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Refugee Students in Global Schools, Constructing Citizenship:

A comparative case study of sixth grade classrooms in two public IB schools

By

Laura J. Quaynor

Doctor of Philosophy

Division of Educational Studies

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An abstract of a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of

The James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies, Emory University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Division of Educational Studies

2012

Abstract

Refugee Students in Global Schools, Constructing Citizenship:
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Although the United States resettles more refugee students than any other country, little research examines the ways that schools in the United States prepare these students to participate in their political community. At the same time, a growing number of schools serving refugee students are adopting curricula with a global focus. This research is a comparative case study of schooling for sixth-grade refugee students at two publicly-funded schools that emphasize global education. I addressed the following questions: 1) How does the implemented curriculum, including content, pedagogy, and climate, educate students for citizenship? 2) What are students taught about different levels of affinity? 3) What are students taught about citizenship as status, practice, and feeling? 4) How are citizenship, literacy, and the use of English connected within these classrooms? 5) What does citizenship mean to refugee youth in these schools? This study drew on data from classroom observations, interviews with teachers and administrators, and focus groups with students to create descriptive profiles of classrooms and schools. At one school, content was both multicultural and comparative; pedagogy included students making connections between the content, themselves, and other students; and both teachers and students expressed feeling "at home" in the school. The discourse in social studies class focused on comparative national practice, and the teacher and teaching assistant encouraged students' development of transnational identities. At the other school, content, pedagogy, and climate varied among specific settings. School-wide activities involved global content and endorsed global citizenship, but did not incorporate refugee students' perspectives. In social studies class, although students learned about different countries, the teacher continually emphasized the perspective of "us Americans" and taught through lecture. Overall, findings from this study suggest that although schools can educate students for inclusive citizenship, global education initiatives do not always translate into classroom pedagogy that is responsive to the needs of refugee students. This work suggests that international education can be responsive or exclusive, and that practices vary at the school and classroom levels. I argue that schools working with refugee students should consider how they institutionalize the dimensions of care as they implement a global curriculum.

Acknowledgements

Unfinishedness is essential to our human condition. ~ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*
In gratitude:

To those who have cleared this path

Infinite thanks to the faculty of the Division of Educational Studies at Emory University, whose support and intellectual leadership were the reason I was able to complete this work. Thanks especially to my chair, Dr. Carole Hahn, both for acting as a role model in her scholarship and her constant editorial work, reading drafts as she jetted between continents. Thanks also to my committee members, Dr. George Engelhard, Jr., for his advice to "keep it simple" and to Dr. Maisha T. Winn for asking me the hard questions. Further thanks to all other members of the division, especially to Dr. Cadray for teaching me about reflective scholarship and the importance of "getting it done," Dr. Downey for helping me get excited about my ideas again, Dr. Pajares for his wisdom, Dr. George for her thoughts, and to Dr. Siddle Walker for an education in qualitative methodology and American Education that was nothing but world class.

A thousand 'thank you's as well to all of those in the DES family who made this path easier to follow and my time at Emory a true joy, in no particular order: Dr. Michelle Purdy, Dr. Vera Stenhouse, Dr. Teresa Alviar-Martin, Dr. Keisha Green, Dr. Rubye Sullivan, Dr. Alyssa Dunn, Dr. Jason Chen, and Dr. David Morris.

To those who walk alongside me

I would have never made it through this dissertation without excellent colleagues and friends, whose academic and personal support ranged from reading drafts to making margaritas to babysitting. Thanks to the 'League of Truth': Dr. Khalilah Ali, Dr. Jessica Gale, soon-to-be Dr. Curtis Goings, Dr. Latrise Johnson, soon-to-be Dr. Vincent Willis. Thanks to the 'Cincos': Dr. Saundra Deltac, soon-to-be Dr. Nafees Khan, and Ana Solano-Campos. Much appreciation to other DES students who were always ready to help with a ride, an hour, or a hand: Dr. Nadia Behizadeh, Miyoshi Juergenson, Stephanie Wind, Aminah Perkins, and all the others with whom I was privileged to share a classroom.

Thanks to all of the teachers who allowed me to share their classrooms. The true 'work' of this dissertation is done by them every day.

Finally, my family showed me infinite patience and support. To my parents, my sisters, and my brother, thank you for walking this path with me, wherever I go. To Sam, the most patient man in the world who just so happens to be my husband, thanks for always being there, and for understanding the journey**.**

and the little one whose hand I hold.

To Leila, all of the students in this study, and the little ones in their generation. This dissertation is dedicated to them.

I hope the reader will forgive all errors, omissions, and limitations which are fully my own.

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Chapter One: Statement of the Problem

Since 1975, the United States government and partner organizations have resettled over 3 million refugees, the largest number of refugees resettled worldwide (Refugee Council USA, 2011). Yet, both documentary and academic reports point out the many contradictory ways that refugees experience U.S. citizenship (Ackerman, 2008; Hones, 2002; Lee, 2005; Ong, 2003). For most refugee families, schools serve as the main point of contact with mainstream American culture (McBrien, 2005b). Nearly all refugee students attend public schools, which provide a pathway to English language proficiency and economic opportunity. Indeed, scholars report that refugee parents from a variety of ethnic groups place high hopes in the school, citing it as a "path to a brighter future" for their children (Vang, 2005; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008).

How do schools function in the socialization of refugee youth? For the broader community of immigrant youth, Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) report that "the length of residence in the United States seems associated with declining health, school achievement, and aspirations… more ambivalent attitudes toward school, and lower grades" (p. 354). Valenzuela (1999) has characterized this process of enculturation, which works to peripheralize non-white, non-English speaking students, as subtractive schooling. With respect to social studies and civics courses, the subjects where schools explicitly educate youth for citizenship, researchers continue to report that rigid assimilationist and "weak" multiculturalist perspectives that do not attend to issues of race and minority status dominate (Banks, 2008a; Dilworth, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 2003). Civic engagement is important for young people's life opportunities, and has been linked with both school performance and health (Levine, 2008). In relationship to citizenship education, Levinson (2010) documents a civic empowerment gap, in which non-

English speaking, low-SES students of immigrant origin have lower reported civic engagement and fewer school-based opportunities for civic learning.

However, there are an increasing number of schools in the United States that either intentionally serve immigrant and refugee communities (Jackson, 2010) or position themselves as international schools with the goal of educating youth for global citizenship (Parker, 2007). Do these schools, positioned within a rhetoric of celebrating global citizenship, foster citizenship and belonging for refugee youth? To extend Delpit's (1995) questioning of the purpose of education, what kind of citizenship and belonging is espoused in these schools? And for whom?

The nature of citizenship within these schools is not solely contained within social studies classrooms, but intersects with larger questions about language and literacy. Many scholars investigate the development of citizenship, language, and literacy as separate entities, partially because of their respective anchoring within social studies/political science, foreign language/applied linguistics, and English education. However, citizenship, language, and literacy are inextricably linked within schools and society. As Ladson-Billings (2004) notes, "one must be human to be literate and one must be literate to be a citizen" (p. 135). Within the United States, one must be literate and proficient in English in order to participate as a full citizen. Further, students must be critically literate in order to act effectively as citizens. Hoggart (1998) underlines the difference between critical literacy and functional literacy, stating that functional literacy "…ensures that literacy becomes simply a way of further subordinating great numbers of people" (p. 60).

Citizenship, language, and literacy are embedded within networks of power and privilege. Just as Gee (2001) positions literacy as tied to discourses that are identity kits or ways of being in the world, scholars of citizenship education also look at the way people position themselves in

relation to local, cultural, national, and global communities (Abu El-Haj, 2007). At the same time that students are learning to be citizens in their schools and negotiate their outside world, they are learning to be literate in these different realms. How are students' identities welcomed in the school? Must they leave certain parts of their identity behind? How do students' identities related to learning about what it means to be a citizen? These are some of the questions that underlie my study and informed the development of my research questions.

Purpose of the Study

The broad purpose of this study is to understand how two schools that position themselves within the discourse of global education prepare refugee students for citizenship in the United States. Because of the close relationships between the concepts of language, literacy, and citizenship, I attended to social studies, English/language arts, and English for Speakers of Other Languages classes within the school. I used an instrumental approach (Stake, 1995) to the comparative case study to explore citizenship education for sixth grade students in two schools that serve a substantial number of refugee students. Data from five sources allowed me to understand notions of citizenship in this context: classroom observations in social studies, language arts, and ESOL classrooms; interviews with social studies teachers, language arts, and ESOL teachers, and administrators; classroom and school documents; field notes of school events; and focus groups with selected students.

Research Questions

I developed the research questions in this study drawing on Banks' (2008a) definition of citizenship as the convergence of participation in local, national, and global communities. The following questions guided the study:

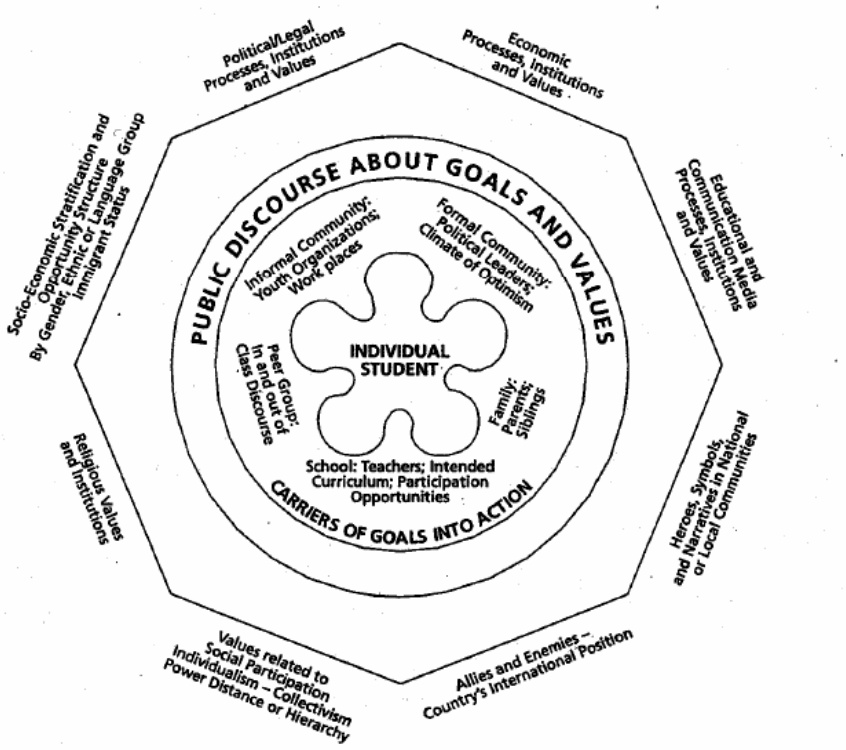
1) How does the implemented curriculum, including content, pedagogy, and climate, educate students for citizenship?
2) What are students taught about different levels of affinity (community, national, global, and transnational citizenship)?
3) What are students taught about citizenship as a status, practice, and feeling?
4) How are citizenship, literacy, and the use of English connected within these classrooms?
5) What does citizenship mean to refugee youth in these schools?

Theoretical Framework

I approached this study overlaying two common frameworks for understanding the concept of citizenship, which guided my analysis of data throughout the study. After thematically coding qualitative data, I interpreted the main themes in the context of Banks' (2008a) conception of citizenship as layered – an individual at the center, with cultural, national, and global citizenship. For each of these layers of citizenship, I conceptualized citizenship as including Osler & Starkey's (2005) dimensions of citizenship – status, feeling, and practice. This framework recognizes that individuals are concurrently members of a wide variety of communities, and the extent of their membership varies according to these three dimensions. For example, students express their global citizenship in the three dimensions when they articulate that as members of a global community they have human rights [status], feel connected to people in other countries on the basis of their common humanity [feeling], and read about international events and post news articles on a social media site to share with friends or family members [practice].

In understanding the student at the center of meaning-making about citizenship, I drew on the Octagon Model developed for the Civic Education (CivEd) study of the International

Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999).



Source: TORNEY-PURTA *et al.,* (2001).

The CivEd researchers intended this conceptual model to be a broad description of the variety of influences upon youth's civic understanding. This model focuses on Bronfenbrenner's (1988) ecological developmental approach, recognizing that a students' development takes place amid microsystems and macrosystems that profoundly shape student growth. Further, the model considers Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated cognition theories, recognizing that student thought takes place amid these environmental factors, placing the individual student at the center of a layered set of influences, labeled in the figure above. For refugee youth whose families may not have the social and cultural capital required to access higher education, and whose social and

cultural capital are not recognized as "legitimate" in the receiving society, a school may have more influence on the civic development of a student. The messages students receive at school may conflict with messages from home, peer groups, and the informal community. For example, as a school is embedded within a system of socio-economic stratification that may not value or recognize the experiences of diverse youth, the school may have less influence on student conceptions of citizenship. In this study, I seek to understand and document the content of the school-based messages around citizenship, and query students about how these messages relate to their own thinking.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, it is important to clarify key terms and ideas that can have multiple meanings depending on context. The concepts of citizenship, critical literacy, global education, refugees, and transnationalism frame both my approach to this research and the resulting analysis. Below I provide a working definition of these terms.

Citizenship is a contested term with multiple meanings. Marshall (1950) defined citizenship as the possession of rights (civil, political, and socio-economic) based on a principle of equality. Citizenship often implies association with a nation-state, but scholars have increasingly expanded this notion to local or cultural citizenship (Banks, 2008b; Bohrer, 1999) as well as global citizenship (Banks, 2008b). Osler and Starkey (2005) used a framework of citizenship as legal status, feeling, and practice. These three aspects of citizenship, as well as the idea of citizenship as local, national, and global, guided my analysis of citizenship in this study.

Critical literacy. In this study I draw on scholars who define critical literacy as reading, writing, speaking and listening skills that allow students to examine the wider world (Shor,

1992). Tied to political action (Freire, 1993), critical literacy is necessary for citizens to participate in a democracy (Bartlett, 2009; Fisher, 2005).

English language learners. The term English language learners (ELL) denotes students whose first language is not English, and who require support in the English language in addition to academic instruction.

Global education. The movement to incorporate global dimensions into education is rooted in post-World War II shifts in the geopolitical landscape (Anderson, 1979; Tye, 2009). Current scholars recognize that global education has both descriptive and normative components. Descriptively, students learn about different areas in the world and the global systems that connect these places. Normatively, global education involves "teaching students to analyze issues and problems that involve value positions so that they can plan appropriate courses of action" (Tye, 2009, p. 23). The International Baccalaureate model program that both schools in the study follow defines international or global education as including the following elements:

- Developing citizens of the world in relation to culture, language and learning to live together
- Building and reinforcing students' sense of identity and cultural awareness
- Fostering students' recognition and development of universal human values
- Stimulating curiosity and inquiry in order to foster a spirit of discovery and enjoyment of learning
- Equipping students with the skills to learn and acquire knowledge, individually or collaboratively, and to apply these skills and knowledge accordingly across a broad range of areas
- Providing international content while responding to local requirements and interests

- Encouraging diversity and flexibility in teaching methods
- Providing appropriate forms of assessment and international benchmarking (IBO, 2010 para. 1)

International Baccalaureate. The International Baccalaureate (IB) program is a school model and curriculum framework intended to promote education for global citizenship. It is based on a 1948 United Nations Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) document, and a 1968, organization known as the International Baccalaureate Organization, which supports and certifies schools offering the IB program today.

Limited English proficient students. Sometimes used interchangeably with the term English Language Learner, a limited English proficient (LEP) student has a limited ability to interact in written and spoken English.

Refugees, as defined by the United Nations, are persons who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country…" (UNHCR, 2009, para. 1).

Transnationalism. Throughout human history, people have crossed and re-crossed political boundaries for migration and commerce. The current era of globalization, however, is marked by a rapid increase in the speed and frequency of this global exchange of goods, people, and ideas (Pieterse, 2009). Transnationalism refers to the ensuing frequent engagement of many communities united by ethnic and familial ties in economic, political, cultural, religious, and social activities across national boundaries (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999; Vertovec, 1999). Transnationalism has multiple consequences for the concept of citizenship (Castles, 2004). An

individual with ties across different nation-states may hold legal citizenship, engage in commerce, and express attachment to different nations. In this study, I use the concepts of transnationalism and transnational citizenship to describe moments that teachers and students recognize belonging to multiple communities or nation-states. For example, when refugee students follow news stories in both their country of origin and their country of habitation, they are engaging in transnational citizenship practice.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This literature review surveys four areas relevant to the current study, which focuses on the preparation of refugee students as citizens in the United States within schools committed to global education. The first section details studies of schooling for refugee youth in the United States; the second section reviews research on civic engagement of both refugee and immigrant students; the third section outlines scholarship at the intersection of citizenship and literacy; the fourth section discusses the genesis of global education in the United States and scholarship about the implementation of global education.

My survey of the literature began with a search of ERIC, JSTOR, *Social Science Abstracts, and World Cat* databases using combinations of the terms *citizenship education, education, United States, refugee, immigrant, schooling, social studies, International Baccalaureate, global education, charter schools,* and *literacy*. Using the same terms I culled from the research databases, I also identified studies and theoretical works from relevant books and articles. In recognition of the need for an analysis of contemporary scholarship, I chose to focus this review on scholarship produced within the last 10 years.

Refugee Youth in U.S. Schools

Access to education is both a civil and a human right (OCR, 2007; UNHCR, 2009). For students who have experienced war and conflict, schooling can restore a sense of normalcy, relieving the physical and psychological effects of trauma (Sarr & Mosselson, 2010; Sinclair, 2001). In a survey of 76 Somali refugee adolescents in the United States, a greater sense of school belonging was associated with lower depression and higher self-efficacy (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). However, research on the schooling experiences of refugee students in the United States highlights that schooling can be an alienating experience (Sarr & Mosselson, 2010). In this

section, I review studies related to the schooling of refugee students in the United States. These studies rely on qualitative research methods and describe experiences of discrimination, cultural disconnections, and marginalization within schools, as well as ways teachers and students navigated these issues to carve out positive educational spaces (Almazyed, 2010; Bal, 2009; Basford, 2008; Bashir-Ali, 2004; Davies, 2008; De Gourville, 2002; Buendia, Crosland, & Doumbia, 2003; Githembe, 2009; Henry, 2009; Kingsbury, 2007; Li, 2008; Massoumi, 2009; McBrien, 2005a; Mosselson, 2007; Mueller, 2001; Nguyen, 2005; Oikonomidoy, 2007; Okom, 2008; Peng, 2009; Rah, 2007; Roxas, 2008; Roy, 2008; Sambul, 2004; Tadesse, Hoot, & Watson-Thompson, 2009; Thorstensson Davila, 2010; Tinkler, 2006; Trinh, 2002; Uy, 2011; Vang, 2005; Wallitt, 2005). Notably, although some authors report positive educational experiences for students in small schools geared towards refugee students, none directly compare experiences at multiple schools in the same area.

Researchers reporting negative experiences highlight the ways students faced discrimination in schools, but often found shelter in peer groups of students from the same culture or an ESOL community. In one such study, Oikonomidoy (2007) conducted focus groups and observations with seven Somali female refugee students in an urban high school in the Pacific Northwest. All students reported experiencing religious discrimination at school, with other students mocking the Muslim girls because they wore headscarves and teachers saying negative things about Islam. However, students also reported finding support for learning the English language in school, through more fluent peers and sheltered content language programs. Oikonomidoy stressed the positive self-efficacy of these students, stating that they "did all that they could in order to successfully participate in the social and academic life of their school" (p. 25)

Mosselson (2007) conducted a study of 15 Bosnian adolescent girls, using semi structured interviews and prompting them to create graphical representations of their lives in order to understand their life experiences. Like the students in Oikonomidoy's (2007) study, these young women reported both discrimination and academic success. Students stressed the importance of education in their own lives, both as a major resource available in the United States and as a source of security in an insecure world. However, the participants also recounted experiencing isolation in school. One participant recounted,

> I was the only person in the class that no one ever talked to because I'm so different, and they all made a point of seeing me as different…The teachers were horrible. Some of them were really nice, some of them were really insulting, asking me questions like … do you know what rock music is, have you ever heard that, do you have a television … just questions like I came from some kind of jungle. (p. 107)

Once the Bosnian girls had adjusted to American schooling and demonstrated high academic achievement, the participants recalled feeling welcome in the school. Mosselson cautioned that the ways in which the Bosnian students were able to find space in school after achieving academically may have also been available to them because of their whiteness, which distinguishes their experience from that of the majority of refugees relocated to the United States today. The study did not provide any information about the perceptions of other students, or the general climate of the school to suggest how unique these experiences were to refugee students or if native-born American students also felt alienated by the school unless they were high achievers.

Many refugee students are able to straddle cultures and achieve significant academic success despite obstacles. Different researchers identify varying factors related to school success,

with some focusing on family support or characteristics, and others highlighting effective school support systems. To illuminate important factors in academic success, Mueller (2001) interviewed eight female academically-successful Hmong refugee high school students in Fresno, California. The findings point to the potential importance of both family support and maintaining the home culture. All participants were married to older men who spoke both Hmong and English, and supported their academic pursuits. All students also had children, and continued to practice Hmong cultural traditions including using a shaman when a relative was ill.

Trinh (2002) supported these findings in a study of Vietnamese refugee high school students in the Midwest. In interviews with 11 completer students, 15 dropout students, their 26 parents or relatives, and one teacher and one friend for each of the 26 students. Although both groups of students reported having full support from parents and teachers, students who completed school reported having a clear reason for going to school, had clear ideas of cultural values, and supportive parents. In contrast, those who did not complete school had no clear idea of their purpose behind attending school, and their parents were still in Vietnam.

Confirming these propositions that parents' cultural values are important, Nguyen (2005) used interviews, observations, and field notes to construct a case study of six Vietnamese refugee adolescent students with varying academic performance from three different families. The findings indicated that student success was not associated with parents' human capital or socioeconomic standing. Rather, the main factors related to school success for these students were parents' cultural values emphasizing school achievement.

Although many refugee families may value academic achievement, not all families may have equal access to the social capital needed to support their students. Roxas' (2008) study of Somali Bantu young men pointed to the ways that family and community social capital related to

schooling. Using semi-structured interviews and observations of eight Somali Bantu families, Roxas studied the experiences of male students attending Central City High School in Minnesota. Somali Bantu are a historically nomadic ethnic group with little experience with formal schooling. Most of the students in Roxas' (2008) study experienced limited and uneven ESOL services and were placed in age-appropriate classrooms despite limited schooling experience, taking sophomore-level English literature courses despite having no previous experience with English literature. Students' academic success depended on their family's former experience with formal schooling and ability to access community networks that provided access to educational resources.

Parents' fluency in English also appears to have an impact on students' school experiences. Githembe (2009) surveyed and interviewed 61 African refugee parents and their students' teachers in an elementary school in Texas. Although all parents reported strongly supporting the school, African refugee parents with high English proficiency were significantly more involved in school than African refugee parents with low English proficiency.

Although parent and family characteristics are critical in shaping students school experiences, refugee students enter into school environments with pre-existing structures that can also impact their performance. Almazyed's (2010) qualitative study of 10 Muslim Afghan refugees in a U.S. high school used observations, interviews, and document collection to investigate the factors related to students' academic success. In this study, lower teacher expectations in the lower academic tracks were associated with students' adaptation of adversarial attitudes towards school and teachers, as well as lower academic performance.

Student course placement was also an issue for Hmong refugee students, another group with historically limited access to formal schooling (Vang, 2005). Vang conducted a review of 25 years of research on the experiences of Hmong students in the United States. Recurrent issues for Hmong students in the literature included a belief among administrators that students would not attend college, student placement in age-appropriate classes where they would fill minimum graduation requirements but not be prepared for college, and observations that students were ignored by teachers because students were culturally reserved. Furthermore, across different studies, low English proficiency stood out as a consistent factor influencing low school achievement and insufficient credits for students to graduate from high school.

One of the many ways that schools attempt to support refugee students is through ESOL classes or other language support services. Although they can be rich places of social support, multiple studies describe the ways that ESOL classrooms can exist in a deficit-oriented model. Gitlin, Buendia, Crosland, and Doumbia's (2003) investigation of an ESOL (ESOL) program serving a substantial number of refugee students also pointed to teachers and school programs portraying student cultures as disordered or deficient. Over the course of a year, the researchers performed more than 60 observations of a middle school ESOL classroom in the Western United States, interviewed eight current and former ESOL teachers, ten white students, four administrators, attended ESOL parent and faculty meetings, and analyzed relevant policy documents. They found that the discourse and actions in the school both welcomed and marginalized ESOL students by promoting the program as a way to overcome their cultural deficits. As the authors noted, though the school discourse "was sympathetic to students in the ESOL program, it viewed the students as a problem for teachers" (Gitlin et al., 2003, p. 105).

Bal's (2009) study of the evolving identities of Ahiska Muslim refugee students in elementary school language arts classrooms provides a similar description. Refugee students were pulled from general education language arts classrooms into ESL classrooms with rote, repetitive, teacher-oriented practices. In this school, students were often placed in special education classrooms if they did not make significant progress in ESL classrooms.

Peng (2009) also studied an ESOL classroom, analyzing the physical layout and classroom activities in a middle school serving refugee students from Vietnam and Somalia. All students sat divided by both ethnicity and gender, and the teacher divided the students into the same groups for a spelling competition. Peng noted that throughout the class period, there was no contact between these groups – even informal eye contact. Though these findings are striking, they originate from data collected during a single classroom visit, pointing out a methodological weakness of the study.

However, some studies pointed to the importance of ESOL classes in student success. Focusing on the concept of adapting cultural literacies, De Gourville (2002) drew on interviews with seven students, six Liberian "community experts," five ESOL teachers, and two support staff to study the experiences of Liberian refugee students adjusting to an Eastern U.S. high school. Although race worked in ways to limit students' academic and social aspirations, De Gourville highlighted the important role of the ESOL center as a "cultural refuge" for students in a new environment. This held true despite the fact that most Liberian students' native language is English. The social capital students gained in the center was an "indispensable tool" to support students' encounter with American school culture, and relationships supported students' cognitive and affective development. The experienced recounted in this work contrasts with Okom's (2008) similar qualitative case study with nine Liberian refugee High School students in

a Midwestern public high school. In this case. the school system did not have the resources to adequately respond to newcomers, and a successful program run by a nonprofit organization failed due to funding.

Another study of Somali Bantu students in a Texas elementary school (Roy, 2008), demonstrated the rich possibilities of ESOL services. In the ESOL newcomer center serving Somali Bantu students, school practices bridged students' home and school literacies. Teachers engaged students in multiple languages and used multicultural literature to build academic knowledge and elicit oral and written discourse relating to race, nationality, tribal affiliations, and language.

