AN EXPLORATION OF A UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC BRIDGE PROGRAM FOR ENGLISH
LANGUAGE LEARNERS

by

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

GRADUATE INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION
AND TEACHING

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2016

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Steven Randall, titled **An Exploration of a University Academic Bridge Program for English Language Learners** and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

- I would like thank my committee for showing a lot of patience and support for me as I worked through the articles and the eventual finished dissertation. SLAT students are lucky to have such devoted faculty members behind them.

- I would also like to acknowledge my supervisors, colleagues, and home department here at U of A for providing me their generous time and support to complete this research.

- I have to thank Olivia, Vida, and Spot, my "dissertation doggies." They laid behind me and on top of me in (napping) solidarity through many hours of dissertating. Thanks, puppies!

- Finally, I want to thank my wife, Vicky, who showed tremendous support and patience with me as I finished this project. She also offered a critical eye as I worked through ideas. If I can be half as smart as her, that won't be half bad. Vicky, I couldn't have done this without you. ;)

DEDICATION

It is with both great pride and a heavy heart that I dedicate this project to my parents, Jim and Joan Randall, who both passed while I was completing my graduate studies. My mom fought ALS for three tough years and never EVER let it break her spirit. Three years after, my dad suffered a brain hemorrhage and, after a tough fight, passed peacefully.

My parents were smart, caring, practical, conscientious, and tough people. I like to think some of that rubbed off on me as I hammered away at a keyboard for hours on end.

They provided me every opportunity in life to get to where I am today. I am forever grateful. Wherever they are, I know that they're proud, and that means everything to me. Thanks, Mom and Dad.

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ACRONYMS

Though these are all explained where they are found, I offer a brief synopsis of important acronyms used in this study:

- **EAP** – English for Academic Purposes
- **ESL** – English as a Second Language

- **CCS** – refers to "Combined Courses of Study," and is meant to conceptualize any instance where a student is enrolled in combination of ESL and University courses.
- **R-ESL** – refers to programs I refer to as remedial ESL programs in postsecondary contexts.
- **R-ESL+** - refers to postsecondary ESL programs characterized as having remedial vestiges typical of pre-matriculation language programs, but that offer content credit coursework as part of the curriculum

- **BPP** – refers to "Bridge and Pathway Programs," which are programs where students take a combination of university classes and EAP support classes that are linked to the university classes.
- **AT** – refers to the "Advanced Track," the pseudonym for the BPP that was the research site for this dissertation.
- **ELI** – refers to the "English Language Institute," the pseudonym for the ESL department that offered the AT
- **SRC** – refers to "Southwestern Research College," the pseudonym for the university where the ELI and AT are located

- **TOEFL** – the "Test of English as a Foreign Language," a widely-known English proficiency test that many ESL students take. Many universities have benchmark TOEFL scores to determine if a student's English is sufficient for enrollment into a degree program.

- **IELTS** – the "International English Language Testing System," another widely-known English proficiency test. This test is also widely used to benchmark English proficiency for entry into degree programs.

ABSTRACT

This three-article dissertation explores the first year of a sheltered university bridge program (also commonly known as "pathway" programs – see Winkle, 2011) for ESL students at a large public university in the American southwest. "Sheltering" is the practice of offering "academic courses taught in the second language" where "native and non-native […] students are not mixed in any one class" (Snow & Brinton, 1984, p. 8), a model commonly found in K-12 settings (Echevarria & Graves, 1998; Freeman, Freeman & Gonzalez, 1987; Weinhouse, 1986), though there are sheltered programs in university settings (see, for example, the University of Ottawa Program – Burger, Weinberg & Wesche, 2013).

The labels "bridge" and "pathway" refer to pre-matriculation programs that "feature a hybrid of credit-bearing coursework and instruction in English language and academic skills" (Redden, 2010, para 1). Bridge and Pathway Program (BPP) curricula typically follow the adjunct model in which ESL courses are linked with mainstream, unsheltered university courses, with the ESL course providing support. The model in the current study follows the sheltered convention of ESL-only cohorts, but adds the adjunct convention of offering linked support.

As international student interest in studying at U.S. universities has grown over recent decades (Open Doors Report, 2015), a subset of international students has emerged that may have lower-than-institutional-benchmark English proficiency for admission based on exams like the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) exam. BPPs primarily serve this subset of students by offering non-testing curricular paths (linked ESL/university courses) to full matriculation that focus on "achievement, as opposed to proficiency alone" (Dooey, 2010, p. 185).

One can expect that BPPS will continue to proliferate given that they bring in previously inadmissible international enrollees to add to the now essential revenue stream that international students represent for universities (Andrade, 2006; Marshall, 2005; Redden, 2010; 2014). This dissertation adds to a growing body of recent research (e.g. Dooey, 2010; Fiocco, 2006; Redden, 2010; 2014, Winkle, 2011) about these models.

Article 1 (Appendix A): The Past, Present, and Future of Combined ESL/University Study Programs: From Ad Hoc ESL Interventions to Bridge and Pathway Programs

This article is both a critical literature review and "state-of-the-field" piece (Canagarajah, 2006) that situates the evolution of postsecondary ESL support historically. It explores how postsecondary ESL has gone from an ad hoc, situational endeavor focused on remediating language deficiencies to a multifaceted field of program offerings replete with varying curricular models and dedicated faculty and recruiting structures, a field that has evolved into current BPPs.

Article 2 (Appendix B): Exploring Dynamics and Dimensions in Two Linked Adjunct/Content Courses in a Sheltered University Pathway Program for ESL Students: A Case Study

This case study considers the nuances of a sheltered university pathway program for ESL students in its first year of existence. It follows the research framework of an Unlu and Wharton (2015) study using grounded theory analysis. By reconciling classroom observations in two university general education courses (Introduction to Anthropology and US History) and their linked EAP courses (EAP Bridge to Anthropology and EAP Bridge to American History) with participant interviews, I explore the dynamics between students, content instructors, and EAP support instructors. I form a theory about the pedagogy constituted by (and constitutive of)

participant actions and beliefs in the observed classes, and argue that the current program may uphold uncritical, remedial predispositions vis-à-vis EAP, as well as content instruction and learning. Finally, I discuss future considerations for this, and other, linked course programs couched in EAP literature.

Article 3 (Appendix C): Team-Teaching in a First-Year Composition Course for ESL Students: A Participant-Observational Reflexive Account of One Sheltered University Pathway Context

This case study takes place in a first-year composition course in a sheltered university pathway program for ESL students. It focuses on a specific and complex essay assignment: the Text-in-Context essay (TICE). I consider the assignment parameters, primary and secondary texts offered for completion, interviews with students and instructors, field notes, notes from tutoring sessions, written student reflections, the assignments themselves, and a reflexive narration of my research experience to describe the milieu of the TICE. The description suggests a community of practice (Wenger, 2002) in which a team-teaching approach helps to facilitate the completion of a complex analytical task, while also fostering the growth of the ESL students as academic writers.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Genesis of the Study

In the fall of 2009, I took on the role of Intensive English Program (IEP) coordinator at the English Language Institute (ELI) at Southwestern Research College (SRC[1]), a major public university in the American southwest. I made the move to the IEP after spending a year coordinating a cross-border EFL program in Mexico, also for ELI.

While the program in Mexico had prepared me for administrative duties such as scheduling (both instructors and students), student recruitment, and day-to-day problem solving, the program's target students were working adults whose English learning goals related to their jobs or, in some cases, general curiosity and interest. With the program taking place in Mexico, the students had little daily need to use English to communicate with colleagues, negotiate service interactions in English, or to grasp the nuances of English syntax, grammar, and vocabulary in order to make incremental study of another subject (or subjects) possible. This general-purpose orientation stood in stark contrast to the goals of IEP students, the majority of whom are university-bound and living in an E*S*L environment where the purposes for using English noted above constitute daily necessities. In my first year on the job, I struggled mostly with accommodating scheduling preferences (again, both instructors and students), room organization, and juggling the conflicting demands inherent to working in a large educational bureaucracy like a public university. Over time, I began turning my attention more to academic concerns such as curriculum, curriculum articulation (e.g. between our IEP and the university),

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[1] "ELI" and "SRC" are pseudonyms for the ESL department and university where this dissertation research was conducted.

and what teaching practices are most effective in preparing international ESL students[2] for the rigors of university study. As my attentions turned more to the academic side of program administration, aspects of the IEP I coordinate became, in some ways, suspect to me. For example, I wonder(ed) if teaching a standalone Grammar course is an effective way to support the acquisition and ultimate use of the grammar structures taught in production-based courses where speaking or writing are the focus; moreover, I wonder(ed) if teaching discrete grammar structures not directly related to needs analyses conducted in production-based courses was not a fool's errand.

In fact, I began to question the general soundness of a skills-based approach to ESL instruction in a university setting where the majority of ESL students are being prepared for study in credit-bearing courses. There seems to be a disconnect between the pedagogy and practices of skills-based curricula/materials and what an ESL student will need to not just cope, but thrive, in a university class.

Since this impression began to form about skills-based instruction, I have collected numerous anecdotes from conversations and email exchanges with colleagues at ELI about, fundamentally, what does and does not work in a university-based ESL program. One ELI colleague notes frequently that everything he does is based in teaching information, not language, even if the curriculum he is assigned to teach is technically language-skills based with skills-based student learning outcomes (SLOs). He is very skeptical of some textbooks and supplements heavily because of his convictions about learning language by teaching information,

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[2] For the remainder of this dissertation, "international students" will be referred to as **ESL students**[2], defined as "individuals enrolled in institutions of higher education who are on temporary visas and are non-native English speakers" (Andrade, 2006, p. 134). Any other reference to non-university ESL students will be noted explicitly.

a professional belief echoed by Kasper (2000) and others. Another colleague expressed the following frustration in an email:

> "If we continue to spoon-feed reading to students up through the highest levels, how will they tackle difficult, unscaffolded readings when they get to university?! I think they actually have to perform the strategy (annotation, taking notes, approaching a textbook reading on content) on a real content reading. These ESL textbooks have a lot of scaffolding because that's a great way to learn, but students don't seem to be internalizing the process or strategies to actually approach a real textbook with little or no scaffolding."

Sentiments like these have resonated with me. Faculty members – especially those who have also taught credit-bearing university courses in other departments - see the tension between the setup of ESL textbooks and the programs whose curricula often derive from them vs. the way content will be presented, encountered, and negotiated in a regular university class. As my colleague noted in her email, the use of common ESL teaching strategies may be incommensurate with the realities of regular university course work, not to mention that they often occur in programs (e.g. IEPs) where there may be no immediate stakes or consequences for a student's poor performance or inability to tackle difficult academic tasks. For example, many IEP students, including those at ELI, establish a grade point average (GPA) based on courses and course weights within the program. A low GPA or repeated instances of a low GPA may have consequences in the program, but it is seldom that this GPA would then carry over into the student's record during credit-bearing work. This effectively offers IEP students, even those theoretically on the cusp of full entry into the university as evidenced by their placement in

advanced levels, a cushion of sorts. They may not realize the importance of (or, indeed, even

learn) common student approaches to problems such as: clarifying an assignment with the

instructor, asking for extensions, or even asking for alternate assignments. They may also fail to

grasp that, for example, reading strategies like those my colleague mentions in her email will not

be a portion of a college reading assignment or, if so, only in a small minority of general

education or foundation courses. They are far more likely to receive a 100-plus page reading

assignment on Monday with the simple added instruction of "you'll be responsible for this

information on Wednesday," with the final step being the mass of students filtering out of the

classroom with their classmates wondering if "responsible" means a pop quiz, group work, or

just that the information just taught will be necessary background knowledge for what comes

next.

Let us continue to focus just on reading at the university. Indeed, given the scale of work

asked of matriculated students at the undergraduate level (let alone graduate work), it is not

unfair to say that university ESL programs may be doing students a distinct disservice by asking

them to complete short, modified readings in relatively long spans of time. ESL instructors then

commonly "bookend" such assignments by pre-teaching vocabulary and then completing pre-

reading questions that are often part of the materials package or chapter activities in most

common theme-based ESL textbooks. Such activities "prime" the reader and activate schemata

(Stott, 2001) to help them complete a reading that, even if derived from material published for

"regular" readers, has likely been reduced in scope and complexity. While many ESL instructors

may introduce unadapted, authentic readings (e.g. newspapers, magazine articles, copies of

textbook chapters from regular university classes) at advanced levels, my own observations have

shown that these instances are often meant to serve as "wake-up calls" to students, or to have

students be pleasantly surprised if they understand some arbitrary amount of a complex text

written in, for example, the Washington Post. The word "understand" is key here, as that can

mean any number of things: understanding tone, understanding idiomatic language,

understanding events, understanding background. These are levels of understanding and

comprehension, and do not begin to touch on higher order skills such as analysis or evaluation.

Regardless of the execution of a lesson plan, engaging with authentic reading materials

offers encouragement when handled by a skilled instructor. I am well familiar with the feeling

of pride one gets when comprehending a nuanced, authentic text in an L2, with or without the aid

of a bilingual dictionary. However, this can still belie the reality of what is next for the student

entering the first year of undergraduate studies. Their first-year General Education (GE)

professors teaching large lectures with discussion sections run by busy graduate students will

not, in most cases, be teaching students pre-reading strategies or going through vocabulary words

not directly related to the discipline itself. In other words, while the professor may discuss what

an "ecosystem" is, she is unlikely to spend any time on the words "precarious" or "viable," both

of which could be used in the context of a discussion about ecosystems. Could the student look

these up while dutifully completing his course reading? Yes, he could. However, could one or

both of those words also show up on a test devoid of context clues about an ecosystem? The

answer is, again, "yes."

Enter ESL/University Bridge Programs

I offer the scenarios and ruminations above to explain why my interest was and is piqued

by programs combining ESL and university course work. Simply put, there seem to be few

better ways to introduce university-bound ESL students to the demands of university course work than by enrolling them in a limited number university credit courses with linked ESL support courses, a type of program now often referred to as a "bridge" or "pathway" program. Later in this dissertation, I make a case for why a "bridge" or "pathway" program (BPP) constitutes a specific type of combined study program (i.e. combining ESL and university courses) because of the proliferation of specific models and recruitment structures with these programs.

For this introductory chapter, I will introduce and stay with the label "Combined Course of Study" (CCS, a term I use throughout this dissertation) to simply indicate any initiative taken by a university to combine non-credit ESL and credit-bearing university course work in a student's schedule. I will also establish that the bulk of this dissertation refers to BPPs at US universities, though some support literature may draw on examples from other countries.

The steps for launching CCSs can be complex, and may be derailed by institutional inertia – what a colleague once called "'what we have is fine' syndrome" - and many other potential challenges. However, their attention to teaching language *and* content by teaching language *through* content make them attractive to the various stakeholders involved in ESL student preparation, including university professors, university administrators, ESL instructors, and the students themselves.

For university professors, both those teaching in CCSs and those who teach ESL students after a CCS, they will benefit from students better accustomed to the pace and rigor of regular university classes, which means heavy workloads and complex content will be less of a shock.

University administrators can see CCSs as a recruiting opportunity, a chance to give prospective ESL students a "soft landing spot" (Redden, 2010, para 4) to improve language proficiency, establish an early university record, and pass the institutional English proficiency benchmark without having to submit a TOEFL or IELTS score; that is, proof that an ESL student has the English proficiency to meet the challenges of university study is demonstrated directly by meeting the challenges of an actual course (as touted in Dooey, 2010).

ESL instructors can better adapt their instruction to the demands of university courses by seeing them firsthand as part of a CCS. In the same way, university-level ESL instruction can be less marginalized (Shapiro, 2011; Van Meter, 1990) by supporting, and potentially influencing, the curriculum of one or more credit-bearing courses. At the very least, this can start pedagogical dialogue with credit-granting departments about the instruction and inclusion of ESL students.

ESL students also clearly benefit by enrolling in a "real" university course rather than the approximations sometimes offered in IEPs, often only on a unit-by-unit, experimental, or simulation basis. Dantas-Whitney, Larson and Dowling (2002) describe a 3-lecture simulation meant to "encourage students to take a critical step toward university adjustment […] in a warm, nonthreatening atmosphere" (p. 29). ESL students may benefit from such a glimpse, but without the stakes and interest offered by earning a credit and establishing oneself as a "legitimate" university student, the insights gained may be short-lived and hollow.

With CCSs, ESL programs are not approximating or simulating what a student will encounter. Instead, students see "the real thing" and then receive support from the ESL program. CCSs take on many forms, something explored extensively in Article 1 (Appendix A).

Content-Based Instruction (CBI)

CCSs are a form of CBI, defined by Dupuy (2000) as "teaching a content area in the target language wherein students acquire both language and subject matter knowledge" (p. 206). Underscoring the practicality of CBI, Mohan (1986) notes that "a majority of second language learners do not learn language for its own sake. They learn because they must learn subject matter through the medium of the second language" (p. 1). At various points in this dissertation, I go into detail about where CCSs including the research site fall along the continuum of CBI models. CBI suggests itself as an ideal way to prepare ESL students for university study, but conventional thinking that adheres to skills-based models (Shapiro, 2011) can make it difficult to implement CBI models.

Stoller (2004) presents a series of case studies detailing the challenges of having CBI as the focal point in a curriculum. In consideration of the varying forms CBI can take in practice, she identifies the following challenges (bullet points below quoted directly from Stoller, 2004, pp. 267-268):

- "The identification and development of appropriate content

- The selection and sequencing of language items dictated by content sources rather than a predetermined language syllabus

- The alignment of content with structures and functions that emerge from the subject matter

- The choice of appropriate materials and the decision to use (or not to use) textbooks

- Faculty development that assists language instructors in handling unfamiliar subject matter and content-area instructors in handling language issues

- Language- and content-faculty collaboration

- The institutionalization of CBI in light of available resources and the needs of faculty and students

- Systematic assessment to demonstrate (1) students' language and content learning and (2) program effectiveness"

This list is by no means exhaustive, but one that very much reflects some of the challenges I identified in the Advanced Track (AT) at SRC. The list above highlights some of the tensions that inevitably arise between ESL course work, which has often been (and continues to be) considered "pre-academic," and university course work for credit.

To use a common consulting term that dovetails with Stoller's list above, I discovered many "pain points" throughout my research in the AT, and continue to encounter these in the program. Faculty at our center were skeptical of the program, and, in some cases, resistant to teaching in it. Some faculty members and administrators remain skeptical of CBI and the design of the AT even now after many rough edges have been smoothed out. Some university faculty members teaching on the credit-bearing side of the program have been at odds with the support instructors for their classes regarding matters such as lesson planning and sequencing, teaching responsibilities, and the aptitude of the students in the program. This happened both during my data collection period and seems to have continued since then, though, in most cases, a remarkable and organic harmony has arisen in these collaborations. Indeed, many SRC university faculty have come back to teach in the program, and an increasing number of ELI faculty have also shown interest in teaching in the AT.

Significance of the Study

Since my initial period of data collection, these programs have continued to proliferate. In June 2016, NAFSA, the Association of International Educators, issued a one-page flyer defining the "Landscape of Pathway Partnerships in the United States" (see http://www.nafsa.org/_/File/_/pathway_partnerships.pdf) that shows the location and general make-up of these programs. It also offers a problematic definition on pathway programs: "Pathway providers are private third-party entities partnering with institutions to recruit international students and offer English-language preparation with academic course-work applicable toward graduation requirements[3]." In offering this definition, NAFSA, a respected organization in the field of international education, has essentially taken an emerging postsecondary ESL curricular model, "pathway" (and, by extension and association, "bridge" programs), and characterized the term as a label for a business model.

This kind of labeling his becoming commonplace. The business model approach is challenged extensively in Winkle (2011), a source I allude to extensively in Article 1 of this dissertation. As I discuss in that article, the terms "pathway" and "bridge" are intentionally evocative marketing terms that make an implicit promise to the enrollee: 'take our path (or cross our bridge) and you are in.' For students who struggle to achieve institutional benchmark scores on tests like the TOEFL, a non-testing path to admission is very attractive. It is for this same reason that such programs must be rigorous, meaningful, and offer transparent course articulation sequences.

In recognition of the proliferation of these programs, the US Student and Exchange Visitor Program (SEVP), the agency responsible for vetting the legitimacy of institutions who

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[3] http://www.nafsa.org/_/File/_/pathway_partnerships.pdf

offer educational programs for "nonimmigrants whose primary reason for coming to the United States is to be students[4]," has even drafted guidance for programs labeled as "pathway" programs. In their guidance[5], they note "International educators use several terms interchangeably to describe these programs including pathways, foundation year, bridge, bridged degree and others. […] SEVP has chosen to use the term 'pathway programs'" (p. 2). In acknowledgment of this implicit promise of admission, the guidance spells out what a pathway program must promise: "admission to one of [a pathway-offering university's] degree programs for participants that successfully complete the pathway program" (p. 3). This stipulation means the university must have granted the ESL student what is commonly known as "conditional admission," or admission based on the "condition" of fulfilling the institution's English language requirement prior to full admission into a degree program. In the case of pathway programs, this admission would be successful completion of the pathway, however that is defined. This guidance from SEVP may make it more difficult for pathway programs to launch in the US, but seems to also protect the interest of students who may think they have found a too-good-to-be-true "back door" (Redden, 2014) to admission.

In sum, it is the right time in international postsecondary education to take a close look at what these programs offer and how the complex interplay of ESL and university course work can best be carried out in light of situational and contextual considerations. A growing body of academic and journalistic research can be found on commercial forays into CCSs (e.g. Dooey, 2010; Perez-Pena, 2014; Fiocco, 2006; Redden, 2010, 2014; Winkle, 2011). I turn now to a brief

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[4] https://www.ice.gov/sevis
[5] https://www.ice.gov/doclib/sevis/pdf/pathwayS7.2englishProficiencyReasons.pdf

description of each article to explain how they meet the goal of researching the growing area of university CCSs.

The Articles

In Article 1 (Appendix A), *The Past, Present, and Future of Combined ESL/University Study Programs: From Ad Hoc ESL Interventions to Bridge and Pathway Programs,* I offer a historical account of how these programs have developed over the years and a state-of-the-field analysis using specific examples, including the one in this study. I explore how research and changes in language teaching have informed these programs, which have gone from ad hoc, situational endeavors for specific student cohorts to fully formed programs with recruiting arms and dedicated administrative structures.

In Article 2 (Appendix B), *Exploring Dynamics and Dimensions in Two Linked Adjunct/Content Courses in a Sheltered University Pathway Program for ESL Students: A Case Study,* I delve into two linked course pairings at the research site, the AT at SRC. I explore the relationship between the university content course instructor, or "content specialist" (CS), and the ESL support course instructor, or "language specialist" (LS). In both course pairings, the LS was constant, but the subject of the university course and CS changed; the combinations of instructor pairings and course subject had important consequences for instruction. The article also offers a grounded, data-driven analysis of the instruction that takes place in both courses in each linked pairing. It offers some caveats and recommendations for these pairings grounded in existing research and data from the site. The article also concludes with recommendations for curricular models.

In Article 3 (Appendix C), *Team-Teaching in a First-Year Composition Course for ESL Students: A Participant-Observational Reflexive Account of One Sheltered University Pathway Context,* I explore an extremely fruitful and productive linked course pairing between an instructor in first-year composition course (FY-COMP) and an ESL support course instructor. The article focuses on one particular analytical essay the students had to complete: the "Text-in-Context Essay" (TICE). I focus on the gains the students make and how the instructors' teaching styles complement each other throughout the course, but especially on this complex assignment. The article also makes a case for how an FY-COMP course can fit well into a CCS.

My Positionality

Before moving into Chapter 2: "The Present Study" where I outline the data collection, research context, and analysis, I offer some brief notes about my positionality within the research site.

As noted above and in Articles 2 and 3, during the time of research and to the present day, I am an academic administrator at ELI. It would be disingenuous to say that my position at ELI does not afford me access to data and information that others seeking research approval through "normal" channels might not have. I have addressed this reflexively (Merriam, 2002, p. 26) in Articles 2 and 3. Even though participants in the study knew me well prior to the data collection period, this was mitigated by my extensive interaction with the students during the research and my willingness to help. I also did not serve as an administrator of the AT, so the students did not answer to me in any for their performance or actions in the class. The rapport I had with the students and instructors was superb; I am in the participants' debt for the access they provided.

Like Merriam (2002), I found that "participants seemed less inhibited if they knew me" (p. 90). However, both student and instructor participants understood without objection that I would not take any administrative actions for any concerns they expressed during data collection given my role as a researcher.

With respect to the curriculum and program setup, I felt like an "insider" during the process. However, despite my instructional experiences in the Intensive English Program with populations like those in this study, I felt like an "outsider" when it came to understanding what I was seeing in the AT. The "recipe" to effectively marrying content and language remains somewhat elusive. To that end, whatever criticisms may emerge in the articles or analysis that follows, the reader should know that I fully recognize(d) then and now that working in a CCS as a CS or LS is challenging, and that there is no one solution or "method" for instruction on either the support or content side of the equation. However, I do hope my observations and analysis can inform future iterations of the AT and CCSs at other institutions as well.

Chapter 2: The Present Study

This chapter outlines the research context, the participants, and the data analysis. The information offered here is a brief summary of what follows in the articles, especially in Articles 2 and 3, which are based on primary research at the research site, the Advanced Track (AT) Program at the English Language Institute (ELI) at Southwestern Research College (SRC). I also offer a brief rationale for the scope of Article 1, a historical and state-of-the-field account of the evolution of CCS programs into bridge and pathway programs (BPPs).

Rationale for Article 1

Article 1 is meant to situate the reader in the context of considering the evolution of BPPs. During the initial stages of research, I considered the growing popularity and prominence of these programs. As a result, I found myself reading through several case studies (e.g. Benesch, 1988, 2001; Burger, Weinberg & Wesche, 2013; Crandall & Kaufman, 2002; Grabe & Stoller, 1997; Snow & Brinton, 1988) that chronicle the successes and ongoing challenges of CCSs in the many forms they may take.

These case studies led to searches for historical information dating back to the international student influx that occurred after World War II (discussed in Agard & Dunkel, 1948; Alberts, Heike & Hazen, 2013; Matsuda, 2010). I wanted to determine how the once distinct separation between "remedial" (Shapiro, 2011; Van Meter, 1990) ESL and work in the "disciplines" evolved into individual dispensations for advanced students to concurrently enroll in ESL and university classes (CCSs), which then led to a gradual realization that such models could be systematized (i.e. as fully formed programs), accredited, and monetized as recruiting tools for cash-strapped schools (Andrade, 2006; Marshall, 2005) in the form of BPPs.

I highlight some of the issues involved in setting up and running BPPs given the myriad of tensions and uncertainties that remain regarding the combination of "regular" university course work and ESL classes for students who, based on typical institutional definitions, are technically lacking the English proficiency required to succeed in university courses. The principle tension, one seen in many forms throughout this dissertation, seems to be between a before/after, remedial orientation to ESL student matriculation, a view that sees ESL as work that comes before full immersion in credit-bearing course work, and an "institutional mediation" (Shapiro, 2011, p. 28) orientation that sees the "ESL" part of "ESL student" as a label that may indicate a different background and set of challenges vis-à-vis university course work, but not an inherent lack of aptitude. Reconciling these divergent points of view is the key to setting ESL students up for success in BPPs, a point I consider at the end of Article 1 in a discussion of the future of BPPs.

Research Context for Articles 2 and 3

Articles 2 and 3 derive from primary research in the AT at ELI. The data for this research was collected in 2013, the first year of the AT. The data collection happened in two consecutive 10-week sessions. Each article considers linked course pairings in the AT as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1:

Course Pairings in Articles 2 and 3

Article	University Course Name & Acronym	Instructor	EAP Support Course Name & Acronym	Instructor
2	Introduction to Anthropology (Univ-Anth)	Dara	Bridge to Anthropology (EAP-Anth)	Sharon
	Introduction to US History (Univ-Hist)	Rosa	Bridge to US History (EAP-Hist)	
3	First Year Composition for ESL Students (FY-COMP)	Amanda	Bridge to First Year Composition for ESL Students (EAP-COMP)	Heather

Over the course of the 20 weeks, I observed 2-4 times per week in all of the courses shown in Table 1 above. While it was not practical or possible to observe every class session, I attempted to observe class sessions that flowed into each other. In other words, I tried to observe sequences where the university course led to a support course discussion the next day, or cases where a support course prepared the students for the next day in the university course.

All courses in the table above fulfill basic general education requirements for any major at SRC. Such requirements are typically found in the first and second year of undergraduate studies at most US universities. The rationale for choosing these particular general education courses is discussed in both Articles 2 and 3.

Participants

All of the students and instructors in the inaugural year of the AT consented to participate in this stud. However, a smaller subset became focal participants. Table 2 offers information about instructor participants. All names are pseudonyms.

Table 2:

Instructor Participant Information

	Pseudonym	**Course**	**Teaching background information provided at time of study**
1.	Dara	Univ-Anth	At the time of data collection, Dara was a PhD student in Anthropology. She had very little teaching experience prior to teaching in AT. Most prior experience had been with grading other classes as an assistant. She had been invited to make presentations about her research in high school and undergraduate classes. (Interview, April 17, 2013)
2.	Rosa	Univ-Hist	Rosa has a PhD in History, and a large amount of postsecondary teaching experience across numerous historical fields (World Civilization, Military History, U.S. History, Roman History, among others). She stated that growing up on military bases helped her to develop an interest in history. Most of her experience has been in teaching U.S. History. (Interview, June 7, 2013)
3.	Sharon	EAP-Anth & EAP-Hist	Sharon holds an MA in English and an ESL teaching certification. She had taught for about 5 years in ELI's IEP prior to teaching in the AT. Prior to that, she taught high school. She cited her experience "teaching seniors" [in high school] as a big influence in how she structured her EAP classes in the AT. (Interviews, April 9, 2013 & June 30, 2013)
4.	Amanda	FY-COMP	Amanda is a Lecturer at SRC, where she has extensive background in teaching composition courses in their FY-COMP program. She holds an M.A. in Rhetoric and Composition and also an M.A. in TESOL, both from SRC. She indicated that combining teaching composition to international students is "dream job." (Interview, April 4, 2013)
5.	Heather	EAP-COMP	Heather holds an MA in Linguistics and had four years of postsecondary ESL teaching experience at the English Language Institute (ELI) as well as experience teaching bilingual (Spanish/English) students in elementary schools prior to teaching in the Advanced Track (AT). She also had experience teaching advanced writing courses in the Intensive English Program at ELI.

Table 3 offers information about student participants. Based on when students entered the AT, their permissions to enroll in multiple credit courses varied. To clarify this, Table 3 shows the university courses in which the student participants were enrolled (enrollment in complementary support courses can be assumed). All names are pseudonyms.

Table 3:

Demographic Information for Student Participants

	Pseudonym	**Age**	**Gender**	**Country of Origin**	**Enrolled in Univ-Anth**	**Enrolled in Univ-Hist**	**Enrolled in FY-COMP**
1.	Meilin	19	F	China	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	Lanfen	21	F	China	No	Yes	No
3.	Donghai	20	M	China	No	Yes	No
4.	Chen	19	M	China	No	Yes	Yes
5.	Kun	22	M	China	Yes	Yes	Yes
6.	Kamshad	21	M	Iran	No	Yes	Yes
7.	Kasim	19	M	Saudi Arabia	No	Yes	No
8.	Hakeem	20	M	Saudi Arabia	No	Yes	No
9.	Amir	21	M	Saudi Arabia	Yes	Yes	Yes
10.	Farid	19	M	Saudi Arabia	Yes	Yes	Yes
11.	Dabir	19	M	Saudi Arabia	No	Yes	Yes

Data Collection & Analysis

The data for Articles 2 and 3 came from 5 principal sources: course observations with attending field notes, interviews, tutoring sessions, course assignments/documents, and samples of student work. Interview questions are appended to the articles. Extensive field note samples can be found in Article 2. Excerpts from student work appear primarily in Article 3.

In Article 2, my data collection and analysis employs a grounded approach (see more in next section, "Data Analysis") following the framework and format of Unlu and Wharton (2015),

a study in which they investigated feedback interactions in EAP writing classes. Similar to them, I collected field notes where I paraphrased or wrote short transcriptions of interactions in EAP and Univ courses. I also wrote commentaries and frequent reflections in my notes. My field notes varied in focus from general questions (e.g. "what is happening here?") to specific ones (e.g. "why not pre-teach this vocabulary to make this easier?"). After each 10-week session, I interviewed the participants about their experience in the courses. My interview questions followed a semi-structured format in which I asked all of the questions appended to Article 2, but also inserted extras specific to the participant being interviewed. Interviews were recorded and selectively transcribed.

