefore, educators need to be aware of language learners' complex social identities, which should be understood in a larger social context and social interaction, in order to support them build positive identities (Peirce, 1995).

The current study has some limitations. First, this case involved only one participant, which makes the generalizability and applicability of the study to other cases questionable. Additionally, considering the close relationship between the subject and the first author as a son and a parent, the participant's response to the interview questions may not indicate his candid understanding of himself in front of the researcher's presence. However, the study does have some valuable implications. It summarizes the participant's identity formation from kindergarten to his high school years, which indicates the participant's reflection about his entire process of identity formation. The case study suggests that in order to support not only language learning but also positive identity formations, we need to create school contexts and communities around the learners who value diverse language and cultures.

Conclusion

Identity research involves the exploration of various people in a diverse society. A person's identity does not influence only his or herself but also the other people individually and socially. Also, language development is influenced by whether or not the social context is respectful of the linguistic, cultural, and racial diversity. This case study indicates that language identity is influenced by multiple factors such as personality, personal value, motivation, and social relationship. Therefore, we should provide a context where children can develop their personal and social identities appropriately in the respectful climates, regardless of their socio-cultural statuses, language uses, and cultural diversities.

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Mr. Hyeong Kyun Park is an undergraduate student in Computer Science at Purdue University. He has interests in language and cultural diversities and has contributed to the paper as a second coder and by conducting the literature review.

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The Experiences Entailed by the Intersectionality of Korean (Im)migrant Mothers' Multi-identities in Layered Contact Zones of the United States

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ABSTRACT

Pratt's (1991) notion of "contact zone" was used to investigate the lives of four Korean (im)migrant mothers in the United States, where they encountered clashes of languages and cultures. This study, part of five-year feminist cyber-ethnography, is an examination of their contact zone experiences from the perspective of the intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) of their multiple identities, which were complicated and added layers to the contact zones usually presumed to be experienced by (im)migrant adults when regarded a single category despite great diversity of their pre-migration capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The participants' identity as mothers exacerbated confrontations in some contact zones, and their intertwined identities as highly-educated and motivated Korean women and wives situated them in both outside- within-ethnic contact zones.

Keywords: Contact zone(s), Korean (im)migrant mothers, intersectionality, feminist cyber-ethnography

Introduction

Globalization has brought increasing numbers of Korean (im)migrants to the United States, either temporarily or permanently. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2010), there were over 1.4 million Korean immigrants in the United States as of 2010. Ogbu and Simons (1998) classified Korean (im)migrants as "voluntary minorities," as few were forced to migrate. That their migration was voluntary might be assumed to mitigate the severity of difficulties

Korean (im)migrants experience as they pursue the beacon of hope that is the so-called American dream, yet neither absence of compulsion nor inspiration can completely spare them the hardships of migration. No matter whether it is voluntary or involuntary, or temporary or permanent, living in a foreign country, especially where a language completely unrelated to one's mother tongue is spoken, presents migrant people with a variety difficulties, especially when they first enter intercultural "contact zones."

According to Pratt (1991), a "contact zone" is a place where migrants' own cultures, languages, and beliefs "meet, clash, and grapple" with new ones "in contexts of asymmetrical relations of power" (p. 34). The experiences of Korean (im)migrants are not exceptional. Most studies of the hardships Korean (im)migrants face in the United States as the host country, including those focused on Korean (im)migrant mothers, have been conducted in psychology, nursing, and gender studies but rarely in language education. Also, possibly because the phrase seems self-explanatory to most observers, Pratt's (1991) notion of "contact zone" has been under-used to investigate the lives of Korean (im)migrant mothers in the United States, where they must deal with different languages and cultures. Furthermore, little attention has been paid to the "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1989) of the multiple identifications of Korean (im)migrant mothers as Korean (im)migrants, women, mothers, wives, and previous owners of often high levels of social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), and how their intersectionality might affect their lives in contact zones. Thus, in this study, a theoretical framework comprising the concepts of both "contact zone" (Pratt, 1991) and "intersectionality" (Crenshaw, 1989) is employed to investigate the experiences of Korean (im)migrant mothers living in contextualized contact zones in the United States, particularly as these entail the interplay of their multiple identifications.

Intersectionality of Korean (Im)migrant Mothers

Literature Review

Contact Zone(s)

When coining the term "contact zone" in "Arts of the Contact Zone," Pratt (1991) used late 16th and early 17th century Peru as an example of a contact zone in a global and macro context. There, the native Quechua people suffered many difficulties imposed by the Spanish empire. Pratt considered a letter written to the Spanish king by an indigenous man known as Guaman Poma to be an artifact of a contact zone in that it was a manifestation of two languages and two cultures impacting each other and producing a new integrated but imbalanced form, in which Spanish was dominant over Quechua. Pratt used the Peruvian situation as a metaphor for her own teaching experience in local and micro-contexts, describing the classroom as a contact zone rather than "a homogeneous community or a horizontal alliance," in which "all the students in the class had the experience of hearing their culture discussed and objectified in ways that horrified them" (p. 44). She added that the students were diverse and heterogeneous enough to be ignorant of each other's roots and possibly hostile, resulting in the marginalization of some students.

Tracing the roots of the United States back to the "first massive immigration of Europeans in the seventeenth century (p. 52)," Bizzell (2002) proposed that the United States was a contact zone comparable to the example of Peru in Pratt's study and, to understand how different groups intermingled over time, proposed that English studies should be reorganized by "historically defined contact zones, moments when different groups within the society contended for power to interpret what was going on" (p.53).

While the concept of contact zones was originally applied to broad macro-level social configurations, in social science and educational research the concept is largely applied to diverse micro-level school settings including classrooms (Canagarajah, 1997; Harris, 1995; Malsbary, 2014; West (2012), basic writing tutorials (Baker, 2006), school cafeteria (Kelly, 2012), a global university (Kenway & Bullen, 2003), community college ESL (Curry, 2001), and freshman composition courses (Lu, 1994). On the other hand, both Miller (1994) and Beauvais (1996) criticized Pratt for not demonstrating how the concept of contact zone could be applied in English language teaching and learning but tried to fill the gap. While Key (2002) looked outside the school, her setting was still a classroom offered in a community center and led by a teacher.

Among the few applications of the notion in micro-level contexts beyond school or classroom settings were Anderson's (2012) use of the concept in a study of interactions in medicine, especially between patients and healthcare providers, and Torres's (2007) examination of Latino/a writers' code-switching strategies in the literary contact zone. Canagarajah (2015) claimed that all social spaces where acceptance and renegotiation are possible should be considered contact zones. Patel (2012), conducting a participatory action study of a professional internship for newcomer youths outside of school, even presented one micro-level layered contact zone, rather intentionally designed rather than organically generated.

Korean Immigrant Mothers' Struggles and Intersectionality

Under any circumstances, (im)migration is stressful as uprooted people must go through a demanding adjustment process (Kim, 1997). For many Korean (im)migrants, their lives in the United States may prove disappointing compared to their anticipations before (im)migrating. Acquiring competence in a new language is not their only learning task. They are likely to experience difficulties adjusting to new cultural and social norms. For various reasons, this process seems to be especially stressful for Korean (im)migrants (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Kuo, 1984; Noh & Avison, 1992). Lee and Woo (2013) found that Korean (im)migrants' general well-being was affected by socio-economic stressors, lack of English proficiency, and financial hardship.

Until very recently, research on immigration has been notably gender-blind (Yakushko & Morgan-Consoli, 2014). Yet without discounting the hardships and challenges that (im)migrants of either gender endure, it is reasonable to assume that there are differences between them, which warrants focusing separately on the challenges encountered by (im)migrant women listening to their voices. In a similar vein, Seo et al. (2020) conducted an extensive literature review to investigate how the Korean traditional gender ideology of “wise mother good wife” was transacted in the adjustment of Korean immigrant women. They suggested looking at the issue from the perspective of intersectionality to understand the gendered lived experiences specifically unique to Korean immigrant women.

Intersectionality, as defined by Crenshaw (1990), refers to the interactive effects of multiple social constructs such as race, class, gender, and religion, and more, which create barriers and pitfalls in the lived experiences of individuals and groups who hold multiple marginalized identities (Bowleg, 2008; Hurtado, 2003; Syed, 2010) beyond those associated with any one of such identities (Seo et al., 2020). Korean (im)migrant women’s lives are complicated by cultural, gender, racial, and perhaps other multiple identities that differentiate them from the American mainstream.

The unique lived experiences of Korean (im)migrant women have been studied mostly in women’s studies, psychology, and nursing and have reportedly focused on their well-being under the effects of isolation, stress, and depression due to overwhelming childcare (Moon, 2003); language barriers (Seo et al., 2020); and socio-economic downward mobility (Kim & Yu, 1996). This study therefore extends the literature by contextualizing Korean (im)migrant women’s gendered immigration lives in their layered contact zones, with a focus on those who owned high levels of linguistic, cultural, and economic capital prior to (im)migration but which has low or no currency in the U.S.

Method

Feminist Cyber-ethnography

Employing feminist cyber-ethnography, especially Rybas and Gajjala's (2007) emphasis on the intersubjective researcher positionality of "epistemologies of doing," this study attempts to answer the following research questions.

Research Questions

1. How does the intersectionality of the multi-identifications of Korean (im)migrant mothers who came to the United States as trailing spouses reveal micro-level contact zones in., the macro-level contact zone of the U.S?
2. In what ways have the multi-identities of the women brought them into contact with power-bounded linguistic, cultural and social differences?

Setting and Context

For this study, part of a five year long longitudinal project from 2014-2018, using purposive and convenient sampling, I chose four Korean (im)migrant mothers whom I met in an online English language learning community called SEED in order to examine the contextualized contact zones perceived by Korean (im)migrant mother with relatively high levels of linguistic, cultural, and economic capital. The community was founded in August, 2011, by a Korean immigrant woman completing a pharmacy doctorate at the time, nesting in one of the biggest online ethnic communities for Korean (im)migrant women in the United States. The community restricted membership to applicants able to participate in weekly meetings held solely in English.

Most of the members were highly educated trailing spouses and mothers from affluent families. Thus, it was the right place from which to recruit the participants who meet the criteria in terms of capital. Other criteria to be satisfied were: 1) those who were married with children, 2) those who had lived in the United States for several years, and 3) those who joined the community before August 2012, and posted in the community forum (called café) during the period of July 2012 to August 2014, given that only posts during the time were accessible by the time of data collection. In terms of legal status, Sandra, Regina, and Angela were permanent residents whereas Kirin was still holding an F2 dependent visa. Thus, I use the term "(im)migrant" to include both lawfully permanent immigrant and temporary migrant mothers. As a founding member of the community myself, I have known the participants since 2011. Table 1 shows the demographic information of the participants: two current members (Sandra and Regina) and two former members (Angela and Kirin). All the names are pseudonyms chosen by each participant.

Table 1

Demographic Information of the Participants

Name	**Age at time of data collection**	**(Im)migration Year/ Region**	**Family**	**Profession**	**Past profession**	**Education**
Sandra	Early 40s	2007/ Boston, MA	Husband (Engineer) 2 children	Stay-at-home mom	Pharmacist	B.A. in Pharmacy
Regina	Mid 40s	2003/ Texas	Husband (Engineer) 2 children	Pharmacist	Computer Programmer	Doctor in Pharmacy
Angela	Mid 40s	2005/ Maryland	Husband (Post-Doc) 1 Child	Kindergarten teacher	Kindergarten teacher	M.A.s in Education
Kirin	Late 30s	2011/ Texas	Husband (Ph.D. student) 2 Children	Stay-at-home mom	Worked for a foreign company	B.A. in Economics

Data Collection

Buch and Staller (2006) describe three primary forms of data collected in feminist ethnographic studies: "ethnographic talking to informants, observations, and social artifacts" (p. 209). This study also collected these three forms of data, although, given the nature of cyber-ethnography, most of the data were archival data (web posts) and interview data. Additionally, follow-up focus group text messages and observation of weekly meetings were also utilized.

The majority of archival data were online posts written by each participant as in either original posts or replies in the community café (blog-like) forum. The four participants made a total of 1,941 postings between July 2012 and August 2014. Personal emails and text messages (Kakao Talk: a Korean mobile instant messaging application) between each participant and me were also included. In addition, semi-structured individual interviews were conducted via Zoom in spring 2018 except for Kirin, who was visiting Korea, so that the only option we found was to use the Kakao Talk audio calling function. Except for Kirin the other three voluntarily turned their cameras on even before I asked them, so we could see each other and feel comfortable as if we were having a casual chat. That aligned with what Buch and Staller's (2016) emphasis on the benefits of informal conversations that can provide richer understanding than formal interviews in feminist-ethnographic studies. All interviews were conducted in Korean and audio-recorded, labeled, and stored in my computer securely both before and after my partial transcriptions. As a participant observer, I conducted direct observations of four weekly meetings of Regina's and Angela's groups respectively between February and April, in 2017. Follow-up focus group texts messages were collected in our Kakao chat room where Sandra, Regina, and Angela, being extremely supportive, allowed me to ask further clarifying questions.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis (Cresswell, 2014) was used for my feminist cyber-ethnography because it provided a way not only to construct explicit themes but also to make explicit the themes that are implicit to the stories that my participants wrote and told. The thematic analysis was a continuous process that began when I started collecting the archival data and continued throughout all phases of the study. Given that I already had a large corpus of archival data, coding them started before I conducted participant observation and individual interviews. "Winnow[ing]" the lengthy café postings, a "process of focusing in on some of the data and disregarding other parts of it" (Cresswell, 2014, p. 195) was necessary in the beginning. Following Creswell's "iterative" (p. 244) steps for analyzing qualitative data for an ethnographic study, I tried to create as many codes as possible at early phases as all the occurring topics were units of analysis, first coding the data of each participant and next comparing codes across participants to identify and support common themes. After identifying key words or phrases, I "grouped, regrouped and relinked in order to consolidate meaning and explanation" (Grbich, 2007, p. 21). Thematic analysis mainly relied on an inductive, bottom-up approach, yet my analytic memos I wrote while coding helped the coding decisions related to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study. I took measure to ensure reliability, validity, and generalizability as Cresswell (2014, pp. 201-203) suggested: cross-checking with the participants, triangulating data from different sources, member-checking, conducting peer-debriefing, and having external translators review the data.

Findings

Ostensibly well-resourced Korean immigrant mothers shared their encounters in their diverse contact zones in the United States as the macro contact zone. Their intersecting identities as

Korean (im)migrant women, wives, and mothers located them in their particular contact zones, as shown in Figure 1. This paper demonstrates three kinds of contextualized contact zones they experienced: those take for granted, those associated with being mothers, and those in the same ethnic community and even home.

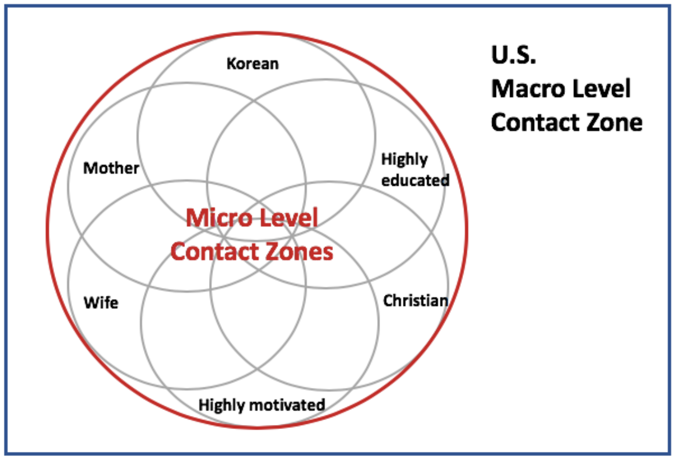

Figure 1 Micro-level contact zones reflecting the intersectionality of the Korean (im)migrant mothers' multi-identifications in the United States, their macro-level contact zone

The Taken for Granted Contact Zones

As shown in the literature on Korean (im)migrant women's lives and hardships, the participants in this study confronted various contact zones regardless of their advanced command of English language and cultural competence gained by living in the United States as foreigners in that encountering unfamiliar language and cultural phenomena was integral to their official status as (im)migrants.

When asked if she had encountered any embarrassing or difficult moments, Sandra calmly replied, "I always had difficulties, of course," referring to language-related experiences as a hospital volunteer, in which she mostly helped patients and visitors who asked for directions. She had a hard time making her explanations of the different elevators and floors understood.

One time, a middle-aged Caucasian man asked for directions to a certain building. Wanting to make sure she had understood his question correctly, as some buildings had very similar names, she replied, “Excuse me?” The man said, “*Forget it*!” while giving her a hostile look. Whenever such incidents occurred, Sandra felt she was treated rudely because she was Asian and a foreigner. She added that although the incidents made her uncomfortable, she tried not to take them personally and did not attribute them to her gender but to being a foreigner without perfectly fluent English. Sandra said that she began to question whether she could carry out any given responsibilities and would have felt anxious if they were paid employment when the expectation would be much higher.

During the interview, it was noticeable that Sandra always commented on a person’s educational background when to him or her. Residing in Boston, Sandra’s experiences in her contact zones seemed related to her attitudes toward her social position in relation to whether others had any connection to Harvard University. Sandra’s perceptions in this contact zone experience might have been different if she had lived in a different region in the United States. Regardless of her upbeat personality, Sandra clearly faced some challenges in the contact zone where she lived, a city that was host to a preeminent world-class university.

The counterpart’s social position, and both the explicit and implicit power attendant to that position, also placed Regina into distressed contact zones. Regina also shared embarrassing and challenging moments in the United States due to her language barrier. Describing her experience learning English, she recalled how she could neither understand nor speak it at all when she first came to the United States. An episode in which a teacher at her first English placement test in a U.S. college, who she perceived had a social and cultural power than she did, misunderstood and pointed at her shoes when Regina said "huge" seemed to be engraved in her recollection as a funny yet bitter memory.

Interestingly, Regina's contact zone experiences seemed particularly related to confrontations with Caucasian women, as shown by her phrase "white woman trauma," which originated in a frustrating experience that happened when her family was on a, scuba diving vacation in Hawaii. A white woman about Regina's age angrily accused her of stealing her towel, which so stunned Regina that she froze and could not say anything in her defense, a common reaction when one feels negatively stereotyped because of some aspect of his/her identity such as race or gender (Spender et al., 1999). What made the situation worse was no one around them bothered to help Regina even though it was self-evident that she was not a thief. Believing that her English will never be more eloquent than that of Caucasian women, after this incident, Regina has remained "feeling belittled" whenever she is confronted by Caucasian women, especially those she perceived as being in a socially higher position.

Both Sandra and Regina imputed their negative contact zone experiences to their lack of English language competency and lowered social positionality as "foreigners" rather than blaming the perpetrators of the incidents, who prejudged and marginalized them. Also, neither explicitly attributed the incident to being women. When prompted, they admitted that "Korean (im)migrant men might have been treated differently in some occasions", although they still considered their foreign appearance and lack of English language fluency as primary causes of their mistreatment.

Contact Zone Experiences as Mothers

Given their multiple identifications as Korean (im)migrant women in the United States, and their language barriers and cultural differences, the participants were inevitably finding themselves in challenging situations in contact zones. Although the degree of hardship might be greater than they had anticipated before (im)migration, they accepted its inevitability and tried to "deal with it" or "let it go". However, their identities as mothers of young children made them more vulnerable to their experiences in contact zones.

In this section, I show discuss how the women's identification as mothers, in particular, affected the impact of their contact zones. Kirin, who had experienced living in the United States as an international student at a prestigious college, was now the mother of a son and had to enter the school contact zone, where she experienced difficulties despite the advanced English skills and cultural competency she developed in her previous U.S. residency. From community members who had been living and sending their children to school in the United States for longer periods, Kirin had been learning how not to take events personally.

However, Kirin admitted that living in the country as a migrant mother presented various negative contact zone episodes. Kirin described an issue she had encountered in the school contact zone, where Kirin's kindergartener son, Michael, had a substitute teacher who would never make eye contact with her, making Kirin uncomfortable despite her persistent efforts to make eye contact and start small talk with her. While she was worried if it happened "because her English", Kirin's concern was, however, not for herself but for her son. She sighed, saying, "What if she did the same thing to my boy!"

Like most Korean (im)migrant mothers, Kirin could not avoid worrying about how her child was treated, especially at school. Based on her experience of feeling excluded by the substitute teacher who never made eye contact with her, she was afraid that her son would experience the same exclusion. Whether he did is unknown, but the point is that Kirin was worried that the teacher's cold attitude toward her and possibly other foreign parents would be transferred to Michael as well. She considered this concern “inevitable”, as any parent would be sensitive to the possibility that her child would suffer disadvantages.

That the mother identity intensifies experiences in contact zones was also displayed in a post Sandra wrote in the SEED on May 9, 2014, in which she was asking for advice regarding parent volunteering.

> Hello, [SEED] sisters, how did you do school volunteering? My son is only in pre-K, but the school keeps sending emails about fundraising, donations, and volunteering. I thought I should do something at least. So I signed up for an event last Thanksgiving. I got a notification that said the event is taking place tomorrow. My job will be reading a book to the class as a mystery reader. The point is I show up without my son knowing. I admit it is not a big thing, yet somehow I am feeling pressure and nervous, asking myself why I signed up for it! Thus, I went to Barnes & Noble, and fortunately, a lot was on sale so I ended up spending $70 on books, even with two coupons. LOL. Healthy spending, huh?

Given the light-hearted personality she generally projected into her posts and her English fluency, it was somewhat surprising to learn that she felt pressure about volunteering at her older son’s school, especially as she had described previous experiences volunteering, and her task was simply to read a book to the class, as she described, “not a big thing”. Her English fluency, as well as her sense of humor, seemed to be well beyond what was required for the task. The content of this message was not too serious for the SEED members to concern about her ability to carry out the task. Still, it showed that even a person like Sandra, who was positive and willing to engage, could also feel discomfort in an entirely English-speaking context, especially when her children were involved. As an immigrant mother whose children attended a school in which most students were Caucasians, she did not hesitate to be assertive in the contact zone, which might have been less intimidating to her than to other Korean (im)migrant mothers, and Her outgoing personality notwithstanding, she might have reacted differently in this case if the event had not been related to her sons, as it was their faces she was afraid of losing, not her own. This incident illustrates one reason why Korean (im)migrant mothers are often reluctant to volunteer at their children's schools although it is one of most important mainstream contact zones for them (Lee & Moon, 2011). Due to their perceived language barriers, they are worried about the possible consequences their foreign English might cause for their children.