Yet another group of studies focuses on the ways schools and teachers bridge or fail to bridge school and home cultures for refugee youth. A cultural mismatch between students' home culture and school was a key finding of a study of African refugee students in a Head Start program in Buffalo, New York. Tadesse, Hoot, and Watson-Thompson (2009) conducted interviews with four African refugee mothers and three female teachers in order to understand issues specific to refugee children in early childhood programs. They found that both teachers and mothers agreed that universal assessment tools were inappropriate to diagnose and assess refugee children. Teachers would have preferred to produce narrative descriptions of what refugee students could do, and mothers pointed to cultural practices that were appropriate in their own cultures but that were punished or seen as inappropriate behavior in the American classroom. For example, a mother from Somalia noted,

> The teachers said to me my daughter is harsh, she is not talking nice to other kids. I say, "What is the problem?" She said, "She is very loud. . . ." It is okay in Somalia when a kid talks loud . . . I tell the teacher my kid can talk loud and that is okay in my culture, but

> she told me my kid has emotional problems . . . that is her [the teacher's] rule. (Tadesse et al., 2009, p. 354).

Mistaken interpretations of cultural and linguistic differences were also evident in Bashir-Ali's (2004) ethnography of four Somali refugee students in two elementary schools in the United States and Italy. For example, as the Somali language does not contain words for thank you and please, students did not use these words automatically as they acquired English and Italian. This resulted in an assumption by teachers in both countries that students were rude. In addition, Bashir-Ali reported that students were marginalized due to linguistic, religious, and refugee status, observing that there were "no recorded observations where teachers supported the native language and culture of the students in the study" (p.226). This resulted in classrooms where students might sleep in class or not participate.

In a university community in the northeastern United States, Wallitt (2005) interviewed 14 Cambodian American high school students, highlighting the ways that students experienced both care and lack of care in schools. Students consistently reported that families and cultural teaching had strong influences on their beliefs about schools. However, students perceived teachers to be unaware of the hardships of being a refugee, and feeling invisible in the school context. Students reported having both caring teachers, who served as role models and mentors and who included Cambodian history and culture in the classroom, as well as non-caring teachers with low expectations for students who failed to teach the literacy skills students needed.

Li's (2008) study of literacy practices among refugee families in another city in the northeastern United States confirmed the struggles that schools have bridging gaps between home and school cultures. Using a critical ethnographic methodology, Li investigated literacies

in two Sudanese and two Vietnamese refugee families with school-age children through multiple interviews and participant observation at home and at school over two months. Overall, all families valued education and literacy but wanted their children to maintain ethnic cultural norms while achieving success in school. As most parents were unable to read well in English, they did not read with their children, but rather supervised student reading and homework. All families in the study perceived a lack of care from the school – expressing the belief that the school demanded things of them as parents while not understanding the demands of work and complications of childcare or showing care for their children. Li described the children's school as a "multicultural school without multicultural substance" (p. 22), which used a curriculum unresponsive to students' realities.

The ability of schools to make connections between the school curriculum and students' home cultures may have significant consequences for student academic achievement and motivation. Sarroub's (2007) ethnographic work with Hayder, an Iraqi refugee high school youth, emphasizes the lack of connections between literacy and student experiences. Over the course of 18 months of field work, Sarroub documented Hayder's literacy practices by observing Hayder's literacy and language acquisition courses in high school, conducted formal and informal interviews with Hayder and his teachers, and obtained a male research assistant to visit his home and shadow him over the course of two days. By comparing Hayder's experiences in reading class, social studies class, and work, Sarroub (2007) showed that Hayder made more progress in the class of the reading teacher who was able to help Hayder connect skills learned in school to out-of-school contexts, than in the class of the social studies teacher who was welcoming but not responsive. Similarly, Nykiel-Herbert (2010) collected information about the academic performance of third, fourth, and fifth grade non-literate refugee students from Iraq

before and after a 10-month intervention program designed to implement culturally relevant curricula.

This intervention was designed because Iraqi students were making slower linguistic progress than other students in the school, and involved a one year placement in a self-contained classroom where the curriculum and instructional strategies were aligned to match students' experiencs and culture. Youth who participated in the program learned both content and English literacy at a faster rate than other ELL students in the school as measured by scores on the Language Assessment Scales Reading/Writing tests, with half of the students moving from a Non-Literate category to testing out of ESL support.

Although pedagogy may need to be both welcoming and responsive to support students' academic growth, positive relationships with adults may be sufficient to support student motivation. McBrien (2005a) studied the relationship between perceptions of discrimination and academic motivation among adolescent refugee girls resettled in one community in the southeastern United States. Constructing a purposeful sample of 18 refugee girls from Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Iran, Bosnia and Vietnam, McBrien (2005a) compared the experiences of Muslim and non-Muslim girls through interviews with the students, their teachers, and staff at a refugee services center. Muslim respondents reported experiencing discrimination at least twice as often as non-Muslims, and it was common for students to respond to discrimination by losing motivation to attend school. However, respondents in the study maintained high levels of long-term academic motivation that they attributed to positive relationships with other teachers, refugee center staff, and parents. Two other researchers (Regmi, 2004; Tinkler, 2006) used in-depth interviews and participant observation to study different after-school programs targeted towards refugee youth. Across these experiences, high

school students reported that after-school programs focused on cultural identity, personal development, and leadership had positive effects on their identify development processes.

Two findings from McBrien's (2005a) work are of particular relevance to the current study. First, students who attended a charter school intended to serve immigrant and refugee students reported more positive peer and teacher interactions than other students. In addition, the girls reported that although many teachers expressed care for refugee students through their classroom behavior, some teachers also seemed to them to be oblivious to the types of peer discrimination experienced by refugee students.

Like the community in McBrien's (2005) study, many communities have responded to an influx of refugee students by establishing charter schools or small high schools focused on students' needs. Studies that reported overall positive schooling experiences for refugee students overwhelmingly described small schools with a clear focus (Basford, 2008; Davies, 2008; Massoumi, 2009). For example, Davies used individual case studies of Sierra Leonean refugees at Century High School in New York City, a small high school funded through the Gates Foundation intended to serve the needs of immigrant youth. Davies studied a purposeful sample of two female and three male Sierra Leonean students through interviews and observations of teachers and students over a two-month period. Although students reported peer discrimination both due to race and their African origin, all students were optimistic about their academic futures, planning for college and careers. Students also compared the school to a "family" or "home," and said they believed that the nurturing environment of the school contributed to their academic success. Student responses indicated that they felt the staff cared about their success; As Mohammad stated, "It's like a family, in our school, nobody laughs at you. I like the way they make us learn from one another." (Davies, 2008, p. 370)

Teachers in this study recognized that the pedagogical approaches used in the school were different from students' prior experiences, and cited using different classroom management techniques to help students with anger management issues stemming from war trauma. The teachers identified multiple aspects of the school as important in aiding students' adaptation to the United States: a focus on language across the curriculum, advisory groups that brought together students from different backgrounds, a teacher-designed curriculum intended to connect to students' life experiences, and film/cultural projects. Notably, both students and teachers identified English language proficiency as the main obstacle to academic success.

Some charter schools for refugees serve a specific cultural community. Basford (2008) conducted a case study of students' experiences at an East African charter high school in a large Midwestern city. During one year of observations in the school and interviews with both teachers and students, students reported that the charter school provided a positive learning environment where they were not overwhelmed by the need to fit in with either the dominant society or their own community. Students in the school contrasted these experiences with experiencing academic discrimination, religious and cultural hostility, and racism in mainstream schools. However, this study did not include any direct observation or interaction with the mainstream schools discussed.

Massoumi (2009) reported similar findings from interviews with ten refugee students from diverse backgrounds and two teachers in an international public high school in California. Because students had varying academic and psychological needs and experiences, teachers incorporated students' histories, language, and cultures into both the curriculum and classroom dialogue, which students related to a sense of safety. This study emphasized the ways in which

the school community provided social capital for refugee students, connecting to De Gourville's (2002) work.

Sambul (2004) studied community perceptions of such a Midwestern elementary and middle charter school through in-depth interviews and observation of students, teachers, parents and school board members. All groups interviewed reported satisfaction with the school, citing programs such as homework help and teaching assistants. However, the school was not meeting state standards in both discipline and academic measures, foregrounding the difficulties that may be inherent in serving refugee students within the standards-based movement.

As a whole, the above studies of refugee students' schooling experiences in U. S. schools point to the challenges of providing quality education for youth from diverse backgrounds. Many point to common experiences of alienation, marginalization, and cultural dissonance between students' home cultures and the culture of the school. However, refugee students reported positive experiences in a school where teachers reported practices that met the particular needs of youth who had experienced conflict, or youth from their particular cultural background. These findings are of particular interest in this study, as the charter school in my study (Global Charter School) was founded in order to meet the needs of refugee students. Global Charter School differs from most other schools mentioned in the literature by being both an elementary school and it is uniquely an International Baccalaureate school.

Civic Engagement of Refugee and Immigrant Youth

Although no major studies of civic engagement have focused specifically on refugee youth, many provide important information relevant to this population. Specifically, most refugee youth are immigrant youth of color of low socio-economic status (SES). Findings about this subset of students are available from large-scale studies, and provide a useful background for

this study. In general, these findings show that low income immigrant students of color demonstrate lower levels of civic knowledge and voting than other students, but are civically engaged in other ways. In this section, I describe both results from important large-scale assessments (Baldi et al., 2001; Callahan, Muller, & Schiller, 2008; Lopez & Marcelo, 2008; Niemi & Junn, 1998; Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2006; Stepick, Stepick, & Labissiere, 2008) and smaller qualitative studies (Conover & Searing, 2000; Ford, 2008; Jensen, 2008; Rubin, 2007) of student civic engagement.

The largest international study of youth civic engagement to date, the 1999 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achivement's (IEA) Civic Education Study, compiled both qualitative and quantitative information about civic education in 24 countries. Using the quantitative data for the U.S. sample in this study, Baldi et al. (2001) showed that home literacy, school-level SES, country of origin, and race were significantly related to student civic knowledge as measured on the assessment. Students with lower levels of home literacy (as measured by the amount of printed materials in the home), lower school-level SES, who were not from the United States, and were not white had lower levels of civic knowledge than their peers. Torney-Purta, Barber, and Wilkenfeld (2006) used HLM models to analyze the same data, comparing civic knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors of immigrant and non-immigrant groups. This analysis confirmed the finding that non-immigrant, non-Hispanic students had higher levels of civic content knowledge, more positive attitudes towards their nation, and higher levels of expectation to vote than students who were Hispanic, immigrants, or both. However, Hispanic and immigrant students showed equal levels of understanding citizens' roles in a society and expectation of participating in their communities as other students. Furthermore,

Hispanic and immigrant students reported more positive attitudes towards the rights of immigrants than other students.

Using data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), another large-scale study, Niemi and Junn (1998) also analyzed the relationship between race, ethnicity, and Socio-Economic Status. In their analysis, non-white and lower class demographic variables predicted lower levels of student civic knowledge. These large-scale studies suggest that civic engagement may be especially low among refugee students, who are largely non-white immigrants from low-SES families.

Focusing on civic participation rather than civic attitudes, Stepick, Stepick, and Labissiere (2008) surveyed college freshman who were immigrant youth (n=1334) about their civic activities. Similar to Torney-Purta, Barber, and Wilkenfeld's IEA analysis, immigrant students reported discussing politics and reading news about current events at similar levels as their native peers, and were as likely to volunteer within their own community as native-born students. However, native students were twice as likely to be registered to vote as immigrant citizens.

Lopez and Marcelo (2008) also examined civic engagement among young immigrants ages 15-25 using the 2006 Civic and Political Health of the Nation Survey (n=1770), a phone and Internet-based survey that queried participants about their civic and electoral activities. Overall, immigrant students reported lower levels of civic participation than native-born students. These differences in political engagement disappeared entirely when the researchers controlled for socio-economic status.

In a complementary study, Jensen (2008) purposefully selected groups of Salvadoran and Asian Indian teenagers (n=40), and interviewed both the students and their parents (n=40) about

their civic engagement. Most teenagers interviewed were engaged in various methods of civic participation, with 60% participating in civic activities beyond their own immigrant communities. Importantly, the teenagers cited both their cultural heritage and the need to participate in American democracy as reasons for engaging in civic behavior.

Although the above studies reported on general civic engagement of immigrant youth, they did not investigate the role of school-based instruction. The following three studies considered student civic engagement in light of social studies coursework. All revealed important links between social studies instruction and student attitudes and action.

Using a quasi-experimental research design, Conover and Searing (2000) studied conceptions of citizenship in four different communities in the United States: one suburban, one rural, one urban, and one immigrant. They surveyed 100 high school students, their teachers, parents, and a random sample of 125 other community members in each area. Students in the immigrant community were the most likely to self-identify as citizens, as well as the most likely to state that citizens have social responsibilities such as giving to charity or educating the next generation. However, students in the immigrant community were the least likely to engage in discussion of political issues and to engage in acts of tolerance towards controversial groups. Students who had experienced school-based civic education in the immigrant community expressed higher levels of tolerance than students who had not, but were no more likely to participate in issues discussions than other students. Conover and Searing concluded that the students in this immigrant community had the "thickest" conceptions of citizenship of the four groups of students, believing in social action in addition to individual legal rights; however, these students were not as likely as students in other communities to engage in the citizenship practices they identified as important. It is important to note that this immigrant community was located in

San Antonio near an Air Force base, which may have also influenced the civic conceptions of these students.

Rubin (2007) studied four purposefully selected social studies classrooms in middle and high schools in New Jersey. Through observations and interviews with purposefully selected students, differences between civic identities of white students, immigrant students, and native-born students of color emerged. Immigrant students at high-income schools reported that they saw congruence between the stated ideals of the United States and their lived experience. For example, students from North Korea and Moldova discussed the personal freedoms available in the United States not found in their home countries. Students of color and students at low-income schools were more likely to have experienced disjunctures between American ideals of justice and equality and their daily reality. A Pakistani-American student noted the contradiction between the Pledge of Allegiance's promise of "justice for all" and the way other students treated her after the bombings of the World Trade Center. Some students responded to these disjunctures with active attitudes towards civic participation, believing that their actions were important in righting wrongs. Others appeared discouraged, and were skeptical that their actions would make any difference. Importantly, social studies instruction appeared to be an important factor in determining whether students held what Rubin defined as an active or passive civic attitude. Students who felt they should actively participate in civic affairs were more likely to be in social studies classes where teachers emphasized controversial social and civic issues, addressing both civic rights and ways that citizens can protect these rights.

Reinforcing Rubin's findings, a qualitative study of citizenship education for refugee youth documented significant differences between intended and implemented civics curricula (Ford, 2008). Within a high school serving a significant proportion (32%) of refugee students,

the researcher conducted a case study of a civics class, collecting curricular documents, engaging in three hour-long interviews with the teacher and observing a civics class over the course of two months. Ford reported that the teacher studied drew heavily on civic republican theory in her understandings and implementation of civics curricula. Emphasizing citizens' duties and obligations, the teacher upheld the middle-class U.S. lifestyle as the ideal and valued students who were able to assimilate into U.S. society. During the class, the teacher presented citizenship primarily in terms of status, including notions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. For example, when discussing citizenship, the teacher stated: "So many people are slipping across our borders from other countries… I want y'all to know that, because you go to school with people like this. You know, if you sneak in, Javier [Latino student], you better get to hookin' up so you can have a baby and stay." Overall, the teacher's climate and pedagogy did not invite student participation.

In a larger quantitative study, Callahan, Muller, and Schiller (2008) investigated the relationships between aspects of schooling and civic engagement for immigrant students using data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement study (AHAA) and the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Using multi-level modeling for this dataset (n=15,170), they found that all students (including immigrants) who expressed a higher level of connection to their high school or attended a high SES school were more likely to have voted in the 2000 presidential election and be currently registered to vote than other students in the study. Furthermore, children of immigrant parents who had taken more than the average number of social studies courses in high school were also more likely to vote.

Although the researchers in the above studies did not look specifically at refugee youth or elementary school youth, their findings about immigrant youth provide insightful background information for this investigation of citizenship and schooling for refugee youth. As large-scale

studies indicate, refugee youth who are low SES and youth of color may have lower levels of civic knowledge than their native-born peers. Despite this factor, they may show civic engagement through volunteering, following the news and discussing political issues, as have other low income students of color. This study's attention to social studies classrooms is also important in light of findings that show the importance of social studies coursework to immigrant participation in the political process.

Intersections of Citizenship, Language, and Literacy

Language and literacy are essential components of citizenship, as fluency in language and literacy practices are indispensible to community membership and identity. In the United States, the status and practice of citizenship intertwines with literacy in the English language. Literacy connects to public action to the extent that in 1803, laws in the southern United States barred enslaved African-Americans from learning to read or write for fear that this ability would facilitate uprisings (Williams, 2005). In this case, slave owners sent the message that literacy led to civic action: in order to deny full citizenship to enslaved peoples, they must also be denied literacy. Later, literacy education for the purpose of voting was an important element of the civil rights movement (Schneider, 2007). Today immigrants to the United States must pass an English test, showing they can understand, speak, read and write basic English in order to become naturalized citizens.

This connection between literacy and political action is a global one. Patricia Edwards, as president of the International Reading Association, noted that "literate individuals need to understand the pragmatic use of texts and to critically engage with the worlds they live in" (2010, p. 22). This understanding draws on the Brazilian activist Paulo Freire's admonition, steeped in experiences teaching literacy to peasants, that literacy involves reading the "word and

the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987), and is inherently tied to political action (Freire, 1993). Because of the ways in which literacy policies can also wipe out cultural knowledge and encourage racism and colonialism (McCarty, 2005; Rockwell, 2005; Shujaa, 1994), scholars distinguish between literacy and critical literacy. Critical literacy describes reading and writing linked to an examination of the wider world (Shor, 1997). Thus, critical literacy is a necessary skill for citizens to participate effectively in a democracy.

The types of literacies in which citizens engage connect to the types of communities in which they act. Polls by the Pew Center in 1996 and 1998 show that people who do not read "newspapers, news magazines, business magazines, or even tabloids are more aware of local issues than of national or international news" (Bennett, Rhine, & Flickinger, 2000, p. 169). In this section, I consider scholarship from multiple fields that speaks to the ways in which literacy, citizenship, and English proficiency intersect. First, I describe work that links literacy practices and civic engagement among adults (Bennett, Rhine, & Flickinger, 2000). Next I consider scholarship from the field of social studies education that highlights the importance of media literacy (Consedine, 2009; Kubey, 2004) and scholarship from the field of English education that links literacy to democratic practices (Dyson, 2010; Fisher, 2005; Fisher, Purcell, & May, 2009; Kinloch, 2005; Kinloch, 2009; Kirkland, 2010; Morrell, 2007; Souto-Manning, 2010). In addition, I note findings from a large study of multiculturalism in English and social studies classrooms (Freedman et al., 1999). Finally, I describe studies regarding the intersection of English language proficiency and feelings of belonging (Nicassio, 1983; Pryor, 2001).

Bennett, Rhine, and Flickinger (2000) analyzed polls conducted by the *Times Mirror* and Pew Center to determine the relationship between reading and democratic citizenship. Although literacy is a much more complex construct than reading alone, reading texts is still an important

component of literacy. In this study, the more time adult respondents spent reading, the higher they scored on measures of political interest. Whether respondents read novels, magazines, or newspapers, an increased amount of time spent reading was correlated with increased knowledge about public affairs, political interest, political participation, and political tolerance. Furthermore, those in this study who used personal computers were also more politically active than those who did not. This finding points to the potential importance of technological literacy in political engagement; however, because access to personal computers in the mid-1990s was limited, socio-economic status may be a confounding variable.

Within the field of social studies, little empirical research has investigated the relationship between literacy and political engagement. Nonetheless, scholars advocate teaching critical media literacy so that students will be able to engage in the public sphere (Consedine, 2009; Kubey, 2004). Consedine (2009) provided suggestions to social studies teachers on how to teach about media, using the Text, Audience, and Production (TAP) model. Kubey (2004) performed a review of state curriculum standards, noting that although media literacy was included in either health or English/Language Arts curricula in all states, only 64% of states included attention to interpreting media messages in social studies. Although both scholars advocated for teaching media literacy as part of social studies, neither of their studies presented empirical classroom or school-based research.

Scholars in the field of English education have long explored the indissoluble links between literacy and democracy. English teachers and researchers in the United States working in communities of color have considered the fusion these two concepts, "emphasizing that language processes exist in partnership with action in order to guide young people to develop a passion for words and language" (Fisher, 2005, p. 92). Developing critical readers, writers,

speakers, and thinkers is thus both literacy education and a political act (Fisher, 2008; Vasudevan, 2009). The intersection of literacy and democracy applies not only to the content of instruction in the classroom, but also to fostering a climate of participation among equals, in which students practice literacy through listening to and learning from each other (Kinloch, 2005). Moreover, scholars including Anne Dyson (2010) urge that in teaching language and literacy, teachers must enter into a dialectical relationship with students, learning from them and asking students to insert their everyday lives into the curriculum. In work developing critical literacy with urban youth, Morrell (2007) considers literacy education as synonymous with participatory research. In a summer program housed at a large university, high school students from inner-city communities conducted research on issues related to their community. For example, students investigated the relationship between the number of liquor stores in an area and the crime rate. Students developed their reading, writing, and critical thinking skills as they acted as citizens of their communities.

Because this study concentrates on citizenship and literacy for youth who do not speak English as a home language, the relationship between the English language and citizenship also merits attention. A student's language plays a part in identity development – by speaking the language of a community, a student demonstrates his or her belonging to that community. As a student learns a language, he or she acquires a worldview (Ochs, 1986).

Teacher educators in the field of English education recognize the need to include multiple 'Englishes' as well as other languages within the English classroom (Kirkland, 2010). Often, Standard American English is the language of full citizenship – in the classroom and in the wider community (Gutierrez, 2008). As an interesting illustration of this phenomenon, Souto-Manning (2010) video-taped and interviewed children at play in a multicultural Head start classroom over

the course of one semester, examining children's linguistic behavior. Children in this study were more likely to select playmates who spoke the same language or English dialect. When children played with each other across linguistic boundaries, they judged linguistic differences as intellectual deficits. In order to promote equal "citizenship" in the classroom for all students, the teacher had to shift the discourse, specifically discussing the way that different languages had different statuses within the classroom.

Engaging students in examining language and social practices is important at all educational levels. In a research project that considered the role of multiculturalism in both English and social studies classrooms, Freedman et al. (1999) supported 24 eighth to tenth grade teachers as they pushed students to investigate issues around culture and race. Teachers had students investigate issues from guns to racism. The teachers then reported on the ways that integrating teaching about literacy and current issues empowered students in and outside of school. In this study, the concept of multiculturalism enveloped both social studies and literacy to engage students in critical inquiry about the world around them.

Two important studies attest to the connections between competence in the English language and feelings of belonging among refugees in the United States. Nicassio (1983) randomly sampled 460 Vietnamese, Laotian, Hmong, and Cambodian adult refugee heads of household living in Illinois, attending to the relationship between feelings of social alienation, English skills, socio-economic status, and other measures. In this study, English skills and feelings of alienation were negatively correlated: participants who had lower levels of English skills reported higher levels of alienation.

In a later study, Pryor (2001) interviewed 40 Bosnian, Albanian, and other immigrant students and 35 of their parents living in a town in southeast Michigan. Parents experienced

derision due to their lack of English skills, and both they and their children saw English acquisition as critical to success in the United States. These findings parallel studies reviewed earlier in this paper, in which students and teachers commented that English proficiency was the greatest barrier to student academic success or acculturation (Davies, 2008; Oikonomodoy, 2007).

The empirical research described above attends to the intersection of citizenship, language, and literacy in education. In addition, historical and theoretical work attests to the ways in which these concepts are inextricably linked. The practice of citizenship involves interacting with text and speech (literacy), in a particular language, to participate in a particular community. One main contribution of this study is an examination of the ways these concepts interact within schools and classrooms serving refugee students.

Global Education

Because both schools in this study use the International Baccalaureate framework and include global education as a central component of their mission, this section examines the history of the global education and IB movements, as well as relevant scholarship about the implementation of global education. Global education in its current form is rooted in post-World War II shifts in the geopolitical landscape (Anderson, 1979; Sutton, 1999; Tye, 2009). As the United States joined the United Nations and engaged in development projects such as the Marshall Plan, students learned about these engagements through activities such as Model United Nations (Tye, 2009). In this section, I outline the global education movement within the United States and the creation and expansion of International Baccalaureate schools within this movement. I then discuss recent research in the field of global education that is relevant to the current study.

Although international education had been funded by the United States Department of Education in the 1950s, official public promotion of global education originated in the 1968 Department of Education report entitled *An examination of objectives and priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools* (Tye, 2009). Prior to this report, international education had focused on learning about other areas of the world. According to Tye (2009), the 1968 document, and the special edition of *Social Education* published by the National Council of the Social Studies that followed, redefined international education as learning about the connections between different regions of the world, including the United States.

In the 1970s, the field of global education, as distinct from international education, continued to grow. Global education focused on forces that transcended national borders. Scholarship by Jim Becker and Lee Anderson further defined the ways that global education could be envisioned within schools. The political scientist Alger (1974) at the Ohio State University traced the ways in which Columbus Ohio connected to other communities and nations in curricula such as *Your Community in the World/The World in Your Community*, later replicated for other communities by the Mid-America Program for Global Perspectives at Indiana University (Tye, 2009). With funding from private foundations and the U.S. government (through the National Endowment for the Humanities and the U.S. Department of Education), universities in California, Colorado, and Indiana created centers for global education to develop curriculum materials, train K-12 teachers, and advance scholarship in the field (Sutton, 1999). Robert Hanvey also published an influential essay in 1976, *An attainable global perspective*, which continues to define the goals of global education today. Hanvey described key components of a global education: perspective consciousness, state of the planet awareness,

cross-cultural awareness, knowledge of global dynamics, and an awareness of human choices (Hanvey, 1979).

This scholarship had its greatest impact on global education in the 1980s and 1990s, as many public school districts partnered with universities across the United States to develop global education programs at all levels of schooling. The largest of these programs were the Global Awareness Program at Florida International University, the Bay Area Global Education Program and the Stanford Program on International and Cross-cultural Education in northern California, the Center for Human Interdependence in Orange County, California, Project Enrichment in Iowa, the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, the International Education Consortium in St. Louis, Education for Global Involvement in Chicago, and the Center for Teaching International Relations in Denver (Tye, 2009).

