Academic discourse socialization of culturally and academically diverse students: Exploring legitimacy of (non)oral participation in an international graduate program

by

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Abstract

This study explores how a group of students from diverse academic and cultural backgrounds in a Canadian TESOL graduate program designed primarily for international students participate in class, how they perceive different modes of participation of other students in the class, and how this affects their academic socialization process. Through semi-structured qualitative interviews, I explore what are considered legitimate modes of (non) oral participation in their classrooms and what affects their academic discourse socialization. The study finds students develop and negotiate a variety of legitimate modes of participation, and the legitimacy of participation is fluid and contextual. That is, there is no definite mode of (non) oral participation that students need to perform for the participation to be perceived as legitimate by their peers.

Keywords: (non) oral participation; academic discourse socialization; EAL; internationalization of education; higher education
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List of Acronyms

ADS           Academic Discourse Socialization
EAL           English as an Additional Language
NS            Native Speakers of English
TESOL         Teaching English to Speakers of Other Language
Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. The motivation for this study

During my undergraduate career, I was fortunate to study in three very different academic contexts: an international university in Japan where students from almost 100 countries studied together, a traditional Japanese university, and a Finnish university. I remember when I first encountered different ways of learning and teaching in the international university in Japan. I once took a course taught by a Filipino professor with a good friend of mine who was an exchange student from the United States. I vividly remember how he always raised his hand during class and stated his opinions. There were other students like him, who actively participated in class, and the class was very interactive. This was a significant contrast to the educational culture that I was brought up in, where students were expected to listen to the teachers and follow what was told.

Similarly, during my study in Finland, I was surrounded by Western students who grew up in educational systems where speaking up in class was valued. I constantly felt the need for sharing my ideas as well, but for various reasons such as fear of being judged for my English skills and intelligence, I could never really speak up in class. I was frustrated that I could not meet what I would broadly term Western academic expectations. However, when I went back to Japan and went to a traditional Japanese university for a year, I was back to the academic culture where students’ contribution in class was not expected, and I was back to being a “good” student with good grades. However, the sense of being “unsuccessful” for not being able to be an active participant in previous educational contexts did not go away from me.

Because of those experiences, I understood some academic expectations in the Western educational system, and really did not want to feel deficient again. Therefore,

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1 I am aware that the term “Western” when used to refer to institutions or students can denote a simplistic generalization that does not account for inevitable differences in the experiences and values of individual people and in unique educational settings. Nevertheless, this is a term that is still commonly used outside (as well as occasionally within) academic discourse to denote a heritage of social norms, traditions, and values that have originated in Europe and have become dominant in politically and economically powerful nations and is a term I and my study participants are very familiar with.
when I moved to Canada to pursue my master’s degree, I tried my best to meet the similar expectations of the Canadian academic culture and speak up in class. Although it was still intimidating and uncomfortable to raise my hand and state my opinions, I pushed myself to do so. As a result, I was able to be an active participant in the classroom, but in the course of my study and in writing this thesis I also came to realize that there were different ways of legitimate participation in class. Although the master’s program I was enrolled in was in a Canadian university, the program was designed for international students, and my classmates were from all over the world. The majority of my classmates were from China, which shares an educational system similar to the one I experienced in Japan where students’ participation in class is not as valued, and thus there were many students from educational backgrounds similar to mine. There were some classmates who had studied primarily in Western educational contexts as well. Thus, because of differences in educational cultures (Jin & Coratazzi, 1996) students were familiar with, there seemed to be a clear divide in class based on participants’ customary ways of learning.

This made me question what I had believed, i.e., that adaptation to the new academic context and being able to always meet the assumed academic expectations are necessary to be a successful learner in a Western country. Especially in this globalizing world, classrooms are becoming more and more diverse and students from different backgrounds are learning together. Therefore, it could be argued that understanding different experiences and perspectives of students could be more important than having one definition of success in a given context that students need to adapt to.

Also, despite my unpleasant experience in the classroom in my undergraduate studies, I still developed meaningful relationships with other students from all over the world in the international university in Japan and in Finland. In addition, through my experience, I have learned that unique ideas can be created through working with people from different cultures rather than working with people from the same culture. Therefore, the divide between active participants and silent students that I experienced in my graduate classroom in Canada was shocking and I felt that I had to explore it further. In order for a classroom to become a place where every student can learn and flourish, I am convinced that more students’ perspectives and experiences in multicultural environments should be examined and understood. That is one reason why I decided to transfer from the international M.Ed. program in which I was enrolled to an MA program that requires
engaging in research in order to explore what I and other students in the MEd program experienced in the multicultural classroom.

1.2. Justification for the study

In this era of globalization, many universities are internationalizing across the world, especially in Western countries. By Western universities, I mean in this thesis universities in so-called English speaking countries such as the United States and Australia (OECD, 2017, pp. 288–293). In Canada, the country where I am doing my master’s degree, in 2014, approximately 11% of full-time undergraduate students, and 28% of graduate students were international students (“Internationalization at Canadian universities,” 2014). Arguably, classrooms are becoming ethnically, linguistically, and culturally more diverse. Consequently, it is notable that students with diverse academic and cultural backgrounds bring unique values with them to the classroom that may or may not be different from the assumed norms in Canadian classrooms. Since educational expectations vary around the world, it has become important to recognize the differences and similarities brought to the classroom by diverse students (Rubenstein, 2006).

Internationalization in postsecondary educational contexts is defined as the “intentional process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of postsecondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to the society” (De Wit & Hunter, 2015, p.3). In this view, internationalization of universities does not simply mean bringing students and teachers from different backgrounds together, but rather, it is a constant effort to ensure that the quality of education is maintained for all students and staff. It can also be argued that if internationalization is done with all perspectives in mind, classrooms can be places for creating new positive values in a changing society. That way, not only universities, but also international students as well as domestic students can benefit from the internationalization. In order for that to happen, we need to intentionally create a classroom where all perspectives and modes of learning are valued. Therefore, I believe that it is crucial to examine and understand students’ experiences in multicultural classrooms and address different perspectives.
As mentioned, as a current international student in a graduate program in Canada, I have observed conflicts regarding different academic expectations. For instance, in the Japanese educational context I was brought up in, students’ active participation -- e.g., asking questions, giving opinions, and answering questions posed by the instructor or fellow students (Abdullah, Bakar, & Mahbob, 2012) -- was not as valued as it seems to be here in Canada. Looking at the syllabi, many of my courses here include requirements such as “active participation”, “meaningful contribution”, or something along those lines for student evaluation purposes, which I rarely saw on the syllabi when I was studying in a Japanese university. Before I experienced different ways of teaching and learning outside of the Japanese educational system in which I was brought up, participation to me was simply showing up to class, listening to the teacher, taking notes, and doing the task I was told to do. Therefore, as already stated, I had a hard time getting used to this “new” kind of participation. Similarly, oral participation can be challenging for EAL students who come from an educational system where students’ active participation is not expected, and there is an increasing number of studies on EAL students’ participation in Western graduate programs that attest to that (e.g., Choi, 2015; Kettle, 2005; Kim, 2007; Lee, 2000; Morita, 2000, 2004, 2009; Tatar, 2005).

When a classroom is more diverse, it is likely that students are used to different academic cultures, and there might be multiple types of participation in class. There are increasing numbers of studies on how individual and groups of students from similar backgrounds participate and negotiate their academic identities in the Western academic discourse (e.g., Choi, 2015; Kettle, 2005; Morita, 2004, 2009). In particular, I found very useful studies on oral participation in graduate programs where international students are a minority and native speakers of English are a majority (e.g., Morita, 2004).

In this study, I explore how a group of students from diverse academic and cultural backgrounds in a Canadian graduate program participate in class, how they perceive different modes of participation of other students in the class, and how this affects their academic socialization process. By different modes of participation, I mean a variety of ways to participate in class such as active oral participation and non-oral participation, including silence as a way of participation in whole class activities or when engaging in group projects. In this particular setting, unlike many discussed in previous literature, although the program is in a Canadian graduate school, the majority of students were not native speakers of English (NS), but English as an Additional Language (EAL) speakers.
I believe that examining students’ experiences from different perspectives, and bringing their experiences and perspectives together are crucial to understand the whole picture of what multicultural classrooms in the context of internationalization look like in terms of participation. Therefore, in my research, I explore the academic discourse socialization experiences of students from diverse academic and cultural backgrounds in an international graduate program in a Canadian university by focusing on their experiences regarding different modes of participation, with the following research question: “What do students consider as legitimate modes of participation in a TESOL graduate program designed primarily for international students in a Canadian university?”

1.3. Structure of this thesis

In this thesis, in chapter 2, I review literature, especially about EAL students’ participation in Western graduate programs, which is relevant to my study. In chapter 3, I discuss the theoretical framework guiding the study, which includes work on academic discourse socialization (e.g., Anderson, 2017; Morita, 2000) with a brief discussion of language socialization, which is a part of academic discourse socialization, as well as the notion of communities of practice (CoP) (Lave & Wenger, 1991) which is often used in scholarship attempting to understand processes of language socialization and academic socialization. In chapter 4, I discuss the methodology of my study in addressing my research question and explain my research design. In chapter 5, I analyze my data in reference to the research question, making connections to the literature and theoretical frameworks. Lastly, in chapter 6, I discuss my findings as well as suggest implications of the study for teachers and graduate programs in Western universities.
Chapter 2. Literature review on EAL participation in university settings

2.1. Introduction

With the growing enrolment of international students at graduate level in Western universities (OECD, 2017, pp. 286–290), it has become critical to consider how international students acquire new social and academic discourses (Morita, 2004). Although language issues tend to be the focus when it comes to international students’ adjustment to a new academic discourse (Andrade, 2006), researchers have also examined international graduate students’ experiences in the classroom such as participation (Choi, 2015; Kettle, 2005; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Tatar, 2005), identity construction (Barnawi, 2009; Ilieva, 2010), and academic socialization (Anderson, 2017; Duff, 2010; Morita, 2000, 2004, 2009; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). Given my research focus, in this chapter, I will discuss the studies mentioned above in some detail in order to highlight available research on students’ participation in Western universities especially at the graduate level. I will start by reviewing literature on EAL students’ silence and/or non-oral participation, move on to reviewing literature on EAL students’ identity and legitimacy negotiation regarding their participation, and literature on their experience regarding oral academic presentation. I will then review limited available literature on EAL students’ experiences in an international program. I will end the chapter by summarizing what I consider to be the gap in the literature that my study will address. I will mainly focus on literature exploring EAL students’ participation in class in Western universities at graduate level, as my study is about students’ participation in a graduate program in Canada as well. In order to gain a deeper insight of EAL students’ perceptions as well as those of native speakers, I will review some studies done at the undergraduate level dealing with NS students’ perceptions of their EAL classmates’ participation as well.

Especially in graduate programs in Western universities which have been receiving an increasing number of students from various parts of the world (OECD, 2017, pp. 286–290), it is possible that instructors, local students, and international students may have different academic expectations because of different “cultures of learning” (Jin & Corataazzi, 1996) that each student is used to. This term refers to:
taken-for-granted frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about what constitutes good learning, about how to teach or learn, whether and how to ask questions, what textbooks are for, and how language teaching relates to broader issues of the nature and purpose of education. (Jin & Corataazzi, 1996, p. 1)

Due to differences in cultures of learning, a major area of interest in the field is oral participation and silence of EAL students in the classroom (e.g., Choi, 2015; Tatar, 2005) as cultures of silence and speaking are different in different cultures (Schenke, 1991). In many cases, because of these different cultures of learning regarding oral participation expected in EAL students’ home academic cultures and their new academic culture of the Western classroom, EAL students’ participation can be seen and/or understood differently by their peers and instructors. It can also affect EAL students’ academic discourse socialization processes. Thus, research on participation has been of paramount interest for academics aiming to understand EAL students’ experiences in Western universities. Below, I will first review some literature regarding EAL students’ participation in Western classrooms, which is often seen as “silence” but really, can be viewed as non-oral participation.

2.2. Silence/ non-oral participation

As student discussion is commonly a major classroom activity in Western countries, especially in graduate courses, silence or lack of active participation of EAL students tends to be a concern for instructors (Tatar, 2005). In English teaching and learning, which revolve around cultural, racial, class, and linguistic diversity, it is crucial to pay attention to students’ silence, especially of minority and EAL students (Schenke, 1991). In some literature, researchers often call EAL students’ apparent lack of participation “silence”. However, in many cases, what researchers explore and find out are aspects of EAL students’ non-oral participation. Therefore, in this section, I will review some literature dealing with EAL graduate students’ silence and/or non-oral participation.

In her study, Schenke (1991) explored silence in the EAL classrooms in Canada through a series of stories. A female Japanese student in her classroom explained her belief about silence using a Japanese proverb: silence is golden, meaning that remaining silent according to the circumstances can be more valuable than speaking up. She
explained that in Japan, people usually listen to others first and think carefully about what they would like to say trying not to hurt others’ feelings. The author introduced other stories too, to illustrate that “being silent is different from being silenced” (Schenke, 1991, p. 50). She argued that especially in EAL settings where legacies of colonialism remain, who speaks and who listens under what conditions matter.

There have also been studies that explored EAL students’ silence/non-oral participation specifically in graduate programs in Western universities. Below, I will review five prominent studies on EAL graduate students’ silence/non-oral participation in Western universities. After that, I will review one study on different “cultures of learning” to better understand how perspectives and beliefs about participation in class differ depending on the academic culture. Lastly, I will review one more study on EAL student’s oral participation in class influenced by culture of learning, which explored how the participant learned new academic culture of his host country and changed his participation accordingly. I exclude studies that explored EAL students’ participation at undergraduate level, EAL graduate students’ participation in non-Western classrooms, and/or EAL students’ participation in English language classrooms.

As part of a multi-case ethnographic study of Asian graduate students’ classroom communication patterns in US universities using interviews and classroom observations, Liu (2002) explored three Chinese graduate students’ “complexities of silence” (p. 37) in the classroom. He found that elements of Chinese culture such as face-saving and beliefs about academic culture greatly influenced their silence. For instance, the study participants’ accounts suggested that they chose to be silent to hide their “poor English speaking abilities”, or when they could not formulate their ideas in an appropriate and timely manner during the classroom discussions either due to lack of content knowledge or perceived limited English skills. Also, in his analysis, Liu (2002) stated that the Chinese concept of san si er xing, which means to think twice before you speak, contributed to their silence. One student actively participated in discussions when he felt that his questions would contribute to his classmates’ learning, but did not ask questions or speak up when the subject matter was unfamiliar to him because it would lead to losing the opportunity to gain public face for him and his fellow Chinese classmates.