Contact Zones within the Same Ethnic Community and at Their Own Home

Generally, contact zones are assumed to exist outside of one's comfort zone. Thus, it might be presumed that for these participants contact zones were always outside their communities of Korean (im)migrant mothers and of course their own homes. However, these contexts were also contact zones for them, at least to some extent, who had low opportunities for social relations outside as Canadian immigrant mothers in Norton's (2013) study. In interactions between Korean (im)migrant mothers it may be taken it for granted that "the situation is governed by a single set of rules or norms shared by all participants" (Pratt, 1991, p. 38), given their same ethnicity and gender. However, some differentials in power, culture, and economics (Anderson, 2012) within the same ethnic group created layers of contact zones for the participants.

In answering why she joined SEED, Angela cited loneliness stemming from the isolation of childcare and the financial gap that she had perceived as separating her Korean (im)migrant neighbors from her family. Her husband occupied a relatively "low-paying long-term post-doctoral position", a point she emphatically emphasized. The research university where Angela's husband worked was one of the most prestigious in the United States, suggesting that in her area, the Korean (im)migrant families of established scholars and researchers dominated a social scene in which her family "could not afford to participate". She could not join conversations about luxury spending with acquaintances who seemed always to be "boasting" about the trips they had taken or were planning, or fancy restaurants in which Angela's family "could not even dream of" dining. A presumptive comfort zone within the same ethnic community (acquaintances) rather turned out to be a contact zone for Angela in which she continuously confronted the financial differences between her family and her Korean (im)migrant mother acquaintances. That “they [acquittances] were different in social economic status” made Angela, who had sought emotional support and comfort from the ethnic community, instead felt lonelier, as if she was an “outsider within” (Collins, 1986; Kwon, 2015), discouraging her so that she preferred staying home and away from these acquaintances.

Not only the awareness of financial differences within the Korean (im)migrant mothers’ community but also different levels of English language competency and varying levels of aspiration to improve the language also created contact zones. For example, Kirin “felt alienated” within her immediate community. As the wife of a young doctoral student, Kirin had occasion to gather with other Korean graduate students’ wives, who were similar to her in age, had young children, came from at least middle-class families, and were college-educated, so they had “everything in common except that none of them spoke fluent English or was willing to invest in studying the language”. Having earned a B.A. at a prestigious U.S. university and worked in a foreign company in Korea before her migration to the United States, Kirin wanted to hone her already advanced English language skills so she could compete for a mainstream job market when an opportunity arose. Kirin kept joining in conversations about “how the life of a Ph.D. student’s wife was depressing”, in large part because they were “not allowed to work” and thus “wholly responsible for endless household chores”. Whenever she suggested they study English with her, however, Kirin’s acquaintances did not take her seriously, even questioning why Kirin would want to “make her life more difficult”. Regarding Kirin as ambitious, they did not want to bother themselves to set time to study English. Thus, Kirin’s perceived ambitiousness set her apart in the company of Korean (im)migrant mothers who did not want to bother learning English, and this ostensible comfort zone in fact came to be a contact zone for her. Feeling alienated from this group of Korean (im)migrant mothers, Kirin sought another community in which she could share her English language competency and aspirations to improve it.

Whereas Angela and Kirin's "outsider within" experience occurred in contact zones within the same ethnic community, Regina experienced a contact zone at her own home where her view of life conflicted with that of her husband, whose opinions usually prevailed. She attributed this to her "financial dependence on her husband's income" and "traditional Korean power relations between man and wife", as illustrated in the following episode. Right after accompanying her husband to the United States, where he wanted to have work experience, Regina lacked the confidence "even to open her mouth to speak" despite her high English literacy skills. So she expressed the wish to attend ESL classes to gain some speaking confidence. Instead, she ended up taking college courses in English for credit because of her husband's "strong objection to ESL classes as a waste of money and time". Admittedly, she could "see the benefits of taking college-level courses" since she planned "to pursue a career as a pharmacist". Nevertheless, jumping right into world of native English speakers instead of gradually moving away from her linguistic comfort zones, especially "not under my [her] own volition", displeased her. Therefore, Regina's home, instead of being the ultimate place of refuge, was occasionally transformed into a contact zone where opinions and gender roles clashed. That she "needed her husband's permission to do anything", according to Regina, stemmed from her "financial dependence on my [her] husband". This condition dovetailed perfectly with the Korean traditional belief that the man leads a house and the wife supports her husband.

In sum, all four participants shared the identity of being Korean (im)migrant mothers living in the United States, a macro-level contact zone. While their living contexts were not exactly the same, what they had in common was that the experience of living at the intersection of their multiple identities as Korean, (im)migrant, women, wives, and mothers, which were entangled with their encounters in various micro-level contact zones.

Discussion

The findings revealed that the four Korean (im)migrant mothers encountered particular and layered micro-level contact zones (Pratt, 1991), where they engaged in interactions that included "conflicts or systematic social differences" with interlocutors who were "from different classes or cultures, or one party is exercising authority" (p. 38). Both Sandra and Regina confronted such incidents, at the volunteering venues and vacation place, respectively, highlighting the intersection of their socially marginalized identities as Korean (im)migrant (ethnic minority), non-native English speaker (low level of cultural capital compared with native English speakers), and women (gender discrimination). Those social practices could impose "(im)migrant language learners [to be] considered illegitimate speakers of English" (Norton, 2013, p. 168).

Moreover, their shared identity as mothers, as shown in Kirin's and Sandra's episodes, added unique and bitter layers to the contact zones in which they found themselves. The inscribed gender ideology that a woman's life is evaluated according to the success of her motherhood (Choi, 2009) along with the traditional Korean idealization of the "wise mother, good wife" was intensified by the women's (im)migrant status (Seo et al. 2020). Accordingly, the mothers put everything on the line to protect their children from having to confront severe contact zones as much as possible. This position aggravated the extent of their contact zones.

Besides, the participants' intersecting identities provided expanded examples of clashes occurring in the contact zone(s). The clashes reported in this study extend beyond the seemingly apparent clashes any (im)migrant adults might confront, drawn from differences in race, gender, religion, and class. Even within the same ethnic women's community, "the interplay of multiple social categories," such as Kirin's aspiration to move upward in the mainstream by improving her English skills, or Angela's low economic capital compared with her affluent neighbors, "created different or unique experience[s] of marginalization" (Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008; cited in Seo et al., 2020, p.2).

Finally, traditional Korean gender roles, in which the husband leads the family as breadwinner while the wife is a "good wife," an "interesting conversational partner for their [her] husband" (Choi, 2009, p. 7), clashed with Regina's desire to be independent. Her aspiration, influenced by emphasis on greater gender equality in the United States (Goss, 2013), created another unique contact zone within her home. The patriarchal order in Regina's family, reinforced by her financial dependence on her husband's income, prevented Regina from making any critical decision by herself.

Not all Korean (im)migrant mothers would encounter the exactly the same contact zones described in this study, nor would those described happen only to Korean and not to other (im)migrant mothers. However, it is evident that the participants' intersecting identities either directly or indirectly created and even exacerbated their experiences in the micro-level contact zones within the macro-level contact zone. Power relations exist in all interactions, and their dynamics reflect the multiple identifications at play in layered contact zones.

Conclusions and Implications

This feminist cyber-ethnography is an exploration of the intersecting identities of four Korean (im)migrant mothers' multiple identities as Koreans, wives, and mothers in relation to their encounter in their various contact zones. This study has two implications. First, by contextualizing layered contact zones these Korean (im)migrant mothers experienced through the lens of internationality, it responds to Miller's (1994) critique that Pratt did not exemplify how her participants negotiated different perspectives and identities when they were put on the line. Second, this study expands the literature that shatters gender blindness in research on immigrants by presenting Korean (im)migrant mothers' unique voices and lived experiences by focusing on experiences in contact zones through the lens of intersectionality. This extension is meaningful in that previous scholarship has paid little attention to Korean (im)migrant mothers, migrants from a developed country with cosmopolitan dispositions. By initiating the examination of Korean (im)migrant mothers' experiences in layered contact zones from the perspective of intersectionality, this study opens avenues for future research on their unique strategies to survive in contact zones.

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Code-switching Between English and Russian with Russian Heritage Speakers, Born and Raised in Russian-speaking Families in the USA

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ABSTRACT

Code-switching is one of the major areas in the field of Bilingualism. Code-switching describes the processes of switching between languages among those who know and speak more than one language. This article will analyze the code-switching between Russian and English in Russian heritage speakers. They are first year students at a large Midwestern university, born in the U.S. to Russian-speaking parents. They have been taking university Russian classes for two semesters. The students were asked to record two five-minute dialogues with their parents who also speak Russian and English. There was neither instruction to use solely Russian, nor the use of English was prohibited. The goal of the research was to count and analyze the instances of code-switching between Russian and English, and prove or reject the hypothesis that there would be fewer code-switching instances in the dialogue devoted to a family holiday versus the dialogue devoted to university classes. The dialogue topics were furnished beforehand, however, no preparation was asked. The speech was asked to be spontaneous and natural. The findings proved the hypothesis that code-switching instances in the first dialogue were less frequent, so the students were mainly using only one language - Russian - without switching to English very often. The second dialogue revealed more code-switching instances as was initially supposed. Conclusions and directions for future research are presented.

Keywords: translanguaging, code-switching, bilingualism, heritage speakers, Russian heritage speakers.

Introduction

Before coming to the U.S. I never heard the term “heritage speakers”, neither in Russian, nor in English. Only after I started teaching Russian in the U.S., I came across students who were born either in Russia or in the U.S., but were raised mostly in the U.S., had one or two Russian-speaking parents, and had some knowledge of Russian. I learned that such students are called heritage speakers, know both English and Russian, but to a different extent, and practice code-switching in their daily life. As Carreira & Kagan (2011) state, “typically, the foreign-born individuals retain strong skills in the HL [heritage language], while second- and especially third-generation speakers show evidence of incomplete acquisition and loss of linguistic structures” (p. 41). The heritage speakers who are research participants in this article are second generation speakers (born in the U.S.), therefore, they rarely show complete mastery of their heritage language. This fact always intrigued me as a Russian native speaker, an EFL learner, a first-generation immigrant, a researcher, and a teacher. I agree with Maria Polinsky who says, “the reason those heritage languages are interesting is that they allow us to see what is vulnerable and what’s strong in human language in general” (Polinsky, 2014). While teaching Russian here in the U.S., I was constantly observing heritage speakers’ language behavior and differences in their Russian language acquisition in comparison with foreign language learners. Finally, I managed to conduct a pilot study and analyze heritage speakers’ code-switching behavior.

Literature Review

What is code-switching? “It is an alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation” (Stavans & Porat, 2019, p. 123). Code-switching is the most typical linguistic phenomenon unique to bilinguals and multilinguals. As Roth (2005) points out, "code-switching is the most visible form of bilingualism" (p.485). Nowadays code-switching is already a norm rather than an exception.

In literature, there are more publications on code-switching between Russian and Hebrew among Russian-Hebrew bilinguals than Russian-English bilinguals. It is easily explained: around eight hundred and fifty thousand Jewish repatriates moved to Israel from the former Soviet Union after 1989 (Remennick, 1999). By that date it is a larger number compared to the immigrants of Russian origin in the USA (Library of Congress, 2020). After the collapse of the USSR, lots of Russian-speaking people immigrated to the U.S. Therefore, today the generation of their kids and grandkids are those heritage speakers who present the research interest in this article. Such famous researchers as Maria Polinsky and Olga Kagan contributed a lot into the field of Russian heritage language, however, there is still a gap in the literature on Russian-English code-switching and the analysis of the code-switched instances.

From what is known, code-switching includes borrowing and transfer (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2006). More specifically, "borrowing is an overt verbal behavior consisting of the speaker "switching" into the other language and actively using single words or entire phrases from that language, while transfer is a covert behavior consisting of the speaker using the target language in a way that is semantically or syntactically appropriate for the other language (but not for the target language), without overtly switching languages" (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2006, p. 369). Naiditch (2000), who analyzed code-switching among Russian-Hebrew bilinguals (i.e. Russians who migrated to Israel or were born in Russian-speaking families in Israel), suggests that code-switching in daily life can be explained by a number of reasons: 1) the regularity of word usage; 2) the degree of integration of corresponding lexemes into the phonetic, grammatical and lexical system of Russian; 3) its stylistic markedness (as foreign, unusual, etc.) or neutrality. Another reason for code-switching, as suggested by Williams et al. (2019), is emotional arousal. According to their study, "emotional arousal, especially negative arousal, reduces cognitive control and may trigger spontaneous code-switching" (p. 830).

Experiment Design

The current study was conducted using convenience sampling. The participants were two heritage speakers from the Russian 101 class that I was teaching. Before giving out the assignment, I checked with what members of their family they spoke mainly Russian. The point of asking this question was to make sure that the heritage speakers were not going to use English only because I knew that, for example, they usually spoke English with their siblings. Student 1: Natasha (pseudonim), freshman, female, born and raised in Minnesota, parents born and raised in the USSR, mentioned that she usually spoke Russian with her mother, and mostly English with her father and her younger sister. Therefore, her task was to speak with her mother only. Student 2: Victor (pseudonim), freshman, male, born and raised in Florida, parents born and raised in the USSR, mentioned that he usually spoke Russian with his mother and father, but at the time of experiment his mother was away, and that Victor spoke mostly English with his younger brother, therefore his task was to speak to his father only. Specifically, Natasha's and Victor's task was to record two five-minute audio dialogues with their parents via voice recorder application. From my side, there was neither instruction to use only Russian, nor the use of English was prohibited. The participants were told that their natural spontaneous speech was needed.

The topics of the dialogues were chosen according to potential code-switching words that I expected to hear. The topic of the first dialogue was "Family holiday". My hypothesis was that the students would hardly code-switch because that topic was familiar to them, and they had surely discussed their family holidays with their families multiple times, therefore the majority of the words should have been familiar to them, and the students would use mostly Russian. The topic of the second dialogue was "My next semester: what classes I am going to take & How COVID-19 might influence my studies". This topic was academically complex, so I anticipated to hear more examples of code-switching from Russian into English because the language of the students' coursework was English, and they hardly ever used the name of their classes in Russian before. Marian & Kaushanskaya (2006) in their study of Russian-English bilinguals hypothesized that patterns of language borrowing and transfer "would be similarly influenced by the language in which the content was encoded and that bilinguals would show more cross-linguistic interaction when speaking about an event that took place in the other language" (p. 370).

As Heredia & Altarriba (2001) state, "bilingual speakers often code-switch from one language to another, especially when both languages are used in the environment" (p. 164). According to Sichyova (2005), "the three affecting factors on Russian-English code-switching are: (1) the social contexts in which each language is learned; (2) the specific function for which each language is customarily employed; and (3) the efficacy of a language as a communicative tool in the society where it is used" (p. 487). Referring to this categorization of factors, my experiment was primarily implying the factor (2): the specific function for which each language is customarily employed. This way, the dialogue 1 "Family holiday" has a different function than dialogue (2) "My next semester". While dialogue 1 aimed at shared equal discussion of the family holiday (social function), dialogue 2 was student-centered and aimed at students sharing their academic plans for the next semester (academic function).

Four dialogues and the analysis are presented below. I have analyzed each case of code-switching according to the similar studies (Marian & Kaushanskaya (2006); Roth (2005); Naiditch (2000)), my experience with hearing and analyzing the speech of Russian heritage speakers in the U.S., and my Russian-English code-switching practices myself. The dialogues were recorded in Russian, with English code-switching instances. Then, the dialogues were translated into English by the author of this article.

Dialogues

Dialogue 1 "Family holiday"

Student 1 - Natasha, 18, female.

Translated from Russian into English. Bold is used to highlight the instances of code-switching.

1 - Hi mom! How are you?

2 - Good, how are you, honey?

3 - Doing ok. I wanted to ask you about E's birthday.

4 - It's coming soon, at the end of the month. What did you want to ask?

5 - What are we going to do for her birthday?

6 - Well, she wanted dinner with family and some friends, but now because of the situation with coronavirus, I am afraid she won't be able to invite her friends. So, probably there are going to be only us. I hope you can come!

7 -Yes, I can come and help fixing dinner for everybody!

8 - Sounds great! When are you coming?

9 - I think I should come this Friday.

10 - That would be wonderful! She asked me if we could have that cake.. Do you remember we always buy the one at Dobbie's… It's a raspberry-chocolate one.

11 - Yes, I remember.

12 - She wanted this one, but this bakery is closed now because of the virus...

*13 - I can bake this cake! [***pause. Wants to code-switch to English, but tries to remember the word in Russian. Finally, gives in***]. How do you say "raspberry" in Russian?*

14 - Malina. Yes! Malina sous?

15 - Yes. Raspberry sauce and chocolate. You can check the internet and find the recipe.

16 - I will. I will look for the recipe and do my **[instantly code-switches to English]** *research*. **[pronounces the English word without pauses or hesitations, does not make an attempt to say the word in Russian].**

17 - Good. I am sure there are a lot of recipes for this cake. But even if this does not work out, you know she just loves everything with chocolate.

18 - True. I can make chocolate mousse!

19 - Oh, I love your chocolate mousse! You cook it to perfection.

20 - I can cook it and put ***[instantly code-switches to English]*** *on top of the cake.*

21- [Na verh torta].

22 - Yes!

23 - We also need to check the weather. If the weather is going to be nice, we can grill something. Or if it is going to be cold, we can cook paella or something like that.

24 - Ok. I'll think about it all. But I believe ***grill-ить*** *would be too good. We should* ***grill-ить****.* ***[Here she uses transfer, and combines the English word for grill with Russian verb ending -ить].***

Analysis:

As seen from the dialogue, the student uses Russian as the primary language for the conversation with her mother. The topic seems familiar to the student, so she is not hesitant in the word choice except in several cases in lines 13, 16, 20, 24. Taking into consideration the classification of code-switching cases presented by Naiditch, L. (2000), I may suggest that the instance of code-switching to English in line 13 (using the English word for "raspberry") can be explained by irregularity of the use of the word "raspberry" in Russian in this particular family. The same pattern can be traced in lines 16 and 20 (using English "on top of the cake" instead of a Russian expression, and using the English word for "research") because of irregularity of using these words in home settings in Russian. Or, another explanation of code-switching in the mentioned lines as suggested by Heredia & Altarriba (2001): "bilinguals switch languages whenever a word in a base language is not currently accessible." (p. 167). Therefore, I can suggest that the code-switched words were simply not accessible in Russian in the speaker's brain at the time of utterance. As for line 24, the student uses transfer which means that she "uses the target language in a way that is semantically and syntactically appropriate for the other language (but not for the target language), without overtly switching languages" (Marian & Kaushanskaya, 2006, p. 369).

Dialogue 1 "Family holiday"

Student 2 - Victor, 18, male

Translated from Russian into English. Bold is used to highlight the instances of code-switching.

1 - Hi dad.

2 - Hi son.

3 - I wanted to talk to you about our family holiday.

4 - Ok. What holiday are we going to talk about?

5 - New Year! It is my favorite.

6 - Good. Why is it your favorite holiday?

7 - Because I adore how you dress up like Snegurochka [Russian snowmaiden]

8 - Oh yes. And J. dresses up like a Father Frost [Russian Santa Claus]?

9 - Yes! Also, all the family gets together, and we decorate the Yolochka [Christmas tree].

10 - Right. What do we usually decorate it with?

[instantly code-switches to English] - Ornaments. [switches back to Russian] *The train, etc. This is my favorite holiday because in Florida it is not too cold, and not too* ***[forgets the Russian word but tries to remember it, and immediately remembers with his father's hint]*** *hot, right.*

11 - Alright. What else… Do you get presents for New Year's?

12 - Yes! And the whole family gets together. I also love watching how ***[instantly code-switches to English] the ball falls.***

13 - [Dad instantly switches to English, too]: Oh, that's not Russian.

14 - [Victor and his dad continue arguing in English] Well, they do it in Russia.

15 - NO!

16 - No, they do!

17 - ***[Dad switches back to Russian]*** *It's New York where* ***[switches to English again] the ball drops.***

18 - ***[Victor continues in English] Well, we do watch Russian TV.***

19 - Yes, we watch the New Year Light [the name of the Russian TV show], but ***[switches to English again] the ball is New York's thing. It's an American thing.***

20 - Okay.

21 - ***[dad switches back to Russian]*** *And we get together, have a great dinner, exchange presents, invite Ded Moroz and Snegurochka, eat Napoleon cake.*

22 - ***[conversation continues in Russian]*** *Oh yes! You cook super yummy Napoleon cake! My favorite. You cook it for two days, right?*

23 - Right. It's a long process. What else do we do for New Year?

24 - Oh, we also watch movies. Christmas movies. We watch "S Legkim Parom", the Russian one, and we also watch ***[instantly code-switches to English] "Christmas Story".***

Analysis:

This dialogue is a good representation of the assumption that a heritage student would not code-switch to English very often because he finds himself in the relaxed atmosphere of his home, talking with his close person on a familiar topic. However, a very representative instance of code-switching may be seen in lines 12-17. Victor code-switched to English when he said that the ball dropped for New Year. In line 12, when he mentioned it for the first time, we can suggest that the student did not know the name of this event in Russian because it was the New York event; moreover, when the ball dropped, the TV production was in English. However, later in line 13 we may notice that his dad switched to English as well. In the recording, Victor's dad sounded very emotional because he was sure that Victor was wrong, and the ball never dropped in Russia for New Year. Hearing his dad switching to English, Victor picked up English immediately while also being emotional (lines 14-16). This instance of code-switching might be explained by emotional arousal which was found to be one of the reasons why bilinguals code-switch (Williams & Srnivasan, 2019). According to their study, "emotional arousal, especially negative arousal, reduces cognitive control and may trigger spontaneous code-switching" (p. 830). I believe this is what happened in lines 14-16 when Victor became very emotional while trying to convince his father that the ball dropped in Russia, and not in the U.S. Before that instance, Victor had been controlling his speech, and had been trying to speak Russian only, but in lines 14-16 his emotions took control over his Russian speech, and that is why he switched to English.