The popularity of global education invited a substantial attack on global education by individuals and foundations associated with the conservative movement, including Eagle Forum founder and Equal Rights Amendment opponent Phyllis Schafely, assistant secretary of education Chester Finn, and members of the Fordham Foundation (Sutton, 1999; Tye, 2009). Tye (2009) identifies these individuals as "movement conservatives" who held the U.S. model of government and values as superior to other models found around the globe. These attacks along with the narrowing of the curriculum resulting from the 2004 No Child Left Behind Act which mandates widespread testing, have paired with a decline in funding of global education (Tye, 2009).

The International Baccalaureate (IB) program is a school model and curriculum framework intended to promote education for global citizenship. It is rooted in a 1948 United Nations Educational, Cultural, and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) document *Is there a way*

of teaching for peace? written by Marie-Thérèse Maurette (Walker, 2004). A group of teachers from the International School of Geneva, Switzerland used this document to create the International Schools Examinations Syndicate (ISES) in order to "provide an internationally acceptable university admissions qualification suitable for the growing mobile population of young people whose parents were part of the world of diplomacy, international and multi-national organizations" (Fox, 2001, p. 65). By 1968, this organization became the International Baccalaureate Organization, which supports and certifies schools offering the IB program today.

The International Baccalaureate Organization's mission is to "help develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect" (IBO, 2010, para. 3). From its inception, there has been a tension between the humanistic orientation and ideals of the IB program and the intended use of IB diplomas as mobile capital for the children of international elites (Van Oord, 2008). Van Oord (2008) has also critiqued the "international" nature of the IB program, writing that although the content is international in focus, the epistemological focus on theory-oriented learning is Western. Despite these origins, many schools that offer the IB curriculum today are state schools that may serve disadvantaged populations (Cech, 2007; Drake, 2004). Currently, the model is implemented in 2,935 schools in 139 countries, (IBO, 2010) but has a heavily North American focus, with 35% of these schools in the United States (Bunnell, 2008). Within the United States, the number of schools offering IB programs has grown exponentially in the last few decades, from 88 in 1997 to 797 in 2007. Ninety percent of these programs are offered in public schools, and 30% are in Title I schools, which receive special federal funding due to serving a majority of students who are socioeconomically disadvantaged (Cech, 2007).

This growth in U.S. public schools offering the International Baccalaureate curriculum is part of what Parker and Camicia (2009) call the "new" wave of international education. This phenomena includes global studies courses taught in typical public high schools (Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004; Myers, 2006), the creation of new small schools with a global focus, and the integration of language education into existing curricula (Parker & Camicia, 2009). Through discourse analysis of interviews with multiple experts in the field of international education, Parker and Camicia (2009) identified four meanings of international education to recent advocates, differentiated by intent (civic and enterprise) and affinity (national and global). They pointed out the similarities between current advocates and previous global education movements in that they identified multiple proponents of international education who support different types of international education with differing motives and asymmetrical resources.

This study focused on what students learn about citizenship and literacy in two such IB programs offered in publicly funded schools in the southeastern United States. Previous research involving students in IB programs and teachers' perceptions of global education is limited. Some important studies, described below, emphasize that students in IB programs have opportunities to develop a more global perspective than students in other programs (Hayden, Thompson, & Williams, 2003; Hinrichs, 2003) yet can differ between IB programs (Alviar-Martin, 2008). Each of these studies focused on students in the IB Diploma Programme (secondary, high school), which is distinct from the Middle Years Programme implemented by schools in the current research study. In addition, scholars have confirmed that both life and educational experiences of teachers influence the way in which they incorporate global content into the classroom (Merryfield, 1998).

Enrollment in an IB program seems to correlate with an advanced global understanding among students. Hinrichs (2003) used survey methods to compare the ways that secondary students in IB (N=53) and Advanced Placement (AP; N = 60) programs in two U.S. high schools understood global education. Students completed a survey based on Silvernail's (1977) Future World Perspectives Scale that distinguished between a traditional and a transformative worldview; students with a traditional worldview held economic growth as an unequivocal good and those with a transformative worldview considered the environmental and social effects of economic growth. The survey also prompted students to define global education in their own words. Hinrichs analyzed student responses based on seven components of global education identified in scholarly work. Although the researcher found no differences in the worldviews of students in the AP and IB programs, IB students demonstrated a more complex understanding of global education than students in the AP program, describing more facets of global education than the AP students at a statistically significant ($p<.05$) level. Of particular importance to this study, which focuses on both social studies and language arts courses, the IB students identified history, theory of knowledge (humanities), and English courses as the most important for enhancing their international understanding.

Secondary students enrolled in an IB program also seemed to report more experiences in schools that have been identified in scholarly work as important for the development of a global perspective. Hayden, Thompson, and Williams (2003) surveyed 1263 students with a 91-item questionnaire about their perceptions of international education. Students were purposefully selected to represent a wide variety of school curricula, with 738 students enrolled in an IB program, 240 completing the European Baccalaureate, 97 the GCE A-Levels (a British diploma), 16 the French Baccalaureate, 53 Advanced Placement courses, and 119 a general U.S. diploma

program. Students in the IB program scored at a significantly higher level ($p<.05$) on how often they reported learning how to consider issues from more than one perspective, learning to be tolerant of cultures that differed from their own, and discussing what "being international" meant in school. In addition, students in the IB program reported "mixing with students from a number of cultures within classes at school" at a significantly higher level ($p<.05$) than students in U.S. national schools. However, this study did not provide information on the opportunities for such mixing at the different schools, as students representing many cultures may have been present in IB classes but not the classes of students following the U.S. national curriculum.

Alviar-Martin (2008) conducted a mixed-methods study of classrooms in two IB high schools, investigating teacher practices and student perceptions of content related to citizenship, global education, and multiculturalism. At one private international school in Atlanta and one in Hong Kong, Alviar-Martin (2008) used surveys, interviews, and classroom observations with four social studies classrooms containing 392 students. Students in the Atlanta school reported learning about more global content and having a stronger sense of a global identity than students in the Hong Kong school. Although both of these schools were private high schools and thus unlike the public middle schools in the current study, this study demonstrates that the content of citizenship education can differ significantly between different IB schools in two different national contexts.

Based on the above studies, the use of the IB curriculum has been associated with an increase in student global understandings and classroom experiences that develop a global perspective in schools that were studied. However, as Thornton (1991) cautions, it is important to consider the role of the teacher as gatekeeper to the curriculum. In any schooling model, with any curricular focus, teachers make decisions about the ways they present and modify the

curriculum that is ultimately presented to students. With this in mind, what do we know about how teachers make decisions about including global content in their classes?

Merryfield (1998) aimed to answer this question, performing three related studies of the ways teachers in U.S. schools understood global education and the types of contextual factors that can affect their instructional decision making. These studies included examinations of 16 master teachers, 67 practicing teachers newly exposed to global education, and 60 pre-service teachers taking methods courses that focused on global education. Teachers were purposefully selected to represent different types of school districts (urban, rural, suburban), different levels of schooling (elementary, middle, high), and a commitment to incorporating aspects of global education into their instruction. Teachers were observed and interviewed over a period of two years (for the experienced global educators) or one semester (for the other two groups).

Merryfield found both similarities and differences in the ways these groups of teachers made decisions about global education. All groups of teachers in the study used multiple perspectives and comparisons in their lesson plans to illustrate the complexity of culture and encourage tolerance. Many reported choosing to use these strategies because of the importance of cross-cultural experiences in their own lives. Secondly, teachers connected global content to students' lives, because of a belief that this increased motivation. Finally, all groups of teachers made connections across time and space in their lessons. This decision was based in teachers' interests in history and culture, as well as a desire for students to understand the present in the context of the past.

The three groups of teachers also exhibited differences in the ways they incorporated global education into the curriculum. Master teachers taught about the interconnectedness of global and local inequities and were more likely to provide students opportunities for cross-

cultural experiential learning and organize content around global issues or problems. They reported making these curricular decisions both because these experiences had been important in their own lives and because they had the community resources to do so. They also emphasized skills in higher-level thinking and encouraged independent student research, due to learning about the importance of these skills in their own teacher education training.

Practicing teachers, rather than reorganizing curricular content, tended to report expanding curricular foci to include global materials, bringing current events into social studies, and teaching students how to recognize individual and community biases. Teachers reported making these decisions based on increased access to materials, teacher training, and a recognition of the relevance of current events to the existing curriculum. Preservice teachers also reported a desire to integrate multicultural and global education into the existing curriculum so that students could understand how globalization was increasingly integrating diverse peoples. They reported being influenced both by readings in their education coursework as well as observations of practicing teachers. Overall, the most important contextual factors were teachers' beliefs, values, experiences, knowledge of globalization and access to resources, and perceptions of student characteristics.

Although both testing constraints and national security concerns limit global education (Tye, 2009), public schools in the United States are increasingly using the International Baccalaureate framework which promotes a Western humanist version of global education (Bunnell, 2008; Van Oord, 2008). Research suggests that students in IB programs develop a sophisticated global perspective (Hayden, Thompson, & Williams, 2003; Hinrichs, 2003), but at least one scholar noted that minority students in an IB school felt as if their global education neglected the inclusion of information about their own heritage (Alviar-Martin, 2008). Although

schools serving refugee and immigrant students are increasingly turning to the IB model in the hopes of providing a culturally responsive education (Cech, 2007), no studies have investigated this supposition. This study provides researchers, teachers, and policy makers with an understanding of how two different publicly-funded IB schools educate students for citizenship, and how these same students are beginning to understand themselves as citizens.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In this study, I used a comparative case study design to explore how two schools that offer the IB Middle Years Program and serve substantial numbers of refugee youth prepare these youth for citizenship in the United States. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) advocated using this approach in order to address questions of generalizability and diversity of particular cases. As a study of classroom experiences, this was an interpretive case study, considering education a process and "school a lived experience" (Merriam, 1998, p. 4). The next sections provide information about the sites, participants, data collection, and data analysis in the study. I then share my own researcher's perspective, and discuss validity and reliability threats and checks specific to the case study approach and this study.

Sites

This study took place at the Global Charter School (GCS; pseudonym) and Holly Middle School (HMS; pseudonym), two schools in King County, a suburban area in the Southeastern United States. Since the 1980s, agencies contracted by the federal government to resettle refugees have sent hundreds and sometimes thousands of refugees to King County each year, developing the largest concentration of refugees in the southeast. Both of these schools were identified by the principal, staff, and community members as serving many immigrant and refugee students. I chose to study these schools using purposeful sampling, as I wished to compare two schools that: (1) served a substantial number of refugee students; (2) used a curriculum that promotes global citizenship; (3) must meet public accountability goals; and (4) had different organizational missions.

Global Charter School. In 2001, the Global Charter School opened its doors to both refugee children and native-born students living within its zoning area, with the express intention

of providing an education for refugee students, who were underserved in public schools. Founded by a principal, a writer, and a Dominican nun, the staff intended for the school to be a manifestation of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s concept of a "beloved community," where students from different national, religious, and class backgrounds learned from each other (Wittenberg, 2008). Global Charter School educated students from kindergarten through sixth grade, and used the International Baccalaureate (IB) Primary Years Program and Middle Years Program, but also followed the state curriculum standards.

Holly Middle School. Holly Middle School served 1077 students from sixth through eighth grade. Like GCS, Holly Middle School also used the International Baccalaureate (IB) Middle Years Program and followed state curriculum standards, intending to prepare students to "both the academic and social rigors of high school, with a social consciousness that will lead to him/her becoming a contributing member of society." Students at Holly participated in a variety of activities intended to promote their understanding of global connections, including World AIDS Day and a cross disciplinary unit investigating the origins, production, and trade of chocolate. Although many refugee students attended Holly, the school's mission did not involve specifically attending to refugee student needs, but recognized that it served a population that represented "most of the world's countries" (School website, 2010).

Participants

Participants in this study included sixth grade students at both schools; their social studies, ESOL, and language art teachers; administrators, and support staff. Between 12 and 14 students at each school who self-identified as refugee students participated in focus groups. Additionally, I interviewed the administrators who directly oversee sixth grade at both schools in

order to understand classroom events in light of the school's culture and intentions. Appendix A summarizes the relationship between data sources.

Data Sources

I gathered all information after following proper institutional procedures intended to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of students, teachers, and administrators participating in the study. Specifically, I used Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines as outlined by my graduate research institution and the school district. These guidelines included definitions of informed consent, recruitment, observation protocols, and interview procedures.

Because this study focused on students from a variety of different cultures, obtaining informed assent and parental informed consent was a sensitive and necessary process. After asking teachers to identify students' cultural backgrounds as well as the amount of English support they had at home, I provided translations of the assent and consent forms for parents in French, Spanish, Farsi and Burmese with language support from school staff and university contacts.

During the fall of 2010, I collected data from observations, interviews, documents, and focus groups at both schools. The following sections detail the types of data I collected and the tools I used to collect, transcribe, and store the data. Table 1 presents a summary of research questions, data sources, and methods used.

Table 1

Summary of Research Questions, Data Sources, and Methods

	Research Question	Data Source	Methods
1)	How does the implemented curriculum, including content, pedagogy, and climate, educate students for citizenship?	sixth grade SS, ESOL, ELA classroom observations, class handouts, student work, field journal	Participant observation, document analysis, semi-structured interviews
2)	What are students taught about different levels of affinity (community, national, global, and transnational citizenship)?	Teachers, Teaching Assistants, Administrators,sixth grade SS, ESOL, ELA classroom observations, class handouts, student work, field journal	Semi-structured interviews, Participant observation
3)	What are students taught about citizenship as a status, practice, and feeling?		
4)	How are citizenship, literacy, and the use of English connected within these classrooms?	sixth grade SS, ESOL, ELA classroom observations, class handouts, student work, field journal	Participant observation, document analysis, semi-structured interviews
5)	What does citizenship mean to refugee youth in these schools?	sixth grade SS, ESOL, ELA classroom observations, sixth grade students	Participant observation, focus groups

Participant observation. Educational researchers and anthropologists advocate using participant observation to provide direct information about daily events and interactions in the classroom (Delamont, 1992; Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002). In this study, participant observation served as a primary source of data to answer the research questions. Through regular observations, I collected data regarding how the schools were attempting to prepare students as citizens, what kind of citizenship the schools and teachers promoted, and what kind of connections existed between citizenship, literacy, and language. After conducting preliminary observations, which allowed me to take notes on the physical setup and general structure of each classroom, I observed each classroom under study a minimum of ten times during the course of one semester, over 16 weeks. Sixth grade students in both schools changed classrooms for each subject, and so had different teachers for language arts, social studies, and ESOL. In order to collect data that accurately described the range of experiences in the classroom, I varied the day of the week that I visited each classroom, and distributed the visits so I observed in each classroom weekly or biweekly. In all, I conducted ten observations in three different classrooms in both schools, for a total of 60 observations. In addition, I conducted observations of two whole school events at each school over the course of the year.

Following Delamont (1992) and Dewalt and Dewalt (2002), I took jot notes on a small netbook during my observations. Daily, I expanded these jot notes into field notes, entering them into a password-protected file on my personal computer and backing up this file on an external hard drive. As I used Microsoft Word to type my research notes, the main portion of the document detailed classroom dialogues and events, and I utilized the comments feature to note my own interpretations of these occurrences. I prepared a checklist to guide my observations. As Bogden and Biklen (1992) note, no observations can capture all aspects of an experience. This

checklist (see Appendix C) outlines the main focus of this study: citizenship, literacy, and language, and the ways I attempted to attend to these aspects in the classroom.

Document analysis. As social life is mediated through written texts, collecting relevant documents is an important supplement to other qualitative data (Peräkylä, 2002). In this study, I collected relevant classroom documents in order to supplement my classroom observations. I also collected samples of student work for students who have assented and whose parents gave informed consent, labeling documents with student pseudonyms. As Robson (2002) suggests, I prepared a structured form to analyze and organize these documents. I identified the author, intended use, and audience to contextualize these materials using the document worksheet (Appendix D). After completing the document worksheets, I stored them along with scanned copies of the original documents on my personal computer, backing them up to an external hard drive.

Semi-structured interviews. To supplement classroom observations, I conducted one or two semi-structured interviews with the teacher of each classroom under study, depending on his or her availability. Additionally, I conducted one interview with the administrator directly responsible for sixth grade at each school, as well as any teaching assistants present in the classrooms under study. These interviews provided important contexts for addressing research questions 1-4. The interviews took place between the fourth and final week of participant observation, after I had spent at least one month at Global and Holly.

I conducted two individual interviews with each teacher whose classroom I observed, as well as one administrator at each school, and two teaching assistants for a total of ten interviewees. As Rubin and Rubin (1995) recognize, interviews are structured conversations with main questions, follow-up questions, and probes. As described in the interview guide found in

Appendix E, the main questions in the interview focused around what the teacher thought the refugee students in the classroom should know about citizenship, and how the teacher believed that the school served to prepare students as citizens.

After obtaining consent from the interviewees, I recorded the interviews and labeled them with the participant's pseudonym, date, time, and location. I also took notes on the main points of the participants' answers, as well as any notable non-vocal communication. Later, I transcribed these audio files and integrated them with jot notes to create full transcribed interviews. These transcriptions included both direct quotations from the participant and my observations or reflections. Both the audio files and transcriptions were stored on a password protected personal computer, and backed up weekly to an external hard drive.

Focus groups. I conducted focus groups in order to supplement classroom observations and address the final research question, "How do refugee youth define citizenship in their own lives?" At Holly Middle School, I held four focus group interviews with 14 refugee students, speaking to three groups of three students and one group of five students. At Global Charter School, I held three focus group interviews with 12 refugee students, interviewing three groups of four students. In order to identify refugee students, I relied on identification by teachers and teaching assistants and student identification of their country of origin. Although student self-identification is important, I chose not to specifically ask students "are you a refugee?" in order to avoid provoking any stressful feelings related to the student's particular refugee experience.

These interviews provided an opportunity for me to ask clarifying questions based on classroom observations and to speak with students directly about their understandings of citizenship and wider life experience. Researchers often use focus group interviews when examining the beliefs of pre-adolescents and adolescents (Alviar-Martin, 2008; Groth, 2006;

Hahn, 1998) or other individuals who may be uncomfortable in individual interviews (Creswell, 1998). I believe that the focus group format was appropriate for the age group of students in the study, based on my own experience teaching pre-adolescents and findings from other research studies.

In completing the focus groups, I followed Boyden's (2000) ethical guidelines for working with children affected by violence: obtaining informed consent, respecting children's feelings and testimony, and using pseudonyms to protect identities. The interviews took place on the school grounds, in available classrooms or the school library. Appendix F provides interview protocols for the focus groups. During the interviews, I asked probing questions as necessary to ensure that all students participated in the group dialogue. I used a digital voice recorder to catalogue the focus group interviews. The audio files were stored on a password protected personal computer, and backed up weekly to an external hard drive. I transcribed these audio files, and deleted the audio recordings after the completion of the study.

Data Analysis

In this study, I wished to understand the ways that two different schools prepare refugee students for citizenship within specific classrooms. Because I desired to detail "structural descriptions of an experience" (Merriam, 1998, p. 159), I used phenomenological analysis to approach the data. My analysis proceeded through four different phases, three of which were within-case, with cross-case analysis composing the fourth and final phase. See Appendix G for a visual representation of the analysis process.

In the first phase of data analysis, using NVIVO8, I classified information gathered from all four data sources by the interview question that the data addressed. At times, the same piece of information applied to multiple research questions. In order to keep a proper "audit trail,"

(Merriam, 1998) I used the software to mark each section with its original source. This allowed me, for example, to determine if all of my interviewees recognized multiple levels of citizenship, or if only two interviewees demonstrated recognition of different levels of citizenship multiple times.

Secondly, I created a coding list based on: Banks' (2008a) definition of citizenship as containing local, national, and global elements; Osler and Starkey's (2005) framework of citizenship as including the dimensions of status, practice, and feeling; and codes related to pedagogy and classroom climate. Falling within the "category construction" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 162) phase of qualitative analysis, I created codes to ensure that they reflected the research questions, were exhaustive, conceptually congruent, and sensitizing, as suggested by Bogdan and Biklen (1992). I entered these initial codes as "free nodes" in NVIVO8.

Next, I reread the data attached to each coding category, and summarized the information within the categories in one to two sentences. I then gathered all of the summary sentences to determine potential relationships among these codes, creating a preliminary hierarchical outline and visual representation of these relationships. I entered this modified hierarchical coding list as "tree nodes" in NVIVO8, and worked to create theoretical statements about citizenship education in each school that accurately reflect the data. To verify that the data supported the main point of each theme, I reread the data at this stage, modifying the wording of the theme as necessary. This phase represented the stage of qualitative analysis that Bogdan and Biklen (1992) call developing theory. At this point, I shared the theories and relationships between themes with adult participants in the study. I also utilized displays and charts to better conceptualize the findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

In the fourth phase of analysis, I began to compare the theories I have generated from data gathered at each school. Because teachers and classrooms exist within a wider school culture that places constraints on both activities and climate (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978), I believed that comparing findings from two schools was more appropriate after understanding the information from each school in its own context.

Validity and Reliability

Maximizing validity and reliability in qualitative work requires a researcher to be both reflexive about her own role in data collection and to provide rich data to confirm findings. In this section, I share my own perspective as the researcher and reflect the ways this perspective might have influenced the research process. I also discuss threats to reliability, internal validity, and external validity, and share measures I took to minimize these threats.

Researcher's perspective. Prior to beginning this study, I had worked with both schools in a peripheral manner, placing students from my university as tutors in one and supervising student teachers in the other. However, I had not personally met the teachers and students I recruited for this study. As a former teacher of ESOL for refugee and immigrant students, I witnessed a discontinuity between the experiences and skill sets of certain students and the expectations of the school, which positioned students as a problem to be solved. A product of Catholic schools that highlighted ideas of social justice and a family with immigrant roots, I believe in diversity as an asset rather than a liability. In multiple instances during my teaching career, this view differed from the ways in which schools and teachers saw refugee students – often because of the pressures placed on these schools and teachers to perform on standardized tests. These experiences and beliefs influenced my conceptualization of this study, in that I sought to understand schools with and without a specific mission to serve refugee students. My

prior contact with the schools, my own educational philosophy, and my personal experiences may have predisposed me to see the data differently than another researcher.

During the study, I acted mainly as an observer within classrooms, and asked teachers to see me as an observer rather than a participant. On occasion, students would ask me for help during independent work time, and I infrequently asked students about what they were learning or doing. As students were often curious about the information I was typing on my computer, I showed my notes and noted how I was writing down what happened in the class "like a play." In classrooms where students did not understand their learning activity and were not being helped by an adult, I helped to explain the activity they were being asked to complete. This role and perspective opened me up to specific biases as a researcher. In the following sections, I discuss the ways in which I attempted to limit these potential sources of bias.

Internal validity. Internal validity ensures that the findings accurately reflect the phenomenon under study. Because in qualitative research, the investigator is herself the instrument for the study, I used internal validity checks to hold myself accountable to accurately describe and investigate the schools in this study. I engaged in multiple methods of triangulation (Merriam, 1998), seeking to improve internal validity.

First, I designed the study to use data source triangulation, which "looks to see if the case remains the same at other times, in other spaces, or as persons interact differently" (Stake, 1995, p. 112). I collected multiple sources of data in order to triangulate findings. Second, I employed investigator triangulation, which Stake defined as having "other researchers take a look at the same scene or phenomenon" (p. 113) by asking fellow graduate students to code portions of my transcripts. Next, I used member checks on the classroom observations, interviews, and focus groups. I shared selections of my field notes from classroom observations with teachers, to

ensure that my observations do not omit important aspects of the class. I also shared the findings of the study with teachers and administrators before engaging in a cross-case analysis, to confirm that the summary of classroom experiences I documented corresponded with their experiences and understandings.

External validity. External validity is concerned with the generalizability of findings in the study. Though generalization is inappropriate for a case study, Merriam (1998) recommends different strategies for maximizing external validity which I used. The first involves providing the thick description necessary in my findings to allow readers to experience parts of what I experienced as a researcher. This description of the schools, teachers, and classrooms should allow researchers to identify ways in which these schools, teachers, and classrooms are similar to others across different studies. Secondly, I have described the typicality of my research setting, situating these schools within the wider context of education for refugee students.

Reliability. Merriam (1998) states that reliability in qualitative research can be best described as dependability or consistency between the data and the findings of the study. In order to accurately represent the data, it was crucial that I define my researcher orientation and caution against the lenses I might impose on the experience of others. Secondly, it was important that I triangulate findings and use multiple sources of data for each finding. Finally, as recommended by Merriam, I created an "audit trail" (p. 207) in order to allow readers and subsequent investigators to follow my line of reasoning and decision making through the analysis process.

Limitations

As a comparative case study (Merriam, 1998), the results of this study are not generalizable to all schools that serve refugee students. I hoped to address some of these concerns by choosing two different types of schools, located in a region with a substantial

number of refugees. I am limited by my point of view as an outside observer; it is possible that teachers felt pressure to give me the "right" answers during interviews, and did not accurately reflect their own thoughts. I hope to have compensated for this limitation by being present in the schools over four months collecting multiple sources of data, and leaving space in interviews to ask clarifying questions about class observations.

I do not intend this study to answer all questions about the complexities of citizenship for refugee students in the United States. However, many scholars argue for the importance of education for youth who have experienced conflict, and policy-makers recognize the need for schools to be part of the healing process for these students. I hope that this study clarifies how two schools serving refugee youth act to integrate these students into wider American society and enable them to imagine their future as citizens of multiple communities.

Chapter Four: Findings

In this chapter I present the findings of the study and outline the answers to the research questions. First, I provide profiles of the schools, including descriptions of the teachers and their classrooms. Next, I discuss the implemented curriculum in classrooms at each school, and how the content, pedagogy, and climate educated students for citizenship. Although I define the concept of citizenship broadly, including ideas of history and belonging, 15% of the tested sixth grade curriculum focuses specifically on government and civics. I then describe what students were taught about different levels of affinity in classrooms, as well as the ways citizenship was presented as a status, practice, or feeling. After this, I consider how citizenship, literacy, and the use of English connected to each other in the classrooms in the study. Finally, I share findings about refugee students' understandings of citizenship, and the ways these related to the observed curriculum. The names of both schools and individuals reported in this chapter are pseudonyms. Appendix H provides a listing of participating refugee students and their demographic information.

School and Classroom Profiles

Global Charter School

In 2001, the Global Charter School opened its doors to both refugee children and native-born students living within its zoning area, with the express intention of providing an education for refugee students, who were underserved in public schools. Founded by a principal, a writer, and a Dominican nun, the staff intended for the school to be a manifestation of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s concept of a "beloved community," where students from different national, religious, and class backgrounds learned from each other (school report, 2008). At the time of the study, Global Charter School served students from kindergarten through grade six. Global Charter

School rented classroom space from two different churches at two different locations, dividing the school between the main kindergarten-fourth grade campus and the satellite fifth-sixth grade campus in a more rural area.