The students’ beliefs about what constitutes good learning also contributed to their silence. The study participants did not associate oral participation with academic
achievement. One participant believed that understanding is the most important factor in evaluating one’s academic achievement, and he believed he benefits from listening to others if he is active in thinking. Another participant believed that as long as she obtains high scores in exams, which reflects her knowledge and ability, she is learning and has face regardless of her inactive role in class participation. They also thought “easy questions” should not be raised in whole class discussions, but rather, “good questions” which stimulate discussions and motivate thinking should be asked in class. The study showed that all participants valued and benefited from classroom communication without necessarily orally participating in discussions. Their silence was reflection of their belief about what constitutes good learning, and face-saving strategies.

Tatar (2005) conducted a multicase study involving four students whom she observed and interviewed to explore silence as a means of communication through the perceptions of Turkish graduate students in the US. She found that they participated in class discussions through silence, and that silence was used for different purposes. For example, the students stayed silent as a face-saving strategy, meaning that they tend to not speak up when they are unsure about something, or when they are worried about being perceived by their classmates as not intelligent. This was due to both their perceived limited English skills and content knowledge as well as experience in the US. According to the students, they also used silence as a means of respect and consideration to others. Some of them considered not speaking up without being invited to the discussion as a sign of respect. They also considered it respectful to not point out or argue when they had opposing ideas to instructors or other classmates and did not want to cause misunderstandings or unnecessary conflicts in class. Moreover, they stayed silent as a reaction to other students’ contributions; the interview transcripts suggested that they believed that participation should be meaningful, and they showed some resentment towards some classmates who they felt just kept talking with no specific directions or points.

Even though the Turkish students tended to be quiet in class discussions, they were eager to participate in class. For instance, they were attentively listening to their instructors and classmates, taking notes, working responsibly in group work, and participating through gestures. They also emailed professors about the readings and said that they do not believe participation is only about speaking, rather it also includes reading and listening attentively. The study found that the majority of students associated listening
with learning, especially listening to instructors, which they found the best way to understand course content, and it enabled them to make themselves familiar with colloquial use of the English language as well. The study also found students’ silence was not necessarily an indication of their lack of knowledge or interest, but rather, it was a conscious choice made by the EAL students. Additionally, the study found that because of emphasis on active oral participation in class, the EAL students’ silence limited their ability to display their full potential to be competent members of the academic community, and conflicted with their identity as competent and successful students that they had in their own country, Turkey.

Researching the question of silence of EAL students, Lee (2009) explored master’s and PhD Korean students’ oral participation in class discussions in US graduate programs through interviews and class observations. Korean students tended to consider themselves as the “quietest” students in their classrooms, and their reasons for silence were also similar to what Tatar (2005) found. For Korean students in Lee’s study, academic culture played a role, too. According to the interviews, although the Korean students understood the Western academic norms such as talking as being perceived as a learning mechanism, they also thought only sharing what is essential with others in class was important rather than sharing everything, which comes from their educational background. Therefore, they stayed silent if they did not think their ideas were worth sharing with others. Not only the academic culture, but also cultural factors from Korean culture such as interactional rules associated with gender and age, and military practice played a role in their participation, too.

Choi (2015) also explored Korean students’ oral participation in class discussions in a US graduate program in his case study conducting interviews. On top of Lee’s (2009) findings such as students’ silence in the classroom being tied to their perceived lack of sufficient English proficiency and face-saving, he found that even though his participants were quiet in class, they had a strong desire to contribute and they were participating actively in online discussions where they had time to think and construct their arguments. It is important to note that although participants in his study were aware that they were quiet when they were expected to be more active in discussions, they believed that not speaking up does not necessarily mean that students are not engaged in class. In addition, some silent students even expressed their surprise when other students asked basic questions to professors in class.
In their study on Indonesian students’ academic engagement in an American graduate school using surveys and interviews, Mukminin and McMahon (2013) found that students’ unfamiliarity with American classroom dynamics contributed to their silence in classroom. The accounts of the participants suggested that difference between their home academic culture and American classroom culture was one of the factors that influenced their participation. While students are typically passive taking notes and listening to teachers, who are considered more knowledgeable and responsible for explaining the subject in Indonesia, the participants described American classroom culture as active class participation culture. Although they understood the expectations in their new academic community, they said they were not used to contributing to the discussions and were used to “being humble” and “silent”. According to the participants, another factor contributing to their silence was their perceived lack of English skills. The participants shared their lack of confidence contributing to their difficulty in delivering oral presentations and the researcher found them being afraid of making mistakes when speaking in English in front of native speakers too.

The five studies reviewed above found that English language proficiency of EAL students was just one of many reasons for their silence in the classroom, and there were many others that influenced their oral participation. These factors included insufficient knowledge of academic content, academic language, differences in classroom mannerism between their host countries and their home countries, and individual differences. Also, face-saving with respect to sense of one’s personal dignity played a role in EAL students’ participation in class. Together, these studies show that EAL students’ cultural and academic backgrounds played a significant role in their silence.

In their overview of multiple case studies on higher education internationalization worldwide, Jin and Cortazzi (2017) demonstrated different cultural approaches to asking and not asking questions in class among East and Southeast Asian university students and British, European, and American university students making reference to the concept of cultures of learning (Jin & Cortazzi, 1996). On top of the reasons for EAL students’ silence discussed in other research, they found that EAL students in their study did not ask questions because they expected that their questions would be answered through the teaching later in class, as they assumed that good, well-prepared teachers would have anticipated questions while planning and preparing for the lessons. Therefore, these EAL students thought they should wait for the answers and relevant information patiently, and
if they did not receive the answers during the teachers’ instruction, they concluded that their queries might have not been important.  

On the other hand, Western students in Jin and Cortazzi’s (2017) study believed that their questions were welcomed by teachers as discussion is an important aspect for learning. Also, most Western students thought they needed to ask questions with a minimum delay to not affect their learning during subsequent teaching. In addition, they believed that asking questions and speaking up in discussion represented active learning and staying silent and just listening meant being minimally active or not at all. The authors argue that in the context of the internationalization of higher education, both NS students’ and EAL students’ cultural and academic backgrounds need to be taken into consideration. They also argue that when teachers, domestic students, and EAL students practice cultures of learning by learning about and respecting different expectations of classroom practices, internationalizing universities will bring personal and professional benefits to all.  

All these studies show the complex nature of silence among EAL students in classroom settings. Also, it is notable that although EAL students understood the expectation in Western academic contexts to speak up, some of them were unsatisfied with their classmates’ “pointless” discussions and some chose to be silent. This shows that EAL students do not necessarily change their mode of participation even if they understand the expectations of their new academic community, but rather, they make their own choice as to whether they want to adopt the norms prevalent in their new academic community. The studies also show how culturally and academically diverse students may have different perceptions of participation in class. In addition, it is evident from these studies that EAL students’ “silence” does not necessarily mean that they are not participating, but rather, they are engaged in class and are participating orally and/or non- orally.  

On the other hand, there are also cases where EAL students choose to change the way they participate in class, and adapt to the new academic discourse community in ways assumed by the host institution. Making reference to Butler’s and Davies’ notions of agency, Kettle (2005) explored how a Thai international student adapted to a new academic environment in a graduate program in an Australian university. Kettle also drew on language learner identity theorizing where identity refers to “how a person understands
his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (Norton, 2013, p. 45), and it plays an important role in how students participate in L2 classrooms. Kettle examined how the Thai student engaged and negotiated with the discourses in the new academic context through analysis of interview transcripts. She found that the student went through a process of fitting into the new academic discourse community through “agentive actions” such as trying to understand the academic expectations by observing how his classmates participate and changing the way he participates in class through trying to speak up more. The author presented this adaptation as a “success” for him.

As a result of this success, he started to speak up in class, which Kettle (2005) described as the participant’s becoming "audible". Initially, he felt like his existence did not matter in class, which made him feel like "nobody" and “ashamed”, but by becoming audible, he felt like "somebody" who could express his opinions. In his successful adaptation, his instructor played an important role as she encouraged him to speak up in class and acted as an “interactive other”. With her help, he gradually negotiated his identity as a legitimate student in the academic discourse of an Australian graduate program and became “audible”. The study presents an example of how EAL students negotiate their identity in the new academic discourse to become a legitimate member of the community, and how this can result in students changing the way they participate in classroom. Moreover, it showcased how student’s agency and “interactive others”, in this case, an instructor, influence EAL student’s identity negotiation in the new academic discourse.

I reviewed the eight studies above to better understand graduate EAL students’ “silence”, or in some cases, non-oral participation, in their classroom. While it seems that Western instructors and students consider speaking up and orally participating and contributing to class discussions as a primary mode of participation, the studies reviewed here suggest that EAL students are participating in class non-orally as well. What is perceived as “silence”, such as listening attentively and remaining silent when the students feel that speaking does not seem appropriate and meaningful for their classmates’ learning, can in fact be non-oral participation. These studies also reveal some reasons for EAL students’ silence in classroom; their perceived lack of English skills and content knowledge are some of the common reasons for their silence. Also, their cultural backgrounds affect the way they participate in class. There are also some cases where those factors affect EAL students’ identity negotiation in their new academic community.
such as seeing themselves as incompetent compared to their classmates. This can be seen through the lens of academic discourse socialization (ADS) theorizing. Thus, in the next section, I will review three studies that explored EAL students’ participation and how it affected their identity negotiation in Western graduate programs, drawing on ADS. A more detailed discussion of ADS as a theoretical lens follows in the next chapter.

2.3. Identity negotiation in the context of academic discourse socialization

There are other cases in the literature exploring EAL students’ oral participation in Western graduate programs focusing primarily on their identity negotiation. In her qualitative multiple case study, Morita (2004) explored Japanese female graduate students’ academic discourse socialization (ADS) in a Canadian university focusing on their negotiation of participation and identity. I will address the theoretical tenets of ADS in my next chapter, which focuses on the theoretical frames that guide me in my study. In analyzing the EAL students’ ADS, Morita (2004) used Lave and Wenger’s notion of “communities of practice”, which will be explained in some detail in the second half of this chapter addressing the theoretical frames that guide me in my study. In the communities of practice in their graduate programs in the Canadian university, these Japanese female students perceived English language skills and ability to contribute to the class discussions as competence that they need to develop to become legitimate members of the community. Therefore, some of the participants in Morita’s study tried to improve their English skills and speak up in class regardless of their self-doubt of their language proficiency and content knowledge to gain legitimacy in the academic community. However, there were some factors that contributed to their silence regardless. Face-saving was one of them; they did not feel comfortable speaking up as they felt like they were less experienced or knowledgeable than other classmates. Also, similarly to the studies discussed above, lack of content knowledge as well as perceived limited English skills were factors for their silence.

However, they also took actions to become legitimate members of the community using various strategies. For example, one student emailed an instructor asking her to make some adjustments in class to accommodate EAL students’ needs by speaking slowly and providing some background information of contents dealt in class so that she could participate more. Despite this, the instructor told her that her lack of participation
was due to the language barrier; the student did not agree, and she ended up not pursuing fuller participation in the classroom. It is important to note that she was learning and participating more in another course she was taking. In other words, the Japanese students participated in class communities of practice differently; peripherally or fully depending on their own perceptions as well as their instructors’ and classmates’ perceptions of them and their actions.

The study’s findings suggest that EAL students’ silence did not necessarily represent their lack of desire to participate, but in fact, they were engaged with various cognitive, emotional, and social activities. Also, not only language related issues, but also multiple interrelated issues such as issues of culture, identity, curriculum, pedagogy, and power were also behind their silence and/or non-oral participation. In addition, in their ADS, the students constantly negotiated their identity and membership in a given classroom community. At the same time, their membership and identity in given academic discourse communities shaped, and were shaped by their class participation, which was related to their sense of competence produced in the classroom.

Another example showing how multiple factors influence EAL students’ participation and ADS can be found in Morita’s (2009) study. As part of a multiple case study, she explored the academic discourse socialization of a male doctoral Japanese student in a Canadian university using Lave and Wenger’s notion of communities of practice and Ochs’s social constructivist notions of identity and gender (As cited in Morita, 2009). Similar to findings in the literature discussed above, the student in her study felt that he was lacking academic English competence to legitimately participate in his new academic discourse communities. This hindered his participation in class discussions as well as communicating his understandings and perspectives on the research topics. As a result, he considered himself the only person who did not contribute any comments, unlike his classmates, who, in his eyes, actively engaged in discussions and contributed comments. Differences in academic culture between the Japanese and Canadian educational systems also played a role in his discourse socialization. He found that it was hard for him to jump into discussions as it was different from what he was used to — learning and getting knowledge from professors who are more knowledgeable.

However, after a while, although he improved his English skills and learned the norms and expectations in the new academic discourse, he examined their advantages
and disadvantages, and negotiated his participation based on the sense he developed on how graduate students should behave. For instance, although he enjoyed the active participation by students in discussions, he also got frustrated with the unfocused and open-ended discussions. Therefore, he participated in class differently depending on the context. For instance, he participated in class discussions actively in some courses where international students’ perspectives were appreciated. On the other hand, he took a marginal stance in a course where he felt like his perspectives were not appreciated and understood by the instructor. He thought his instructor had a strong interest in feminism, whereas he thought his approaches to pedagogical issues treated in class might be considered a “male perspective” (p. 453). Because of this, gender played a significant role in his ADS in the course. The study showed how different factors such as language, culture, and gender can contribute to EAL students’ challenges in gaining fuller membership in the new academic discourse community. Also, it provided another example of how EAL students’ socialization to their new academic communities can be selective and how they negotiate their identity differently in different contexts.

Drawing on the communities of practice perspective, Barnawi (2009) examined two Saudi students’ academic discourse socialization in a TESOL graduate program in universities in the United States through personal narrative and individual interviews. He found that they tied contributing to discussions to legitimacy in the community and considered English as a tool for gaining legitimacy in the academic community. Thus, they initially constructed their identity as less competent members of the community due to their inability to actively participate in discussions because of their perceived lack of linguistic and academic competence. This negative identity even made them feel uncomfortable to have native English speakers in their class and although they understood the academic expectations in their academic community which is to contribute to discussions, they did not want to participate. However, they were determined to gain legitimacy in the community, and they used different strategies to negotiate their identities. For instance, they would avoid eye-contact with professors so that the professors would not point the Saudi students out to speak, which would possibly lead them to lose legitimacy as members of the academic community by not speaking English “properly”. Other examples include taking notes during the class to show their classmates that they were participating, visiting instructors during their office hours and meeting classmates
outside of classroom for small-group discussions, which allowed them to improve their oral skills and engage with class content by participating in non-threatening environments.

It is important to note that although their perceived lack of linguistic and academic competence played a role in their identity construction and deconstruction, their educational and cultural backgrounds also played a role in this process. For instance, in his analysis, Barnawi (2009) stated that coming from a teacher-dominant culture, the participants perceived professors as figures of authority and did not want to say anything that might potentially cause conflicts with the professor, and listened to the professors without speaking up as they believed that teachers, as the only source of knowledge, should do the talk. However, finding out the academic expectations in the student-oriented classroom which requires students to actively engage and participate in discussions, they negotiated their participation and membership. The author concluded that the two students both experienced significant transformations in their identity and value about teaching and learning, which affected their approach to academic socialization. They negotiated their identities in response to the classroom community’s social, cultural, and pedagogical settings.