Dialogue 2 "My next semester"

Student 1 - Natasha, 18, female

Translated from Russian into English. Bold is used to highlight the instances of code-switching.

1 - Natasha, how are you? How are the exams?

2 - Good, everything is good. Exams are a piece of cake!

3 - Wow, really? Are you sure?

4 - Very sure.

5 - Well, good job! What about next semester's schedule? Do you already know what classes you are going to take?

6 - Yes. I will be taking classes from ***[a hesitant pause, Natasha says the name of her major in Russian but translates it literally from English; the meaning is clear but the word does not sound Russian]*** *Mechanical Engineering.*

7 - [Mom is correcting the name of the major in Russian] You would say 'Engineer-mechanic' in Russian.

8 - [Natasha repeating] Engineer-mechanic, yes.

9 - So, which classes are they? Have you already set your mind?

10 - Yes, I will be taking one Math class, MA 262. ***[switches to English] I don't know how to translate the name of the course in Russian. Differential Equation and Linear Algebra in one class. [switches back to Russian]*** *Secondly, I will be taking a seminar for my …****[switches to English] how to say 'major'? I forgot how to say 'major' in Russian.***

11 - [Mom gives translation]. 'Specialnost'

12 - I will also be taking a ***[switches to English] sophomore design class****.*

13 - [Mom tries to translate the name of the course to Russian]. Class on engineering design, I believe.

14 - Yep. And the fourth class will be ***[switches to English] Dynamics class****.*

15 - [Mom correcting] 'Dynamika'.

16 - [Natasha repeating] Dynamika. And the fifth class will be ***Thermodynamika [Here she uses transfer and combines the English word 'thermodynamics' with Russian noun 'termodynamika', so that she pronounces the first part of the word in English, and the second part of the word in Russian].*** *Finally, I really want to take one more Russian class but I don't know if I will have time.*

17 - Well, you have already listed five classes… You can take six classes?

18 - Seminar is only ***[switches to English] one credit hour.***

19 - [Mom correcting in Russian] odin kreditny chas, got it.

20 - [Natasha repeating] odin kreditny chas. And it only lasts half of the semester. That's it. After that I will be finished with this class and will be able to take classes that last the whole semester.

21 - So, you mentioned Dynamics and Thermodynamics. Do you have to take them together? These are difficult classes.

22 - Yes, they need to be taken together. If I don't take them, I won't be able to... ***[long pause. Tries to find Russian equivalent to the word 'prerequisite'. Fails to do so.]***

23 - [Mom understands what Natasha is talking about but also fails to find a Russian word for 'prerequisite', so mom code-switches to English, too, but then explains the term with the help

of the Russian phrase]. *Yes, it's a prerequisite.* ***[switches to Russian]*** *So it is a course that you need to take before you will take all the other classes. Can't you take Dynamics in summer instead?*

24 - I can. But I believe the class is full. I can check again.

25 - Well, it sounds like a busy semester.

26 - Probably. We'll see.

Analysis:

In this dialogue we can find six instances of Natasha's code-switching to English against four instances of code-switching in Natasha's dialogue 1. The student code-switched only the words related to her academic part of life: "major", "sophomore design class", "dynamics class", "thermodynamics", "one credit hour", and "prerequisite". Here, we might suggest that these words were not currently accessible as in her dialogue 1. Another explanation based on Heredia & Altarriba (2001) may be applied here: the researchers propose that bilinguals often code-switch because they do not know either of the languages completely. I agree with this statement when it refers to heritage students because they were growing up in Russian-speaking homes, but were schooled mostly in English, so it often makes one language to be dominant over the other, that is why their language use differs from the situation and environment. Therefore, the instances of code-switched words analyzed above can be explained by the absence of those words in Natasha's Russian vocabulary. Moreover, he stated that she did not know those words.

Dialogue 2 "My next semester"

Student 2 - Victor, 18, male

Translated from Russian into English. Bold is used to highlight the instances of code-switching.

1 - Hey dad.

2 - Hi Victor. Have you already registered for the next semester?

3 - Yes, I have registered.

4 - What classes will you be taking?

5 - I will be taking a lot of ***[switches to English] Aero classes.***

6 - [Dad in Russian] How many?

7 - [Victor in Russian] Three ***[tries to say 'aerospace' classes in Russian, uses transfer] 'aerokosmicheskih' classes.*** *I will have 16 credits next semester.*

8 - When does the semester start?

9 - I don't know… Should be in ***[switches to English] August.***

10 - Ok. So, how many classes will you have? Five? Six?

11 - Seven classes.

12 - How many credits, you said?

13 - 16 credits.

14 - Isn't it too many?

15 - No. Oh, actually, 17 credits. I have just ***[remembers the word]*** *done… registered for the Russian class.*

16 - Oh, so you will be taking one more semester of Russian? Great!

17 - Yes, but it will be a ***[pause]*** *speaking Russian?*

18 - Conversational Russian.

19 - Yes, conversational Russian class.

20 - Well, it is very good. You need to continue so that you speak better Russian.

21 - Yeah… my Russian is still bad…

22 - You just need to speak more.

23 - But you are doing much better: you can read and write a little. You could not do that.

24 - Yes, I did not know how.

25 - So, you are making good progress. Will you be able to take the other Russian class?

26 - No…

27 - Too many classes already?

28 - Yes. Otherwise it will be 4 more credits.

29 - It's too much.

30 - It will be ***[switches to English] like seventeen plus four… twenty-one! [switches back to Russian]*** *I can't do that.*

31 - Can you take it in a semester? In winter?

32 - I don't know yet. I will be taking 13 or 16 credits, we'll see. I don't know how coronavirus will ***[pause]*** *affect the next semester.*

33 - We don't know, right. If the schools are going to open… Do you think it will be necessary to wear a mask, probably?

34 - Yes, I think so.

35 - Will there be a lot of ***[dad code-switches to English] online classes****?*

36 - I think it will be online and ***[pause]*** *I don't know how to say* ***[switches to English] like fractions. [continues in English] ¼ of the students will be…***

37 - [Dad interrupts in Russian] 'Chast' (part). [continues in Russian] *One part of the class will study online, and the other part on-campus?*

38 - Yes. We'll see.

Analysis:

Overall, we see more instances of code-switching (4) in this dialogue compared to Victor's first dialogue (3). Even though the difference in number of code-switching instances is not that large, one main conclusion can be made: compared to Victor's first dialogue about his family holiday, Victor's second dialogue's code-switching instances all have the same nature of academic vocabulary, just like Natasha's. So, all the words that Victor code-switched to English were related to his studies: "August", "Aero classes", "fraction", numbers. The instance of Victor's code-switching when doing basic Math calculations in line 30 is easily explained by the fact that Victor learned Math in English, therefore he was used to counting in English. That is why it was easier and faster for his brain to switch to English, to perform the familiar counting operation in this language. This fact is supported by the bilingual research on Math cognition, which has demonstrated that bilinguals feel more comfortable and perform better in the language in which they have learnt arithmetic in school (Marsh & Maki, 1976; Martinez, 2019). The same explanation can be used for code-switching of the word "fraction" into English, line 36.

Conclusions

I agree with Heredia & Altarriba (2001) who state that "bilingual lexical representation is not a static but a dynamic representational system in which the first language can fall in strength, while the second language becomes the dominant language" (p. 167). Should we conduct the same experiment as described in this paper again, on the same subjects, the answers would likely be different because of the ever-changing and dynamic nature of the language, especially in bilingual heritage speakers.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the current study are as follows:

1. Every heritage speaker's language and code-switching processes are individual. Even though it is possible to predict instances of code-switching according to the topic of the dialogue, it is impossible to predict all the nuances of code-switched words.

2. The amount of code-switching depends on many factors, however the possible predictors are: the topic of conversation (familiar topic provides fewer opportunities for a bilingual to code-switch), the language of the interlocutor (if the interlocutor code-switches, then a bilingual would rather code-switch as well); the surrounding atmosphere (a bilingual is more likely to code-switch in the unknown place where he/she does not feel comfortable, and vice versa); a bilingual is likely to code-switch for counting in the language of their Math education; a bilingual may code-switch when becoming emotional; a bilingual may code-switch if the necessary word is not activated in mind at the time of conversation; a bilingual will most likely code-switch if the necessary word is simply unknown in the language of conversation.

3. Dubinina & Polinsky (2013) inform that heritage speakers speak their heritage language to: parents (85%), grandparents (95%), other adults (72%), peers (12%). Therefore, going back to the experiment, students had fewer code-switching instances in the dialogue on the social topic because they mostly spoke on this topic with their parents/grandparents at home. Consequently, students had more code-switching instances in the dialogue on the academically complex topic because they mostly spoke on this topic in English with their peers and teachers who were unlikely to know Russian.

Future Research

This pilot study was the first step of my research. The next steps will include contacting the participants and presenting the proposed explanations of their code-switching instances to them to find out if these explanations match their own ideas of why they code-switched. At the same time, it is necessary to collect detailed sociolinguistic background of the students and their families, to trace each of their families' history of immigration and speaking patterns between all the family members in order to research the acquisition of both languages in heritage speakers. Families are big engineers for children's language development. Family language policies, such as restriction or flexibility of language use, can have a great impact on heritage language acquisition. Therefore, it is necessary to find out what were and are the family language policies of the participants. This will include interviewing the participants' parents on the attitude and interference to their children's language use during their upbringing. Finally, it might be useful to trace common instances of speaking heritage language outside the families (e.g. with grandparents back to Russia, with any Russian-speaking friends in the U.S., etc.), and conclude how all the above might have influenced the acquisition of the heritage language, and therefore, the reasons for code-switching.

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Teaching Argumentative Writing to ESOL Students: Sample Lessons with Particular Attention to Assessment Strategies

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ABSTRACT

Teaching argumentative writing to English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) learners is one of the skills required for successful academic writing. Theoretically-grounded in the Toulmin argument model, this paper seeks to explain the tenets of teaching adult ESOL learners' argumentative composition skills. It also accounts for the assessment strategies that support learners' transfer from their internalized linguistic systems to writing neat, well-supported arguments in the target language. In pursuit of this endeavor, model lesson plans are provided for teachers to test. Though this research is based on personal experience in the Algerian ESOL context, the unit plan can be generalized in other contexts to ESOL learners. Multilingual learners are becoming an inevitable part of mainstream American composition classes, which justifies this unit design's suitability in the American context.

Keywords: *ESOL learners, Toulmin, portfolio, assessment, argumentation*.

Introduction

Learning to argue is the backbone of oral and written discourse, ESOL learners, as less proficient in the target language, should develop reading and writing strategies to participate in academia. They should also produce neat, logically- well-organized formal written works. Assessing their progress is another skill that teachers of this population should carefully build. It is a gate toward integrating product and process, teaching, and policy-making at institutional and collegiate levels. It is also an inevitable part of any language learning in any context; no matter which approaches teachers to choose, assessment is the agreed-upon criterion of effective teaching. Designating the word ‘effective’ to writing assessments is used throughout the available writing literature, but how ‘effective’ ESOL assessment design and practice is? Is it only interpreted through the lens of error and mistake as deviations from the ‘standards’? Throughout my learning and short teaching experience, I was constantly questioning the value of standard timed testing, which I am most familiar with where I learned and taught. In Algeria, timed testing is the norm. Our instructional design was based mostly on the pre-process approach. Still, recently the shift to the process approach, which intermingled with technology-based instruction, brought about good conversant learners but declining expected test results. What would alternative assessment methods help teachers identify ESOL learner errors rather than punish them for deviations from standard ‘norms’? Are portfolios effective in the ESOL contexts? The present paper, henceforth, aims to:

1. Design an argumentative writing unit applicable in the Algerian EFL context and any advanced ESOL class.
2. Incorporate portfolio assessment in an ESOL class.

My learning and teaching context

Algeria is a country in North Africa, bordered by the Mediterranean Sea from North, Tunisia from the East, and Morocco from the West. It is the largest country in Africa with a vast Sahara Dessert. Algeria is a bilingual (Arabic and French) and diglossic[1] country. English is becoming the second chosen language for most learners in the southern Sahara regions, though it is considered a foreign language by the government (Benrabah, 2014). Detailing the linguistic

[1] A diglossic situation occurs in countries where two varieties of a language are used interchangeably according to context. In Algeria, Standard Arabic (the language of the Qur’an) is the academic language, while dialectical Arabic used for daily conversation. The latter is also mixed with French.

variation in Algeria requires longitudinal research, which is beyond the scope of this paper. Higher education in Algeria has been through many changes. Under the classical system, students should pass through a four-year cycle to get a Bachelor's degree, two years for a "Magister," and three to four years of research to obtain a Doctorate. My experience as a learner and teacher was based on the pre-LMD classical (Licence-Magister-Doctorat) system. The latter was adapted in 2004 from Europe to cope with globalization challenges (Othmane &Bouyakoub, 2020). Incorporating portfolios under the LMD system is a precursor for a fairer assessment of student writing compared to the classical system.

After passing the Baccalaureate exam in the last year of high school, students can choose the type of English major. First-year courses include British and American literature and Civilizations, Phonetics, Linguistics, Introduction to Research Methodology, Reading and Writing, Listening, and Speaking. In each class, students must pass timed-tests at the end of the two semesters. As stated previously, the whole educational system is built on timed and standard tests, which is detrimental to students' capacities and contradicts emerging ESOL research. The latter "is not a valid reflection of their knowledge and mastery and artificially inflated due to artifactual consistency in students' rate of work rather than authentic consistency in students' level of knowledge" (Gernsbacher et al., 2020, p.175).

In composition classes, students' are exposed to authentic texts followed by prompts. At the end of the semester, teachers usually assign topics, indirect questions, or particular quotes to analyze and argue. Many of my learners failed to complete their Bachelor's degree due to the unfair assessment. Inside my classroom, at the Teachers Training College and the University of Laghouat, Algeria, I tried to incorporate process pedagogy (Anson, 2014), which has become widespread in recent years. Still, the overloaded classes (30-40 students per class) made it challenging. Compared to the small number of teachers in the English major, the high number of students is a national issue that most, if not all, universities in Algeria face. Students reflected on their writing informally after receiving their grades with their teacher or peers. We were taught the different theories and pedagogies of teaching in the Didactics course, in the same setting, but reminded that the feasibility of the process approach and experimentation with new genres is limited due to many students compared to the availability of teachers. Through the reinforcement that I got from my learning experience in the American context, I intend to design unit plans for my previous context and my simulated future ESOL population in America. It should be noted that this theory to practice framework is based on my previous experience as a learner and an EFL teacher in Algeria. It is also framed by argumentation theory and process pedagogy that I explored throughout my learning in the American context.

Theoretical overview and rationale

Formal scholarly writing requires appropriate writing techniques and sound logical layouts. ESOL and EFL learners demonstrate low proficiency in arguing and framing their claims, which impedes passing timed tests and international standard TOEFL and IELTS tests. Argumentative writing is among the most challenging tasks for ESOL students (Wei Zhu, 2001). They learn how to summarize and narrate and excel in expository prose, but building a claim, backing it with strong evidence, and exploring the reasoning or the warrant behind them can be reached through careful lesson planning, curriculum development teaching strategies. Receiving comprehensible input, using appropriate learning strategies, and fostering positive feedback are among the milestones of effective ESOL instruction. Stephen Krashen (1982), the originator of the Language Acquisition Theory, affirms that second language learners acquire the target language by receiving comprehensible input that should be “a bit beyond the students’ current level of competence” (p. 21). Teachers, according to this hypothesis, should choose and modify the content, use level-appropriate cues, and “create the proper linguistic environment (Clark, 2003, p. 366)” for ESOL learners to foster their acquisition and learning of a language other than their first language.

Stephen Toulmin (2008) develops his strong claim in a sequence of essays to lay the foundations for a familiar argumentation model. His proposed model contains three essential components; the first is the claim. Unlike speaking jokingly, hypothetically, or frivolously, when we make a claim, we make an assertion on the other’s attention and their belief for which we seek that to be taken seriously. Unlike the traditional syllogism, which has three components, two premises, and a conclusion, Toulmin’s model consists of six segments in a scenario of challenges between a producer and a receiver. The first two segments are claims and data. The other four warrant and its backing, rebuttal, and model qualifier are the attachments or the mappings that occur between the two domains (claim and data).

Teaching the Toulmin model to ESL learners should be attuned to their level of proficiency. In this paper, his model's three core components are chosen and modified to include claims, evidence, and reasons. Zhu (2001) examined the difficulties Mexican students studying at North American universities have with argumentative writing. The results of his study revealed implications for ESOL teachers. The participants lacked proficiency in writing in this genre. They also demonstrated that they “mainly used cognitive, social, and search strategies, whereas metacognitive strategies were used infrequently” (p. 34). Greenwald (2007) used the claim-evidence-reasoning triad to equip high school students with the core components of constructing argumentative essays. She recommends designing a whole unit on argumentative writing, testing students for understanding each segment before introducing formal high-stakes writing assignments. Her model can be adapted in ESOL contexts due to the feasibility and flexibility that it offers. Influenced by her study, I designed a teaching unit detailed under the next heading based on the modified Toulmin model that she proposed.

Barbara Walvoord (2014) suggests that learners should be taught how English and Englishes function in different discourses on different occasions. She provides ways to address ESOL learners' transition or 'code-switching' toward formal writing. Encourage register variations inside the class by allowing some informal writing in "class-preparatory writings, drafts of formal papers, and in-class or online discussion board writing" to foster fluency, Walvoord (2014) suggests. Add a "check sheet" to the assigned paper to make sure the students make enough effort to consider their readers' impressions of their writing. Walvoord (2014) also recommends adding a "log" with the paper to examine how the student worked on it. After collecting all the sheets, the instructor, to Walvoord (2014), should retain them without being read for three days. Afterward, students will be handed back those documents for revision. This strategy, she claims, teaches them "good writers' strategies" (p.79).

Grading-wise, Walvoord (2014) provides a "middle-ground" solution to ESOL instructors to ensure students get a fair and thoughtful assessment, and teachers attune their practice to target language standards. Giving students the option of submitting the paper draft to check whether it is akin to the standards rather than emotionally-harming them through failing grades is one solution to grading ESOL students. Another way is to give them a second chance to resubmit their paper. Whichever policy among these seems workable in the instructor's context should be made explicit to the learners, Walvoord (2014) concludes. In this simulated teaching scenario, students will be instructed and assessed according to their needs and what Walvoord (2014) suggests.

Multiple-trait assessment is one of the methods, Hamp- Lyons (2009) assumes, which “builds up a scoring guide that permits a reader to respond to the salient features of the writing whether they are all at the same quality level or not” (p.349). In line with this method, Lyons emphasizes the advantages of including portfolio assessment in ESOL contexts. The portfolio assessment “method is more realistic, and in its realism appears not to penalize ESL students relative to other students as much as timed writing tests do” (p. 351). His experience with using the limited “show portfolio” at the University of Colorado helped reduce the burden on teachers to correct the full portfolio. Similarly, Elbow and Belanoff (2009) required their sample students to include “three revised papers: (a) a narrative, descriptive, or expressive piece; (b) an essay of any sort…. (c) an analysis of a prose text” (p. 97). Besides “a brief informal cover sheet” detailing their writing process and a feedback-free in-class essay. After submission, teachers meet to discuss portfolios and provide feedback on what should be considered for remedial action. In the ESOL scenario, “teachers may respond to fossilized linguistic errors in portfolios as negatively as they do them in timed essays. When teachers discuss those issues inside classes and in portfolio assessments, they work out ways to address accuracy and fluency issues and provide support for students' ideas, “macro-structural control,” and the like (p. 353).

However beneficial, portfolio assessment methods have some disadvantages and lack empirical-based studies to prove their generalizability in many ESOL contexts. Implementing this unit in the EFL Algerian context is akin to the emerging LMD system reforms, such as continuous assessment and retake exams each semester. However, teacher expertise and administrative support should be a prerequisite to its application. Lyons (2009) claims that portfolio readings entail decisions rather than diagnostic information, and if students' self-assessment is encouraged, it needs to be recognized on larger-scale assessments. It can also make some instructors in the team uncomfortable. But the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Portfolios offer students and teachers the opportunity to collaborate, share, and reassess their learning and teaching process. Lyons' socio-linguistic approach to assessment provides minority students the opportunities to be appreciated and judged according to their needs and aspirations and help sustain their learning process, rather than penalize them with negative grades (Lyons, 2009).

Overview of activity

In this project, I chose to design a whole unit on argumentative writing to help students build strong argumentation skills. The simulated student population that I envisioned to receive this instructional unit is advanced ESOL in the American context or the Algeria context. I assume that the students take this unit at the end of the year or the semester after mastering summarizing and note-taking. The whole unit is built on ESOL students' needs to excel in academia. When we, teachers of English as a Foreign Language, taught our students, in Algeria, how to write a position paper, we presented lectures on the importance of backing up claims in a particular discipline. We asked students to write essays on aspects of the course contents in timed examinations, but most of those students demonstrated a limited understanding of warrants or reasoning. Our students needed more sustained and prolonged exposure to effective argumentative writing instruction, and so do all types of ESOL learners.

The unit includes a preliminary diagnostic test, low-stakes assignments, and a formal high-stakes paper. Modeling is used in the form of mentor texts that students would read and analyze. Before starting the implementation of this unit, the teacher explicitly explains to the students that they will be exploring arguments in various genres and that the first essay is a diagnostic test that should be retained as part of their portfolio assessment. In the first lesson, students will be exposed to an awareness-raising activity. The tug of war game is an engaging activity that can be easily implemented inside the classroom. So, students of all levels would be comfortable with it. Before starting the game, the teacher explains how argument is part of our daily lives. The students will be advised to avoid offensive language, respect for each other's' views, euphemism, and the use of "I" instead of the directive "you." Though I assume that advanced adult learners may already be mature vis-à-vis ethical standards, some cultures conceive arguments differently.