The campus for fifth and sixth grade students was located in a red brick Episcopal Church building on the outskirts of a small town in King County, a suburban area in the Southeast. Similar to the makeup of the surrounding county, 70% of the residents of the town itself were Black and 17% of children lived under the poverty level (U.S. Census, 2010). Amidst a vast landscape of strip malls and divided highways, the town retains a tree-lined downtown near a railroad crossing and contains a well known recreational park. Global Charter School's classrooms and offices spread across the church buildings, in which roughly one quarter of the rooms were reserved for weekend Sunday School classes. As teachers and students entered school and walked from classrooms to the main office, they passed though hallways with Christian themes, such as posters about the 10 commandments and a large painting of Jesus and the little children.

Global Charter School's stated mission was to: "advance the promise of America by cultivating voice, courage, and hope in refugee, immigrant and local children" (School website, 2010). In this way, the global focus of the school was positioned as serving national civic purposes (Parker & Camicia, 2009). Because Global Charter School served students grades K-6, it acted as an official provider of the International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme (PYP). The PYP provides a curriculum framework for students through grade 5. Sixth grade teachers attended training related to the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme (MYP), and implemented the MYP curricular framework, although GCS did not act as an official provider of the MYP.

Within Global Charter School, I focused on three sixth grade classrooms: Miss Samantha's social studies class, Miss Mahpiya's language arts class, and Miss Talbot's ESOL class. Miss Samantha and Miss Mahpiya taught sixth grade students exclusively, whereas Miss Talbot taught ESOL classes to fifth and sixth grade students in the morning, and then commuted to the other school campus roughly 20 minutes away to instruct younger elementary ESOL students. Below, I provide detailed descriptions of the physical classrooms, profiles of each teacher, and information about each teacher's approach to her craft.

Miss Samantha's sixth grade social studies classroom was located at the end of the hallway near the parking lot. Colorful decorations ringed the walls, including a large shower curtain containing a world map, Buddhist prayer flags, and photos of former students. Student desks were placed directly next to each other in horizontal rows, with little space for students to move about. A white board sat at the front of the class, a smart board projector at the rear, and Miss Samantha's desk in the back corner.

Miss Samantha, a white woman in her mid-20s, was in her third year of teaching at GCS. After earning her bachelor's degree in history and secondary education, Miss Samantha spent one year teaching history and English at a boys' school in Thailand. As her sister had taught elementary school at GCS since 2002, Miss Samantha was familiar with the school and its mission. She explained that when she moved back to the United States, she specifically wanted to teach at a school where she could maintain a global worldview, saying "I didn't want to be an egocentric American stuck in a very closed-minded state" (SI: 65). Miss Samantha continued to travel during holidays and breaks, returning to Thailand as a chaperone for a church mission trip over the summer, and visiting Burmese refugee camps there.

As a social studies teacher, Miss Samantha did see part of her role as teaching students about citizenship, which she understood to mean "being an educated and responsible human being, and being aware of the roles that you hold and sort of the duties that you have to other people" (SI:39-40). She was also concerned that students begin to understand the causes of global issues. For example, when covering demography and noting as a class the high infant mortality rates and low literacy rates in Africa, she was careful to prompt students to recognize the correlation between these rates and larger issues such as government warfare or corruption rather than individual deficiencies.

During my time at the school, a typical day in Miss Samantha's class might include a class discussion of comparative religions, group work, or a simulation to understand the distribution of resources in pre-communist Russia. Miss Samantha often used resources such as Discovery Channel videos, National Geographic sources, or handmade maps that adapted content to students' learning levels. Some supports for English Language Learners were embedded in instruction, such as the class' daily warm-up activity. This activity always involved a question about content covered in class, such as "What are some international currencies you know of?" (GO11/18: 4) After writing their answers independently, Miss Samantha first asked students to give her a sentence starter before providing her with the answer. In this way, she reinforced learning about sentence construction at the same time she dealt with social studies content.

Miss Mahpiya's English classroom, like other rooms in the school, could hold at most 16 students. With four differently-shaped tables in the room, students and adults alike had to squeeze into the room each time they entered. The little space at the perimeter of the room held wire shelving with extra novels and office supplies, and a shower curtain with a map of the world

hung near the window. Above Miss Mahpiya's desk in the front corner of the room, a poster of the cursive alphabet lined the wall. Although there was a white board at the front of the room, it was rarely used as Miss Mahpiya relied on a white board easel where students did their daily grammar practice.

A Native American woman in her early 30s, Miss Mahpiya held a Bachelor's degree in Intercultural Communication and a Master of Arts degree in Teaching. She was in her sixth year of teaching sixth grade Language Arts at Global, and had previously worked at public schools serving Native American populations in South Dakota and New Mexico. Coming from an indigenous background, she explained that her experience with collectivistic cultures helped her to relate to some of her students' cultural norms and beliefs. As an English teacher, she wanted students to learn to question: "I want them not to hear something and take it at face value and to say that's fact. But to seek truth and to find truth and be active about their own education." (MI:85-88). Aligning with this goal, many student projects gave students the opportunity to be exposed to different cultures and question assumptions. For example, students practiced persuasive writing by reading an opinion piece questioning the celebration of Columbus Day. Students then wrote their own persuasive essay either defending or questioning Columbus Day as a holiday. Miss Mahpiya did not make attempts to include students with limited English skills in her instruction, but relied on aides or volunteers to pull such students out during class time.

The following vignette describes a typical opening in Miss Mahpiya's classroom, which captured both the climate and instructional style of the classroom:

> Students hustled into a crowded room, sitting at four different tables. A sentence was written on the white board for them to correct: "Marie wuz upset becuz when she arrived home there was only a meager amount of dessert left ta

> consume" As students began to correct the spelling and grammar in the sentence, copying it down into their notebooks, they started to chatter: "I got a big robot!" Farzad whispers to Charles. Farzad's family immigrated to the U.S. from Iran in 2004, and Charles' family came to the United States as refugees in 2007. "*Your mama*'s a robot," Charles replied, as he copied down his grammar work. "Ms. Mahpiya" called out Amanda, a student from Liberia. "How you wrote the word, it doesn't make any sense to me?" "Sound it out," Ms. Mahpiya replied as she gathered things together at her desk "Ohhh….! I get it…" Amanda sighed as she turned back to her work, looking up the underlined words in the dictionary. After five minutes, a timer buzzed and student hands raised as Ms. Mahpiya walked towards the middle of the room with a white board marker. "Javon," she called out. "What do you have a meager amount of?" "Cars," replied Javon. "Why do you say that?" she probed. Javon stated, "Because I want more cars." "Okay," Ms. Mahpiya affirmed, holding out the marker for Javon. As Javon corrected a grammar mistake, she continued questioning students, saying "Lena, what do you have a meager amount of?" "Patience," Lena replied. Ms. Mahpiya laughed as Lena rose and took the marker from Javon. (GO 10/4: 99-115)

This vignette illustrates Ms. Mahpiya's instructional style, in which she prioritized making connections between students' prior knowledge and new content. The classroom discourse regularly included both informal conversations between students and students asking Ms. Mahpiya clarifying questions.

Ms. Talbot's English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) class was held in the school library, a room roughly 12 feet by 12 feet that held five rows of books, three computers,

and four small circular tables with orange stools. The two windows looked out onto the trees in the parking lot, and a smart board occupied the wall at the front of the room next to a large map of the world. Ceiling tiles were decorated to look like blue sky, and laminated pieces of paper advertised the IB competencies. Ms. Talbot, one of two ESOL teachers at Global, worked with students in kindergarten, third, fifth and sixth grades. She split her time between both campuses and typically came to the fifth and sixth grade campus in the morning. Like the school administrators, she was most comfortable using her last name with students.

In her first year at Global, Miss Talbot was acting as a long-term substitute for a veteran ESOL teacher suffering from cancer. A white woman in her late 20s, she had previously taught as both a long-term substitute in elementary school as well as an English teacher in Japan, and had just earned a Master's degree in reading, language, literacy, and ESOL from a local university. As an ESOL teacher, Miss Talbot reported seeing her main job as helping her students to acquire literacy and language skills for future participation in society. Although she recognized that for some students, their first language would allow them to gain employment and participate in their own ethnic community, she believed that at the core, students needed to be able to use standard English in order to participate in society. During our interview, she reflected on how her class related to students' participation in a wider community, stating:

> …the bottom line is that most people, if you're educated and you're professional, odds are you don't know a whole lot of people who can't read and write. And the thing is, if you can't read and write, life becomes so much more difficult in this country especially, because all of a sudden numerous job opportunities close to you, because think about it, what can you do if you can't read and write. You can't be a clerk at the grocery store, because you can't count back change or

> identify items; you can do the stock at the inventory because you wouldn't be able to read the reports. Even the most "menial" tasks become very difficult if you can't read and write. And so I wonder does every child have to go to college? No. But they have to be able to function in society, they have to be able to contribute, and earn a living, and feed their family, and so how are you going to do that if you can't function. (TI: 141-150)

In Miss Talbot's classroom, students engaged in a balanced literacy curriculum (Fountas & Pinnell, 2001), reading books as a whole class or in small groups and using these books as a basis for writing their own texts and short class plays called "reader's theater." Students typically changed groups daily, sometimes working with peers on the same reading level and sometimes working across different reading levels. Miss Talbot and Ms. Kyi, a teaching assistant from Burma, floated in and out of different groups, coaching students on reading or prompting their writing.

Holly Middle School

In the 2010-2011 school year, Holly Middle School served 1077 sixth through eighth grade students from the local neighborhood (School Website, 2010). Holly Middle School was located in a suburban area of King County, situated five miles from both a prestigious university and a center of refugee resettlement, and served students from both communities. It was situated near a main thoroughfare that provided access to a shopping mall and a number of strip malls that catered to the South Asian community in the area, selling clothing, jewelry, and food. The school itself sat within a neighborhood of brick one-story homes with neatly manicured lawns. Overall, King County's population was 54% Black, 29% White (Non-Hispanic), 10% Hispanic, 5% Asian and 2% multiracial (U.S. Census, 2010). Similar to the overall population in the state,

17% of residents lived below the poverty level (U.S. Census, 2010). Holly Middle School had implemented the International Baccalaureate (IB) Middle Years Programme for ten years as a whole-school program, although the adoption process had met with resistance from a number of staff members (IB Coordinator interview, 4/28/11). As a public school, teachers at HMS also followed state curriculum standards, and the school's stated mission was to prepare students for "both the academic and social rigors of high school, with a social consciousness that will lead to him/her becoming a contributing member of society" (School website, 2010). Students at HMS participate in a variety of activities intended to promote their understanding of global connections, including World AIDS Day and a cross disciplinary unit investigating the origins, production, and trade of chocolate.

Although many refugee students attended HMS, the school did not specifically intend to address refugee student needs, but recognized that given its location it served a population that represented "most of the world's countries" (School website, 2010). At the time of the study, Holly Middle School had undergone recent significant changes, serving an ESOL population that had tripled between 2006 and 2010 (Administrator interview, 10/22/2010). Many of the newcomers were refugees who lived in nearby apartment complexes where social service agencies had resettled them. As complexes in other areas of the county had become saturated with refugees, the agencies had recently expanded into Holly Middle School's zoning area.

At each grade level, administrators divided students into different teams that attended classes with a set of four teachers: one math, one science, one social studies, and one language arts teacher. For this study, I followed one group of students in the same team through their social studies, language arts, and ESOL classes, working with the group of students identified by

administrators and ESOL teachers as including the largest number of immigrant and refugee students. In the following section, I provide profiles of these teachers and classrooms.

Mr. Darby's social studies classroom measured 30 feet square and was filled with enough desks to seat 40 students. Posters around the room encouraged students to "shoot for the stars" and contained references to aerospace, the subject of Mr. Darby's morning enrichment class. A small whiteboard at the back of the room listed daily objectives, although these were updated only once during my semester-long observations to apply to the classes I observed. A set of large pull-down maps were located at the front of the room, and Mr. Darby often opened them to use as he explained concepts during lessons.

A white man native to the area, Mr. Darby had attended Holly himself when it was a high school and he was in his tenth year of teaching social studies. He held a Bachelors' degree in journalism and entered teaching through an alternate certification route. Mr. Darby expressed enjoyment teaching about similarities and differences throughout the history of civilizations, and considered his main goal to connect that learning to teaching students "what it's like to be an American" (DI:35). During a special period of the school day entitled "Connections," Mr. Darby taught a course on aerospace engineering for gifted students, about which other teachers in the school spoke highly. Of all the teachers in the study, Mr. Darby was perhaps the most elusive and difficult for me to interview. During our original interview appointment, he stated that he was swamped and asked me to come back at a later time. When we rescheduled the appointment, the interview was the shortest of all my participants, as he answered many questions briefly even after probing.

During a typical social studies lesson in Mr. Darby's room, students would answer a question about information in the textbook while he took roll, and then read the textbook round-

robin style. Mr. Darby interjected comments every few paragraphs to explain information, often using both maps and anecdotes. Later, students might complete a worksheet related to the text. When completing independent work, ESOL students often asked me for guidance, and did not seem to have the necessary scaffolding to complete the tasks on their own. However, these students were eager to complete the task and able to respond to questions with extra support. Prior to student independent work, Mr. Darby sometimes played alternate instructions in different languages on his computer for newcomer students in the classroom – students who spoke little English. Each time he played these instructions, other students in the class would giggle or laugh.

Mrs. Fritz's language arts classroom adjoined Mr. Darby's, and contained two sections of desks, with one facing the front of the room and the other facing the side, creating workspace where students could look at each other and teachers could stand in the middle. As in Mr. Darby's classroom, a large bay of windows at the far end of the room opened onto a grassy courtyard. Teacher and student created posters – mostly about grammar – decked the walls. These posters were often referenced for clarification on a grammar concept. Mrs. Fritz's desk sat in the corner of the room, but she spent most of her instructional time circulating in the classroom or leaning against a stool near the whiteboard at the front of the class.

A former journalist, Mrs. Fritz had earned a Master of Arts in Teaching degree at a nearby university and was in the fourth year of her teaching career. As a divorced mother of two teenagers, she said that her experiences as a parent helped her to understand her students' development and establish classroom management. She stated that her main goals were that her students would be comfortable working with text: being able to obtain information and read between the lines. Moreover, she expressed that in addition to instructional goals, she wanted her

students to have certain values and attitudes, saying: “I really feel like what I'm doing is modeling respect and interest and enthusiasm about anything, not just learning” (FI:95-96). She also explained that an important part of her classroom climate was a cooperative atmosphere. During our interview, she shared that she hoped students felt that “we're all on a team for each other, we're all looking out for each other, we have each other's backs, and all that kind of stuff” (FI:100-101). In this way, citizenship in her class was tied to character education.

In language arts classes that contained a significant number of ESOL students, Mr. Hannah, an ESOL teacher, joined Mrs. Fritz to co-teach the class. Mr. Hannah was my initial contact at the school, and was in his second full year at Holly. Originally from south Florida, he had earned a Bachelor’s degree in teaching middle school English and elementary education with an ESOL endorsement. He had experience teaching English to diverse populations, including Haitian migrants in south Florida and Burmese refugees in North Carolina. He stated that both his fluency in Spanish and experience traveling in non-English speaking countries helped him foster empathy towards English Language Learners. As an ESOL teacher, he expressed that his main task was to help students “speak, read, write, and understand the English language” (HI:271-272). He also referenced students’ need to acquire academic proficiency, stating “beyond that, the end result of that needs to be that they can do that [use the four domains of English] in their other classes” (HI:272-273).

A typical day in Mrs. Fritz and Mr. Hannah’s language arts class began with students correcting and labeling a sentence that had been written on the overhead. Next, Mrs. Fritz or Mr. Hannah might explain a new grammar or literary concept, giving students examples and asking students to read about the new concept in the text. During this time, Mrs. Fritz or Mr. Hannah made clear connections to previous class lessons and asked students to relate the lesson to their

previous experience. Students would continue to follow the lesson model of practicing the new concept in a whole group, correcting misunderstandings as a class, and progressing to independent practice. During independent practice, Mr. Hannah often circulated among ESOL students and provided extra support. Throughout, both Mr. Hannah and Mrs. Fritz would give recognition to students for excellent work, noting for example that Maria had a good understanding of linking verbs or naming Sharita the "grammar queen of the day" (HO10/11: 30).

On the south side of the school, nine trailers with cream aluminum siding sat squat in rows. Mr. Bagna's ESOL class was held in a trailer that he shared with Mr. Hannah. Student-created posters celebrating achievements of multicultural Americans and a word wall from Mr. Hannah's class hung from the trailer walls. This word wall approach reflects a vocabulary strategy used in some classrooms for remediation but recognized by foreign language teachers as an effective strategy for second-language learners (Eyraud et al., 2000). An overhead projector sat on the side of the room, next to a circular table for small group work that was not used during this class period. During ESOL class, students sat at desks that faced each other in three rows.

A middle-aged man from Ukraine, Mr. Bagna shared that he had immigrated to the United States 20 years earlier and had been working in this county for 10 years as a floating ESOL teacher. Because ESOL enrollment at Holly had increased, Mr. Bagna had just been assigned to Holly in October as ESOL enrollment had increased and the staffing was finalized. He spent his mornings at Holly and traveled throughout the county during the day. When asked, Mr. Bagna stated that his main goal as an ESOL teacher was to "neutralize the cultural shock of hostility" (BI:108), since many students "have different stages of cultural shock" (BI:109).

Overall, he felt that "they feel panic and anxious so my job is just to make them feel secure and safe" (BI:112-113).

Most days in Mr. Bagna's class began with students selecting books from a basket in the classroom corner. After reading for 10 minutes, Mr. Bagna would ask students to report on the books' name, setting, and other characteristics. He would then ask students to complete a variety of grammar exercises that were not clearly connected to any instruction. For example, in one class session he asked students to correct sentences, specifying that capitalization, word order, and punctuation should be correct. When a student stated that he was finished, Mr. Bagna corrected him, saying, "No you didn't get it what we need to do. Word order. You need to find how to correct the appropriate word order. You need to finish sentences. These are a lot of mistakes, you did not think" (HO 10/15:22-27). He then referenced a point system that was not tied into any classroom structure I had observed. Two days per week, Mr. Bagna took students to a small computer lab to complete grammar exercises. Student understanding of the exercises seemed to be uneven: immigrant students with stronger English communication skills could talk about what they did and did not understand in each item, while the majority of refugee students shrugged and stated "I don't know" (HO9/29:26) when asked how they were selecting answers.

At both schools, classrooms varied widely in terms of typical pedagogy, classroom climate, and content focus. In order to consider how students were taught for and about citizenship in each school context, I analyzed the data separately by school and identified themes both by classroom and then by school. I provide these findings below.

Implemented Curricula of Six Classrooms in Two Schools

In this section, I explain the findings related to the first research question, "How does the implemented curriculum, including content, pedagogy, and climate, educate students for

citizenship?" To consider the ways the content might educate students for citizenship, I analyzed content in terms of different levels of affinity, including community, national, global, and transnational citizenship. These findings are reported separately for each school. In addition, I considered how data related to Osler and Starkey's (2005) dimensions of citizenship: feeling, status, and practice. To illustrate the similarities and differences between schools, I identified themes across the two schools and reported these as combined topics.

Global Charter School: Creating Citizens at Home in the World.

Based on my observations in the classrooms at Global, I noted recurring themes in the implemented curriculum relevant for students' citizenship education. Although I followed one section of students through language arts and social studies, the same two teachers taught the same curriculum to the other two classes of that grade level, suggesting that these themes may have been present in other classrooms. Appendix G provides a summary of the coding categories and themes in each school for the first research question.

At Global Charter School, students learned about global content throughout classes and in all-school activities, and were often recognized as transnational. Through observations, teacher interviews, and student focus groups, it was clear that students learned about the wider world throughout their classes. In social studies class, following the state's sixth grade curriculum standards, the content centered around European and Latin American history. In this context, Miss Samantha made an effort to teach about nations from a comparative perspective. For example, during a lesson on the creation of the European Economic Community, she opened by asking students to share examples of different currencies they had brought from home, and then discussed the process of currency conversion. Amanda then related

this process of currency conversion to the experience of her relatives in Liberia converting US dollars sent by her family into Liberian dollars.

In other subjects, global and multicultural perspectives were integrated into learning. During students' ESOL session focused on literacy, Miss Talbot read students *Suki's Kimono,* a story about a Japanese student in the United States. Students analyzed the story and acted it out as a "reader's theater," learning and applying new English vocabulary such as *amazed* and *snickered* and Japanese vocabulary such as *geita* (Japanese sandals) and *obachan* (grandmother). In their language arts class, students learning about persuasive essays investigated the life of Christopher Columbus and his treatment of Native Americans, and wrote a persuasive essay to critique or defend the celebration of Columbus Day. All three teachers encouraged students to make connections between their home countries or cultures and a wider world system, and learn about other countries from their peers and classroom activities.

Although the teachers at Global Charter School consistently emphasized a comparative lens for viewing culture and nationhood, instruction related to global issues was not as important in classes. During my observations, the only discussion of global issues occurred when students in social studies class had investigated literacy rates across different countries. Miss Samantha then mediated a discussion of why literacy rates might be different, pushing students to make connections among economic resources, corruption, schooling and literacy rates. However, she did not discuss the wider world system affecting countries' economic resources, or push students to make connections with colonialism. For the most part, learning about human rights and celebrating global citizenship were part of whole school celebrations. At a yearly celebration of United Nations Day, students, teachers, and parents dressed in clothing representing one of their home countries. Speeches and performances emphasized global unity and human rights. For

example, students in ESOL classes performed the song *With my Own Two Hands* (Harper, 2003), with lyrics focused on personal action: "I can make peace on earth/ With my own two hands/ I can clean up the earth/ … I'm going to make it a safer place/With my own two hands/I'm going to help the human race/With my own two hands."

At Global Charter School, teachers emphasized making connections between the students and the curriculum, creating a global curriculum with global students. Pedagogy throughout the classes I observed was characterized by connections – between the student and the curriculum, the student and the teacher, and the students with each other. These connections took place as part of everyday classroom activities and routines. In language arts class, each session opened with students correcting a sentence on the white board, and defining new vocabulary words in the sentence. As Ms. Mahpiya called different students up to correct the work, she asked each of the students questions relating the new words to their own lives. For example, at one point Ms. Mahpiya asked, "Elizabeth, when was the last time you felt dapper?" (GO11/10:82) Although this was not "about" global content, students shared aspects of their lives through this exercise. In this instance, Elizabeth reported that she felt dapper when she dressed up for Nowrouz, a Persian holiday.

Teachers encouraged the use of cooperation, connecting students with each other. In social studies, if a student was unsure of an answer, they could "phone a friend". A typical day in ESOL class involved students coaching each other through reading activities, or creating and then reading a script based on a text they had read as a class. In language arts class, students worked in groups to create a comic strip version of the novel *Holes* they had just finished reading as a class.

Students and teachers repeatedly expressed a sense of feeling "at home" in their actions, as teachers checked on students' health, knew students' parents, and shared items such as cortisone cream and lotion with students. Teachers and teachers' aides in the school coached students' soccer teams, and in one case even led English classes for parents within the Burmese community. As part of their homework for a class, students might be expected to interview parents about food, economics, or past experiences. When one student stated that she wasn't coming to school tomorrow, the substitute teacher replied in jest, "I'll come your house to bring you" (GO10/29:151). In interviews, students confirmed this sense of a community: when asked to use three words to describe her school, a Amanda, a Liberian-American student stated "It's a wonderful school because it like really help the people that just came to America….when I came here I had opportunity and they like open their hands to me" (GFG2:130-136).

Despite this focus on community, both peers and teachers characterized Limited English Proficient (LEP) students as peripheral to the class. Although many students at the school spoke English as a second or third language and received language support services, LEP students were newcomers without a basic command of English. These students were often not included in typical classroom activities outside of ESOL class, although they did attend a special after school session with an instructional aide for further tutoring in math. For example, in language arts class, LEP students sat at a separate table from other students and waited for an instructional aide to work with them in the hallway, instead of participating in warm up activities. All teachers interviewed expressed the frustration that these students needed basic literacy instruction but sat in grade level classes for the majority of the day. Summing up these sentiments, when asked about the challenges at the school, Miss Samantha stated,

> I think the greatest challenge is the students who come in with a much lower level of English because by sixth grade the vocabulary and concepts are so huge that without the fundamental basics of English it's almost impossible to teach them within the same classroom. Even though that's what we're supposed to be doing, the gap is almost always too wide to be able to bridge (SI:127-131).

In classes where an instructional aide was present, the aide worked with LEP students, using tools such as photos and videos and maps from the internet to communicate instructional content and check for understanding.

Holly Middle School: Sending Mixed Messages

Based on my observations in the classrooms at Holly Middle School, I noted recurring themes in the implemented curriculum relevant for students' citizenship education. Although I followed one section of students through language arts, social studies, and ESOL classes, the same teachers taught the same curriculum to all students on the same team of that grade level, suggesting that these themes may have been present throughout the team. In addition, all sixth grade students in the school participated in the school-wide activities that I observed.

At Holly Middle School, school-wide activities focused on global issues, but classroom instruction emphasized a national lens. Although the state curriculum standards and IB Framework were consistent across the two schools, there was a notable difference in the type of curriculum implemented at Holly, as teachers incorporated less global content into their classrooms than teachers at Global. However, multiple school-wide and grade-level activities throughout the school year highlighted global issues related to students' lives. Below, I provide a narrative description of both types of trends: the global focus of the school and the national lens within classrooms.

Through the efforts of the school IB coordinator, both individual grade level teams and whole school assemblies focused on global issues. During my first formal visit to the school in September, all students on the sixth grade team I observed gathered in the media center to view the film *The Diary of Jay-Z: Water for Life* in which hip hop entrepreneur Shawn Carter (Jay-Z) tours three different countries in Africa to explore issues of water scarcity in conjunction with UNICEF. At various points throughout the film, the IB coordinator paused the video to preview the next section and make explicit connections to students' experiences. For example, at one point she stopped and told students:

> You'll see a girl in this next scene named Bela. Every day she goes and fills that bucket up two times-she walks a mile each direction twice. At 6 in the morning, she gets up and gets water until 10, then at 11 goes to school. She walks by an open sewer to get to school. And near the sewer there's a market. Sometimes the flies land in the sewage and then come land on the food. [Here students reacted, saying "Ewww!"] Water is bigger than just what you drink...water scarcity causes a loss of dignity. Now this is an issue that we face here too - We've all had no water at our house. Raise your hand if you've ever not had water, because the pipes weren't working or you weren't current on your water bill [at least half of the students raised their hands]. In the US we're blessed - you can call someone when your water's not working. (HO9/20:33-39)

After viewing the video, students went to lunch. In the afternoon, students participated in a simulation to experience lugging water like the children in the film they viewed. During this time, students carried gallon jugs of water around the school track while teachers waited under a

tent in the middle of the track. Ms. Fritz and other teachers mentioned that some of the students from Nepal referenced having to carry water in Nepal and Bhutan before coming to the United States, but teachers expressed only a cursory understanding of students' experiences. It was striking as an observer to see refugee students who had hauled water for their families as a daily chore come to a U.S. school and haul water as an educational experience intended to inspire empathy for children around the world. This unit was continued the next day, when students worked in their homerooms to create a system that could transport a certain volume of water, in order to gain an engineering perspective on water issues.