The three studies above show how EAL students can socialize into their new academic discourse to gain fuller participation in their community through learning the community’s academic expectations. In these studies, this is done through learning how to participate in class discussions, which is to actively participate. The findings of those studies about why EAL students participate the way they do echo findings from studies I reviewed in 2.2. Lack of perceived content knowledge and English skills as well as cultural influence were some factors. Not being able to participate as expected in their new academic community can contribute to developing negative identity as a less competent member of the community. Also, the studies show how EAL students constantly negotiate their identities such as how they are perceived as a member of their academic communities by other members of the community, and how they perceived themselves in their new academic discourse community, and sometimes they choose to participate marginally depending on how other members of the community treat them.

Studies that I have discussed show that oral participation in classroom discussions can be one challenge that EAL studies in Western graduate programs face in their ADS process. In the next section, I review two studies which explored EAL students’ ADS by
focusing specifically on oral academic presentations, which is another area EAL students find challenging.

## 2.4. Oral academic presentations

In the frame of academic discourse socialization, there are several studies that especially focus on oral academic presentations (OAP). Morita (2000) explored NES and EAL students’ discourse socialization through OAP in a TESOL graduate program in Canada in her ethnographic study. She found that both NES and EAL students negotiated their participation in OAP and found OAP can be challenging for both NES and EAL students. However, the reasons why they found them challenging varied. For instance, their perceived limited English skills and lack of confidence due to lack of English skills and knowledge about the topic were why EAL students found OAP challenging. In addition, different academic cultures between their home countries and Canada made it challenging for them to engage in OAP. In contrast, stimulating and challenging their peers intellectually through OAP were what NES students found difficult, and having been away from school for a long time also contributed to their lack of confidence in OAP. Despite having different reasons, both NES and EAL students developed their own strategies such as bringing their own unique perspectives as an experienced teacher or an EAL learner, or using audiovisuals, to socialize into the discourse community through OAP. As a result, Morita (2000) found that “both nonnative and native speakers gradually became apprenticed into oral academic discourses through ongoing negotiations with instructors and peers as they prepared for, observed, performed, and reviewed oral academic presentations” (p. 279).

Zappa-Hollman (2007) explored the ADS of EAL graduate students through their engagement in academic presentations in a Canadian university in her qualitative multiple-case study. Similar to the reasons for some EAL students’ silence in the classroom, EAL students in her study also found sounding “smart” and stating their ideas clearly challenging due to their perceived limited English skills. Some EAL students also found managing question and discussion periods challenging as they sometimes faced terms they were not familiar with, which led them to feel intellectually inferior to other peers. On the other hand, giving a presentation itself was less challenging than engaging in class discussions as they could prepare a transcript beforehand and practice many times for the presentation.
These two studies suggest that OAP can be challenging for both NES and EAL students in graduate programs, and all students negotiate their participation in their academic discourse communities. However, for EAL students, their perceived limited English proficiency was one of the factors impacting their negotiation, which echo other studies I discussed above about EAL students’ participation.

Moreover, as Morita (2004) argues, it is also crucial to note that the same learner can participate variously in different contexts. For instance, all these studies about EAL students' oral participation mentioned above (Barnawi, 2009; Choi, 2015; Kettle, 2005; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Morita, 2000, 2004, 2009; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Tatar, 2005; Zappa-Hollman, 2007) took place in what I term “regular” graduate programs in Western universities, i.e. programs not designed specifically for a particular student population. Many of the EAL students in those studies shared their concern about their opinions being irrelevant to other classmates who are socialized in the discourses of the host country. They also had difficulty connecting what is dealt with in class to their own background knowledge and experiences, which hindered their participation in class discussions.

2.5. EAL students’ experience in an international graduate program

As mentioned, in previous studies that I have introduced above (e.g., Choi, 2015; Lee, 2009; Morita, 2004), EAL students were studying in a “regular” graduate programs, and lack of content knowledge in their new discourse influenced their participation. Therefore, I was curious to see what EAL students’ participation in class would look like in a graduate program that specifically takes EAL students’ educational experiences into account when creating curricula. Thus, I will discuss two studies that explored EAL students’ experience in a graduate program which is designed for international students.

Beck, Ilieva, Scholefield, and Waterstone (2007) explored a graduate program in a Canadian university which was designed for international students. With the internationalization of higher education, many international students from Asia study at Western universities, but often times, the curricula are not developed with those international students in mind. Therefore, the curricula may often be inaccessible to the international students and what they can bring to the classroom may not be taken into account (Beck, et al., 2007). However, in the program they discuss, teachers had also
lived abroad, and had worked in more than one language, thus, they were aware of what it is like to study in a foreign educational context, and these teachers worked to create a third pedagogical space. In order to allow this, they were mindful in their preparations and met with other faculty members frequently as well as worked with students individually to ensure that they accompanied those international students’ journey in the new academic environment. They also made sure to allow space in their classes for students to negotiate their background knowledge and experiences with the course curricula.

In any university setting, classroom interaction depends on the composition of the class such as students’ previous educational experiences and backgrounds (Dippold, 2015), and classroom discourse such as interactional and interpersonal context is inseparable from learners’ participation (Morita, 2004). Ilieva (2010) explored the discursive constructions of professional identity that EAL students from ‘periphery’ countries developed in an international TESOL graduate program in Canada, a ‘center’ country. Although the program is in a Canadian university, it is designed for international students; the contents dealt with in the program are primarily about global contexts and there were no local students in the program. The curriculum was designed for EAL students to study in a ‘centre’ country yet allow them to develop professional identities that are meaningful in their own local teaching contexts. Ilieva found that through continuous participation in questioning, critique, and re-creating English language teaching in global and local contexts, EAL students constructed positive identity as multicompetent non-native English-speaking teachers (NNEST). The study provided insight on how EAL students can construct a positive identity in their new academic discourse when the curriculum is designed with their perspectives in mind.

2.6. NS students’ perceptions of EAL students

There is insufficient focus in the academic literature on the perceptions of NS students working with EAL students. There are some studies dealing with both NS and EAL students in the same classroom, but the focus is not the students’ perceptions about participation. Thus, I will be reviewing Leki’s (2001) study to introduce NS students’ perceptions of EAL students’ participation in this section. Leki (2001) found that some EAL students in her study felt that NS students in their class did not want to work with them and resisted or ignored their potential contributions. NS students appeared to see EAL students less capable and not valuable to the project. In addition, this created an
apprentices-novices relationship between NS students and EAL students. It also affected EAL students’ positioning and participation. It is important to note that the NS students’ perceptions of EAL students in Leki’s (2001) study were based on the EAL students’ interviews and observations. Given the paucity of studies in this area, therefore, it would be worthwhile to examine both NS and EAL students’ perspectives in the same classroom.

2.7. Summary

A number of authors have recognized that perceived lack of English proficiency tends to be one of the factors of EAL students’ so-called silence and lack of active participation in class (e.g., Choi, 2015; Lee, 2009; Tatar, 2005) along with many other factors such as face-saving (e.g., Choi, 2015; Tatar, 2005), differences in academic cultures (e.g., Jin & Cortazzi, 2017; Lee, 2009), lack of content knowledge (e.g., Choi, 2015; Morita, 2004), home culture (Lee, 2009), and gender (Morita, 2009). It is important to note that even if EAL students learned the academic expectations and norms in the new academic discourse communities, there are cases where students decided to adjust to the new academic culture by speaking up in class (e.g., Tatar, 2005), and cases they chose to participate in ways they thought were right such as only sharing what would be worthwhile to share (e.g., Lee, 2009). In other words, EAL students constantly negotiated their identity with respect to their participation in the new academic discourse communities.

Some studies also suggest that the perceived lack of English can be tied to EAL students’ legitimacy in their new academic discourse communities (e.g., Barnawi, 2009; Morita, 2004). It is also evident that although some EAL students worked on improving their English skills in order to gain legitimacy and membership in the academic discourse communities, even after they became more comfortable with their English, they negotiated their participation and participated differently depending on the context (e.g., Morita, 2004, 2009). It is also reported in the literature that various internal and external factors influence EAL students’ construction and deconstruction of identity in their new academic discourse (e.g, Anderson, 2017). Studies show that while factors such as negative perceptions of EAL students by domestic students (Leki, 2001), not being able to contribute to class discussions (e.g., Barnawi, 2009), and lack of content knowledge (e.g., Morita, 2004) can negatively affect EAL students’ identity negotiation, in a carefully designed curriculum with
EAL students’ perspectives in mind (Beck et al., 2007), EAL students construct a positive identity as a multicompetent legitimate member of their community (Ilieva, 2010).

2.8. Gap in the literature

In the studies to date, which I reviewed above, while local students show their dissatisfaction with EAL classmates’ insufficient participation in class (Leki, 2001), EAL students showed their frustration with L1 students’ “meaningless” participation (e.g., Choi, 2015; Tatar, 2005). This shows that there is a lack of understanding of different modes of participation in the classroom among students. Besides, although there have been studies which focus on EAL students’ participation (Barnawi, 2009; Choi, 2015; Kettle, 2005; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Morita, 2004, 2009; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013; Tatar, 2005; Zappa-Hollman, 2007), little attention has been given to local students’ participation in multicultural classrooms. In addition, interestingly, the studies mentioned above examine individual students’ experiences (Kettle, 2005; Morita, 2009; Tatar, 2005), a group of students from the same nationality (Barnawi, 2009; Choi, 2015; Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002; Morita, 2004; Mukminin & McMahon, 2013), a group of students from similar educational and cultural backgrounds (Morita, 2000), or students from different backgrounds but in different programs (Zappa-Hollman, 2007). In addition, as I demonstrated above, the composition of the class and how accommodating the curricula are to students might affect students’ participation in class. This shows that it is worthwhile to examine students’ perspectives and experiences about their participation in multicultural classrooms from both local and EAL students’ points of view.

Moreover, considering that EAL students in Ilieva’s (2010) study constructed positive identities in a graduate program that was created to allow a third pedagogical space (Beck et al., 2007), it is worthwhile to explore further EAL students’ participation in such a program. Lastly, although EAL students’ beliefs about how NS students saw them affected the EAL students’ participation (Leki, 2001), it is important to note, that the EAL students’ beliefs in this regard may not have corresponded to how NS students actually perceived them. As the studies that I have introduced above mainly address students’ self-perception of their own participation, it would be worthwhile to examine both their self-perceptions and the perceptions of others in the same classroom. In order to bridge this gap, in my study, I explore both NS and EAL students’ self-perceptions of their participation and perceptions of other students’ participation.
Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. Introduction

After reviewing literature on EAL students’ participation in classrooms, it became clear to me that academic discourse socialization theory would work best to explore culturally and academically diverse students’ participation in an international graduate program. Therefore, in this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework for this study, academic discourse socialization (e.g., Anderson, 2017; Morita, 2000), to make sense of how study participants, both EAL and NS students in a program designed primarily for EAL students, perceived their classmates’ participation as well as their own, and negotiated their participation in their academic discourse community. I will also briefly discuss the notion of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), which is a part of academic discourse socialization theorizing, and the concept of communities of practice (CoP) (Lave & Wenger, 1991) which is often used in scholarship attempting to understand processes of language socialization and academic socialization. I will then discuss scholarly literature that has taken the approach in academic discourse socialization that I will be taking, which is to see it as a dynamic and multidirectional process (Duff, 2010). While I have reviewed some literature on Academic Discourse Socialization (ADS) in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus in particular on how ADS is understood and used in previous studies as a theoretical framework.

3.2. Language socialization and communities of practice

Academic discourse socialization (ADS) (e.g., Duff, 2010; Kobayashi, Zappa-Hollman, & Duff, 2017) is a perspective that has developed within the area of language socialization research (e.g., Anderson & Duff, 2015; Duff, 2007; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Below, I will first focus on the general aspects of Language socialization (LS) as well as its development, and transition to ADS.

Language socialization (LS) addresses the “process by which newcomers or other less established members of a culture or community attempt to gain the communicative competence and knowledge needed to participate fully and appropriately, according to local norms, in their communities” (Anderson & Duff, 2015, p. 337), and the role of
language in the process (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). LS focuses on language-related activities in which newcomers participate, and those newcomers’ goal is often the mastery of linguistic norms including behaviors associated with the target group. Those language-related activities typically involve not only the newcomers, but also mentors such as more experienced peers, teachers, or caregivers, who play a significant role in facilitating newcomers’ learning (Anderson & Duff, 2015).

Oftentimes, Lave and Wenger’s communities of practice (CoP) perspective (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) is made use of in scholarship attempting to understand the process of LS as well as ADS. Lave and Wenger (1991) first introduced the term “communities of practice”. A CoP refers to “a group of people who share an interest in a domain of human endeavor and engage in a process of collective learning that creates bonds between them” (Wenger, 2001, p.1). However, not every group of people or a community is called a community of practice. In fact, Wenger (1998) argues that for the community to be a CoP, it has to have three dimensions: a joint enterprise, mutual engagement, and a shared repertoire.

A CoP develops in historical, social, cultural and institutional contexts with specific resources and constraints. Nevertheless, the practices of the community are shaped and negotiated by participants within the resources and constraints in their situation. Also, it is important to note that even when some members have more power than others in the community, their practice will be based on the communal response to the situation. That is, all members produce a practice based on what they understand to be their enterprise. In CoP, participants in the community are engaged in “actions whose meanings they negotiate with one another” (Wenger, 1998, p. 73). Although participants are diverse in different senses such as personalities and aspirations, they develop their unique place in the community and their own identity in the course of engagement in the community. When the joint pursuit of enterprise creates resources for negotiation of meaning, the members of the community develop a shared repertoire, a set of shared resources in the community. The aspects of repertoire can be diverse, and include but are not limited to routines, ways of doing things, and concepts that the community has produced and negotiated in the course of the existence of the community (Wenger, 1998).

An important aspect of CoP is the interaction between more experienced members in the community, experts, and less experienced members of the community, novices.
Therefore, in CoP, first, by observation, novices learn how members of the community interact as well as common norms and skills in the particular community. As novices interact with more experienced members of the community and learn those from them, first, from the periphery, novices start participating meaningfully in the given community. Over time, they gradually move towards full participation. This socially situated process is called *legitimate peripheral participation* (LPP) (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Now, I will move on to development of LS research, which often uses CoP to make sense of the process.