Because this is an initial exposure to the argumentative writing activity, most of the support they will need from their peers and the teacher is accomplished inside the classroom (Walvoord, 2014). The students will discuss their paper in the school with their peers and teacher. The teacher would encourage students to correct and revise their documents inside the classroom; he would collect them and notify them that their papers would be returned after three days for final revision. This strategy aligns with what I mentioned above about ESOL multi-trait assessment and Walvoord's ESOL assessment strategies. According to Hewett et al. (2015), "Multilingual students may not be comfortable from a cultural standpoint in signaling their confusion through direct questions" (p. 299). Henceforth, the introduced technique would help them deeply understand the writing tasks. It should be noted that the implementation of the whole unit depends on the teaching context. In Algeria, a semester is five months.

As part of teaching argumentative writing to an ESOL population that I described, my assessment strategy will incorporate portfolios, as suggested by Walvoord (2014) and Lyons

(2009) above. The students will be assigned high-stakes and low-stakes writing activities throughout the semester within the argumentation framework. Most of the papers are short. The first paper will be submitted, discussed but not graded. It aligns with Walvoord’s “class-preparatory writings,” which encourage fluency over accuracy. Once students feel confident about their writing, their final formal paper will be graded according to the standards. Throughout building up the final argumentative essay or position paper, they should submit a “log” with their low-stakes assignments detailing how they accomplished the tasks and what kind of support they had. I would again ask the students to identify the claim, evidence, and reasoning in Martin Luther King Jr.’s speech. They would be exposed to the rhetorical triangle in the same session to show them how arguments are stylistically and rhetorically constructed. Their written work will be submitted but not corrected. Again this is a short informal paper. The previous three informal papers will be submitted, kept for three days, and returned to the students with a check sheet to help them revise their writing, as Walvoord (2014) suggests above. Group work and peer editing will be used throughout the semester. After this sequence of exposure to the professional readings, students will be encouraged to review the topics they discussed with the teachers in class to help them draft their final paper on a topic of their interest. They will be required to submit a draft and an annotated bibliography to the teacher for review before submitting the final work. All the writing that the students complete or revise will be collected and graded as part of the multi-trait assessment that Lyons (2009) suggests. Students would be required to collect their written papers and submit the revised versions for end-of-year portfolio assessment throughout the year.

Expected results

I expect my prospective students to be engaged in the unit lessons since it is thematically-based on their experiences. I also think that there might be some sensitivity and misunderstanding on the second mentor passage's contents, “Proper Sieve for Immigrants” (the two texts are included in the WebQuest that is appended to the paper) because the underlying message of the essay requires higher-levels of understanding. My task as a teacher would be mediating between their horizons and the horizon of the text. My commitment before introducing the flipped-hybrid model lesson is to ensure every student learned how to use the WebQuest individually. Students will receive sustained and detailed feedback on their first paper in-class, which is one way to create a safe and immediate feedback-based learning environment. They exchange ideas with their peers and use the checklist to self-assess. The latter build their self-efficacy as they move from one step to another. This unit is designed to establish a dialogue-supportive classroom when teachers and students meet in class. Since this is to be held in a hybrid setting, in-class sessions would provide the human to human contact that ESOL learners need to develop their speaking and listening skills.

The six-week exposure to argumentation in speaking, reading, and writing would help strengthen their four skills. I anticipate that the students will see the difference between their first written paper and their last formal essay. I expect that their self-assessment skills would be much more directed to finding a voice for their claims. Since their grades would be taken as part of a “working portfolio,” students would have the chance to review their progress and show more confidence when submitting their papers. The “working portfolio” is based on students’ reflections on their work during and after studying a whole unit or a curriculum. It “serves as a holding bank for students’ work in progress” (ASCD 2011). Henceforth, the students would submit, review, and assess their work. Portfolios in ESL/EFL settings would sustain student progress over six weeks. Implementing this unit design would require teacher availability for comments and individual conferencing. I expect that the teacher would devote extra efforts to this unit and mainly assess the final portfolio.

Conclusion and final reflections

In this paper intended for ESOL and EFL Algerian population, I suggested a teaching framework for learners that I had experience with five years ago. I have little knowledge of the teaching context in the States. I am designing lessons based on simulation and improvisation and the six-year experience I had in Algeria. I embody the ESL population, which is one of the strengths I had upon choosing the unit's theme and the texts.

The proposed unit plan in this paper aims at offering a sequenced teaching framework for ESOL learners. I started by contextualizing this research in my previous learning and teaching milieu but expanded the unit design to include all types of advanced ESOL learners, including my current American context. I hope that shortly I get an online ESL teacher job to implement the strategies I developed in this project. I am also hopeful that every teacher in the States and my fellows in Algeria would consider integrating some of the techniques used in this project. The CCCC Statement on Second Language Writing and Writers stipulates that L2 writers “have become part of writing course and programs” (qtd. in Matsuda & Hammill, 2014, p. 266). It indicates that multilingual learners are increasingly present in mainstream classes, which was one reason for choosing the unit's theme and mentor texts. As mentioned previously, this paper is based on theory and research within argumentation theory and the flipped-hybrid teaching model. The practical part of the article detailed the lessons that the teacher should implement. However, in the sample response, I played the student's role in answering the questions via-a-vis motivation and engagement with the teaching unit. The objectives stated in the introduction of the paper were hypothetically reached. However, experimentation with the proposed lessons is pivotal to its generalization to other ESOL and EFL contexts.

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Appendix A

Lesson I Plan model

Grade level(s): Advanced ESL/EFL

Duration: 90 mins

Lesson Title: Introduction to Argumentative Writing

Students' Objectives:

Students will:

1. Identify arguments we live by.
2. Learn the ethical standards and the objectives of the unit.
3. Learn to organize arguments according to their strength.

Materials: White board/ markers/ post-it notes.

Abbreviations: Teacher (T), Students (Ss).

Lesson Procedures

Pre-tasks (10 mins):

Teacher explains that the previous paper was a diagnostic paper serving as an introductory output on argumentative writing.

T explains the learning objectives of the unit and the lesson.

T distributes a note on Ethical standards, which includes: avoiding the use of offensive language, respect for each other's' arguments, the use of euphemism. Use I instead of the offensive directive you.

Tasks (50 mins):

T identifies a question of truth, a controversial topic that students may have some knowledge about such as, a. what are the advantages US educational systems offer to international students, b. On the whole, is there justice for all? (source: https://justbuyessay.com/blog/argumentative-essay-topics).

T asks students if they have any background information about the topic.

T draws a tug of war diagram on the board

T asks students to form two groups and to move chairs and desks accordingly.

T explains that one group should gather information on the topic they agree on, and the other group does the same for the counterclaim. Students will be allowed to use the internet in their phones, PCs, or tablets to gather resource information for the topic.

Ss will write these arguments on a post-it note.

T asks students to order their arguments according to their strengths.

A group representative reads the weakest, and the teacher writes them on the 'rope' on the board.

T explains which argument is the strongest using the Think Out Aloud technique.

T asks students what new ideas they have about the question of truth: Is the best answer in a "gray area"—most of the time true but not always, or true half the time?

T explains to students that they should be able to write the beginning of an argumentative essay at this stage. They can state a claim and one or more supporting details.

Post-tasks (5 mins):

T informs students that they will be working on a WebQuest at their own pace before the next in-class session.

Appendix B

Lesson III Plan Model

Grade level(s): Advanced ESL/EFL

Duration: self-paced (one week)

Lesson Title: Introduction to Argumentative Writing

Internet Site Title: zunal.com

Internet Site URL: www.zunal.com//webquest.php?w=428374

Author: Sara Mechraoui

Students' objectives:

Students will

1. Identify parts of an argument (claim, reasons, and evidence) through modeling.
2. Use and consult relevant web links.
3. Watch how argument works in authentic mentor texts.
4. Transfer input from the WebQuest to their writing by writing the first informal one-page long paper.

Introduction

Greetings to all,

The art of arguing was the primary skill that ancient civilizations developed to build societies and interact with others. It is also a skill that everyone develops to make assumptions and prove them. In the previous lessons, we have been working on many types of essays. As we move toward the end of the semester, it is pivotal to grasp the essential parts of argumentative essay writing. In this WebQuest, you will go through the stages of identifying, classifying and producing an introductory argumentative essay. Note that the paper will be corrected in class.

Tasks:

This WebQuest will help you comprehend, analyze, and synthesize your argumentation writing skills. The videos and the resources provided to you in the next step of the WebQuest will assist you in identifying and understanding argument. By the end of the WebQuest, you will have the means to develop a strong claim, evidence, and supporting details. You will type your final writing in a Word document, print out a hard copy, and bring it to class in the next session.

Procedure:

1. Go here https://college.cengage.com/english/raimes/digitalkeys/keyshtml/writin13.htm to review definitions of claim, evidence, and reasons.
2. Next, download these PDF files. I want you to carefully read the two texts and to look at the definition of the key terms provided.
3. Watch the video (it will open in a new window) to further strengthen your understanding of argumentative writing. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eRXhLzee-3Q
4. Go back to the two texts above and identify claim, reasons, and evidence in the two texts by filling out the chart provided here after you download it : https://docs.google.com/document/d/1m76ytW2SyurU_V2h9LSlNyEnTHje7pFBLJLH2pKn6cI/edit
5. Write a one-page long paper reflecting on how each writer defines diversity. Do you agree with what they put forward as claims, reasons, and evidence? Your essay should contain direct quotations and paraphrasing from the two texts.

Evaluation: Your primary informal writing paper will be corrected inside the class with peers and your teacher. Make sure you bring a printed copy of your essay and print out the rubric underneath to evaluate the two texts and your paper.

Conclusion: Congratulations! You now learned how to identify the core elements of an argument. Now write a comment on your experience with WebQuest and the flipped-classroom technique.

Tutors' and Multilingual Writers' Narrative Framing of Writing Center Visits: Attention to Grammar

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how first-year multilingual writers in a classroom community make sense of their first university writing center visits. Employing narrative analysis of student journals, this study illustrates differences in themes writers discuss in their narratives of first writing center visits and themes in self-reflections on their writing. Comparing narratives in student journals and tutor report forms, this study also presents the congruities and discrepancies between writer and tutor views of a session. Writer emphasis on grammar when narrating writing center visits contrasts with writer emphasis on development in self-reflections on their writing. When tutor and writer session descriptions differ, tutors emphasize discussion of development and organization while writers emphasize sentence-level accuracy. Without scaffolding of strategies for writing center use, first-year multilingual writers may privilege sentence-level feedback in their early understanding of the writing center, resulting in a more limited experience of writing center support.

Keywords: multilingual, writing, writing center, first-year, narrative, perceptions

Introduction

One-on-one writing center pedagogy at its best leverages opportunities to attend to individual writers' needs, as they vary and change across or even within sessions. In considering multilingual writers' diverse needs and contexts for writing, writing center directors and tutors benefit from an increasing body of scholarship, including the recent collection *Tutoring Second*

Language Writers, edited by Bruce and Rafoth. In response to this collection, Hadingham (2017, p. 21) calls for additional research “probing deeply into the individual tutees’ thoughts and experiences.” Kormos (2012, p. 390) similarly suggests, “[T]he impact of individual differences on the process of second language writing and the written product has been a neglected area of research.” The present study begins to address this gap by drawing on writer narratives and self-reflections from class journals, tutors’ post-session report forms, and appointment data to explore how a community of first-year multilingual writers negotiate the interface between the writing center and the writing classroom. This research addresses the following questions:

(1) How do the themes multilingual writers highlight in writing center narratives compare to the themes they discuss in self-reflections on their writing, and what hypothesis can be made to interpret any discrepancies?

(2) To what extent do these writers and writing center tutors agree on the focus of their sessions in their post-session descriptions of the visits, and what hypothesis can be made to interpret any discrepancies?

This paper argues that some multilingual writers focus on “grammar” and “mistakes” in their narratives of writing center visits even while they focus more on development and ideas in their self-reflections on their writing. Comparatively, when writing center tutors’ and multilingual writers’ accounts of sessions differ, tutors may highlight organization and development while writers highlight linguistic accuracy. These contrasts highlight these multilingual writers’ more restricted view of the writing center, a view likely informed by a combination of previous learning experiences, writing center interactions, and classroom instruction.

Previous Research

Qualitative Research on Multilingual Writers' Perceptions of the Writing Center

Though qualitative research on multilingual writers' perceptions of writing center use is limited, this study builds upon a few informative case studies. For instance, in a US context, Bruce (2009) presents the perspectives of several multilingual writers from diverse backgrounds with varying use of the writing center. One especially relevant case study Bruce presents is of Sami, a male student from Saudi Arabia who spoke to his frustration with writing center tutors who were "just looking for grammar stuff and the grammar mistakes and things on the surface. While I didn't want that, what I wanted was somebody who tells me about the ideas, how to explore my ideas, how to put my ideas, how to write the theme of the topic or the piece of writing that I wanted to write and how should I support my theme or my main topic" (p. 219). Bruce also notes the difficulty of securing this interview: Sami was "the only Middle Eastern male student on campus to agree to meet with me" (p. 218), a fact that Bruce connects with Sami's assertion that "I don't want others to know about my weakness [as a writer]" (p. 220).

In an international context, Chen (2010) presents a study of ten graduate student perspectives on a writing center in Taiwan. These students reported mostly positive experiences with peer and writing consultant feedback, though they were cautious in accepting peer feedback on language. Interestingly, Chen reveals a pattern of writing center feedback focused on sentence-level errors and peer feedback addressing content and organization as well as sentence-level errors, a pattern she attributes to lack of tutor disciplinary knowledge and writing center time constraints. In contrast, Okuda (2019, p. 20) presents four case studies of graduate writers at a Japanese writing center, three of whom agreed with the center's philosophy and practice of focusing on higher-order concerns and reported satisfactory feedback. Okuda does not compare peer and writing center feedback, but notes that writers felt English language feedback should come from native speakers of English (p. 20). Studies highlighting differences across contexts and between writers enrich our understanding of multilingual writers' work in writing centers, and this study seeks to contribute to this vein of research.

Discussing "Grammar" with Multilingual Writers in the Writing Center

Addressing sentence-level issues is still controversial in some writing centers (Cirillo-McCarthy, et al., 2016; Eckstein, 2016, p. 361). However, increasingly writing center scholars advocate for strategies of addressing multilingual writers' sentence-level questions (e.g., Praphan and Seong, 2016), providing a growing body of scholarship on best practices for this work (e.g., Severino, 2009; Minnett, 2009). Considering sessions with multilingual writers, Cirillo-McCarthy, et al. (2016) even go so far as to argue that a writing center's exclusive focus on language-related issues or insistence on avoiding sentence-level feedback helps to promote deficit discourses in which multilingual writers' needs are framed as outside of the general writing center mission. Instead, Olson (2103, p. 4) calls for tutors' careful attention to linguistic feedback for multilingual writers: Olson suggests that in contrast with editing, "A tutor's job rather becomes an effort to engage more consciously with multilingual writers in ways that attend to the realities of the intersections between language, power, and identity, while at the same time conversing with multilingual writers about the fluidity of language."

However, tutors may articulate one tutoring philosophy, while observing another. For instance, in a US writing center context, Yu (2020) reports a case where a tutor with TESOL training articulated a philosophy of reserving most feedback on language until later in the writing process, while actually providing linguistic feedback throughout the writing process. Ewert (2009, p. 256), in a US university context, and Han and Hyland (2016, p. 450), in a

Chinese university context, report similar issues, but with L2 writing teachers reporting one philosophy for providing feedback while enacting another during writing conferences. For example, Ewert notes that both instructors in his study "indicated that they thought the best focus for the conference was content and organization rather than language issues" while they did not maintain this philosophy in their actual conferences (p. 255). Thus, the mismatch between "content and organization" as the intended focus of L2 writing conferences and "language" as the actual focus is not unique to writing center contexts.

Further, as Nakamaru (2010, p. 98) argues, there can be difficulty separating language from writing. Nakamaru shows that distinguishing grammar from lexicon in tutorials challenges some writers and tutors, resulting in writers who use the term "grammar" for a variety of language-related concerns and tutors who frame their discussion in binary terms of "grammar" and "content." Recent writing center research varies in its treatment of "grammar," with Eckstein (2016) contrasting treatment of "grammar" with treatment of "organization and content" (p. 368) while Severino, et al. (2009) make finer distinctions, with categories such as "expression and vocabulary", "style and syntax", and "grammar and punctuation" all being distinguished (p. 116).

As seen in these studies, whether tutors and writers believe that sentence-level feedback should be a significant part of writing center conversations, feedback on linguistic accuracy figures in many conversations about the writing center. Eckstein (2016) shows that international multilingual student writers may prefer that a writing center tutor "[p]oint out all of [their] grammar errors or edit [their] paper," and they agreed that grammar feedback was provided during their sessions (p. 368). Eckstein argues that "A stronger emphasis on grammar is due largely to pressure from university teachers who often recommend that L2 writers seek language help from tutors in the writing centre to correct their linguistic errors" (p. 362). Qian and Krugly-Smolska (2008, p. 77) also suggest that a previous educational background emphasizing sentence-level accuracy may drive students' strong conceptual connection between grammatical accuracy and good writing. However, comparing L1, L2, and Generation 1.5 writers, Eckstein also notes "all writers seemed to agree that tutors should focus on larger issues such as organization and content" (p. 369), suggesting the importance of tutor willingness to address a wide range of writing questions for all writers, regardless of native speaker status.

Severino, et al. (2009) reach a similar conclusion. Comparing 85 L1 and 85 L2 writers' requests for writing center feedback, Severino, et al. (2009) show that as a group L2 writers in their study were more likely to request "grammar and punctuation" feedback than native speakers of English. However, they also show that there were no statistical differences between L1 and L2 writers' requests for feedback on thesis, development, organization, or cohesion; and L2 writers were slightly more likely to request feedback on audience awareness and fulfillment of task or prompt requirements (p. 120-21). These findings support Eckstein's argument and Thonus' (2014, p. 208) assertion that it is a myth that "Multilingual writers are concerned only with 'editing.'" Indeed, in Yu's (2020) case study, the writer, a first-year Thai female undergraduate majoring in material sciences and engineering, indicated that she found her tutor's feedback on "content and ideas" more "effective" than the language-related feedback, though she found all feedback "helpful" (p. 11).

Quantitative studies, such as Eckstein (2016) and Severino, et al. (2009), may serve as important groundwork for more qualitative studies exploring individual students' perspectives on how sentence-level issues and higher-level issues, such as development and organization, are addressed in their writing center sessions. As Thonus (2014, p. 201) notes, multilingual writers represent a diverse population of learners, and even basic distinctions, such as "international student" and "Generation 1.5 learner" are "insufficient to describe the broad spectrum of multilingual students." Thus, additional qualitative research exploring perceptions of sentence-level feedback at the writing center is needed to explore this individual variation, as introduced by Bruce (2009).

Methods and Materials

Narrative Analysis in Language Teaching and Learning

Narrative analysis has recently been leveraged in TESOL research to gain insight into individual learner experiences and perceptions. The present study adopts Bell's sense of narrative inquiry as "an analytic examination of the underlying insights and assumptions" illustrated in narratives, where "[h]allmarks of the analysis are the recognition that people make sense of their lives according to the narratives available to them, that stories are constantly being restructured in the light of new events, and that stories do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives" (2002, p. 208). Bell (2002, p. 209) points to the advantages of narrative inquiry as it "allows researchers to understand experience" and "get at information that people do not consciously know themselves." More recently highlighting the usefulness of narrative analysis in TESOL, Barkhuizen (2011) introduces a special issue of *TESOL Quarterly* on narrative theory. In this issue, researchers explore the varying contributions of research on 'big stories' or the grand narratives often elicited in interviews and 'small stories' or the narratives emerging in everyday contexts. Vásquez (2011) highlights the value of small stories in accomplishing identity work.

Regarding learner perceptions of writing and writer identity, Pomerantz and Kearney (2012) apply narrative analysis in the investigation of a multilingual writer's developing conceptions of effective writing. Thus, they provide a detailed portrait of a multilingual writer as she is “continuously grappling with her understanding(s) of writing and identity which are informed by her interactions with others,” including writing tutors. To do so, they gather small stories of the focal student’s writing processes and reflections. These narratives help to shed light on individual multilingual writers’ experiences.

To explore individual variation in first-year multilingual writers’ perceptions of peer and writing center feedback, the present study draws on narrative analysis, in particular, building on Pomerantz and Kearney’s (2012) focus on small stories as “sites where individuals negotiate meanings” (p. 225). While Pomerantz and Kearney focus on a single multilingual writer’s narratives, with attention to narratives from several data sources (including class journals, interviews, and emails), the present study analyzes ten multilingual writers’ small stories of their first writing center visits, composed in class journal responses to a required visit for their first-year L2 writing course. Contextualizing the students’ narratives, this study also provides analysis of the students’ journaled self-reflections on their writing, revision, and peer feedback. Students’ narratives were additionally compared with tutors’ session descriptions drawn from post-session client-report forms.

The Classroom, Writing Center, and University Community

The community of writers featured in this IRB-approved study is a class of international, first-year multilingual writers enrolled in a Fall 2014 section of English 101 (Introductory Reading and Writing for Non-Native English Speakers) at a comprehensive university with a population around 4000 students in the Midwest region of the United States. All aspects of this research conform to our institution’s human research guidelines.

The four-credit English 101 class focuses on strengthening multilingual students' skills in reading and writing academic English prior to mainstream composition courses. Students enroll in this course based on their performance on the University's writing placement exam, and typically just one section is offered with small enrollments. In this class, ten students were enrolled, including one female native speaker of Chinese and nine male native speakers of Arabic, as seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1
Student Data

Pseudonym	Major	Native Language	Sex
Ahmed	Mechanical engineering	Arabic	Male
Abdullah	Electrical engineering	Arabic	Male
Faisal	Pre-engineering	Arabic	Male
Omar	Civil engineering	Arabic	Male
Asad	Civil engineering	Arabic	Male
Sayyid	Actuarial science	Arabic	Male
Marwan	Finance	Arabic	Male
Abdulmalik	Mechanical engineering	Arabic	Male
Ibrahim	Pre-engineering	Arabic	Male
Xia	Music	Mandarin	Female

The instructor for this class was a tenure-line English professor who had taught the course several times previously. In 2016, she became Writing Center Director while continuing to teach.