Although this was one grade-level unit, other all school and grade level events during the year focused on different global issues. In November, representatives from the non-governmental organization Invisible Children's Schools for Schools initiative visited in a whole school assembly to discuss the lack of education in conflict-ridden Northern Uganda and encouraged students to raise money to fund school construction and maintenance. As Valentine's Day approached, students in the 8th grade examined the global manufacturing of chocolate and human rights issues in that industry.

Despite the global focus of these school wide initiatives, classroom instruction that I observed within lessons stressed a national lens. In social studies class, students were taught about other countries from the viewpoint of what the teacher termed "us Americans." For example, when learning about environmental issues in Latin America, Mr. Darby showed a film clip of a landscape, introducing the video by saying, "They don't take care of their environment as well as we do" (HO9/29:79). He explained "The trees are what holds the soil in place, and when you cut down the trees…" (HO9/29:81) before playing the clip of a mudslide in Colombia. "There's a house, there's a village" he narrated as students viewed a large tide of mud engulf a

village. One student responded: “Oh my gosh – that’s so sad” (HO9/29:82). The teacher responded, saying “Uh. This is what we’re talking about. In America, we don’t cut the trees down like that. And we have the soil….What we’re talking about is…the U.S. is a first world country – we’ve got it pretty good in the United States.” (HO9/29:83-85)

Much of the content that Mr. Darby presented related to economics, which was also presented from a national lens. After showing the incident in the lesson above, students read a section in their text about the impact of people on the land, which mentioned the Panama Canal. Mr. Darby showed the students the location of the canal on a large map at the front of the room. When a student asked if the same people who decided to build it controlled the Panama Canal now, he explained “What Carter did was he gave it back to the Panamanians so they could make money off of it” (HO 9/29 88:89). In another lesson, he asked students to read content from the textbook about the North American Free Trade Agreement. He then gave students the following example: “Say General Electric has a plant in [nearby city]. And they pay you $20 an hour to operate a plant in [nearby city]. They’ll close this factory and put you out of work, and they’ll open a factory in Mexico….So that way instead of paying you $20 an hour, they’ll pay people in Mexico $1 an hour, so they’ll save $19/hour” (HO10/27:41-42). Tre, a non-immigrant student then asked, “So is it like they’re cheating people in Mexico?” (HO10/27:43). Mr. Darby replied, again using the first person to refer to U.S. citizens, “Well it helps people in Mexico because then they have a job. But it’s a problem we’re having in America right now because we’re in a recession. So it’s hurt us because we need jobs, but it helps a company like GE, because they save money” (HO10/27:43-46). In this particular class, two students’ reported having parents who were born in Mexico, making the construction of the first person “we” problematic. Mr. Darby did attempt to include recent immigrants and refugees in some of his

statements. For example, after talking about "Yankee ingenuity," he stated "so now ya'll are Americans, you're going to be part of this Yankee ingenuity" (HO11/1:43-44).

Notably, most of the content related to global, national, and local issues and citizenship I observed was covered in social studies class. However, when such issues arose in the other classrooms, teachers and students engaged with them in a different manner. In Ms. Fritz's language arts class, she used content related to the experiences of different U.S. ethnic groups when teaching language arts skills. Students thus learned note taking skills while reading a section of the textbook about the detainment of Japanese-Americans during World War II or discussed plot characteristics while reading a story about a Native American student. In ESOL class, Mr. Bagna encouraged students at one point to compare their own national holidays to the Thanksgiving holiday. However, most content in these classes did not focus explicitly on citizenship, social issues, or political information.

At Holly Middle School, pedagogies and climate varied greatly between classrooms, with one classroom teacher encouraging positive intercultural student interaction and two classroom teachers focusing on the text and classroom rules. Unlike teachers at Global Charter School, teachers at Holly Middle School varied greatly in their pedagogy and the resulting classroom climate varied accordingly. In the language arts classroom, Mrs. Fritz and Mr. Hannah's pedagogy focused on making connections between students and the curriculum. Mr. Hannah helped to scaffold the learning of Limited English Proficient Students– educating these students for inclusive citizenship. For example, when students learned about persuasive texts, different groups in the class created posters exhorting others in their school to donate food to a canned food drive. Students with home languages other than English wrote messages on the poster in Spanish, Burmese, Nepali, Hindi, and Arabic. As a homework assignment for another

unit on informational texts, students brought in a magazine from home or the school library that they wanted to read. As a whole class, they then shared the different ways that information was presented in headlines and other texts. This pedagogy was linked with a classroom climate characterized by accountability and a recognition of student achievement and effort. When both Ms. Fritz and Mr. Hannah interacted with students, they focused on student effort, saying a student was "on it today" (HO10/6:59) or asking a group of students to rate their effort. Ms. Fritz also communicated her expectations to her students regarding their organization skills and consistently redirected students who were off-task.

In contrast, in social studies class, although students were learning about Latin America and a number of students had family roots in the region, Mr. Darby rarely tied the curriculum to student prior knowledge or experience. Rather, the teacher focused on the text above all else, reading the textbook, relating anecdotes to the text, and asking students to complete worksheets, locating information in the text. This focus on information existed alongside a climate of disengagement and disrespect, the two most common codes noted in my observations in Mr. Darby's class. Disengagement was evident when different students placed their heads on their desks, completed work from other classes, or repeatedly asked to go to the bathroom within one class period. The incidents I characterized as disrespect included Mr. Darby telling one student to shut up. Later, Mr. Darby called Juan, a Mexican-American student "mentiroso" (HO11/9:97) (liar) when he did not work with other students during a time the teacher had designated for cooperative work. In the same class period, when one student offered to help another student, Mr. Darby responded, "He's beyond help" (HO11/9:98). This class was the only one in which I observed a fight between students, when Jawan, a U.S. born-student, insulted Htun, a refugee

student from Burma. Htun then placed both of his hands around Jawan's neck, and had to be removed from the classroom by Mr. Darby.

I found pedagogy in the ESOL classroom was inconsistent and unstructured, contributing to a laissez-faire and unfocused classroom climate. Two days out of the week, Mr. Bagna took students to a computer lab where they completed grammar exercises on a website. Although this may have been a useful task, it seemed unrelated to classroom instruction. As I mentioned earlier, when I asked students how they were selecting the correct answer, over half of them shrugged and were not able to explain the reasoning. During the other three days in class, students participated in silent reading and filled out grammar worksheets. Mr. Bagna asked students to share information about the books they had read, but was unable to succeed during his attempts to request that other students listen, contributing to a laissez-faire environment. Like social studies class, at times the climate was characterized by disengagement and lack of focus. For example, when I observed students present information about the books they had been reading at the end of their silent reading time, the number of students appearing to pay attention ranged from one third to half of the class – other students would talk to each other or be writing at their desks. There was some positive peer interaction among students in this class. The same day that Ahmad's pronunciation was criticized by Mr. Darby, Minu, a Nepali student, was coaching Ahmad on how to say the same word during ESOL class.

In all situations, regardless of the particular pedagogy or climate of the classroom, students during my observations attempted to follow the teachers' directions and complete assigned tasks. In addition, the majority of students in each class attended the other classes I observed. Based on these observations, I hypothesized that the variation in pedagogy and climate

in each class may be more related to teacher than student characteristics. Overall, teachers seemed to have the power to shape their curricular implementation and classroom climate.

Citizenship Dimensions across Two Schools: Citizenship as Feeling

Although sixth grade students in both schools did not take courses explicitly focused on citizenship, I wanted to analyze the implemented curriculum and classroom interactions to identify the types of messages relating to citizenship that were presented to students indirectly as well as explicitly. In this section, I combine the findings from the second and third research questions: 2) What are students taught about different levels of affinity (community, national, global, and transnational citizenship)? and 3) What are students taught about citizenship as a status, practice, and feeling? The research questions are intentionally vague about who is doing the teaching: students are taught in the classroom by the teacher, by the materials, as well as by peer interaction. These questions allowed me to analyze events and discourse in the classrooms I observed through the lens of citizenship.

The lack of explicit specific citizenship-related content caused me to modify the way I analyzed data for these two questions. As stated in Chapter three, I began to identify different pieces of data with a list of codes grounded in Osler and Starkey's (2005) dimensions of citizenship: status, feeling, and practice. For the dimension of status, I noted each time a teacher or a student referenced legal or official concepts related to citizenship, such as human rights, legal status, or a passport. Because Osler and Starkey (2005) relate the feeling dimension of citizenship to a sense of belonging, I noted each time a person expressed a sense of belonging to a particular community: this might include stating why they liked a particular country, using the word "we" to indicate belonging to a national community, or switching languages to indicate belonging. Finally, for the dimension of practice, I noted references to individual participatory

action – for example, voting, donating money for an issue, or fighting for one's country. Although the value of different participatory actions may be subject to dispute, I noted each time individual agency was foregrounded as Osler and Starkey (2005) define this dimension as an "awareness of oneself as an individual living in relationship with others, participating freely in society and combining with others for political, social, cultural, or economic purposes" (p.16).

For each relevant instance, I also noted the level of affinity – for example, were teachers and students talking about participating in a nation-state or having particular rights as a member of a global community? Did they express belonging to the United States or to multiple communities? One recurring situation was students' switching between the use of their home language with ethnically-similar peers or teaching assistants and the use of English with teachers and other peers. For my initial coding reflected in Table 2 below, I noted this action as expressing the feeling dimension of citizenship in a transnational community. I then grouped these codes and synthesized the information to create more discrete themes related to citizenship discourse at each school. Table 2, below, notes the number of codes related to each dimension and level of affinity from the data at each school. Although this does not provide descriptive information, this initial snapshot provides an overview of the trends at each school.

Table 2

Dimensions and affinity levels of citizenship

	Global	Transnational	National	Local
Status	G: 3	H: 1	G: 3 H: 2	G:1 H: 1
Feeling	G: 5 H: 3	**G: 48** **H: 40**	G : 3 **H : 16**	G : 1 H : 2
Practice	G: 4 H: 2	G: 1	**G: 10**	G: 1 H: 1

Note. G = Global Charter School H= Holly Middle School

In this table, initials indicate the origin of the citizenship content that I classified by dimension and level. The numbers indicate the frequency of the presence of each code (e.g., national feeling) at the two schools, and the chart displays the most common codes in bold. As evident by examining the left side of the table, global citizenship as status, feeling, and practice was touched upon at Global Charter School but only feeling and practice were evident at Holly. Overall, I discovered that discourse and events related to transnational and national feeling more frequently than to the other dimensions. Below, I discuss the themes that I identified after grouping and rereading the coded information.

A backdrop of global citizenship. At both schools, the global dimensions of citizenship were present in whole-school activities but not often part of everyday pedagogy and discourse. Both schools held whole-school events related to global issues: At Global Charter School,

students held performances for family and staff and held a Parade of Nations to celebrate United Nations Day; fifth grade students also investigated and presented a global issue at an IB Exposition. As previously mentioned, students at Holly Middle School learned about water issues and worked in groups to identify potential solutions as part of a grade-wide event; they also hosted staff from a non-governmental organization (NGO) who educated students about challenges facing child soldiers in Northern Uganda and how students could help. Decorations at each school also evoked a global perspective: at Global Charter School, a poster of each child and his/her country of origin hung next to the school office, and the library at Holly Middle School sported a World AIDS Day memorial quilt. In the main office at Holly Middle School, a bulletin board displayed a photo of each administrator with information about a different country that the administrator had elected to share. With the exceptions of world maps in each classroom at Global Charter School and a fleeting reference to "human rights" in Miss Samantha's social studies classroom, no in-class activities that I observed centered around global citizenship. As illustrated in Table 2, the three dimensions of citizenship were present in these activities at Global Charter School; at Holly Middle School, I did not observe any discourses around human rights, the United Nations, or other examples of global citizenship as status.

National feeling and practice in social studies classrooms. The second major finding evident in observation and interview data was that the two social studies teachers both talked about the national level of citizenship affinity, but in very different ways. At Holly Middle School, Mr. Darby emphasized the feeling dimension of national citizenship by consistently using "we" language to refer to the U.S. national community. U.S.-born students in this class mirrored his discourse. For example, after Mr. Darby discussed trade between the United States and China, a student asked, "Aren't we at war with China?" Mr. Darby used "we" language in

his response, stating, "We're not buddies, but we trade…They don't want to hurt us because we're such good customers. We don't agree with the philosophy they use to govern their country, but they wouldn't hurt us because they'd be hurting their own wallet" (HO 11/1: 47-51).

When other countries or cultures were discussed, it was from a deficit model where other places and countries were substandard or less than American norms. For example, during a class concentrating on populations and histories in Latin America, the following exchange took place.

Raja, a student, looking at the graphs in the text, stated "India has a lot of people," to which Mr. Darby replied, "India is crowded." Another student, Prashan, asked "Who has the most population?" Mr. Darby replied, "look it up and let me know. Have you heard of the one child policy in China?" Michelle was interested in this policy, stating "What if you have twins? Mr. Darby responded, "I don't know," and then another student probed, "What if you have more?" Mr. Darby replied, "They won't, that's the sad thing about it…The government tells you how many children you can have, that's a bad government." Immediately following this exchange, Mr. Darby refocused the lesson on Latin America, describing the Mayan civilization, stating "They used to have games with a ball, and the losers would get killed… you'd die in these games with a ball" (HO 9/29: 58-67).

Reinforcing the national theme, every morning, students at Holly Middle school stood to recite the pledge of allegiance; in the year following the study, the I.B. Coordinator stated that she was working to have World Language students recite the pledge in Spanish and French as well. A U.S. flag flew at the entrance to the school and hung in each classroom. At one point in the school history, flags representing the country of origin of all students marked the lobby, but they were removed at the request of the fire marshal (I.B. Coordinator, personal communication, September 19, 2011). U.S. holidays were marked throughout the school by seasonal bulletin

boards, such as a display of staff members who had served in the U.S. armed forces during Veteran's Day. Students in upper grades at the school voted in mock elections during national and local elections, but the sixth grade students did not do so.

Conversely, at Global Charter School, there was no morning flag salute or pledge and no U.S. flags hung in the classrooms. The only point at which I observed teachers discussing a U.S. holiday was near Columbus Day, when Miss Mahpiya asked her students to write persuasive essays debating the celebration of this holiday. In her classroom, Miss Samantha used "we" language in a different way than Mr. Darby, as this language was in reference to persons or groups that students learned about throughout history, and emphasized individual actions. When teaching about the ways that allied countries stoked the conflict that became World War I, she asked students to participate in a mini-simulation, calling one student up to stand by her. She narrated the scenario, stating "Saw Khu and I are here and we shake hands, and we're friends. Then Deonte comes up. And he tries to take my Oreos. So I say 'Deonte, don't take them.' Now Saw Khu, what are you going to do?..." Saw Khu looked at her and gestured towards Deonte. "You're going to help me fight, right?" Miss Samantha affirmed. "And Deonte, what are you going to do?" "Fight back," Deonte replied. "By yourself?" Probed Miss Samantha. "No," began Deonte. "You're going to find someone to help you, right?" Miss Samantha said, bringing up Farzad. "And then we're going to find other people to help us…and that's how this little war becomes a bigger war." (GO 10/13: 372-378) Through different scenarios, Miss Samantha consistently asked students to take the perspective of different national groups or classes of people and discussed how individual and communal actions brought about change. At Global Charter School, the only use of "we" to refer to the United States was during a moment in which a Somali-American student chose to draw the United States in response to a prompt about

nationalism. When Miss Samantha asked her why, she replied, "because it's nice and we have opportunity." Miss Samantha then encouraged her to take a comparative perspective, stating "Okay but is everybody going to favor the United States? Is the person from Italy going to pick the United States or Italy?" (GO 10/13: 323-325)

Transnational communities: Connections and disjunctures. In both schools, students who spoke languages other than English used these languages during instruction and during peer interaction, communicating a sense of belonging to a transnational community. This sense of belonging to transnational communities was reinforced by teachers in both schools. In Global Charter School, as mentioned earlier, Miss Samantha built in student experiences to her lessons; for example, asking students to share the names of different currencies from their countries of origin to open a lesson about the establishment of the European Economic Community. In her interview, Miss Samantha emphasized the importance of bridging students' home communities and school experiences:

> We talk a lot about culture in this class. So I really encourage a lot of cultural sharing. And I think for a lot of these kids it's really tough to bridge the gap between parents who have come here and a lot of my kids who may be first generation Americans or who lived here very early in their life. I think it's difficult for them to bridge the gap between their native culture and fitting in in America. And I don't want them to lose that sense of their native culture and so I hope that they are able to find ways to maintain that throughout their lives and be proud of that. (SI: 198-203)

Miss Guumays, the teaching assistant who often worked in Miss Samantha's classroom, also emphasized the importance of bilingualism as an aspect of transnationalism, and saw becoming bilingual and bicultural as an asset.

> I think finding a good balance between them…retaining your own language, speaking Somali at home – or whatever language you speak – but also fitting in with the American culture, I think – finding a balance between the two is really important. Because we don't want them to lose their own culture or their language. But we also want to pick up English and feel comfortable [here]. (GI: 109-114)

As shown in Table 2, the majority of citizenship-related content and activities engaged in by students and teachers examined at both schools related to feelings of belonging to different communities. In these instances, experiences related to building attachment to the national or global community, not to both simultaneiously. For example, as mentioned previously at Global Charter School, ESOL students practiced a song about global unity in preparation for the school-wide U.N. Day celebration. On the national level, students learned about the concept of patriotism in their social studies class, working in groups to create definitions and drawings of patriotism. When they reviewed their definitions as a class, the group that shared out defined patriotism as "A certain interest in your country or favoring your country" (GO 10/13 393-394). Miss Samantha added to this definition, saying "I'm going to make one change- a strong interest in your country. I will fight for my country. So when you're willing to die for your country, when you believe your country is better than others. It can be taken to the extreme and be terrorism" (GO 10/13:394-396). Toby, a student born in the U.S., described the picture that his group had created: "In this picture, it's showing people who like their country and they're conversing about which country they like the most. So this person likes their country better, and

they're like your country stinks." (GO 10/13:396-399). As this was the end of the class period, Miss Samantha wrapped up the discussion by saying "So we're going to see how World War I was sparked by a nationalist group, and there' s going to be a nationalism group that makes things go kaboom." (GO 10/13: 399-401).

Nearly six weeks later, I observed students discussing informally whether or not they would fight for their country. As they were working on vocabulary worksheets in language arts class, Selena, a Somali-American student, chatted with the other students at her table, saying "...you know, if you die for your country." Charles responded, "That's sad, I don't want to do that." Jasmine added "if you love your country." "I wouldn't fight for my country, that's sad", Charles continued. Selena replied "I'll go back to Somalia, I don't care." (GO 11/30: 91-96). Although I only captured a fragment of this peer conversation, this moment demonstrated that students had differing opinions about patriotism and citizenship, and that they were connecting ideas they learned about in class to their own lives. At Holly Middle School, students helped to create a World AIDS Day memorial quilt that hung in the library. On a national level, students from different countries consistently spoke their home language to each other in classrooms, establishing linguistic communities within the space of the school.

Citizenship status was not a focus in either school, but was present in discourse. At Global Charter School, Miss Samantha, the social studies teacher, framed behavior exchanges with students in terms of rights, stating "you have the right to get an education…but you don't ever have the right to touch another student" (GO11/18:36). At Holly Middle School, students learned about the difference between democracies and dictatorships, and the ways that the rights of Japanese Americans were disregarded during World War II. There were varying amounts of information in each school relating to citizenship as practice. Students in both schools had

elected student council members during the school year, but I did not observe students having class meetings. At Global Charter School, Miss Samantha encouraged students to read news related to the countries they were studying, and offered extra credit for this. At Holly Middle School, students were encouraged to donate money to support schools in Uganda and other initiatives.

In this section, I have responded to the research questions regarding the implemented curriculum, levels of affinity, and dimensions of citizenship. As I have described above, the implemented curriculum in each school, and in some cases in each classroom, educated students for very different kinds of citizenship. At Global Charter School, the implemented curriculum educated students for inclusive citizenship, allowing students to connect their own experiences with the concepts they were learning and teaching students to learn from and with each other. In the social studies class at Global, the teacher focused on cultivating a comparative citizenship perspective and prioritized having students find a balance between their home communities and the school. However, there were also contradictions to this theme of inclusive citizenship, specifically for students with limited English skills, who were often excluded from instruction or social activities. At Holly Middle School, the implemented curriculum educated students for different kinds of citizenship – active citizenship in whole-school activities, responsible citizenship in language arts class, a more passive citizenship in ESOL and a focus on national orientation and the feeling dimension of citizenship in social studies class.

In both schools, there were missed opportunities to make connections among staff, or between students and the curriculum. Given that Global Charter School had a school-wide global mission and staff members who had personal values that connected them to this mission, I expected to observe teachers sharing instructional strategies to increase student learning.

Although I was not present at planning meetings, it was clear from interviews with teachers and observations that at both schools, teachers expressed only faint awareness of the instructional strategies used by others on their team. In addition, there were missed opportunities in all settings at HMS for students to connect their own experiences to the activities and material related to citizenship. As an example, in social studies class, I never witnessed the teacher ask students what they already knew about a topic or discuss student experiences during a unit on Latin America, when one-third of students in the class had family ties in Latin America. Overall, both schools focused on global citizenship in whole school activities, but not within different classrooms.

Language, Literacy, and Citizenship

Below, I explain the findings related to the fourth research question, "How are citizenship, literacy, and the use of English connected within these classrooms?" First, I illustrate three ways that I saw the concepts interact throughout the study. Second, as certain findings were common across schools, I describe the main theme related to this question. Finally, I consider the specific context – how the relationship differed between schools and among different classrooms.

In this study, I saw language and literacy relate to citizenship in three main ways. For students, proficiency in English and literacy were a precondition for full participation in classrooms. At Holly Middle School, Mr. Darby discussed the need for students to adapt to U.S. culture and wished to use other languages as a bridge to English. This emphasis was underlined in other classes, such as ESOL, where Mr. Bagna encouraged students to correct their pronunciation to "sound more American" (HO 10/18: 112). Mr. Darby did use other languages during his class period, using them to substitute phrases that students also understood in English,

such as “come here, por favor” (HO 11/9: 64) ; and played computer-generated directions for Chinese-speaking students who might not understand them in English. His use was greeted by student laughter or snickering.

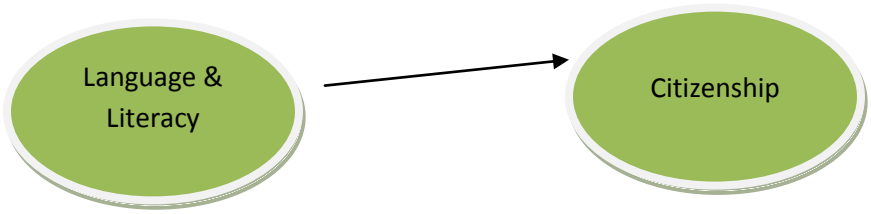
Even when Limited English Proficient students participated in some aspects of classroom learning, they often did not engage in questioning, presentations, or group work with native-speaking English peers. Furthermore, all teachers expressed that they saw language and literacy in English as necessary to fully participate as citizens in the future. Ms. Mahpiya epitomized this sentiment when she stated, “In order to participate, and not following blindly, you have to be literate to seek truth, and to question, and to read and find evidence for what you believe in …to back it up” (MI: 107-109). For Limited English Proficient students, teachers saw basic literacy as crucial to their participation in society. Ms. Guumays, a Somali-American teaching assistant, synthesized this view when she stated,

> I don’t think that kids who are as new to English as they are should sit in science classes. Because they just don’t get it and they start thinking maybe they’re not intelligent. They don’t have the vocabulary or the focus when they don’t speak that language to sit there for an hour and learn names of rocks. They just don’t. But like what Miss Talbot does with them, it’s absolutely amazing, because they could go right back out and use that information, and use that English that they picked up, like blending the letters, and now they can read signs on the street, so it’s very relevant in some aspects. And that’s what I meant with when and where they are. They can read – that’s more than they could do before – now they know what store they’re walking into. That could mean a lot to them – ‘oh, a store, it starts with a d!’ M was telling me about going shopping with his mom, and he

said that he knew what store it was, and he wrote it back out on the board, and he knew what store it was. He said 'it start with d,' and he wrote it back out and then he read it, and he was so proud of himself. And I was like that's something he learned in class, and he went out and practiced it. It was very useful. (GI: 89-102)

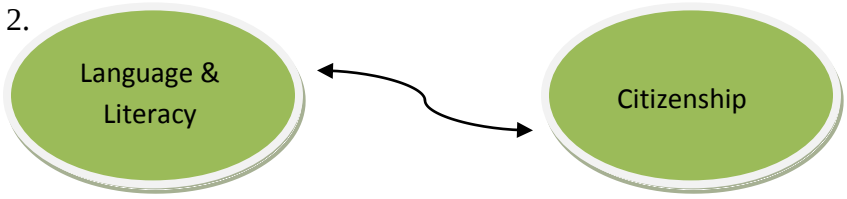
In this model, there is a one-way relationship between language and literacy, on one hand, and citizenship, on the other, as Figure 1 illustrates.

Figure 1.