In Article 3, I take a different approach from Article 2. While the data collection followed a similar sequence and plan to Article 2 initially, my focus is primarily on student work and the notion of "text responsibility" in essay writing as discussed in Green (2013) and Johns (1997), with attention to specific portions of interview responses and observational field notes that fill in detail related to my analysis of the participants' work on a specific analytical essay type, the text-in-context essay.

Thus, my analysis in Articles 2 and 3 follows inductive and deductive approaches respectively. In Article 2, I employ grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Conrad, 1982; Friedman, 2011; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) in which a "bottom-up" approach to handling data is emphasized. I began with field observation notes and incident labels for salient interactions in class. "Salience" was roughly determined based on initial sensitizing concepts for the research that included attention to the priorities and goals of student and instructor participants as well as how instruction plays out in a linked course pairing with instructors who had not had prior experience

teaching in a BPP. During the open coding process, I took these incidents and assigned conceptual labels to them that served to roughly group observed phenomena (Charmaz, 2006). After this stage, concept labels were sorted during axial coding (Friedman, 2011, p. 191), a process in which categories of behavior were established for the purpose of creating an initial model of the actions of instructor and student participants in the two linked course pairings. This model then informed follow-up questions in interviews. Subsequent coding of these interviews led to a value-based (i.e. positive, neutral, negative) assessment of the interactions of all the participants based on both my assessments and the students' assessments. To reach conclusions and generate a well-grounded model, I used data from all of the participants from the Univ-Hist and Univ-Anth courses. The resulting model of the participant groups seeks to illustrate which instructional orientation might be fostered in a BPP linked course pairing. The grounded analysis in Article 2 is the linchpin for the credibility of its findings.

In Article 3, my analysis is deductive, and based on an overall theory that it is exceptionally difficult for ESL writers in first-year composition classes to grasp the American university notion of text-responsible writing. I note in Article 3 that Leki and Carson (1997) distinguish between writing tasks involving "a source text to which writers respond", which may be limited to offering an opinion that draws on a text, and "a text to which writers are exposed and required to account for in some way," meaning students "must produce *text-responsible* prose based on content acquired primarily from text" (p. 41, emphasis in original) in their analysis. Essentially, I sought to test the hypothesis that students could demonstrate text-responsibility in their writing with skilled guidance from instructors. The complicating factor in the equation is the presence of two writing instructors, one the "instructor of record" teaching the

credit side of the course pairing and the other teaching the support side (FY-COMP and EAP-COMP in Article 3, respectively). Analysis of field notes and interviews was limited to excerpts that related to this overall hypothesis, and sub-questions related to the realization of text-responsibility (or lack thereof); i.e. I employed selective coding where I focused on field notes and interview details that related to completion of the text-in-context essay (TICE), the final analytical essay in the course. Unlike Article 2, I focus on just six participants: the two instructor participants, and four student participants who were active and engaged in class, and who sought help on their assignments.

Results

Article 2 (Appendix B) - Exploring Dynamics and Dimensions in Two Linked Adjunct/Content Courses in a Sheltered University Pathway Program for ESL Students: A Case Study

This will be a brief synopsis of findings, with much greater detail to be found in the article itself. To orient the reader to this synopsis of Article 2's results, I will paraphrase the sensitizing concepts that directed the research into three simple questions:

- What goals do the instructors and students have in the linked course pairing, and how do these goals align?

- What relationships form between the different groups (students with Univ instructor, students with EAP instructor, EAP instructor with Univ instructor)?

- How do these relationships and the subject matter help shape the courses and curricula?

These were not my original sensitizing concepts, but evolved based on the data I collected. Ultimately, certain priorities emerged that defined the dynamics of the different groups vis-à-vis

one another (see Figure 2 in Article 2). In the final model, I offer the terms "mediative," "remediative," and "conventional" to describe the relationship dynamics and learning/teaching orientations of the student and instructor participants. A mediative orientation suggests encouragement of reflection and the generation of one's own mental models to make sense of rich, but accessible, content. A remediative orientation is one in which a skills-oriented, reductive approach is taken vis-à-vis new content – this may include a tendency to offer simple definitions and quick answers to expedite teaching. This might also be considered a breadth-over-depth orientation similar to what one might observe in some standardized educational programs. A conventional orientation simply refers to the amount of class time spent attending to procedural matters instead of teaching/learning new content. The assessment of "conventional" in article 2 can be neutral, but can also be negative if procedural matters occupy significant amounts of class time.

Sharon, the EAP support instructor for both university classes, wanted to prepare her students for university study by getting them to take responsibility for understanding difficult course ideas and tasks, both in the courses offered in the AT and beyond. She also stated a strong belief in fostering critical thinking. However, the pre-interview grounded analysis of her instruction of the EAP support classes suggests a remediative orientation to teaching, one in which Sharon spent large amounts of time on defining, re-defining, or recasting concepts covered in the university classes.

In her interview, Rosa, the Univ-Hist instructor, emphasized coverage of course content, materials-oriented follow-up, and critical reflection as instructional priorities. Similar to Sharon, the grounded analysis suggests a disparity between these priorities and teaching practice. Rosa

only began later in class to attend to gaps in background knowledge her students had, and often offered dates and term definitions that had little salience for students due to their lack of background knowledge. This was confirmed in interviews. Her instructional orientation was deemed to be mostly procedural and conventional, but the analysis suggested a remediative orientation.

In her interview, Dara, the Univ-Anth instructor, underscored the importance of: exposing students to new ideas and ways of thinking, discussing key terms and concepts and connecting them with students' own ideas, and providing background information when needed to facilitate content understanding. The analysis suggested that her priorities, which were noted to be mediative, aligned with her teaching. Interview data suggests that students were extremely fond of Dara's teaching and of the subject of Anthropology.

Student data was gathered and coded together to see what priorities emerged. These included: passing the university class with good grades, understanding vocabulary, and seeking explanations of concepts. This suggested a conventional-to-remediative orientation where students generally wanted access to course information for instrumental purposes (e.g. getting a good grade or knowing the "right" answer). This aligned with the analysis from observations where students often steered the class session towards clarification of content rather than building understanding. This is not meant to be a value judgment. Indeed, this may have been a way to cope with the difficult content in these course pairings and may ultimately suggest that the program should take a critical look at the course subjects in the AT.

Article 3 (Appendix C) - "Team-Teaching in A First-Year Composition Course for ESL Students: A Participant-Observational Reflexive Account of One Sheltered University Pathway Context"

As noted above, my belief going into the analysis was that ESL students would have a difficult time handling text-responsible analysis from an instructor-defined set of source texts. I was delighted to find that the students made remarkable gains in their writing. The focal student participants generally perceived both courses in the linked course pairing to be valuable. They also showed an emerging understanding of how to craft a thesis statement in an analytical essay, though some still resorted to the "recipe" approach of listing exactly three topics to be covered in three subsequent body paragraphs, some of which did not constitute analysis so much as summary.

Happily, all students showed evidence of meta-knowledge in their essays and the importance of including sources, though the actual incorporation of sources was often forced and superficial. For example, Dabir's use of a support text (*Let's Climb the Wall* - see Article 3) in his essay is limited to: "This idea was also mentioned in *Let's Climb the Wall,* which shows how important it is." Nevertheless, all students were pleased with their progress and all demonstrated tremendous growth in the accuracy and depth of their writing in just 10 weeks.

The instructors, Heather and Amanda, were pleased with the class as well, though their satisfaction was qualified. They lamented the students' lack of background knowledge, but also acknowledged that the salience and relative contentiousness of certain topics (e.g. the border) can diminish the interest in an assignment that might inspire passion and emotion in other

groups. In the interest of controlling source texts, however, the instructors chose the topic of the US/Mexico border for the assignment anyway. Heather was proud of their progress, but noted "Analysis was a mystery" (email communication). However, both instructors had the healthy perspective that offering students multiple teaching approaches and encouraging emergent abilities were both worthy goals for the course.

Limitations

While each of the data-based articles focuses on different aspects of the AT observed, both are part of a larger case study. As such, findings cannot be generalized and assumed of other contexts. As shown at various points in this dissertation (especially Article 1), there are numerous manifestations of BPPs, many vying to be the "best" model to prepare ESL students for university study.

I also acknowledge that my research into BPPs led to a strong belief that the adjunct model, where ESL students enroll in regular university lectures alongside domestic students, is superior to sheltered instruction, where ESL students attend their own dedicated (and modified) versions of university courses. Albeit unintentional, this view may have colored my observations of the courses, especially in Article 2. My preference is based on an abiding belief that exposure to real courses is the best preparation ESL students can get for university study.

As acknowledged in chapter 1 ("Positionality), it is also likely that my role as an administrator and authority figure may have had some impact on participant behavior. However, I strongly believe this became less of an issue over time as students became used to my presence in the courses. I attempted to account for this by encouraging participants to expand on interview answers that showed any sort of discord with aspects of the AT, but also acknowledge

that participants (students especially) may have tempered their responses to certain questions so as not to show dissatisfaction.

Conclusions

Important conclusions can be gleaned from each article in this dissertation. In article 1, the state-of-the-field for BPPs reveals a number of important considerations for BPPs going forward. These include:

- consideration of student background knowledge when selecting content courses

- questions of curricular model (e.g. sheltered vs. adjunct)

- questions of stakeholder buy-in (i.e. the will to have a BPP)

- establishing realistic program goals

- asserting the role of the BPP in the university proper (i.e. securing credibility as an academic unit, not a remedial one)

Article 1 also goes into great depth about the financial situation US universities find themselves in, a situation that is partly mitigated by international ESL students willing to pay "full sticker price" for an American education. The importance of establishing and developing quality BPPs is cannot be understated, especially given the commercial interest of companies like INTO, Navitas, and Shorelight, all private, profit-motivated companies that seek to establish partnerships with public universities to establish pathway programs. This is reason enough to remain watchful about these programs, and to ensure that education and quality trump recruitment and padding enrollment in carrying out BPPs.

In Article 2, I seek to demonstrate the importance of establishing a flexible but supportive structure when linking university and ESL support courses. The article demonstrates how

different participants in a BPP (ESL instructor, University instructor, student) may have differing perceptions of their roles relative to each other and the courses, and how these differences can impact all of their experiences in, and perception of, the program. In the courses observed for this article, it seemed that the program was generally being viewed and managed with a remedial mindset instead of a facilitative one. This may have helped the students and instructors navigate their specific course pairings, but may not provide the students with the tools they need to navigate future, unsupported courses post-matriculation.

Where Article 2 shows some of the challenges that can arise in linked course pairings, Article 3 shows the promise of having two skilled instructors supporting one another. Perhaps because both Heather and Amanda, the co-instructors in Article 3, have ESL teaching backgrounds, they demonstrated great teamwork and a cautious optimism about the students' progress in their class. They both seem to embrace the fact that neither the end of their course nor the end of the students' AT program is the end of their journey. As Amanda noted in an interview, "we've gotten them started on their university writing journey" (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013). This meshes perfectly with Agard and Dunkel's (1948) sentiments about preparing ESL students for matriculation into university studies: "When a person is on a long journey, it is quite possible to take him a considerable distance and still not convey him to his destination" (p. 254). University stakeholders would do well to adopt this mindset as well when attempting to determine the merit and efficacy of BPPs. We will only see more BPP offerings across institutions in the future.

Future Research

Future case studies or cross-program (i.e. examining the structures and outcomes of multiple programs) studies of BPPs will always be valuable in seeing what different approaches to combining university and ESL university courses work best. It would be useful to continue research similar to that in Article 2 with a wider variety of linked course pairings. In the current research, juxtaposing History and Anthropology may lead to an unfair comparison and allusions to how interesting each subject is relative to the other. This was not my intention in the current study, though my conclusions in Article 2 do indicate that Anthropology was a better fit for the program's overall goal of preparing ESL students for inquiry-based university courses. Universities typically have a huge variety of general education courses, many of which might touch on taboo subjects such as gender or wealth inequality. Though offering such a course as an ESL student's first university course may seem counterintuitive, it may actually be worthwhile in a BPP for the explicit reason that ESL teachers may be best equipped to offer the kind of support and facilitation of cultural understanding needed to succeed.

Another welcome research direction might involve developing, piloting, and researching training programs for university instructors to work with ESL students in BPPs. This kind of training would only benefit instructors in any course where they will encounter ESL students. This would dovetail with the addressing the concern that ESL programs remain on the margins, often stigmatized by the university proper as remedial and developmental (i.e. not 'real' university work – discussed in Benesch, 1988; Harklau, 1994; Muchinsky & Tangren, 1999; Shapiro, 2011). Training programs could serve to show university faculty how rewarding it can be to work with international students.

Finally, more research is needed regarding supplemental courses in BPPs. Regardless of how well a course pairing is planned and managed and also irrespective of the BPP model, students will face different challenges once they to the university. Dooey (2010) highlights concerns such as 'local' knowledge (defined as "contextual references to facts which are assumed to be known by students," p. 194), coping strategies for academic tasks (including group discussion and presentations), and intercultural communication (e.g. raising a concern with a group mate) that may not be addressed in some course pairings. These might be addressed elsewhere in a student's curriculum by a "University Success" class; research of a BPP that incorporates such work in its curriculum would be welcome.

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Appendix A – Article 1: The Past, Present, and Future of Combined ESL/University Study Programs: From Ad Hoc ESL Interventions to Bridge and Pathway Programs

Introduction

As English-medium universities around seek to increase diversity and sustain revenue (Andrade, 2006; Marshall, 2005; Redden, 2014) by enrolling more international students, they are increasingly turning their attention to a subset of ESL international enrollees who may have previously been inadmissible based on lower-than-institutional-benchmark scores on standardized English exams like the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). While the approach to this group has traditionally been enrollment in pre-matriculation (sometimes referred to as "pre-academic" as in Crandall & Sheppard, 2004) ESL, the practice of enrolling these students in programs that combine ESL and credit-bearing courses is becoming a more common recruiting tool to entice students who wish to begin college study right away. Whether the benchmark measures of any given university reflect a "college-ready" metric for English or not is less relevant to this discussion. Instead, we may consider whether these programs are legitimate, indeed "ethical," paths to university matriculation, or whether they "provide, depending on your perspective, a […] back door" (Redden, 2014, para 9) for admission. In sum, I offer this review to consider how postsecondary ESL support has evolved, and continues to evolve, from a "remedial" enterprise situated in the margins of universities (Shapiro, 2011; Van Meter, 1990), to an interdisciplinary endeavor that combines with academic departments to offer credit options for students that lead to new matriculation paths. I also explore how these expansive offerings of

combined ESL/University courses of study (henceforth: "CCSs") have become a veritable and essential recruiting tool for internationalizing universities.

Purpose of the Review and Key Terms

This critical literature review pertaining to CCSs in postsecondary settings (henceforth, "university") has three main purposes: to provide a history of how and why this type of university ESL support program has evolved and proliferated in the U.S., to offer a state-of-the-field report using examples gathered from the setup of some current and recent programs, and to briefly look toward the future. I will make use of four different labels in this review:

- CCS (introduced above), an umbrella term to denote any course of study where a student takes some combination of ESL and university credit courses.

- Remedial English as a Second Language (R-ESL) will refer to instances where international students (henceforth: "ESL students[6]") are enrolled by an institution in a constellation of "pre-academic" ESL courses (i.e. English only, not credit courses counting toward a degree) *after* arrival in country where programmatic features such as assigned academic counseling, tutoring, and adjustment support are sometimes dedicated and sometimes incidental (e.g. part of existing university services not specific to ESL students).

- Remedial ESL "plus" (R-ESL+) will simply refer to the addition of content course work (often for credit) to R-ESL, perhaps featuring complementary ESL and university course pairings, or perhaps not.

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[6] For the remainder of this review, "international students" will be referred to as **ESL students**[6], defined as "individuals enrolled in institutions of higher education who are on temporary visas and are non-native English speakers" (Andrade, 2006, p. 134). Any other reference to non-university ESL students will be noted explicitly.

- Bridge and Pathway Programs (BPP) will refer to programs that are not quite the opposite of R-ESL, but close: BPPs are defined as CCSs that follow an intentional curriculum, with attending support structures such as dedicated academic and peer counseling, dedicated ESL support for the university courses, and pre-program, pre-arrival recruiting structures focused on getting students to apply for, and enroll into, these programs

CCSs primarily owe their surges in enrollment to "conditional admission" policies at their parent institutions. Conditional admission allows for ESL students with scores below institutional benchmarks for direct admission on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) or International English Language Testing System (IELTS) to enroll in ESL support programs at the host institution in preparation for eventual matriculation. This is an important consideration in this discussion as the promise to serve and advance students is implicit in guaranteeing matriculation on the "condition" of reaching a certain level of English. It is a practice that has been around for decades, but has increased in popularity since the 1980s as universities aim not to exclude potential ESL student enrollees who miss benchmark scores.

Within the primary context of institutions offering conditional admission, the reasoning for using the labels above, sometimes separately and sometimes in combination, will be elaborated on later in the review. While this review will inevitably consider the vast literature on ESL students in English-speaking institutions and the many and nuanced challenges they face, it will more narrowly focus on the theoretical and policy issues, debates, and decision-making that have led to an evolution in one subgroup of ESL-student-enrolled programs: CCSs[7].

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[7] For a comprehensive review of all the challenges international students in English-speaking universities face, see Andrade, 2006.

A review of the evolution and current state of CCSs is timely for a variety of reasons. For one, "literature on support programs designed to meet the specific needs of ESL students is not extensive" (Andrade, 2006, p. 141). CCSs may fall under a category like "support," but clearly they have become much more – many can be viewed as fully-realized academic programs with their own earmarked faculty and administration, curricula, and student recruitment apparatuses.

Robust CCSs have flourished in many institutions in recent years. In particular, corporate partnerships are on the rise, a subject covered extensively in Winkle's 2011 dissertation. Winkle's thorough attention to the pitfalls of corporate partnership with universities is compelling, but as they relate to the current review, this statement stands out: "[…] academic institutions [have adopted] a global market approach to their recruitment of students whereby education becomes a commodity, a service marketed to consumers through international recruitment" (Harvey & Busher, 1996 as cited in Winkle, 2011, p. 43). The intent here is not to intensify the spotlight on such endeavors, nor is it to cast aspersions on university/corporate partnerships in general. However, the "global market approach" at issue here cannot be ignored in a discussion about the role and responsibility of CCSs, simply because it is not only possible, but likely, that universities of all kinds will increase their pools of ESL students by pursuing and admitting students to immediate credit coursework who, in previous recruiting cycles, may not have been admitted or, indeed, even been given consideration for admission; these are students who must therefore be supported carefully and conscientiously.

Both proprietary and homegrown forays into CCS are replete with widely varying ideas related to practical concerns like curriculum design, student support, and eventual integration and matriculation. As such, this review should be of interest to stakeholders of all stripes involved in

the planning and implementation of CCSs as we all seek to respond more definitively to Snow

and Brinton's (1988) charge that "the university system is generally unprepared to assist [ESL]

students in attaining academic success by providing the necessary support *system*" (p. 554,

emphasis mine). It may be that this lack of systematization is partly due to how these programs

have evolved over time, with resources devoted to getting students in country possibly trumping

planning considerations.

What is different about CCSs*?*

The watchwords, pedagogical practices, and checks and balances guiding CCSs are less

clear than foreign language and second language (FL/L2) programs because CCSs generally

target both language and content concurrently instead of sequentially; critically as well, these are

high-stakes situations (e.g. establishing credit-course grade records or determining admissibility

to full study) that have not always been discussed in literature relating to different models of

CCS and content-based instruction (CBI; see Dupuy, 2000; Met, 1998; Stoller, 2004 – see also

"*CBI"* below). CBI in both L2 and FL settings has been described as having stronger and

weaker forms along a continuum with "content-driven approaches with strong commitments to

content-learning objectives" at one end, and "language-driven approaches with strong

commitments to language learning objectives" (Stoller, 2004, p. 268) at the other. With notable

exceptions (e.g. Adamson, 1993; Benesch, 2001; Kinsey, 2008;), this literature often tends to

focus on the language gains of CBI because much of it refers to FL education contexts. While

the shift in focus from language gains to placing more weight on how well ESL students grasp

challenging content and study skills in CCS settings is not new, its importance becomes more

acute as large-scale CCSs such as BPPs actively recruit and target, en masse, ESL students. In a

noticeable shift in recent years from recruiting students into "pre-academic ESL," new efforts increasingly focus on getting students who have not yet reached institutional benchmark scores on recognized tests like the TOEFL or the IELTS into *credit courses* immediately through BPPs. It is a "carrot and stick" proposition with the "carrot" being immediate entry to credit-bearing coursework alongside ESL and the "stick" being remediation into ESL before allowing access to credit work.

Another matter at the heart of this discussion is the contested definition and conceptualization of "Academic English" (AE), an elusive competence that ESL programs in university settings are supposed to target. How AE is treated in CCSs will be considered later in this review. For now, it is worth emphasizing that CCSs are now surpassing, or possibly replacing in some cases, Intensive English Programs (IEPs) in universities as the liminal space where language and content knowledge intertwine to begin shaping ESL students for university study.

The following questions will guide the remainder of this review:

1. *What historical conditions in universities predicated the widespread establishment of CCSs?*

2. *What practical and theoretical concerns have led to the varying manifestations of university R-ESL and R-ESL+, and how has this confluence of factors sown the seeds for the BPPs of today?*

3. *What are the policies and program structures of past and current BPPs, and how have they aimed to ensure academic success post-program?*

4. *What shape might future BPPs take?*

To provide context for, and begin to answer, question number one above, the next section begins with a discussion of the historic arc of CCSs.

What historical conditions in universities predicated the widespread establishment of CCSs?

Inflows of ESL Students and the Beginnings of Systematic University ESL Support

The United States university system has seen a steady and, at times, exponential growth in ESL student enrollment in recent decades. After World War II, an influx of international student enrollment (Agard & Dunkel, 1948; Bevis, 2007; Matsuda, 2010, p. 90) saw the U.S. supplant Germany as the destination of choice for international students from a variety of language backgrounds. Robust data can be found starting around this time – specifically, 1948 - showing enrollment trends for these students in the U.S. Table 1 below is culled from the Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange ("International Student Enrollment Trends, 1948/49-2014/15"[8]); it has been distilled from its original, year-by-year version into 10-year increments up through 2015:

Table 1:

International Student and U.S. Higher Education Enrollment, 1948/49-2014/15

Year	Total International Students	Total U.S. Higher Education Enrollment	% International
1948/49	25,654	2,403,400	1.1
1954/55	34,232	2,447,000	1.4
1964/65	82.045	5,280,000	1.6
1974/75*	154,580	10,224,000	1.5
1984/85	342,113	12,242,000	2.8

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[8] http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/Enrollment-Trends/1948-2015

1994/95	452,635	14,279,000	3.2
2004/05	565,039	17,272,000	3.3
2014/15	974,926	20,300,000	4.8

*According to the Open Doors Report website, "The data collection process was changed in 1974/75. Refugees were counted from 1975/76 to 1990/91." (see citation above)

It is evident in this chart that not only the raw number of international students at the university level in the U.S. has increased, but also what percentage they account for relative to the total number of students enrolled in university programs.

There are two reasons why the 1940s are a good starting point to review the history of CCSs in the U.S. In addition to the post- World War II influx of ESL students already mentioned, another reason to start a review of CCS endeavors in this time is found in Alberts, Hazen and King (2013): "[…] it was only in the post World War II era that US universities began thinking about [ESL students] as a distinct group" (p. 133). Even then, however, the focus often remained on first year composition classes as a gateway for ESL students to matriculate into mainstream classes (Matsuda, 2010, p. 92-93). While a number of provisional courses and programs were established to account for the English language difficulties of ESL students prior to the 1940s (Parson, 1925; Klinger, 1948), the first full department (indeed, "institute") devoted to the endeavor of English language instruction for university-bound ESL students in the United States was the University of Michigan English Language Institute (ELI), founded in 1941. As noted in Matsuda (2012), "intensive language courses modeled after the Michigan ELI […] became widespread, providing systematic instruction before second language writers were allowed to enroll in regular college-level courses" (p. 405). This initial systematization was an important first step in the overall evolution of supportive ESL instruction

in university settings, especially in light of Agard and Dunkel's (1948) observation that "in America the teaching of English as a foreign language had long been neglected and even scorned" (p. 247).

Agard and Dunkel's (1948) account is also telling in that as early as the late 1940s, they observed 3 challenges facing ESL students that still persist today, challenges that have contributed to the preponderance of university ESL support programming in the U.S.:

1. ESL students' initial English ability when they embark on their studies in the U.S.

2. Considerations (e.g. instructional methods and course design) about the specific "type" of English ability ESL students need for their intended field of study (e.g. aural/oral skills, writing)

3. The expectations of university instructors vis-à-vis language ability and accuracy

They note that while the English language concerns of host institutions were mitigated by some ESL students' extensive English training in their home countries, many "vary enormously in the amount of language they need to get along" (p 249). To the second point above, they note "some will need great ability in reading and writing but will have relatively little call to speak or understand, [so] no single standard of achievement can be set for the group" (p. 249). To the third point, they say the following:

> The chief difficulty with taking [accuracy] as a norm is that it will be a very fluctuating one. For example, the American well disposed toward the foreigner, familiar to some extent with the latter's native language, and fairly ingenious at guessing meanings, will understand much more than the person who is convinced, even before the foreigner

begins, that he will not be able to understand him anyway because all foreigners talk and write gibberish (p. 252).

It is fair to say that we have and have not come a long way since this sentiment, but the assumptions, well-reasoned or flawed, under which ESL students often operate when they first arrive for university study have not shifted much over the years. Agard and Dunkel (1948) allude to both student and institutional desires vis-à-vis rapid "completion" of English and thereafter entry into regular course work:

> The [ESL] student with an opportunity for study in America will be inclined to seize the chance and hope that he can fix up his English in a hurry. Anyone responsible for bringing foreigners to this country will prefer to believe that a couple of month's work here will do the trick and that ample time will then be free for other work. But any great optimism in this regard seems to rest on an undue minimization of the great gap between elementary and full English. (p. 268).

This statement is as relevant in 2016 as it was 68 years ago, in 1948, when it was first published. It even hints at research about Academic English to come, such as the separation of university study into separated remedial studies, as well as the BICS/CALP distinctions made by Cummins (1981, 1992), a research thread discussed later under the heading "Theoretical Concerns about Academic English."

The Expansion of University ESL

The proliferation of university ESL programs continued in the 1950s and 60s; there were about 150 institutions with ESL programs in 1953, with that number nearly doubling by 1969. Most of these courses were offered on a non-credit basis (Allen, 1973, p. 308 as cited by

Matsuda, 2010, p. 92), a tendency which resembles the Intensive English Program model still seen throughout the United States. In the 60s, we begin to see initial ventures into credit offerings for ESL students also taking ESL course work, or more specifically, instances of credit-bearing classes beginning at the time of initial entry into host institutions.

In 1968-69, a Bilingual Program at Bronx Community College, a "first of its kind" (p. i) endeavor, was documented by Torres (1969). The population of the program was 45 non-English speaking Puerto Rican students. The twist in offering this as a first example of a CCS is that initial stages of these students' enrollment had them taking academic credit courses in Spanish while they were learning English (a form of partial immersion – see Table 2 below). The main goal of the program was to improve English proficiency such that the 2-year Associate's Degree - consisting almost entirely of English language course work except for the special Spanish-language courses for program participants - they were pursuing would not be unduly delayed to 4 years, which would have been the case had language instruction and credit instruction been sequential instead of concurrent.

The Bronx Program may belong more in the realm of bilingual education literature because of its monolingual Spanish-speaking students taking ESL for credit alongside credit courses in the L1. However, while the study may not contribute to a more widely applicable discussion of prevailing curriculum models in CCSs, where ESL students tend to have a variety of language backgrounds and are taking content courses in English, the Bronx Community College report is germane to a discussion about the responsibilities of CCSs because it is situated in a postsecondary context (i.e. community college), and because of its emphasis on dedicated support structures, which the author/program director deemed essential for the success of the

program and its students. In particular, the program offered interventions and strategies like

frequent counseling, orientations, small group tutoring, cultural activities, field trips, and close

faculty coordination as keys to success (Torres, 1969, p.38)[9]. By the second year, roughly half

of the participants were taking credit course work in English. Still, the author notes that

graduation was delayed for most students. Importantly, she also concludes that while promises

of insignificant or no delays to graduation were unlikely, "English language proficiency

sufficient to enable students to *enter* a college program [can be developed in 2 years]" (Torres,

1969, p. 49, emphasis mine).

The program described above had features and advantages (e.g. taking credit courses in

L1) not found in most other models of CCS. However, its conclusions coincide with other

provisos about "quick cures" (Agard & Dunkel, 1948, p. 268) for attaining the English

proficiency necessary for academic study. The chance to earn immediate credit was attractive to

these students for the same reason it is to many students: "Postponing content instruction while

students develop more advanced academic language is impractical and ignores students'

complex educational needs" (Grabe & Stoller, 1997, p. 8). The program does fall under the

auspices of a CCS, but belies the frequent CCS practice of engaging students in complex, credit-

bearing course work in English with some form of support from the outset. Interestingly, and

one might imagine intentionally even if this is not explicitly stated, students entering English-

language content courses later in the Bronx program follow one of the principle tenets of the

sheltered model (see Table 2) where "students are initially mainstreamed in the subjects that are

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[9] Similar services are emphasized as essential for success in Snow & Brinton's (1984, p. 3) documentation of the UCLA Freshman Summer Program

the least English-intensive" (Blanton, 1992, p. 286). Of course, the distinction from Blanton's observation of this phenomenon is that the students in the Bronx program are in a university environment, not K-12; the students with the highest English proficiency in the Bronx program enrolled in Art and Physical Education courses as their first English-language credit courses, a fact not discussed in much depth in Torres' report.

Academic Program, Remedial ESL, or something else?

At this stage of this review, and with the narrative above about the Bronx program in mind, I will expand on the notion of remedial-ESL-plus (R-ESL+). R-ESL+ is meant to serve as an intentional counter-term and conceptualization to the notion of a fully-realized BPP, which, if seen along a continuum (see Table 2 below), falls closer to remediation than "full study"; additionally, R-ESL+ will also denote enrollment scenarios that do involve credit-bearing course work and not just ESL, thus standing out from remedial ESL. In doing so, one goal is to establish that a student enrolled in an R-ESL+ scenario may not have necessarily been *admitted* to a selective, application-required "program" with all of the constituent requirements and assumptions associated with entry into an "academic program." In particular, I wish to tease out the use of "program" as common parlance in university CCSs where ESL students may instead be placed (or even recruited) into a particular group or constellation of courses based on lower-than-benchmark metrics of ability, such as language proficiency, academic aptitude, or a combination of both. An affiliated and attendant goal is to discuss how R-ESL+ and BPPs differ from R-ESL in university settings. Table 2 below shows the continuum of R-ESL, R-ESL+, BPP, and Full University Matriculation as conceptualized in this review; this table is partially

adapted from Met (1998, p. 41), with further elaboration about CBI offered in the *Theoretical Concerns about Academic English* section later in this article.

Table 2:

Courses along the content-based instruction continuum

Content Driven ←---**→ Language Driven**

Total Immersion	Partial Immersion	Adjunct Model	Sheltered[10] Courses	Theme-based or Sustained Content Based Instruction	Language classes with content used for language practice
Full Matriculation	BPP	BPP	R-ESL+	R-ESL+/R-ESL	R-ESL
Content only	CCS	CCS	CCS	CCS if audit of credit course part of model	ESL only

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[10] This model, in particular, will be scrutinized later in this review and elsewhere in this dissertation.