The campus Writing Center in this semester employed sixteen total consultants, including the director, whose training was in rhetoric and composition; one graduate student from the MA TESOL program; and fourteen undergraduate students, all of whom completed a writing center methods course with some attention to TESOL methods. All appointments were 35 minutes, and the center supported 608 appointments that semester. Of the total appointments, 206 appointments were with individuals who identified as speaking a language other than English as their home language. Across these appointments, Arabic and Chinese were the most common languages identified by these students as their home languages. Thus, consultants had some limited TESOL training within the context of writing center methods coursework as well as regular experience working with multilingual writers, especially writers whose linguistic backgrounds were similar to those of students enrolled in this section of English 101.

Collection and Analysis of Journal Data

To introduce students to the Writing Center early in their University experience and early in their writing process, this English 101 section required an introductory writing center session for all students before submission of the second of three drafts of their first paper. Having limited exposure to the Writing Center at the time, the instructor framed the Center more generally as a place to talk about your writing and gain feedback, but did not provide specific guidelines on what one may address. As the instructor was unaware of the opportunity for a Writing Center tutor to visit the class, and provided only a very basic introduction, any student preconceptions regarding Writing Center conversations depend on previous experiences, such as campus orientation or discussion with peers.

The day after the submission of the second drafts of paper one, students submitted an online reflective journal on the draft, including discussion of their writing center visits. Students responded to the journal prompts found in the Appendix.

Each clause in each journal entry was categorized according to whether it addresses writing center use or not, being grouped with either the students' self-reflections on their writing or the writing center-specific discussion or split if students addressed both. Responses to prompts 1-3 and prompt 9 were hand-coded as more general self-reflection on the draft and writing;

responses to prompts 4-7 were hand-coded as writing center-specific reflections and narrative; and responses to prompt 8 were coded according to whether they addressed writing center feedback or class feedback, i.e. from class peers or the instructor.

Following Okuda's (2019) analysis of writing center perceptions, journal data (including narratives) were analyzed thematically based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) phases of thematic analysis. Though the themes identified in this analysis overlap with feedback areas identified by Eckstein (2018, p. 19), e.g., grammar and organization; the codes used in the present study are grounded in the student journal data and to whatever extent possible use the actual language represented in the journals. Any theme that appeared in at least two student journal entries received a code derived from the students' actual journal language. For instance, in coding, writers' use of the term "grammar" to indicate a variety of sentence-level questions was maintained, and that category was kept separate from "mistakes" since it was not always clear that students treated "mistakes" as sentence-level issues, though this was generally the case. Synonyms or other related words that point to a similar theme were also included in the same category. For example, for "mistakes", language about "fixing" things and "errors" was also included. Table 2 below includes the codes as well as example student language used as keywords for these codes:

Table 2
Journal Codes and Keywords

Code	Example Student Language
Grammar	"grammar"
Mistakes	"mistakes", "correct[ed]", "errors", "fix[ing]"
Reader comprehension	"make sense", "understandable" (with reference to text)
Organization and coherence	"organize", "go from one point to another", "transition"
Development	"details", "examples", "wrote my third point" (with two previous points), "exp[a]nd my introduction"
Prompt/Focus	"related to my topic", "prompt"

Pre-writing	"start my paper", "make an outline", "brainstorming", "outlin[ing]"

Since writers, instructors, and tutors may use 'grammar' to indicate word form, word order, mechanics, punctuation, lexical questions, usage, and more (Eckstein, 2018; Nakamaru, 2010), maintaining the term "grammar" presents certain interpretive challenges if one wishes to differentiate which of these specific areas the writer indicates. However, as student perceptions and narrative framing of their experiences are central to this study, writer efforts to categorize or explain their experiences are maintained in the focus themes.

This discussion is situated not only within a particular class but also for a specific draft of a particular assignment, following Chen's (2010) method of focused data-collection on Taiwanese graduate student perceptions of the writing center. In Chen (2010, p. 156), ten graduate student writers were asked to seek and respond to feedback from two class peers and a writing center tutor on the first draft of their final paper. In the present study, students were required to respond to feedback from two class peers and a writing center tutor before the submission of their second draft and their journal entry. This situatedness helps reveal students' real ideas about the writing center in the context of their actual center use.

Client Report Forms from Sessions with English 101 Students

Since writers and tutors collaborate in framing the focus of sessions, this study compares tutors' characterizations of the sessions with the students' narratives. Following Malenczyk's (2013) analysis of client-report forms as a site for meaning making in the writing center, the present study provides an analysis of tutors' client-report forms, online documentation forms completed after each session. A few reports took the form of narratives, as described by Malenczyk (2013), though others provided shorter phrases and lists. Reports were analyzed in terms of tutor characterizations of sessions, compared with writer descriptions of sessions.

Results

First-year Multilingual Writers' Attention to "Grammar"

Appearing most frequently of all themes in these students' writing center narratives, the language of "grammar" and "mistakes" dominates, even at the expense of discussion of other aspects of writing and the writing process. Six of the nine students who responded to the prompt mention "grammar", while seven of the nine students reference "mistakes", "errors", or "fix[ing]" something. Sometimes this discussion of grammar and mistakes is connected, for example:

> I decided to visit the writing center to get some information that will help me, and I did go to them. I got some ideas from them and they correct few mistakes that I had in my grammar sentences. (Ahmed)

Students also indicate the importance of writing center tutors as an audience who can assess the comprehensibility of their writing, for example:

> I was talking with the consultant about the fact that some spilling or grammar mistakes might change the whole essay. (Abdullah)

Here Abdullah points out how mistakes in grammar or spelling, possibly resulting in a different word choice, "might change the whole essay," an issue identified by Nakamaru (2010, p. 98), who argues the difficulty of separating language from writing, and thus "lower order concerns" from "higher order concerns."

Pre-writing and Development in Students' Writing Center Narratives

As students focused much of their discussion on linguistic accuracy in their writing center narratives, discussion of pre-writing and development are much less frequent. Only two students discussed pre-writing in their writing center narratives; for example, Faisal provides a narrative on his writing center visit focusing on idea generation and argument:

> I went to the writing center and they helped me by given some ideas to start my paper and how to make an outline. When I visited the writing center I talked about how to pick an ideas that will match about my topic. The most helpful when I visited the writing center was about how I can make all the ideas that I wrote about match each other. Also, the write center helped me by giving some ideas that is related to my topic. I will visit the writing center again when I got feedback from my professor so I can work with the writing center about the errors that I have on my paper.

With a non-directive approach, a tutor aims to draw out the writer's ideas and voice, though there may be tension between the pedagogical goal of using non-directive methods and learner needs, with tutors being cautioned to avoid appropriation (e.g., Severino, 2009). Yet Faisal found that a possibly more directive element of the session "helped [him]", also referencing "all the ideas that I wrote about", thus claiming ownership of his writing. Faisal's work to ensure his ideas "match each other" and "[his] topic" also shows his attention to focus within his argument.

Just three of the nine students addressed development explicitly in their writing center narratives, only one of whom did not also address "mistakes" or "grammar". In sum, discussion of "grammar" and "mistakes" dominates in the students' writing center narratives, representing an important theme for these multilingual writers even when they discuss, however infrequently, other areas of writing feedback, as well.

Writers' Self-reflections on Paper Drafts: Grammar and Development

The multilingual writers in this class, however, are not so heavily preoccupied with linguistic accuracy as an analysis of their writing center narratives alone might suggest. Students' self-reflections on their writing focus largely on writing development, with somewhat less frequent discussion of mistakes and grammar. Writing development, including writing more, providing more examples and details, and using sources, is the single most frequently discussed theme in the self-reflective journal responses and those on peer feedback. Seven of the nine students who responded to this journal prompt wrote about development in their self-reflections, and several writers made multiple references to different aspects of development, with 24 unique references to this theme in this sample of journal entries, for example:

> I feel completely positive about my second draft because I used my peer comment, and I have more details and examples about my ideas. (Faisal)
>
> There are some questions that I am wondering them such as does my essay need more examples or not or do I need to use better vocabulary in the essay. (Ahmed)

This attention to development contrasts with similar discussion of the students' writing center visits, in which only three students referenced development in discussing their sessions with only four total references. Compared to the seven students who discussed "mistakes" and the six students who discussed "grammar" in their writing center narratives, five students discussed "mistakes", and four students discussed "grammar" in their self-reflections on their draft. Thus, students discussed a wider range of topics in their writing self-reflections than in their writing center narratives, with development being the largest focus.

Tutor Notes on Writing Center Visits Compared with Multilingual Writer Narratives

Highlighting narrative as a meaning-making endeavor, a comparison of a writer's and tutor's account of the same session reveals the tutor's conscious focus on organization in contrast with the writer's focus on linguistic accuracy. To explore these divergences, we consider the following session involving writer Omar and tutor Mateo, introduced in Table 3:

Table 3
Tutor Documentation of Multilingual Writers' First Writing Center Sessions

Student	Tutor	Date	Tutor Notes in Client-Report Forms	
			Student-Requested Focus Areas	Focus Areas Addressed in Session
Omar	Mateo	September 30	He wanted to work on the organization of his paper. The student was an ESL student but had pretty good writing skills compared to other new international students. I was pleased with this session because as we worked through the paper, he started catching his own errors based on previous corrections.	Organization

Here tutor Mateo notes Omar's native speaker status and his identity as a new international student. While his assessment seems favorable, i.e. in Mateo's view, Omar "had pretty good writing skills compared to other new international students", his discussion still shifts to an "errors" and "corrections" framework. For instance, Mateo notes, "he [Omar] started catching his own errors based on previous corrections," possibly describing a non-directive strategy for sentence-level error correction.

Indeed, Omar's writing center narrative supports this view of the session, with grammar being highlighted:

> [T]he writing center helps me to know about my small grammar mistakes which I already know, but sometimes it is hard to figure out your own mistakes. We talked about

> my first draft and we talked about some grammar things such as past tense and what is the best way to organize the ideas and the paragraph.

As seen in Omar's narrative and suggested in Mateo's report, even when organizational work was apparently the student's goal and the tutor's identified focus of the session, sentence-level editing was still a significant focus in their discussion. This mismatch between stated tutoring goals or philosophy and actual practice parallels the mismatch in some teacher-student writing conferences with multilingual writers, seen in Ewert (2009) and Han and Hyland (2016). Though incongruity between multilingual writers' stated goals and a session's focus may not be uncommon, it may still be problematic, especially if the mismatch deprives the writer of agency. Eckstein (2018, p. 17), advocating tutor willingness to address sentence-level questions with multilingual writers, surveys writing center scholarship on the importance of respecting writers' goals. The same seems to apply to multilingual writers who indicate goals related to something other than grammar in a session. Mateo connects the work on error correction in their session with Omar's identity as a new international "ESL student", inadvertently promoting a deficit discourse, as discussed by Cirillo-McCarthy, et al. (2016), even as he compliments Omar's "writing skills."

Comparing Writing Center Narratives, Self-reflections, and Consultant Notes

Discrepancies and congruities between multilingual writers' writing center narratives, tutor accounts of the same sessions, and students' self-reflections on their writing shed light on writer and tutor beliefs about writing and the writing center. Overlapping themes across an individual's writing center narrative and their self-reflections can reveal information about the student's understanding of writing or the writing process. For example, Asad's narratives and self-reflections demonstrate an overlap in theme, with a focus on mistakes. He discusses "fix[ing]" mistakes and "corrections" in his writing center narrative, but also when he reflects more generally on his writing:

> I always proud of my writing. However, that does not mean I have no mistakes. My second draft was not bad to me because I think it is better than the first one. (Asad)

Thus, we can hypothesize that making and correcting "mistakes" are important parts of how Asad conceptualize *writing* at this point, not just his writing center visits.

In contrast, some students who focus on mistakes and grammar in their writing center narratives may not address these topics at all in self-reflections on writing. For example, Abdullah reports discussing "sp[e]lling and grammar mistakes" and second language acquisition in his writing center visit:

> My visit to the writing center was awesome the guy who I met were good guy and he helped and explain my mistakes. I was talking with the tutor about the fact that some spilling or grammar mistakes might change the whole essay. Every advices was helpful plus I asked him about his knowledge of other language and how was his experience. He answered me that he took France class and it was not very easy for him. I am planning to visit the writing center next week.

However, he focuses on draft development in his self-reflection:

> I am proud of the way that I described small detail such us the event that we have and how the speed radar worked in my country. I think I put some quotation from in the wrong place. I should take quotations from home and travel essay instead of taking another quotation from outside the book.

It is unlikely that Abdullah focuses on grammar and language in his writing center narrative simply because of a preoccupation with linguistic accuracy. In contrast with Abdullah's writing center narrative, Abdullah's self-reflection and discussion of peer feedback do not include direct references to language learning and accuracy. Even when he describes sentence-level changes in this draft, he avoids use of the words "grammar" and "mistake" – instead referring to comprehensibility for his peers: "I change all thing that my peer suggested me to change for example I change some sentence that was not understandable." Discussion of "grammar" and "mistakes" is withheld in this discussion of peer feedback, even in a sentence-level context where the concept of "grammar" could have easily been invoked. The absence of references to grammar, in the presence of sentence-level discussion, underscores the differences in Abdullah's discursive framing of his writing center visit and of his reflections on peer feedback, with the former focusing on "grammar" and "mistakes" and the latter focusing on writing development and comprehensibility for his audience.

Comparison of this narrative with the tutor's description of the same session highlights the writer's and tutor's distinct efforts in making sense of their writing center session for themselves or in representing it for an audience, i.e. the professor or the writing center director. In his narrative and self-reflection, Abdullah frames attention to source work and development in terms of his own independent writing and reflection (distinct from his work at the writing center), noting simply, "I think I put some quotation from in the wrong place." He later turns to discussion of his writing center visit, making no explicit reference to discussion of source work in his narrative, instead focusing on "mistakes" and language.

Comparatively, for this session, in his client report form, Joe, Abdullah's tutor, notes discussing sources and quotations with him:

> Abdullah had several quotes he found on the internet, and I encouraged him to find quotes that were from the source mentioned in the prompt instead.

Though Joe and Abdullah apparently discussed use of sources, and though Abdullah internalized Joe's suggestions to the point of addressing them in his journal and paper draft, Abdullah does not attribute these assessments regarding his source use to the writing tutor or his session. Instead, he introduces his journal with his own self-reflection on his draft, including his assessment of his source work, and then begins his narrative on his writing center visit, which focuses on "grammar", "mistakes", and native-speaker status. Abdullah's decision about what to include as an explicit part of his writing center narrative may reveal something about his understanding of the writing center, either his conceptions of the types of concerns addressed there or his impressions of his instructor's expectations in that regard.

In comparing individual writers' self-reflections and their writing center narratives, we observe distinctions between what the writers discuss in one versus the other. We also observe distinctions between what a writer chooses to discuss from their writing center visit and what the tutor identifies as the session's focus. Based on these distinctions, we may conclude that the tutor experienced the discussion of sources as the key focus of the session, while Abdullah may have found discussion of language acquisition to be central. When one considers the audiences for the journal and the client report form (the instructor and the writing center director respectively), however, another interpretation is possible. The tutor might have felt that his director would find the notes on source work more relevant than comments on personal experiences with language learning, or Abdullah may have viewed both the discussion of quotations and of language learning as meaningful, while framing discussion of his paper's development, including source work, as his own, independent of tutor feedback. In asking about the writing tutor's experience with learning another language and discussing the relationship between language (mistakes) and meaning, Abdullah moves his own identity as a language learner to a salient position in the session. Both discussion of language learning and of source work appear in his journal. However, the focus on language and mistakes in Abdullah's writing center narrative follows the larger pattern of these students' writing center narratives, i.e. focusing on mistakes and linguistic accuracy, while Abdullah reserves his discussion of his source work for his own self-reflection.

In the absence of an instructor who framed the writing center as an editing service, a few (not mutually exclusive) hypotheses may account for this focus on editing in writing center narratives. One possibility is that orientation hosts or other campus peers introduced the writing center as a site of remediation, leading writers to consider mistakes first when conceptualizing their writing center work. Olson (2013, p. 2) also suggests that tutors may play a role in the focus on error correction as they may "automatically" attend to "'correcting' all of the 'mistakes,'" thus erasing linguistic and cultural differences in response to pressure that the writing center and writer face to create "standard English."[i] As observed by Qian and Krugly-Smolska (2008), earlier instruction, such as for standardized language assessments, may also predispose some students to focus on language when considering writing.

Thus, a variety of background factors may contribute to these first-year multilingual students' focus on linguistic accuracy in their writing center narratives, including some tutors' own subconscious focus on editing considerations even in sessions where multilingual writers articulate a different purpose. What is clear is that in the absence of explicit encouragement of more multifaceted writing center sessions, this class of first-year multilingual writers focused on linguistic accuracy in their conceptualization of writing center work, even as they explored a much wider range of writing questions in their second language writing class and self-reflections. Timing may even emerge as a relevant classroom factor in considering initial writing center visits, as a required brainstorming visit may help to highlight for multilingual writers (and their tutors) the diverse ways that the writing center can provide support.

Discussion and Conclusions

Triangulating data from first-year multilingual writers' writing center narratives, their self-reflections on their writing, and their tutors' session report forms, this study illustrates the differing ways that multilingual writers and their tutors make sense of writing center sessions. Situated in a classroom community of practice, this research provides a unique look into the interface between the L2 writing classroom and the writing center, from the perspective of multilingual writers. Narrative inquiry, because of its ability to help us "understand experience" (Bell 2002, p. 209), provides a window into multilingual writers' experiences and perceptions of their writing center visits and their efforts to situate these experiences in their larger writing narratives. These students' stories begin to shed light on the variation in individual multilingual writers' experiences and understandings of writing center conversations, as called for by Hadingham (2017).

The juxtaposed classroom and writing center data in this study reveal first-year multilingual writers who are interested in a variety of higher order and lower order concerns when they reflect on their own writing, providing further support for the conclusions of Eckstein (2016), Thonus (2014), and Severino, et al. (2009). The division of addressing mostly "grammar" and "mistakes" at the writing center and addressing a combination of development and linguistic accuracy during self-reflections on writing and peer feedback may seem nothing less than natural for an L2 writing class. However, as Nakamaru (2010) shows, this division in discussing writing may reflect tutoring or writing ideologies. Further, in contrast with the graduate tutors in Chen's (2019) and Okuda's (2019) studies, undergraduate tutors may be especially equipped to address a wide range of questions in response to first-year writing for a general audience, as it typically assumes no particular disciplinary knowledge. Thus, the disproportionate focus on grammar in the first-year students' writing center narratives, at the expense of a more diversified discussion of writing, is not a function solely of students' and tutors' native speaker statuses. It may instead suggest for first-year multilingual writers a compartmentalized sense of the types of writing feedback one may pursue in different contexts.

Discrepancies between writer and tutor accounts of the same session may be understood in terms of writer and tutor beliefs about writing or the writing center. For instance, a conscious focus on global writing concerns might not preclude significant tutor attention to sentence-level feedback even when it is not requested, as observed in Yu (2020), but that philosophy might make feedback on development or organization seem more memorable or reportable. The distinctions between the students' self-reflections and their writing center narratives highlight gaps between the questions these first-year multilingual writers were considering and their experience of the writing center as a place to address this full range of writing questions.

Most students discuss sentence-level issues related to comprehensibility both in their writing center narratives and in their self-reflection. The key difference is that most students in the class put much more focus on the discussion of development in their self-reflections and treatments of peer feedback. Thus, one potential problem for this writing center may be students' failing to see (or the center and faculty failing to convey) the variety of ways that the writing center can support the other types of thinking about writing in which the students are already engaged. The instructor and writing center's responsibility is to scaffold this complex and varied discussion during writing center sessions with multilingual students. If all first-year multilingual writers are able to experience the center as a place that supports their full conversation about writing, we may observe more engaged students, returning time and again to the center, and reporting growth along the way.

Limitations of this study include the small sample size as well as the relatively limited diversity of learners' backgrounds represented in this class, with most learners in the study being male native speakers of Arabic, many of whom were pursuing engineering degrees. While this research provides a case study of how this community of learners, with similar backgrounds and educational goals, conceptualized their early writing center work, future research looking at more diverse groups of learners' writing center experiences or looking at learners' writing center experiences over a longer period of time could help to expand our sense of multilingual writers' perceptions of the writing center.

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Appendix

Journal Prompts

(1) How are you feeling about your second draft of paper 1?

(2) What in this draft are you most proud of?

(3) What in this draft do you think needs the most work still?

(4) You were required to visit the Writing Center at least once before the submission of your second draft of paper 1. Describe your visit(s).

(5) What did you talk about with the writing consultant?

(6) What was the most helpful thing that the writing consultant said or did during your session(s)? Was there anything that wasn't helpful about your visit?

(7) When are you planning your next trip to the Writing Center?

(8) What changes have you made to your paper in response to your peer feedback, meetings with the Writing Center, and/or meetings with the professor?

(9) What questions do have now about this draft?

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[i] As Greenfield (2011) argues, "standard English" is a vexed concept and may be viewed as a product of institutional racism (p. 39).

Sound and Simple Approach to an Extensive Reading Project

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ABSTRACT

The evidence is undeniable that extensive reading (ER) improves reading comprehension, vocabulary, and motivation. Nevertheless, ER is often neglected in ESL classrooms. In order to introduce ER to more ESL teachers' repertoires, this article will present a developed, principled, and practical ER project suitable for almost any classroom teaching situation. Readers will gain an overview of the literature surrounding ER and be provided with practical ideas, resources, rubrics, activity descriptions, and examples from the lead author's personal practice of ways to implement an ER project in their institutions and classrooms.