### 3.3. Development of language socialization research

LS research has traditionally focused on how children become linguistically and culturally competent in their community through interactions with adults and more competent members of the community, although it has been open to exploring LS “throughout the human lifespan across a range of social experiences and contexts” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163) as well. However, in recent decades, a number of studies have drawn upon LS to examine how L2 students are socialized into their new academic context (e.g., Duff, 2007; Kim & Duff, 2012). Second language (L2) socialization, although it shares many of the first language (L1) socialization principles and objectives, often deals with the added complexity of “children or adults who already possess a repertoire of linguistic, discursive, and cultural traditions and community affiliations when encountering new ones” (Duff, 2007, p. 310). For instance, Toohey and Day (1999) examined how children for whom English is an additional language in Canada develop their English skills through activities and interactions with their peers and teachers over time. Using CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991) as a framework, this study conceptualized English as a community resource. English was seen and used as tool to access community activities such as classroom activities including choral activities. For instance, children in kindergarten increased their participation over time through choral activities. With the oral model provided by the teacher, children initially participated tonally without clear articulation of words, but over time, with repetition, they moved over to more clear articulation of words. For EAL children, even with initial minimal participation, seeing and hearing the choral activities their classmates engaged in allowed them ease of access to community resources and to appropriate the practice in class over time. Teachers and more experienced peers acted as experts in this case, and helped EAL children, who were less experienced members of the community, move towards fuller participation. With
support of those more experienced members, EAL children, first peripherally, by mimicking their teachers and peers, participated in the community activities, and moved towards fuller participation, with more clear articulation of words. This study provided an example of how learning English increases with one’s participation in a community and mentors such as more experienced peers and teachers played a critical role in facilitating newcomers’ learning.

A growing number of studies have been conducted to explore L2 socialization in secondary and post-secondary education (Anderson & Duff, 2015). Although L2 students in these secondary and post-secondary settings must socialize into their classroom discourse in their new academic communities in order to do well socially and academically, they also have a great “sense of agency over their socialization preferences, choices, goals and desires” and may be “more mobile, transnational, and possibly conflicted about being – or remaining – in the target language and culture and its institutions and communities over the long term” (Anderson & Duff, 2015, p. 339).

Kim and Duff’s (2012) study provides an example of how L2 students’ socialization can be complex, and how their L1 and English play various roles through their LS. They explored two 1.5 Generation Korean-Canadian students’ discourse socialization and identity negotiation in high school and university using concepts of language socialization and identity. The study found that the students experienced conflicts and contradictions in different communities about language use and learning. For instance, according to one participant, “speaking English was perceived in her high school as an act of betrayal or lack of allegiance to one’s Koreanness” (p. 89). Therefore, in order to be good Korean, they felt that they needed to speak Korean and stay in the Korean community. Yet, the participants of the study also realized that they need to improve their English to be successful university students as well as future members of mainstream Canadian society, which eventually directed them toward English linguistic choices and practices. In other words, they were constantly socialized into different beliefs about language learning and use throughout their participation in different discourse communities, and they negotiated their identity between being loyal Koreans, non-native speaker (NNS) of English, and Generation 1.5 immigrants in Canada. In case of this study, language socialization was not simply about how those participants become linguistically and culturally competent in the community that they are entering, which is mainstream Canadian society, through interactions with more competent members of the community. Rather, it was a complex
process of constant negotiation of their identities in two different communities to achieve their goals.

3.4. Academic discourse socialization

With the rapid growth of multicultural and multilingual student population in higher education in North America as well as other parts of the world, recent work has started to deal with students who need to acquire in particular L2 academic literacies (Morita & Kobayashi, 2008), especially with regard to “the means by which newcomers and those they interact with learn to participate in various kinds of academic discourse in their communities” (Kobayashi et al., 2017, p. 239). Like LS scholarship, ADS views participants in the academic community in two categories: expert and novice. However, unlike LS, ADS does not only focus on mastery of linguistic conventions and pragmatics. It focuses as well on common norms and skills novices need to learn to engage and participate in a particular academic community through interaction with the experts. In particular, ADS research examines “the social, cognitive, and cultural processes, ideologies, and practices involved in higher education” (Kobayashi et al., 2017, p. 239). Academic discourse refers to “forms of oral and written language and communication...that are privileged, expected, cultivated, conventionalized, or ritualized, and, therefore, usually evaluated by instructors, institutions, editors, and others in educational and professional contexts” (Duff, 2010, p. 175). As Duff points out, oral discourse socialization is “socially, cognitively, and discursively complex and variable” (Duff, 2010, p. 178), and students in the new discourse community may be asked to evaluate their own as well as others’ participation based on their knowledge of the academic discourse.

According to Morita and Kobayashi (2008), there are three major orientations researchers have taken to examine ADS. The first orientation attempts to reveal “the academic and linguistic knowledge and skills that students need to master to meet their academic demands” (p. 243). For example, in her survey research, Ferris (1998) examined ESL college and university students’ perceptions of what skills they needed to acquire to meet instructors’ requirements in their classrooms. Also, Swales and Feak (1994) identified the skills graduate students need to learn like how to write summaries and critiques as well as academic genres, in order for them to be members of their academic communities in English-speaking countries.
The second approach focuses on the issue of power, and the studies taking this approach do not see academic discourse as a “set of neutral linguistic conventions”, but see it as a “value laden, social practice that constructs and is constructed by unequal relations of power” (Morita & Kobayashi, 2008, p. 245). Therefore, studies which take this approach explore “how sociocultural, historical, and institutional forces, particularly in terms of power relations, impact disciplinary socialization, as well as how individuals accommodate or resist such forces in different ways” (p. 245). Waterstone (2008), for instance, illustrated how an EAL undergraduate student in a Canadian university accepted or rejected revisions suggested by her writing consultant, a native speaker of English who attempted to mediate her academic literacy development in English. The study participant negotiated her identity as a successful student with a BA in English from her own country who also had experience teaching English, and an “ESL” student at a Canadian university. The author also demonstrated how the label “ESL” affected the student’s educational experience, and she raised a question of the appropriacy of the usage of the term “ESL” to refer to how it could affect students’ experience struggling to attain academic success in their new academic discourse.

Similarly, Marshall (2009) illustrated how multilingual students use languages, describe their identities, and perceive the term “ESL,” through a mixed method study of academic literacy development. In his study, he demonstrated a common feature of the experiences of many multilingual students, “re-becoming ESL” within a higher educational institution. Multilingual students in his study were regularly seen with a deficit ESL identity perceived as a problem to be fixed, rather than an asset to be welcomed in the university. He found that many multilingual students who took academic literacy courses, even though they had in many cases successfully completed ESL programs in high school and no longer considered themselves “ESL students,” felt like they were again positioned as ESL students institutionally, by instructors and peers, and university administrators. The study also showed how those multilingual students felt like they had to overcome the hurdle of re-becoming ESL before they could be accepted as a legitimate university student. This study provided another powerful example of how labeling multilingual students affects their educational experience in attaining academic success.

In recent studies, the view in ADS has been shifting from understanding the process as linear, to seeing it as a “dynamic, socially situated process that in contemporary contexts is often multimodal, multilingual, and highly intertextual as well” (Duff, 2010, p.
The third orientation, therefore, focuses on “the socially and temporally situated process of socialization, often from participants’ perspectives”, exploring “how newcomers negotiate not only their academic and linguistic demands, but also the various contextual aspects—social, cultural, institutional, interpersonal, historical, and pedagogical aspects—of a given academic community, as well as their goals, personal histories, and multiple identities” (Morita & Kobayashi, 2008, p. 244).

Morita (2000) explored oral discourse socialization of both NS and NNS graduate students in a TESOL program in a Canadian university through their engagement in oral academic presentations (OAPs). The study found that through ongoing negotiation of how they are expected to speak in graduate courses and how to perform successful OAPs with their instructors and peers, both NS and NNS students gradually became apprenticed into oral academic discourses. One way to display their knowledge to show their competence as a member of the academic community was through epistemic stance. In OAPs, presenters displayed their epistemic stance in various ways, and listeners learned from them, and shared their perspectives and interpretations. This way, they constantly negotiated their expertise in the community. Through exploring both NS and NNS students’ ADS, her study also suggested that “academic discourse socialization is not a predictable, entirely oppressive, unidirectional process of knowledge transmission from the expert (e.g., instructor) to the novice (e.g., student) but a complex, locally situated process that involves dynamic negotiations of expertise and identity” (Morita, 2000, p. 304).

In addition, in her study, Morita (2004) explored academic discourse socialization of Japanese female graduate students with unique personal histories. Using the notion of CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991), the study examined how they negotiated their participation and membership in their academic discourse community particularly in open-ended discussions. The study found that those students tied oral participation such as speaking up in class to gaining membership and legitimacy in their academic discourse community, and they negotiated their identity in various ways to gain a membership in their academic discourse communities. The study’s findings also exemplify Lave and Wenger’s position that communities of practice have multiple levels and types of participation, and members can participate differently in different communities of practice. In fact, not only between different communities of practice, but also in one community of practice, members can participate differently depending on the social context in which they are situated. The study
also revealed the complexity of how students negotiate their participation and positionalities, and the tension between their self-perceived and assigned identities. In addition, each student’s personal histories as well as goals played important roles in their negotiation of identities in the ADS.

This complex negotiation of identities can be seen in Ho’s (2011) study on small-group discussion in a TESOL graduate program in the US as well. He explored oral ADS of both NS and EAL students in the program in small-group discussions on assigned topics related to course readings, which was held after 10-15 minute lecture at the beginning of the lessons. The professor did not interfere during the small-group discussions unless students asked for help. Also, the freedom in choosing group members was given to students at the beginning of the semester, and students were observed to group with those of similar linguistic and/or ethnic backgrounds. In fact, one group was composed of all Mandarin speaking students, and another group were all NS students. In his study, both NS and EAL students constantly negotiated their identity as expert and novice, by expressing their relative expertise or lack of it depending on the topic and their identities were fluid. For instance, students with teaching experiences tended to position themselves or were viewed as relative experts, but they also constructed identities of novices when they were unsure about some theories or concepts and vice versa. This study provided an example of the dynamic nature of students’ identity negotiation through small-group discussions as a process for academic discourse socialization. Students gradually became socialized into this specific discourse through their constant identity negotiation, expressing critical thinking, and making intertextual connections.

Another example of how different factors influence novices’ ADS and how they negotiate their identities can be found in Anderson’s (2017) study on Chinese PhD students at a Canadian university. He explored their internal and external ADS and found that various factors impacted their ADS into their desired academic discourse communities and literacy practices. For example, instructors’ feedback played a significant role in the students’ motivations and identity construction both positively and negatively. Also, how those students perceived themselves in relation to other students, by categorizing themselves as either non-expert or legitimate member of the academic discourse community also affected their ADS. The study highlighted that academic expectations in their CoP and their internal and external experience “support or constrain the construction of positionalities conducive to attaining academic success and community access or
membership” (Anderson, 2017, p. 9).

These studies of ADS reveal the complexity of ADS, and how each individual student in different CoPs gains membership in the specific communities, constructs and deconstructs their identity with different internal and external factors and participates variously in the CoP. For EAL students specifically, their perceived lack of English competence tended to be one of the factors that influenced their ADS process. In addition, it became evident that various factors such as students’ personal histories and goals also play critical roles in their ADS. Moreover, as demonstrated in Morita’s (2000) study, members of the community, regardless if the students are NS or NNS, learn the local practices in their CoP, negotiate their participation with their instructors and peers, and become apprenticed into their local CoP. Based on the CoP and ADS frameworks, I posit academic discourse socialization as a process in which members of the academic community learn from and negotiate with each other what is expected in the community, and what it means to be a member of the community. I also see the process as multidirectional and ever-changing. In addition, I see the norms and expectations in the community as changeable too as members of the community negotiate those depending on internal and external factors that come in play during their socialization process.

Seen from this perspective, in my study, I explore how culturally and academically diverse students in an international graduate program learn the local practices in the CoP enacted in their classes, negotiate their participation with their instructors and peers and become socialized into their academic discourse communities. I also explore what internal and external factors influence their ADS, and how they negotiate their identity throughout their ADS.
Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss in detail the research methods and methodology that have been adopted in this study of academic discourse socialization of students in an international TESOL program in Canada. Below, I will describe the research design in relation to the research question briefly, as well as the research context and participants and their recruitment. I will then discuss the research design in detail and discuss my own position as a researcher having been in the program in which I conducted my study. Finally, I will describe how the data was collected and describe the data analysis procedures.

4.2. Overview of the study and research design

This study involved collecting data from current students and graduates of an international TESOL graduate program housed in a Canadian university. The participants were recruited through three different ways: an e-mail sent to current students via the program assistant of the TESOL program, contacting graduates residing in Canada through instructors who have taught in the program, and snowball sampling (Patton, 2002). The participants were first invited to semi-structured qualitative focus group interviews discussing their experience in the program. There were then follow-up individual interviews further discussing their individual answers in the focus group interview to better understand their experience by getting further details on their answers.

Before I move on to the research context and recruitment of participants as well as more detailed description of the research design, it is useful to revisit the research question this study is exploring: What do students consider as legitimate modes of participation in a TESOL graduate program designed primarily for international students?

As I discussed in the introduction chapter, my experience as an EAL learner involved my struggles to understand, adapt, and question different modes of participation in multicultural classrooms. In addition, as I have reviewed the relevant literature, it was clear that this issue of participation could affect students’ legitimacy in their academic community, and it seemed to be the case in the program I was enrolled in as well.
Therefore, I was eager to explore students’ views around participation and legitimacy tied to participation in this unique program. I now will explain more the uniqueness of the program as a research context.

4.3. Research context

I conducted qualitative focus group and individual semi-structured interviews with a total of 14 graduates and current students in a graduate TESOL program in a medium-sized Canadian university located in a multicultural city in western Canada. The program, started in 2005, is in the Faculty of Education and was primarily designed for international students. Although in the first cohort all students were from mainland China, the cohorts since then have had students from different parts of the world including but not limited to Iran, Brazil, Korea, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Russia, and Canada. In addition to different national backgrounds, students’ backgrounds vary in age, and while the majority of students are in their early 20s, there are also students who are over 30. Their experiences as English teachers differ as well; some students have had over 10 years of experience while some had no experience beyond some tutoring and limited background knowledge in teaching English.

The 17-month program starts with a mandatory five-week orientation, and a cohort of around 20-24 students take the same classes including four academic core courses, and two fieldwork courses throughout the program. The exception is one elective course that students are required to choose during the 3rd term of the program from multiple options offered to students in other graduate programs in the faculty. Although the majority of students in the cohort are international students, most of the students they meet in the elective courses are domestic students who are working in the K-12 system in local schools. The students are also required to take a comprehensive examination in their last semester. Since the program is international, it offers a variety of ways to help students transition to the new cultural and academic context of a Canadian graduate program. This support includes the initial five-week orientation as well as on-going cultural and academic advising and support. The orientation consists of preparation for the upcoming graduate program such as engaging in discussions on a few academic readings, writing brief essays, reading a small number of academic papers related to educational and TESOL themes, conducting facilitations, and taking part in social activities like outings and cultural events in the city and the surrounding areas. Not only does this allow students to
familiarize themselves with the new cultural and academic contexts, it also gives them opportunities to create a sense of community by offering opportunities to work in small groups and interact with their peers inside and outside the classroom, which makes it easier for students to communicate with each other.