University Coursework	Some university course work in English, some in L1 (see Bronx program above). No specific attending support structure (rare).	ESL students attending a limited set of regular content classes (often prescribed) alongside "regular" university students, and then separate ESL courses that focus on "time management, academic reading, and note-taking strategies" among other relevant skills (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 559)	Structure in which special sections of content courses in English are made available *solely* for ESL students who are "separated, or 'sheltered,' from their native speaking peers. […] The courses are taught in [English] by a […] content area specialist, [and] modifications are often made to the course" (Kinsey, 2008, p. 31). In some cases, a support class may exist for the content course.	Courses are developed "around one major topic,[…] and then divid[ed] into several subtopics" (Kinsey, 2008, p. 30). Goal is still very much language-oriented. Classes are usually not for credit, nor do they usually fulfill any requirement for a university degree program.	This is the structure of most skills-based Intensive English Programs where discrete skill development is the most prominent goal, with learning outcomes typically focused on skill mastery, not content mastery. Content chosen may be at instructor's discretion. (very common)

To elaborate on the reasoning behind introducing R-ESL and R-ESL+ as separate concepts for the purpose of discussing CCSs, one could argue that R-ESL+ designs are essentially a form of ESL student tracking - i.e. while sheltered R-ESL+ designs are technically CCSs, the modification of coursework on the content side and the exclusive enrollment of ESL students in the program constitutes a form of advanced remediation. The content course experience simply may not resemble the experience of ESL students enrolled in a limited number of 'regular' courses.

The use of the term "track" has been largely absent from university nomenclature, perhaps intentionally, because of the negative connotation and politics the term evokes in K-12 policy discussions. For example, in K-12 settings, students may "track" into prestigious college preparatory course sequences or stigmatized vocational ones. It seems that the contested practice

of tracking in K-12 settings is a suitable analog for the piecemeal university R-ESL or R-ESL+ where elements beyond a prescribed course sequence (Shapiro, 2011, p. 27) in which the students must enroll are missing. Burris and Garrity (2008) talk about three common kinds of tracking in K-12 schools:

- IQ and achievement testing tracking done in elementary years to put students on specific trajectories

- Meritocratic tracking based on teacher recommendations, grades, and student motivation

- "Self-tracking" where students and parents choose some sort of track (e.g. Advanced Placement college courses)

There are many stakeholders in this process, but let us for now consider the beliefs of K-12 faculty members as discussed in Burris and Garrity (2008).

> Some faculty members will question whether tracking allows all students an equal opportunity to take the school's best courses; others will believe that placing students in courses matched to their ability is an important obligation of schooling. Some teachers will believe that their instructional skills and manner of delivery play an important role in student achievement; others will see instructional issues as tangential and secondary to innate ability or student motivation. (p. 18)

We are ostensibly not considering ESL student intelligence in CCSs. However, it seems that some of the same considerations are at play as those in the quote above. Admissions personnel and other policy makers in university settings will feel that they are placing ESL students into situations where they have the best chances to succeed. In these cases, there is an underlying

belief, as noted above, that "instructional skills and manner of delivery play an important role in student achievement" – namely, the ability of an ESL instructor to convey and make understandable complex material that the liminal[11] ESL student would ordinarily struggle with; however, there is the concomitant and equally valid belief that "innate ability and student motivation" may be more important than instruction – i.e. the good student will find a way, "deficiencies" notwithstanding.

The Politics of "Remedial"

As may be clear by this point, there is some intent in this review to present a prima facie case for acceptance that much, or even most, university ESL support is "remedial"; however, it is also critical to understand R-ESL/R-ESL+'s historic and continued place in university ESL into this discussion to make better sense of how BPPs fit into the constellation of ESL support offerings for ESL students, as well as how these arrangements may ultimately gain preference over R-ESL and R-ESL+.

"Remedial" is a stigmatized term in many settings. Administrators and policymakers regard Intensive English Programs and other non-credit ESL course sequences in university settings as remedial (Benesch, 1988; Harklau, 1994; Muchinsky & Tangren, 1999). Remediation is, of course, a form of tracking, one that can seem punitive to some students (Shapiro, 2011, p. 28). As with most forms of remediation, the goal is to help students acquire a certain set of *skills*, a remedy, that will enable them to succeed in regular university work. However, the focus on "accuracy over fluency, and decontextualized 'skills' over discipline-specific conventions"

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[11] Here, I use "liminal" in the anthropological sense to describe a person at the threshold of entry into another state of a ritual, in this case the ritual of full academic study.

(Shapiro, 2011, p. 27) belies the language-learning realities of ESL students who do not realistically have an extended amount of time to attain the degree of language sophistication and nuance university professors may desire in course assignments. In the end, Intensive English Programs and other remedial programs are expected to "demonstrate in an objective way that the remedy has been successful" (Shapiro, 2011, p. 28). This will often come in the form of an English credential from the ESL program, or from reaching an institutional benchmark score for matriculation on the TOEFL or IELTS exams.

Despite these concerns, enrollment in Intensive English Programs currently outpaces enrollment in CCSs despite the increasing prevalence of CCS options. The unambiguous goal of nearly all university ESL up until the 1970s and early 1980s, and even until today, has been to "track" ESL student groups in R-ESL and R-ESL+ meant to put them in environments where language was controlled and chosen carefully for student groups that had ostensibly similar skill needs as discussed above. As such, there is no admission requirement to these tracks, per se, other than lacking the English proficiency recommended for full study even if the student has been "vetted" academically based on prior academic work at other institutions.

What distinguishes an R-ESL+ "track" from a program? Let us re-narrow our focus by instead asking: "Why might some CCSs, both historically and currently, be better considered concurrent enrollment *tracks* instead of academic *programs*?" Specifically, academic *programs* in universities typically have admissions requirements, are accredited, and confer credit, degrees, or some other credential. Moreover, there is typically no designed or explicit goal of homogeneity in the population of enrolled students in an academic program, and, therefore, no particular efficiency to the makeup of the student cohort, broadly conceived, enrolled in that

program. R-ESL and R-ESL+ options, as shown in Table 2, differ with respect to the cohort

design discussed above. They are tracks by virtue of the fact that students enrolled in Intensive

English Programs, Theme-Based Programs, or Sheltered Models may not self-select such

models, but are instead steered into them based on evidence of lacking language proficiency

primarily, not academic ability.

      To illustrate the prominence of R-ESL tracks, one need only consider how university

ESL support options continued to grow in number through the 70s and 80s. "[By] 1982, 510

colleges and universities offered ESL programs" (Van Meter, 1990, p. 3). Throughout this

particular period, a strong tendency existed for tracking ESL students into R-ESL study (Bolton,

1987; Van Meter, 1990), at least partly because of the "intuitive sense that there exists a

threshold level of proficiency with which [ESL] students will not succeed in university studies"

(Snow and Brinton, 1988, p. 554). Much of the debate in the literature during this period

revolved around whether or not credit should be granted for ESL course work, work which many

university stakeholders and faculty members still consider(ed) adjunct, "developmental

education" (Van Meter, 1990, p.4). As such, the fight has been less about allowing proficient

ESL students immediate access to credit courses while taking some ESL (CCS), but instead for

R-ESL students to receive credit for ESL "because credit gives the program academic integrity"

(Bolton, 1987, p. 3), and perhaps also legitimizes the program to the motivated ESL student.

      What is telling as one scours for literature about university ESL in the 70s and 80s with

keywords like "ESL," "support," "credit," "curriculum," "university," "concurrent" (as in

"concurrent" enrollment) and many other similar combinations is the conspicuous absence of

systematic CCS endeavors. Yet, concessions were being made in even having this discussion

about issuing credit for ESL, ones that hinted at R-ESL+ options to come, which then, in turn, gave rise to the BPPs of today. This was perhaps because of a growing unease as more ESL students arrived with taking them into an institution, despite visa limitations for study (and, in many cases, seeing emerging but variable English competence) and tracking them into classes that might delay their graduation.

Population Changes

Up until the 1970s, international applicants to American universities tended to be homogeneous L2 groups like the students in the Bronx report or ESL students with extensive English training in their home countries (Mason, 1971). Mason (1971) conducted a study in which a control group of 15 ESL students taking compulsory English study were compared with 9 ESL students allowed to enroll in regular course work. He intended to test English ability gains after that time, and hypothesized that differences would be insignificant. Indeed, the study's title, *The Relevance of Intensive Training in English as a Foreign Language for University Students,* defiantly challenges the necessity of standalone ESL support; his abstract ends with "EFL work may be a waste of time" (p. 197). Mason contends that "most foreign students have had more than four years of [English] training in their own countries" (p. 202). His research, which does include compelling data that "existing English test batteries [cannot predict] the success or failure of the foreign student in the academic program of an American university" (p. 202), does not adequately account for the educational systems and quality of English language training of his student participants. In fact, the only hint at country of origin for his participants is in this statement: "[…] for many students, like Hong Kong Chinese and Micronesians, who have taken all or nearly all of their pre-university schooling in English, it is

awkward, if not ridiculous for American universities to set test-oriented EFL pre-requisites for academic work" (Mason, 1971, p. 202).

Mason's sample was seemingly not representative of what was happening with ESL students in the early to mid-1970s. According to the Open Doors report (2009, "All Places of Origin of International Students, Selected Years: 1949/50-1999/00[12]), population origins shifted dramatically between 1954 and 1955. Some notable shifts away from European-dominant patterns are obvious in this table:

Table 3:

Places of Origin of International Students, Selected Years

Year	Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	Middle East	North America	Oceania
1954/55	1,234	10,175	5,648	8,446	3,636	4,714	337
1959/60	1,959	17,808	7290	9,428	5,579	5,761	568
1964/65	6,855	30,640	11,323	13,657	8,762	9,338	1,265
1969/70	7,607	51,035	20,022	24,991	11,761	13,415	2,077
1974/75	18,400	58,460	15,361	26,271	22,290	8,630	2,650
1979/80	36,180	81,730	25,200	42,280	81,070	15,570	4,140
1984/85	39,520	143,680	38,190	48,560	51,740	15,960	4,190

Table 3 shows a surge in students from Asia and the Middle East in the 1970s, along with a marked dip in European students coming to the U.S. in the mid-1970s. This influx of students from countries where the home culture and L1 differed typologically from the target language of English and American culture led to some natural consequences as methods and programs for serving ESL students began to evolve into the 1980s.

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[12] http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/All-Places-of-Origin/1950-2000

Metrics to Determine Readiness: Issues with the TOEFL

First, let us return to Snow and Brinton's (1988) mention of an elusive "threshold proficiency" and also Mason's (1971) charge about the lacking predictive validity of "existing English test batteries" (p. 202). Second, let us also make note again of the shifting demographics and countries of origin shown in Table 3. Given this confluence of factors, many institutions in the late 1970s and early 1980s struggled to determine what the threshold for entry into full university study should be, with consideration of CCSs or any other form of concurrent enrollment a relative rarity. At this time, tests like the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) began to play even larger roles as objective measures to determine adequate proficiency for admission to university study. Educational Testing Services (ETS), the company responsible for ongoing development and administration of the TOEFL, notes in its own publication that in the 1980s, the test changed to include productive components in keeping with language acquisition research promoting "integrative language skills and theories of communicative competence" ("Insight, TOEFL Program History," 2011, p. 5).

Taylor and Angelis (2008) discuss the 3 stages of the evolution of the TOEFL, stages whose timeline and revision goals align with the shifts in student population and language acquisition theories of the 70s and 80s. In validation studies related to the TOEFL in the second stage, there was open acknowledgment among those involved in validation that low correlations between TOEFL performance and academic success were not at issue because "language ability and academic performance were not considered the same" (Taylor & Angelis, 2008, p. 31). This

led to understandable consternation for those in the academy[13], especially admissions officers who sought to link "test score to test use, [including] decisions about admissions and course recommendations" (Chapelle, et al., 2008, p. 16). In search of resolution, the goal was implementation of benchmark scores (i.e. a "cut" score, or lowest score for program entry) that would "reveal distinctions in test takers" (Chapelle, et al., 2008, p. 17) for the purpose of admission, denial thereof, or some other course of action (e.g. remediation). Discussions of cut scores notwithstanding[14], in this time period "some score users questioned the extent to which the TOEFL was fulfilling its intended purpose, in part because of new demands that arose with the rapidly growing pool of ESL students coming to the United States", with a primary concern being the need to assess productive abilities like speaking (Taylor & Angelis, 2008, p. 33). Further underscoring concerns with the TOEFL in its second stage of revision (1979 onward, see "Insight, TOEFL Program History," 2011, p. 4), Taylor and Angelis (2008) note:

> The events of the 1980s left the TOEFL program with a number of unresolved tensions. Although content changes had been made to address needs expressed by users, the basis for score interpretation has been questioned by the content experts who hoped to see the implications of communicative competence take a more central role (p. 38).

These tensions, especially the shift to the aforementioned emphasis on communicative competence in language teaching, met with other emerging trends in content teaching for ESL students (as well as integrated instruction of both language and content through CBI). Then there was the increasingly varied background of ESL students. These factors converged to

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[13] "The academy" here refers to postsecondary universities with research traditions and liberal arts curricula, as well as the faculty and stakeholders who cultivate and guide these institutions' missions.
[14] Literature has, in fact, shown statistically significant, positive correlations between benchmark scores and academic success across fields thus enhancing arguments for data-supported cut scores – see Messner and Liu, 1995.

muddle any cohesive and coherent approach to serving ESL students in university settings. They also led to emerging initiatives aimed at better incorporating these students in colleges and universities, which will be more fully explained below.

What practical and theoretical concerns have led to the varying manifestations of university R-ESL and R-ESL+, and how has this confluence of factors sown the seeds for the BPPs of today?

In the ongoing discussion on ESL student backgrounds, Spack (1988) adds to the conversation about the change in the student population in the 1960s and 1970s "from a somewhat elitist, homogeneous group to an academically underprepared group representing diverse cultures and educational backgrounds" (p. 34 – see also Table 3 above). ESL programs at the time were not prepared to meet the needs of the increasingly varied student populations they were receiving. Adding to the turbulence already taking shape in this narrative was the activist tidal wave sweeping the U.S. after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a landmark event that paved the way for court judgments such as "Lau vs. Nichols." This was a decision which mandated that provisions be made for limited English proficiency (LEP) students in K-12 school districts to receive language support in order to ensure equal access to education (though the ruling stopped short of mandating bilingual education or of suggesting a framework to meet this mandate).

This K-12 mandate for fostering access had reverberations in university environments where the "sink-or-swim" submersion of old had already made way for pre-academic ESL immersion programs, as well as some diffusion of language policy and language considerations into other disciplines. Content-area instructors shared concerns for students with "intractable

language problems" (Goodwin & Nacht, 1983, p. viii) in their classes. It seems that a number of

schools were at a loss as to how to best work with ESL students.

Indeed, Goodwin and Nacht (1983) highlight a number of tensions that were emerging in

the early 1980s as universities struggled to determine how they should handle more diverse

inflows of ESL students. Their title alone is telling: "Absence of Decision: Foreign Students in

American Colleges and Universities – A Report on Policy Formation or The Lack Thereof."

This report is largely an indictment of universities' service of ESL students in the early 1980s, a

time that was a turning point in discussions of ESL students at American universities. Part of

their thesis holds that because different stakeholders involved in serving ESL students at the

university level had (indeed, "have") often competing interests about the best policies and

programs to do so, or even whether to serve ESL students at all, there is much disagreement:

> Undoubtedly, in some respects this decentralization [of decision making in institutions of
>
> higher learning] is the system's glory: it assures wide participation, dispersion of power,
>
> and accountability. However, it is also a potential source of confusion, policy sclerosis,
>
> and mystery (Goodwin & Nacht, 1983, p. 5).

To this end, in a chapter called "Who cares and why?" (pp. 1-4), they detail a number of

emerging concerns from a variety of stakeholders germane to this discussion about what has

driven the development and proliferation of CCSs. In Table 4 below, I position these concerns

along with other concerns raised in the literature on ESL students in universities in the 70s and

80s and juxtapose these with concerns in more recent literature since 1990 to highlight the

ongoing and pervasive presence of these issues; an attendant goal is to see how the concerns

have evolved, how few have been remedied, and how many still linger.

Table 4:

Past and Present Practical Concerns and Considerations Vis-à-vis Serving ESL *Students in University Settings*

Issue/ Concern	Literature up until 1990	Literature post-1990	Comment
Rising tuition costs	Goodwin and Nacht highlight an emerging issue that coalesced with the greater presence of ESL students in the late 1980s: the increasing costs and complexities of higher education – they note that "the […] potential of foreign students as sources of tuition and revenue […] is not hard for any harassed administrator to comprehend, regardless of the complications they may create" (p. 2).	Altbach and Knight (2007) note that "many countries recruit [ESL] students to earn profits by charging high fees" (p. 292). Perez-Pena (2014) notes "Colleges want, and increasingly need, more foreign students, not only for high-minded reasons, but also because foreigners generally pay full price". Finally, Andrade (2006) notes that while "the desire to increase opportunities for higher education for students from abroad is motivated by numerous factors, the most obvious [is] economic" (p. 132).	This issue still lingers. Given the continued decline in financial support for public state universities in particular, the need to recruit ESL students who will pay full sticker price for their studies is openly known and discussed in admissions departments.
Institutional Preparedness, Openness, and Capacity to work with ESL Students	Goodwin and Nacht mention advisors and administration who "recoiled at the inadequate preparations that had been made for foreign students, [which was like] inviting guests to your home when you have no guestroom" (p. 2)	In the early part of the 21st century: "Once the province of small private liberal-art colleges, now larger universities [have begun] mounting multi-country promotional tours, fairs and exhibits, all intended to interest [ESL] students in attending the particular sponsoring institution [in the U.S]." (Bevis, 2007, p. 221).	The issue has evolved considerably, though this does not address enduring concerns about how, for example, ESL students are regarded in classrooms. However, it is clear that universities continue to make great efforts to recruit ESL students.
Faculty resistance to working with ESL Students	"[There exists] an unwillingness of faculty to commit the extra time needed to teach foreign students or even to take seriously their pedagogical problems. […] Evidently, most faculty have insufficient professional or intellectual incentives to wart	Content faculty should "change their beliefs, values, and attitudes toward [ESL] students" (Clair, 1995, p. 93). "It is not the students' texts that need to change; rather it is the native-speaking readers and evaluators (particularly in educational institutions) that	This is a lingering issue that has not evolved or improved substantively. The contrast here underscores a marked shift in stance where university ESL support programs seek to challenge the status quo by asserting themselves

	the extra effort" (Goodwin & Nacht, 1983, p. 10).	need to learn to read more broadly, with a more cosmopolitan, less parochial eye" (Leki, 1992, p. 132). "Although there are strong exceptions, many receiving programs, particularly those that do not focus on ESL, are less than eager to see ESL students enroll in their program. It is not unusual to find teachers in academic, vocational, or job training programs who are reluctant to serve ESL students and would like to see them stay in ESL programs until they are fully proficient. Many of these teachers feel that they should not be required to teach students who are not fluent, because these students may require special attention. Taken together, the prevailing attitudes discourage the advancement of ESL students through the system." (Chisman, 1993, p. 56)	and bolstering the bona fides of ESL students, while not assuming a "butler's stance" (Raimes, 1992, p. 243-244) programmatically to the content courses at the institution in which they are situated.
The role of ESL units in universities	"[…] we are justified in teaching general academic writing and […] we should leave the teaching of writing in the disciplines to teachers of those disciplines" (Spack, 1988, p. 30). Van Meter (1990) summarized a number of inquiries regarding the issue of granting credit for ESL, and found that the main objective to legitimizing programs through credit was the fact that "ESL courses do not contain 'college-level material'" (p. 4). In an edited volume about ending remediation, Benesch (1988) notes "a widespread perception of ESL as a service course which should take care	Shapiro (2011) notes: "In essence, […] institutional isolation [of university ESL programs] breeds ignorance and alienation" (p. 41). This is echoed in Pennycook (1997): "A curricular focus on providing students only with academic skills […] leads to a self-defeating position […]; marginalization and displacement into a secondary role compared to other disciplines […] cannot be overcome by accepting a role as a service department providing what other departments feel they need" (p. 263).	The issue has evolved, but has not been remedied. Similar to the sentiments above regarding faculty resistance to working with ESL students, legitimization of ESL units as peer academic departments that works symbiotically (Jenks, 1997) with the rest of the institution - where institutional polices and classroom practices between ESL and content areas mutually inform one another.

	of language learning once and for all" (p. 3).		
Questions about curricular priorities and philosophies for university ESL support programs meant to prepare students for content study	Saville-Troike (1984) questions ESL curricular priorities, especially the emphasis on structure to the detriment of content instruction: "Mastery of English grammatical structure is more closely related to native language background than to the ability to use English for Academic purposes" (p. 216) and "Too often we in ESL have forgotten that teaching English is not an end in itself but only a means to an end; the critical outcome for those of us teaching children is how well we equip them to succeed in school" (p. 217) "To meet [the challenge of providing advanced literacy skills], we need a broader perspective, namely, that language and content instruction must be integrated" (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 555)	"Appropriate academic skills should be taught explicitly. Without explicit teaching, students may use inappropriate strategies that they developed in their native countries, or they may develop new strategies which are not effective" (Adamson, 1990, p. 85). "[University] literacy demands are not problematized in the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) literature, but are instead presented as positive artifacts of a normative academic culture into which [ESL] students should be assimilated" (Benesch, 1993, p. 710). "Teachers in an EAP context analyze the requirements and demands of the discourse community and translate them into activities geared to produce appropriate products. In [a system where unobtrusive accommodation of academic course expectations is the norm], once the goals are established, the worth of those goals is seldom questioned. They are presented more for imitation than for critical analysis" (Raimes, 1992, p. 244). "I would like to see an EAP […] that moves towards a more direct engagement with the confrontation between the cultural, educational and linguistic practices of the students and the academy" (Pennycook, 1997, p. 266).	While not completely remedied, literature does seem to show a sea change on this issue that is playing out in the setup of programs, some detailed in this very report. The matters on the left and the right do not necessarily complement each other, nor do they stand in direct opposition. However, I wish to highlight how contentious the discussions about the priorities of university ESL support have become in the literature of the past 20-plus years, with considerations ranging from quasi-practical (e.g. how to integrate language and content) to political (See, for example, Pennycook's 1997 article on "Vulgar Pragmatism.").

Table 4 shows some of the issues that have arisen as more time and consideration have been given to university ESL support. Though dichotomies can be problematic, a goal in showing this table is to illustrate a succession of concerns that have evolved, often complicating the picture of how best to serve ESL students with some lack of clarity regarding goals and priorities. The top-to-bottom order of issues presented in Table 4 is intentional: one factor that has driven increased recruiting of ESL students over the years has been the funding they bring to financially strapped universities. In turn, a perceived seismic shift in demographics has led institutional stakeholders to question whether they are prepared to receive and serve ESL students. When the ESL students begin to arrive in large numbers, an ethical responsibility falls on the faculty who teach ESL students to work with them to provide the education they sought when they came from abroad. This has led to a greater need for ESL units to devise bold and time-bound solutions to get students ready for their university studies quickly, which has also led parent institutions to regard these units as preparation units that will take care of the 'language issue' so that students can jump right into their studies.

Having these and other competing perspectives in the literature that arose during the 1980s and 1990s about ESL students in university settings has led to an array of program decisions over the past 30 years and, in turn, even more literature touting the pedagogical merits of program models, or lamenting the lack thereof. I have focused much of my attention on the 1980s here, including issues such as the credibility and use of the TOEFL for admissions decision, the increased diversity of ESL students coming to the U.S. for university study, the decision-making of ESL units in universities, and the perception of these ESL support programs as separate, remedial preparation units in their parent institutions. I will now turn to theoretical

concerns that came to the fore and further shaped the discussion of serving ESL students.

Theoretical Concerns related to Teaching and Learning "Academic English"

In some ways, the research and policy decisions of the 1980s began to reframe the traditional question asked about ESL students: "Do they know enough English?" by asking a more refined, but difficult one: "What (or even whose) English should they know?" (Benesch, 2001, p. xvii). This latter question fits well with the concerns that arose in research literature about language proficiency vis-à-vis academic engagement during this period, as well as ongoing discussions about appropriate curricular models to prepare ESL students for mainstream academic disciplines.

BICS/CALP

In the 1980s and 1990s, Cummins' (1980, 1981, 1992 among others) research focused heavily on the distinction between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). With BICS, the focus is primarily on oral language where the listener is privy to context-embedded cues (e.g. facial expressions, eye contact, vocal intonation), and also has the ability to seek out clarification with an interlocutor. CALP, on the other hand, exists primarily in the written (often academic) domain, and refers to the context-reduced nature of that domain (e.g. no non-verbal cues, abstract language, embedded cultural knowledge not discernible due to lack of context) – i.e. CALP depends "on linguistic signals that are primarily separate from the communicative context" (Scarcella, 2003, p. 5). Cummins' "dual iceberg" model has been reproduced in many places. See figure 1 below.

SURFACE FEATURES OF L1

SURFACE FEATURES OF L2

COMMON UNDERLYING PROFICIENCY
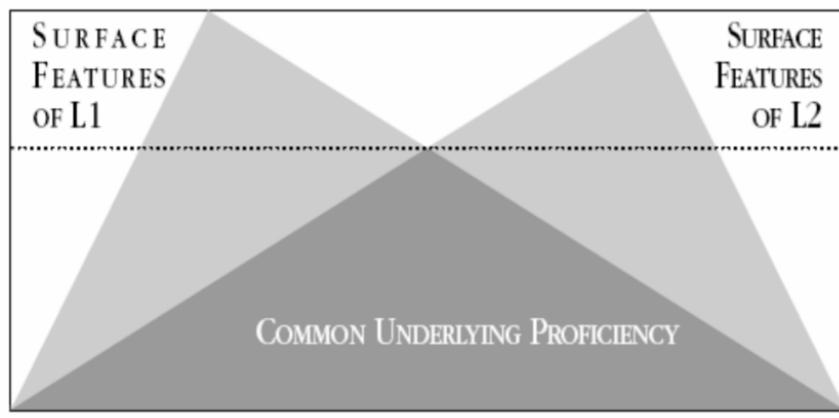
Figure 1: The "Dual Iceberg" Representation of bilingual proficiency (Cummins, 1980, p. 87)

In this and other models, the iceberg metaphor is meant to illustrate the expansive amount of dense, cognitively rich language that exists below the surface level talk (BICS) with which ESL students may be most comfortable. The key in showing Cummins' model above is that it acknowledges that this difficult-to-access, below-surface language in both L1 and L2 accesses an overlapping area capable of abstract, deep thought; simultaneously, however, no presumption can necessarily be made that the student has access to the *background knowledge* assumed at this deep level in the L1, let alone the L2. Some of an individual's abstract thinking abilities and background knowledge may overlap domains across languages, but not all.

In essence, BICS and CALP are two different proficiencies that call on very different domains of ability. Scarcella (2003) improves upon the iceberg model by illustrating the relative prominence of certain linguistic and cognitive features in BICS (figure 2) and CALP (figure 3) tasks, thereby highlight the disparity in domains language users must call upon when asking each.
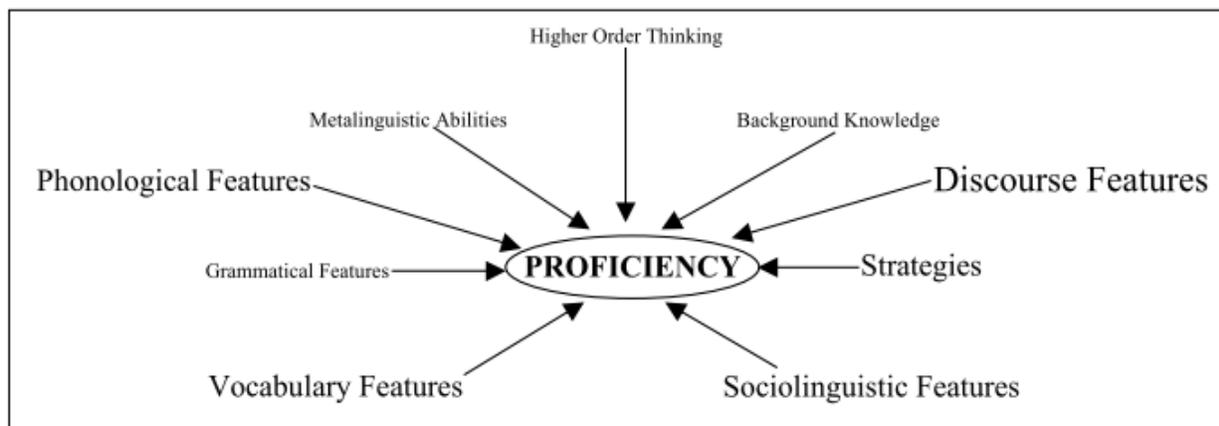
Figure 2: Linguistic and Cognitive Features Entailed in Participating in Everyday Conversations (Scarcella, 2003, p. 27)
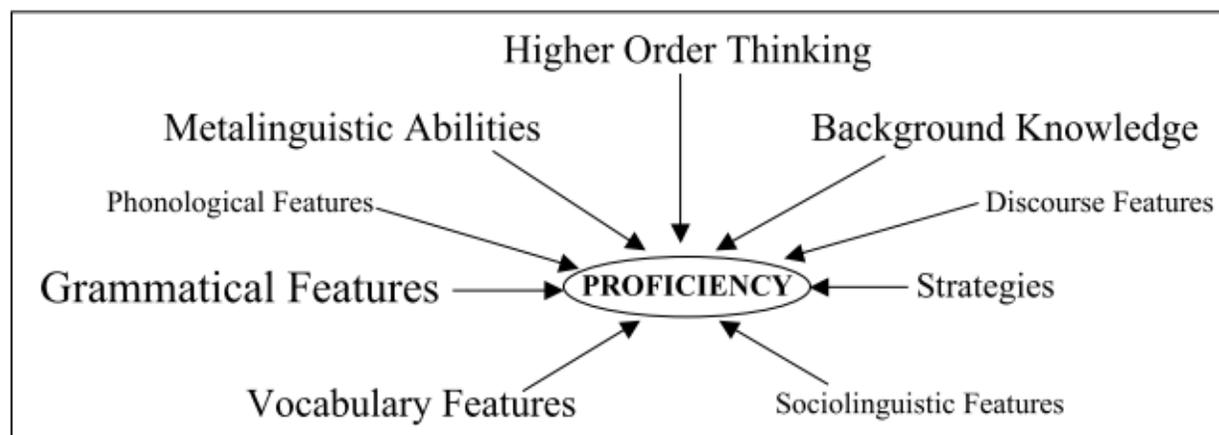
Figure 3: Linguistic and Cognitive Features Entailed in Writing an Expository Essay (Scarcella, 2003, p. 26)

Oxford (1993) focuses her discussion of BICS and CALP in terms of the "social vs. academic language needs" (p. 76) of ESL students. She echoes Scarcella (2003), stating "the language used for academic tasks is often very different from the language used for basic social exchanges" (Oxford, 1993, p. 76). Much of the literature that came out during the expansion of CCS options in the late 1980s wrestled with the question of when the BICS language of social

exchanges could make way for the CALP language of academic tasks, a question Oxford (1993) poses as follows: "When are students ready to have the communication context reduced, as in more typical academic courses?" (p. 90). This question is at the crux of the issue for serving ESL students pursuing degrees in the U.S. given that "in the U.S. academic setting, low-context communication is the norm" (Alberts et al, 2013, p. 155).

ESL Student Background

Discussions about the role of learner background consider the issue from a variety of angles:

- *ESL students' cultural background.* Cummins' "underlying proficiency" represented above hints at this issue. Indeed, we may not be referring to just educational background, but could also invoke the German calque *Weltanschauung* when considering this issue. Essentially, the notion of *Weltanschauung* refers to a coherent set of beliefs, perhaps even a moral code, which one may draw from their home culture, religion, and upbringing among other sources. It is essential to recognize that pursuing a degree at a university involves socialization into an academic community. While ESL students are attending to learning the linguistic *code* of English in a university academic setting, they must concurrently learn not just "the style and nuances of [this] academic subculture, but an entirely different world view" (Adamson, 1993, p. 112).

  Benesch (2001) argues forcefully that "not engaging students in a dialogue about [academic discourses and demands] is unethical because it offers them only one possibility: compliance" (p. 53). Adamson and Benesch's views are two sides of the

same coin. Both acknowledge the subjectivity of both ESL students and the academy in this equation. The key seems to be that in order to give students the tools to assert themselves, be engaged, and even challenge this system, they must paradoxically learn how to work within it using the academic norms and logic valued by those who are invested in it (e.g. instructors, administrators, and fellow students).