Keywords: ELLs, extensive reading, classroom practice, language development

Introduction

English as a second language (ESL) learners and teachers alike know the importance of reading in English for students' academic growth and roles as literate global citizens. As a result, strong reading skills are valued and emphasized in the classroom. However, most frequently, ESL classroom reading assigns students with short readings to elicit specific skills. These intensive reading projects serve a role in language acquisition, but they do little to inspire a personal investment in reading or motivation. The ability to read lengthy texts for an extended period of time is one marker of fluent reading. However, the skill of fluent reading is not fostered through short readings with frequent stops to look up vocabulary typical of intensive reading assignments, and fluency training on its own will not automatically ensure a student will be able to read extended texts with confidence and deep comprehension. Providing reading activities that allow students to read longer texts with few new vocabulary words gives students the opportunity to naturally improve fluency and deep comprehension, along with increasing their confidence as readers. Pairing traditional intensive reading activities with a well-developed extensive reading project can yield meaningful development in the reading skills of second language learners. The research and teaching method outlined in this article present one way to implement a sound and simple approach to extensive reading in the classroom to encourage language learners to develop their abilities as fluent readers.

Extensive reading defined

Broadly put, “extensive reading simply involves the learners quietly reading books which are at the right level for them” (Nation, 2015, p. 140). With many ESL classroom reading activities focused on teaching specific vocabulary and understanding academic texts, the extensive reading (ER) activity would ideally be unique to each learner and on an interesting and enjoyable topic for the individual. Because ER takes place over a period of time and involves a lengthy text, each learner within the classroom should personally select their own book to read. This ensures that they are interested in what they are reading and can gain enjoyment from the reading.

Unsurprisingly, being able to read a large quantity of text (like books) in a foreign language is rewarding for language learners, and there are many academic benefits from ER as well. Research studies confirm that appropriately leveled reading for extended periods of time will ultimately develop important reading skills. Students who participate in ER have been shown to become better, more confident readers; develop significant, strong vocabularies;

improve reading rates; and understand target language grammar (Bamford & Day, 2004; Grabe, 2011; Cunningham & Stanovich, 1997; Horst, 2009; Nation, 2001; Stanovich, 2000; Renandya & Jacobs, 2016). Long term extensive reading also contributes to other language skills. As students increase their confidence in reading they also write better and their listening and speaking abilities improve along with their vocabulary (Bamford & Day 2004). Most importantly, research points to ER as a contributing factor in students developing “positive attitudes toward and increased motivation to study the new language” (Bamford & Day, 2004, p. 99). Not only does ER provide students with increased confidence, but “there is some evidence that extensive reading is more motivating for students than more traditional textbook-oriented reading instruction” (Day & Bamford, 1998, p. 62; see also, Guthrie et al., 2004b; Stahl & Huebach, 2005).

While theorists agree on the basic definition of ER and researchers have proven the multitude of benefits the practice has for language learners, there is some debate regarding the place of traditional assessment within ER. Both sides of this debate are clearly presented in Fenton-Smith’s (2010) article weighing the benefits and disadvantages of output activities for ER. Bruton (2002) criticizes the contradictory nature of ER that promotes pleasurable reading, but still allows for a variety of assessment methods. Bamford and Day (1998) agreed that “ideally…no postreading work should be required, the act of reading being its own reward” (p. 140). However, in reality, follow-up activities are common in ER course practice and the literature points to several significant benefits to activities assessing students’ ER. ER assessment provides students accountability and can lead to stronger classroom community and multimodal projects that encourage enjoyable, lengthy reading (Fenton-Smith, 2010; Day & Bamford, 2002; Krashen, 2003).

The Challenges of ER

Day and Bamford (1998) outline a history of ER for both native and non-native speakers of English that they traced back to Harold Palmer in the 1920s. Forty years later ER had another burst of popularity with the “hooked on books” campaign (Fader & Shaevits, 1966). Over the decades researchers and theorists continued to recognize that students who read extensively experience many benefits (Krashen, 2004; Trelease, 1995). In the 1990s, ER received serious attention from researchers with a large amount of studies conducted to support the benefits of ER discussed previously.

Despite all of the praises of ER researchers have been singing since the 1920s, Grabe (2011) noted that “the role of extensive reading in classrooms around the world is remarkably small” (p. 312). He also outlined five key reasons why there is often an absence of ER within L2 learning contexts. First, the curriculum for reading courses rarely supports reading fluency as a main course goal. Typically, the goal within classes is the development of language skills such as vocabulary, grammar, translation, or study skills. These skills are typically met through shorter reading passages and specific vocabulary lists. Next, in a similar vein traditional reading classes focus on the development of accurate, slow comprehension abilities. Teachers assume students will pursue ER on their own by taking the initiative to apply reading techniques from class readings to longer texts. Because of the traditional structure of reading courses, a common restraint is the potentially radical reimagination of course curriculum teachers need to consider incorporating ER. Often teachers are not the only stakeholders who need to change the course content and expectations. Program administrators also need to realign their goals for classroom expectations as ER projects can be viewed as class time that is not specifically linked to preparations for the all-important proficiency tests. The final obstacle, and possibly the largest, is the question of resources. Even if students, teachers, and program administrators are interested in adding ER to the classroom curriculum, collecting and curating an appropriate library of materials can be cost and space prohibitive.

Despite extensive research showing the multitude of benefits of ER, there is often an absence of ER within L2 learning contexts. Reasons for the lack of turning theory into practice are many, including lack of appropriate reading resources, lack of time in the classroom, and lack of vision on how to incorporate a new concept into classroom practice. The goal of this article is to introduce a sound and simple approach to extensive reading in the classroom based on academic research. There are no shortcuts to teaching students how to read by reading (Grabe, 2009); however, this article will provide five sequential steps to simply and easily introduce extensive reading into the classroom.

Five Steps for Teaching with ER

The five tips defined and explained in this article and listed below will help teachers bring extensive reading into the classroom to help students develop their reading skills.

1. Build a diverse, extensive library;
2. Provide appropriately leveled material;
3. Allow students to select their own reading;
4. Create consistent reading circles; and
5. Provide creative final projects.

In the rest of the article, each of these five steps will be explained by

- A summary of what the research says about ER, and;
- A suggestion of what teachers can do in the classroom.

Step 1: Build a Diverse, Extensive Library

What research says. Because ER requires moving beyond the traditional reading curriculum of passages printed in textbooks, ER does present a need for additional resources. Ideally, students will have access to a variety of books for their ER projects. A variety of materials and options for reading allows students to find something that is interesting to them. They may choose their reading for entertainment, information, or personal development and they can choose the way they want to read by skimming, scanning or carefully reading (Bamford & Day, 2004). Promoting interest in reading is a key pillar of ER and a well-stocked library brings choice to a classroom and offers each individual something to excite them as readers.

What teachers can do. In a practical sense, building a diverse, extensive library is one of the largest hurdles in instituting an ER course. Because it is usually the first step in the process of beginning an ER component, it is the reason why many teachers and programs do not pursue incorporating ER into the curriculum. Large collections of books are not cost effective nor space efficient. However, there are many ways to provide students with a variety of reading material at little to no cost to the teacher or the school. With a few hundred dollars, a set of graded readers could be purchased from publishers such as Cambridge Press and Penguin. Hill (2013) is a helpful resource for programs that are selecting graded reader sets. In his survey, Hill analyzes over 2,000 titles from fourteen different publishers. The survey divides books by level and topic and provides an overview of the variety of levels and genres within each series. Purchasing one set of these books that fits the demographics of a program would provide a nice start for an ER library. However, if funds or space are not available for starting a library with physical books, there are online resources with free graded readers on a variety of topics. A link to one of these sites is included in the Appendices. An additional option could include a trip to the local library to introduce students to their selections. Many resources are available to teachers and students who are interested in starting ER.

Step 2: Provide Appropriately Leveled Material

What the research says. One of the most important elements of ER is the level of the readings. ER differs from traditional course reading elements because the goal is to encourage students to read a longer text over a period of time with ease. Texts at or slightly below a reader's level boost confidence. When students can read easily and quickly, they are likely to have increased enjoyment and they are more likely to complete the reading. To achieve this goal, it naturally follows that the books must not be too difficult for the language learners. As Grabe (2011) succinctly said, "no other set of reading activities or reading practice can substitute for reading a longer text with reasonable comfort and without needing to stop constantly, and without feeling fatigued or overwhelmed" (p. 311). Research in ER gives specific guidelines regarding the amount of new vocabulary is appropriate for ER projects. Typically, ER "requires that a reader know 98-99 percent of the words in a text" (Grabe, 2011, p. 311). This means that there can only be three to six unknown words for every 300 words the student reads. Similarly, Bamford and Day's (2004) requirement is that "there should be no more than 1-2 new vocabulary items per page for beginners and no more than four or five for intermediate learners" (p. 2).

Due to the strict vocabulary requirements of ER, theorists agree that the best reading materials are graded readers. Nation (2015) states "it is essential for low and intermediate proficiency learners to use graded readers" (p. 140). Graded readers are so necessary for ER projects because they are written within carefully controlled vocabulary levels (Nation, 2015). Graded readers are preferable to books written for young native speakers because graded readers are written with an academic word list of the vocabulary language learners know. Beginning language learners can typically read books up to the 3000-word level; intermediate language learners go from 4000 to 8000-word level; books written for young English speakers usually have at least 5000. As a result, "specially prepared graded readers are much more accessible for foreign language learns than books written for young native speakers" (Nation, 2015, p. 140).

What teachers can do. While any library of English books can be an asset to language learners, research clearly recommends graded readers for ER projects. While a library stocked with any books in English is an asset to a school or program, books targeted at a specific, appropriate level will yield the greatest results for language learners entering the world of extensive, and pleasurable, reading. Graded readers come in a variety of topics including abridged versions of classic literature, human interest stories, mysteries, historical accounts, and even academic content books about business and leadership. The variety of the graded reader topics available provides something for each student to read and enjoy. Additionally, as discussed in the research above, providing students with graded readers rather than English children's books not only gives students a variety of options, but it also provides them with books specifically written for their English ability. Graded readers can be obtained from any major English Language Teaching (ELT) publisher. Hill's (2013) analysis of graded readers previously mentioned is a helpful resource in obtaining a big picture understanding of what is available. Additionally, the Extensive Reading Foundation runs an annual competition to find the best readers published each year. The results are published on their website (www.erfoundation.org). These books remove the barriers of unfamiliar vocabulary and allow students to enjoy the experience of reading. Once a library of diverse, appropriately leveled books is procured, it is time to begin planning the curriculum element of ER.

Step 3: Allow Students to Select Their Own Reading

What the research says. One of the primary goals of ER projects is to give students as much personal ownership over their work as possible. Typical L2 reading assignments involve teachers assigning students a specific reading from their textbooks. The ideal situation for student motivation in ER however is to give students choices in the readings because “when given choices, students are likely to take the task more seriously and enjoy being a reader” (Stoller, 2015, p. 154). One of the top ten ER principles outlined by Bamford and Day (1998, p. 4; see also Day & Bamford, 2002) states that students should “select what they want to read and have the freedom to stop reading material that fails to interest them.” Students selecting their own reading gives them control over the project. When students choose what they want to read, they increase their independence and agency and choose a topic that is within their interests.

What teachers can do. If each student reads a book that is interesting to them, they will be more interested in reading. In our program, selecting the book to be read is incorporated into the project as a vital part of the process. To facilitate this step, we give students several days to look at book titles and skim the contents to decide what book they want to read. If the physical books are available in the school’s library, we direct the students to the library shelves containing the appropriately leveled readings. When possible, we initiate this exploratory step in class by bringing a set of appropriate graded readers into the classroom on the day that the project is introduced. Then we take the opportunity to model to the students how to skim and scan a book. Together we choose a book based on its title to start exploring. Next, we show the students the book summary on the back cover to find the overall theme of the book and look at the table of contents to see the chapter titles and make a prediction about the content of the story. After modeling this step in class, the students are given a few days to scan the books and select their reading. To facilitate this step, we make digital copies of the cover, table of contents, back cover, and book summaries available to students in a folder on their course management site. Finally, after selecting their reading, the students write a few sentences or a short paragraph depending on their level about their selection to introduce their book, explain why they selected it, and make a prediction about the plot. Within the first week, students are allowed to change their reading selections in case the book does not meet their initial expectations. By allowing the students time to peruse the available books, they have the time to select a reading that is unique to their interests and will be engaging for them to read throughout the rest of the project.

Step 4: Create Consistent Reading Circles

What the research says. Once students begin reading, follow-up activities can be considered to increase the reading benefits. Student reading circles are a communicative method to incentivize reading and provide a low stakes method to insure individuals' progress in their selected books. One of the significant benefits of ER is that it allows for oral communication. Stories provide comprehensible input and create a meaningful need for communication (Fenton-Smith, 2010). Not only do stories provide overarching structure, they can also provide a genuine reason for discussion and engage readers in a higher order of thinking when students help each other evaluate what they have read (Waring, 2007; Helgesen, 2008). Student reading circles can discuss various aspects of the book including the main characters, the plot, the events, and their predictions for future events. "Including an interactive element in ER…also aids in the creation of a reading community. Book discussions promote a sense of community, since students read *for* the group" (Fenton-Smith, 2010, p. 53). Sharing their ideas and feelings provides them with high motivation to read and encourages students to share recommendations for future reading with each other. Reading circles will set benchmarks for frequency and pace while allowing for flexibility within the process.

What teachers can do. One great way to provide accountability while keeping a flexible pace and low stakes is to schedule frequent reading circles. In our classrooms, we match students in small reading circles of 3-4 people, but in a small class the students can discuss their readings in one group. Ideally, each person in the reading circle is reading a different book to ensure that students learn about the storyline as they read instead of from a student who is further along in the reading than they are. Reading circles are evenly spaced during the term, and at the beginning of the project students receive a schedule of the classes when they will have reading discussion. Students participate in the reading circles and earn points toward the project grade by attending, summarizing what they have read recently, and engaging in discussion with their classmates. We require students to ask at least one question about their classmates' reading during the discussion. The reading circles not only provide students with peer accountability, but also expose them to additional books they can read. Several students have gotten so interested in the storyline of a classmate's book that they picked it up and read it for themselves. In addition to accountability, reading circles also provide meaningful oral communication as a multimodal skill while not disrupting the process of enjoyable, lengthy reading for each student.

Step 5: Provide Creative Final Projects

What the research says. As mentioned before, there is debate within the study of ER about the issue of assessment. Day and Bamford (1998) idealize that "no postreading work should be required, the act of reading being its own reward. Students read and that is all" (p. 140). However, the reality of course work is that students often need an additional extrinsic motivation paired with the intrinsic motivation (Fenton-Smith, 2010). While planning assessment, teachers should still remember that "enjoyment is paramount for successful ER" (Fenton-Smith, 2010, p. 51), and based on Krashen's (2003) "pleasure hypothesis" (p. 22) language acquisition is more successful when students enjoy the process.

Tasks can be created to add meaning, purpose and enjoyment to reading and maintain the student choice that is so integral to ER projects. One effective method of final tasks is to employ the "full resources of multimodality (e.g. forms of visual expression) rather than merely having students react to books through conventional written genres" (Fenton-Smith, 2010, p. 55). The variety of activities should encourage further reading through enhanced thinking and enjoyment (Jacobs, 2014). Students increase their control through having an active role in choosing which task they will do this provides more intrinsic motivation for assessment stage of the project. An addition benefit of a variety of multi-modal projects is that it allows for different student learning styles and supports individual differences in the design of activities and materials (Fenton-Smith, 2010).

What teachers can do. Final projects should provide fun, creative multimodal options beyond a classic book report style. Like the book selection process, we provide our students with a list of possible final project ideas and several days to read through the list, ask questions, and decide which project they will choose to complete. In our classrooms, we use the project list compiled by Fenton-Smith (2010). Students can choose from over fifteen projection options that vary from are artistic, others involve writing, and some include character analysis. At the end of the project each student presents their work to their classmates in a classroom showcase, and upper-level classes end the project by writing a reflective paragraph about their book and the ER experience as a whole.

In response to the validity of the debate over the role of assessment in ER classroom practice, we have chosen to create a wholistic assessment for a series of steps over the project period. Each stage of the process is clearly defined for the students and the points available for each step are given at the beginning of the project. Our project rubric is broken down into three sections: book selection, reading circles, and final project. Step one is the students' book selection and brief writing assignment. For these ten points, all the student must do is select a book that interests them and write a short paragraph explaining their selection and predicting the outcome of the story. Next, the reading circles each carry a few points for a total of another ten points in the final project grade. For these points, the students must attend the reading circle, discuss their book, show reading progress, and engage in conversation with fellow reading circle members. These grades are available for students immediately following that day's reading circle so that students who miss points for a specific element of the reading discussion have the ability to make a change for the next reading circle. The final project itself is worth half of the project grade and the twenty-five points are outlined in a rubric divided between creativity, understanding of text, and project development. Finally, five additional points are based on the student's presentation of their project. Since the ER projects are usually not incorporated in a speaking class, it is important to note that the grade for the presentation is not linked to traditional presentation skills. Rather, the five points are awarded if the student can clearly explain their creative project and articulate a significant link between their work and the reading they completed. Depending on class size, these final presentations can be completed in a variety of ways. For larger classes, students can present their projects in their reading circle while smaller classes allow for a presentation from each student. A more creative approach allows students to present their project in a "gallery walk" where classmates and teacher move around the room to each student's station. The student presents their final project when the group arrives at their place within the room. However the project assessment is structured, the points should be clearly defined for students and the bulk of the grade should be on a student's overall understanding of their reading rather than specific editing-level concerns such as grammar and presentation skills.

Conclusion

The steps in this article show some of the ways teachers can create ER activities for their classrooms that are embedded in research and theory to improve the reading fluency of their students. These recommendations add quality and variety to the classroom, foster student motivation, provide classroom community, and encourage engagement with written words. ER can have a significant, positive effect on a language learner's proficiency in reading, cognitive thinking, vocabulary, and even oral communication.

Following a four-week ER project in one of the courses using the method outlined in this article, the students were asked to reflect on their experience. The following two are written reflections from intermediate students. The prompt for the reflection was simple: *What benefits did you gain from the reading project?* Students responded to the question in a five-minute free-write. Their responses are encouraging to teachers practicing or considering practicing ER in their course curriculum.

> This project reading help me improve my skills in English. I didn't read a book in English before and have it in my level and in my field was more interesting and possible to finish. I had learned many things about business and management and I improve my vocabulary and reading grammar.

The other student's reflection echoed the same themes as the first:

> I have learned new vocabulary from this book and I will read more books at the same level because I really enjoy. This book is the first book I have finished. I tried to finish some books before but I didn't because they were too difficult or too easy. I think reading books will improve my language.

Interestingly, these student reflections make comments affirming the importance of the five steps outlined in this article. Both students enjoyed the reading experience and increased their confidence in their language abilities. Overall, both readers, along with other students who also answered this reflection, still experienced the benefit of increased vocabulary skills even though they read graded readers specific to their level of English. Additionally, the level of the readers allowed them to finish reading their first books in English in their entirety. This gave the students confidence in their increasing English abilities as well as additional experience in the topic of their books. After the free-write where the students composed these reflections, they were asked to share their thoughts orally with their reading circles. Students echoed the ideas included in these reflections saying they felt accomplished because they finally had read a book in English, and they expressed interest and intent to access the graded reader library outside of course work to continue reading in English. While the decades of research point to educational benefits for students, it is affirming to have a classroom practice that allows students to reflect and measure their own growth so easily.

It is our hope that the sound, simple, evidence-based teaching plan described in this article will be a help for teachers and program administrators who are excited about the benefits of ER but unsure how and where to begin implementing this reading practice in their classrooms. A sample assignment timeline and assignment sheet from is included in Appendix A. The assignment timeline modeled in the example was for a four-week reading project that can easily be modified to fit longer and shorter timeframes depending on the individual class. Longer courses could also complete multiple iterations of the project and allow students to read more books and engage in more discussions. Additionally, an annotated bibliography of a few key articles beneficial in introducing theory and practice to educators new to the world of ER is included in Appendix B. Using these resources can begin the process of putting into practice good principles of learning and teaching based on research. As Nation (2015) concluded, "teachers should feel a sense of accomplishment and satisfaction in having an extensive reading program as part of their course" (p. 143).

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Appendix A

Final Reading Project – Extensive Reading

50 points

Due: October 8, 2018

Step 1 (10 points)

- Choose a book. There are options in Canvas.
- Due: Monday, September 10, 2018
- Write a paragraph describing why you chose this book.
    - Why do you like it?
    - What do you think it's about?
    - What do you think will be interesting?
    - What do you think will be difficult?

Step 2 (10 points)

- Read the book.
- Due: Friday, October 5, 2018
- Tell the class what you have read and what you think about it:
    - Monday, Wednesday, Friday
    - Each reading circle is worth 1 point toward the 10 points in this category

Step 3

- Choose a Project from the list. (The list of projects provided to students was adapted from the list in Fenton-Smith, 2010)
- Due: Friday, October 5, 2018

<u>Step 4 (25 points)</u>

- Complete the Project
- Due Monday, October 8, 2018
- The project should show that:
    - You read the book.
    - Understood the book.
    - Used your reading of the book to create something interesting.

<u>Step 5 (5 points)</u>

- Present your Project. You will present your project to the class.
- Due Wednesday the October 8, 2018

Appendix B

Curricular Inclusion of Extensive Reading (ER) for L2 Reading Development: A Sound and Simple Approach to an Extensive Reading Project

A Brief Annotated Bibliography

- Bamford, J., & Day, R. R. (Eds.). (2004). Extensive reading activities for teaching language. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
    - This handbook offers more than 100 activities for setting up students' self-selected reading and weaving it into the language curriculum. These activities give teaching suggestions whatever the focus of your class - grammar, listening, speaking. writing, or reading; whatever teaching situation you are in - foreign or second language, an intensive program, or a class that meets once a week; and whatever the age and language level of your students. The only necessity is that the students already have a basic knowledge of and are literate in, the foreign or second language.
- Fenton-Smith, B. (2010). A debate on the desired effects of output activities for extensive reading. In B. Tomlinson & H. Masuhara (Eds.), Research for materials development in language learning: evidence for best practice (pp. 50–61). London ; New York: Continuum.
    - Should ER constitute both reading and follow-up activities, or simply be reading alone? The purpose of this chapter is to consider the implications of this debate for ER materials design and suggest a way forward for ER teachers.