4.4. Participants and their recruitment

Given my specific interest in the views about and experiences of participation of students in one particular program, I recruited participants for my research using purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990). I contacted all my former classmates in the TESOL program who were in their fourth semester at the time as well as the next cohort who were in their first term and graduates of the program by sending them an e-mail explaining the focus of my study via the program assistant of the TESOL program. I also contacted graduates residing in Canada through instructors who have taught in the program and have contact with graduates. I also approached some participants using snowball sampling (Patton, 2002) by asking the original participants to pass on my personal information to other students and graduates and asking them to contact me if they were interested in the study. Upon submission of the consent form attached to the invitation e-mail, participants were contacted through e-mail and were invited to the interview.

As I started my master’s degree as a student in the TESOL program discussed here, I was familiar with the students in my former cohort. Also, because I was working as an assistant for the cohort after mine during their orientation, I was familiar with some of the current students in the program and have maintained contact with them as well. Furthermore, I was familiar with some of the graduates in different contexts: I met one of the graduates at a conference I presented at, and some graduates happened to be working in the same language school where I was working part-time. My participants were 14 students from 5 different cohorts including both international and domestic students coming from a variety of linguistic, cultural and academic backgrounds. The majority of the students were from mainland China, and others were from East Asia, South Asia, Eastern Europe, North Africa, North America, and South America. Not only do they differ in backgrounds, they also varied in teaching experience, age, and cohorts they belonged to.
Table 1 below displays the general profile of the current students and graduates who participated in my study. I am not disclosing the country of origin of participants outside of China to maintain anonymity, given the few numbers of students and graduates from particular countries. Similarly, in order to maintain anonymity, I asked my participants to pick a pseudonym and used their pseudonyms in the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Area of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>Student in 1st term</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jack</td>
<td>Student in final term</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emily</td>
<td>Student in final term</td>
<td>North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Michelle</td>
<td>Student in final term</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Student in final term</td>
<td>South America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romeo</td>
<td>Student in final term</td>
<td>North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Gina</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jenny</td>
<td>Student in 1st term</td>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miguel</td>
<td>Student in 1st term</td>
<td>North America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amy</td>
<td>Student in final term</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dianna</td>
<td>Student in 1st term</td>
<td>Southern Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tina</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5. Research design

To explore the research question and develop a detailed understanding of students’ participation in the TESOL program, a qualitative research approach was chosen. Specifically, in order to explore participants’ lived experiences in the program, and develop more detailed knowledge about them (Wengraf, 2001), I conducted semi-structured qualitative interviews with both international and local students in the international TESOL master’s program. For the qualitative semi-structured interviews, I first conducted focus group interviews in order to yield more information through interaction between participants (Creswell, 2014) and elicit more varied accounts, wider perspectives and understandings of the students’ experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I then conducted individual interviews with the study participants to be discussed further in the chapter.
Four focus group interviews with three participants in each were conducted at one of the campuses of the university in which the study was conducted, and a focus group with two participants was conducted at the language school they worked at. As focus group interviews are advantageous when participants are familiar with each other (Creswell, 2014), I carefully chose the focus groups. Furthermore, as when participants know each other, they tend to interact with other participants according to their existing relationships (Roulston, 2010), I took this point into consideration as well when organizing groups.

For instance, since I knew some relationships among my former classmates, I selected participants in the group to avoid potential tension or discomfort in the focus group. Also, as I wanted to gain a wide range of perspectives from different individuals about their experiences in a less intimidating relaxed atmosphere (Braun & Clarke, 2013), I conducted the focus group interviews first. In the focus group interview, the study participants responded to questions around their experiences studying in an international program with diverse classmates. The focus group interviews were of approximately one hour. Prior to the interview, interview questions were sent to the participants.

After the focus group interview, participants were invited to participate in a one-on-one interview. The individual interviews were conducted about a month after the focus group face-to-face interview depending on the participants’ availabilities. Questions were made based on their individual answers in the focus group interview to better understand their particular experience by getting further details on their answers.

4.5.1. Qualitative interview as social practice

In conducting qualitative interviews, and in line with researcher reflexivity as an important aspect of qualitative research, I treated them as social practice (Talmy, 2010), viewing interviews “not as sites for the excavation of information held by respondents, but as participation in social practice” (Talmy, 2011, p. 28). Therefore, interview data are seen as “representations or accounts of truths, facts, attitudes, beliefs, mental states, etc., co-constructed between interviewer and interviewee” (p. 27). Thus, I do not understand participants’ responses in the interviews as the unquestioned truth, but take them seriously as subjective accounts. Also, considering that English was an additional language for the
majority of people including myself, I did not change any grammatical errors when transcribing, and tried to understand the meaning depending on the context. While the interview as a social practice is relevant epistemologically, I do not focus in my analysis on the interview interactions as much as I aimed to facilitate real open discussion in the interview process. Rather, I let the discussion run as it happened.

4.5.2. Researcher positionality

As mentioned above, since I was a student in one of the cohorts and have been a cultural assistant during the orientation session of another cohort, I have been able to develop a rapport with most interviewees. In addition, I have gained a good understanding of the group dynamics of two cohorts through participation in activities with them. This status as an insider allowed me to conduct interviews in a friendly, relaxed atmosphere. In addition, as I was familiar with the required courses in the program and instructors of the program, I was able to facilitate with greater ease the interviews and better understand my participants’ experience in the program. On the other hand, the different degrees of relationship I had with interviewees might have affected the amount and quality of information that I got from different individuals. In addition, as briefly discussed in the introduction chapter, there seemed to be a divide between many of the students from China, where most of the classmates came from, and others, including myself. However, there were some students from China that seemed to get along well with others, and others who seemed to get along with them. I personally seemed to be in the group of “others”; however, I was interacting with some students from China, so I also seemed to be somewhere in between as well. It may have been due to my experience growing up in an Asian country like many of my classmates and getting education in international environments interacting with people from different backgrounds. This allowed me to connect with many of the participants and perhaps to have more authentic conversations with them.

4.6. Data collection

For the data collection, as mentioned above, I used semi-structured qualitative interviews: focus group interviews and individual interviews. As I had experience being in the program, I was interested in the perceptions of other students themselves and I chose
interviews as means of data collection. In addition to the reasons I mentioned earlier, I figured talking in a focus group interview first could offer students an opportunity to remember their experience in the program, especially as it had been quite a while since some of the participants were students. The focus group interviews were conducted in the period between November, 2017 and March, 2018. For the last focus group interview, I heard from two participants after I had grouped earlier participants in groups of three and finished interviewing them, so I was unable to create another group of three. Also, since the two participants knew each other on a personal level, although they were in different cohorts of the program, and were comfortable talking about their experience in front of each other, I conducted a focus group interview with the two of them and did not conduct an individual interview after.

The focus group interview addressed questions such as the following: “What type of class are you more familiar with, e.g. lecture oriented or discussion oriented?”, “What kind of class do you prefer and why?”, “Do you believe oral participation is important and why?”, “Do you think your classmates had similar or different ways of participating in class and how?”, “How did you feel about the similarities and differences between different ways of participation?”. (For a full list of focus group interview questions see APPENDIX A)

Individual follow-up interviews with 12 of the 14 participants were conducted about one month after the focus group interview and intended to further discuss each participant’s answers in the focus group interview. Depending on what each participant said in the focus group interview, more detailed questions such as “Could you tell me more about why you prefer Canadian-style education?”, “You mentioned that there are only a few people in class including yourself that are active in discussions. Could you tell me more about your perception of participation in class discussions?” were addressed. (See APPENDIX B for more examples of questions asked in individual interviews.) The duration of individual interviews varied from approximately 30 minutes to an hour. In the individual interviews, I was able to ask questions that were specific to each participant, which allowed me to get a better understanding of each participant’s accounts in depth, and also allowed some participants who tended to be quieter in the focus group interviews to speak more about their experience.
4.7. Data analysis

The interviews were audio recorded and I did not take field notes, in order to maintain authentic conversation and interaction with the participants. All audio recordings were transcribed and used for thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a “method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It is one of the most common qualitative data analysis methods requiring less technological and theoretical knowledge than other qualitative approaches, which allows an easier access to analysis to novice researchers like myself (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is especially useful when examining the different perspectives of various participants and highlighting similarities and differences (King, 2004). Thus, in order to explore my participants’ own perspectives on different modes of participation brought to their multicultural classrooms, I used thematic analysis. Throughout the data analysis, I took a reflexive approach.

First, using NVivo11, I transcribed all my interview data soon after I had interviews with my participants. After I finished all the interviews and transcribing, I printed out all the interview transcripts and read them a few times to get familiar with the data. As needed, I took some notes on the side such as my questions to some of the comments that participants made. This process allowed me to get a general sense of the data as a whole, and explore the data (Creswell, 2014). While familiarizing myself with the data, I followed the qualitative data analysis steps introduced by Creswell (2014): coding the data, reducing the codes to group into themes, interconnecting the themes and choosing the ones that most closely answer my research question. Throughout the process, I used mind maps drawn on a huge piece of paper (see APPENDIX C). This allowed me more freedom by connecting ideas and adding any ideas and questions that came to my mind wherever I thought they would fit. I was also able to write down ideas and questions that I had right when I got those as the paper with my mind map was physically there on my desk at all times. In addition, throughout the data analysis stage, based on what I had in the mind map, I went back to the original interview transcripts and read them to understand each context. This process allowed me to keep reflecting on my data and engage in a reflexive analysis of it.

As stated in this chapter, I conducted my study on students’ participation by employing a qualitative research approach using semi-structured interviews and reflexive data analysis using thematic analysis. I will now turn to my findings in the next chapter.
Chapter 5. Findings

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings of my study in relation to my research question. I will provide excerpts from my interviews with study participants to present more directly their experiences and perspectives as well. In analyzing the findings, I will use both participants’ and my own interpretations and draw upon the theoretical perspectives I discussed earlier to make sense of the data.

Through interviews with graduates and current students of the program, it seemed that their notions of participation in their classroom changed over time, and consequently, what they perceived as legitimate participation also changed. Initially, students perceived oral participation as the primary mode of participation expected in their program. However, over time, their perceptions of participation changed, and their definition of participation expanded from only oral participation to including non-oral participation as well. The findings also suggest that there seemed to be no specific mode of participation students needed to follow for their participation to be perceived legitimate. Rather, it was contextual and fluid, and the legitimacy seemed to be determined based on whether student’s participation is contributing to other students’ learning. Thus, I will first discuss oral participation, then what influenced students to perceive oral participation as legitimate mode of participation. I will then address how the notion of legitimate mode of participation expanded to include non-oral participation and what influenced students’ perceptions of legitimate modes of participation. Finally, I will provide examples of relationship between each mode of participation and legitimacy. I will end the chapter by summarizing the findings.

5.2. Initial legitimate mode of participation

In this section, I will discuss what participants described as oral participation, which was seen as primary mode of participation expected in their program at the beginning of the program. I will then address what influenced students to perceive oral participation as the mode of participation valued and expected in the program: i.e. the program orientation and instructors. As I explain my data, I will be making specific connections to the previous
literature and theoretical perspectives I outlined earlier in the thesis to make sense of the data.

5.2.1. Oral participation

It seemed that initially, participants perceived oral participation as the mode of participation that was expected in the classroom. They described oral participation as asking and answering questions in class and participating in discussions orally. Some students said oral participation was important, and interestingly, there were even a few students who believed that oral participation was the only legitimate mode of participation in class. An excerpt from my interview with a student from North America, Romeo, suggests his view on oral participation. He said: “I talk quite a bit, but I think that was the whole point. In my opinion, that’s the whole point, is to participate through speaking” (Romeo, group interview, November 24, 2017). He later said:

…elementary and high school in [a country in North America], you are always encouraged to participate, and that's usually, usually, it's a mark of a good student, participation. And if you don't participate, it, not always, but it can denote that you are not paying attention, or you don't care, or something attitude driven, so that's kind of, I guess that's my perspective on part of the class who doesn't participate. (Romeo, group interview, November 24, 2017).

This excerpt shows that Romeo’s educational background influenced the way he looks at participation in the international graduate program, which is that to “participate through speaking”, oral participation, is important in class. Coupled with another comment he made in the same interview, that in the academic culture he grew up in, students are “always encouraged to participate”, he implies that “participation” means “oral participation” to him.

Not only the student from North America, but also students from other countries believed oral participation was important, and Emily, a student from North Africa, had a similar view on participation. This excerpt indicates that “participation” means “oral participation” for Emily as well. She said:

I don't know if there is different ways of participation. It's either there is a participation or no participation I guess....So if you are participating, you are
participating, it means you discuss with people, you listen to them, you answer their questions, you ask questions, but otherwise you are just keeping silence, I don't think this is participation. (Emily, group interview, November 22, 2017)

She also said that coming from an educational system that puts emphasis on memorization, which is “completely different” from the Canadian one, everything was new and challenging for her at first. For example, she said everything from working in groups, to reading critically, to facilitating discussions, to giving a presentation was challenging. She even said she “started to blame my [her] education system back home because it did not “train us [students in her home country] to be critical thinkers, or to collaborate with other students in classrooms” (Emily, individual interview, December 5, 2017) and it did not require students to do any presentation in class.

However, she said she thought she needed to adjust to the new academic culture in Canada and wanted to succeed there. Although she was uncomfortable speaking up at first, being afraid to be considered “stupid” by other students, she described coming to the conclusion that it is not a problem to have different understandings and opinions on the same topic in Canadian classrooms. As time passed, she said by learning and understanding Canadian academic culture, she has changed and has become “better”. By being better, she meant that she has started to have her own opinions when she reads assigned articles for class reflections on those readings, and that she is more comfortable speaking up in class, as opposed to just listening to instructors like she used to in her previous educational context.

Another student who shared a similar previous educational experience, Amy, also shared her perception of participation in Canadian classrooms. She said she was not used to speaking up in class as it was not expected in the Chinese educational system in which she was brought up, but she said “here [in Canada], it requires everyone’s engagement and participation”. She said that speaking up and sharing ideas in class is “not usually what a normal person would do” in China, so she kept silent in class. However, she said “in the [TESOL] program, people from different countries really pushed me to speak up and share my opinions”. From her comments, it is also implied that she means oral participation when she talks about a mode of participation expected in Canadian classrooms.
At the same time, she also said “sometimes I want to [share my ideas], but because I’m a very slow thinker or something, I’m afraid when I try to share my opinion, people just switch topics or something”. Also, she said she stayed silent in class when it was difficult to understand the question instructors were asking because “it’s safer to keep silence instead of showing your ignorance” (Amy, individual interview, February 11, 2018).