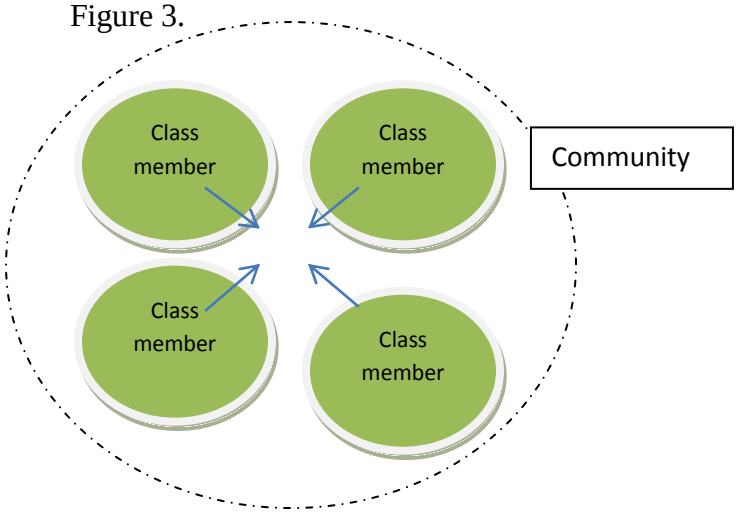
Although language and literacy seem a necessary precondition for exercising full citizenship in both the classroom and society, students in this study were defining and reflecting their identity through literacy and the languages they spoke. When students made the decision to speak in different languages during class, they defined themselves as belonging to different subgroups within the class, crossing linguistic borders. Furthermore, students made connections between parts of texts as their own identities. For example, during silent reading time, Naza, a student of Kurdish origin at Global Charter School, read a book about children around the world, and flipped through pages until she found information about a girl from Jordan. As I came around the room to observe students, Naza called me over, exclaiming: "She's like me…am I from the East? …Look, she eats falafel…that's what I eat" (GO 11/30: 52). In this case, Naza used literacy to help define her identity. Figure 2 illustrates this reciprocal relationship.

Figure 2.



Finally, as students interacted with other students in their classes, they developed both language and literacy. Either specifically as teachers intended, or informally, students helped to develop each other's language and literacy in both English and their home language. As Figure 3 illustrates, language and literacy are used in a community. Thus, the use of language and literacy created different communities within the school, as students switched between different languages. For example, at Global Charter School, Burmese students created a Burmese-language learning community and reaffirmed their Burmese identity when discussing a story from ESOL class in Burmese.

Figure 3.



Literacy in English at the Center

At both schools, as could be expected, literacy in English was critical for full participation in classes, and all teachers stated that they felt language and literacy were necessary for future citizenship. LEP students were often at the "periphery" of instruction, being pulled out in small groups or unable to fully engage in the lesson. In addition, at both schools students used languages other than English in side conversations, in the hallways, or after school – not as part

of main instruction. Teachers at both schools expressed a desire for LEP students to not attend their classes. When I asked Mr. Darby what he would change about the curriculum he taught, he responded:

> I would not allow the students to come to my class until they have achieved mastery in the English language until they understand what the words they are sounding out mean. It's really an injustice to them they have to show up in class and be graded when they can't understand the words that they are supposed to be reading (DI: 60-63).

Similarly, when I inquired about the strategies she used to work with refugee students, Ms. Mahpiya stated:

> That's an issue at our school...some administrators feel like they should be in class and absorbing English that way, and those of us who are teaching say okay, they can be in a science class and a social studies class, and they're not getting anything, when that time could be better - they could be getting phonetics basics, reading basics, abc learning. (MI: 46-55).

When I further probed about ways that she modified her instruction for students who were in her class, she stated "Pull out" (MI: 58). Despite these similarities in the connections between that literacy and citizenship at the two schools, there were also distinctions in the ways the concepts related to each other in each school. These differences are described below.

Global Charter School: Citizenship as participatory literacy, both in English and other languages. At Global Charter School, teachers reported seeing literacy in English as a necessary but not sufficient condition for full participation in the classroom and wider society.

Some teachers made an effort to include LEP students as members of the classroom, relying on gestures, pictures, small group work, and teaching assistants. For instance, in social studies class, a teaching assistant worked with LEP students on a lesson about European explorers, searching for pictures of boats on her netbook and tracing the explorer's voyage on a classroom map, checking for understanding as she explained the lesson's focus.

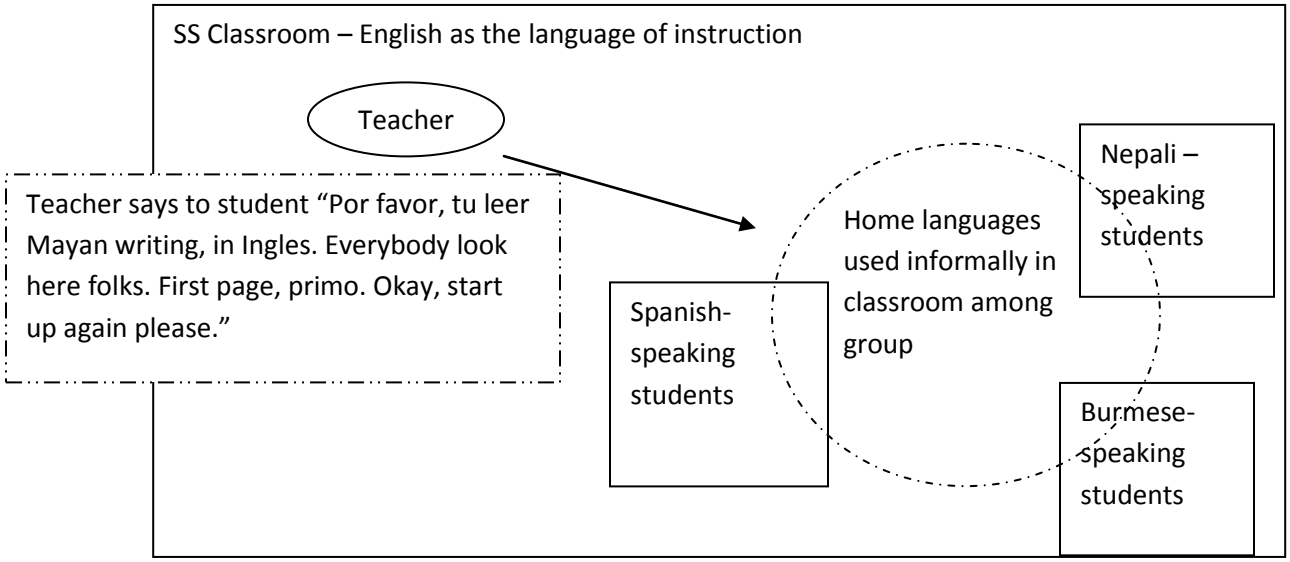
In class work, students made connections between themselves and the texts they read, and learned literacy through their interactions with peers. In this way, they developed their identities as citizens and community members at the same time as they acquired literacy skills. Notably, students were able to travel back and forth across linguistic borders as members of linguistic minority (non-English) communities within the school: for LEP students, their home language was sometimes used as part of instruction and class work. For example, Ms. Kyi, a Burmese teaching assistant taught a small mathematics lesson for Burmese students during an extended learning period. For more proficient students, their home language might be used in more informal settings. In this case, Ms. Guumays, a Somali-American teaching assistant, might ask a Somali student a question in her home language in the hallway between classes.

Holly Middle School: Mixed messages about language, literacy, and citizenship. Just as at Global Charter School, being literate in English was a prerequisite skill for full participation in all classrooms at Holly Middle School. Some efforts were made to extend classroom "citizenship" to LEP students. In language arts class, which was staffed with an additional ESOL specialist, Ms. Fritz and Mr. Hannah made an effort to include LEP students as members of the classroom, relying on gestures, pictures, and small group work. In this same class, students were occasionally invited to connect literacy in their home language to what they are learning in class,

as I described when they wrote slogans in their home languages on a class poster during a lesson on persuasion.

Mr. Darby, the social studies teacher, attempted to include non-English speakers through using different language materials from the computer and making comments in Spanish to Spanish-speaking students. This situation pointed to the difficulties posed when educators attempt to engage language differences but may not be trained in effective methods for doing so. In one case, Mr. Darby attempted to correct Ahmad, an Arabic-speaking students' pronunciation of the word 'river,' which the student pronounced /riber/. Mr. Darby asked Ahmad to repeat the word multiple times in class, stressing the middle syllable as Ahmad sunk lower in his seat, perhaps in embarrassment. In this case, the teacher did not have the content knowledge to understand the mistake phonetically – that native speakers of certain languages are not able to 'hear' all phonetic distinctions in English and would need coaching on sound production in order to alter pronunciation. Mr. Darby's actions publicly reminded this student that his pronunciation kept him from being a full member of the classroom. Figure 4, below, illustrates the way that in this classroom, the teacher attempted intermittently to use students' home languages in official instructional discourse. In contrast, in Ms. Fritz's language arts classroom, students were occasionally invited to draw connections between their home language and English, but the teacher did not try to use students' home languages.

Figure 4



In all classes I observed at Holly, students who shared the same home language used this language in their interpersonal interactions in the classrooms, in the halls, and in the cafeteria. In social studies class, Nepali students explained schoolwork to each other in Nepali. Spanish-speaking students in Ms. Fritz's language arts classroom queried each other in Spanish about their homework during independent work time, and a group of Nepali girls often discussed their home lives in Nepali while sitting in their seats before class.

At both schools, literacy in English was critical for full participation in classes. In addition, students from different linguistic communities used their language informally in classrooms and school hallways. Students at GCS who did not have proficiency in English were often pulled out in small groups, while at HMS, teachers worked with these students one-on-one (in language arts class) or were simply unable to fully engage in the lesson (as in social studies or ESOL class).

Refugee Students' Conceptions of Citizenship

As the final section of this study of citizenship education for refugee students in two global schools, I investigated refugee students' conceptions of citizenship through conducting

focus groups with 24 refugee children in the two schools. The themes below include data from both schools, as students in the two schools talked about citizenship in similar ways. However, there were a few cases in which students' conceptions of citizenship differed between schools, which are reported below. For students whose English was severely limited, students reported limited understandings of citizenship. This held even though I used peer translators who asked about citizenship in the students' own language.

Good National Citizens Vote and Obey Laws

When I asked students about what it meant to be a good citizen of their country, responses overwhelmingly focused on following laws, supporting the country and exhibiting patriotism. For example, Farzad stated that good citizens "follow laws and fight for their country" (GFG1: 66-67) One student response suggested that this focus may be related to students' desire to cement their status as American citizens. When I probed as to why she felt following the laws were the most important aspect of being a citizen, Naza stated, "Because when my dad took his [citizenship] test he had to do the hand thingy and commit that he'll follow all the laws, and so when you becoming a citizen and you don't follow the law you're just breaking your commitment" (GFG4: 42).

Youth Practice Citizenship without Connecting Practices to the Idea of Citizenship

During our interviews, I asked students how they acted as citizens. In response, most students named instances in which they complied with the rules of a school or the laws of a country. However, many students participated in other behaviors associated with citizenship practices, such as reading news about global issues. Some of these students reported transnational behavior: Over three quarters of students interviewed said they consumed media in both English and their home language. Other students also stated that their parents consumed

media in their home language, and these students knew about issues relevant to their country of origin. At the time of several interviews, the government of Burma released Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest, and a number of Burmese students discussed this when I asked them "What kinds of things do you read about or listen to?" However, these same students did not connect their awareness of these or local issues to citizenship practice.

Citizenship is Where You and your Family are From

For a majority of refugee students in this study, citizenship meant the place where they were from. Although many students had not yet acquired U.S. citizenship, most students did not restrict their answer to the country of their official citizenship status. If students had relatives who still lived in multiple places, they reported being a citizen of both of those places. Christina, who had grown up as a refugee in Tanzania but whose grandfather came from Burundi expressed considering herself a citizen of Tanzania and Burundi. For a group of students with roots in Iraqi Kurdistan, their area of citizenship was not a separate state but their region of origin. Naza, born in the United States, expressed, "I'm a citizen of Kurdistan AND America, and I consider myself mainly a citizen of Kurdistan...because it's my county, where my parents and grandparents have been born" (GFG4: 62-64). In this case, Naza expressed that her official citizenship status as a U.S. citizen was secondary to her feeling of belonging to a region of family origin.

For Students at GCS, Citizenship is Status and Economic Opportunity

The concept of citizenship as an official status related to certain opportunities and advantages was key for other students, but was only brought up by students at Global Charter School. Especially for students who were still acquiring spoken English, U.S. citizenship was

associated with specific benefits, such as fewer travel restrictions and greater economic opportunity. For Esman, a Burmese student, citizenship meant that "you can go anywhere - anywhere that you want to." Neela, a Nepali student, related citizenship to concrete opportunities, stating that being a citizen meant "we can come to school, get educated, and get a job." Naza, a Kurdish-American student, stated "being a citizen it's very fun – like you can travel everywhere, and if you're not a citizen you can't travel" (GFG 4: 72-73).

Global Citizens Donate Money and Care for the Environment

Despite the differences in school environments, refugee students across the two schools reported similar understandings of global citizenship as involving action. Overall, the two most common ways students reported that a person could be a good global citizen included taking care of the environment and helping others in different countries. Students at Holly Middle School mentioned helping others in different countries, while students at Global Charter School discussed caring for the environment. One student at Global Charter School also mentioned the need to protest or demonstrate if one did not agree with something happening in another country.

The specific ways students discussed being able to help others were often directly related to classroom or school-wide conversations or activities related to global citizenship. For example, students at Holly Middle School attended a presentation by individuals from the NGO Invisible Children, who focus on raising awareness about the plight of war-affected children in Northern Uganda and collecting funds to build schools for such children. Later in the week, when asked about global citizenship, students reported that a good global citizen gives money to help others.

Other students at Global Charter School connected the concept of global citizenship to respect for both the environment and other people. Listing actions such as recycling, carpooling, and taking alternative methods of transportation, they focused on things they would be able to do as students to affect the wider world. These actions might focus on local events as well. For example, one student mentioned an incident where a boy was shot in the local community and no one acted to help him. When I asked her what it meant to be a good global citizen, she described the incident and then stated that "it means to help the boy – to have each other's backs" (GFG5: 192).

When queried, refugee students overwhelmingly related the concept of citizenship to status and more traditional citizenship actions. For many students, this may have been because they were well aware of the distinctions between citizenship status – the right to travel once you're a citizen. Importantly, many students followed news related to their home country, but did not understand this to be a practice of citizenship. As an important footnote to this discussion, during my interview with Mr. Hannah, I asked him how he saw his students as global citizens either now or in the future, he connected the idea of a global citizen to an academically elite group of students, saying:

> There are a few kids I have who are Nepali refugees and are just really into science, really interested, just anything science related. To the point where I'll take a class to the library and most of the kids are checking out *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* or more like, age appropriate texts. In this case checking out a *Brief History of Time* by Stephen Hawking. Not checking them out to look smart but then talking to me about black holes afterwards, and him I see definitely going on to a university education, if he can get there, and get a job in a technical research, like

> in a science related field. Another kid, again a Nepali refugee, has a cousin who is working as an interpreter here in the United States and he's very well spoken, presents himself very well, very professional...So you can see this kid, he is raised in an environment where he sees his older cousin achieving and working in the United States even though he grew up in Nepal and came here as a refugee. He still has those values, he is using his asset as he is a native Nepali not only to benefit his community, but also to help provide a livelihood for his family, in a pretty cool way I thought (HI: 232-243).

Emergent Themes

Qualitative data analysis often yields unanticipated themes: ideas or trends that did not directly relate to the research questions, yet are salient for understanding the context and topic of study. During this study, I noticed patterns in student behavior across both schools that were relevant to citizenship education. First, students did not typically interact across cultural groups without facilitation by teachers. Second, despite some characterizations of non-voluntary migrants as resistant to schooling, students in all classes I observed were eager to follow directions, and became discouraged when lessons were not clear or organized. Finally, the presence of teaching assistants of diverse backgrounds in one school aligned with that school's focus on making connections between the home and the school and the way staff expressed concern about students' non-academic needs.

Interaction across Cultural Groups

During classes that I observed, students often had opportunities to socialize with peers and engage in group work. Unless teachers directly intervened to create diverse groups, students tended to group themselves and socialize with students from the same ethnic background. At

their worst, these groups could be exclusive and counterproductive. One illustrative moment took place during the second day of the water activity at Holly Middle School. Students met in their homeroom classes, and I attended Mr. Darby's homeroom class, which was a mix of students who attended both advanced classes during the day (mostly white students) and students that I observed (mostly students of color). Mr. Darby read students the instructions he had been given by the IB Coordinator: students were directed to create a prototype of a water transport system with straws, plastic tubing, toothpicks, and pipe cleaners that had been provided. There was no guidance about roles or rules for working in groups; Mr. Darby placed the materials on tables and told students to begin.

A group of eight girls worked on one prototype, and a group of nine boys worked on another. The group of eight girls consisted of four White American students and four Indian immigrant students. During the group work time, two White American students took charge of the materials and began to assemble the prototype. When two of the other White American students made suggestions, the directing students responded and gave them support tasks. However, when Indian immigrant students had alternate ideas, the directing students ignored their statement or told them why their ideas would not work. In frustration, one of the Indian students removed her chair and started to work with surplus materials from the group. In the group of boys, a similar pattern emerged, with one White male student directing other students in assembling the prototype.

This incident was striking, but is inevitably a result of multiple factors. Immigrant and refugee students at Holly attended classes with other immigrant and refugee students; I did not observe any classes with any non-immigrant White students. Without explicit structuring to mix students, students may work with other students that they know.

In contrast to the above trend, when I observed students working across cultural groups in classes, I also observed them interacting in social settings, such as eating together in the lunchroom and playing together. For example, Miss Talbot constantly grouped students purposefully, changing groups for different instructional purposes. In one case, Miss Talbot often paired Christina, a student from Tanzania, and Sui Sui, a student from Burma, who both had limited English together when a teaching assistant could be assigned to help. Over the days that I observed them working jointly, I also observed Christina and Sui Sui playing together during recess.

Teaching Assistants as Community Connections

At Global Charter School, the two teaching assistants that I observed and interviewed had community ties that contributed to the ethos of the school. Ms. Kyi, the Burmese teaching assistant, reported that she had advertised the school among the Burmese community and helped most of the Burmese students in the school to register. In the past, both she and her husband had worked for a grant-funded program to teach literacy and English to Burmese families in their apartment complexes. Her daughter currently attended Holly Middle School, which she selected because it continued the International Baccalaureate Program. Ms. Kyi also stated that she advised other Burmese families to consider moving to Holly's school district, as she considered it a better school than others in the local area. Although Ms. Kyi stated that Holly was a good school, she did not take an active role in that school community. When I visited Holly Middle School, the PTA was looking for additional parent representatives, and I approached Ms. Kyi to gauge her interest in joining. She admonished me shyly, laughing and stating "No, I wouldn't know what to do" (GO 10/29: 163). It was striking that someone who had such an active role in one school community did not want to pursue an active role in the wider school community.

Ms. Guumays, the Somali-American teaching assistant, also spent time outside of school working with students. She had been hired by some families to babysit, and volunteered to drive students to a local soccer league when their parents could not drive them to practice. She also valued the knowledge and skills that Limited English Proficient students brought from their previous experiences. For example, during her interview she revealed that Raschid, a Burmese student who did not participate in focus groups, taught her about farming and planting:

> The way that your plant needs to face according to the sun, and the way you need to plant, when you need to plant, and how the color of the soil should be, and he knows all of this, because his parents were farmers, and he was helping by the time he was 3 years old – and he knows all of this, but he doesn't speak English. So who's to decide which education is better. Because this kid could probably grow his own food, where I couldn't do that, I would live on tomatoes for at least a couple months. And he was like 'if you want to plant this' and it completely blew my mind" (GI: 186-194).

During their interviews, it was clear that both teaching assistants were more familiar with the home situations and students' after school activities than most teachers in the study. Their presence in the school also created opportunities for some students to speak to staff members in their home languages. Although all classes at Global Charter Schools were characterized by connections between the school and the students, the presence of teaching assistants with community ties allowed for other unique connections between the school and students. In the months after my study, administrators eliminated Ms. Guumays' position due to budget constraints.

In this chapter, I have delineated the findings of this study, both through narrative description of each school, teacher, and classroom, and by considering each research question in turn. Through this information, I illustrated the variation between the ways that two schools focused on global education and educated refugee students for citizenship. Although promising practices were evident at each school, the implementation of a global curriculum varied between schools and among classrooms, educating students for different kinds of citizenship through variations in content, pedagogy, and climate, which are recognized as important aspects of citizenship education (Hahn, 1996).

At Global Charter School, content was both multicultural and comparative; pedagogy included students making connections between the content, themselves, and other students; and climate was characterized by a sense of being "at home." The discourse in the one sixth grade social studies class I studied focused on comparative national practice, and the teacher and teaching assistant valued sustaining transnational feeling.

At Holly Middle School, content, pedagogy, and climate varied among specific settings. School-wide activities involved global content, and endorsed global citizenship as characterized by practice. In the sixth grade social studies class I studied, although students learned about different countries, the teacher continually emphasized the perspective of "us Americans," taught through lecture, and created a climate where disrespect was not unusual. In language arts class, students learned about multicultural issues, drew connections between themselves and the content, and worked in a culturally responsive classroom climate. Within the ESOL class, the teacher sometimes alluded to national citizenship, such as when he verbally quizzed students about U.S. presidents. This classroom lacked clear and organized instruction, and students mostly interacted with other students from the same cultural background. Whole school

activities focused on global affinity, and social studies class focused on national feeling, with a sense of "us." Although students' conceptions of citizenship focused on citizenship as status and as the practice of following national laws, most class instruction and school experiences centered on building attachment to national and global communities.

Citizenship, literacy, and the use of English interacted in three main ways within the classrooms in this study. First, literacy in English served as an important precondition for active participation both in the classroom and in wider U.S. society. Second, students continued to define their own feelings of belonging and identity through interaction with texts; finally, students built communities through interacting around texts together.

Overall, refugee students in this study defined citizenship in conflicting terms. On the one hand, many students equated citizenship with status and their experience of having family members become U.S. citizens; on the other hand, some of the same students stated that they felt as if they were citizens of the country of their own or their parents' origin. Furthermore, when asked about global citizenship, many students equated being a good global citizen with engaging in specific actions. These actions aligned with classroom and whole-school activities that focused on global issues, suggesting that students connected what they had learned in school with their ideas of a good global citizen. In the following chapter, I discuss how these findings relate to other research on citizenship education and how they contribute to understanding of schooling for refugee students in a community in the United States.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The findings in the previous chapter illustrate the possibilities and challenges of educating refugee students for inclusive citizenship in U.S. public schools. These views from inside classrooms are critical to encouraging an open dialogue about the education of this unique and heterogeneous population who will continue to be part of the national fabric and global community. In a democratic society that values public education, it is essential that U.S. educators are able to help all students acquire the tools they need for civic engagement. The success of such efforts will affect the future of the students, their families, educators, and the future of the civic communities to which they belong.

To investigate education for citizenship in two publicly-funded IB schools, I posed the following questions in this study:

1) How does the implemented curriculum, including content, pedagogy, and climate, educate students for citizenship?
2) What are students taught about different levels of affinity (community, national, global, and transnational citizenship)?
3) What are students taught about citizenship as a status, practice, and feeling?
4) How are citizenship, literacy, and the use of English connected within these classrooms?
5) What does citizenship mean to refugee youth in these schools?

The two schools in this case study were purposefully selected as institutions serving a substantial number of refugee students and reflecting the current trend of the infusion of global education curricula, such as the IB program, in publicly-funded schools. In addition, these schools were identified by teachers, parents, and teacher educators in the surrounding area as

schools serving refugee students that had high achievement and few discipline concerns. The first school, Global Charter School, was a charter school focused on enrolling both refugee and local students, and the second school, Holly Middle School, was the only public middle school that offered the International Baccalaureate program in the county. As this is a case study of two particular schools, findings are not generalizable to all IB schools or all schools serving refugee students. However, examining the trends and tensions evident in this study in light of the wider literature creates implications for research, theory, and practice.

When each school and each teacher grapples with the meaning of citizenship education in a global age, he or she redefines the concept in practice, highlighting new possibilities and surfacing tensions between theoretical concepts in an ever-shifting landscape. It is critical to understand how education for citizenship is implemented in the growing number of global schools with transnational populations in order to both learn from the ways teachers and students recreate their worlds every day and to suggest what barriers exist to transforming the vision of citizenship education focused on equity and action into reality. In this section, I consider how the findings from this study relate to previous theoretical and empirical scholarship, focusing on implemented citizenship curriculum, intersections between citizenship, language and literacy, and conceptions of citizenship in turn. I then suggest lessons for research and practice, and indicate directions for future scholarship based on this work.

Implemented Citizenship Curriculum

The first three research questions in this study asked how the implemented curriculum in classrooms and schools educated students for citizenship. As scholars work to define the state of citizenship education in modern schools, it is important that new studies consider how empirical findings intersect with and redefine current theories. Many voices in the field of social studies

education (Banks et al., 2004; Gaudelli & Heilman, 2009; Hahn, 1984; Osler & Vincent, 2002) have called for a global citizenship education that focuses on human rights, environmental education, and education for social justice. However, Parker and Camicia (2009) note that the international education implemented in many schools today may or may not have such a focus. Rather, they state that "international education" can be rooted in global or national affinity, and can be implemented with civic or enterprise-based motivations.

Redefining global education. In considering the implemented curriculum of schools in this study, it is important to return to the schools' mission statements, which related directly to civic education. Global Charter School nominally sought to advance "the promise of America by cultivating voice, courage and hope in refugee, immigrant and local children" (GCS website, 2011). Holly Middle School's stated mission was to "prepare students for both the academic and social rigors of high school, with a social consciousness that will lead to him/her becoming a contributing member of society." Although they both implemented an International Baccalaureate curriculum intended to promote global awareness, both schools have goals that clearly reference preparing students as members of society in general and the U.S. national community.

To investigate the implemented curriculum, I considered the classroom content, pedagogy, and climate; different levels of affinity; and different dimensions of citizenship. The type of global citizenship espoused at the school level fits within previous typologies (Falk, 1994; Parekh, 2003; Parker & Camicia, 2009). Although the school-wide focus on global citizenship was not evident in classrooms, some classes included a global perspective (Hanvey, 1979; Nussbaum, 1998). Through inclusive classrooms and structures, the implemented curriculum at Global Charter School developed social capital (Bordieu, 1986) and enacted care

(Noddings, 2005) in ways the implemented curriculum at Holly Middle School did not. In the following paragraphs, I describe how the implemented curriculum at both schools fits into scholarship around citizenship and international education. I then draw on these intersections to suggest ways that this work pushes and extends these theoretical conceptions.

As described in the previous chapter, the global citizenship education documented in this study differed from the active, rights-based approach many scholars advocate (Osler & Vincent, 2002; Gaudelli & Heilman, 2009). Although the International Baccalaureate program as a whole is designed to provide a global education both to create global citizens and mobile global capital (van Oord, 2008), there was no evidence of economic motivations for global education in school-wide initiatives in this study. Neither school focused on the need for education as enabling students to compete in a global economy. Rather, school-wide events reflected Parker and Camicia's (2009) categorization of international education with a civic intent, and Falk's (1994) definition of global reformers. In these conceptions, "membership and mutuality in the face of common concerns are of central interest" (Parker & Camicia, 2009, p.55), and individuals are "feeling, thinking and acting for the sake of the human species" (Falk, 1994, p.133). The Water Day event at Holly Middle School and U.N. Day event at Global Charter School focused on understanding global issues of common concern and expressing mutual membership in a world community, respectively.