- Grabe, W. (2008). Reading in a second language: moving from theory to practice. New York: Cambridge University Press.
    - This book focuses on what teachers and curriculum developers could do with research on reading and reading development to improve L2 reading instruction. The book has a second goal that follows from the first. It focuses on explanations for how fluent reading works and how research on reading can be used to promote reading development. At present, no current L2 reading book that attempts to explain in detail how reading comprehension works as a unified process and that also explores instructional implications and effective teaching practices. At the same time, the book does not take the final steps in moving from theory to practice. The final steps would involve highlighting L2 instructional applications that describe day-to-day instruction or the scope and sequence of a reading textbook series.
    - Chapter 15 is on ER
- Hill, D. R. (2013). Graded readers. ELT Journal, 67(1), 85–125. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccs067
    - This Review (which follows on from previous ones1997, 2001, and 2008) covers 54 series of graded readers (47 fiction and 7 non-fiction) containing over 2,000 titles produced by 14 publishers: nine in the United Kingdom, one in the United States, and four in Europe. These are distributed widely throughout the world.
- Nation, P. (2015). Principles guiding vocabulary learning through extensive reading. Reading in a Foreign Language, 27(1), 136–145.

  - Ideally, the choice of ER activities to go into a course should be guided by principles which are well supported by research. Similarly, the way each of those activities is used should be guided by well-justified principles. In this article, the author looks at the principles justifying the inclusion of extensive reading in a course, and then looks in detail at a set of principles guiding how extensive reading can best be carried out to result in substantial vocabulary learning. In this article the author narrows his focus on vocabulary learning.

- Stoller, F. L. (2015). Viewing extensive reading from different vantage points. Reading in a Foreign Language, 27(1), 152–159.
  - Years after formulating her list of the top-five priorities for reading teachers, the author finds herself contemplating a similar, though not identical, question: What is extensive reading? To explore this question, posed by Dr. Richard R. Day, known worldwide for his expertise in extensive reading, the author begins by examining her top-five priorities for L2 reading teachers from an ER perspective. She believes that four of her five priorities have direct relevance to extensive reading. One of her five priorities, however, is not particularly relevant to discussions of extensive reading. She explains why and replaces it with a new "priority" that can guide teachers who integrate extensive reading into their L2 instruction.
- Suk, N. (2017). The Effects of extensive reading on reading comprehension, reading rate, and vocabulary acquisition. Reading Research Quarterly, 52(1), 73–89. https://doi.org/10.1002/rrq.152

- This research adds to the limited set of well-controlled studies by investigating the impact of an extensive reading approach over a 15-week semester on the reading comprehension, reading rate, and vocabulary acquisition of Korean university students studying English as a foreign language. The researcher examines four intact classes: two control (n = 88) and two experimental (n = 83). The control classes received 100-minute intensive reading instruction per week, whereas the experimental classes received equivalent 70-minute intensive reading instruction and 30-minute extensive reading instruction per week. Quantitative analysis revealed that the experimental classes significantly outperformed the control classes in reading comprehension, reading rate, and vocabulary acquisition. Instructional implications for extensive reading in second-language curricula are discussed.

Motivational Strategies in English as Foreign Language Teaching: a research review

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to review and synthesize the research literature relating to the use and effectiveness of motivational strategies in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching. First, an overview is presented of the prestigious empirical studies (10) across the world that provided evidence for the impact of motivational strategies on enhancing students' English learning motivations. Then, different research methodologies are assessed, effective motivational strategies both across different cultural contexts and culture-dependent are identified and the outcomes of the applications of motivational strategies are discussed. Finally, the limitations of the related research are explored and implications for future motivational strategies research are provided.

Keywords: motivational strategies, EFL, motivational theories, review

Introduction

Since motivation has been considered as one of the critical factors determining success in L2 learning, a considerable amount of research has been conducted about the nature of L2 motivation and how it affects L2 learning since long time ago (Gardner&Lambert,1959, 1972; Gardner,1985). Since the 1990s, there was a noticeable shift from a socio perspective to an education-oriented perspective, which features the study of situational factors such as language course and language teachers (Dörnyei, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Williams & Burden, 1997). Many scholars proposed and summarized motivational strategies and techniques teachers could apply in their classroom instructions (e.g. Chambers, 1999). Although their recommendations are of great value, they lack justification without empirical evidence to support according to Gardner and Tremblay (1994).

This research review focuses on how L2 learning motivation works in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) environment. The reasons for determining my research topic are as follows. First, I have been an EFL teacher for almost 20 years and am fully aware of the fundamental role that L2 motivation plays in students' learning achievement. Also, it is always more challenging to motivate and engage EFL students than English as Second Language (ESL) learners, because ESL learners are exposed to the target language in daily communication, surrounded by both visual and auditory stimulation, thus have many motivational and instructional advantages than EFL students. EFL students have to make extra efforts to find stimulation and input in English, but to make it worse, most of the input is from classrooms and artificial, which are separated from their real life; hence, it requires greater effort to instigate their interest in learning the foreign language. Therefore, it is more significant to examine how teachers perform concerning motivational strategies and to identify what motivational strategies are effective in EFL classes.

After an initial search, I have located 10 empirical studies on motivational strategies in EFL class (Albrabi, 2014; Cheng& Dörnyei, 2007; Dörnyei, 2008; Guilloteaux, 2013; Lee, et al., 2019; Sugita McEown & Takeuchi, 2014; Moskovsky, et. al., 2013; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Wong, 2014; Lee &Lin, 2019). First, I summarize the motivational strategies that are the focus of those empirical studies and identify the most prevalent strategies to guide pedagogical practices. Then, I compare the instruments adopted to measure motivation and find the strengths and weaknesses of their research methods. Moreover, I consider if those motivational strategies can transcend to different cultural, social and institutional settings. Last but not least, the limitations of the studies are explored and recommendations for further research in the related field will be provided.

Method

The literature search for the present review was conducted in the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) database, which offers prestigious research from the world's leading academic journals. Articles were included when they were (a) SSCI listed; (b) written in English; (c) published between 2000 and 2019; (e) concerned EFL teaching, and (f) concerned motivational strategies. "Motivation*" and "EFL" were the main search terms, and all articles that were found to include the terms in the title or the abstract and met the aforementioned criteria were selected for inclusion in the review. Eventually, this search resulted in 10 articles of empirical studies as listed in previous paragraphs.

Results

Profile of the studies

The empirical studies of motivational strategies are from five different countries and regions (China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Taiwan). Other than two of them surveying the use of motivational strategies, eight of the studies explore the correlational relationship between teachers' use of motivational strategies and students' motivation levels as well as their learning outcomes. Among the eight studies, six of them employ questionnaires, self-reported journals and class observations to investigate the relationship between teachers' use of the strategies and students' motivational state and learning outcomes. Only two of them assess the effectiveness of motivational strategies on learners' motivational behaviors by using quasi-experimental interventions.

The participants of these studies are mostly secondary school students and university students. Only in Cheng and Dörnyei (2007), the participants include elementary school students.

The motivational strategy measures of nine studies are based on Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) "Ten Commandments of Motivation". The *Ten commandments* were selected based on a questionnaire to 200 English teachers at various schools in an EFL environment. The following is a summary of the practices, examples and possible outcomes of the *Ten Commandments*.

Table 1
Examples and outcomes of Ten commandments

Ten Commandments	Example	Outcome
Set a personal example with your own behavior	(Teacher) Prepare for the lessons properly; Show a good example by being committed	Model the students with motivated teachers
Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom	(Climate) Bring in humour, laughter and smile ; Have games and fun in class	Relieve students' anxiety
Present the tasks properly	(Task) Provide clear guidance about how to do the task	Raise students' interest and expectancy
Develop a good relationship with the learners	(Rapport)	Energize learning effort
Increase the learners' linguistic self-confidence *	(Self-confidence) Make sure that students experience success; Give positive feedback and appraisal	Closely related to subjective competence
Make the language classes interesting *	(Interest) Choose interesting topics and supplementary materials	The quality of students' experience contributes to motivation
Promote learner autonomy *	(Autonomy) Encourage creative and imaginative ideas; Encourage questions and other contributions from the students	Taking responsibility in their own learning can truly motivate them to self-regulate learning
Personalize the learning process *	(Personal relevance) Try and fill the tasks with personal	Promote peer and group development

	content that is relevant to the students	
Increase the learners' goal-orientedness	(Goal)Help the students develop realistic expectations about their learning	Stimulate motivation
Familiarize learners with the target language culture *	(Culture) Familiarize the learners with the cultural background of the language they are learning	Influence how well they can incorporate important part of the language

Note. *indicates the prevalent strategies found in the ten studies.

Nine of the studies adapted their strategy list based on different learner needs and then tested the outcomes, teachers' and students' perceptions or the variables that might impact the effectiveness of those strategies, such as students' language proficiency and gender. One study (Sugita McEown &Takeuchi, 2014) created a motivational strategy list by collecting answers from surveys to teachers rather than using the established framework.

Major Findings of the Studies

Most of the studies confirmed the positive impact of some of the motivational strategies from Dörnyei and Csizér (1998)'s framework on students' learning behavior. Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) conducted a modified replication of the Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) study in Taiwan, which collected a survey of 387 EFL teachers about their perception of importance of motivational strategies and their frequency of applying them in class. Four strategies are discerned as effective in the Taiwan context (*Set a personal example, recognize students' effort and celebrate their success, promote their self-confidence, and create a pleasant classroom atmosphere*). Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) carried out a large-scale investigation involving 1300 junior high school students taught by 27 teachers with the self-report questionnaires and a classroom observation instrument (Motivation Orientation of Language Teaching, ie. MOLT). The result indicates that teachers' use of motivational strategies is closely related to teachers' learning behavior and motivational state; With an adapted Dörnyei (2008) classroom observation instrument and questionnaire, Papi and Abdollahzadeh (2012) conducted a study in Iran among 741 male students from 26 secondary EFL classes taught by 17 teachers, providing observational evidence that teachers' motivational practices significantly related with students' motivational behavior; Wong (2014) investigated 900 Chinese secondary students and 10 teachers with three instruments: a teacher self-rated questionnaire (Dörnyei, 2001), student questionnaires and lesson observations (measured with adapted MOLT scheme), identifying six strategies to be effective for enhancing students' language learning motivation;

The two quasi-experimental intervention research conducted in Saudi Arabia revealed the motivation strategies adopted in the EFL classroom could enhance learner motivation (Albrabi, 2014; Moskovsky, et al., 2013), which in turn led to higher achievement levels for learners (Albrabi, 2014).

In addition to testing the established framework of Dörnyei and his colleague, Lee and Lin (2019) identified several motivational strategies beyond the traditional taxonomy: direct English instruction and provision of authentic materials. The rationale for their expanding of the foundational framework is they advocate it is an "acknowledgement of the teachers' professionalism and autonomy" (p.454); it is possible for teachers to have other applicable motivational strategies to shape their classrooms. The research can help form a more comprehensive and hierarchical framework.

Sugita McEown andTakeuchi (2014) examined how teachers impact students' motivational level in Japan EFL classroom and identified three strategies (*keep pace with the students and get them involved in the activities, display enthusiasm of teaching English, speak*

English with proper pronunciation), which are drawn from student surveys, showed a negative correlation on students' motivation of different proficiency levels. The reason for the discrepancy might be that motivational strategies used for Sugita McEown and Takeuchi (2014) study were obtained from students' open-ended questions and they resemble more teaching skills than motivational strategies. Also, the task types utilized in the examined class may have impacted the research result which researchers failed to give consideration to.

The final study to mention, Lee, Gardner, and Lau (2019), examined if EFL teachers' motivational practice can transcend the classroom and the result indicates that students' attitudes and behavior beyond the classroom are affected by teachers' motivational effort.

Prevalent Motivational Strategies across the Studies

The findings of those studies provide compelling evidence to confirm some of Dörnyei's (1998) "Ten Commandments of Motivation". It can conclude some motivational strategies can transfer across cultural and ethnolinguistic contexts. For example, Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) identified the following strategies more effective toward motivating EFL students: *Set an example, Create a relaxed atmosphere, Promote learner's self- confidence and Familiarize learners with L2-related values;* Moskovsky (2013) revealed a similar list: *provide individual support, supply background knowledge and provide positive rewards and praise;* Wong (2014) advocated effective motivational strategies are: *Sufficient preparation and assistance, Recognizing success and Reminding students instrumental value of L2;* Lee, Gardner and Lau (2019) argued teachers can enhance students motivation behavior by *drawing students attention to unique and difficult aspect of English, using group work, building confidence and promoting learner autonomy;* Lee and Lin (2019) suggested the ways teachers can motivate students are: *help students recognize their own strength, tell* *students the usefulness of the knowledge and provide positive feedback on students' performance.*

These high frequency strategies such as *promote learner's self- confidence, familiarize learners with L2-related values, building confidence and promoting learner autonomy* can be further categorized into two major types of applications of motivational principles: Expectancy x value model and self-determination theory, which will be further discussed in the implication part.

Cultural-dependent Motivational Strategies

Despite the abovementioned motivational strategies transferring across ethnolinguistic and cultural contexts, some strategies seem to be culture-specific and culture-dependent.

For example, Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) examined whether the motivational strategies derived from Western context (Dörnyei, 1998 in Hungary), had relevance in Taiwan, found there was resemblance in the teachers' practice. However, they also found some disparity between the results of the two studies. In Taiwan, teachers do not attach much importance to *making the learning task interesting*. The researchers interpreted the difference as caused by the test-driven education culture in China, which perceives learning as effortful investment and diligence. There is a widespread Chinese proverb: *学海无涯苦作舟,* which means *Hard-working is the boat to the endless sea of learning.*. Generally speaking, confucian ideology stresses one's efforts are the key to learning success (Wong, 2008). It is evident there are cultural differences concerning motivational practices; meanwhile, the research findings also unfold the trouble spots in EFL teaching for the teachers of different cultures. It might worth exploring how those teachers should break through their culture boundaries so that they can bring their students' potential to full play.

Not only there are discrepancies existing between western and eastern cultural contexts, but there are even group differences observed between similar cultures and ethnolinguistics. Guilloteaux (2013) reported there are differences between motivational beliefs and practices of Korean and Taiwanese teachers. It is found the Korean teachers in the research do not value the importance of *creating a positive classroom climate* or *promoting learner group cohesiveness*; however, such climate building strategies ranked higher in Taiwan. This suggests that these strategies are dependent on different local contexts. Such a finding supports Littlewood (2000)'s recommendation that scholars should explore how teachers' preconceptions about the nature and extent of culture influences on learning in greater depth. Finally, the most striking finding of this research was those Korean teachers under study underutilize nearly all the examined motivational strategies, which is not the case in other cultural contexts. This finding suggests that those Korean teachers under research do not prioritize motivating of the students. It indicates that Korean teachers may profit by receiving facilitation in finding the significance of motivating students rather than solely rely on examination-oriented instruction. After all, motivation is causally related to the learning outcome.

What remains to be learned is whether some discrepancies obtained from the studies are due to the participants' lack of knowledge and training of motivational skills, constraints of the specific contexts, or some other factor, such as, misinterpretation of the questionnaire items. These can be issues to be explored in future.

Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

Most, if not all the studies about EFL motivational strategies are based on Dörnyei and his colleague's framework. Some of the motivational strategies are overlapping with each other or representing the same meaning with different terms. For example, *present the tasks properly* is ambiguous, which can refer to the same thing as *make the language classes interesting.* These deficiencies make the related research messy and confusing. Some motivational strategies seem to be identical to basic instructional or management skills rather than motivational practices, such as *set a personal example with your behavior*; Or even in some research, *clear English pronunciation and writing* is also listed as strategies. The reasons that there are more instructional rather than motivational focus in motivational strategies studies in EFL class can be explained from Dörnyei's (2001) argument: the best motivational intervention is the quality instruction practices because no matter how effective motivator a teacher is, without instructional explicitness, the learners cannot follow the instruction and motivation will unlikely happen.

However, when it comes to research, the primary thing that needs to be clarified is what the motivational strategies entail so that confusion and unreliable results can be avoided. Also, it seems all of the studies fall short because they lack a motivational theoretical framework as a research foundation. Therefore, future motivational strategy studies need to follow a clear line of theoretical perspective. There are valuable theoretical offerings that can enlarge the existing EFL motivation studies.

As stated in the previous part, there are some universally effective motivational strategies which can be classified into two major types of applications of motivational frameworks: Expectancy x value model and self-determination theory. Therefore, I propose the future research of EFL motivational strategies can integrate those motivational theories so that an expanded, more comprehensive theoretical framework of EFL learning motivation could be developed.

Expectancy x value model posits that the two most immediate predictors of learners' persistence, effort and achievement are expectancies for success and task value beliefs (Eccles et al., 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 1992, 2000). This model can be closely related to language learning. Learners may learn a language for a collection of reasons. The importance of the reasons for learning would decide how much effort students will spend and what cost they will pay for. In the school context, teachers should afford learners opportunities to see the relevance between the curriculum and personal needs, and allow students to perceive their capabilities to attain the goal, so that their learning motivation can be promoted. Generally speaking, only by facilitating students' perceived expectancy of success and their perceptions of value in EFL learning, can learners' efforts and performance in specific domains be facilitated. To conclude, EFL learners are motivated to learn English when they value English learning (intrinsic value, attainment value, utility value), and when they perceive they are capable of reaching the learning goals (expectancy). Therefore, the strategies teachers adopt to motivate EFL students are as revealed in the aforementioned research are related to shaping their students' beliefs about value and success in EFL. To be more specific, teachers can help students heighten their motivation by demonstrating that EFL learning can be an exciting mental challenge, a career enhancer, a vehicle to cultural awareness and friendship, and a key to world peace (Oxford & Shearin,1996), so that they realize the benefits of EFL learning are truly worth the costs. Meanwhile, teachers should celebrate students' success and cultivate their self confidence in language learning.

Expectancy-value model has been broadly adopted in various educational research, but it has rarely been integrated into EFL motivational strategy. Future studies can apply the

Expectancy-value model to steer clear of overlapping and ambiguous strategies and may enable teachers to come up with new strategies.

Self-Determination Theory (SDT) is a theory of motivation that addresses issues of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. SDT maintains that to understand human motivation, it requires the recognition of the fact that people have three major innate psychological needs: Competence (to control the outcome and experience mastery), Relatedness (to interact, be connected to, and experience caring for others), and Autonomy (to be causal agents of one's own life and act in harmony with one's integrated self) (Ryan & Deci, 2000). If these global needs are met, learners will be motivated and function optimally. As mentioned in the aforementioned studies under investigation, to realize students' inherent potential, teachers should nurture these psychological needs by allowing students to make plans and decisions about their learning, thereby supporting their sense of autonomy, or personal agency. In turn, the satisfaction of their psychological needs can foster learners' self-determined and intrinsic motivation, and ultimately achievement and success in language learning.

Some research has used Self-determination framework in other educational contexts, which has shed light on how teachers impact students' engagement in learning. For instance, Assor, et al., (2002) examined what kinds of instructions could better promote children's motivation in schoolwork. They revealed two autonomy-affecting teacher behaviors can impact students' behavioral engagement greatly in learning: elucidating personal relevance to students and restraining criticism. This theory has yet to be incorporated into motivational strategies research in EFL teaching. The application of theoretical models is promising to provide blueprints for integrating motivational and instructional strategies into class.

Another insufficiency of the studies is that the majority of them examined only secondary students, but relationships between age differences and motivational strategies are indispensable to be explored, because previous studies have disclosed progressive declines in children's motivation to do their classwork (Epstein & McPartland, 1976). Similarly, the most recent studies have affirmed a developmental decrease in overall academic motivation (Eccles et al., 1993). They explained the possible cause for motivation decline in academic learning is teachers start to lose their power over time, as adolescents may value the peer group more than authority figures. Evidently, it would be useful to examine age differences in the effectiveness of motivational strategies.

Also, the current studies only explore teachers' perceptions and use of motivational strategies rather than how students view the effectiveness of the motivational strategies. Most of the studies measured students' motivational state as an outcome of motivational strategies, but few of them examined students' evaluation of the strategies. Future research can investigate if there is alignment or misalignment in perceptions of motivational strategies between students and teachers in EFL education.

Finally, the predominant motivational strategies research is based on self-report surveys and classroom observation rather than intervention studies. Hence, it is challenging to estimate whether students' motivational behaviors are caused by single effective strategies or multivariant ones. Much rigid research designs are desirable to identify the most effective strategies or strategy clusters.

Conclusions

Motivation plays a major role in the complex process of EFL learning. The current research of motivational strategies in EFL classrooms is significant and extremely meaningful; however, it can be expanded to include more diverse motivation strategies instead of being merely limited to Dörnyei and his colleague's framework.

More research is needed to inform the theories on motivation in EFL teaching, to explain the interconnectedness of teachers' use of motivational strategies and students' motivation behaviors. Theories can inform teachers the rationale about how and why some motivational strategies are effective. Those rationales for learning motivations is like roots to the trees. If teachers are ignorant of where the root of motivation lies, how can they water the root and facilitate the growth of the tree? Only founded on solid theoretical grounds, research can supply more practical recommendations on improving language teaching practice and promoting students' learning motivation. Therefore, theoretical models are imperative to improve the motivational aspects of the classroom environment and provide guidance on how to incorporate strategies into instruction.

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Building the Bridge Between Schools and Families through Assessment of Young English Language Learners

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ABSTRACT

Teachers of English Language Learners (ELLs) have a unique opportunity to connect with families through observation, documentation, and assessment of children. Assessments using developmentally appropriate and asset-based approaches can be collected and shared with families to engage them in the learning process. This article provides practical steps for using a variety of formative assessment methods by which teachers of ELL's can build this vital bridge to families successfully.

Keywords: assessment, observation, documentation, ELLs, families, teaching

Introduction

English Language Learners (ELLs) in K-12 classrooms have expanded to record levels in the US, providing new challenges and opportunities for classroom teachers. According to the US Department of Education NCES report, ELLs now comprise 14% of all public-school students (NCES, 2016). The result of this growing population is that more and more teachers have English Language Learners in their classrooms. Teachers of ELLs, however, may not understand how to engage these students and their families. When done well, observing, documenting, and assessing English Language Learners can build a greater connection between families, teachers and ELLs.