- *ESL student expectations regarding their roles and agency in the classroom.* Adamson (1990; 1993) points out that ESL students may have different ideas from their previous educational experiences in their home countries about the roles they inhabit in the classroom. "Many ESL students come from societies in which students do not have the authority to be critical" (Adamson, 1993, p. 112). Additionally, there are ESL students who come from cultures that have traditions of student silence in classrooms (Adamson, 1990, p. 74), situations where there is no expectation to participate – in fact, the expectation could be just the opposite. These are critical factors in acknowledging that students' understanding about the appropriateness of adding their voice to classroom interactions may not be clear simply because they made the decision to study in the U.S. context.

- *ESL students' educational background.* Depending on the academic traditions of ESL students' home educational culture, there may be an expectation for information to be received and then applied passively, but also faithfully; that is, some students may expect to be given complete information without having to then analyze, evaluate, synthesize, or even reject it in some way (Cummins, 1992). There is much literature (Adamson, 1990; 1993; Kasper, 2000; Oxford, 1993) that discusses the varying and sometimes

inappropriate schemata, or heuristic frameworks for understanding, that ESL students

apply in academic situations. Similar to day-to-day cultural interactions that may be

complicated by students' educational backgrounds, some ESL students "may experience

comprehension problems either because they lack the schemata that native speakers

fluently use to make meaning out of texts, or because they apply inappropriate schemata

and misunderstand the texts" (Kasper, 2000, p. 7). For example, some ideas that are

presented as contested and theoretical in a class may be understood as facts and therefore

internalized as such. Difficulty dealing with nuance and a lack of "tolerance for

ambiguity" (Adamson, 1990, p. 73) can lead to great frustration for an ESL student

endeavoring to be more engaged in class, especially in light of the attendant language

proficiency the student is still trying to build.

The literature highlighted thus far generally points to the problems with attempting to separate

two major challenges ESL students face: on the one hand, ESL students, like many college

students, struggle to grasp inherently challenging university course content; simultaneously, they

must meet the challenge of building a sophisticated level of language proficiency to articulate

their understanding of this content. At this juncture, I turn to two educational movements that

have attempted to reconcile these challenges from both the ESL unit and content unit sides of the

equation: content-based instruction (CBI) and the Language Across the Curriculum (LAC)

movement.

CBI and Academic English

CBI is defined succinctly by Dupuy (2000) as "teaching a content area in the target

language wherein students acquire both language and subject matter knowledge" (p. 206). CBI

has been touted widely as a productive way to learn language: "[…] language skills are most effectively developed when taught in the context of acquiring information" (Kasper, 2000, p. 19). However, Dupuy (2000) also emphasizes CBI's utility in advanced FL courses where it can serve as "a viable way to address the language competency / language use gap that many students experience" (p. 206).

As noted earlier, the shift in focus for CBI in the context of university, pre-academic ESL instruction, and especially in R-ESL+ and BPP models, entails moving from a primary focus on language acquisition to a greater emphasis on content acquisition and the affiliated language of that content: Academic English (AE). CBI departs from the "decontextualized, skills-based" (Shapiro, 2011, p. 24) curricula of IEPs to one in which the student profits linguistically and academically from engaging in challenging, specific target-language content. Unlike FL applications of CBI, many scholars (Benesch, 2001; Cox & Zawacki, 2014, among others) discuss the complexity of the added domain of the subgenre of AE. The issue with characterizing AE as somehow homogeneous is that doing so does not take into account the divergent language domains of the subject areas students encounter, especially undergraduate-bound students who may have to contend with widely varying general education course requirements both initially and throughout their studies.

Kutz (1986) says the following: "[…] we know that many conventions of academic discourse are not arbitrary prescriptions, but have evolved as the clearest way to express the thinking done in various disciplines – even as a heuristic for that thinking" (p. 85). Kutz's article focuses on writing in the disciplines, and challenges template-based writing that is often the practice in ESL student preparation, writing she considers to be "content free" and similar to a

"recipe" style (p. 389). Her position is one that is important in the context of a discussion about the role of CCS programs – that the course work in these programs should support the "models and procedures" (p. 390) within these disciplines, while also allowing for ESL students still learning English to use the language they know as they seek to access these models and procedures; this also entails the instructor's acceptance of this language, whatever its "flaws."

In Oxford's 1993 article about content-based ESL at the university level, she highlights the specific language challenges encountered in the subject areas of mathematics, social studies, and science. In both robust BPP settings and "weaker" versions of CBI (as shown in Table 2 earlier), introducing varying domains means attending to different challenges that preclude a catch-all approach to instruction. For example, in mathematics, Oxford notes that the linguistic syntax of mathematical study may not reflect normal linguistic syntax, but rather the "syntax of the mathematical symbols" (p. 87). Oxford also notes that density and opacity plague mathematics textbooks, which means the difficulty native speakers face "are almost exponentially compounded for second language learners" (p. 88).

With respect to social studies, Oxford emphasizes the background knowledge and cultural values that are "crucial" in social studies at the university level (p. 88). She also implies that while it would seem social studies could have an inherent socializing value, that "even at the tertiary level, social studies courses such as history or sociology sometimes consist of rote memorization of facts […] rather than in-depth application, analysis, evaluation, or synthesis of important problems" (Oxford, 1993, p. 88). Adding to this catalogue of task types, Oxford notes that the challenge may be even greater for science where "hands-on activities are most valuable" (Oxford, 1993, p. 89).

In presenting these cases, Oxford seems to end up with more questions than answers, and she reveals the article's ultimate focus on language learning trumps implied concerns she has related to content learning objectives in this line: "The proliferation of [CBI in ESL] has moved far more quickly than has the elaboration of a fundamental theory of adult language development to undergird [CBI in ESL]" (Oxford, 1993, p. 93).

Of course, the objective in CCS offerings is partly language learning, but also acquisition of content for a grade and, in turn, credit in a course. This all brings us back to the elusive construct of AE, and whether it is, as Benesch (2001) ponders, "monolithic" (p. xvii). Indeed, much eludes educators who endeavor to build ESL support programs that cohesively and coherently serve ESL students, including: their background (in all senses outlined above), the academic skills to be taught, and the academic discourse(s) that will help them in their studies post-program. Gee (2002) notes "[Language learners] don't learn to read or write, they learn to read or write something (some type of text) written in a specific social language used in specific ways by specific groups of people for specific purposes" (p. 162). In this way, Gee acknowledges that ESL students may reasonably encounter a number of genres – indeed, multiple "Englishes," and that the administrators and instructors of the institutions, departments, and classes into which they will enroll should acknowledge they represent multiple and, at times, dissimilar varieties within the academy, and also within the construct of AE.

Toward Practical Solutions and Bridges with the Academy: The Language Across the Curriculum Movement

Returning to the original question for this subsection regarding the theoretical and *practical* concerns that have sown the seeds for today's BPPs, we can see throughout the

narrative above that theoretical concerns and practical issues have led to a great deal of discord and politicization to the discussion of how to best serve, and ultimately integrate, ESL students in university settings. We see the field of university ESL trying to define and assert itself in the academy while the academy struggles with how to incorporate ESL students who, from the late 1980s up through today, have become increasingly vital for many institutions' missions. One response that emerged out of this struggle was the Language Across the Curriculum (LAC) movement.

The LAC movement (Cox & Zawacki, 2014; Grabe & Stoller, 1997; Spack, 1988) was an acknowledgment from the academy that students with disparate backgrounds would inevitably bring different perspectives and language proficiency to the table. It was originally a movement to account for the educational needs of students *in general* who lacked academic backgrounds, which made its eventual shift to ESL populations natural. LAC asks: "Why is it that the student is seen as needing to change, but not the institution?" (Cox & Zawacki, 2014, p. 22). To this end, LAC as a concept aims to decrease the unease of working with students whose English preparation and educational backgrounds may not have necessarily prepared them to deal immediately with specific rhetorical traditions of college majors as conceptualized by the faculty teaching in those disciplines. For this discussion, the purpose then seems to have been, and continues to be, to take the English ESL students know and use it as a strength, not a weakness in order to give access to the same educational opportunities native English-speaking (NES) students have. LAC initiatives promote a "difference-as-resource" (Cox & Zawacki, 2014, p. 17) culture, especially in writing. Spack (1988) characterizes this movement as an "L1" movement, meaning its genesis came from L1 English-speaking faculty in English-medium

institutions who sought a wider perspective on student language. Critically, it "[emphasizes] the role of language learning in all subject-matter learning" (Vollmer, 2006, p. 177).

As a concept and, subsequently, language policy (Vollmer, 2006), LAC is reflective and purposeful. Adding to the question above from Cox and Zawacki about institutional change, Vollmer (2006) restates the question as whether "the school should adapt to the learner or the learners to the school" (p. 182). There is not only acknowledgment, but watchfulness about the fact that students earn grades based on their ability to use and manipulate language, regardless of the subject (hence, "across the curriculum"), so language development must be a constant focus everywhere in a school's curriculum. However, "this development should be based on the linguistic capacities and potentials of the [students] themselves, on what they bring to school, not on the norms of the school […] alone" (Vollmer, 2006, p. 182). As a shift in perspective vis-à-vis ESL students, LAC asks NES and highly English-proficient faculty in content courses to shift "deficiency" perspectives they may harbor in favor of allowing for greater rhetorical variety and potentially semantic, mechanical, and structural "inaccuracies" if students' ideas are promising and in keeping with course and assignment goals. In practice, program implementation of LAC seems to also place some burden on "subject teachers to become 'language teachers'" (Vollmer, 2006, pp. 184-185).

Vollmer (2006) discusses some harsh realities that face well-intentioned LAC programs that are relevant here:

> […] there have not been clear or precise conceptualization[s] as yet of what it means to do language education across the curriculum, to support subject matter learning through language work, nor didactic suggestions of how exactly to integrate content and language

learning in a specific course or subject. […] Another obstacle lay in the fact there [has

been] no one centrally responsible in the school for such a cross-curricular approach,

except perhaps the head master or principal. But for an administrator it would be

impossible to see to it that LAC really works. This is a structural weakness, in school as

much as in university, since nobody can be identified who is or feels responsible for this

type of qualification in subject-specific language skills, in conceptualizing language

learning in this functional way and in coordinating the development of a whole

school/whole university language education policy accordingly. Unfortunately, *all of the*

difficulties mentioned are still valid (p. 185, emphasis mine)

The notion of a whole-university language policy may be impractical, but even at the department

or unit level within institutions, the notion of grading and viewing students' content through a

sympathetic, language-learning lens is a point of contention with instructors. Cox and Zawacki

(2014) discuss the problems of faculty who try to find a way to take the developing abilities of

ESL students into account when grading assignments in heterogeneous classes, where they

"[feel] guilty if they applied the same standards to monolingual and multilingual students – and

also [feel] guilty if they did not do so" (p. 9). Indeed, the text above does not fully define the

notion of an "LAC program" because the conceptualization of this idea varies from institution to

institution, and is usually tailored to institution-specific limitations and goals.

CBI and LAC have commensurate goals in that both acknowledge that inquiry-based

education serves to improve language, but also that language learning happens in all subjects.

These were, and are, concepts in search of a suitable model of delivery. The models that will be

shown in the next section all resulted in some way from the tenets of CBI and LAC, as well as the historical and political factors related to serving ESL students discussed thus far.

What are the policies and program structures of past and current BPPs, and how have they aimed to ensure academic success post-program?

In this section, we will examine some specific program models that follow the tenets of BPPs, which I will further delineate through these descriptions. We will once again start historically with a seminal study by Snow and Brinton (1988) which documented the effectiveness of the adjunct model (AM) program at UCLA called the "Freshman Summer Program (FSP)" (p. 556), a program with a long history, which still exists. After that, we will move forward to a once defunct, and now renewed CCS program at the Bilingual University of Ottawa. We will then consider the "INTO" corporate partnership model. Finally, we will look at a "homegrown" program developed by an ESL university unit, which also served as the research site for this dissertation: The Advanced Track (AT), a program of the English Language Institute (ELI), at Southwestern Research College (SRC), a major public university in the American southwest.[15]

Bridge and Pathway Programs (BPPs)

Before showing program models, let us first consider the current practice of labeling CCSs as "bridge programs" or "pathway programs." The patently lackluster label of "concurrent enrollment" which used to define instances where advanced ESL students were given dispensation to take credit-bearing content courses while studying in advanced ESL tracks has gone out of vogue. The branding of "bridges" and "pathways" is intentional and evocative; in an

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[15] "AT," "ELI" and "SRC" are pseudonyms

educational context, these words imply lofty pursuits and the noblest of goals: giving ESL students a route that will take them from where they are –non-matriculated, wanting to improve their English and academic ability – to where they wish to go – fully matriculated, confident in their language, and ready to tackle the academic tasks set forth for them in a full program of study. There is a sense that one is being conveyed to a destination with the BPP providing the mode of conveyance.

Unfortunately, the "bridges" often require continuous retrofitting, and the "pathways" are sometimes muddy and difficult to negotiate surefootedly. The programs considered in this subsection are described because of how they have chosen to label themselves for purposes of institutional recognition and validation, as well as garnering student interest (among other goals).

An important aspect of an academic program like a BPP is a mission statement which offers "what the organization wants to accomplish and what it will pursue to do so" (Lord, Liskin-Gasparro & Lacorte, 2013, p. 20). Lord, et al (2013) provide a list of questions that define how an institution might go about drafting a cogent mission statement. I have included an adapted, digest version of these questions here as they provide a template for analyzing program policies and structures. The questions below come from Lord, et al. (2013, pp. 24-30):

1. **Who is the audience?** Whom does the program serve? Whom does the program not serve.
2. **What does the language program accomplish?** How does the program achieve its goals? What techniques are used, from the instructors' and students' perspectives?
3. **What skills or aspects are emphasized in the program?** Does the program focus on a traditional four-skills approach to language teaching, or does the program view language learning from a different perspective?
4. **What are the expectations?** What is expected of the participants in the language program? How will participants be assessed on their involvement in the program?
5. **Where to seek input?** Whose opinions should be considered when articulating the goals of the program? How the can input of the key participants be obtained?"
6. **What is the bigger picture?** What role does the program play in the department or institution? How do the courses in the language program relate to the overall course of study?
7. **Is the length of the statement appropriate?**
8. **How will the statement be disseminated?**

9. **Is the mission relevant and up to date?** Are the students' needs being met? Does the mission statement remain relevant with respect to the audience, the objectives, and the departmental and institutional contexts?

These questions have a clear language learning emphasis. Of course, part of the difficulty in defining the mission and eventual policies and structure of a BPP is striking a balance between language and content learning. After a brief description of the programs below, and regardless of whether or not these programs have a clearly defined and published mission statement, I will use the first 6 questions above to answer the overarching question of this section with the ultimate goal being to determine how these BPPs understand, value, support, and respect (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 244) ESL students as they (i.e. BPPs) seek to define and assert themselves within their parent institutions.

The UCLA Freshman Summer Program (FSP)

The FSP detailed by Snow and Brinton (1988) follows the basic tenets of an adjunct model as outlined in Table 2 earlier in this article. "The FSP is a content-based instructional program designed to meet the linguistic and academic needs of student who lack exposure to the types of tasks required for success at the university" (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 556). The program's particular emphasis, at least at the time of Snow and Brinton's documentation of it, is on improving writing skills. As of 2016, the program has been somewhat rebranded as the "Freshman/Transfer Summer Program" (www.aap.ucla/edu) as it has now built in a component for transferring non-native English speaking (NNES) students. The fact that the program started in the 1970s and still exists until today speaks to the strength and endurance of its model, even though it has changed considerably over the years.

- *Who is the audience?*

As implied in the description above and as one can see in the remaining Snow and Brinton description as well as the program's current website, this is not a program meant strictly for ESL students as defined in this article and in Andrade (2006). Rather, this program is meant for various kinds of nonnative speakers, including immigrant students who came to the U.S. for primary or secondary education, and also heritage speakers of languages other than English who intend to study at UCLA. As such, I will refer to the mix of students in the FSP as NNES's in this particular section.

- *What does the language program accomplish?*

In terms of concrete goals for the program, one that is likely attractive for participants is the ability to accumulate academic credit prior to starting a full course of study. Snow and Brinton's (1988) description indicates that students enroll in a number of credit-bearing courses that have sheltered complementary courses meant strictly for NNES students. Language curriculum instructors plan their courses by determining "the optimal sequence of topic and skills so that the objectives of the two linked courses can map onto each other most effectively" (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 559). This planning reflects what the program hopes to accomplish: to guide students through the stages of study typical to a freshman-level course where basic concepts are introduced before denser concepts are introduced for analysis and application.

- *What skills or aspects emphasized in the program?*

The program's clear goal is to help students understand and navigate discipline-specific reading and writing conventions for the courses that are linked. The linked ESL adjunct courses and tutoring groups emphasize "both the accuracy of content and […] the accuracy and sophistication of language used to communicate this content" (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 559). It

seems that the accuracy of content in this description may be subordinate to the improvement of language skills as described in Snow and Brinton (1984; 1988).

- *What are the expectations?*

Aside from gaining credit, it is expected that participants will "gain even more confidence in [their] intellectual abilities before having to deal with the pressures of their first full quarter of university academic work; [they] will become familiar with the whole range of campus programs, services, and resources available to [them]; and [they'll] have the opportunity to live on campus together with [other participants] of diverse backgrounds"[16]. Importantly, aspects of campus life and integration do not take a back seat to course work in this design. "On most campuses there is only limited mingling of ESL students with domestic students, creating few opportunities for either group to gain cross-cultural experiences" (Alberts, et al., 2013, p. 132). This program endeavors to integrate students through careful support and facilitated opportunities for contact.

- *Where to seek input?*

The program seeks input from content and language-learning areas. As shown in Snow and Brinton (1988), the program seems to do a good job of seeking input from students as well. In post-program surveys, the students were asked to rate "certain activities or skills they were exposed to in the FSP curriculum" (p. 561). The results of this survey confirmed the reading and writing emphases of the program were appropriate, though some students did question the usefulness of some activities in light of their intended majors. In terms of helping with success

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[16] http://www.aap.ucla.edu/programs/new-students/freshman-and-transfer-summer-programs/overview/

post-program, survey results indicated that "an overwhelming majority of the students commented that the FSP had helped them to achieve success in time management, lecture note taking, and reading" while also making them "wise to the system" (p. 568). These are clearly positive outcomes for the program that help validate its existence.

- *What is the bigger picture?*

For the FSP, the bigger picture is very much linked to the populations UCLA seems to serve. The program has evolved under its parent program, the "Academic Advancement Program (AAP)" (http://www.aap.ucla.edu/). Based on information found on this website, it seems that the AAP is an extremely robust and established unit, meaning the FSP is in good hands. The courses in the FSP relate directly to any student's course of study as they lead directly into any student's freshman year course work.

Final Notes on UCLA's FSP

The FSP fits some of the tenets outlined above for BPPs. It is unclear if a credential is obtained at the end of the program based on my reading of Snow and Brinton (1988) as well as the program's current website. In fact, the program would seem to fit the description of a BPP less in 2016 than it did in 1988, which is not meant as an indictment or accusation, but simply an observation. Interestingly, it appears the program has shifted its focus over the years, with an apparent primary emphasis currently on helping incoming UCLA students who may have been ill-prepared for university course work due to educational disadvantages and, potentially, low socioeconomic status. An FAQ page[17] linked from the FSP site indicates that there are still

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[17] http://www.aap.ucla.edu/programs/new-students/freshman-and-transfer-summer-programs/faqs/

paired course offerings typical of an adjunct model. However, it is not clear if these are sheltered offerings for NNES students as they were in 1988 (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 556). Indeed, the emphasis on achieving certain benchmark scores on the Analytical Writing Placement Exam (AWPE)[18] would seem to indicate that one emphasis of the program is remedial writing for students who have yet to meet institutional benchmarks for incoming freshmen.

While the FSP has no clear mission statement, the unit under which it is housed, the APP, does and is shown here:

> *Built on principles of social justice, AAP has a threefold mission:*
>
> *1) to advocate and facilitate the access, academic success, and graduation of students who have been historically underrepresented in higher education;*
>
> *2) inform and prepare students for graduate and professional schools; and*
>
> *3) to develop the academic, scientific, political, economic, and community leadership necessary to transform society.[19]*

The "social justice" aspect of this mission is in keeping with EAP literature (Benesch, 1993; 2001; Pennycook, 1997) that stresses access and agency for students of all kinds. However, the FSP in its current form does not substantively contribute to a discussion of BPPs that serve ESL students, and specifically how these programs seek to assert themselves as academic units on par with other university departments, not as mere service units to the academy (Pennycook, 1997, p. 259). The program does offer interesting ideas about introducing students to university services

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[18] http://www.aap.ucla.edu/programs/new-students/freshman-and-transfer-summer-programs/curriculum/
[19] http://www.aap.ucla.edu/about-aap/overview/

and campus life, ideas that could be borrowed and adapted for BPPs, even if the current program seems to target a different population than the one under discussion here.

The University of Ottawa Program

In some respects, including the two iterations of the University of Ottawa program - sheltered and adjunct models, respectively - may seem unfair because it is a bilingual institution that inherently values and promotes bilingual and cross-language initiatives in students' courses of study. However, because of its scale, it has often been examined to see what has made it so effective. It is important to elaborate on why there were two iterations of the program. The end of its first iteration in the mid-1990s was due in large part to budget cuts at the university which made what was a very successful model unsustainable. The second iteration came about because of the political climate in Canada, with a renewed emphasis on Canada's official languages (English and French).

In the first iteration of the program, which began "in 1982 and lasted for some 15 years" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 22), the program was a sheltered model, a model that was, and remains, somewhat rare in university contexts. In this R-ESL+ model, qualified instructors of ESL and French as a second language (FSL) offered support for a sheltered, beginning level psychology class ("Introduction to Psychology/Introduction à la psychologie"). The program fully fits the sheltered model described in Table 2 above: a content instructor with native or near-native knowledge of the language of instruction taught a modified version of the course specifically geared toward L2 speakers of the language. The support came in the form of short pre-lecture classes led by language instructors from University of Ottawa's language institute, which Burger, et al. (2013) characterize as "language teacher intervention[s]" (p. 28). Despite the seeming

paucity of their involvement with the students, Burger, et al. (2013) note that these instructors could never "[imagine] how much work it would be to do all the readings, attend all the psychology classes, provide language points in each class, and support the students in myriad ways out-of-class" (p. 28). While it was unclear at first if the inclusion of a language instructor, however limited, in an already modified course would be useful, it became clear over time that they served an essential role as "supporter/organizer/interpreter and intermediary with the discipline specialist" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 29).[20]

Nearly all outcomes of this first round of the program were positive. The students: learned the content well, made very large gains in L2 proficiency, matched the language gains of their counterparts in regular ESL/FSL classes, and gained immensely in self-confidence to use their L2 in an academic setting (Burger, et al, p. 29). The attrition rate was also extremely low – "of the approximately 175 students who were involved in sheltered courses in English and French through 1985, only 3 dropped out of the program and only 2 failed their subject matter course" (Brinton, et al., 2003, p. 54).

Despite these overwhelmingly positive outcomes, the tuition and budget problems so common to U.S. universities hit the University of Ottawa as well. It was at this point that the program's scope was limited and adapted to an adjunct format. In this format, students enrolled in regular courses designed for L1 French/English students; this "required a significantly higher entry proficiency level because professors naturally lectured to the native speaker audience, no longer adapting their discourse to accommodate L2 learners" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 30).

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[20] As I observed in the research context for this dissertation, the role of the language instructors in this sheltered model only became clear after a longer period of experience and experimentation.

Though the program also met with great success, enrollment tapered off, which led to its discontinuation. "The problem of too few students ultimately proved intractable" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 30).

The University of Ottawa program's reincarnation began in 2005, and is a traditional take on the adjunct model with "greatly expanded offerings in different disciplines […] offered in 74 programs" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 32). I will now turn to the mission-based questions from above to describe the current program.

- *Who is the audience?*

Unlike before, the audience for this program is no longer both French and English L2 learners who wish to engage in content course work in their L2. The program's name implies its current focus: French Immersion Studies (FIS). The switch in emphasis appears to relate to larger Canadian endeavors to promote official Canadian languages (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 31) such that there is not an emphasis on studying in one principal language to the detriment of the other. It may be that the program's expanded scope and offerings are attributable to this narrowing of focus – i.e. the institution can focus on hiring French L1 professors to teach content courses.

- *What does the language program accomplish?*

If students participate in the full scope of this program, they receive a special designation on their diplomas indicating they have completed an immersion program. It upholds the values of the parent institution, which promotes bilingualism and the preservation of French as a language of official instruction in university studies in Canada.

- *What skills or aspects are emphasized in the program?*

Answering this question shows what a clear departure the FIS program is from other CBI models. While language learning goals are clearly embedded in the program, a related and equally important goal is attainment of content knowledge through French with a clear understanding that gains in language proficiency will come through this progression. The language support for the content courses follows a "building blocks" (Lord, et al., 2013, p. 25) approach with receptive skills emphasized in initial stages of support, and production in the latter stages (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 32). It is worth noting that enrollment in more advanced adjunct courses is not required, which is noted as problematic in Burger, et al.'s (2013, p. 39) report.

- *What are the expectations?*

To reiterate, language gains are expected. However, it seems more relevant to say that the FIS's main expectation is that many students' content education will occur, to a large degree, in French. The impressive list of immersion courses[21] shows that students can expect to be able to study in French in a vast array of fields ranging from Biology to Criminology.

- *Where to seek input?*

The program's promotion and proliferation comes from a university mandate in its "Vision 2010" to "play a leadership role in promoting Canada's official languages."[22] Indeed, having this mandate may help as the program continues to expand impressively as the situation is not a language program asking an academic program if they are willing to work with them as in many CCS settings, but rather assuming collaboration and asking: "how *will* we work together to offer

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[21] https://immersion.uottawa.ca/en/program-guide/immersion-courses/list-immersion-courses
[22] https://immersion.uottawa.ca/en/about/our-raison-etre

some of your courses in the FIS?" This top-down buy-in and promotion is incredibly important to the continued vitality of the program, and appears to be a recruiting boon.

- *What is the bigger picture?*

Once again, unlike many CCS settings described here, one could safely say that the University of Ottawa FIS is a key pillar of the institution's overall mission. This can be seen in the Vision 2010 statement above, as well as the overall university mission statement, where these three bullet points regarding university intentions stand out:[23]

- o to maintain and develop the widest range of teaching and research programs of national and international standing in both French and English
- o to maintain and enhance the bicultural milieu of the University
- o to exercise leadership in the development of teaching, research and professional programs designed specifically for the French-speaking population in Ontario

These statements firmly support the large-scale FIS program at the University of Ottawa.

Final Notes on the University of Ottawa FIS

The more one looks at the FIS program, the more it would likely be the envy of program administrators in many universities. Of course, the situation of the University of Ottawa is quite different from most settings because of its bilingual mandate. While its scale would be difficult if not impossible for many programs to emulate, the adjunct model it follows, which allows for students to take a number of content courses with attending support, has some clear advantages. The FIS fits the description of an adjunct model, in that it has language support classes which do

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[23] http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/info/regist/crs/0103/medEN/med-eng1.htm

appear to be linked to content courses. However, the requirement to take these courses is

removed as a student advances[24], a fact lamented in Burger, et al. (2013).   There is not a "post-

program" period as such in the FIS program, but Burger, et al. (2013) note that opportunities to

hone advanced oral and writing skills are infrequent in content courses, "so that ongoing

development of these abilities is more dependent on language instruction" (p. 39). Whatever

small problems the program current contends with, it is safe to say that for an institution looking

to expand its reach vis-à-vis ESL students, there would be much to learn from the adjunct model

used in the FIS program at the University of Ottawa.

The "INTO" University Partner Program

"INTO" is a private, for-profit educational brand that partners with universities, mostly in

the U.K. and U.S., to offer "pathway" programs aimed at ESL students who have not met the full

entrance requirements for study at the institution. This could mean the student has not attained a

TOEFL or IELTS score that meets or surpasses the institution's benchmark score, or that their

high school GPA (or GPA equivalency) may not meet institutional requirements, or even that

neither requirement has been met.

In some cases, INTO will come into an existing program and utilize existing ESL faculty

and curricular structures, while in others, they may build up the program or restructure in ways

that make it unrecognizable from a previous version (Winkle, 2011). INTO programs take

existing credit-bearing courses from the university partner and map support onto them through

the ESL unit, or by building up that support side in cases where the previous ESL unit was too

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[24] https://immersion.uottawa.ca/en/program-guide/testing/immersion-study-plan

small or lacked resources for this undertaking. There is no standard model for this, as will be explained below.

A glance at the INTO "Undergraduate Pathways Program" site[25] at one partnering institution in the U.S., George Mason University, says the following of the program:

> The Undergraduate Pathways program combines academic coursework, intensive language study, and academic skills development in a carefully constructed program designed to prepare students for rigorous Mason degree programs. For most students, participation in the pathway program will not add more time to the completion of their bachelor's degree.

The attention to "time to degree" is in keeping with marketing strategies and trends for BPPs that seek to recruit students who might see enrollment in a university ESL program "as an obstacle, rather than asset" (Shapiro, 2011, p. 36). "The premise of a pathway program is that it offers a soft landing spot for [students who lack the English test scores needed for direct admission]" (Redden, 2010, para 4).

The INTO partnerships are true BPPs in that they have dedicated administrative, advising, and recruiting structures. The INTO pathway programs have met with controversy in some places because INTO is a corporate entity forging partnerships, in most cases, with public universities: "[…] the suggestion that a university can best serve – and retain – its ESL students by outsourcing their recruitment, support services and even academic instruction to a company with a profit motive is a controversial one" (Redden, 2010, para 10). Based on their website, it

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[25] http://catalog.gmu.edu/content.php?catoid=25&navoid=5098

seems that INTO does not actively take over academic instruction, if we define the notion of "academic" specifically as instruction of a content or "credit-bearing" course.

Of the structures mentioned in the first line of this paragraph, the area in which a company like INTO is most prolific is recruiting. INTO is a private company whose product is educational partnerships. The customers for this product are students. As such, it is in INTO's interest to build its "customer" base. While increased recruitment of ESL students may be desirable at many institutions, a priority goal in this endeavor may be increasing diversity along with revenue. This may be an attendant goal for INTO partnerships, but the main goal seems to be getting students in country.

Redden (2014) sums up the primary reason why ESL students who would normally be served in a pre-academic IEP would want to study in a BPP:

> The appeal of a pathway program to an [ESL] student is obvious: rather than spend time and money improving their English in an intensive ESL program, they can combine English and academic study and get started on accumulating credits toward a degree right off the bat. (para 29)

Students at INTO USF (University of South Florida), the university detailed in Redden's 2014 piece about private/public partnerships, indicated that they came to the program for the same reason many students come to university ESL programs: a lower-than-benchmark TOEFL or IELTS score. In answering the "mission" questions below, I will use the INTO USF model to shed more light on this program model.

- *Who is the audience?*

The audience for INTO USF is ESL students who have lower-than-benchmark TOEFL or

IELTS, and who seek admission to an undergraduate degree program. They may have decided

to forego attempting these tests, as well as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) common as an

admissions requirement at many U.S. universities (Redden, 2014). They represent a subset of

ESL students alluded to earlier in this paper, students who may have missed benchmark scores,

but who may still have the ability to succeed at the host institution with the more guided

instruction offered in a BPP.

- *What does the language program accomplish?*

It would be misleading to describe INTO pathways as a singular model. Corporate partnerships

like INTO tend to work with the host institution to deliver a model both parties can agree to. At

some institutions, this may mean a sheltered model of instruction. "By contrast, USF has sought

an integrated model: a pathway student in science will be thrown into any section of general

chemistry" (Redden, 2014, para 42). The program's primary accomplishment, as shown in

Redden (2014) is facilitating gradual matriculation into degree programs, with students holding

GPAs that are "basically good: better than Bs" (Redden, 2014, para 35).

- *What skills or aspects are emphasized in the program?*

At the risk of editorializing, this seems wholly unclear and even ignored based on my reading of

the INTO USF website. Each pathway in the program represents a track (e.g. Business,

Engineering or Education[26]). The business pathway shows courses like "English for

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[26] http://www.intohigher.com/us/en-us/the-universities/into-university-of-south-florida/studying/undergraduate-pathways.aspx

International Students," "Academic Foundations," and "20th Century American Culture[27]" in the first semester. The latter two courses may be a nod to a more general approach to introducing Western education, though each course's content is nowhere to be found on the INTO USF website. There is no explicit language agenda other than the one implied by offering support course offerings for the content courses.