These echo some of the findings of Morita (2000), who suggested that EAL graduate students in Canada had difficulty participating in oral classroom activities due to cultural differences between Canadian classrooms and those in their home countries, even though they understood the norms and assumptions of the Canadian classroom as well as the intellectual values promoted there. These views shared by the participants in Morita’s study included that students are supposed to interact with each other and instructors, and classroom interaction in Canadian graduate classrooms is more active, more quickly paced compared to their home countries, and critical thinking is one of the most important academic skills promoted in Canadian graduate school.

In addition, both Emily and Amy, despite coming from different educational backgrounds, understood and learned the academic culture regarding participation and what is expected of students in Canada, and “made progress” adapting to the new academic culture. This echoes what was described as success in Kettle’s (2005) study of an international student in the new academic discourse of an Australian graduate program, where the student learned the “legitimate” way of participation, which is to speak up, by observing his local classmates, and changed his participation from being silent to orally participating in discussions (Kettle, 2005). Also, as presented in previous literature dealing with silence of EAL students (e.g., Choi, 2015) as one factor, face-saving, was also a factor that influenced my participants’ participation in class. As Amy above pointed out, it included being afraid to be considered “stupid” by other students and thinking that it is safer to keep silent rather than showing one’s ignorance by speaking up.

Next, I will move on to what influenced students to perceive oral participation as a mode of participation expected in their program in the beginning. I will discuss the main two factors that seemed to influence their perception of mode of participation expected in the program: orientation and instructors.
5.2.2. What influenced students’ perception of legitimate modes of participation

In this section, I will explore the main two factors that seemed to affect students’ perception of legitimate mode of participation expected and valued in the program at the beginning of the program. First, I will discuss the first factor, orientation, and I will then discuss the second factor, instructors. I will also discuss a third factor, curriculum focus, by referring here to the experiences of some of my study participants in elective courses during the 3rd term of their participation in this program. Additional discussion associated with some of the curriculum tenets of this specific program will follow later as I address changes in my participants’ perceptions of legitimate participation.

1. Orientation

As briefly mentioned in the methodology chapter, the TESOL program provided a five-week orientation to students. The orientation included teacher-led whole-class and small-group discussions on a few academic readings and opportunities for students to facilitate discussions on academic papers related to educational and TESOL themes. Some participants said that they thought that their classmates were trying to learn the academic culture and expectations of the Canadian graduate program, to engage more in discussions. For example, when Romeo, Amanda, and Michelle, who were in the same cohort, were talking about their classmates’ participation looking back on the experience, all of them reported that they noticed that their classmates’ modes of participation seemed to change from the orientation to later in the program. Amanda, a student from South America, also reflected, “at the beginning, most of us were eager to try to voice ourselves, like say something” (Amanda, group interview, November 24), and the other two agreed with this view. They gave accounts indicating that at the early stage of the program, they thought oral participation was perceived by both the institution and students themselves as a valued mode of participation. In other words, students seemed willing – and seemed expected by the program – to follow and acquire this mode of participation to academically succeed in this particular community.

As Wenger (1998) argues, CoPs develop in an institutional context. Novices learn the norms and skills needed in the community as well as how members of the community interact through observation, and gradually participate in the given community towards
fuller participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In case of my study, the five-week orientation seemed to have reflected the values and expectations of students by the institution that are essential for legitimate participation in this particular CoP. Situated in a North American graduate program, these expectations and values were modeled by instructors (to be discussed below) and performed by some outspoken students including NS students who were more familiar with North American academic expectations. These outspoken students led the discussions, seemingly serving as experts in the CoP of the TESOL program. Indeed, the relative expert position of these outspoken students was confirmed by the relative novices’ comments such as Amy saying that “people from different countries pushed [her] to speak up and share [her] opinions” (Amy, individual interview, February 11, 2018). In addition, interview data suggests that NS students also perceived themselves as experts. For example, when Romeo expressed his dissatisfaction with his peers’ inactive oral participation, he commented “you have to adapt yourself to new contexts in whatever context you go into” (Romeo, individual interview, February, 2018). This implies that he saw his classmates as newcomers that need to learn and adapt themselves to the new context, which he was familiar with. It can be argued that in the academic community of the international graduate program, novices learned the skills and norms in the CoP through interaction with the more experienced members of the community (e.g., active students) and engaged in the CoP towards fuller participation.

However, another aspect of CoP is that practices in the community are shaped and negotiated by all members of the community, regardless of their power relationships and the members of the community develop a shared repertoire, including ways of doing things (Wenger, 1998). It seemed that this aspect of CoP applied to the academic community of the TESOL graduate program as well, and the mode of legitimate participation was negotiated throughout the program. This will be discussed in detail in 5.2.3. I will now turn to another factor that initially seemed to contribute to set the mode of participation that was expected and valued in the program.

2. Instructors

Another factor that seemed to have influenced students to perceive oral participation as the primary mode of participation expected in their program were instructors. Many participants from different cohorts mentioned how one professor in particular encouraged
students to participate. For example, during the group interview with Gina, Miguel, and Jenny, in which two people studied in the same cohort and another one studied in a previous cohort, they talked about a professor who encouraged them to speak up in class discussions. Below is the excerpt:

G: It was a bit interesting because most of Asian students, we had students from China, Taiwan, and Korea so they were more shy and quiet for the first two weeks. But (professor A), she was nominating everyone.

Everyone: laughter

M: Oh yeah, she makes everyone talk, right?

G: Yeah, [she makes everyone to] say something so she was the first person to push us to change. Because most of us were not used to speaking up or commenting something, but she was the one to push us, so...

These comments indicate that the students saw this particular professor as setting the norm in the classroom by “nominating” students to share their ideas, making “everyone talk” and “push[ing]” her students, who came from different academic cultures, to “change”. In other words, students learned the expected mode of participation, which was oral participation, in this particular academic community through implicit instruction by the professor. In ADS, instructors can be experts who set the expectations of the academic community, and it seemed that this was the case here as well.

3. Curriculum focus

Another factor which seemed to influence students’ participation was curriculum. I will address this aspect more fully later in the thesis, but as oral participation seemed to be salient with respect to my participants’ perceptions of their participation in courses not designed as part of this program, I will address it here. Many participants mentioned their experience in the elective course which they took in the third term of this program with students who are mostly local teachers in the K-12 system, and they described the experience as more “challenging” as the curricula was linked primarily to teaching in Canada. Their accounts also suggest that they tended to be “silent”, in the elective course. For instance, Emily said:
…most of our classmates were local teachers and they were experienced so they had more than I did to talk about. I tried to speak as much as I can, but sometimes I just stayed silent. (Emily, group interview, November 22, 2017)

This shows that although she tried to speak up, which she described as the legitimate mode of participation, she could not, due to lack of experience in the specific context, which is the local Canadian teaching context. Similar experience was shared by another participant:

…they [her classmates in the elective course from different programs] were all teaching, like in public schools. And so their experience was richer in that way because they were able to speak what they were doing and how what we learn in the elective, how they could see in the school… so I think they were all seem confident and talking all the time and I was the one silent or also trying to participate but I wasn't working so I could relate to my previous experience in [a country in South America], I did my best, but I felt it wasn't enough, so it was very challenging. (Amanda, individual interview, December 18, 2017)

This excerpt suggests that despite the fact that she was trying to participate through “talking”, like her other classmates, she, like Emily, was sometimes “silent” due to her lack of experience in the specific context the course curriculum was geared to, which is the Canadian public school context. These accounts also suggest that Emily and Amanda perceived their classmates in the elective course as more “experienced” and having “more” to talk about, and perceived their experience as “richer”. This implies that the lack of specific content knowledge of the Canadian public school system of those EAL students contributed to them positioning themselves as more of novices, while positioning their classmates in the elective course as experts. This type of academic discourse socialization was found in other studies which took place in regular graduate programs (e.g., Morita, 2004). Therefore, in their non-elective courses, where the curricula were created to accommodate a diverse student body, students seemed to have developed different identities from the one in the electives, which was more of a novice identity in the academic community.
5.2.3. Summary

To sum up, in the beginning of their first semester, students in the TESOL program perceived oral participation as a mode of participation that was valued and expected in the academic community due to the orientation and instructors setting the norms and expectations of this particular academic discourse community. Also, students seemed to develop more positive identities as a member of the academic community who has something to share and contribute, rather than a novice who needs to learn from the experts. Therefore, at the beginning of the program, the main perceived legitimate mode of participation was oral participation, and students, especially those who needed to learn and “adapt” to the new academic discourse community, tried to orally participate in class. In other words, the more oral participation students performed, the more legitimate the participation was perceived by themselves and their classmates.

5.3. Expansion of legitimate modes of participation

As discussed in the previous section, initially, oral participation was perceived as the only legitimate participation in the academic discourse community. However, over time, students’ perceptions of participation changed, and their definition of legitimate participation expanded from only oral participation to including non-oral participation as well. In this section, I will first discuss what was perceived as non-oral participation. I will then discuss three factors that influenced students to expand their notion of legitimate participation to include non-oral participation: grades, instructors, and classmates.

5.3.1. Non-oral participation

In this section, I will discuss what was seen as non-oral participation in this academic discourse community of the TESOL program. Non-oral participation included participating through gestures and/or giving simple responses in a whole class discussion, contributing in pair and/or small group discussions, and contributing to group work.

There were students who understood that oral participation was important in the program, yet showed an appreciation of others who were not as active in discussions. These participants believed that some students not expressing themselves orally was fine, but that signaling through gestures and/or giving simple responses to the speaker such
as if they agree or disagree was important and respectful as a means of participation. A student from China, Helen, said “I mean in participation, you don’t have to generate your own ideas but at least, after you learn listening to other’s opinion, you can give some response or oral response or comments” (Helen, group interview, November 22, 2017). Gestures associated with participation varied to a large extent, from paying attention to the speaker by looking at them, to nodding. Romeo, who said participating through speaking is the whole point, added:

...if you don’t wanna talk but you are obviously like looking at people talking and nodding and being like “oh yeah, it’s a good point”, then I won’t look at you and be like “oh this person is not doing anything” (Romeo, group interview, November 24, 2017).

This excerpt illustrates the different perceptions Romeo described towards his classmates who were not “participating through speaking”, which in his opinion cited earlier, is the “whole point” of being in class. This shows that “not orally participating” does not, in every case, necessarily equal “not participating” to him. Although he believes participating through speaking is important, he also considers gestures an acceptable way of participating. In other words, although he described participating through speaking as ideal, participating non-orally such as gesturing, and paying attention to the speaker, were also potentially legitimate modes of participation to him.

In the previous literature, often times, perspectives of EAL students who participate in class through silence were presented and the perspectives of NS students tended to be not focused on (e.g., Lee, 2009; Tatar, 2005). By making NS students a focus of this study as well, I found that in this particular program, one NS student did not initially perceive silence as participation. For Romeo, “to participate through speaking” was the whole point of participation, and the only way he perceived as legitimate participation. Also, although he said he understood that it may take time for students who were not familiar with this type of educational style to start orally participating, he thought they need to adapt to the new context. However, he did not perceive some silence as completely non-legitimate, when his classmates showed their engagement in class discussions through gesturing. Nevertheless, Miguel, another NS student, seemed more accepting of other modes of participation. When I asked my participants (after talking about different modes of participation and potential lack of oral participation that they experienced in their
classrooms) whether they think that people should try to adjust to the “Canadian” style, Miguel said:

I think there is a value in diversity, so you know, I would hope they can adjust to the point where they can share their ideas, but I don't think they should change their thinking [that they should participate in certain ways], I mean, unless they think that way [that it is beneficial for them to orally participate], right? (Miguel, group interview, December 15, 2017)

Therefore, in this particular study, it seemed that both NS students valued oral participation, but how they perceived other modes of participation varied.

In addition to participating through gestures and/or giving simple responses in a whole class discussion setting, doing work in group projects or sharing ideas in small group discussions were also mentioned as modes of legitimate participation. Michelle, a student from China said:

…when we were in a small discussion, they [classmates who were silent in whole class discussions] are actually being pretty good, but in front of the whole class, some of them choose not to you know, talk in front of the whole class. But some of them, when you are having a small group discussion, they didn't talk at all. So, I think that's the worst. Especially in the pair discussion, if your partner didn't talk at all, it's really painful (Michelle, group interview, November 24, 2017).

This shows that she distinguishes between her classmates who are always quiet and those who are quiet in whole class discussions but active in pair and/or small group discussions. She added, “I actually don't care that much if someone doesn't want to speak in front of the whole classroom, I just really don't like it when I have a silent partner in pair discussion” (Michelle, group interview, November 24, 2017). It seems that even if her classmates are quiet in whole class discussions, if they contribute in pair and/or small group discussions, she considers this legitimate oral participation.

In addition, Katherine, a graduate from Eastern Europe, provided another example of legitimate non-oral participation that she found in her classmate in the excerpt below:
one of the tasks was to create an outline of our presentation or something and she [her classmate who did not speak out in whole-class discussions] did an amazing job and I realized that she is super smart” (Katherine, individual interview, February 4).

Through a group activity, Katherine found another type of participation—creating an outline for a presentation—that she did not see in classroom discussions, and she acknowledged this mode of participation—contributing to group work—after she realized it.

In the previous literature dealing with EAL students’ silence in classrooms, gesturing was one way that EAL students participated in class. For instance, in Tatar’s (2005) study, Turkish students participated through silence by attentively listening to their instructors and classmates, taking notes indicating that they were paying attention to class, and gesturing such as nodding. Contributing to small group discussions was another way EAL students showed their engagement in class (e.g., Barnawi, 2009). The findings of this study show that participating through silence, that is, non-oral participation was seen in this program as well. In addition, the findings confirm that not only EAL students who participate non-orally themselves, but also other students perceived non-oral participation as legitimate mode of participation.

5.3.2. What influenced students’ perception of legitimate modes of participation

In the previous section, I discussed how the legitimate mode of participation in the participants’ view changed from only oral participation at the outset of the program to eventually including non-oral participation as well. In this section, I will discuss what influenced students’ perceptions of participation—that is, what influenced students to expand legitimate participation in their academic community. Below, I will discuss three factors that influenced students’ perception of participation legitimacy: grades, instructors, and classmates.

1. Grades

According to a few participants, grades seemed to have been one factor that influenced students’ perception of participation because they seemed to feel as if the
grades did not reflect how much students performed oral participation, which was initially perceived as legitimate mode of participation. For example, Michelle said “we gradually noticed that no matter you [orally] participate or not, you get an A or A- so people cared less and less [to participate]” (Michelle, individual interview, February 2, 2018)

As I discussed in 5.2., participants seemed to see the orientation and one particular instructor as setting the expectations and values in the program, and students seemed to have understood that oral participation was the mode of participation expected and encouraged in the program. However, the excerpt above about grades indicates that some participants noticed that they could get a good mark even if they did not perform the participation that was set as norm in the program. The same view was shared by another participant:

Our grade you know, how it got broken down by the percent, so this much for reading responses, this much for final paper, and participation was always a breakdown, right? 20-30% of your grade was participation, so how were some of these people [who did not orally participate] getting anything? They should be getting 70s (Romeo, group interview, November 24).