A New Perspective of "Assessment"

Before reviewing strategies for bridging teachers and families through assessment, it is important to define assessment from a new perspective. For some students, families and teachers, the term “assessment” is often associated with a negative connotation and high-stakes tests. The original word, however, has a much different meaning. The word assessment comes from the Latin word “assidere,” which means to “sit beside” (Stefanakis, 2002). Assessment, therefore, should be considered as something personal and individualized. When done well, integrating observation, documentation and assessment with families can lead to positive outcomes for teaching and learning and promote building relationships between students, teachers, and families.

Imagine a scenario in which a teacher often calls on Lily, a first grader, to read out loud in class and participate weekly in spelling tests. Then the teacher calls home to report to the mother that Lily is not participating in class reading and is cheating on the tests. It turns out that Lily (Liliana) was recently adopted from Ukraine and has limited English proficiency. The teacher, though already informed of the situation, was not “sitting beside” and aware of Lily’s language needs. To appropriately meet the cognitive, social, and emotional needs of students, teachers must remove the negative stigma of testing and adopt a more personal “sitting beside” approach to understand the needs of all children.

Parents or caregivers are in fact the child’s first teachers and already have strong interest in their children. When teachers assess students, they can rely on family input to help strengthen that relationship and improve assessment. Most families of ELLs have a strong belief and support of schooling and want their children to succeed in school (Good et al., 2010). In the scenario described earlier, Lily’s mom was incredibly knowledgeable and interested in her daughter’s education and future. The teacher, however, missed an opportunity by not relying on the expertise of Lily’s mother to better understand her strengths and needs. When teachers choose to work with families, this provides a unique opportunity to be engaged directly with the best source of knowledge about what the child can and cannot do yet and how to best help them. In addition, it provides an opportunity to share with families how they can reinforce the appropriate skills they are working on at school.

Related to the understanding of "sitting beside", formative assessment may be the most effective educational practice to support student academic achievement (Black et al.,1998). Formative assessment focuses on progress monitoring and growth versus a comparison to others, which is typical when conducting high-stakes assessment. Sharing information with families about the progress of students allows them to be more engaged with their child's learning. This bridge between home and school can be beneficial to the child's overall growth and development.

Assessment, particularly formative assessment, can be done as a part of regular school activities during any part of the day. It requires observing and documenting how each child behaves, learns, reacts, and interacts. Reflecting on information and using the data to guide decisions is an ongoing process that all interested parties (families and teachers) can practice. Involving all parties in observing, documenting, and assessing children is a vital part in helping guide the development of ELLs.

Teachers may be prepared to assess non-ELLs but may struggle with how to appropriately engage ELLs and their families in this process (Dollaghan et al., 2011). To address this, teachers can build the bridge with families of ELLs by (1) overcoming their own biases to create a point of entry; (2) using developmentally appropriate practices; and (3) communicating with families about assessment.

Overcoming Bias

When assessing ELLs, is important to address any biases and use objective assessment practices. Educational bias takes place in different gender, cultural, economic, and ethnic situations. Research has demonstrated that bias is also more common among teachers when they are working with students from different cultural backgrounds (Souto-Manning et al., 2016).

Bias can be exhibited in practices, attitudes, and behavioral expectations. These biases occur when teachers give an advantage to one culture or preferring one culture over another. Addressing one's own biases when assessing ELLs is the first step in building a bridge to engage families. A great resource for helping with addressing biases can be found at: http://www.tolerance.org. This teaching tolerance website provides free resources to teachers which emphasize social justice and anti-bias approaches. These resources include teaching materials and professional development opportunities (podcasts, journals, etc.) that can help address implicit biases.

Teacher bias, even if they are implicit, often negatively impacts the assessment process. When observing ELL's behaviors, it is particularly common for subjective language to be used, possibly inferring what a child is thinking. For example, children from some cultures learn that it is inappropriate to initiate conversations with adults, to engage with other children competitively, or to look, directly at adults. To practice being more objective in recording observations, an interactive guide is available at: http://toddlers.ccdmd.qc.ca/netquiz/Objective-Writing/ This website provides a free quiz to help identify when observations are written subjectively and provide training for how to revise those notes. Users first watch short video clips of young children and sort each observation statement as either objective or subjective. After submitting answers, the user is provided with a score and additional hints to learn from incorrect responses. The second part of the training includes a challenge of highlighting ONE sentence out of 3-5 that is subjective (shows bias). Finally, users are asked to modify a subjective observation statement and convert it into one that is objective.

Using an Asset-Based Approach to Assessment

Another way to overcome bias and begin bridging relationships with families is to use an "assets-based" approach of assessment. Unfortunately, a "deficit" way of thinking has been in place for a long-time regarding ELLs and what they can offer (Valencia, 1993). A deficit model is one that sees differences to the norm as a problem that needs to be fixed, whereas an asset-based approach recognizes the benefits and opportunities to the diversity (Rose, 2006). NAEYC, an organization supporting the education and development of young children, can provide a guide for an asset-based thinking about ELLs and their families. NAEYC has developed several recommendations for connecting families to classrooms and describes linguistic and cultural diversity as being an "asset, not deficit, for young children" (NAEYC 2009, p 1). This organization has recommended that teachers (1) Actively involve families in the early learning program, (2) Help all families realize the cognitive advantages of a child knowing more than one language, and provide them with strategies to support, maintain, and preserve home language learning, and (3) Convince families that their home's cultural values and norms are honored. WIDA (2014) also describes an asset-based approach as "The belief that all children bring to their learning cultural and linguistic practices, skills, and ways of knowing from their homes and communities" (p. 5). It is the focus on what students CAN DO, not what they CANNOT DO that must remain the central point of assessment.

To practice an asset-based approach, teachers can go through an exercise to learn how to appreciate the strengths rather than just the problems of students they are assessing. Teachers think of a student they work with that receives the most negative attention. These are students who may have challenges academically or behaviorally. Then, they can focus on that same student's strengths. Leveraging one's natural talents or "strengths" provides the greatest opportunity for development, rather than focusing on weaknesses, according to recent evidence related to positive psychology (Jimerson et al., 2002). This focus on assets, rather than deficits, then becomes a natural point of entry to engaging families in the discussion about assessment.

Developmentally Appropriate Practices for Assessing ELLs

Observing, documenting, and assessing children requires knowing how to keep records (document), and analyze information gathered to provide an effective learning environment for improved student learning. It is best to observe children in natural settings (i.e. classroom, playground), which include their normal everyday activities, both individually and in small and whole groups. This can be overwhelming at first, as it involves listening not only to the child's words but paying attention to emotional tone, body language, how children use materials and interact with others. While many teachers may informally observe and take mental notes of behaviors that are useful for assessment, they may fall short of completing the cycle of assessment which includes documentation, reflection, and making adjustments to instruction to improve student learning or engagement. High quality observations provide a systemic, personalized framework for data collection that can help teachers better assess student's assets and needs. It includes a reflective process that asks questions like "What have I learned about how my students learn?" and "How did they respond to the activities I provided?" Goodman (1985) coined the term "kidwatcher" as a teacher who observes students' activities to explore how they learn and think. This "kid watching" can be used to determine the next steps of instruction and what interventions might be implemented to support ELLs.

Another key to observing children is to know WHAT to focus on. Understanding what to assess relies on knowing research on child development and what is developmentally appropriate practices for each student. Research has provided many guidelines and developmental milestones which should be studied when assessing children. It is important that consideration is given to the variety of domains that should be assessed including physical, cognitive, language and social/emotional. More information can be found at: https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/actearly/milestones/index.html This website was developed by the Centers of Disease Control (CDC) to share developmental milestones and provides videos and pictures in a variety of domains.

Procedures for Assessing ELLs

Once an objective and assets-based perspective and developmentally appropriate practices are adopted, focus can be given to HOW this assessment will take place procedurally. There are various types of observation methodologies and formats for collecting information that can be used. Running records and anecdotal records are two of the most common types of recording techniques used (Cartwright et al., 1982). Running records refer to in-the-moment observations. It is essentially a “play-by-play” of what is going on. This approach is helpful as it allows for real-time documentation of events but is limited in that it requires a dedicated observer, which is not always possible. Anecdotal notes are also common and refer to notes from events that were important to record but must be recorded after the fact.

For anecdotal records to be successful, teachers must plan out what behaviors or learning outcomes they are wanting to observe. Anecdotal notes of significant events related to those outcomes can be jotted down throughout or after the day of observation. The content of anecdotal notes often includes date and name of student being observed, strengths or positive traits, and teachers comments for plan of action or what to look for in future observations. It is helpful when teachers follow an ABC approach for recording which contains the Antecedent, Behavior, and Consequence of the event.

Collecting information about students' growth can rely on a variety of formats. It is important to consider a friendly and useful format that can be completed efficiently. One example of this easy process is using sticky notes to record running records of activity. Teachers can carry a stack of sticky notes and jot down behaviors and then combine those with others written in the past to track progress over time.

Portfolios are used as well as folders, communication journals and daily reports to record and share information about children (O'Malley et al., 1996). Davies (2002) provides several guidelines for what to include and the approach to take when using portfolios. Most important are that students are involved in the process of selecting and reflecting on their own sample of work. It is imperative that ELLs also participate in communicating their own strengths and areas to improve when reviewing materials in which they have created and received feedback. The materials included demonstrate progress, growth, and development (Babee et al., 2013). This reflection time can be an important part of the learning process specifically for ELL populations (Shao-Ting et al., 2010).

Technology-oriented applications have entered the market such as SeeSaw (http://www.seesaw.com) and ClassDojo (http://www.classdojo.com). These technologies allow teachers to record student work and have available in a portfolio format which can be shared with families. Many of these apps/web-based programs rely on using digital cameras to record either video or direct evidence of children's work or behaviors that require documentation.

Rubrics or checklists are also quite common ways to document learners and are specifically helpful to track progress in certain behaviors.

Formative assessment methods for collecting data rather than standardized tests are better indicators of what ELLs can do. Younger students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, particularly have not been socialized to these types of tests, and one may end up underestimating the child's actual abilities (Navarrete et al., 1990). Relying on developmentally appropriate observations and using a variety of assessment formats can provide the best results of what a child can do and how to best help them reach their full potential.

Communicating Assessment with Families

When communicating assessment results with families it is important to remember the purpose for involving families in the first place. Why is the connection between families and school so important? Several research studies have supported family involvement by showing a positive effect on student achievement, and conversely, that lack of family participation in the learning process can be detrimental to students (Wilder, 2014). In a study of preschool students' grades and skill ratings, for example, Marcon (1999) found that parents with high involvement ratings had higher achieving students. This finding held across income levels and backgrounds of a variety of families. In research specific to migrant parents, another study found that children who were successful in school had family members who were actively engaged in supporting their children's education. López (2001) adds, however, that this engagement among ELL families might be in ways that are not commonly recognized by educators and policymakers. A variety of conceptualizations of involvement must be provided in these cases. Finally, Choi (2015) discovered that a high level of family engagement with school can impact achievement and self-efficacy well into high school.

Teachers must value parents as an important source of assessment information. Many opportunities for formal and informal exchanges with families to gather and share information about the child are important. Formal conferences are one way this can be accomplished, but informal communication should start on the first encounter with the child and families. Early in the process, information can be collected about the child's interests and background. Using an Interest Inventory in the family's native language is one way to accomplish this. An Interest Inventory is simply a list of questions that is designed to get to know the student better and build better relationships. One study reported children completing interest inventories appreciated the opportunity to talk about their interests, skills, and experiences (Brenna et al., 2017). Another study reported positive results in using this survey information for assessing early reading motivation (Marinak et al., 2015).

Collecting information about students' language development could be of particular importance for ELLs and their families. ELLs are unique in their backgrounds and may have a variety of languages that are used in the home that are important to consider. The student language inventory can include questions such as: Is English your first language? Can you speak another language? If yes, what language? What language do you speak most often with your family? As the first step in a multi-step method of recognizing students who qualify for English learner student services, most state education departments across the United States recommend or mandate schools to use a home language survey (Zehr, 2010). The Department of Education has developed a home language survey assess and support students' English language acquisition and achievement (Henry et al., 2017).

When sharing information such as portfolios of the child's work, allow opportunities for parents to ask questions and share their own experiences. When interviewing parents of ELLs about their experience in schools, it was found that barriers were more deeply rooted in relationships than in language differences (Good et al., 2010). The teacher can gain considerable insight into the child by listening carefully to parent responses and reports on their experiences with the child. Important information about the child's use of language can be gained from parent conferences, especially when the language used in the child’s classroom is different from the language used at home.

When working with families, it is important to encourage home language and literacy development. Teachers need to assure families that the continuation of the home language contributes to children’s ability to acquire English Language proficiency. Honoring and appreciating the cognitive advantage of multiple languages is key and can support and preserve home language learning. When communicating with families, it is important whenever possible to use home language.

Conclusion

ELLs are a growing population of children who will be filling tomorrow’s classrooms; therefore, it is vital for teachers to have a solid foundation for engaging students and their families in the assessment process to ensure optional learning. The teacher to family connection reaps many benefits including a window into the abilities and provides an asset-based approach to assessment. Assessing ELLs is different than assessing native English-speaking students, and engaging families is an important component of that process. The bridges teachers build with families today will have a more positive impact on ELLs growth and development for the future. By building these bridges with families through assessment, we can all “sit beside” and share in the child’s growth and development.

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Book Review

Horner, B. & Tetreault, L. (Eds.). (2017). *Crossing Divides: Exploring Translingual Writing Pedagogies and Programs*. Utah State University Press. 216 pages, $26.95 (paperback).
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Translingualism is a new concept, which believes two languages will be used in an integrated way to organize the mental processes of understanding, speaking and learning. In this sense, the boundaries between languages are unstable and penetrable, which creates a complex challenge for writing instruction. Bilingual writers actively switch between rhetorical strategies of different languages, sometimes introducing words or texts from one language to another to cause effects, solve problems or build identity. How to adapt to this reality while teaching certain writing conventions of a target language is a headache for teachers. The new edited book, *Crossing Divides* (Horner & Tetreault, 2017) provides various perspectives from leading scholars on the design and implementation of Translingual writing teaching methods and procedures.

The book consists of four parts. The first part provides a theoretical framework for translingual writing instruction. The second part offers teaching intervention in writing instruction in private and public institutions of higher learning in China, Korea and the United States. In the third part, researchers from four American institutions described the challenges and strategies involved in the use of Translingual methods in the design and implementation of writing courses. In the fourth part, three scholars answer the previous chapters' case studies and problems, and put forward the way that writing teachers, scholars and program managers can develop Translingual methods in their teaching context.

Chapter I (Guerra & Shivers-McNair) and II (Alvarez et al.) provide a general theoretical framework for the book. Guerra & Shivers-McNair compare translingualism to the quantum concept of entanglement and diffraction. These ideas give them a better understanding of the temporal dimension of utterances and its intertwining with the spatial. Alvarez et.al, from a completely different perspective, take up the relationship between national identity and ethnic languages, a relationship a translingual perspective challenges. They point out that " ethnic identities and heritage languages are always already translingual," and also recognize the reality of mixed practices.

Part two, “Pedagogical Interventions,” describes specific efforts working against the monolingualist ideology in pedagogy. In chapter three “Enacting Translingual Writing Pedagogy: Structures and Challenges for Two Courses in Two Countries,” William Lalicker describes two translingual composition courses. The courses are intended to enroll students with a diverse range of language backgrounds, and the design of the courses takes diversity as the norm. More importantly, the courses try to make “translingual rhetorical interaction central” to the pedagogy and to students’ writing (p. 52). In chapter four “Who Owns English in South Korea,” Patricia Bizzell explores the implications of language ownership by attending to the various senses in which contemporary South Koreans might be said to “own” English despite the status of English in South Korea only as a second language. In chapter five “Teaching Translingual Agency in Iteration: Rewriting Difference,” Bruce Horner focuses on differences inherent to all utterances, and concludes that “a pedagogy that enacts the tenets of translingual ideology can be a consequential approach to language and language relations” (p. 96).

The chapters in part three address interventions in the monolinguistic frameworks dominating writing instruction: curriculum, assessment, and the shifts in student demographics and institutional missions. In chapter six “Disrupting Monolingualist Ideologies in a Community College: A Translingual Studio Approach,” Katie Malcolm focuses on using acceleration programs to advance translingual approaches in writing instruction. By calling for resistance to “the monolingualist ideologies that deem certain students in need of remediation from the outset” (p. 103), Malcolm draws attention to the necessity of questioning monolingualist assumptions at the level of programmatic reform. To investigate how language ideologies inform the ways in which instructors evaluate students, Asao B. Inoue, in chapter seven “Writing Assessment as the Conditions for Translingual Approaches: An Argument for Fairer Assessments,” considers assessment as one site where writing programs can “find ways to cultivate a degree of fair conditions that agree with the basic assumptions translingual approaches hold” (p. 119). In chapter eight “Seizing an Opportunity for Translingual FYC at the University of Maine: Provocative Complexities, Unexpected Consequences,” Dylan Dryer and Paige Mitchell argue for a “documentary” approach to writing program administration. They explore “networks of documents and administrative structures” with which translingual dispositions can be scaffolded (p. 135). Their writing course at Maine shows how translingual approaches may be impacted by a university’s recruitment efforts for international students, and how documents such as rater responses to student portfolios can influence dispositions toward language use. Chris Gallagher and Matt Noonan address similar tensions in Chapter nine “Becoming Global: Learning to ‘Do’ Translingualism.” Gallagher and Noonan examine the dynamic between Northeastern University’s “branding” as a global university and the writing program’s efforts to develop translingual approaches to instruction and assessment. Their analysis of that dynamic leads them to realize that translingualism is “not a state of being, but rather a process we must learn and learn again” (p. 165).

Chapters (10-12) by Christine Tardy, Thomas Lavelle, and Kate Mangelsdorf comprising Part four offer responses to and perspectives on the efforts at crossing divides represented by the other chapters. In Chapter ten, Tardy points out the most urgent thing is to educate teachers about how to adopt a translingual disposition in the classroom. In chapter eleven “Ins and Outs of Translingual Labor,” Thomas Lavelle uses Imre Lakatos’s distinction between centrifugal and centripetal forces in disciplinary work to draw out a tension in the previous chapters between advocation of translingual ideology and attempts to enact these in curricula, programs, and pedagogy. In the chapter “Language Difference in Writing: Toward a Translingual Approach,” the authors acknowledge that in fact “we are still at the beginning stages of our learning efforts in this project” (Horner et al. 2011, p. 310).

As a teacher, I always believe that the key to successful teaching is knowing how students learn. Despite the fact that most people in the world are bilingual in 21st century (García, 2016), there is little understanding of how two or more languages interact and affect learning. This is because most education programs separate languages strictly, viewing bilingual writers as two monolinguals in one (Grosjean, 2004). This book fills this gap by offering great insight into translingual writing theory, practice, and reflection and providing concrete examples of teachers’ efforts in a variety of settings. Reading this book will allow many teachers including me interested in bilingual students’ learning to make more informed curriculum and instructional decisions.

Crossing Divides has significant implications especially for the institutions in the U.S. which are embracing increasing numbers of international students each year. This book provides concrete explorations, from a wide variety of institutional conditions and perspectives, of what might be involved in adopting a translingual approach as composition teachers, scholars, and program administrators. One point the book tries to emphasize: Translingual writing cannot be successful with the efforts of writing instructors only. To attempt to cross divides means the institutions must recognize the presence of the institutional, disciplinary, programmatic, curricular, and pedagogical divides they face. Only with more institutions applying the translingual writing pedagogies and encouraging multilingual students to use their home language in the process of text construction, would it truly benefit students and others (Canagarajah, 2011). In essence, writing pedagogy ought to be geared not to the attainment of the competence in a native speaker's monolingual model of writing conventions but to the accomplishment of multi-competence (Cook, 1992).

Although a comprehensive book it is, there are a few aspects the translingual approach worth addressing further. First and foremost, the definition of translingual practice seems to be stated vaguely in the book. Tardy (p. 181) considers translingualism as a new terminology for established ideas, which can ultimately restrict our understanding of an issue. In chapter 9, Gallagher and Noonan state "we cannot claim to be translingual; we can only learn to practice translingualism." This reveals that the contributors to this book still have not reached a consensus about translingual practice. Further exploration about translingualism is needed, because the complexity of the decisions on the curriculum requires school leadership to better understand translingual issues. It is also important to educate teachers, who will deliver the curriculum through their pedagogical practices (Garcia, 2016).

Second, despite the concrete examples of translingual pedagogical applications, contributors seem to hold concerns about the pragmatic implications of translingual writing instruction. As William Lalicker stated in chapter three “Enacting Translingual Writing Pedagogy: Structures and Challenges for Two Courses in Two Countries”, transnational learning sites are important for translingual writing, therefore he concludes as long as international study is a luxury privilege for wealthy students, translingual composition cannot be a transformative pedagogy. I hold a different view of this. I do not believe translingual pedagogy can only happen in a transnational learning context, by studying abroad to immerse students in a different language environment. In fact, with the growth of the internet and communications technology, it is convenient for students to be connected with their peers from all over the world. Many universities are providing programs bridging their students with overseas universities through social network apps such as skype or zoom. They can interact with each other, discuss topics and share their assignments in real time virtually. In this way translingual pedagogy can happen naturally without positioning students overseas and placing a financial burden on them to relocate in foreign countries. As Canagarajah (2013) points out, multilingual and multimodal language and literacy practices have been intensified by the mediation of digital tools, those literacy practices outside of formal school contexts should be deemed legitimate and valuable. When we have a broadened conception of translingual instruction, we should be able to realize that the geographical context is not a necessary factor for translingual pedagogy to occur.

Despite a few limitations, this book makes important contributions to the field of translingual writing by offering an introduction to translingual practice and progressive writing pedagogies in some universities. Hence, it is a valuable resource for writing program administrators and classroom writing instructors, especially for those in higher education.

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Information for Contributors

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