- *What are the expectations?*

Students enrolled in the program are expected to maintain a GPA of 2.5 or better in USF courses and a grade of C or better in all classes to progress in the program, with "progression" defined as "transition into the university from an INTO program."[28] The various pathways spell out the course progressions of the programs.

- *Where to seek input?*

With respect to corporate partnerships, this question might be more broadly addressed to university administrators who make the decision to bring in a commercial partner instead of opting to develop a program within the institution's existing ESL unit. Therefore, the question of input in the case of private/public partnerships may not be one of choosing curriculum models or course sequences, but rather a reflective consideration of whether the students, instructors, and institution are best served by partnering.

- *What is the bigger picture?*

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[27] http://www.intohigher.com/us/en-us/the-universities/into-university-of-south-florida/studying/into-usf-programs/programs/undergraduate-pathway-in-business.aspx

[28] http://www.intohigher.com/us/en-us/the-universities/into-university-of-south-florida/studying/into-usf-programs/programs/undergraduate-pathway-in-business.aspx

The last point about how students, instructors, and the institution are best served leads well into a

consideration of the big picture in these partnerships. It is clearly problematic for profit motives

to drive recruiting and enrollment in public universities. Add to that the fact that ESL units are

ripe for outsourcing because they are viewed as marginal, remedial units that are, at best,

obliquely tied to the central mission of the institution (Winkle, 2011). Given that lack of regard

and the concurrent aim to bolster ESL student enrollment, it is not surprising that many

institutions are open to these partnerships. To this end, I offer an observation from Winkle

(2011): "[…] if instructional academic endeavors such as language teaching can be commodified

[…], and, in some contexts, arguably outsourced in terms of governance, then which teaching

units or departments on campus will be next?" (p. 326).

Final Notes on the "INTO" University Partner Program

Through insinuation, I have put my stake in the ground regarding commercial

partnerships like INTO. As a BPP, it has much to offer because of the many pathways each

INTO partnership offers. However, because it is a private company and a brand, INTO may

have goals that are not in line with research-driven theories about preparing ESL students for

study, or at least these may not be primary goals. Indeed, a look across the various U.S.

partnerships INTO has with U.S. universities (see: http://www.intohigher.com/us/en-

us/home.aspx) shows that the majority of partnering institutions offer similar pathway options.

Of course, it may be that INTO partners selectively with these institutions because of the majors

each offers. However, it may not be a step too far to surmise that these pathways (e.g. Business,

Engineering, Science) are the ones that may draw the largest pool of ESL students, as reflected in

the Open Doors Data on the most popular fields of study of ESL students[29]. This is not to say

BPPs should not serve these interests, but simply that institutions, themselves, should be capable

of understanding and targeting the educational goals of their incoming ESL students. Caution

might also be advisable in allowing indiscriminate recruiting, which is entirely possible when

universities hand over this first step of internationalizing to a private company.

The English Language Institute's (ELI) Advanced Track (AT) at Southwestern Research College

(SRC)

As mentioned, the AT was the site of my dissertation data collection. As part of a review

such as the current one, its placement here is meant to incorporate a research-oriented account of

a BPP that is still in relatively new and dealing with the growing pains of bridging language and

content. As such, I will go into some detail about the particularities of the program structure.

The program is a joint effort between ELI – a non-credit-bearing, pre-academic English

preparation unit, several credit-granting departments (e.g. English, Anthropology, and History),

and the Global Perspectives[30] department at SRC. This department helps to facilitate "non-

standard" and "off-cycle" course and programs that may not follow the format or semester

calendar of typical SRC program offerings. The AT is similar to many BPPs that seek to

gradually bridge ESL students from ESL classes into content courses.

The collaboration between these units at SRC resulted in a "homegrown" BPP that staved

off overtures from companies like INTO that contacted SRC to partner. As of the writing of this

article, the program has been in place for 3 years and is set to change its schedule format in the

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[29] http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/Fields-of-Study#.VxQz46QrLcs
[30] A pseudonym

fall. From when data was initially gathered through the beginning of Summer 2016, the program

has been running three to four 10-week sessions of the program per calendar year, meaning that

coursework normally delivered over the course of a university semester is condensed into 10

weeks. Each content course has a complementary support course (shown below).

The AT mixes elements of sheltered and adjunct designs. Students typically take 4

courses. There has been some adjustment of course sequences over time since the program's

inception in 2013, but I will show a typical sequence in Table 5 below. Note that all courses

labeled "University Course" are for credit, while those labeled as "EAP Support Course" are

non-credit:

Table 5:

Courses in AT Session-by-Session (all sessions 10 weeks)

	Session 1	**Session 2**
University Course 1	English 107 – Composition for ESL Students (4.5 hrs/week)	English 108 – Composition 2 for ESL Students (4.5 hrs/week)
EAP Support Course	Bridge for English 107 (4.5 hrs/week)	Bridge for English 108 (4.5 hrs/week)
University Course 2	N/A	History 150 – U.S. Society and Institutions since the 19th Century for ESL Students (4.5 hrs/week)
EAP Support Course	N/A	Bridge for History 150 (4/5 hrs/week)
Other ESL course	News & Views (4.5 hrs/week)	N/A
Other ESL Course	Oral Communication (4.5 hrs/week)	N/A

In some cases, the second content course in session 2 may be an Anthropology class instead of a

History class. I will now turn to the mission questions to provide a preliminary assessment of the

program.

- *Who is the audience?*

The ESL students in the AT are often, but not always, conditionally admitted students. The

students are typically advanced-level ESL students who have yet to attain one of the SRC

benchmark English scores on the TOEFL or IELTS. There are also occasionally students who

have met university benchmarks for full admission, but who, due to the timing of their program

start dates, choose to start in the AT to begin earning credit and preparing for full matriculation.

The students typically only enroll for one or two sessions before matriculating into SRC.

- *What does the language program accomplish?*

The program realizes extensive support of content courses through this mixed design. Unlike

what was described in the first iteration of the sheltered program at the University of Ottawa, in

this sheltered design, the support course meets for the same number of hours each week as the

content course. Though the content classes in the AT are sheltered (i.e. only offered to specific,

small cohorts of ESL students enrolled in the program), the AT's supporting classes are typical

of what one might see in the adjunct model where linked courses offer extensive support and

often have their own curricula.

The EAP support class instructors attend the content courses with the students and then build

their support lessons by combining learning outcomes from the support class with the content at

hand from the content course. This combination of sheltering and extensive support provides a

very safe environment for ESL students to learn.

- *What skills or aspects are emphasized in the program?*

The program follows a content-based approach, including the first session where the ESL-side

"News & Views" class focuses on critical discussion of print and television media, and the "Oral

Communication" class focuses on presentation and discussion of topics from other classes. The

program seeks to replicate some of the task types found in university classes in the ESL courses,

while also exposing students to courses typical of general education curriculum like History and

Anthropology. The course sequences will, in part, introduce students to Western thought

traditions as well as "inquiry strategies, rhetorical principles, and tasks that can transfer to other course work" (Spack, 1988, p. 40); these strategies and principles are likely to be encountered in composition, Anthropology, and History courses typical of a freshman year course of study.

- *What are the expectations?*

It is expected that AT students will fulfill the SRC English language requirement through completion of the English composition sequence, or by receiving the ELI English Certification[31] for having good grades in one session of study. This certification is based on grades in the program. Typically, students with a GPA of 3.0 or above across all of their AT courses will receive certification, which allows them to enter SRC at the next juncture without a TOEFL or IELTS score. The AT expects that the participants will be as successful as, or even more successful than, their counterparts who directly enrolled in SRC with a TOEFL or IETLS score because of the intense preparation and guidance offered by the program.

- *Where to seek input?*

The program is evolving in a very positive way, but will need to seek continuous input from students, university professors, and advisors in the form of a comprehensive needs analysis similar to the ones found in Smoke (1988) and Johns (1981). In the former, ESL students who had completed an ESL program were asked to rate its impact on their content studies in a 4-year degree program. While many said that they had felt the ESL program had helped them, many also indicated that they still struggled with tasks like reading and studying from textbooks, writing research papers, speaking with professors, and taking notes – some 37% even said they

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[31] A pseudonym

would drop a course if a research paper was required (Smoke, 1988, p. 13). Smoke tried to reconcile the positive views expressed about improvement with these difficulties along with the fact that a large number of students left the school. She offers the caveat that students leave programs for a variety of reasons and that these do not indicate that the program was a failure, but also notes "we must ask ourselves how we can better serve the ESL population" (Smoke, 1988, p. 14).

In Johns (1981), faculty at the university were asked to answer a questionnaire regarding the importance of specific skills in their classes. The survey tended to show that the perceived weaknesses and, therefore, needs of ESL students varied by discipline. It encourages programs to "prepare curricula using real texts and problems from academic English," and also notes that "listening and note-taking should be an integral part of activity in all classrooms, [with] skills of writing and speaking [being] secondary to listening and reading activities" (p. 56).

I include these studies in a discussion of the AT because the questions asked represent questions that could be asked on an ongoing basis by the AT in order to ensure that its curriculum is still meeting all needs, and also to encourage visibility and viability of the program at SRC.

- *What is the bigger picture?*

This is an ongoing question for the AT. It is still a young program that is very much finding its feet. To the credit of the administration currently running the program, it seems to be very nimble and open to changes that will boost enrollment and better serve the students. Vigilance will be necessary for the AT in a period of fluctuating ESL student enrollments if it hopes to continue to successfully fend off possible commercial partnerships from entities like INTO, who

boast recruiting power. Thankfully, because SRC is a large university with a strong recruiting arm, the ability to recruit may be less of an issue than it is at smaller institutions.

Final Notes on the AT SRC

Other sections of this dissertation focus on specific features of the program, including how content and support instructors work together, as well as the function of the support class in this mixed model. Based on my time with the AT, and within a larger conversation about BPPs in general, I am hopeful that it will move in the direction of a more traditional adjunct model using carefully selected general education courses. While a sheltered model offers an environment where language can be modified and where students feel protected from the anxiety they might feel in regular courses, this model also denies students the sense of integration and belonging that an adjunct model would offer. The earlier definition of sheltered courses in Table 2 as R-ESL+ models is intentional. With ESL students in these models being separated into their own distinct cohorts for content courses, they are essentially being tracked for the sake of controlling content. This kind of model worked exceptionally well in a unique setting like the University of Ottawa where the bilingual emphasis is not at the program level, but is instead a university mandate. However, as described above, even the University of Ottawa has had to move to an adjunct model for its re-born FIS program. It seems this model has opened up a large pool of course offerings for FIS students with paired adjunct support.[32]

If the AT is to expand its scope, visibility at SRC, and enrollment, it may benefit from tapping into other course types, with more support offerings following. This may not be financially viable as offering off-cycle courses available only to AT students may be essential to

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[32] https://immersion.uottawa.ca/en/program-guide/immersion-courses/list-immersion-courses

keep the program housed and running under the ELI. As with any program endeavor in its infancy, it will be necessary for the program to strike a balance between academic and practical considerations moving forward.

What shape might future BPPs take?

This review has offered information related to the past and present of CCS programs, as well as how they have evolved into the R-ESL+ and BPP models of today. There are unresolved issues that remain about ESL students in universities – these issues inform research agendas as U.S. campuses become increasingly internationalized. In closing this review/state-of-the-field piece, I will list what I see as five principal issues that the review has brought to light and how these should be regarded in future iterations of BPPs, with the requisite caveat that designing and cultivating BPPs which address these issues requires an understanding of the context and constraints of the host university.

- *Conflicting Educational Values and Norms*

When considering the situation of the ESL student in a BPP, as well as the assumed goal that the BPP is designed and in place to facilitate entry into a degree-granting university program, a number of considerations are at play. The current domination of Chinese and Middle Eastern student populations in U.S. university ESL programs brings with it the attendant issue of these students' cultural and educational backgrounds and expectations diverging from those of their professors and the host university. This impacts all levels of the student's experience, from individual assignments to navigating the university.

Consider the impact of background knowledge on a simple writing assignment in an introductory composition class like the one in the AT described above. Even after following

assignment rules and deadlines, and writing knowing criteria of the rubric the instructor intends to use, another issue lurks in this assignment type: "[…] shared background knowledge can aid communication between the writer and reader in the same way that shared physical context aids communication between the speaker and the listener. In both cases, the speaker/writer can refer to information that is not present in the discourse" (Adamson, 1993, p. 36). The issue of learner background must be a fundamental consideration in both content and support courses in a BPP, especially in terms of helping the student make sense of the academic discourse(s) of the institution. The questions from an instructor in a BPP, whether content- or ESL-side, may be: What are my assumptions when grading this assignment? Where is this student coming from? How can I work to help this student complete this assignment effectively while acknowledging the values of the academic community and the student's personal goals are both important? (Morita & Kobayashi, 2008, p. 250). These considerations may not apply to all task types, but it also seems important to recognize that many task types at the university should not be assumed to be value neutral (Pennycook, 1997).

On a practical level, it should also be noted that "most [ESL] students bring different experiences and expectations regarding classroom dynamics, academic writing style, the role of the instructor, and course content" (Alberts, et al., 2013, p. 147) to the table. Part of the role of a BPP is getting an ESL student used to being a student at an American university. This is a subtle dance, of course, as any overt instruction starting with "in American classes, you can/should…" can often be debunked. As Benesch (2001) notes, "university courses are idiosyncratic, even those within the same department" (p. 13). However, Adamson (1990) makes a convincing case that ESL students asserting themselves cannot come at the expense of making good arguments;

he notes that in essays, for example, students may wish to challenge "conventional ideas," but must also be sure they can show that "[they] understand the conventional ideas and that [their] own ideas are better" (pp. 80-81), and also that students learn not to engage in "vacuous philosophizing" (p. 83). Even the notion of the dominance of student participation in American settings has been challenged as misleading (Kubota, 2001, p. 19). To this end, students who enroll in BPPs should be given explicit instruction about strategies with caveats that rules and strategies are bent or broken with regularity.

- *Curricular Priorities and Program Model Considerations*

It is my firm belief that the adjunct model represents a superior model of BPP. In Winkle's (2011) in-depth study of pathway programs, he noted throughout that faculty members stressed that integration between BPP and mainstream students is a key feature of program models. Using the adjunct model as a guiding principle in program design allows a BPP to "bridge" the worlds of the mainstream, matriculated student and the pre-academic ESL-only international student. The model requires "extended interdisciplinary interaction" (Kinsey, 2008, p. 45), which means buy-in has to come from faculty and administration in the ESL unit and other departments at the institution. This should include finding content instructors who are sympathetic to the needs of ESL students, though it is clear that practicality will trump many considerations in choosing content courses in the model, with scheduling considerations possibly being the top priority. Indeed, many practical considerations will exist that will make an initial foray into an adjunct BPP appear daunting. However, if a primary goal is helping ESL students to integrate and adjust to the expectations of mainstream courses, with a secondary goal of increasing integration of the ESL unit within the university, an adjunct model, in whatever form

it takes, will help with both goals. It also offers more possibilities for expansion in scope with respect to course offerings because planning comes down to securing seats in courses and cooperation from assigned instructors.

It is beyond the scope of this section to discuss all of the many concerns inherent to establishing a program, but Table 6 below offers a shorthand list of steps a university might follow.

Table 6:

Adjunct Model Design and Planning Process (from Kinsey, 2008, p. 58)

Steps
1. Determine the purpose of the adjunct programs
2. Secure administrative support
3. Identify coordinator
4. Identify instructors
5. Select content tutor
6. Determine the roles of the content area instructor and the ESL instructor
7. Determine adjunct instructor course loads
8. Select a content course
9. Define how paired courses fit into the ESL program
10. Establish English proficiency range
11. Connect with content area instructor(s)
12. Schedule courses
13. Reserve seats in content course
14. Consider classroom location
15. Offer curriculum development workshops
16. Conduct an evaluation

As is evident in step 8 with the directive of selecting "*a"* content course, Kinsey advises starting such an endeavor small, figuring out what issues exist, resolving these, and then seeking to expand. Once the program demonstrates that the model is effective, expansion will be possible.

In terms of the day-to-day teaching, I echo the sentiments of Canagarajah (2006) on TESOL's 40th anniversary: "In terms of language skills, we now recognize that all four skills are integrated, and we are developing our curricula in terms of other organizing principles – *projects, purposes, tasks, or portfolios*, which draw from skills variously for their accomplishment" (p. 12, emphasis mine). The notion of AE has not been defined fully here – neither with respect to how to teach it, nor what AE is. In reality, AE is many things: "Academic communities that are increasingly international, interdisciplinary, and intertextual may be characterized by the multiplicity and instability of their discourses, values, and practices" (Morita & Kobayashi, 2008, p. 249). As such, the adjunct courses within the adjunct model should focus on task-driven, project-oriented assignments that reflect what the ESL student will need to succeed in a practical sense.

Conveying the notion of AE as an inductive process, not deductive or prescriptive, will allow students to reap greater language and critical thinking benefits. In their journey to learn and challenge the ideas students encounter, it will be helpful if they can generate their own theories from language, tasks, and from the language of tasks. Scaffolded tasks with defined expectations will help students begin to develop their own voices and understanding of assignments in a far more realistic way than prescriptive, skills-based approaches that attempt to simulate "universal" needs. A task-based approach in an adjunct model acknowledges that there

is great variation in ideas and expectations across disciplines, and that students are best served by acknowledging this fact through an emphasis on tasks.

- *Difficulties with Adjustment to Being a Student in America*

One critical, and potentially neglected, role that a BPP can play is helping students to adjust to their new lives as students in the U.S. The BPP will be most ESL students' first stop in their U.S. academic journey. "Some students do not yet have the life skills to live independently, such as getting enough sleep, eating nutritious meals, and getting along with roommates" (Alberts, et al., 2013, p. 147). Cultural orientations and classes introducing students to not just studying in the U.S., but living in the U.S., can be valuable parts of a BPP.

Blakely (1995) discusses a peer fellows program where ESL students are paired with domestic student peers who serve as "'privileged collaborators in learning,' the privilege being their native understanding of the language of instruction" (p. 5). Blakely goes on to describe the friendships formed between these students, and how valuable it was for ESL students to feel that they had a personal ally. Concurrently, the domestic peer "fellow" gains valuable experience working with "people and problems most of them were not aware of previously" (Blakely, 1995, p. 4). A formalized peer program in an adjunct model BPP could be a very valuable idea to pursue.

- *Establishing Realistic Program Goals*

Chisman (1993) notes the following: "Time is the great enemy of the linear model for adults" (p. 5). This is a key observation and watchword for BPPs. The program's goal should be to start the student on a journey, but also to emphasize to all stakeholders, especially the faculty and administration at the university proper, that students will not enter their programs with full

language or academic capacities. The program goals should likely include not making exit

criteria prohibitive or, even better, setting up mechanisms for students to return for help after

they exit the program in the form of tutoring and advising from the program. These return trips

can only help the BPP improve over time.

- *Asserting the Role of the BPP and the ESL Unit in the University Proper*

Matsuda (2010) makes an astute observation about education: "Behind any pedagogy is an image

of prototypical students – the teacher's imagined audience" (pp. 82-83). The goal of an ESL unit

that wishes to be a part of the university proper and not off on its own in the margins must be to

challenge and question this image as it pertains to ESL students at every level. This is a huge

challenge for ESL units, but also for ESL students who wish to be accepted and welcomed in

universities. This includes pushing back against professors who grade with a "parochial eye"

(Leki, 1992, p. 132) as noted earlier. Internationalization is not something that is coming – it is

here. This means the program must make itself visible through workshops, newsletters,

conference presentations, letters to the editor, and any other means necessary.

Conclusion

This article has offered a history and state-of-the-field description of university ESL

support programs. I have attempted to outline how many universities are moving away from

skills-based curriculum models into content-based models where language and content combine

for credit at the outset of an ESL student's studies. I share the perspective of Canagarajah (2006)

in writing such a piece:

[…] histories are always partial and partisan because they involve the adoption of a

particular narrative viewpoint. It is not just that any description of the state of the art is

informed by the describer's perspective; many would go further to question the effects and intentions behind such descriptions. For the state of the art serves to define what is legitimate knowledge in the field. That is to say, the description will become the new orthodoxy (p. 9).

I would not be so bold as to make such a claim about the piece at hand. However, I do hope that this review can contribute to a discussion about the future of CCS offerings, and how we can best serve ESL students.

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Appendix B – Article 2: Exploring Dynamics and Dimensions in Two Linked Adjunct/Content Courses in a Sheltered University Pathway Program for ESL Students: A Case Study

Abstract: This case study considers the nuances of a sheltered university pathway program for ESL students[33] in its first year of existence. It follows the research framework of an Unlu and Wharton (2015) study using grounded theory analysis. By reconciling classroom observations in two general education content courses (Introduction to Anthropology and US History) and their linked EAP courses (EAP Bridge to Anthropology and EAP Bridge to American History) with participant interviews, I explore the dynamics between students, content instructors, and EAP support instructors. I form a theory about the pedagogy constituted by (and constitutive of) participant actions and beliefs in the observed classes, and argue that the current program may uphold uncritical, remedial predispositions vis-à-vis EAP, as well as content instruction and learning. Finally, I discuss future considerations for this, and other, linked course programs couched in EAP literature.

Key words: content specialist, language specialist, mediative, remediative, conventional, dynamics

1. **Introduction and Key Terms**

"Bridge" or "Pathway" programs (BPPs) are postsecondary ESL programs that "feature a hybrid of credit-bearing coursework and instruction in English language and academic skills"

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[33] Unless specified otherwise in this paper, "ESL students" will refer to "individuals enrolled in institutions of *higher education* who are on *temporary visas* and are non-native English speakers" (Andrade, 2006, p. 134, emphasis mine). In cases where I refer to other settings (e.g. K-12) or subgroups (e.g. immigrant students), I add demographic information for clarity.

(Redden, 2010, para 1). Quite often, the EAP courses in these models are linked to the content course (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 2003; Hirsch, 1988; Snow & Brinton, 1984; 1988). In these cases, the content course generally determines the focus of instruction in the language course (Adamson, 1990; Burger, Weinberg & Wesche, 2013; Snow & Brinton, 1988).

In content-based instruction (CBI), language course activities revolve around a specific subject. Students focus on acquiring information through the second language and, in the process, develop academic language skills that are transferrable to other academic courses (Brinton, et al, 2003). BPPs are a form of CBI, and employ different curricular models. The most commonly discussed and debated are Theme-based, Sheltered, and Adjunct models (Adamson, 1993; Brinton, et al. 2003; Kinsey, 2008). This paper on BPPs discusses a postsecondary application of a modified sheltered model. Table 1 below (adapted from Met, 1998) offers an illustration of CBI models.

Table 1:

Courses along the content-based instruction continuum (adapted from Met, 1988)

Content Driven ←--**→ Language Driven**

Total Immersion	Partial Immersion	Adjunct Model	Sheltered Courses	Theme-based or Sustained Content Based Instruction	Language classes with content used for language practice
University Coursework	Some university course work in English, some in L1. No specific attending support structure (rare).	ESL students attending a limited set of regular content classes (often prescribed) alongside "regular" university students, and then separate ESL courses that focus on "time management, academic reading, and note-taking strategies" among other relevant skills (Snow and Brinton, 1988, p. 559)	Structure in which special sections of content courses in English are made available *solely* for ESL students who are "separated, or 'sheltered,' from their native speaking peers. […] The courses are taught in [English] by a […] content area specialist, [and] modifications are often made to the course" (Kinsey, 2008, p. 31). In some cases, a support class may exist for the content course.	Courses are developed "around one major topic, […] and then divid[ed] into several subtopics" (Kinsey, 2008, p. 30). Goal is still very much language-oriented. Classes are usually not for credit, nor do they usually fulfill any requirement for a university degree program.	This is the structure of most skills-based Intensive English Programs where discrete skill development is the most prominent goal, with learning outcomes typically focused on skill mastery, not content mastery. Content chosen may be at instructor's discretion. (very common)

There has been a proliferation of BPPs in recent years as universities aim to increase international enrollments (Bevis, 2007; Winkle, 2011). The BPPs of today represent a relatively new recruiting frontier for universities: they target ESL students who may have lower-than-direct-entry benchmark scores on standardized English tests like the TOEFL or IELTS by offering an opportunity to study in ESL and credit courses concurrently. With successful grades

in the BPP, the student becomes fully matriculated and has fulfilled the university English requirement.

Some research about BPPs has focused on the strengths, weaknesses, and nuances of adopting any one of the models shown in Table 1 for a BPP (e.g. Brinton & Jensen, 2002; Crandall & Kaufman, 2002; Iancu, 2002; Snow & Brinton, 1984; 1988). More recent research has problematized the emergence and proliferation of partnerships between public universities and for-profit entities to deliver BPPs (Redden, 2010; 2014; Winkle, 2011). This latter branch of BPP research investigates not only the ethics of private-public partnerships, but also the potential academic consequences of introducing a profit motive into educational programs, as well as the exit criteria for ESL students studying in these BPPs. Both research areas emphasize that BPPs will become more prominent over time, not less. As such, one can expect research about BPPs to increase.

There is extensive research on how to set up CBI models in postsecondary settings (see especially Stoller 2002; 2004). Relatively few studies have offered emic perspectives on BPPs that feature participant-observer examination and interpretation of what happens in the dynamic between content course, linked EAP course, and student. However, I will highlight two researchers whose fieldwork influenced the data collection and interpretation in this study.

In *Critical English for Academic Purposes*, Benesch (2001) explores a number of postsecondary linked courses that are conceptually similar to those considered in this paper. Her action research is a first-person account of her EAP teaching in these links. As a teacher-researcher, she was able to continuously reflect on and document the relationship between the

EAP course and content course, but also impact this relationship by helping students "channel […] resistance into proposals and actions to improve conditions" (Benesch, 2001, p. 119).

Harklau (1994) gathered data as a participant observer in a sheltered program case study of 4 high school ESL students and their 2 ESL instructors in over 3.5 years. This is a "pure" form of the sheltered model with high school ESL students in their own cohorts for ESL courses and then sheltered content courses. Gradually, they transition to a combination of "mainstream" courses and advanced ESL courses. While there was no attending support course for the content courses, one of the ESL instructors in Harklau's study focused extensively on academic preparation in her lessons and curriculum while the other focused more on making students comfortable and participatory in their school (Harklau, 1994, p. 258-259). These seemingly incommensurate instructional approaches were due to "the latitude allowed ESL teacher" which led to "instructional environments based on [teachers'] own interpretations and beliefs about appropriate ESL curriculum and goals" (Harklau, 1994, p. 258).

The current study is informed by both Benesch (2001) and Harklau (1994). Similar to Benesch, I explored the relationship between EAP and content courses in disparate linking scenarios (in this study, Anthropology/EAP support and History/EAP support). Unlike Benesch, my research had no immediate actionable component because I was not an instructor in the program; I was there to observe, document, and interpret. Like Harklau, I acted as a non-instructional participant observer, socializing with students and instructors, making myself available for questions, and occasionally participating in the EAP courses. Unlike Harklau, I observed *university* ESL students and courses in a modified sheltered program where content

courses *are* linked with complementary EAP support courses; i.e. there is content modification characteristic of sheltered environments *plus* an attendant support course.

My original sensitizing concepts for this research evolved as is common in qualitative inquiry. They presupposed a more rigid structure to this BPP based on the Curriculum Guide information regarding linked courses (Appendix i) offered prior to the commencement of data collection. As I reflected on observations and data collection throughout the study, it became clear that these concepts, while still relevant, would not adequately capture and explain the data. Table 2 shows the original questions alongside the new questions that reveal the main purpose of this study. Here are some of the terms and labels used in this paper:

- Southwestern Research College (SRC) – pseudonym for the university

- English Language Institute (ELI) – pseudonym for the ESL department at SRC

- Advanced Track (AT) – pseudonym for the BPP at SRC

- Language Specialist (LS) & Content Specialist (CS) – two terms used in Schneider and Friedenberg (2002) to refer to EAP and content instructors in a sheltered university collaboration. While the terms are not explicated in Schneider and Friedenberg (2002), their use here is meant to signify parity based on area expertise between both instructors in the sheltered scenario. This orientation is reflected in my theoretical framework.

Table 2:

Original Sensitizing Concepts (left) and Revised Sensitizing Concepts (right)

To what extent do AT subjects' expectations and goals vis-à-vis the AT align with the principles and philosophies that inform the curriculum and setup of this program?	What are the priorities and goals of the following participants in the AT and to what extent are they commensurate?
	   - CS
	   - LS
	   - Student

Does the subject matter of content-side courses in the program have any impact on students' success in these courses? If so, why?	What is the nature (dynamic) of the following relationships in the AT? - CS & Student - LS & Student - CS & LS
How much EAP-side course time is devoted to enhancing understanding of the content material as opposed to academic strategies instruction?	To what extent do salient course and curriculum features emerge from these dynamics?
How can EAP-side AT instructors become comfortable with bridging content with which they themselves may be somewhat unfamiliar?	What role does the subject of the content course play in attainment of participant goals?
What modifications or considerations do content-side instructors make in delivery of this material to a group comprising solely ESL students?	
Does the program seek to explicitly transition ESL students into a specific Academic Discourse Community (see Clark, 1992)?	
What changes in curriculum and teaching take place as the program evolves?	

I do not seek to imply in this paper that there was no order or organization to the AT. However, the first year of this BPP proved to be fertile ground for research as program plans and objectives met with on-the-ground realities. Indeed, the newness of the program contributed to the revision in sensitizing concepts and data analysis.

2. Theoretical Framework

The analysis in the current study draws from post-positive traditions and theories including Critical EAP studies (e.g.: Benesch, 1993; 2001; Pennycook, 1997), Poststructuralism, (e.g.: Merriam, 2002), Social Constructionism (e.g.: Adamson, 1993), Sociocultural Theory (e.g.: Vygotsky, 1962; Saville-Troike, 2006) and Grounded Theory (e.g.: Charmaz, 2006; Conrad, 1982; Friedman, 2011). Critical EAP questions the pragmatic role of EAP where academic conventions are "presented as positive artifacts of a normative academic culture into which ESL

students should be assimilated" (Benesch, 1993, p. 710), as well as the "neutral stance" (Pennycook, 1997, p. 261) of EAP courses as places where course content is to be explicated dispassionately and with a 'just-the-facts' orientation. "For EAP classes, this would mean looking beyond language simply as structure and representation in favor of a view of language as always engaged in the construction of how we understand the world" (Pennycook, 1997, p. 258) - that is, English itself should be monitored as constitutive of how students interpret and understand the content they are learning.

Poststructural orientations reject black and white explanations of observed phenomena, especially dichotomies that create binaries that do not account for nuance - black/white depictions which ESL students may crave. Vygotsky's (1962) research theorizes a "Zone of Proximal Development" (ZPD) which suggests that mediation of "mental functions that are beyond an individual's current level must be performed in collaboration" (Saville-Troike, 2006, p. 112), often between a learner and expert (e.g. an instructor). Because of its focus on a learner's emergent abilities, the concept of ZPD also legitimizes "assisted performance" (Kozulin, 2003, p. 17) as seen in sheltered and adjunct curricular models. The notion of mediation plays a central role in coding and analysis in this paper.

In line with poststructuralist thought, social constructionism and sociocultural theory posit that knowledge of any kind is based on individuals coming to consensus in a specific context, sometimes in a 'novice-expert' dynamic. Moreover, passive acceptance of 'reality' or claims to objective truths at least partly disregard mitigating factors like culturally informed models of the world (Adamson, 1993, p. 53). BPPs are extremely well positioned to take into account the realities and lived experiences of ESL students. In this study, I employ a grounded

data analysis incorporating this research orientation to develop a model of the AT based on observations and direct feedback from student and instructor participants.

3. Overview of Research on Postsecondary ESL vs. Content Instruction

Adding to the above CBI research, other inquiries about the interplay between ESL and content coursework have two prevailing themes, which have "pre/post" and "simultaneous" ESL/content study orientations. The first research theme considers non-credit, in-residence, pre-matriculation ESL (or EAP) vis-à-vis "post-ESL" content. This research considers programs like Intensive English Programs (IEPs) for students who are in-country (e.g. at the university where they will eventually pursue a degree), but not matriculated. They typically do not receive credit; however, their English program is then meant to get them ready for content study. The second research theme considers concurrent study in EAP and content courses where ESL and content mix, often in settings where college credit is being earned.