This indicates how oral participation, which was seemingly established as a valued mode of participation by the institution and instructors, was ultimately perceived by some as less valued, since to some participants, oral participation (or the lack thereof) did not seem to matter a lot in terms of grades. In other words, to some participants, oral participation lost its legitimacy as the valued mode of participation it was perceived at first.

2. Instructors

Another factor that seemed to have influenced the expansion of how students understood legitimate participation was instructors. Due to nature of the program, which was primarily designed for international students to allow third space in the pedagogical approach (Beck et al., 2007), some instructors in the program seemed to act on this view. That is, some instructors in the program did not set certain expectations as to how students should participate in class. This was confirmed by some participants from different cohorts.

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2 According to the syllabi of the courses students are required to take, participation actually accounted for around 15% of final marks in many courses.
For example, one participant reported how one of her instructors talked about participation:

she says that speaking up during class is only a very small part of the way you participate in the class, so she said if you don't feel comfortable about speaking during the class and then you can participate in different ways, so I don't think she wants us to speak or share our ideas so I don't know. But she is giving other options to contribute to the cohort and contribute the way you study so (Jenny, individual interview, January 27, 2018).

It seems the instructor explicitly told her students that there was no certain mode of participation that was expected in her classroom, but rather, she was open to any mode of participation that each student felt comfortable with and could utilize as a way to contribute to the class.

Also, according to the participants from one specific cohort, an instructor introduced the concept of silence as a means of participation in her class through a reading for the course, and she told her students that silence could be a legitimate mode of participation. Those participants thought that their classmates started to participate differently after this notion was introduced in their class. Romeo commented on his perspective of his classmates who “stopped trying” to orally participate: “I think they felt justified to go with that [not orally participate]” (Romeo, group interview, November 24, 2017). The instructor’s legitimization of silence as a mode of participation in her classroom seems to have influenced some participants’ perceptions of their classmates’ choices regarding participation.

3. Classmates

Lastly, interaction with peers seemed to have expanded some students’ perception of legitimate participation in the program. Some participants expressed the dissatisfaction that they felt at the early stage of the program with their classmates who did not orally participate, which was what they felt was expected of students in the program. However, they also shared how they changed their perceptions of the legitimacy of different modes of participation. For example, Katherine was outspoken and was an active participant in class discussions and was not happy with some of her quiet classmates’ participation at
first. However, when she was working once in a group with a classmate from whom she had not heard a word uttered in class, she realized that this student was “super smart” and had worthwhile intellectual contributions that she did not share in the whole class discussions. Realizing that just because people do not share their opinions, it does not mean that they do not have great ideas, Katherine said she began to want to hear more of other people’s ideas, and she started giving others space by waiting before speaking up herself. She said:

…there are people who synthesize everything that’s around them, like it takes more time, but their opinions are much more valuable and much more correct. (Katherine, individual interview, February 4, 2018)

She also described what she felt she was able to learn by “not being talkative”:

I also learned a lot through not being talkative because I had to learn how to interact with those who need more time to think, who need more input, so maybe I learned a lot from listening to others just as much as from the debate. So I would say there is always learning opportunity in everything if you want to find it… (Katherine, group interview, December 18, 2017)

This shows that although she was unhappy with some of her classmates’ participation at first, after realizing that those people could add value to her learning experience, she broadened her perception about her classmates’ participation, as well as her own, to accommodate other modes of participation besides speaking up in class discussions.

Similarly, being an outgoing, active participant in class, a student from South Asia, Dorel, was dissatisfied with how some of the other students in her cohort participated in class. She described enjoying sharing her ideas and experiences as well as hearing others’, so she said she did not appreciate how some of her classmates were being quiet “the entire time”. She even emailed one of the professors saying that she did not want to work with certain people because they were completely silent, even in small groups. However, the professor asked her if she did not think it was a great opportunity for her to work with people from different cultures, and Dorel was convinced by the suggestion. She changed her perspectives and changed her actions as well. To illustrate, she started chatting with her group members on an individual chat using social media to explain what
was going on in small group activities when she felt like they were not able to catch up with the discussion, or give her group members a call to see if they were doing OK with the group work. As a result, she came to appreciate the different modes of participation that her classmates brought to the classroom, and she summarized her experience in the excerpt below:

So someone writes very well, while someone speaks very well, but I find it when I make a pair work or group work, I really enjoy that thing because as a person who would like to use those strength of different people, like I can present here and I can start, so you can enter because someone doesn't feel free to start because of nervousness, so OK, I can start that, I will give you the flow, you will enter here, do this this and this, and someone will support this one so I'm really happy and lucky to say that all my presentation and group works were really interesting. (Dorel, group interview, December 18, 2017)

Dorel’s description of her experience in group work suggests that although she seemed to perceive oral participation as the only legitimate mode of participation at first, after understanding how different people participate in class and discussions differently, she came to look at participation differently. She came to see different modes of participation such as writing, contributing in group discussions and contributing to group works as meaningful participation as well. She described being “happy” with the different modes of participation brought to the class, including when working in small groups, when she saw her classmates’ participation as adding to her learning experience.

5.3.3. Summary

Through the data from interviews with the participants shared so far, one could deduce that “the more orally students participate, the more legitimately they will be viewed” relationship changed over time and there is no definite relationship between legitimacy and mode of participation as any mode of participation could be potentially perceived as legitimate (See chart 1 below). Perceptions of legitimacy seemed to expand so that some participants came to view not only oral participation as legitimate participation, but also various types of non-oral participation.
Unlike the initial relationship between legitimacy and oral participation, chart 1 illustrates that there is no definite relationship between legitimacy and mode of participation, and both oral and non-oral participation could be perceived as legitimate modes of participation in classroom activities in courses whose curriculum is geared specifically for international students. This exemplifies the view of ADS that sees it as “a complex, locally situated process that involves dynamic negotiations of expertise and identity” (Morita, 2000, p. 304). Also, seen from CoP perspective (Wenger, 1998), it can be seen that all members of the academic community negotiated and developed “ways of doing things”, that is, legitimate modes of participation. Initially, the orientation set the institutional expectations of students’ participation, which was to orally participate in class discussions. This was also supported by an instructor as well as some outspoken students, including NS students who were more familiar with Canadian cultures of learning and who exercised the mode of participation they felt was expected in the program. However, over time, with various factors such as grades, instructors, and peers involved in students’ academic discourse socialization process, the form of legitimate participation has changed to resemble the relationship illustrated in chart 1. This means that there was no set norm of what legitimate participation should look like, but rather, it became fluid and contextual. That is, to the participants, more oral participation does not necessarily mean more legitimate participation, nor does less oral participation always mean non-legitimate participation. As I will share data and discuss in the section below, oral participation could be both legitimate and non-legitimate participation, and non-oral participation could also be both legitimate and non-legitimate participation, which can be visually represented in chart 2 below. Also, it is important to note that different participants may have had different views about participation at different times.
5.4. **Examples of each relationship between mode of participation and legitimacy**

As discussed in 5.3., through negotiation and development of legitimate modes of participation, there did not appear to be a set norm of what legitimate participation should look like in the program, and with time, it became fluid and contextual. That is, both oral and non-oral participation could be perceived as either legitimate or non-legitimate, and degrees of legitimacy also vary. However, it seems that the notion of “contribution” was used to determine whether a given mode of participation was considered legitimate or not, and how legitimate the participation was perceived. “Contribution” reflects my participants’ view that a student’s participation adds to someone else’s learning experience in some way, and this will be explained throughout the section through examples of different relationships between modes of participation and legitimacy. Below, I will illustrate some examples of what each relationship between mode of participation and legitimacy looks like. I will discuss four categories: oral and legitimate, oral and non-legitimate, non-oral and legitimate, and non-oral and non-legitimate.

**5.4.1. Oral and legitimate**

Oral and legitimate participation reflects a situation when someone participates in class orally, for example by contributing in whole-class discussions, and the participation is perceived as legitimate. The excerpts below from one focus group interview reflect Gina and Miguel’s views on oral participation and illustrate what kind of oral participation they perceive as legitimate. When I asked if they felt like other students’ oral participation would be important, Gina said:
Sure, if they could make comments that make you think, then it's pretty, it'd be nice for them to speak up, but if they are saying something irrelevant, then sorry, you know, just shut up. (Gina, group interview, December 15, 2017)

This excerpt indicates that Gina considers oral participation important when it makes her and her classmates think, but if it does not, it is not important. Miguel agreed to this view, and he added his view as follows:

I think discussion is important in a sense that it really does develop your own thinking, even sometimes when they don't have the brightest thing to say, you can kind of analyze why they think that way and you can see what, like let's say Gina says something that I completely disagree with, then it causes me to think ok, why does Gina say this? Why does she think this, is it because she misread this, or because of her background, or because of X or Y, and that causes me to reflect then is there value in that fact, right? And I think it's OK to have, I guess it goes back to what you [Gina] were saying, it has to be useful kind of speech right? (Miguel, group interview, December 15, 2017)

This excerpt indicates that he thinks discussion is important because of the exchange of ideas and deepening understanding and thinking, but he thinks it “has to be useful kind of speech”. Therefore, for him and Gina, oral participation is legitimate when it is “useful kind of speech”, which contributes to their and their classmates’ learning in some way such as by making them think and reflect. The excerpts also imply that they may see some oral participation as non-useful and, thus, non-legitimate.

5.4.2. Oral and non-legitimate

Some participants’ comments suggested that not every instance of oral participation was perceived as legitimate. The excerpt below shows Gina's perspective on her classmate's participation:

In my cohort, we had a guy from Russia, but he was like a bit of annoying for everyone toward the end. He would say something like non-stop....it's just most of the time, his idea was not relevant to the question (Gina, group interview, December 15, 2017).
She did not appreciate her classmate's oral participation when she felt it was not relevant to the topic. In other words, she did not perceive the oral participation as legitimate when she did not perceive it as not adding value to the learning experience of the cohort. Another participant expressed his view that oral participation is “just sharing our minds” (Jack, group interview, November 22, 2017), and he said he did not think his classmates’ oral participation added much to his knowledge. Some oral participation, then, was not perceived as legitimate when it was not seen as contributing to the learning experience of the academic community by adding something such as knowledge.

5.4.3. Non-oral and legitimate

Non-oral and legitimate participation reflects a situation when students participate non-orally, such as sharing ideas through writing, and the participation is perceived as legitimate. For example, Katherine expressed her experience with encountering different modes of participation:

some of my classmates were amazing in writing and sometimes I would read, you know, they don't say a word in class and when I read their ideas it's brilliant (Katherine, group interview, December 18, 2017).

Like Katherine, a few other participants shared their experience when they encountered non-oral participation that they felt added to their learning experience. The examples of this includes contributing in group projects by providing their skills such as presentation skills, and organizing study groups outside of class. In the same interview, Katherine commented on how those experiences of finding out her classmates’ potential to add value to her learning, even if they did not normally speak up, changed her participation. She said:

I think my participation became more contextual and more like on purpose…I know in this class with this particular person, and this particular group, I should be more talkative or I should be less talkative. So it became more conscious in a way so my participation became flexible. So it's not just to me, I can adjust to different contexts depending on who's my partner or who's in my group… (Katherine, group interview, December 18, 2017)
Katherine, who considered herself an outspoken student, sometimes intentionally engaged in class non-orally to allow other voices, and seemed to view her decision to do this as a method of legitimate non-oral participation. She also commented about non-oral participation in general, saying:

there is a difference in being quiet and not listening and being quiet to welcome others (Katherine, individual interview, February 4, 2018).

This shows her perception of different kinds of non-oral participation; one is just not orally participating nor engaged in learning, and the other is not orally participating but engaged in learning. In sum, non-oral participation was perceived as legitimate when it was adding value to other students’ learning experience.

5.4.4. Non-oral and non-legitimate

Lastly, there were some cases where participants perceived their classmates’ non-oral participation as non-legitimate. Interestingly, as Katherine described as “being quiet and not listening”, there was a case where participants described their classmates as simply not participating whatsoever in the class. This is different from non-oral participation. To illustrate, Romeo commented on this situation:

…when you are just like looking at your computer while people are talking, we are not doing anything with computer right now, why do you have to be on your phone or something, you know? (Romeo, group interview, November 24, 2017)

This shows different perceptions he has towards his classmates who are not orally participating nor participating via other methods such as gesture, nodding etc. He did not consider it legitimate participation when students were not paying attention to class and doing unrelated things such as being on the phone or computer.

The same point was brought up by Amanda. She said that some people were doing online shopping and were “not there at all” (Amanda, individual interview, December 18, 2017). Moreover, some students in various cohorts said that their classmates were silent because they were not coming to class prepared, not having done the required readings. To support this point, Gina, a graduate from Eastern Asia, said “some of our classmates,
they were kind of lazy and they didn't really want to contribute or do their own work” (Gina, group interview, December 15, 2017). These cases were examples of students not orally participating as a result of not participating in the class. Also, it indicates that there seems to be a clear difference between non-oral participation and not participating.

There was one other case of non-oral participation being perceived as non-legitimate. It is interesting to see how there could be a gap in the perception between students who are non-orally participating and their classmates. The excerpt below shows that Amy felt she was engaged in discussions by listening, but she did not orally participate.

I think because I'm not a very expressive person but do love listening to other's opinions and it takes me time to organize or structure my answers so sometimes it seems like I was not participating in the discussions, but just want to structure the answer in my brain and then I talk about it. But sometimes after I finish structuring, people just reach to another one or something like that. (Amy, group interview, December 18, 2017)

This also indicates that she was aware of her classmates’ (potential) perception of her participation as non-legitimate, since she was aware that it “seems like I was not participating in the discussions”, yet she described herself as being engaged in class. However, this might not always have been perceived as legitimate participation by her peers. Michelle commented on her classmates who did not orally participate as below:

I feel like if you are just being quiet and listening actively and thinking actively, you can learn a lot but you are not contributing, you are just listening to other people's ideas and experiences, you are not contributing yours so if you want to learn and you want to be a active participant in our community, learning community, then you need to talk (Michelle, individual interview, February 2)

Even though Michelle was aware that her classmates may have been non-orally participating in class by being engaged in discussions and learning, she does not perceive this as legitimate participation unless they are contributing to the academic community. By contributing, it seems that she means talking and sharing ideas and experiences. This suggests that there may be a gap between students’ self-perception of their own participation and how it is perceived by other classmates.
5.5. Summary

In conclusion, it became clear that there seems to be no specific mode of participation that is expected and valued in the program for the participation to be considered legitimate by the members of this academic community. Rather, it depended on the context and individual student to determine what they perceived as legitimate participation. However, it seemed that “contribution” was a key indicator that many participants used to determine whether participation is legitimate or not. No matter what mode of participation students used, if the participation was seen as adding to other students’ learning experience, it seemed to be perceived as legitimate. On the other hand, if the participation did not seem to add to other students’ learning, it tends to be perceived as non-legitimate. This echoes findings of literature on EAL students’ silence (e.g., Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002) arguing that some students only spoke up in class when the question or idea was worth sharing with others or would stimulate discussion and motivate thinking.