During school-wide activities I observed at Global Charter School, teachers recognized students as coming from different political communities, whereas school-wide activities at Holly Middle School focused on creating awareness about global issues and were geared towards students who did not themselves have global experiences. This lack of a connection between the global issues studied and the international experiences of students at Holly Middle School raise

questions about the ability of students to reach the IB Middle Year Programme's goal of "finding a sense of belonging in the ever-changing and increasingly interrelated world" (IBO, 2010). Reaching this goal might involve creating activities that allow students to describe their own experiences with the global issue under focus, such as water scarcity, and connecting these experiences to experiences of students in other nations.

Classroom-based activities at Global Charter School focused less on the idea of global citizenship, or a primary affinity to the world, and rather educated students as national or transnational citizens – as students with a primary affinity to their nation state of origin. Classroom-based activities aligned with Nussbaum's (1998) call for a "cultivation of humanity" (p. 9). Although students learned about the world, their study did not focus on gaining a knowledge of global dynamics (Hanvey, 1979). For example, in closing a lesson on literacy rates, Miss Samantha encouraged the class to consider that students in different societies had different opportunities to acquire literacy. During her interview, Miss Samantha discussed the ways she wanted to preserve students' pride in their home cultures. Although she expressed an understanding that the country's resources caused a variation in life opportunities, Miss Samantha did not push her students to comprehend the underlying reasons that countries had differential access to resources. She also did not engage in this issue during her interview. These possibilities and limitations indicated that even teachers such as Miss Samantha with global experiences who teach at global schools and intend to foster critical citizenship and inquiry are unable to engage refugee students fully in the different facets of global citizenship.

Like those at Global Charter School, classroom-based activities at Holly Middle School treated students as local, national or transnational citizens, and did not involve a focus on global citizenship. During work in their ESOL class, students grouped themselves by national origin or

language, and had very little interaction across these groups. Lessons centered around learning grammar rules or summarizing books, and had thus positioned students primarily as English Language Learners. In their social studies classes, the only aspect of Hanvey's (1979) global perspectives evident was cross cultural awareness. However, this awareness was steeped with language that focused on the ways other cultures were different from U.S. norms. For example, during Mr. Darby's discussion of changing population density in Latin America, other cultures were viewed from a deficit model. There was no evidence that students' connected these comments to their own cultures, although students from both India and China were present in the room during the above exchange. Thus, neither global perspectives nor global citizenship were truly present during classroom instruction at Holly Middle School. In addition, classrooms within schools vary widely on the type of international education provided. These data illustrate that at the same time that some classrooms may provide rich opportunities for gaining a global perspective, others may fall into the habit of reinforcing stereotypes and images of the "other." A true global education includes perspective consciousness, or the ability to understand why other people might perceive the world the way that they do, and to recognize that these perspectives are valid. If teachers are instructed to teach about the world without interrogating their own perceptions and developing perspective consciousness themselves, their students will not be able to develop global understandings.

Findings from observations at both schools in this study suggest ways to expand Parker and Camicia's (2009) typologies of the current wave of international education, which include an understanding of schools with civic or enterprise-focused intents, and national or global affinities. As others argue, global education can include recognizing the places of their students within global dynamics (Merryfield, 1998; Osler & Vincent, 2002; Ukpokodu, 2010). At Global

Charter School, teachers used students' varying points of entry into global content, whereas at Holly Middle School, content about the world was approached from the native-born American point of view. International education can thus have different orientations- a flexible orientation, acknowledging that students have different points of entry with the wider world, or a fixed orientation, assuming that students enter the global system in one way. Expanding Parker and Camicia's (2009) typology to include these orientations is necessary to provide a deeper conceptualization of global education.

Pedagogy and Climate

In studies of citizenship education, especially for migrant students, it is important to consider citizenship broadly, examining the implications that pedagogy and climate have for citizenship education (Arzubiaga, Noguerón, & Sullivan, 2009). If students are not treated as full members in a classroom, they are also learning that they are not full members of a wider community. In this section, I expand upon previous research to argue that teachers' pedagogies and the presence of care (Noddings, 1994) within both classrooms and schools are needed to socialize refugee students for inclusive citizenship.

In these two schools, teachers working with the same curriculum, standards, and school-wide program used varying pedagogies that shaped the curriculum experienced by students. This work affirms that the pedagogy and climate of a classroom shape the curriculum just as much as the content covered, pointing to the need for inclusive discourse communities (Abu El-Haj, 2007). However, even when schools expressly attempt to make inclusive pedagogical and structural decision, refugee students constantly negotiate spaces where they are intermittently included and excluded.

On the whole, in two classrooms in Global Charter School, the teachers modified their pedagogy to scaffold the learning of Limited English Proficient (LEP) students, and all teachers created opportunities for students from different cultural backgrounds to work together. However, in language arts class, LEP students left the classroom. As the moderators of classroom culture, two of the three teachers were able to do the work of creating an inclusive classroom where students know how to work across differences (Souto-Manning, 2010). Earlier researchers found that in addition to being important for fostering active citizenship, cultivating this sense of school belonging is associated with lower depression and higher self-efficacy for refugee students (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007).

At Holly Middle School, the implemented curriculum in the social studies class approached the global content from a national economic perspective. The other classrooms at Holly made some connections between students and the curriculum, but had few activities that included a global focus. For example, in language arts class, students did create persuasive posters in their home language, and read both fictional texts about Native Americans and an informational text about Japanese Americans during World War II. In this way, their curriculum focused more around multicultural issues in the United States than global issues. Around the time of Thanksgiving, the ESOL teacher instructed students to look up information on the internet about festivals in their own country of origin. These efforts to connect to students' home cultures has been recognized as a key practice for culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 2003), and help to create an inclusive climate where all student experience is recognized as valid. If teachers subscribe to a constructivist model of education, it is critical to build on students' prior knowledge in order to both increase student understandings and create an inclusive classroom. These teachers were able to modify a curriculum intended to promote

multiculturalism in the United States to incorporate the global backgrounds of learners. As teacher educators, we must prepare teachers to teach both about global issues and to global students.

One of the underlying reasons theorists champion focusing on global aspects of citizenship is the ability of global citizenship to be flexible and inclusive where national citizenship is closed (Babcock, 1994; Heater, 1999; Heater, 2002; Leary, 1999; Myers & Zaman, 2009). In education, inclusive content must be accompanied by inclusive pedagogy (Stoops Verplaetse & Migliacci, 2008). In the social studies classroom at Holly Middle school, the way the content was presented focused on national citizenship, and pedagogy was not inclusive. Mr. Darby told newcomer students "you're Americans now," including them in the economic interests discussed in class. However, he implemented instruction that was not accessible to them, giving students a worksheet activity after lecturing without any instructional scaffolds other than reading the directions. Modeling is an important instructional tool for both LEP and native English speakers that was not used while I observed in the classroom.

All of the teachers at Global and one of the teachers at Holly demonstrated some of the dimensions of care (Noddings, 1992) that refugee students in other studies identified as important factors in their school environment (Uy, 2011) : modeling, dialogue, practice, and confirmation. Teachers at Global Charter School modeled care by checking on students' health, ensuring they had personal items, and showing politeness interacting with students. In one instance, I witnessed another teacher stop in to Miss Mahpiya's class specifically to thank students for being quiet and respectful. Teachers also engaged in open ended conversations with students about academic topics, modeling Noddings' (1994) notion of dialogue. In addition, some teachers structured opportunities to practice caring for each other. When she was

concerned about the way students were treating each other, Miss Talbot created a lesson around the book *Alexander's Very Bad Day* and guided students to write about and discuss both their own bad days and the strategies they could use to avoid or solve these problems.

At times, teachers at both schools confirmed students as ethical beings, which Noddings also describes as the attribution of best motive. When Miss Carrie's and Miss Fritz's students were too rowdy, the teachers stopped and asked students to do breathing exercises to calm down, assuming that they were trying to focus but had physical barriers to doing so. Nodding notes that care only matters if students feel cared-for, which some students expressed in their interviews. When asked to describe their school, refugee students at Global Charter School talked about teachers being nice and helpful. Overall, the expression of institutional care is a significant finding. In many previous studies, refugee students reported that their school experiences lacked this component of feeling cared-for (Li, 2008; Uy, 2011; Wallitt, 2005).

In this study, all teachers used pedagogy to include refugee students in some ways, and exclude them in others. However, four of the six teachers in the study, and students from Global Charter School expressed the notion of care (Noddings, 1994) evident in their classroom or school. This component of the school's hidden civic curriculum may be a critical element in creating public schools that are effective in preparing refugee students for citizenship.

Social Capital, Refugee Education, and Citizenship

Beyond the discrete curriculum specifically tied to citizenship education, other features of the schools shaped the ways that students were socialized for citizenship. Institutional elements such as the presence of bilingual staff and built-in academic support allowed for the development of social capital within schools. Below, I discuss how these elements tie to previous work on each respective topic.

Like other schools that focus on refugee students, Global Charter School employed staff that could bridge the students' home lives and languages and those found in the school (Basford, 2008; Massoumi, 2009; Rah et al., 2007; Sambul, 2004; Wallitt, 2005). The presence of such staff also creates schools where the implemented citizenship education curriculum is inclusive. Although I hoped to find that the IB curriculum might provide opportunities for public schools that experience a rapid influx of refugee students to educate students as active, global citizens, the evidence from this study suggests that this initiative does not necessarily result in meaningful connections for refugee students. Individual teachers may try to meet students' needs, but without school-wide initiatives and resources to do so, this work is increasingly difficult (Okom, 2008). If a school plans to adopt a global focus and meet the needs of a global student body, such change should be accompanied by professional development, school-wide support teams, or professional learning communities where teachers can consider how to do so in their daily lessons.

Multiple scholars have highlighted the importance of nonfamilial social capital for immigrant and minority students (Goyette & Conchas, 2002; Stanton-Salazar & Dornsbusch, 1995; Uy, 2011; Zhou, 1997; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Social capital consists of networks of people who can help provide multiple kinds of assistance as needed, and is important in educational success. However, creating the relationships to provide that social capital can be a major hurdle for immigrant students (Stanton-Salazar & Dornsbusch, 1995; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000; Uy, 2011).

Both schools provided refugee students with social capital through institutional supports, although Global Charter School had far more supports than Holly Middle School. At Global Charter School, teaching assistants led classes for parents, mother-tongue study sessions for

students, and scaffolded students' learning in small groups during instruction, creating a variety of ways to initiate relationships and develop social capital. This focus on biliteracy and bilingual skills not only creates an academic community, but is associated with higher academic achievement (Lindholm-Leary & Ferrante, 2005). Teachers coached soccer teams on the weekends, and interacted with students during mandatory after-school activities such as photography club or geography scholars.

At Holly Middle School, the schedule allowed for a connections class where refugee students who needed English remediation received extra assistance from an ESOL teacher. In addition, Mr. Hannah provided sheltered support for students with limited English in language arts classes. However, in other classes, students could become lost in the academic culture (Kanu, 2008), and would not be accountable for completing their work. The only links between students' home culture and school culture were peer networks, and so refugee students and families did not gain the same social capital from the school.

When placed in conversation with other recent research with refugee students, the findings from this study support and extend many findings regarding the student schooling experiences and civic awareness. Like high school students in other schools, middle school refugee students at Holly could be isolated in class (Mosselson, 2007) faced discrimination in schools and found shelter in peer groups of students from the same culture (Oikonomidoy, 2007). Like academically successful students in Mueller's (2001) study, many refugee students in this study discussed ways that they felt grounded in the culture of their own or their parents' country of origin.

Although this work focused on citizenship education and not academic success, authors in previous studies showed that refugee students with limited English facility were more successful when they had access to social capital that helped them negotiate their educational landscape (Roxas, 2008), something that Global Charter School provided at a higher level than Holly Middle School. These

supports included after school programs that focused on both personal development and leadership, something that researchers working with high school refugee students (Regmi, 2004; Tinkler, 2006) reported to have positive effects on student identity development processes.

In addition, the findings from Almazyed's (2010) study suggest that the way in which refugee students at Holly Middle School were tracked into specific classes can result in lower achievement. Almazyed's (2010) study also suggests that teachers' lower expectations of refugee students – found in two teachers at Holly and one teacher at Global – could eventually result in the adaptation of adversarial attitudes towards school and teachers.

The two ESOL classrooms in this study reflected the two possibilities for ESOL education reflected in the literature – as classrooms either anchored in the deficit model (Ball, 2009; Gitlin, Buendia, Crosland, & Doumbia, 2003; Peng, 2009) or as supportive spaces providing a refuge and place for empowering literacy education (De Gourville, 2002; Roy, 2008). Just as the students in Wallit's (2005) study reported, some teachers in this study exhibited caring behavior towards students and others did not. These caring behaviors often included the incorporation of students' home cultures and languages in inclusive sensitive ways, often a difficult task for early childhood and elementary educators (Bashir-Ali, 2004; Li, 2008; Tadesse, Hoot, & Watson-Thompson, 2009). However, no teachers in this study interpreted parents' absence from school as a lack of caring, commonly reported in other studies (Li, 2008). Such efforts to include students' home languages and cultures have been shown in both studies of high school students (Sarroub, 2007) and elementary school students (Nykiel-Herbert, 2010) to be associated with improved academic performance and motivation to achieve in school (McBrien, 2005a).

Literacy, Citizenship, and Language

The second research question in this study focused on the relationship between literacy, English, and citizenship in classrooms. Just as citizenship is concerned with questions of identity, language and literacy define the ways students interact with the world (Gee, 2001; Freire &

Macedo, 1987). In the introduction to this dissertation, I discussed the importance of considering the ways that student identities were welcomed in the school, and the relationship of their identities and civic education. The following section uses data to illustrate the way that the answers to these questions link to previous scholarship.

Gee (2001; 2005) theorizes about the ways in which individual identity and societal discourses are multiple, overlapping, and integrated. The socially and historically-based discourses that a person enters into, over time, define and redefine his or her core identity. At times, these identities are chosen, at others, these identities may be ascribed and potentially opposed (Barker & Galasiński, 2001; Gee, 2005). At their core, language, literacy, and citizenship all define individual identity, which is created by the relationship between individuals, in Bakhtin's sense of I-for-the-other (Emerson & Morson, 2006).

Through language and literacy, refugee students in the schools that I studied enacted multiple identities during their school day, including relational identities as brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters; gendered identities as boys and girls; linguistic identities as French, Somali, Burmese, and English speakers; ethno-national identities as members of Chin or Kurdish groups; religious identities as Muslims and Christians; and age-based and preference-based identities such as young people who liked wrestling or reading. At each school, different aspects of these students' identities were recognized both in the structure of classes and the classroom interactions.

To illustrate the ways that this happened during students' school experience, I will use the case of Saw Khu, integrating his observed experiences with previous literature. Saw Khu was a sixth grade boy at Global Charter School who was a member of the Karen ethnic group from Burma, and had previously lived in Thailand as a refugee. I first met Saw Khu when I

volunteered as a tutor for LEP students at Global the year prior to this study. During my time as an observer at Global Charter School, teachers recognized the multiple facets of Saw Khu's identity, allowing him to be included as a member in the school. Structural features of the school including the ESOL class, Ms. Kyi's after-school tutoring group for Burmese students, and a school soccer team facilitated Saw Khu's participation in multiple communities of practice, or what Wenger (1998) calls a "nexus of multimembership" (p. 159). In this way, Saw Khu was able to develop the multiple and overlapping facets of his identity (Banks, 2005) within the school.

In different settings, these identities could be both overlapping and contested. Ms. Kyi's presence in the ESOL class allowed Saw Khu to make sense of new ideas in Burmese as he wrote them in English, aligning with Li's (2008) call to de-fracture students' literacy experiences and Rymes' (2010) description of shifting repertoires. In this sense, de-fracturing indicates making connections between students' multiple literacies. For example, in class, Ms. Kyi might read a sentence in English, explain it in Burmese, and then coach students in Burmese as they read in English.

This pattern was a matter of tension for Miss Talbot, who believed that Ms. Kyi's presence handicapped students' learning of English. However, in this situation, the pedagogy integrated Saw Khu's identities as a Burmese-speaker, English language learner, and class member. At other moments during the day, Saw Khu's identity as an English language learner trumped his identity as a class member. For example, during language arts class, students corrected grammar at the beginning of each lesson. However, I never observed Ms. Mahpiya ask Saw Khu to participate, as a tutor would come to work with the LEP students to work on basic English skills. Saw Khu would pay attention to the grammar activity and at one point called out

the correct answers as he was leaving for tutoring. In this case, he tried to assert his identity as a class member while being positioned at the periphery as an English language learner (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986; Thorstensson Davila, 2010).

In other cases, pedagogical decisions that teachers made encouraged Saw Khu to learn from other students (Kinloch, 2005) and insert his life into the curriculum (Dyson, 2010; Sarroub, 2007). These techniques included the use of the balanced literacy approach in ESOL class and Miss Samantha's use of technology and visual materials in social studies class. Through these aspects of his schooling, Saw Khu was able to enact his identity as a member of different communities – the community of sixth grade boys, of ESOL students, of Burmese-speakers, and of his school. At the same time that membership in a community allows for the acquisition of language and literacy (Li, 2008), the ability to interact through language strengthens the feeling dimension of citizenship.

Although there were no staff who spoke refugee students' home languages at Holly Middle School, students created their own "pedagogical safehouses" (Canagarajah, 2009) through language, often shifting their language in the middle of a lesson to explain an academic concept, ask for clarification, or socialize with their peers. Students who did not share a language with others in the classroom were thus more isolated, without a visible peer group. Teachers did not encourage or discourage this linguistic behavior.

As noted above, Limited English proficiency placed boundaries on students' abilities to participate in the official discourse of some classrooms, but allowed access to the ESOL classroom. The language practices at each school also revealed a logistical point of tension with the implementation of the IB programme at a multilingual school. Although the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme states that "students are required to study their mother

tongue" (IBO, 2010), this is not the case for some refugee and migrant students when the model exists in a public school that serves students with multiple home languages. Even at Global Charter School, students could study Spanish or French as a foreign language, but not their home language.

Contextual factors constrain the ability to assert such membership (Holland & Lave, 2001; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). For Saw Khu, the recognition of different aspects of his identity took place within a school that claimed to recognize refugees and had a global mission, and in a society where English is the main language of the school, the public sphere, and intercultural communication. As a result, he had both the opportunity to participate as a class member in ESOL and social studies class, and the experience of being a peripheral participant in the classroom – or removed from the classroom all together. The context included the wider societal discourse where his religion, race and ethnicity as an Asian refugee were not positioned as threatening in media or other national discourses (Thorstensson Davila, 2010), in the same way that Islam or blackness is in the contemporary United States.

This study illustrates ways that refugee students use language and literacy to create citizenship within classrooms and schools, and connects these concepts theoretically. At their core, individuals navigate language and literacies to establish belonging to different groups. In the classrooms in this study, students solidified belonging to and acted as citizens of different communities through multiple languages and literacies. However, the global focus of schools in this study did not necessarily indicate that teachers integrated students' languages and literacies in a democratic, empowered manner.

Conceptions of Citizenship

The final research question in this study focused on the ways refugee students understood the idea of citizenship. As students between 10-13 years of ages, they were transitioning from school-age to adolescence; from being shaped developmentally by their surroundings to being shaped by their own actions (Erikson, 1968). As students enter adolescence, the question of identity becomes more salient (Erikson, 1968; Tatum, 1997), and it is crucial to have feelings of bonding with peers and begin to establish a philosophy of life. Students' shape their conceptions of citizenship through accessing ideas from both their surroundings and their experiences. Although the curriculum is a key tool in developing student understandings, students can complete a program with very different ideas of the concept under study (Myers & Zaman, 2009). Thus, it was important to not only study the implemented curriculum but also begin to access students' understandings of citizenship in these schools.

The different themes reported in the findings illustrate that students understood citizenship in different and sometimes conflicting ways. Some students at Global Charter School equated citizenship with economic opportunity and the ability to travel or hold a U.S. passport, reflecting their experiences as individuals with refugee status. Refugees cannot travel outside of the United States without obtaining special travel permission, and must apply for permanent residence within one year of arrival in the United States (USCIS, 2011). All students did not share this utilitarian view of citizenship, as other students from both schools expressed their citizenship as their family's place of origin. Still other students expressed awareness of these contradictions, stating "Well I'm from Nepal, but I'm a citizen of America" (HI3: 44-45). This expression suggests that like other transnational youth (An, 2009), some refugee youth also decouple the status and belonging dimensions of citizenship, despite the obstacles to returning to their country of origin. Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Kofman (2005) suggest that this sense of

belonging, solidified by daily interactions inside and outside of school, is a "thicker concept" than legal citizenship. Levine (2008) notes that this thick sense of belonging can be a powerful motivation for civic action as members of migrant groups, as a sense of group identity is a precursor to engaging in collective action.

Students' reported conceptions of global citizenship aligned more closely to the implemented curriculum of the school than to their own reported practices. Mirroring other research on global citizenship (Myers & Zaman, 2009), students at Holly Middle School described global citizens as donating money to different causes. In this way, at Holly Middle School, people in the United States were positioned as the "helpers" on the global scene. Thus, at Holly, the school-wide activities and students' conceptions of global citizenship located the global community as something that existed externally; as members of the school, refugee students should participate in the global community in a particular fashion. This conception did not include the idea of the global community as already existing within the school.

At Global Charter School, students described global citizenship as taking care of the environment because it was the right thing to do or was something they cared about (Noddings, 2005). These findings point to the ways that the aspects of global citizenship involving helping others may have become common sense (Apple, 2006) in global curricula. Notably, no students in either school connected their daily practices of participating in their transnational communities and following transnational media with global citizenship. Given that attentiveness to political media is a significant predictor of civic participation (Pasek et al., 2008), this may be a missed opportunity for schools to encourage transnational civic engagement among students who have the potential to contribute to both the United States and their country of origin (Levine, 2008).

This active but philanthropic conception of global citizenship contrasted with students' images of a good citizen of their school and nation, who cared for their school and obeyed laws. As one student said, being a good citizen meant "doing everything you're supposed to do, following all of the laws and rules" (GFG1: 228-229). Voting was the only participatory action that students mentioned when describing their conceptions of national citizenship. Even when participants mentioned voting, it was in terms of a duty, rather than a participatory action indicating social activism. In discussions before and after class, I witnessed students debating the value of dying for one's country, expressing contradictory views. This engagement suggested both a rich transnational civic awareness, confirming immigrant students' awareness of news and political issues (Torney-Purta, Barber, & Wilkenfeld, 2006). In addition, such engagement indicates a readiness to engage in controversial discussions (Hess, 2009), an activity that was not included in students' classes.

Throughout this study, refugee students expressed conceptions related directly to what they were learning in school, confirming the importance of social studies curricula (Rubin, 2008) in students' conceptions and pointing to ways that global citizenship can be a powerful tool to include migrant students in conversations about citizenship (Heater, 1999; Mayers & Zaman, 2009). Many students expressed feelings of belonging to their country of origin, but did not link the ways that they engaged with their transnational communities to citizenship, limiting the possibilities of developing into transnational activists (Falk, 1994). If schools wish to develop citizens who feel a sense of agency in the world, it will be important to build on students' conceptions of citizenship and "thick" sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005) to foster active citizenship.

Implications for Theory, Research, and Practice

In this section, I discuss the importance of these findings for theories that provided the framework for this study. I then address implications for future research on implemented citizenship education and research with refugee and ELL youth. Finally, I pose questions raised by this study that are relevant to both practice and policy related to refugee students.

This study both reinforces and stretches the models of citizenship (Banks, 2008b; Torney-Purta et al, 2001) in which it is grounded. Banks (2008a) characterizes individuals' senses of belonging as "complex, interactive, and contextual," reminding us that "individuals are capable of having multiple identifications and attachments" (p.8) to their cultural community, nation, and world (Banks, 2008a). The ways that students characterized citizenship in this study reinforce the interactive nature of citizenship, but also questions the division of a cultural community from a nation, and the singular characterization of a nation. For example, Bamar students living in the United States may feel a sense of belonging to the Bamar cultural community, the larger Burmese community in the United States, the Burmese nation state where they still belong to a political community, and the United States. Also, the experiences of students highlight the political nature of the characterization of a community as a cultural community or a nation. For example, a Kurdish student from Iraq stated that she was a citizen of "Kurdistan," a province in Iraq with a strong nationalist movement (Natali, 2005).

Aligning with other recent scholarship, this study affirms that not only is citizenship flexible and contextual, but that individuals can have identifications and attachments to multiple nation-states. This becomes important in conceptualizing global citizenship. Transnational citizens may enter into the sphere of global citizenship through multiple lenses – for example, as a person with affinity to both Nepal and the United States.

The findings from this study also highlight the interconnectedness of the elements in the macrosphere and microsphere of the octagon model described in the theoretical framework. The economic pressures of globalization and the political movement for privatization of education allowed for the schools' ability to adopt the International Baccalaureate model (Spring, 2008). These models of international education were not static in each school, but differed among classrooms and teachers. Such findings develop Parker and Camicia's (2009) typology of international education by pointing out that within a school there may be multiple types of international education operating – converging and contradicting. Rather than adopting a school-level focus on international education based on economic or civic interest, this study pushes researchers to consider the ways international education exists in classroom-level discourse. As teachers' beliefs, experiences, and pedagogies differ, so can the types of international education promoted within one school. Although schools often have a singular mission statement, the relationship between that mission statement and the implemented curriculum is far from seamless.

Beyond pushing existing theories around citizenship, these findings help to clarify areas to focus further research related to civic education and refugee schooling. During this investigation, it was clear that teachers at Global Charter School had a better understanding of students' cultures and personal histories – both because of the school's structure and due to their own backgrounds and interests. In contrast, with the exception of Mr. Hannah, teachers at Holly knew little about students' home backgrounds. As Ms. Fritz stated "You know with Jorge or Jesús, I can guess where they are from, but, these others, it would be nice to know where they are from and why they are here" (FI: 155-157). This issue raises questions about the ways refugee

communities are introduced to a new area. Educational research should investigate this intermediary role of the agency that relocates refugees and experiment with ways these agencies or others can facilitate this transition in ways that support students' educational success.

This research concentrated on the implemented citizenship curriculum in two schools and highlighted students' perceptions of citizenship. However, researchers have not yet determined if a focus on global issues within the curriculum has a long-term effect on students' civic trajectories, creating more engaged global citizens. In addition, although this research surfaced ways in which students and teachers expressed transnationalism, it did not discover ways that the implemented curriculum helped students to link their transnational civic practices to their conceptions of citizenship. In the tradition of political socialization research, educators should use quantitative studies to explore the relationship between internationally oriented education and student perceptions and actions. In addition, longitudinal research following refugee students in different educational or national contexts could highlight the ways the national climate, school, and transnational ties influenced students' differing constructions of citizenship. Studies of students who link transnational civic practices to conceptions of citizenship could also elucidate the ways that they developed those understandings.