3.1 Research about Non-Credit, In-Residence, Pre-Matriculation ESL (or EAP) vis-à-vis Post-ESL Content

One line of research in this area challenges the predominant "decontextualized, [language] skills-based" (Shapiro, 2011, P. 24) orientation of pre-matriculation (or 'pre-academic') IEPs (see also Table 1). Blanton (1992) claims that the model's disregard for students' postsecondary learning goals renders it "inappropriate in an EAP-oriented program" (p. 287). She adds that skills-model textbooks may be "devoid of meaning and connected content" (Blanton, 1992, p. 287). Kasper (1997) notes that, generally, non-CBI courses are "not grounded" in a focused topic and therefore often cover a range of topics from "'getting a job' to 'world problems'" (p. 310). Shapiro (2011) and Blanton (1992) both conclude that a holistic

approach that focuses on academic literacy is optimal. Hinkel's (2006) article about language skills dovetails with Shapiro and Blanton by advocating for, and offering specific thoughts about, integrated skills instruction, noting "people employ incremental language skills not in isolation but in tandem" (p. 113); she notes nearly limitless possibilities for instruction in theme-based CBI models, a model that is typical of non-credit, pre-matriculation EAP.

A second line of research extends from the first, and concerns the notion of academic discourse(s) and 'Academic English' and how (or if) these can (or should) be taught in pre-matriculation EAP contexts. Regarding academic writing, Spack (1988) states that "we have not yet satisfactorily determined […] what academic writing is" (p. 30), and finds the trend of teaching and assessing discipline-specific writing in English courses "disturbing" (p. 30). This uncertainty entails a "universal skills" (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002, p.5) curricular orientation that other researchers deem regressive and remedial (Harklau, 1994; Shapiro, 2011). More recent scholarship holds that Academic English, like other domains of English, is neither bounded nor "monolithic" (Benesch, 2001, p. xvii); indeed, "[people] don't learn to read or write, they learn to read or write *something* written in specific social language used in specific ways by specific groups of people for specific purposes" (Gee, 2002, p. 162, emphasis in original). Scarcella (2003) adds: "it marginalizes students when the varieties of English they use are not accepted in academic situations" (p. 5). She aligns with Leki's (1992) belief that student language should be considered more broadly and leniently.

A third "pre/post" research concern focuses on the attitudes of content faculty who work with ESL students. While much of this research has occurred in K-12 contexts (Clair, 1995; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987), other studies have highlighted negative content-area faculty

attitudes toward ESL students (Zamel, 1995) and dismissiveness of postsecondary ESL programs

as institutional appendages that should "demonstrate in an objective way that [remediation and

completion of English] has been successful" (Shapiro, 2011, p. 28). Chisman (1993) notes that

many content instructors prefer not to teach ESL students until they are "fully proficient" (p. 56).

Critical EAP research has emerged in response to negative views of ESL students and

EAP courses, as well as "the one-dimensional conceptualization of EAP as a service to higher-

status disciplines" (Benesch, 2001, p. 55; echoed in Pennycook, 1997). Pennycook (1997)

challenges the notion that EAP coursework and pedagogy should be unreflective and simply in

place to recast and train students in simplified, 'universal' academic language – i.e. that EAP

course content, whether in support of a content course or in preparation for academic

coursework, cannot "[take] up a particular stance" (p. 257), such as disagreeing with an author's

point of view or challenging the tenets of field of study. Just as 'post-ESL' faculty have

expressed opinions about the "ESL Problem" (Zamel, 1995, p. 507), EAP faculty have opposed

the dogmatic stances and grading practices of content area faculty. With respect to the

assessment of ESL writers, Leki (1992) states that content-area instructors should start grading

"with a more cosmopolitan, less parochial eye" (p. 132).

3.2 Research about Concurrent Study in EAP and Content Courses.

One interesting area of research has documented early forays into sheltered and adjunct

course links, many that were inspired by the well documented Freshman Summer Program at

UCLA (Brinton, et al., 2003; Snow & Brinton, 1984; 1988; Snow & Kamhi-Stein, 1997, among

others). These studies show positive outcomes of LS's and CS's who work collaboratively to

build complementary course plans in a linked EAP/content scenario (Benesch, 1988; Hirsch, 1988).

A second line of research has probed deeper into the successes and pitfalls of LS/CS collaboration, with attendant commentary on the relative role of each based on case study observations (Burger, et al, 2013; Crandall & Kaufman, 2002; Iancu, 2002; Schneider & Friedenberg, 2002). Some concerns for LS's include a tendency in the linked course to still pursue a "systematic language-based syllabus" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 39). Crandall and Kaufman (2002) note that there is "no one model for collaboration", but that maintaining effective communication between the LS and CS must be ongoing (p. 4). This is echoed in Iancu (2002), who also highlights that ongoing collaboration means constant adjustment throughout a linked course, not just at the beginning or end. For example, while CS course accommodations may be advised, "excessive accommodations in a course to ensure the success of ESL students [may lead to the assumption] that the world will adjust to meet their abilities" (Iancu, 2002, p. 149). Schneider and Friedenberg (2002) highlight the tensions that arise in collaborative planning between LS and CS where concerns over the integrity of content coverage (CS) and the importance of linguistic clarity (LS) may prompt divergent priorities. Schneider and Friedenberg (2002) note that such negotiations can "disadvantage the LS, who is returned to the position of a student" (p. 160); they add that LS/CS collaborative strategies must "preserve the dignity of both collaborators" (p. 160). Critical EAP orientations can strengthen the professional position of LS's in collaborations with CS's. CS's must be open and responsive to feedback from the LS (Iancu, 2002).

A final research thread in this area considers the struggles of ESL students who find themselves in a liminal space when they enroll in a BPP, which, by design, straddles the worlds of EAP and university study. Adamson (1990; 1993) highlights several issues ESL students in content courses face, such as: a lack of background knowledge to process information when the content course is in session, a tendency to rely on textbook information instead of note-taking, passivity vis-à-vis participation in courses, and an unfamiliarity with critically analyzing information, resulting in "vacuous philosophizing" (Adamson, 1993, p. 83) instead of argumentation grounded in evidence. Benesch's (2001) focus is on student agency instead of a defined skill set - in fact, she rejects the notion of an essentialized, all-encompassing academic macro-skill set applicable across domains: "If each target situation presents unique challenges, what does it mean to be prepared for those situations? If preparation is not a foundational set of skills allowing students to perform well in all academic settings, what is it?" (p. 93).

While these and other studies have explored BPPs pre-, post- and in-program, most have done so through analysis of artifacts (course documents, assignments, student work), interviews, and notes on planning meetings (e.g. Benesch, 1988). As a non-instructor participant-observer, I believe the emic perspective of this study uniquely contributes to the existing body of case study research of BPPs, as well as what considerations are advised in planning and implementing a BPP.

4. Context

This research took place in 2013 in the inaugural year of Southwestern Research College's (SRC) "Advanced Track" (AT). The observed linked courses were offered in two consecutive 10-week sessions. As a coordinator of a different academic program at ELI

(discussed later in *Limitations*), it was easy to gain access to study the AT in its first year as it represented a chance for ELI to receive practical, data-driven feedback about the program that could inform future iterations.

Over the course of the 20 weeks, I observed approximately 60 hours of course sessions in the EAP and university (Univ) courses with equal concentrations of time in both courses. While it was not practical or possible to observe every class session, I attempted to observe class sessions that flowed into each other. For example, if the LS's lesson was devoted to preparing for the next Univ class session, I would make sure to observe that next session. Similarly, if the CS conveyed that particular aspect of a day's lesson would be expanded upon or explained in the ESL class, I would observe that class.

The observations took place in four courses (details in Appendix i): an introductory Anthropology course (Univ-Anth) and its EAP complement (EAP-Anth), and an introductory U.S. History course (Univ-Hist) and its EAP complement (EAP-Hist). Both university courses are part of the general education curriculum at SRC. They fulfill basic general education requirements for any major at SRC. In section 8.4, I discuss the selection of content courses, and whether they "offer the kinds of experiences that encourage development of the complex thinking required in university-level education" (Crandall & Kaufman, 2002, p. 3).

5. **Participants**

Table 3 below shows demographic information about the student participants in this study.

Table 3:

Demographic Information for Student Participants (enrollees in both courses highlighted)

	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Country of Origin	Enrolled in Anthropology?	Enrolled in History?
1.	Meilin	19	F	China	Yes	Yes
2.	Lanfen	21	F	China	No	Yes
3.	Donghai	20	M	China	No	Yes
4.	Chen	19	M	China	No	Yes
5.	Kun	22	M	China	Yes	Yes
6.	Kamshad	21	M	Iran	No	Yes
7.	Kasim	19	M	Saudi Arabia	No	Yes
8.	Hakeem	20	M	Saudi Arabia	No	Yes
9.	Amir	21	M	Saudi Arabia	Yes	Yes
10.	Farid	19	M	Saudi Arabia	Yes	Yes
11.	Dabir	19	M	Saudi Arabia	No	Yes

One can glean from this table that the first year of the AT had limited enrollment. Most

enrollees matriculated into the program from ELI's Intensive English Program (IEP) instead of

being recruited in directly. The highlighted participants enrolled in both courses, a fact

attributable to the timing of their enrollment. Enrollees in Univ-Hist joined the AT at the end of

its first year.

The LS and CS participants are shown in Table 4.

Table 4:

LS and CS Participant Information

	Pseudonym	Course	Teaching background information provided at time of study
1.	Dara	Univ-Anth	At the time of data collection, Dara was a PhD student in Anthropology. She had very little teaching experience prior to teaching in AT. Most prior experience had been with grading other classes as an assistant. She had been invited to make presentations about her research in high school and undergraduate classes. (Interview, April 17, 2013)

| 2. | Rosa | Univ-Hist | Rosa has a PhD in History, and a large amount of postsecondary teaching experience across numerous historical fields (World Civilization, Military History, U.S. History, Roman History, among others). She stated that growing up on military bases helped her to develop an interest in history. Most of her experience has been in teaching U.S. History. (Interview, June 7, 2013) |
| 3. | Sharon | EAP-Anth & EAP-Hist | Sharon holds an MA in English and an ESL teaching certification. She had taught for about 5 years in ELI's IEP prior to teaching in the AT. Prior to that, she taught high school. She cited her experience "teaching seniors" [in high school] as a big influence in how she structured her EAP classes in the AT. (Interviews, April 9, 2013 & June 30, 2013) |

In this table, I have included information the participants offered about their teaching

background in response to an interview question about their teaching background (see

Appendices B & C). Sharon supported both Univ-Anth and Univ-Hist, which proved to be a

boon for data collection and analysis in this paper. The structure of the AT mandated that LS's

attend every Univ class session. CS's were not required to attend EAP classes.

6. Data Collection

The data collection and analysis in this study follows the work of Unlu and Wharton

(2015) where they explored feedback interactions in EAP writing classes. Their research context

and qualitative design coincides with mine in this study: to observe, document, and interpret

interactional phenomena in a specific setting. As such, I follow their framework by basing the

analysis in this paper primarily on two sorts of data: classroom observation field notes and

interviews with instructors and students (Unlu & Wharton, 2015, p. 25). I also make limited

reference to the appended (Appendix i) curriculum guide as a tool for focusing observations.

My data collection occurred prior to the release of Unlu and Wharton's (2015) study.

However, the basic principles of qualitative inquiry they follow are common to many studies of

classroom-based research. I collected field notes where I, by paraphrase or short transcriptions, detailed interactions in the EAP and University courses. Next to observation notes - "excerpts" as in Unlu and Wharton (2015) - I added my comments and feelings about the incident recorded. Immediately following observations, I wrote reflective summaries on the field notes page, which were of key importance for this paper.

As my sensitizing concepts became less demarcated and more exploratory and inquisitive, I employed a "Rich Features" (Barton, 2002) method for data collection – this is an approach where patterns of language tokens are recorded to determine a "text and its context" (Barton, 2004, p. 66) relationship. Rich features analysis involves determining patterns of a text (in this case, the text is the class session) and explaining the function of textual patterns to see how they constitute "convention[s] of language use" (Barton, 2004, p. 66) in the context observed. As with Grounded Theory, this approach attempts to build data driven conceptual theory (Charmaz, 2006).

In practical terms for this study, I went into observation sessions with my own perspective about EAP support courses and Univ courses in a BPP that were based on two criteria: my own feelings about what should or would occur in these classes and what the program said would occur based on the curriculum guide at the time. Glaser and Strauss (1967) note that a priori theories are inappropriate in grounded analysis; however, researchers will inevitably bring their perspective(s) to any study. To that end, I remained open-minded, but made explicit note of my assumptions as a way to focus during observations and reflect immediately after. To accomplish this, in the program I used throughout data collection (MS

OneNote™), I copy/pasted the notes in Table 5 at the top of each field notes page *prior to* recording field notes during each observation.

Table 5:

Orientation "mantras" for field notes

Course	My assumptions for class sessions	Program Learning Outcomes and Course Directives
Univ-Anth	Students should be taught a modified version of Anthropology (e.g. readings and lectures) where time is given to answer questions about difficult concepts (i.e. not strict lecture). Because anthropology studies human cultures, students' backgrounds should be included in the discussion.	The latest anthropological theories and research make up the corpus of readings for this lecture class. This course introduces the student to anthropological perspectives on cultural diversity. The course focuses on gender, race, ethnicity and class through readings by and about peoples of the non-western world.
Univ-Hist	Students should be taught a modified version of U.S. History (e.g. readings and lectures) where time is given to answer questions about difficult concepts (i.e. not strict lecture). Because this is about a specific period of US History, background information should be given whenever prior knowledge is assumed of the students as they were not educated in U.S. schools. Many will not have even a passing knowledge of some of the figures and events. The instructor should make the class relatable and not just a collection of facts, figures, and dates.	This general education course is an historical perspective on the most important historical occurrences in the United States from 1877 to present. The latest historical theories and research make up the corpus of readings for this lecture class. This course examines and analyzes the social, political, and economic transformations of American Society since Reconstruction. It focuses on multiple levels of society as well as the groups and individuals who comprised it.
EAP-Anth	This class should be student-centered and interactive. It should clarify terms and difficult concepts, but also help students strategize as to how they might understand difficult and abstract concepts on their own. Reading and listening strategies, coping with ambiguity, and participation etiquette/expectations should be priorities.	Course instructors attend the lectures of the corresponding academic courses and design their lessons based on what is being read, lectured on, or discussed in the class. The basic objectives of all ELI AT courses are: 1. To clarify and reinforce learning of content being taught in the academic class 2. To discuss course readings and support good habits of vocabulary acquisition and academic reading habits 3. To discuss lecture notes and clarify language-specific issues associated with the content
EAP-Hist	This class should be student-centered and interactive. It should clarify terms and difficult concepts, but also help students strategize as to how they might understand difficult and abstract concepts on their own. Reading and listening strategies, coping with ambiguity, and participation etiquette/expectations should be	

priorities. Additionally, instructor
should endeavor to tie history to student
cultures and expand course content *only*
on a limited basis.

Though not always necessary, these "mantras" did help me to make sense of my own

preconceptions of what the classes should be. Over time, my field notes focused much more on

answering the general question "what is happening here?" with an attendant goal to follow up on

perceived features and conventions in interviews with participants.

After and between classes, I would converse informally with students and check in with

instructors about the classes. I offered to tutor the students as part of data collection, but for the

courses included in this study, no students attended formal tutoring. Instead, they asked

occasional clarifying questions before, during, or after class which became part of analysis (e.g.

Amir: "Are Teddy Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt the same?"). Occasionally, the LS, Sharon,

asked for input or comments about the overall flow of the class, which I offered sparingly in the

interest of maintaining neutrality.

Following each 10-week session, I interviewed all participants – following Univ-Anth, 4

students, Sharon, and Dara (Univ-Anth CS); following Univ-Hist, 11 students, Sharon, and Rosa

(Univ-Hist CS). Therefore, the 4 students highlighted in Table 3 and Sharon were interviewed

twice. Interviews (appended) followed a semi-structured format. The appended questions were

all asked, but other questions were inserted based on observation incidents specific to each

participant. I tried to get participants to tell their stories of the classes. Some participants,

especially students, were more candid than others, a matter I reflect on in *Limitations.*

All interviews were recorded and selectively transcribed. I followed up with

interviewees who expressed interest in seeing what I had transcribed to see if they had any

information to change or add. Only Sharon, the LS, added information later. All participants

consented to the use of all observation and interview data, as well as documents (including

submitted assignments, test scores, and course grades) in analysis.

7. Data Analysis

As noted previously, the method of data collection and the subsequent, iterative analysis

of it evolved over time because of "categories and modes of thought and behavior […] not

anticipated by the investigator" (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 3). This drew me to the grounded

approach, which "eschews imposing existing theory upon data in favor of generating theory that

is grounded in data" (Friedman, 2011, p. 191).

Unlike Unlu and Wharton (2015), who began their research with a general idea

("exploring feedback practices," p. 26), I began mine with the sensitizing concepts shown in

Table 2. Very early in data collection, it became clear that these questions implied certain

presuppositions on my part. For example, the question "How much EAP-side course time is

devoted to enhancing understanding of the content material as opposed to academic strategies

instruction?" presupposes and delimits that either understanding content material or academic

strategies instruction will form the basis for class time. While these questions informed the

study, the field notes and subsequent interviews revealed much richer information related to

participants' roles and relationships, as well as their perception of these.

As I progressed through observations, I began using shorthand codes that amounted to a

pre-stage for open coding (Charmaz, 2006; Friedman, 2011). These initial codes were reflective

of seeing certain classroom phenomena with a decided frequency. For example, the initial code

of "agency" referred to instances where I felt students were asserting themselves as independent

thinkers and students (Benesch, 2001) in classes by either challenging or questioning a class idea or policy. This coding process was ongoing as some codes became split, which led to axial coding, where I related, combined, and eliminated many codes.

In the current paper, the process above follows the framework and format of Unlu and Wharton (2015) where incident labels (Charmaz, 2006) derive from excerpts of classroom observations, the short paraphrases and transcriptions mentioned earlier. The "incident label" (Unlu & Wharton, 2015, p. 27) became, in some cases, the initial code used during shorthand coding. In some cases, a longer description was necessary to describe the excerpt for later analysis. This led to axial coding (Friedman, 2011, p. 191). Using the example of the preliminary code of "agency," it proved unhelpful to simply say that a participant was demonstrating "agency" when they asserted themselves in some way. For example, in some cases, "agency" referred to a student seeking to amend an assignment or task in some way (e.g. longer deadline, adding a source not provided, challenging a grade). In others, it meant a student challenging an idea or statement made in the class, whether offered by the instructor, course materials, or another student. During axial coding, the code of "agency" was then subsumed under other codes such as "empowerment" (encouragement of student agency) and "authority" (situational agency where a participant asserts their knowledge or authority about a topic).

I made extensive use of the program MS OneNote™ for this study. OneNote is a note-taking program that allows for the user to tag ideas, search for keywords across multiple notebooks, and cross-reference themes with support articles (including photo-scanned articles) and transcriptions. This program was excellent for the data collection stage of this study;

however, data analysis software, which was used in Unlu and Wharton (2015, p. 26), would have streamlined the coding process.

These stages of coding informed the semi-structured interviews, where I weaved specific questions related to concept codes into my questions. The combination of observation-based axial coding, and the interviews informed by these codes, led to the generation of a theory about the dynamics of participants in the AT, and a theorization of the de facto constitution of the program formed by the relationships of the participant triad. The details of how the final codes were arrived at are provided in the following section.

8. A Relationship-Based Model of the SRC AT

With the procedure roughly outlined and explicit acknowledgement of my appropriation of portions of Unlu and Wharton's (2015) coding and labeling format and terminology, I will use this section to show the concept labels (second stage of coding) that resulted from observations and interviews. This study is made more complex by the participant triad (LS's, CS's, and students) and multiple class settings, which is unlike Unlu and Wharton's (2015) dyadic context (instructors and students in one class).

The labels presented resulted from observations of all 4 courses in the study and from the LS & CS interviews. Student interviews were not a part of this stage – instead, they were used later to determine the legitimacy of these labels. Concept labels were primarily abstracted from observation notes of class proceedings in all four courses pertaining to these relationships in the participant triad:

- LS and student

- CS and student

The CS/LS dynamic was principally analyzed through interviews (section 8.3) for three reasons. First, the CS did not attend LS classes with one or two exceptions that I did not observe. Second, in the Univ classes, the LS did not typically interact with the CS, instead taking notes with the rest of the students and occasionally helping with class activities. Third, while I was aware of, and overheard, interactions between the LS and CS immediately before and after class sessions, I was not privy to these interactions as part of the research context.

I explain the concept labels in section 8.1 and 8.2, including incidents and interview tokens from which they were abstracted.

8.1 Observational Concept Labels

Under each concept label, I provide excerpts and incident labels from incidents in the 4 courses, where applicable. The top-to-bottom orientation of incident label to excerpt in each example is meant to orient the reader to the excerpt before reading it. In section 8.2, I expand on concept labels to include others that may apply to observations, but that mostly derive from LS/CS interview data, the primary data used to explain that dynamic.

Empowerment is the most expansive concept label, and refers to instances when students' understanding of course content is supported through the use of non-leading, open-ended questions, or mediated course or material delivery (i.e. modifications), which is common in sheltered models (Schneider & Friedenberg, 2002). This includes student-initiated interactions where dialogue and follow-up questions induce student-formulated conceptualizations and understandings that are critical and/or reflective. The label also denotes instructor encouragement of student perseverance on a difficult assignment through open engagement.

	EAP-Anth	EAP-Hist	Univ-Anth	Univ-Hist
Incident Label	*Sharon coaxes an insightful explanation from Kun about the notion of cultural constructs.*	*Sharon encourages Ss to take their own notes to see if they are getting the key points.*	*Dara talks about a presentation point. Meilin offers great insight into metaphor presented.*	*Rosa encourages critical response to question about Indian reservations.*
Excerpt	*Sharon: Dara explained yesterday how gender is cultural. "So, it's a role and it's cultural – what could that mean"?* *Kun: It's means that a man can take a baby too, I think. It does not has to be the woman. Being man by sex doesn't mean he can't take the baby.*	*Sharon: "If you ever feel like there's something you missed, we can get together and you can compare your notes with mine to see if we thought the same things were important. If you guys compare notes, you might find one person caught something you didn't."*	*Dara: Sulukele is the gun and we are its bullets. What does that mean?* *Meilin: Sulukele is gun and it's destroyed, so bullets are useless.* *Dara: What a great interpretation! Anyone else?*	*Rosa: What is the problem with Indian reservation? What's bad with that?* *Hakeem: Because other people already there.* *Kasim: And they give land where agriculture is different.* *Hakeem: Did the government know that land was too poor?* *Rosa: yes.* *Hakeem: Why would they do that?*

Delimitation: In contrast to "empowerment," this label indicates occasions when students' understanding of a concept is bounded by an all-encompassing explanation or a closed question (e.g. "yes/no" response or scanning for a term in a textbook) from the LS/CS that does not encourage exploration, discovery, speculation, or alternate interpretations. It also denotes when students circumvent exploration by requesting a reductive explanation.

	EAP-Anth	EAP-Hist	Univ-Anth	Univ-Hist
Incident Label	*Ss did not understand what African American Vernacular English was, and sought a simple explanation.*	*Sharon discussing previous test with Ss. Donghai expresses some disdain for the test format.*	*Dara provides a generalization (rare so far in this class) about arranged marriage. Even this is qualified with "most."*	*Rosa interrupts Kasim's presentation to clarify a concept.*
Excerpt	*Sharon offers a textbook*	*Regarding test question about*	*Dara: Most people in America think*	*Rosa interrupts asking why there*

explanation of African American Vernacular English – then goes straight into read-out-loud exercise without asking follow-up questions. Ss ask me after class. (Kun and Farid)	*factors contributing to industrialism.* *Donghai: Did we have to explain why?* *Sharon: No, just list them.* *Donghai: Yeah, there was no term that asked us to explain how we understand it.*	*arranged marriage is a bad thing -that it's kind of violent.*	*are changes in 'labor' during war.* *Kasim: Wait, I will talk about this.* *Rosa: But it needs to be clarified before you move on. Let me just jump in really quick.*

Facilitation corresponds with *empowerment,* but refers to instances where students are encouraged to solve *language* (e.g. vocabulary) issues through inquiry instead of definition giving.

	EAP-Anth	**EAP-Hist**	**Univ-Anth**	**Univ-Hist**
Incident Label	*In the story the Ss read, the word "ain't" leads to the exchange below between Farid and Sharon.*	*Sharon prompts students to recall the term "muckrakers" by breaking down the word.*	*Dara encourages Ss to record a key concept and uses inquiry to get a meaning.*	*N/A*
Excerpt	*Farid: What's means this word, 'aint?'* *Sharon: - Look at the story. It's everywhere in that story. What do you think it means?*	*Sharon: Let's see how smart you are. She talked about muckrakers like Upton Sinclair."* *Meilin: He talk about Chicago meat industry.* *Sharon: Right! And he raked (shows raking motion) muck (sticks tongue out and makes sound)* *Meilin: It's like cleaning out something bad.*	*Dara: The word 'arbitrary' is actually really important in Anthropology so I want you all to write it down. What does it mean?* *No response* *Dara: Well, you remember 'innate,' right? Arbitrary is the opposite of that."* *Subsequent discussion shows S*	

		understanding of term.	
	Sharon: You're so smart. (smiles)		

Definition: In contrast to *facilitation,* this refers to cases where a term definition is given to students either based on a request or because the LS/CS chooses to simply define a word or language concept (or list of concepts).

	EAP-Anth	**EAP-Hist**	**Univ-Anth**	**Univ-Hist**
Incident Label	*The quote from Sharon shows that for the lesson at hand, she wished to get through the terms to move on with the lesson.*	*Sharon explains a vocabulary word. Some Ss were in Univ-Anth, but some weren't.*	*Presenter from Anthro department in Univ-Anth providing definitions of words during presentation.*	*Rosa stops to ask for a definition and provides it.*
Excerpt	*Sharon: I think these words are basic, but they're crucial for understanding what's next, so I'm going to go through them quickly. (My note: The terms were not as basic as she thought and required more explanation)*	*Regarding word 'exploit' – Sharon: "Come on, guys! We defined that word last session. It's when you take advantage of someone."*	*Presenter: "Segregated – in other words, the women are together and the men are together, but they are separate from each other. Make sense?"*	*Rosa: What is intimidation?* *After short wait.* *Rosa: It's basically when you're afraid of someone – like a bully – someone who makes you afraid.* *Next sentence, she uses infiltrate and chooses not to explain this word.*

Passivity refers to instances where student participation or attentiveness falters despite being required implicitly or asked for explicitly in the situation.

	EAP-Anth	**EAP-Hist**	**Univ-Anth**	**Univ-Hist**
Incident Label	*Amir is only active participant despite the LS wanting others' input.*	*Ss on their second or third day of giving presentations of key terms. Inattentive.*	*Ss unresponsive to many of Dara's questions today. Very unengaged.*	*Rosa asks a series of questions. She recasts this question to encourage participation, but this does not work.*
Excerpt	*Sharon is asking for all Ss to provide one example of the problems in what*	*I wonder how much Ss are dialed in when they're listening to each other. Two Ss*	*Dara: What do you think I mean when I say oppressions?*	*Rosa: How does Japan retaliate against the oil embargo?*

the Papua New Guinea people produced (from Univ-Anth). All are looking up, but only Amir is responding.	*texting. All others preparing for their own presentations instead of listening and preparing to ask questions. No questions after two presentations so far.*	*Despite wait time and plenty of context up to this point, no responses.*	*No response* *Rosa: (trying again) How do they react?* *Still no response* *Rosa: Do you guys understand the question?*

Authority: Similar to Unlu and Wharton's (2015) label of "arbitership" (p. 28), this label refers to instances when a participant asserts authority on the topic at hand, a cultural matter, or an issue of classroom etiquette.

	EAP-Anth	EAP-Hist	Univ-Anth	Univ-Hist
Incident Label	*Sharon explains racially charged word.*	*N/A*	*Dara brings up taboos by talking about marriage within family.*	*In discussion of Panama Canal, Rosa makes case for importance of certain materials (e.g. parts of textbook/certain key words to expedite learning.*
Excerpt	*Sharon – "That's a term we don't use – we don't say that out loud, but that's what they (white counterparts in text) call them. You can write that word."* *Kun – "Oh, but I was explaining the story"* *Sharon – (laughs) "Yeah, but you really can't say that. You'll learn a lot of things you can and can't say in this class."*		*Dara: Can you marry a person in your family in the U.S?* *Farid: In America, you can't marry your cousin.* *Dara: Exactly – this is a big taboo.*	*Rosa: Okay, I'm going to end by telling you the things you need to know and don't need to know for this period of history – the important stuff.*

Connection is for cases where instruction or course activities connect other cultures and learning

contexts with a concept students are learning in the class.

	EAP-Anth	EAP-Hist	Univ-Anth	Univ-Hist
Incident Label	*The Ss discuss cultural customs after a segue by Sharon from the topic of gender as a cultural construct. This generates great S interest.*	*Amir connects a Univ-Hist concept with Univ-Anth. Sharon encourages this enthusiastically.*	*Discussion about arranged marriage lively partly because Ss are including aspects of their own cultures.*	*Amir makes a connection with his own field that the teacher encourages in rejoinder*
Excerpt	*Ss are talking about bull fighting, cock fighting, and rodeos – many indicate they have similar culture-specific activities in their cultures.*	*Amir: I think the word colonialism we covered in Anthropology, right?"* *Sharon: Awesome, Amir. You did! Make sure everyone in your group remembers.*	*Amir talking now about arranged marriage. "For example, Kun, your parents tell you you will get married from that girl. Is that thing common in China?"* *Kun: This situation will be happens little times - maybe in the village. In the rural area.* *Amir: Is there a specific religion that do that?* *Meilin: The people that's very rich do this. They use the marriage to connect wealthy.* *Amir: In Saudi Arabia, it's only a little bit now.*	*Amir: I know this from engineering. Some generators will lose power because of the current. One generator will lose more power. What if it explodes?* *Rosa: Great point, but Edison lost out. People were like 'we want power! We want electricity! (students laugh)*

Incognizance refers to any observation incident where a lack of awareness about interlocutor or

audience was observable. Because this was based on initial perceptions as a trained ESL

instructor, I only include incidents when in-class questions confirm a lack of understanding due to incognizance, or when interviews confirmed this perception.

	EAP-Anth	EAP-Hist	Univ-Anth	Univ-Hist
Incident Label	*Sharon's quick reading may have led to only superficial understanding. Ss do ask questions about slang after demonstrating some lack of comprehension.*	*Ss confirm understanding of some concepts, but did not recall some that will be tested (after class conversation).*	*Dara moves through this PowerPoint extremely quickly. Ss not keeping up.*	*This class has not varied in terms of task type. Ss attention seems lost.*
Excerpt	*Sharon reads quickly through a text noting "There's a lot of slang in here. Do you have any questions about this?" – moves on without wait time.*	*Sharon is moving quickly through the book today without use of board. Ss are not taking notes. I wonder if they are retaining this.*	*Dara asks: "According to Archaeologists, which subsistence pattern has existed the longest?" Simple recall question but speed of lecture has not allowed for Ss to keep up so cannot respond.*	*Now at the end of class, I note that really too much ground was covered by lecture. I ask Kamshad for an explanation of a prominent term from the beginning of the class (ethnic enclave) and he laughs and says he has no idea.*

Procedural: This label refers to time spent in class discussing tasks before or after completion, or time explaining classroom rules/expectations. Procedural incidents had positive, neutral, and negative undertones depending on the occasion. The concept is explained more under category labels (section 8.3).

	EAP-Anth	EAP-Hist	Univ-Anth	Univ-Hist
Incident Label	*Sharon explains an upcoming assignment in great detail to encourage correct completion.*	*Sharon seems frustrated with Ss today because of inattention to class rules. Spends a lot of time on this.*	*Dara spends the beginning of class giving exam tips.*	*Rosa re-explains expectations for S preparedness.*
Excerpt	*Sharon gives lengthy and explicit instruction about the observation assignment. Going*	*Sharon: I told you that you can't make up a quiz. Those are the class rules, remember?*	*Dara basically says what they should do on the exam. They need to be able to explain why*	*Rosa: We're always moving forward. So, when you're packing up early at the end of*

over every bullet point and double-checking based on student's in appropriate completion of last assignment.		*concepts are important instead of just defining them.*	*class, make sure you're paying attention because we're always moving forward with materials.*

8.2 LS/CS Interview-based Concept Labels

These concept labels derived from a targeted coding of end-of-course LS/CS interviews. Interview data is expanded upon in section 8.4.