However, it is also important to note that it was not always the case, and students’ self-perception of their own participation and how other students perceived their participation were not always the same. In sum, legitimacy of the participation can be fluid and contextual.
Chapter 6.  Conclusion

6.1. Summary of the study

Conducting semi-structured qualitative interviews, I explored students’ academic discourse socialization in an international TESOL graduate program from perspectives of both NS and EAL students in the program. This study has explored the research question: what do students consider as legitimate modes of participation in a TESOL program designed primarily for international students in a Canadian university? This study also attempted to address three gaps in the literature:

1. lack of studies which address students’ perceptions of participation in multicultural classrooms from both NS and EAL students’ perspectives,
2. lack of research done in “non-regular” programs whose curriculum takes EAL students into account, and
3. lack of studies which address both students’ self-perceptions of their own participation and their perceptions of their classmates’ participation.

This study has demonstrated a unique academic discourse socialization process that students went through in this unique graduate program, situated in a North American university, yet designed primarily for international students with curriculum that takes EAL students into account. In this concluding chapter, I will summarize and synthesize the findings of this study. Also, I will discuss its implications for teachers and graduate programs. I end this chapter by discussing directions for future research.

6.2. Contributions

In this section, I will discuss contributions this study’s findings offer to the field. I will first summarize an important contribution regarding the research question; that is, there appears to be no specific legitimate mode of participation in this program, but rather, it seems fluid and contextual. I will then address contribution regarding the three gaps in the literature that I mentioned.
6.2.1. Research question

Through interviews with the participants, this study finds that in this particular academic community, there seems to be no specific legitimate mode of (non)oral participation that is expected and valued by the members of the academic community. Rather, it is fluid and depends on the context and individual student to determine what they perceive as legitimate participation. However, in my analysis of the interview data, “contribution” appears to be an important indicator that many of the participants seem to use to determine legitimacy of their classmates’ participation. Any mode of participation whether it is oral or non-oral, could be perceived as legitimate, if, and when the student’s participation is perceived as making a contribution; that is, adding to other students’ learning in some way, such as promoting them to reflect on ideas or providing skills that help other students in group projects.

It is also worthwhile to mention that it seems that all members of the academic community negotiated and developed the legitimate modes of participation in their academic discourse socialization process (Wenger, 1998). Situated in a North American university, the program offered an orientation at the beginning of the program to help students get used to the “Canadian” academic culture through practicing skills that they needed to develop, such as facilitating and participating in discussions on academic papers. This, coupled with an instructor who encouraged students to speak up in class discussions and some outspoken students who were more familiar with the “Canadian” academic culture, meant that initially, oral participation was perceived as a mode of participation expected and valued in the community. Thus, at this stage, many students who seemed to perceive themselves as novices learned the skills and norms in the CoP through interaction with the more experienced members of the community and engaged in the CoP towards fuller participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

However, through their process of academic discourse socialization, different factors such as grades, instructors, and peers came into play and the notion of legitimate participation expanded to include non-oral participation. As seen in chart 2, relationship between a mode of participation and legitimacy became contextual and fluid. It is also important to note that it did not appear that there was an obvious shift from having oral participation as the primary mode of legitimate participation to including other modes of participation such as non-oral participation as legitimate modes of participation. Rather,
different participants may have had different views about participation at different times, and they may have been constantly negotiating legitimacy of participation. This confirms that academic discourse socialization is a “dynamic, socially situated process that in contemporary contexts is often multimodal” (Duff, 2010, p. 169).

6.2.2. Students’ perceptions of participation from both NS and EAL students’ perspectives

Having both NS and EAL participants, this study offers broader perspectives of students’ perceptions about participation in multicultural classrooms. Participants for this study are from 7 different regions, and 5 different continents, with experiences of different cultures of learning (Jin & Corataazzi, 1996), and their educational backgrounds seemed to have influenced on their perception of participation of themselves and other classmates, to varying degrees. The findings of this study suggest that students’ educational backgrounds do not always dictate what mode of participation they perform, and/or feel comfortable with, and how they perceive other students’ modes of participation.

Many EAL participants from various backgrounds described their previous educational experience as different from the “Canadian” educational experience, which they perceived as requiring students to share their ideas and opinions in whole class discussions, as other literature on EAL students’ experience attests (e.g., Barnawi, 2009; Tatar, 2005). However, this did not necessarily mean that the students in this study ended up using mode of participation that they were previously used to. There were some EAL students who described their previous education as “lecture-oriented” or “lecture-based”, yet enjoyed sharing their ideas in front of the whole class and having discussions with other students. Some of these students initially perceived and described other classmates’ non-oral participation as unsatisfactory. In addition, Romeo, a NS student who grew up in an educational system in which oral participation was valued and expected described some of his classmates’ non-oral participation as “pathetic”. However, Miguel, another NS student, shared a more accepting attitude towards other modes of participation, while he seemed to believe participating in discussion is important. There were other participants who also described their previous education system as “lecture-oriented” and shared their difficulty with orally participating in whole-class discussions although they wanted to.
These examples suggest that while students’ modes of participation and perceptions of participation may be somewhat influenced by their previous educational background, their background does not always dictate their understanding or performance of participation. Students from the same country can participate in class differently and perceive different modes of participation differently. At the same time, students from different countries can participate in class through the same mode of participation and perceive the mode of participation that other students from the same educational background perform as unsatisfactory. It all seems to depend on the individual, their past experiences, their beliefs about learning, and their experiences in the program. Also, it is dynamic and shifting depending on what happens in real time during the program as well.

6.2.3. “Non-regular” program whose curriculum takes EAL students into account

Unlike many studies exploring EAL students’ participation and academic discourse socialization (e.g., Morita, 2004; Zappa-Hollman, 2007), this study explores students’ academic discourse socialization in an international program whose curriculum takes EAL students into account. This study shows that students go through a unique academic discourse socialization process, and factors that tend to be mentioned in other studies as hindering EAL students’ fuller participation in the ADS such as perceived lack of content knowledge did not seem to be the case in this particular international graduate program.

Yet, accounts of some participants who perceived oral participation as a legitimate mode of participation suggested that they found oral participation challenging in the elective courses they took with teachers in the local K-12 system due to lack of specific content knowledge associated with teaching in Canada. This confirms that the “same learner can negotiate different identities and participate variously in different contexts” (Morita, 2004, p. 596). Thus, it appears that in the program whose curriculum takes EAL students into account, those EAL students went through different academic discourse socialization processes from what they might have experienced if they had been in a “regular” graduate program. In addition, coupled with other accounts shared by these participants, such as describing their academic performance as getting “better” by becoming a student who can develop their own ideas about readings and share them in class, it can be said that those EAL students developed positive identities due in part to a curriculum where the needs and experiences of EAL students are taken into account.
6.2.4. Students’ self-perceptions of their participation and perceptions of others towards their classmates’ participation

Lastly, another gap this study tried to address was the lack of research attending to both students’ self-perceptions of their participation and perceptions of others towards their classmates’ participation. Lee (2009), for example, focused on Korean graduate students’ “silence” and/or non-oral participation in class, and the reasons for their “silence”, from the students’ own perspectives; the way their classmates (including NS students) perceived their participation was not discussed. The findings of this study suggest that there could be a gap between students’ self-perception of their own participation and the perception of others towards their classmates’ participation. In the example of Amy, although she described herself as not an “expressive person” and tended to be quiet in the whole-class discussions, she was mentally engaged in the discussions. She was also aware that it may have seemed like she was not participating in the discussions. However, although they may not have been referring to her specifically, some of her classmates’ accounts suggested that they did not perceive just being “silent” as legitimate participation unless the “silent” student was somehow contributing to others’ learning. In these cases, “silent” students actively listening to the discussions and learning were not legitimate. It is possible that the way a student perceives his/her own participation and how it is perceived by their classmates does not always match. In other words, there could be a gap between students’ perceived legitimacy of their own participation and whether it is perceived as legitimate by their peers.

6.3. Implications

By bringing different perspectives together – perspectives of both EAL and NS students, and their self-perception of their own participation and their perceptions of other students’ participation – in an international program primarily designed for EAL students, this study has various important implications for people in different positions. The first thing I would like to address is mainly for researchers exploring EAL students’ participation, especially in Western university settings. Many studies address EAL students’ “silence”, but sometimes, as this study shows, “silence” could more accurately be described as non-oral participation. By not simply calling EAL students’ non-oral participation “silence” and instead focusing on how they participate in their classrooms, this study was able to find various modes of participation students from different educational backgrounds bring to
multicultural classrooms. Thus, I would like to suggest that the use of the term “silence” when addressing EAL students’ non-oral participation should be re-considered, and their actual non-oral practices should be emphasized.

6.3.1. Implications for teachers

There are also several practical implications from this study for those who teach in multicultural classrooms. Like other studies (e.g., Morita, 2009), this study's findings also suggested that instructors can play significant roles in students’ academic discourse socialization. In this particular case, students seemed initially to perceive oral participation as a legitimate mode of participation in part due to one instructor in particular who encouraged students to speak up in whole-class discussions. However, students seemed to negotiate the legitimacy of participation based on how different instructors allowed modes of participation that are not oral participation, along with other factors. A few students from a specific cohort described a significant change in their classmates’ participation after their instructor introduced the concept of silence as a means of participation. Considering the influence instructors’ pedagogical approaches - and/or even, a single word spoken to students - can have, teachers, especially those who teach academically and culturally diverse classrooms need to be aware of how what could be perceived as minor aspects of their teaching may have significant influence on students' socialization. Also, considering the different educational backgrounds students may have been used to, being open to different methods of class delivery may help both NS and EAL students. Like other studies (e.g., Lee, 2009; Liu, 2002), the findings of this study also suggest that just because EAL students learn and understand the “Western” or “Canadian” academic expectations, it does not always mean that they perceive them as ways of learning and/or teaching that they would like to pursue. It seems that through developing and negotiating legitimate modes of participation, some participants came to appreciate different modes of participation, and learned to change their participation to accommodate those modes of participation. However, it did not seem to be the case for everyone. This whole process may be smoother if instructors could offer an opportunity to have students discuss what they find meaningful ways of learning in class at the beginning of the course. This way, not only will students with various cultural and academic backgrounds be able to understand how their classmates understand how others learn and/or participate in class, but instructors will also be able to better understand how the
students learn and participate, and consciously invite various modes of participation in their teaching. As findings of this study suggest, students’ educational and cultural backgrounds do not always dictate how they understand good learning and how they participate, although they might impact students’ views and class behaviors to varying degree. Therefore, spending some time to understand students and have them understand each other could be worthwhile.

6.3.2. Implications for graduate programs

This study demonstrates how some EAL students develop positive identities in a graduate program whose curriculum takes EAL students into account with instructors who are aware of what is it like to study in a foreign educational context (Beck, et al., 2007). Some EAL students felt challenged in the elective courses that they took with students in other programs who are mostly people working in the local K-12 system due to lack of content knowledge in the specific teaching context. This also seemed to contribute to them positioning themselves as relative novices, or less competent members of the academic community. In this globalizing world, many international students are studying in Western universities, and many graduate students especially those who already have previous working experience, have invaluable experience to contribute, and they can be a great addition to enrich the classroom learning experience of all. However, in some cases, they feel less competent due to the content knowledge which is dominant in the specific context or the different modes of participation expected in the classroom (e.g., Kettle, 2005).

Going back to the quote that I shared in Chapter 1, internationalization in postsecondary educational contexts is the:

intentional process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions and delivery of postsecondary education, in order to enhance the quality of education and research for all students and staff, and to make a meaningful contribution to the society (De Wit & Hunter, 2015, p. 3)

Seen from this view, creating and offering curriculum that takes into account EAL students will allow students with academically, culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, to share and learn from each other’s invaluable experience. This will lead
to enhancing the quality of education for all, and making meaningful contribution to the society.

6.4. Future research

This study looked at both NS and EAL students’ perceptions of their classmates’ participation as well as their own. The majority of the participants were EAL students and the study took place in a program whose curriculum specifically takes into account the experiences and needs of EAL students. While this study has meaningful contributions and implications which could be applied to different settings, it was done in a very unique context and findings may not be generalized. Considering that the same learner can participate in different classrooms differently (Morita, 2004) and that classroom interaction depends on the composition of the class (Dippold, 2015), it could be worthwhile to carry out future research with more NS students, and/or in “regular” graduate programs with both NS and EAL students. Also, as this study shows, instructors can have a significant influence on students’ academic discourse socialization regardless of whether they realize it or not. Keeping this in mind, future research should explore not only the voices of students from various academic and cultural backgrounds, but also include those of their instructors who teach in multicultural classrooms using multiple data sources through longitudinal investigations to understand perceptions of and influences on class participation. Such an inquiry will contribute to a more thorough understanding of culturally and linguistically diverse students’ needs, challenges, and experiences in internationalizing classrooms, and the role of instructors and universities to help them.
References


Appendix A.

Group interview questions

1. Tell me about your experience of studying in this TESOL program with diverse classmates.
2. What type of class are you more familiar with, e.g. lecture oriented or discussion oriented?
3. What kind of class do you prefer and why?
4. Do you believe oral participation is important and why? (In different formats e.g., whole class, small group, pair discussion)
5. Do you think your classmates had similar or different ways of participating in class and how?
6. How did you feel about the similarities and differences in participation in your classroom?
7. Do you think your way of participation in class have changed compared to when you were a student in your country of origin and if so how?
8. Is there anything else you would like to share with me in relation to your experiences of studying in the program with diverse classmates?
Appendix B.

Individual interview questions examples

1. You mentioned that you wanted to participate more in discussions because education in your home country is changing towards discussion-oriented. In what ways do you think discussion-oriented class is beneficial? (For teachers and/or students?)

2. We talked about some silent classmates who were not willing to step out of the comfort zone of their cultural and educational background. Do you think they should change their way they participate in class when learning in an international program like this [TESOL] program?

3. You mentioned that there were different ways of participation in class. Could you tell me more about how you perceive the differences and similarities in those different ways?

4. You mentioned that there are only a few people in class including yourself that are active in discussions. Could you tell me more about your perception of participation in class discussions?

5. Could you tell me more about your perception on how instructors’ beliefs and reading materials dealt with in class might have affected students’ participation in class?

6. You mentioned that you can share your opinions when you feel comfortable. What kind of things make you feel comfortable in class?

7. Could you tell me more about your experience playing a leading role in your cohort?
Appendix C.

Mind map