Furthermore, this study did not investigate the ways that other aspects of the Octagon model – such as the media, students' peer groups, and out-of-school activities – contributed to students' construction of citizenship. Thus, future work could focus on ethnographic studies of the ways that refugee students piece through the variety of influences in their environments to develop as citizens and live transnational lives. Perhaps such views of student actions as global citizens could help teachers reconceptualize global citizenship to include students' home

experiences. Such work could provide a resource for the growing numbers of teachers who are beginning to work with refugee students, a need expressed by teachers in this study.

Overall, this work has furthered understandings of citizenship education for refugee students, demonstrating that although schools can educate students for inclusive citizenship, global education initiatives do not always translate into classroom pedagogy that is responsive to the needs of refugee students. I argue that schools working with refugee students should consider how they institutionalize the dimensions of care (Noddings, 1992) as they implement a global curriculum. Reflecting the need to consider citizenship more broadly in studies with refugee students, teachers and schools should work to create classrooms where all students can enjoy full membership. This type of schooling experience would work to close the civic engagement gap (Levinson, 2010) and give students the tools needed to live as active, engaged, and democratic citizens in their communities, nations, and world.

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Appendix A

Data Sources

	Weekly Observations (in three classes)	**Teacher Interviews**	**Teaching Assistant Interviews**	**Administrator Interviews**	**Focus Group Interviews**
Holly Middle School	32	4	n/a	1	14 students; 3 groups of 3 1 group of 5
Global Charter School	33	3	2	1	12 students; 3 groups of 4

Appendix B

Observation Guide – Social studies

Date: _____ Time: _____

Day of Week: _____ School/Classroom:_____

1. What citizenship-related content exists in the implemented social studies curriculum? What content is discussed, and how is it organized and used? What meaning do teachers and students give to citizenship content?
    a. What are the sources of civic content

        ____teacher authority ____ student experience

        ____parents ____ original document

        ____ media ____ text

        ____ statistics ____other (explain)

    b. What differing perspectives are presented or discussed, and by whom?

        Discussed? ____ yes _____ no

        How?_____

        By: _____ teacher _____ students

    c. How are topics sequenced?
2. To what extent do teachers and students engage in reflective decision making and discuss controversial issues?
    a. Who controls the interpretation of civic knowledge?
    b. What are students asked to do with civic knowledge?

3. What is the nature of the teacher-student and student-student interaction within the classroom focusing on citizenship-related content? What are the roles of the teacher and student in this interaction?

    a. What types of activities occur?

    _____Lecture _____Reading _____Pairing

    ____Small group _____ Independent Reading ____Test

    _____ Writing _____Copying notes _____Other

    b. What are teachers and students expected to do in the activities? What are the frequency and duration of each activity? What is the sequence of activities?

    c. What cognitive tasks are embedded in the activities? (e.g. recall facts, categorize data, give reasons, cite examples)

    d. What is the physical setting for each activity?

    e. What types of questions are asked by teachers and students?

    Recall: _____

    Evaluation:_____

    Applicaton: _____

    f. What are the behavior patterns of teachers and students in the whole classroom discourse?

    Lecture: _____ Recitation: _____

    Discussion: _____ Other: _____

    g. What are the behavior patterns of teachers and students in small group or other activities?

h. How do students respond to what they are asked to do? (e.g. interest/curiosity, seriously, routinely, with passion, felt autonomy, as a challenge, expecting success/failure, uncertainty, perceived relevance to the real world)
i. What problems does the teacher face in carrying out the lesson plan? What alterations does the teacher make to accommodate these problems?
j. What is the mood of the students before, during, and after class?
k. What interruptions disturb the flow of lessons?
l. What are the transitions between activities like?

Observation Guide – ESOL

Date: _____ Time: _____

Day of Week: _____ School/Classroom:_____

1. What is the focus of the lesson?
    a. What are the sources of lesson content

        ____teacher authority ____ student experience

        ____parents ____ original document

        ____ media ____ text

        ____ statistics ____other (explain)

    b. What differing perspectives are presented or discussed, and by whom?

        Discussed? ____ yes _____ no

        How?_____

        By: _____ teacher _____ students

    c. How are topics sequenced?
2. What domains of language (reading, writing, speaking, listening) are addressed in class?
3. What is the nature of the teacher-student and student-student interaction within the classroom around language content? What are the roles of the teacher and student in this interaction?
    a. What types of activities occur?

        _____Lecture _____Reading _____Pairing

        ____Small group _____ Independent Reading ____Test

        _____ Writing _____Copying notes _____Other

b. What are teachers and students expected to do in the activities? What are the frequency and duration of each activity? What is the sequence of activities?

c. What cognitive tasks are embedded in the activities? (e.g. recall facts, categorize data, give reasons, cite examples)

d. What is the physical setting for each activity?

e. What types of questions are asked by teachers and students?

   Recall: _____

   Evaluation:_____

   Application: _____

f. What are the behavior patterns of teachers and students in the whole classroom discourse?

   Lecture: _____ Recitation: _____

   Discussion: _____ Other: _____

g. What are the behavior patterns of teachers and students in small group or other activities?

h. How do students respond to what they are asked to do? (e.g. interest/curiosity, seriously, routinely, with passion, felt autonomy, as a challenge, expecting success/failure, uncertainty, perceived relevance to the real world)

i. What problems does the teacher face in carrying out the lesson plan? What alterations does the teacher make to accommodate these problems?

j. What is the mood of the students before, during, and after class?

k. What interruptions disturb the flow of lessons?

l. What are the transitions between activities like?

Observation Guide – Language arts

Date: _____ Time: _____

Day of Week: _____ School/Classroom:_____

1. What is the focus of the lesson?
    a. What are the sources of lesson content

        ____teacher authority ____ student experience

        ____parents ____ original document

        ____ media ____ text

        ____ statistics ____other (explain)

    b. What differing perspectives are presented or discussed, and by whom?

        Discussed? ____ yes _____ no

        How?_____

        By: _____ teacher _____ students

    c. How are topics sequenced?
2. What domains of language (reading, writing, speaking, listening) are addressed in class?
3. What is the nature of the teacher-student and student-student interaction within the classroom around language and literacy content? What are the roles of the teacher and student in this interaction?
    a. What types of activities occur?

        _____Lecture _____Reading _____Pairing

        ____Small group _____ Independent Reading ____Test

        _____ Writing _____Copying notes _____Other

b. What are teachers and students expected to do in the activities? What are the frequency and duration of each activity? What is the sequence of activities?

c. What cognitive tasks are embedded in the activities? (e.g. recall facts, categorize data, give reasons, cite examples)

d. What is the physical setting for each activity?

e. What types of questions are asked by teachers and students?

   Recall: _____

   Evaluation:_____

   Application: _____

f. What are the behavior patterns of teachers and students in the whole classroom discourse?

   Lecture: _____ Recitation: _____

   Discussion: _____ Other: _____

g. What are the behavior patterns of teachers and students in small group or other activities?

h. How do students respond to what they are asked to do? (e.g. interest/curiosity, seriously, routinely, with passion, felt autonomy, as a challenge, expecting success/failure, uncertainty, perceived relevance to the real world)

i. What problems does the teacher face in carrying out the lesson plan? What alterations does the teacher make to accommodate these problems?

j. What is the mood of the students before, during, and after class?

k. What interruptions disturb the flow of lessons?

l. What are the transitions between activities like?

Appendix C

Document Analysis guide:

1.	**Type of Document:**
2.	**Unique Physical Characteristics:**
3.	**Author of Document:**
4.	**Who is the intended audience? Why do you think this document was created?** **What is the context in which the document was written?**
5.	**Document Information and Content (use this section to make any notes, codes, categories, preliminary themes)** **Codes:** **Categories/coding hierarchy:** **Preliminary themes:**

Appendix D

Teacher Interview Guide: Social Studies

Date: _____ Location: _____ Time:_____ Interviewee: _____

(Interview 1: After two weeks of observations)

Focus concept: *What do refugee students need to know as citizens*?

Warm up: Thank you for your time talking with me. I'm also so happy to be spending time in your classroom. I wanted to talk to you to learn about what you think the refugee students in your classroom need to learn in order to be prepared as American citizens, and how this school serves refugee students.

Can you tell me something about your professional background? Your personal background?

What does citizenship mean to you? How do you prepare students to be citizens?

How long have you been working with immigrant or refugee students? What kind of diversity do you see among these students? (Probe to check understanding of difference between the two groups). What kinds of challenges or opportunities do you find unique to working with these students? How do you handle these challenges or use these opportunities? Follow up.

What kinds of skills and understanding do you want immigrant and refugee students to take away from your class? Is knowledge (understanding) or skill (doing and participating) more important for them to learn in the classroom? Follow up.

What do you think these students need to know about their local community or ethnic group? Where do you think they learn these things?

What do you refugee students need to learn about the United States? About the rest of the world? Are any of these things that you think students should learn in your classroom?

How do you teach your students about these things?

If not in your classroom, where do your students learn about their local community? The United States? About the rest of the world?

Interview 2: After four-six weeks of observations

If you could change the curriculum you teach, how would you change it?

In this study, I'm considering the connections between citizenship and literacy. How do you think literacy relates to citizenship? Is this relevant to the classroom? How does it come up in your class? Follow up.

Teacher Interview Guide: ESOL

Date: _____ Location: _____ Time:_____ Interviewee: _____

(After two weeks of observations)

Focus concept: *What do refugee students need to know as citizens*?

Warm up: Thank you for your time talking with me. I'm also so happy to be spending time in your classroom. I wanted to talk to you to learn about what you think the immigrant and refugee students in your classroom need to learn in order to be prepared as American citizens, and how this school serves these students.

Can you tell me something about your professional background? Your personal background? How long have you been working with immigrant and refugee students? What kind of diversity do you see among these students? (Probe to check understanding of difference between the two groups)

> What kinds of challenges or opportunities do you find unique to working with these students? How do you handle these challenges or use these opportunities? How do you think others in your school do so? Follow up.

Do you see what students learn in this class as relevant for their participation in society? What kinds of things do you do to promote this participation? What kinds of communities do you see your students as belonging to? Follow up.

What kinds of skills and understandings do you want immigrant/refugee students to take away from your class? Is knowledge (understanding) or skill (doing and participating) more important for them to learn in the classroom? Follow up.

Interview 2: After four-six weeks of observations

If you could change the curriculum you teach, how would you change it?

In this study, I'm considering the connections between citizenship, literacy, and language. How do you think language relates to citizenship? Is this relevant to the classroom? How does it come up in your class? Follow up.

Teacher Interview Guide: Language Arts

Date: _____ Location: _____ Time:_____ Interviewee: _____

(After two weeks of observations)

Focus concept: *What do refugee students need to know as citizens*?

Warm up: Thank you for your time talking with me. I'm also so happy to be spending time in your classroom. I wanted to talk to you to learn about what you think the immigrant and refugee students in your classroom need to learn in order to be prepared as American citizens, and how this school serves these students.

Can you tell me something about your professional background? Your personal background? How long have you been working with immigrant or refugee students? What kind of diversity do you see among these students? (Probe to check understanding of difference between the two groups). What kinds of challenges or opportunities do you find unique to working with these students? How do you handle these challenges or use these opportunities? How do you think others in your school do so? Follow up.

Do you see what students learn in this class as relevant for their participation in society? What kinds of things do you do to promote this participation? What kinds of communities do you see your students as belonging to? Follow up.

What kinds of skills and understandings do you want immigrant/refugee students to take away from your class? Is knowledge (understanding) or skill (doing and participating) more important for them to learn in the classroom? Follow up.

Interview 2: After four-six weeks of observations

If you could change the curriculum you teach, how would you change it?

In this study, I'm considering the connections between citizenship and literacy. How do you think literacy relates to citizenship? Is this relevant to the classroom? How does it come up in your class? Follow up.

Administrator Interview Guide

Date: _____ Location: _____ Time:_____ Interviewee: _____

Focus concept: *How does your school prepare refugee students for citizenship*?

Warm up: Thank you for your time talking with me. I'm also so happy to be spending time in your classroom. I wanted to talk to you to learn about what you think the refugee students in your classroom need to learn in order to be prepared as American citizens.

Can you tell me something about your professional background? Your personal background?

How long have you been working with immigrant and refugee students? What kinds of challenges or opportunities do you find unique to working with these two groups of students? How do you handle these challenges or use these opportunities? How do you think others in your school do so? Follow up.

What kinds of activities exist within the school to promote global citizenship? What does global citizenship mean in the context of this school?

What kinds of activities exist within the school to promote national belonging? What does being American mean in the context of this school?

What kinds of activities exist within the school to promote participation in the local community? Who participates in these activities?

Appendix E

Student Focus Group Interview Guide

Date: _____ Location: _____ Time:_____ Interviewee: _____

Focus concept: *How do I participate in different communities*?

Purpose: The reason I wanted to talk with you today is that I am trying to understand how students understand themselves as citizens, and I'd like you to describe your own views on these topics.

Remember there is no right or wrong answer to these questions, and the answers you provide will be kept confidential. So you don't have to worry about carefully planning out each of your answers. Just respond with the ideas that come to your mind. I'd like to remind all of you to give opportunities for everyone to respond to the questions. At any time, you may decide not to answer any question or be excused from the group altogether. Do you have any questions before we begin?

In your school, do you learn about international issues? What kinds?

In your school, do you learn about the United States? What kinds of things do you study?

In your school, do you talk or learn about Georgia and the local area? How did you learn about these? In your school, do you talk or learn about your own culture or places you have lived before? How do you learn about these?

When you hear the words 'citizen' and 'citizenship', do they mean anything to you?

Describe what you think it means to be a good citizen of your country? Your neighborhood? Your school? Of your world?

What are some of the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen? What rights do you feel are most important? Why? What responsibilities are most important? Why?

Are you familiar with human rights? What do you know about human rights?

What should citizens expect from their government?

You mentioned that you are a citizen of (country), but you also consider yourself a global citizen or a citizen of your school. Why so? Can you be a citizen of multiple places? Please explain your answer.

Where do you feel like you learned about being a citizen?

Do you read newspapers, watch TV news, read news or watch news videos on the computer?

What kinds of things do you like to read about or watch?

What language is the information in?

Is this information related to anything you talk about in school?

Are you in any groups after school or outside of school (teams, organizations)?

What kinds of groups are you in?

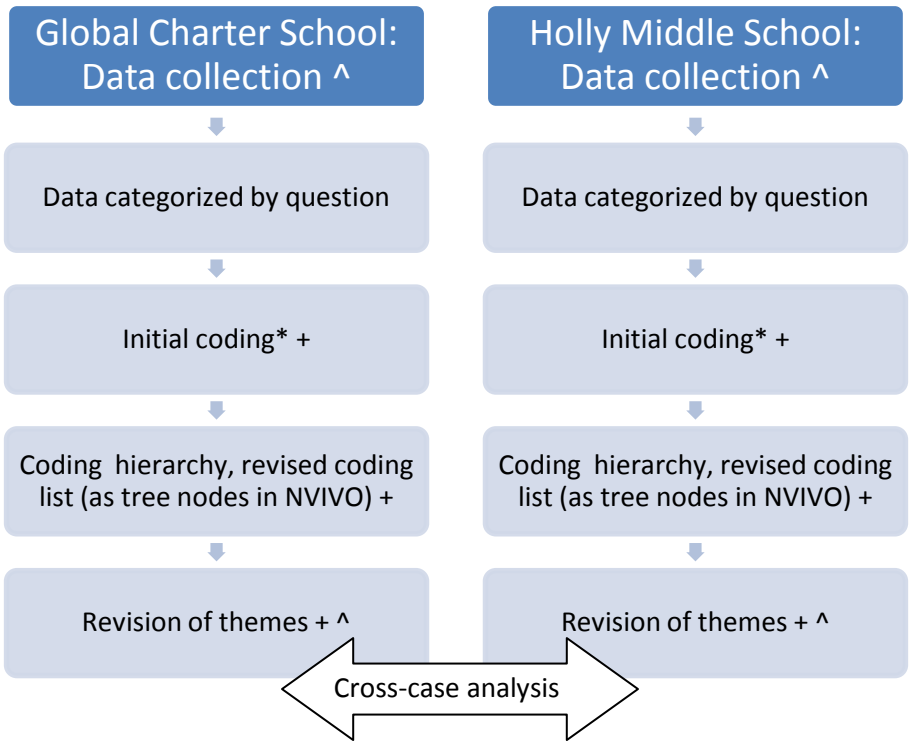
What do you do in these groups?

If you could pick two or three words to describe your school, what words would you use?

What about your social studies class? Your Language Arts class? Your ESOL class?

Appendix F

Data Analysis Process



[Global Charter School and Holly Middle School are pseudonyms for the schools in the study]

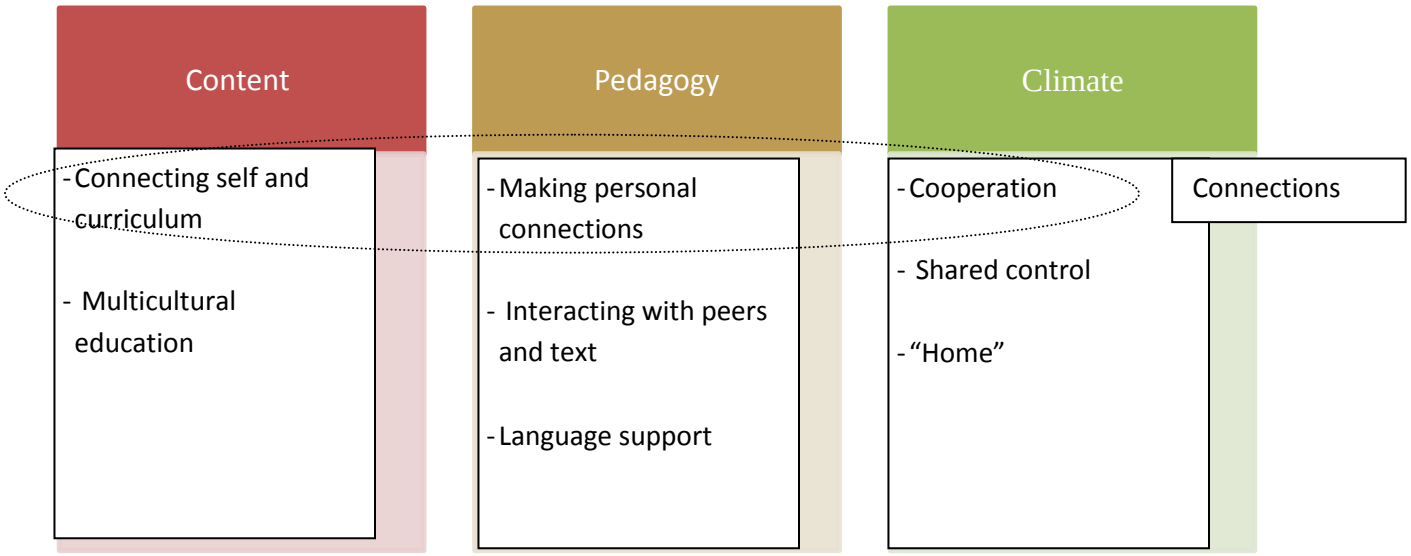
A * indicates that I used peer review at this step in the process.

+ indicates that I engaged in memo writing at these steps as I arranged the data into codes, identified the relationship between the codes, and then placed them into reflective themes. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest using memos "to make deeper and more conceptually coherent sense of what is happening" (p. 72). These memos are stored on a personal computer and backed up on a hard drive, and are part of the "audit trail" (Merriam, 1998, p. 207).

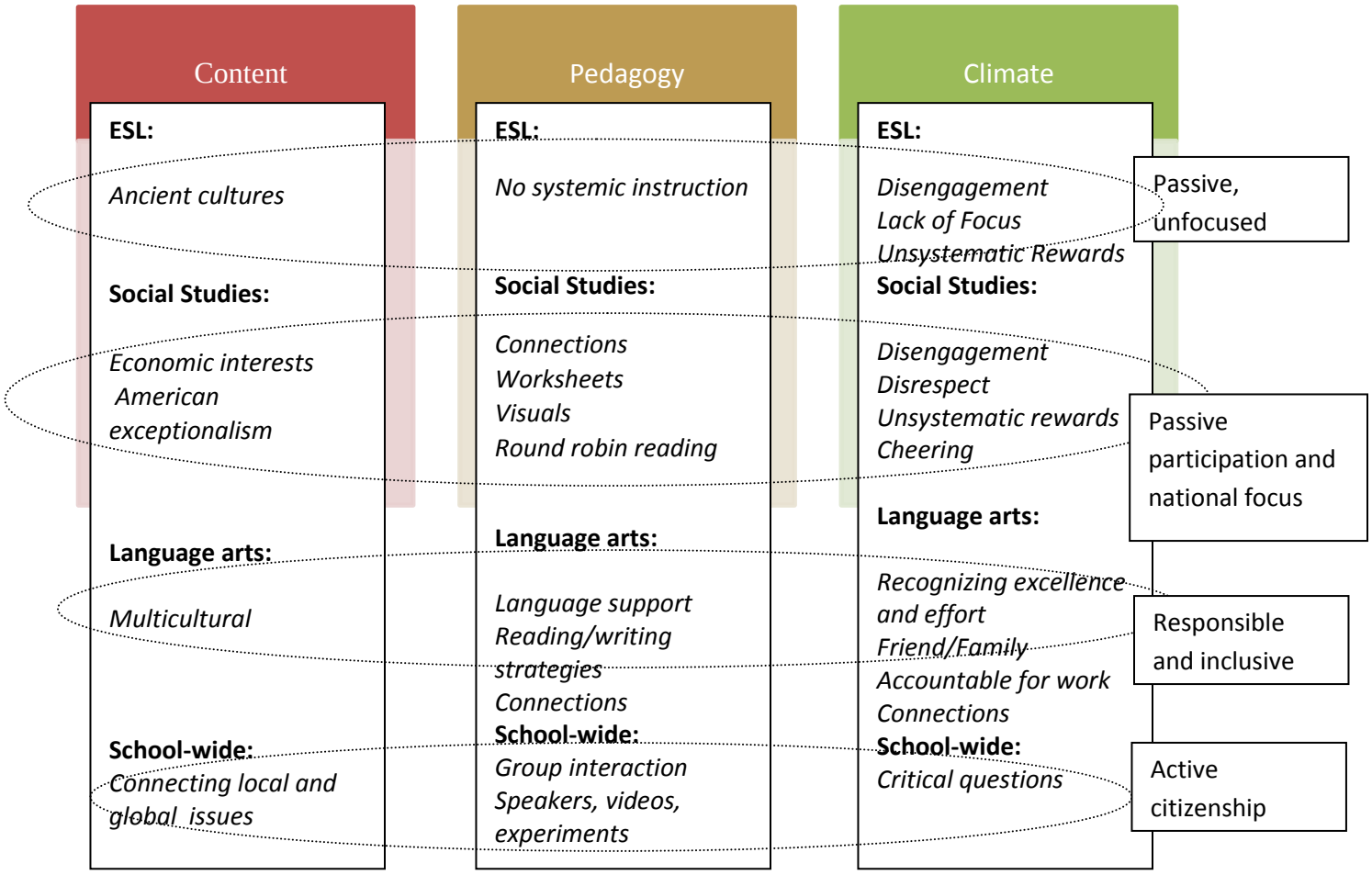
^ indicates that I attempted to perform member checks with adult participants at these stages

Appendix G

Question 1: Themes from Global Charter School



Question 1: Themes from Holly Middle School



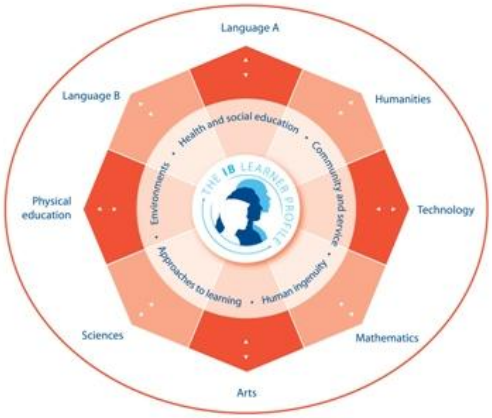
Appendix H

Focus Group Participants

Global Charter School				
Student	Gender	Age	Country of Birth	Languages Spoken
Sui Sui	F	11	Burma	Burmese, Chin, English
Nisha	F	12	Nepal	Nepali, English
Glenna	F	12	Thailand	Karen, English, Burmese
Saw Khu	M	12	Thailand	Thai, English, Karen
Elizabeth	F	12	U.S.A.	Kurdish, English, Arabic
Selena	F	11	U.S.A.	English, Amharic
Farzad	M	13	Iran	Farsi, English
Charles	M	11	Togo	Mina, French, English
Amanda	F	13	Liberia	English, French, Spanish
Rosie	F	12	U.S.A.	English, Somali, Arabic, Spanish
Naza	F	11	U.S.A.	Kurdish, English, Arabic
Christina	F	12	Tanzania	English, Swahili, Kirundi, French
Holly Middle School				
Prashan	M	12	Nepal	Nepali, English
Ronaldinho	M	12	Nepal	Nepali
Raja	M	10	Nepal	Nepali, U.S.
Esther	F	12	Thailand	Thai, Burmese
Than	M	13	Thailand	Karen, Burmese, English
Nicole	F	11	Burma	English, Burmese
Monica	F	11	Bhutan	Nepali, English
Poom	F	12	Nepal	Nepali
Mita	F	12	Nepal	Nepali, English
Pali	F	11	Nepal	Nepali, English
Reemi	F	12	Nepal	Nepali, English
Ahmad	M	12	Sudan	Arabic
Hsa	M	12	Thailand	Burmese

Appendix I
IB Framework and 6th Grade GPS Social Studies Curriculum

IB Framework



Georgia Performance Standards

Units of Study	Concepts Covered
Unit 1: Concepts used in Global Studies	Conflict & Change
Unit 2: Europe Today	Culture
Unit 3: Environmental and Economic Forces in Europe	Governance
Unit 4: Europe's Historical Influence	Time, Change, & Continuity
Unit 5: Latin America Today	Production, Distribution, & Consumption
Unit 6: Environmental and Economic Forces in Latin America	Human Environmental Interaction
Unit 7: Latin America's Cultural Legacy	Production, Distribution, & Consumption
Unit 8: Canada Today	
Unit 9: Environmental and Economic Forces in Canada	
Unit 10: Australia	
Unit 11: Your financial future	