Acquiescence refers to any incident where an instructor participant relents on an opinion or plan vis-à-vis an aspect of the program (e.g. content to be covered) either reluctantly or perhaps even against their professional judgment.

	Sharon Interview (EAP-Anth)	Sharon Interview (EAP-Hist)	Dara Interview (Univ-Anth)	Rosa Interview (Univ-Hist)
Incident Label	*Sharon reflects on use of films in class.*	*Regarding her use of class time as dictated by the content in Univ-Hist..*	*Dara takes issue with the program edict to not reduce material covered.*	*Rosa reflects on her perceptions and adjustments in the class.*
Excerpt	*"In hindsight, I wish I would have [been the one to show] the movies that she wanted to show"*	*"By the end, there was too much repetition. There could be more done, but there was a conflict of interest" (in reference to an open disagreement about students' preparedness for Univ-Hist)*	*"One of the things that [the director] said that I totally totally disagree with, that I absolutely fundamentally disagree with after teaching this – he said don't sacrifice content – teach exactly the content you teach for a freshman undergrad class. That was a total bum steer because it was absolutely impossible."*	*"I came in thinking they have the textbook, they will understand. But I spent a lot of time reiterating information in the textbook, only because perhaps the language wasn't right or the vocabulary was different. They didn't understand key concepts - I'd have to go back and explain."*

Deference, as conceptualized here, differs from *acquiescence* in that it implies mutual respect

between LS and CS regarding their counterpart's course delivery or area expertise.

	Sharon Interview (EAP-Anth)	Sharon Interview (EAP-Hist)	Dara Interview (Univ-Anth)	Rosa Interview (Univ-Hist)
Incident Label	*Regarding Dara's teaching.*	*N/A*	*Dara explains that she wants good presentations, but is more worried about content and not delivery.*	*Regarding her perception of Sharon's role.*
Excerpt	*"She didn't even know what she was doing – I just mean she was new. And she never taught second language learners before. So, she was stuck in a really hard place. So, she went with the lecture idea and then backed off from that and then started interacting with them more one on one...talking to them. She was great."*		*"You'll do a good job, I'm sure. Lean on Sharon for how to give your presentation though – she'll give you better tips than me. I just want to make sure you understand what you're presenting.".*	*"Only a couple times did I hear from a student who said I didn't understand this material, so I said Oh that's what Sharon is for. I think the students knew that they could talk to her to clarify the material."*

Appraisal refers to an LS/CS's assessment of their counterpart's teaching, course content, or the

AT in general. As these excerpts represent situation-based professional opinions, this concept

was not divided into value-laden descriptors that would fall under the umbrella concept of

appraisal (e.g. "criticism" or "praise").

	Sharon Interview (EAP-Anth)	Sharon Interview (EAP-Hist)	Dara Interview (Univ-Anth)	Rosa Interview (Univ-Hist)
Incident Label	*Sharon's overall opinion of the Dara..*	*Sharon's views of Rosa's use of class time.*	*Dara's assessment of Sharon's role.*	*Rosa discusses how Sharon supported Univ-Hist.*
Excerpt	*"She was organized. [...] I think she was a*	*"She had [the classroom management*	*I know that she's helping them a lot with the reading,*	*"[Sharon] found a lot of materials - audiovisual*

great teacher. The students really liked her and got along with her."	*computer program] and she said I would like you to go over these questions with them and this vocabulary every week. And then she would have them work on it too. And they would have it for homework. It was just too much of the same thing is what I'm saying."*	*which I think is great. ...I think to some extent some students may have relied on her to have their hand held through the reading.*	*materials for the students to experience during class times. I don't know if it was positive or negative. You'll have to ask her how the reaction was. Because I would think if English is not their first language, or if they don't get subtitles - I just don't know. I don't know how it is.*

In sum, twelve explanatory concept labels are shown above to explain the dynamics in the participant triad. Nine were derived from course observations (Authority, Connection, Definition, Delimitation, Empowerment, Facilitation, Incognizance, Passivity, Procedural), and three from LS/CS interviews (Acquiescence, Appraisal, Deference). These watchwords capture the dynamic of interactions, but cannot generate theory in isolation. To do so, I move to the next level of coding: generation of category labels.

8.3 Category Labels

"Categories are generated by comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences of lower level concepts, and function as a basic guide for later theorizing" (Unlu & Wharton, 2015, p. 29). In this study, after the second round of coding, a rough model of relationship dynamics (i.e. how the participant triad interacted) that constituted de facto curriculum and course delivery emerged that seemed to confirm some of my underlying beliefs about the AT. At this stage of analysis, while I had used a grounded approach, I had yet to incorporate extensive interview data into the analysis. As such, this initial model (Figure 1 below) was labeled as

"emergent." It accounts for the incidents I had observed and documented so far. I will now present and explain the categories I abstracted at this point in analysis.

Mediative Dynamic – Vygotsky (1962) advocated for mediated approaches to learning. In mediated environments, learning is inductive: learners receive support that helps them merge their own ideas with available information to generate mental models through exposure to rich and accessible content. This is an example of "scaffolding," the process of providing "support, guidance, advice, prompts, direction or resources to a learner that enables them to complete a task that is otherwise out of reach" (Wass & Golding, 2014, p. 676, echoed in Adamson, 1993 and Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976). In a postsecondary context such as the AT, this mediation also helps students to adapt to the "idiosyncratic" (Benesch, 2001, p. 13) nature of university courses. This dynamic is reflective, critical, encouraging, and empowering. The category reflects incidents, and subsequently concept labels which I considered mediative, and that I also perceived as positive, fruitful classroom practices and interactions.

Conventional Dynamic – This category subsumes 5 concept labels. As a unified category, it represents interactions and dynamics where beliefs and practices related to educational norms of behavior are observed. As a set of subcategories (see Figure 1), it also captures the amount of class time and effort that goes into ritual matters such as clarifying tasks procedurally, clarifying tasks in terms of content, and redressing issues of inappropriate approaches to task completion; this last issue is noted as "conventional-negative" in Figure 1, largely because while explication of inappropriate approaches can lead to improvement in future iterations of a task type, it was not common in the observed classes for this to occur.

Remediative Dynamic – This reflects an understanding of postsecondary remedial education characterized by Shapiro (2011) as skills-oriented, reductive, and marginalizing – where a constant awareness of the sheltered setting produces a "linguistic containment" (Matsuda, 2010, p. 86) mentality, a tendency to 'spoon feed' explanations of topics and terms to ESL students to expedite teaching, and for students to seek out this spoon. In other words, this category label subsumes concept labels that refer to incidents where content is delivered and passively consumed, or where possibilities of challenging new concepts or synthesizing existing knowledge and beliefs with new concepts are limited – i.e. a black or white, right or wrong orientation to learning.

The concept label "procedural" was divided into sublabels during categorization to reflect that matters of procedure can have many meanings in classroom.

Concept Label	Overall Value of Dynamic	Category
Connection	Positive	Mediative Dynamic
Empowerment		
Facilitation		
Procedural Plus (critical requests about approach to task or assignment)		
Deference		
Authority	Neutral	Conventional Neutral Dynamic
Procedural Neutral (verification of task requirements or relevance)		
Appraisal		

Acquiescence Procedural Minus (redress of misunderstood task)	Negative	Conventional Negative Dynamic
Definition Delimitation Incognizance Passivity		Remediative Dynamic

Figure 1: An Emergent Model of AT Dynamics

To illustrate the values I have ascribed to these dynamics, Table 6 shows an example of a classroom exchange with 3 elements.

Table 6:

Classroom observation – discussing a topic before a trip to an on-campus museum (from Univ-Hist)

Excerpt	Concept Label	Category label
Rosa: It's pretty interesting – the start of that war. Is anyone interested in war history? Or maybe wars in your countries' histories?	Connection, Empowerment	**Mediative**
Ss silent – some checking phones – one asks when they will go the museum	Passivity	**Remediative**
Rosa: Well, let me just give a summary of the Spanish-American War because it's interesting, and it will help you understand what's next	Delimitation	**Remediative**
Donghai: Is this something we should know before the museum?	Procedural (verification of task relevance)	**Conventional**
Rosa: No, but we have plenty of time. We'll go when we go. I hope you're not asking that question because you just want to leave because that wouldn't be very polite.	Authority	**Conventional**

The short exchange above illustrates the values assigned to the category labels. Rosa starts with

an open invitation to discuss the topic of war history. However, in response to passivity, she

moves on with a basic summary of the topic. Donghai seeks to ascertain if this will be

something they must know before their museum visit. Rosa's response, which may resemble a

reprimand, is valuable to the student. Donghai's tone of voice was neutral and genuinely

curious. However, the perlocutionary effect may be offense to Rosa. In the context of the AT,

incidents like these are useful for assimilating students to certain matters of basic etiquette that may differ, or may not seem as immediate or urgent when communicating in their L2.

8.4 Incorporating Interview Data to Develop a De Facto Model of Linked Course Dynamics

Extensive observations and limited LS/CS interview excerpts above contribute to the initial concept labels and categories. The labels and incidents shown are not described in terms of frequency of occurrence, which would contribute to a model of linked course dynamics. Interviews filled in this gap by getting direct participant feedback to confirm or refute the salience of concept and category labels. This then helped to build a theoretical model of the AT that addresses the commensurability of student expectations and beliefs vis-à-vis LS/CS practices and beliefs.

The first round of LS/CS interview coding yielded short annotations of beliefs each had of the other, which is detailed in the three concept labels above (section 8.3). This stage of analysis, while grounded, targeted only information that revealed how each instructor perceived the other and/or how they coordinated instruction. Subsequent coding of LS, CS, and student interviews was selective, not grounded. I sought to determine if the values I had ascribed in my emergent model (Figure 1) were shared by participants – i.e. did participants ascribe the same values, different values, or were the concepts not salient to them at all?

After coding, value statements were found as participants conceptualized their obligations relative to each other, the AT, and even the university in general. Participant responses in interviews focused heavily on aspects of a BPP they considered to be most salient and important for it to be effective. Based on this perception, I organized my coding and

interpretation to account for the top three priorities that emerged for the participant triad in order

of highest to lowest priority for each participant.

- Sharon Priorities (EAP-Hist and EAP-Anth)
    1. To prepare students for university tasks, workload, and participation expectations
    2. To encourage critical thinking
    3. To clarify content and vocabulary from the Univ course
- Dara Priorities (Univ-Anth)
    1. To expose and discuss students to new ways of thinking to engage curiosity
    2. To discuss key terms and concepts
    3. To provide additional background information where needed to facilitate content understanding
- Rosa Priorities (Univ-Hist)
    1. To ensure adequate coverage of necessary content
    2. To encourage materials-oriented follow-up about unclear ideas
    3. To encourage critical reflection about content
- Student Priorities
    1. To pass Univ classes with good grades
    2. To understand vocabulary and special terms
    3. To seek out LS or CS explanations of key concepts and tasks not immediately understood in class.

These priorities helped to orient me to a better understanding and revision of my initial model,

and, critically, what assumptions the model represented. They also demonstrated that even

accounting for practical differences in roles (e.g. LS and CS), the participant triad had different

aspirations for the AT.

Sharon Priorities (both EAP courses)

Sharon's interview responses emphasized important academic skills that she tried to help

students develop. In the quote below, she delineates her priorities in the Univ-Hist course:

> *"I ask about history, ask them their opinion. […] I wanted critical reading, and less just learning vocabulary. Critical thinking [is a huge part of my role] - and I think giving them the tools they need to be successful in college is what I should be doing. Content should really come from the teacher and I should supplement that content, expand, make it clearer - it shouldn't be retaught."*

Another quote reveals the way she had to spend class time in EAP-Hist, seemingly reluctantly:

> *"By the end, we spent all of our time working on comprehension questions and vocabulary"*

With respect to EAP-Anth, she notes another instance where a large chunk of class time was used to clarify content. However, the end of the quote shows a positive view of this episode because it dovetails with her emphasis on teaching critical thinking.

> *"Societal constructs - that took us a long time to get that idea across, that gender is something that society has made up, it's not how you're born. The difference between biology and social construct was a big thing - they did get it, but it took a long time. […] But it's so great. They come here, and they're like, oh, okay! It opens their minds to a different idea. It's so important."*

Dara Priorities (Univ-Anth)

Dara showed a great deal of humility and self-reflection in her interview, perhaps attributable to her training as an Anthropologist. She expressed uncertainty about how the course went, but also revealed some of her priorities in describing that struggle:

> *"I definitely sensed a little bit of a struggle to be sensitive to issues of class, and that's a big thing in Anthropology. […] I sometimes didn't know how to approach it …and I think one huge, huge lesson that anthropology hopes to teach to new students is acknowledging our privilege."*

She addresses the interplay of language and content understanding and how she addressed this through task modification and explication, something I noticed often from Dara during observations:

> *"[…] during both exams, especially the first one, […] they didn't understand the words that were actually in the questions - we just took a little bit more time. …basically, I said if you don't understand a word that's in the questions that's not on your study sheet ask it and I will write the definition on the board […] because they knew the concepts, but the question wording was tripping them up."*

Rosa Priorities (Univ-Hist)

Rosa's interview demonstrated firm beliefs about teaching US history that emphasized breadth of content.

"In my head, I figured - okay, I will use Tues/Thurs for 2.5 hours and then they meet 3 days a week with teaching assistant. In my head, I thought 'I will lecture' - I planned to cover up to 4 topics on Tuesday - and then 2 topics Thursday or 2 and 2."

This emphasis on breadth over depth seemed to not just be a personal choice, but rather a dictate

of the History Department. She mentions synthesizing course ideas with outside knowledge as a

course goal, but implies that this was not a constant throughout the course:

"[The students] stuck to the script mostly - the questions I gave them and stuff, but towards the end they were finally asking questions [not from the course worksheets]. [...]. Our discussions from history veered into current events - we talked about - everyone talked about a global event, which generated a lot of discussion and debate about the world and politics, and what they hope to gain from their experience here and take back to their country"

Student Priorities

Student interview responses forced me to rethink my initial model of the linked course

dynamics. Almost without exception, their course goals were instrumental and concrete. The

priorities shown constitute the general sentiment of all interviewed students.

Multiple students indicated that passing the university classes to establish a good record

at SRC or to facilitate entry into SRC was their principal goal

"I want two A's now. Before I started, I think I wanted two B's (laughs). I think neither class is difficult now." (Kun)
"In the first session, I wish I can in all the 3 session keep a high GPA like a 4.0 or 3.8 and I get it." (Meilin)

A recurring activity in the EAP-Hist course involved students presenting explanations of key

terms to classmates. Students had mixed feelings about this.

"She had some key words each session, and she wants us to present the key words, but it's googling and stuff like that. It's something fake, it's not something that we learn about. She can just explain the word." (Kamshad)
"Anthropology articles - the words for Anthropology so you don't have anything to change the words to. [...] - this is the word. This was hard. [...] It really was hard. That's why my laptop was open in front of me always - to translate. So, it was great when she could explain us a word." (Farid)

(Characterization of why EAP-Hist useful) "*Sharon's class, it's really really helpful. Because if you want to work alone to find all these key terms and the questions, you need like 2 weeks.*" *(Amir)*
(Enough support from Sharon?) "Before this class, the teacher will upload key terms and questions to a website, but those questions are a little bit tricky. We are not native speaker, so we get support from Sharon. She explain in a simple way to us.

Other people in the class don't help me - I don't need help from them. (Donghai)

As I reconciled this interview data with the tentative conclusions and model I had created primarily from observation data, it became clear that a reconceptualization would be required in this latter stage of analysis. I explain this process in 8.5.

8.4 The Significance of Content Course Subject in the Current Study

It may not be coincidence that Crandall and Kaufman (2002) list "identifying or developing appropriate content" (p. 2) as the first of five common challenges to implementing CBI programs. In many postsecondary ESL programs, this refers to a language instructor selecting and adapting content that is appropriate and "amenable to development of a range of critical literacy and academic language tasks" (Crandall & Kaufman, 2002, p. 3; echoed in Johns, 1997). Without, for example, something akin to a genre-oriented approach as found in composition programs, the process of determining which content course(s) to link in a BPP can be arbitrary.

The director at the time of data collection indicated that the AT's content courses were chosen for practical and theoretical reasons (Carl[34], personal communication, February 21, 2014). With respect to practicality, he had to find general education classes offered by departments willing to work with the ELI to deliver courses in the sheltered format. Carl also

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[34] Pseudonym for director

offered the theoretical explanation that the constellation of content courses - Western

Civilization[35], Intro to Anthropology, and Intro to US History - represented a sequence of

courses that would introduce students to "western thought" and academic traditions.

Prior to data collection, I fully agreed with this rationale and still do to some extent,

though some research rejects "pedagogical practices aimed at assimilating L2 students to

Western culture" (Cox & Zawacki, 2014, pp. 17-18). However, for the courses in the current

study, Univ-Anth more closely met the directive of introducing western thought than US

History did, largely by virtue of what constitutes Anthropology as a subject of study.

Throughout my observations and interviews, it became increasingly apparent that

Anthropology, as a subject, allowed for more opportunities for critical inquiry and reflection

than did US History. In effect, the subject of History in a linked course scenario may put the

content instructor in a position that requires more creativity to incorporate activities that require

critical thought or inquiry, especially given the added dimension that the course is an

introduction – i.e. introductory courses tend to orient students around facts and descriptions of

significant effects.

Conversely, Anthropology is inherently relativist as a subject that teaches and values

reflective study and challenging immutable beliefs. In the Univ-Anth course in this study,

students were confronted with notions such as gender and race being societal constructs and not

essential human traits. These discussions were among the most animated I witnessed,

especially in light of the traditional and conservative leanings of some of the Muslim students in

the study.

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[35] Very first session of the bridge. Data is not part of the current study.

Though it was not conclusive in the data, I believe that the course subject itself created a ripple effect in the relationships of the participant triad, one that skewed positive in the Univ-Anth link and negative in the Univ-Hist link.

8.5 A Priorities-Based Model of the AT

To devise a more encompassing model of what happens in the LS, CS, student participant triad in terms of how it constitutes the de facto AT curriculum, I was forced to revisit my assumptions based on the interview data. To do so, I considered what I had considered value-positive, value-neutral, and value-negative in Figure 1 and compared it with the priorities I gleaned from interviews.

In interviews, Sharon and Dara all mentioned classroom practices and teaching orientations that align with the mediative interactions that I had deemed value-positive. This seemed to confirm that they also recognized the value of focusing on these actions. Rosa's interview also showed a mediative orientation, though she also showed remediative proclivities by revealing a breadth over depth orientation to content – this is evidenced by her measured frustration about not being able to get through content because of the need to stop and fill in background information for some subjects: "I feel like a lot of them needed extra clarifications on the days when we met, which wasn't a problem, but it definitely kind of slowed down the process a little, so we didn't move as fast as I really wanted to and thought we could" (Rosa, personal communication, June 7, 2013).

Student interviews revealed goals and expectations that were imprecise. For example, Kamshad expressed mixed feelings about mediative interactions with Sharon.

Maybe [Sharon] thinks that [she is] still teaching the students in [beginning ESL], something like that. One other problem that I have with Sharon class - she always respond to things to our opinion and ideas by laugh and smiley face and saying that it's correct. Yeah, you are perfect and interesting even if you are saying something wrong. It's always her reaction to everything I try - it happens five or six times. Maybe I am saying something wrong, but she is saying it's an interesting answer. […] she just want you to do something and that's enough. (Kamshad)

Kamshad struggled with ambiguous interactions where he was unsure if an answer he gave was credible or correct. His desire to know unambiguously whether a response was correct or not reveals a remediative orientation to interactions, and a rejection of mediative stances. Ting's post-course interview reveals similar beliefs about interactions with the LS and CS.

We always do the same way[with Rosa]. She gives us lecture and we take notes. She gives us key terms and questions and we answer it. Most of the time the answer is in the book. […] Sometimes it's hard with vocabulary. I can't catch – maybe it's a new word for me, so I will ask them. They explain words so we can do the work. (And regarding key term presentations from classmates) It's better the teacher tell us. [Presentations of terms from classmates] is not the best way to use the time. (Lanfen)

Students' general orientation to learning in this sheltered format was to favor remediative interactions.

Responses that elucidated the concept label *Procedural* did not come up frequently in instructor interviews. However, student interviews showed a generally favorable view of procedural interactions. For example, students had positive views about cases where they were given worksheets and terms that exactly matched test content, or cases where the instructor modeled or explicated exactly what would earn an "A" on an assignment. This was generally considered good teaching.

The interviews did not alter the value-based assessments of the concepts and categories in the emergent model as those emerged based on assessments of dynamics that were couched in my theoretical framework (Section 2). However, they did change the model representation of the AT. The revised model in Figure 2 reconciles participant-identified priorities for these courses

with a frequency count of observation incidents and concept labels in the 4 courses. I use this

count to label the classroom dynamic of each participant group shown – i.e. if a majority of

interactions were remediative (e.g. instances of "Definition" and "Delimitation" were prevalent),

that assessment was assigned. Though not represented in the figure, the remediative assessments

of Sharon and Rosa's teaching orientation are partly based on frequent observations of class time

used to redress inappropriate or ineffectual task understanding or completion (*Procedural
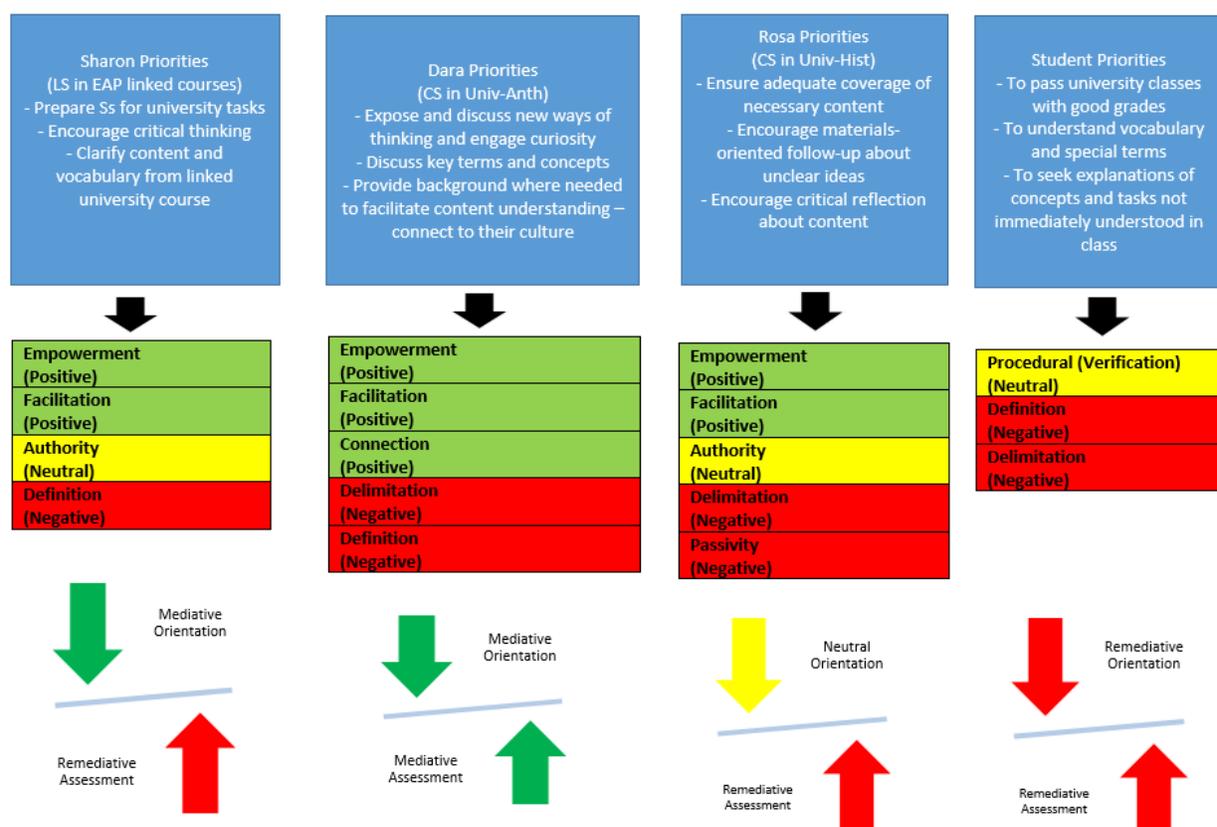
Minus*).

Figure 2: Reconciling Observational Data with Participant Beliefs about Mediative, Neutral, and Remediative Orientations

There are important consequences for these findings, which I elaborate on in *Conclusions

(section 10).*

9. Limitations

As a case study, the findings may only be relevant to this context. I will note that most participants were only interviewed once during the main part of data collection, though follow-ups did occur with willing students a year after the study (i.e. after first year of full matriculation). Those interviews were not relevant to the current study, and were excluded. I've spoken with Sharon about the AT multiple times since this initial data collection as she continued to teach in the program.

I acknowledge that some of the transcriptions and shorthand summaries in the observation stage were not audio-recorded. As such, I had to rely on incident labels as well as daily reflections to ensure their correctness.

A final limitation relates to my positionality in this research. At the time of data collection and up until the present, I have worked as a program coordinator in a different program within the ELI. All of the student participants and Sharon knew me prior to data collection. Therefore, I acknowledge that students' perception of me as an authority figure at ELI may have impacted their interview responses, and occasionally their performance in class. However, I believe that my frequent presence for observations, willingness to offer assistance, and explicit assurance of confidentiality have mitigated this concern.

10. Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to ascertain how the dynamics of the participant triad constituted the Advanced Track BPP at ELI. This data collection and analysis mostly supported my expectations that a postsecondary sheltered model might not be ideal to prepare ESL students for matriculation into the university. There were two principal reasons that confirmed this belief.

First, the sheltered model, by design, adapts to the needs of the learners, a notion that seems positive on its face. However, as Burger, et al. (2013) noted in their study of the University of Ottawa's French immersion program, teaching within a linked course model can be difficult for content-area instructors to fully grasp, and also difficult for language instructors to properly support. They note that some CS's in the program "are unwilling to make allowances for students with weaker [language] skills" (Burger, et al., 2013, p. 38). In the current study, partly because of the all-ESL population in both the Univ and EAP course, it was common for tasks, assignments, and tests to be overadapted. For example, an essay test might be changed to a multiple choice or fill-in-the-blank format test where students could also use dictionaries or work together. In some cases, reading was reduced or a reading-based assignment became a film-based assignment; in this example, changing the "text" would be creative pedagogy if the principal goal was demonstrating analytical ability. However, in cases I observed, the goal was typically to elicit recall. Excessive accommodation is discussed in Iancu (2002) who recommends that the LS speak with the CS if this happens.

Second, I observed frequent occasions where students' classroom conduct and performance resembled what I am accustomed to seeing in a skills-based Intensive English Program. In task-based work, students often wanted to be explicitly oriented to the goals of the task with a bounded definition of what would define success or an 'A.' This was often accommodated by the instructors by offering tasks that focused on searching for and defining terms or focusing on micro-level understandings of concepts that did not connect with, or 'zoom out' to, larger ideas. In instances where words were unclear, quick definitions were often provided, even in cases when students might have benefitted from word-in-context or inquiry-

based approaches. This passive, delimited approach seemed natural and a matter of convenience, perhaps because the cohort is all ESL students. However, I believe that the EAP instructor in a linked course must be especially vigilant to avoid skills-based teaching. In practice, this means assuming students possess a certain skill set even if they are technically underdeveloped in certain areas.

In sum, what happens in a sheltered model is analogous to Parkinson's law, which posits that work expand to fill the time available for completion. In a sheltered, ESL-student-only model like the AT, demonstrated abilities expand to fit the model at hand. The people may not change, but the model can.

11. Recommendations and Future Research

While I do not wish to oversimplify the issue of how best to 'bridge' ESL students to the university, my data analysis and other existing research about preparing students for university study (Adamson, 1993; Blanton, 1992; Snow & Brinton, 1988; Stoller, 2002; Wingate, 2006) has led me to 2 principal issues that need to be addressed.

1. If possible, an Adjunct Model should be used for linked course programs

2. Classroom activities and teaching should be task-oriented within the model

When asked directly about whether they would prefer to keep the current sheltered AT or try an adjunct model version, 7 out of 11 participants preferred to keep the sheltered model. They cited the following reasons: being nervous around Americans; being afraid to ask questions; not understanding the professor; and not having international student friends in the class. All of these reasons make sense in that they reaffirm the sheltered model's ability to imbue a sense of safety. However, those who would have preferred to have an adjunct model

had other interesting insights. When asked how an adjunct model would be different, Hakeem said:

> *It would be a big difference. You will have to be used to a university life. You will sit in a big room, big class - with like 100 students. Here in Rosa class, we have a few people, like 10, so whatever happens, she will know that you didn't do the homework and she maybe care about you more. But when we go to the big class, the professor will not have time to care about you. So, we not see a professor who cares about you, you will be like any normal student at the university. So, in this case, you will be independent - if you care about it, you'll be okay - if you don't care, you won't do okay. The other thing is you will learn from the American. But here we don't have the good background about the university life. Soon we go to the American class, we will meet American who are used to take classes before. He knows how to take notes. So, if we make friends with him, you start taking notes, you learn how to take notes normally, so you get more benefit when you are with American.*

These are very insightful comments, which do not reflect a dislike for the program, but rather a recognition that students will be jumping from the proverbial frying pan into the fire when they leave the AT. In the adjunct model, students typically attend regular lectures to get used to being in a large, fast-paced class. In these situations, the EAP instructor can then focus on actual needs instead of perceived needs and generate tasks that simulate course expectations, but in a safe environment. The EAP instructor in an adjunct link can also focus on fostering a "tolerance for ambiguity" (Adamson, 1990, p. 73; Ely, 2008) to help students build up a greater trust in their abilities to tackle difficult content. The key component, one common to most BPPs, is limited initial exposure to *authentic* university classes.

A task-based approach is also advised. In the concept labels of the current study, I mention tasks under *Procedural* labels, and label critical requests of task approach as an example of *Procedural Plus* incidents. I advocate for a task-based instructional orientation because its "key precepts" (Ellis, 2009, p. 223) dovetail with my conviction that BPPs should be more content-driven than language-driven (see Table 1). Additionally, I echo Benesch's (2001)

sentiment that "university courses are idiosyncratic, even those within the same department" (p. 13). In other words, focusing on the best teaching method or content to be covered ignores the reality that a BPP is preparing students for a wide variety of coursework with disparate expectations of what constitutes ability, success, or even a good grade. This orientation is inherently mediative, and has four foci: "the task should be meaning-based, there should be an information gap (i.e. imparting information, expressing an appropriate opinion), learners should largely have to *rely on their own resources* to complete the activity, and there [should be] a clearly defined *outcome other than the use of language*" (Ellis, 2009, p. 223, emphasis mine). This addresses many concerns that arose out of this study and offers a framework for class instruction, especially in the EAP class. It also gives students the tools to problem solve in an academic setting, an ability that is useful across multiple contexts. I would also conjecture that students in a BPP would not adopt a remediative disposition vis-à-vis the program if a task-based model was at the heart of the program. Finally, use of a task-based model may be pointless if the bridging courses chosen are ill-suited for a BPP.

Future research on this and other postsecondary mixed delivery models (i.e. mixing adjunct and sheltered, as shown here) is needed to see if the data analysis here is reflected elsewhere. Nearly all research on sheltered university models centers around the University of Ottawa model alluded to earlier (e.g. Brinton, et al., 2003; Burger, et al, 2013; Edwards, 1984). Dantas-Whitney, Larson and Dowling (2002) describe student participation in a simulated sheltered class, but their use of the term sheltered is actually further defined as "mini-sheltered" (p. 29) because the program is a 3-lecture simulation meant to "encourage students to take a critical step toward university adjustment […] in a warm, nonthreatening atmosphere" (p. 29).

The lack of research may point to an understanding that it may not be advisable to use a model that is "nonthreatening" (sheltering), but instead use one that is challenging and initially intimidating, but ultimately empowering and rewarding (adjunct).

Another area of research needing more attention that is not addressed extensively here: professional development models for CS's in BPPs that help them understand how to work with LS's, something Dara noted was sorely lacking in the AT. Future case studies can only add to the body of knowledge in a rapidly growing area of postsecondary ESL instruction: Bridge and Pathway Programs.

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Appendix i – Abbreviated AT Curriculum Guide[36] Showing Information about Linked

Courses

Southwestern Research College's Advanced Track is a hybrid program where ESL students take academic courses with the support of ELI teachers in a corresponding ELI bridge course. The courses are all designed for pre-academic students who are non-degree seeking and enrolled in the English Language Institute at Southwestern Research College. The total number of contact hours per week is 18 hours, and the focus is on language training and meeting the minimum requirements for admission to any undergraduate program at Southwestern Research College while building a record of success that is transferable to any undergraduate program. All sessions are 10 weeks long. As students progress, they are allowed to take more credit-bearing courses and can transfer up to 15 credits to Southwestern Research College upon completion of the program.

<u>Elective Academic Courses:</u>
Introduction to Anthropology (3 cr, 4.5 hrs/wk)
This general education course is an anthropological perspective on humans and culture. The focus is on introducing anthropology to ESL students destined for all undergraduate majors. The latest anthropological theories and research make up the corpus of readings for this lecture class. This course introduces the student to anthropological perspectives on cultural diversity. The course focuses on gender, race, ethnicity and class through readings by and about peoples of the non-western world.

Introduction to US history (3 cr, 4.5 hrs/wk)
This general education course is an historical perspective on the most important historical occurrences in the United States from 1877 to present. The focus is on introducing historical analysis of the US to ESL students destined for all undergraduate majors. The latest historical theories and research make up the corpus of readings for this lecture class. This course examines and analyzes the social, political, and economic transformations of American Society since Reconstruction. It focuses on multiple levels of society as well as the groups and individuals who comprised it.

<u>ELI Course List and Descriptions</u>
Bridge Course to specific SRC classes:
All ELI Bridge Courses will follow the following criteria in terms of description, goals, and outcomes. The ELI Bridge course is designed to support a specific academic course, providing the reading and vocabulary development and support necessary to develop academic success for lower English proficiency students. Course instructors attend the lectures of the corresponding academic courses and design their lessons based on what is being read, lectured on, or discussed in the class. The basic objectives of all ELI Bridge courses are:

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[36] Institutional and Course Name Pseudonyms inserted throughout.

1. To clarify and reinforce learning of content being taught in the academic class
2. To discuss course readings and support good habits of vocabulary acquisition and academic reading habits
3. To discuss lecture notes and clarify language-specific issues associated with the content

Appendix ii - Interview Questions –EAP Instructors
1. State name
2. Can you very briefly talk about your teaching background?
3. How has it been teaching in the bridge program?
4. Can you tell me about the first couple of weeks of this past session?
5. How about the last couple of weeks?
6. What goals did you have for the classes?
7. How did you design the course to achieve those goals?
8. What did you choose to focus on in your class time?
9. Did you have to change how you went about supporting the university course as time passed?
10. Were there times where you felt particularly strongly one way or another about the students' performance? Can you give examples?
11. Were there times where you felt particularly strongly one way or another about the content being covered in (univ class)? Can you give examples?
12. What kind of support did the program have in place for you as you taught? (Did you want/need more support?)
13. How did you coordinate with your co-teacher, _____? How did it go? (official meetings?)
14. What did you perceive your role in the course pairing to be? Did it change as the course went on?
15. Were there any particular assignments or parts of the course that were easier in terms of instruction? Any that were more difficult? Why?
16. Did you have any specific strategies or tasks to bridge the content of this course?
17. Did you spend some time talking about note-taking or other study strategies?
18. Were any special accommodations made for the students? If so, what were they?
19. Was there anything related to their language ability that impacted their work in the class? Any examples?
20. If you were to teach the course again in this bridge format, is there anything you'd do differently?
21. If you could make any suggestions for (univ teacher) the next time teaching this course, what would they be?
22. (specific questions from observations - here)
23. What changes would you like to see made to the program if any?   (if nothing) Format? Hours?
24. Anything you'd like to add? Any questions? Any other stories from the course you'd like to share?

Appendix iii: Interview Questions – University Instructors

1. State name
2. Can you very briefly talk about your teaching background related to this subject?
3. How has it been teaching in the bridge program?
4. Can you tell me about the first couple of weeks of this past session?
5. How about the last couple of weeks?
6. What goals did you have for the course?
7. How did you design the course to achieve these goals?
8. Was it any different than teaching the class as you normally would in a regular gen ed situation?
   a. (if ambiguous response) Did you have to make any changes to how you delivered the course? If yes, what changes?
9. Were there times where you felt particularly strongly one way or another about the students' performance? Can you give examples?
10. Did the students seek help outside of class?
11. What kind of support did the program have in place for you as you taught? (Did you want/need more support?)
12. How did you coordinate with your co-teacher, _____? How did it go? (official meetings?)
13. What did you perceive your co-teacher's role in instruction to be? Did it change as the course went on?
14. What did you perceive your role to be?
15. Did your plans for the delivery of the course change over time? If so, how?
16. Were there any particular assignments or parts of the course that were easier in terms of instruction? Any that were more difficult? Why?
17. Did you make any specific assignment accommodations for the students? If so, what were they?
18. With this being a group made up of solely English language learners, was there anything related to their language ability that impacted their work in the class? Any examples?
19. If you were to teach the course again in this bridge format, is there anything you'd do differently?
20. If you could make any suggestions for (univ teacher) the next time teaching this course, what would they be?
21. (specific questions from observations - here)
22. What changes would you like to see made to the program if any? (if nothing) Format? Hours?
23. Anything you'd like to add? Any questions? Any other stories from the course you'd like to share?

Appendix iv: Interview Questions – Students

1. State name
2. Can you tell me where you're from?
3. Tell me about school back home. Is it different from here?
4. How has the bridge program been?
5. Can you tell me about the first couple of weeks of this past session?
6. How about the last couple of weeks?
7. What were your goals?
8. How did you study to achieve those goals?
9. Tell me about the classes (support, university)
10. (if applicable) Was one of the classes you took more challenging? (follow-up why – then why other was less challenging)
11. Did your study habits change as the class moved forward?
12. How did (support teacher) support you in (university class)?
13. What worked well?
14. What didn't work as well?
15. Did you get help from your classmates sometimes?
16. What did you focus on in the CESL classes? How did you spend your time?
17. Were there any particular assignments or parts of the course that were easier for you?
18. Any that were more difficult? Why?
19. Was there anything in _____'s course that surprised you? That you didn't expect to learn about?
20. Did _____ (university instructor) change anything about how she taught over time? (or did [univ class] change over time?)
21. What worked well about (univ teacher) teaching?
22. What didn't work as well?
23. Have you ever taken a class like (univ class)?
24. Were there times where the language was too hard? (if yes, examples)
25. (Participant-specific questions from observation notes)
26. Would you take the program again?
27. What changes would you like to see made to the program if any? (if no response) Format? Hours?
28. Anything you'd like to add? Any questions? Any other stories from the course you'd like to share?

Appendix C – Article 3: Team-Teaching in A First-Year Composition Course for ESL Students: A Participant-Observational Reflexive Account of One Sheltered University Pathway Context

Abstract: This case study takes place in a first-year composition course in a sheltered university pathway program for ESL students[37]. It focuses on a specific and complex essay assignment: the Text-in-Context essay (TICE). I consider the assignment parameters, primary and secondary texts offered for completion, interviews with students and instructors, field notes, notes from tutoring sessions, written student reflections, the assignments themselves, and a reflexive narration of my research experience to describe the milieu of the TICE. The description suggests a community of practice "bound by the value [participants] find in learning together" (Wenger, 2002, p. 5), one in which a flexible, team-teaching approach helps to facilitate the completion of a complex analytical task, while also fostering the growth of the ESL students as academic writers.

1. **Introduction**

In English-medium universities, the first-year composition course (henceforth: "FY-COMP") or course sequence has long been a fixture for undergraduates, regardless of major. It has assumed this place in the university because of its role in forming the basis of essential academic writing skills for hosts of fledgling college students. While seen as a "speedbump"

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[37] From here forward, "ESL student" will be used to refer to any "individuals enrolled in institutions of *higher education* who are on *temporary visas* and are non-native English speakers" (Andrade, 2006, p. 134, emphasis mine).

(Duffy, 2012, para 4) by some students who wish to jump right into courses in their major, Duffy (2012) notes:

> "the [FY-COMP] represents one of the few places in the academic curriculum, in some institutions the only place, where students learn the basics of argument, or how to make a claim, provide evidence, and consider alternative points of view. Argument is the currency of academic discourse, and learning to argue is a necessary skill if students are to succeed in their college careers. Yet the process of constructing arguments also engages students, inevitably and inescapably, in questions of ethics, values, and virtues […] It is a course in ethical communication" (paragraphs 5 and 9).

Even though Duffy's perspective may reveal an ethnocentricity vis-à-vis American academic culture, his cogent description of FY-COMPs does nod to the value attached to this institution in US universities, this import assigned to it taking on a daunting dimension for the fledgling *ESL* college student in mainstream FY-COMPs where they may feel intimidated or disregarded in their classes (Braine, 1996). It is not just the inherent difficulty of composition, it is also that the ESL student starting off as an American undergraduate seeks to "assert, define, modify, challenge, and/or support [a] desired self-image" (Ting-Toomey, 2005, p. 217) based on "positions, which include but are not limited to race, ethnicity, gender, generation, [and] sexual orientation" (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001, p. 249). These actions comprise the performative endeavor ESL students face as they seek to define themselves as competitive and worthy, if novice, scholars. When one reconciles the value Duffy ascribes to FY-COMPs with the initial and ongoing challenges ESL students face in fitting in as students, it is not hard to understand why ESL students may have reservations about studying FY-COMP alongside native-speaking (NS) students, and thus often prefer "ESL Composition" courses (Braine, 1996).

The study offers a rich description of a team-taught, ESL-only FY-COMP in a sheltered university pathway program that 'zooms in' on a complex final essay assignment to illustrate the cooperative dynamic of the students, the two instructors, and me, ultimately revealing emerging analytical writing abilities in the focal participants. While I have found several case studies and compendia that examine the links between content courses/instructors and EAP courses/instructors (Benesch, 2001; Brinton & Jensen, 2002; Burger, Weinberg & Wesche, 2013; Crandall & Kaufman, 2002; Iancu, 2002; Schneider & Friedenberg, 2002; Snow & Brinton, 1984; 1988, among others), this is the first research I am aware of to consider a team-teaching approach in an EAP/ FY-COMP pairing. This is not to suggest that FY-COMPs could not be construed as "content courses[38]" – rather, I align with Duffy's twofold characterization of FY-COMPs as: a) one of the few, or only, sites at American universities for learning the skill of Western academic argumentation and accounting for multiple viewpoints, and b) the conceptualization of composition courses as foundational courses that prepare students to write in later content-area courses (e.g. in their majors).

The findings in this study suggest that a team-taught, ESL-only FY-COMP has many benefits, which leads to the suggestion that credit-bearing FY-COMPs are well worth including in the curriculum of Bridge and Pathway Programs (BPPs), which I define along with other key terms next.

2. Key Terms

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[38] I will use "content course" to refer to other general education courses such as Anthropology or US History

"Bridge" or "Pathway" programs (BPPs) are postsecondary ESL programs that "feature a hybrid of credit-bearing coursework and instruction in English language and academic skills" (Redden, 2010, para 1). Quite often, the EAP courses in these models are linked to the content course (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 2003; Hirsch, 1988; Snow & Brinton, 1984; 1988). In these cases, the content course generally determines the focus of instruction in the language course (Adamson, 1990; Burger, et al., 2013; Snow & Brinton, 1988). BPPs fall under the umbrella of content-based instructional (CBI) models where the language course activities are devised based on what happens in the content course.

A university sheltered model (see, for example Brinton, et al's 2003 account of the University of Ottawa program) resembles what one sees in K-12 settings where ESL students are separated into modified content courses made available solely for them. Modifications typically include careful curricular choices based on principles such as: choosing texts for organization and clarity, aligning lectures with texts more closely (i.e. avoiding digressions and "riffing"), and emphasizing receptive skills in course objectives (Brinton, et al, 1989, p. 16). One can glean from this description that even though a university sheltered model contains university courses, the setting and experience may diverge from that of a regular academic course.

Because the data in this study came from a larger research context that scrutinized the appropriateness of the sheltered model for the English Language Institute[39] (ELI), it is important to define the most common postsecondary course linking model, the "adjunct model" (see Burger, Weinberg & Wesche, 2013; Iancu, 2002; Kinsey, 2008; Snow & Brinton, 1984; 1988).

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[39] Pseudonym for the ESL department in this study.

In the "adjunct model," ESL students attend a limited set of regular content classes alongside 'regular' university students. The ESL students then attend separate ESL courses that focus on academic skills related to the course such as "time management, academic reading, and note-taking strategies" (Snow & Brinton, 1988, p. 559). Applied to an FY-COMP context, this would mean ESL students attending mainstream composition classes with attending, 'pull-out' support classes or tutoring sessions for the ESL student. While linked-course programs may offer writing classes (see, for example, the *Freshman Summer Program,* Snow & Brinton, 1988), they are typically a standalone ESL course in the student's schedule, with other content courses being linked. I consider the uniqueness of a linked, ESL-only FY-COMP throughout this study.

3. Defining the Text-in-Context Essay

To situate the literature overview that follows, I will describe the *parameters* of the task that is the centerpiece of the current study: the text-in-context essay (TICE). The assignment represents the culmination of two less complex prior analytical essays in this FY-COMP. As defined in the course's primary textbook (*A Student's Guide to First-Year Writing* – Brown, Lee & Rodriguez, 2011), in the TICE students: "analyze a text, but [they] do so using additional sources to enrich [their] understanding" (Brown, et al., 2011, p. 172). The sources to be used are broken down as follows:

- *Primary text:* This is the main text and thus main analytical focus. "It might be a book, an article, a movie, a photograph, a painting, or even a place."
- *Secondary text:* "The texts create the context or framework – they add to [their] understanding of the primary text by introducing historical, philosophical, theoretical, and biographical information that casts the primary text in a new light, [and] are not necessarily about the primary text." The secondary text is also described as a "'lens text' because [they] can look 'through' it in order to discover new things about the primary text."

- *Secondary source:* "These are sources that comment on and have a direct relationship to the primary text. Some common examples of secondary sources are an analysis of a literary text, a critique of a painting or photograph, a movie review, or an opinion about an interview" (all of the above found in Brown, et al., 2011, p. 172).

This establishes the basics of the students' task, with the secondary texts and sources acting as a framework for understanding the primary text. It is also crucial to know that the TICE in this study restricted students to 1 primary text and 3 instructor-provided source texts. In section 7.1 below (*Data Collection*), I elaborate on the particular features and requirements of the TICE in the milieu of the FY-COMP in this study. I argue that the while the texts do act as "lens" texts, their status as secondary sources (per the definition above) is debatable and the cause of some difficulty for students.

4. The Analytical Essay in the Milieu of This ESL-only FY-COMP

The lead-up to, and completion of, the TICE constitutes a situated academic writing process (Green, 2013) that happens within a community of practice (Wenger, 2002) made up of the two instructors, a cohort of ESL students, and myself as a participant observer, a place where we "share a concern [and] set of problems [...] about a topic, and deepen [our] knowledge and expertise by interacting on an ongoing basis" (Wenger, 2002, p. 4). The primary curricular topics in this community are analysis and, subsequently, the analytical essay. Our interactions establish the process for students' completion of the essays, and for the instructors' eventual evaluation of them.

As Green (2013) notes throughout his study of three novice ESL writers, the complexity of writing in situated spaces means more than having a place "to write and learn how to write" (p. 180-181). If it were so simple, FY-COMP student's charge would be perfunctory. Writing analytical and argumentative essays is a research-laden, multifaceted, creative endeavor made

more complicated by the ESL student's still emerging linguistic ability. On top of the *written* English proficiency they have built up prior to the FY-COMP, now students are engaged in the preliminary stages of acquiring a "secondary discourse" (Gee, 2002, p. 161): the discourse of academic writing as conceptualized in this FY-COMP, and the (tertiary) subdiscourse of analysis.

To prepare students for the TICE, the most complex assignment in the course, the instructors[40] have scaffolded (Adamson, 1990; Wood, Bruner & Ross, 1976) these students' writing process in two prior analytical essays that built in complexity by becoming more restrictive and limited in scope, culminating in the current task. Aside from teaching the skill of analysis and how to convey it cogently in writing, supporting composition assignments entails helping students weigh and understand the relative value of different aspects of essay writing through the rubric used for the task. Matters such as grammaticality and mechanics may carry relatively less weight in the rubric of the analytical essay, but nevertheless shape the reader's opinion of "the writer's credibility or even intelligence" (Matsuda, 2010, p. 84), partly because poor grammar may obscure ideas (Adamson, 1990, p. 82).

The aforementioned parameters of this study's TICE limit source possibilities (again, only four), thus isolating the skill of incorporating and synthesizing sources with a responsibility to a restricted set of texts in the evaluation. In Miller, Mitchell and Pessoa's (2016) account of how source texts influence student output, participant students had eleven source texts, could choose six to incorporate in their essay, and were given three to five prompts based on a variety of primary texts in a history class writing assignment. Though the assignment was meant to elicit

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[40] I also help through limited tutoring

argumentative writing, the researchers found that a combination of problematic prompts and source-text variety led many students to write essays that were not in the argument genre. In other words, the variety, selection, and clarity of prompts and sources matter. Relatedly, Leki and Carson (1997) distinguish between writing tasks involving "a source text to which writers respond", which may be limited to offering an opinion that draws on a text, and "a text to which writers are exposed and required to account for in some way," meaning students "must produce *text-responsible* prose based on content acquired primarily from text" (p. 41, emphasis in original) to form their analysis. The notion of text-responsible writing places more responsibility on "content knowledge […], the primary criterion for success in non-language classes" (Stoller, 2001, p. 210). The delimitation of source options and mention of a "lens text" in the TICE are teaching choices indicative of an emphasis on a common frame of reference for analysis; "lens" examples given in the students' textbook include historical, biographical, social, cultural, critical, and *theoretical*, with the last example including lenses such as "Marxist, modernist, and postmodernist" (Brown, et al, 2011, p. 173).[41]

How the various community members (instructors, ESL students, and I) view the context and most salient features of a complex writing task like the TICE is subjective and may not always be commensurate (van Dijk, 2006). This may not mean outright disagreement on the task, but perhaps disagreement on the most important themes and examples to attend to in analysis. In sum, the writing situation for the TICE is one where the *all* of the participants draw on their own conceptualizations of, and attend to, the following: knowledge and insights gained

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[41] During my data collection, I noted this as "near graduate-level sophistication" and "too difficult" in my field notes. I reflect on this perception of difficulty in section 10: *Reflexivity and Positionality*

from prior assignments; the significance of grammaticality and mechanics in the final essay; the notion of text-responsible writing where a bound set of source texts is provided; and whether understandings of the task match among group members with respect to brainstorming ideas, writing drafts, peer and instructor review, and, ultimately, grading.

As an FY-COMP builds to a complex analysis like the TICE, Clark (1992) notes that a writing instructor may attenuate the stress ESL students feel by inviting them to play with "discoursal conventions [that can be] flout[ed]" (p. 118) – i.e. telling students the rules and which ones they can break. Composition research that trumpets consideration of language difference as a "concern for everyone involved in composition instruction" (Matsuda, 2010, p 82) views this willingness to accommodate and engage with ESL students' interlanguage, cultural viewpoints, emerging written discourses, and challenges to conventional ideas as positive and in keeping with a view that a prototypical, benchmark variety of standard 'composition English' is a "myth" (Matsuda, 2010). However, this need not imply that ESL students are not required to be vigilant in remaining text-responsible and rubric-conscious in their analysis in a TICE. Clark (1992) even pulls back on flouting when it comes to the convention of tying arguments to evidence.

In a text-responsible analysis, the academic convention of "[taking] a guarded stance, especially when presenting argumentation" (Johns, 1997, p. 60) is also critical for later success in mainstream academic courses – i.e. it is important that ESL students learn to hedge, and not draw too heavily on personal experience and beliefs for the TICE that could result in "vacuous philosophizing" (Adamson, 1990, p. 83). Indeed, most flouting may be incommensurate with text-responsible analysis.

Thus, even given the specific guidelines for the TICE as shown here, one cannot expect that the ESL student writing the TICE will not be beset by the tension between writing that is mindful of the considerations and assignment parameters above and writing in a voice that is their own. Similarly, by way of teaching decisions and grading rubrics, the instructors must weigh "how to validate students' vernaculars and teach them academic discourse at the same time" (Nero, 2010, p. 142). This involves a constant reflective process in which the instructor must ask if what and how they are grading is based on a student's vernacular, or, in the case that they are giving low marks, if it is just a case of inaccurate English. For example, if the student is able to pick up on the tension between the *danger* and *opportunity* inherent in illegal border crossing in their analysis for this TICE, they will have settled in on a major theme worthy of analysis. However, it is not uncommon for ESL students in FY-COMP assignments to "return to the organizational conventions of their native rhetorics" which may lead to "[instructors noting] 'problems' of clarity, focus, and organization" (Land & Whitley, 1988, p. 141). The strength of the analysis will depend on the student's ability to show the complex interplay of danger and opportunity in the primary and secondary texts. If the instructor sees this, it may be considered "focus," which may even serve as a rubric category. However, is focus enough to combat issues of clarity and organization, as well as issues of mechanics and grammar, or even semantics? Indeed, can a writing instructor be sure of the focus they are gleaning when there are substantive issues in these other areas? A rubric by itself cannot answer these questions: "No rubric can be completely effective in evaluation of students' individual writing idiosyncrasies or their unique understanding of concepts" (Rezaei & Lovorn, 2010, p. 20).

Given the myriad considerations above, Cumming (2003) notes that some writing instructors settle on general improvement in some area (e.g. style, organization of ideas, grammar) as the bellwether of student success, which he labels a "general purpose orientation." However, this also implies learning outcomes that are "diffusely defined and difficult to discern" that could also vary by instructor (Cumming, 2003, p. 83). A specific-purpose orientation (e.g. writing an application letter, writing a public argument) may be more common in FY-COMP because of its "explicit expectations for writing performance [and] criteria for how it will be assessed" (Cumming, 2003, p. 82). While this orientation may not reward overall writing improvement when assignment criteria have not been met, it may be more appropriate in an FY-COMP course meant to prepare students for the content-specific writing of their future university courses, and especially in a BPP whose goal is to "bridge" ESL students to that world. Miller, et al. (2016) note that writing faculty who possess a strong and specific understanding of the relationship between an assignment prompt and its source texts are "better equipped to provide students with additional linguistic resources for meeting the goals of the expected genre(s), [which is] particularly important for L2 writers" (p. 22).

The tension between maintaining high standards and fostering improvement in ESL students' writing contribute to the complexity of the ESL-only FY-COMP milieu, especially one housed within a BPP where FY-COMP is supported by yet another class and instructor. The research questions below take up this complexity and guide the data analysis in the current study.

5. Research Questions

The current study contributes to two under-researched areas as characterized in Green (2013): "(1) the approaches novice writers develop towards completing academic assignments,

and the patterns of textual and interpersonal interaction that characterise these approaches; and (2) the connections between approach and quality of writing, particularly with regard to textual or interpersonal interactions that generate meta-knowledge relating to writing" (p. 180).

This study employs basic qualitative inquiry "to understand a […] process [and the] perspectives of the people involved" (Merriam, 2002, p. 6). Data-driven, interpretive answers to the questions illuminate the qualitative impact of the community on the final TICE:

Student-oriented:

1. How do the participant ESL students perceive the value of their interactions with instructors, classmates, and the researcher in negotiating the completion of the TICE?
2. In looking at their thesis statements, to what extent do students' TICE analyses reveal an understanding of analysis and text-responsibility?
3. What meta-knowledge about writing do students display after completion of this final course essay?

Instructor-oriented:

4. What is the nature of the instructional relationship between the principal FY-COMP instructor and the support (henceforth: "EAP-COMP") instructor?
5. What instructional priorities are revealed in the TICE unit?
6. How do the instructors perceive the students' approaches to the TICE?

6. The Context of the Present Study

6.1 Description of the Research Setting

This research took place in the spring of 2013 in a BPP at a large public university in the American southwest, which will be referred to as Southwestern Research College (SRC). Data collection happened in this BPP's first year of existence. The data in the current study is part of a larger research effort which sought to investigate course pairings, instructor experiences, and student experiences during this seminal year.

I had access to both the principal FY-COMP course and its EAP-COMP support course for the duration of the term, which lasted 10 weeks. The two classes met on alternating days: FY-COMP on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and EAP-COMP on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; hence, students had one class or the other all 5 days of the week. Observations were typically limited to 3 class sessions per week, though throughout the duration of this study's focal assignment, I observed more frequently as it became clear this would be a central research focus.

6.2 Student Participants

All 9 students consented to research. However, four became focal participants as a result of purposive sampling (Stake, 2000) based on: their level of participation in the assignment (as evidenced by frequency of observed participation in class), their level of contact with me (as evidenced by in-class questions and availing themselves of tutoring), and the depth of their reflection on the assignment (as evidenced by a post-assignment writing reflection and interviews). Table 1 provides information about the focal participants.

Table 1:

Demographic information of student participants

	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Country of Origin
1.	Meilin	19	F	China
2.	Kun	22	M	China
3.	Amir	21	M	Saudi Arabia
4.	Dabir	19	M	Saudi Arabia

6.3 Instructor Participants

Information about the instructor participants is shown in Table 2.

Table 2:

FY-COMP and EAP-COMP Instructor Information

	Pseudonym	Course	Teaching background information provided at time of study
1	Heather	EAP-COMP	Heather holds an MA in Linguistics and had four years of postsecondary ESL teaching experience at the English Language Institute (ELI[42]) as well as experience teaching bilingual (Spanish/English) students in elementary schools prior to teaching in the Advanced Track (AT[43]). She also had experience teaching advanced writing courses in the Intensive English Program at ELI.
2	Amanda	FY-COMP	Amanda is a Lecturer at SRC, where she has extensive background in teaching composition courses in their FY-COMP program. She holds an M.A. in Rhetoric and Composition and also an M.A. in TESOL, both from SRC. She indicated that combining teaching composition to international students is "dream job." (Interview, April 4, 2013)

One can glean from this table that the pairing of Heather and Amanda differs in kind from the pairings of language and content specialists as described in Schneider and Friedenberg (2002). As the moniker "specialists" implies, the dynamic between instructors in linked adjunct and content course entails disparate skill sets and foci working in collaboration. Heather and Amanda are both qualified writing instructors who happen to have different roles in the pairing. This contributes to my conceptualization of them as a team, and the instructional model as "team teaching." Anderson and Speck (1998) note that what defines team teaching is contested, but also offer: "Scholars do not have to agree how to define team teaching to agree that it does help students learn" (pp. 672-673). I expand on the conceptualization of the two as a collaborative team in section 9 (*Additional Findings*)**.**

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[42] Pseudonym for the English institute in this study.
[43] Pseudonym for the BPP in this study.

6.3 Defining the FY-COMP for ESL students

To fully understand the context of the study, it is important to note that the FY-COMP in this study follows the same curriculum and uses the same basic course textbooks as the typical FY-COMP at SRC. However, it is listed and enumerated separately in the SRC course catalog to denote specificity to ESL students.

Having a course that is specifically targeted for ESL students allows for certain adjustments to be made to how each assignment is carried out including, but not limited to: offering extra help on assignments, emphasizing original work and frequent (re)definition of plagiarism, and changing the "text" a student works with to a different medium understood under the word "text", like a film, a modification relevant to this study. Once again, these adjustments do not change the curriculum followed; however, they do add an element of interest to the study context given the addition of a support course to an already modified, or modifiable, FY-COMP. A colleague characterized the EAP-COMP course in the scenario as a "bridge to a bridge within a [BPP]."

6.4 My Role as a Participant Observer in this Setting

To encourage students to more actively participate in the study, I offered free tutoring to students on any aspect of their AT courses. The idea was to maintain a non-participatory role in daily classes so as not to interfere with instruction, but also to engage with students individually outside of classes. The main goal was to help students with their assignments, but also to gather data on what kinds of challenges they faced that they were uncomfortable revealing in front of

the rest of the group, perhaps in the interest of saving face. I will note that though I have taught ESL for a number of years, I did not, and do not, have extensive experience teaching advanced English composition: just two courses in my life. As such, I knew that tutoring would be a challenge for me as well.

7. Data Collection

The descriptions of participant experiences in this paper derive from a consideration of the interrelationships of the following data: the TICE assignment parameters, primary and secondary texts allowed in the TICE, interviews with students and instructors, field notes of class and tutoring sessions, written student reflections about changes they had made in their writing processes leading up to the TICE, and, finally, the TICE analyses.

7.1 Analysis

During initial data analysis, I focused strictly on the interview responses that were relevant to the research questions. It is important to note that these interviews came *after* observation and document collection. Thus, I did not follow a typical inductive approach in which I was trying to form a conceptual theory for this study based on ongoing coding (and re-coding) of data (Merriam, 2002). Instead, I excerpted data germane to research questions I had devised based on my own curiosities about the FY-COMP/EAP-COMP course combination and the text-responsible aspect of the essay itself, ones that filled the research gap as identified in Green (2013). Additionally, I felt answering these questions would also inform the AT's implementation of the FY-COMP/EAP-COMP course combination in future iterations of its curriculum.

As mentioned earlier, I chose to focus on student participants who had been participatory. Because of their engagement during multiple data collection points, I determined the insights and TICEs of the four focal participants would be representative of the engaged ESL student in FY-COMP, and thus might contribute to the validity, generalizability, and relevance of the study to other contexts (Duff, 2011, p. 106).

After elaborating on the TICE assignment explanation offered earlier, I explain the texts to orient the reader to the rest of the data collection and analysis.

7.2 More on the Text-in-Context Analysis

It is important to establish that prior to the TICE, this FY-COMP had written two prior textual analytical essays that did not require integration of outside sources, but where analytical arguments were scrutinized. In this sense, the progression follows Johns (2009): "[Students and instructors] discuss what they already know about the writing situation and the texts that have resulted, and [they] consider the writing processes that may have taken place as the texts were produced" (p. 209) as they engage with the new assignment. Below are parts of the TICE assignment germane to this study. This adds to the description offered earlier concerning primary and secondary texts/sources in the TICE (from assignment description):

> Purpose: The purpose of this essay is to further develop your close-reading and analytical skills by using them to write an analysis of a central **theme** in *La Misma Luna (2008)*. Explore a theme found in the film and develop your analysis through several class texts.
>
> In other words, you will write an essay very much like the textual analysis assignments from earlier in the semester *except* that your primary text will be the film and you will need to show that you can combine concepts and ideas from texts and integrate material in a smooth and relevant manner in order to develop your ideas about the film.
>
> Use the elements of film analysis to identify a text's meaning(s) and analyze the ways in which the parts of the text work together to achieve the meaning(s) of the text for the

reader. In your paper, you will use quotes and ideas from the texts to help you illustrate your ideas, establish the premises of your analysis and/or explore the political, cultural, social, etc. context of the texts.

In either an introductory paragraph or in a concluding paragraph, examine your own reactions to your chosen theme and discuss your personal response to the theme of your essay. **DO NOT discuss your personal reflection anywhere else in the essay.

Sources: To receive full credit, you must use at least THREE of the texts we have studied in class. One of the texts must be the film *La Misma Luna.* Your essay will be marked down ONE letter grade per missing source.

Audience: Consider your readers to be intelligent, well-educated people, who are familiar with the texts; therefore, don't include a lengthy plot summary.

Length: 5-6 typed pages not counting your Works Cited page. Essays that are less than **5** full pages will be marked down.

 The assignment as shown is cleverly devised in that it seeks to expand on the analytical abilities that had been fostered up until that point in the course, it explicitly narrows the parameters of source possibilities, audience, and length thus forcing students to focus their efforts and be text-responsible.

7.2.1 Primary and Secondary Texts

La Misma Luna – The film is about the plight of a Mexican mother living in the US and her young son in Mexico. The mother, who illegally crossed into the US to support her family, is shown struggling daily with inconsistent work and a longing for her son. The son misses his mother dearly, and though only 9 years old, fearlessly leaves his home in Mexico to find his mother when his grandmother, his caretaker in Mexico, passes away. The film is a touching portrayal of a mother and son's bond that is a notable departure from the myriad of films that depict drug-related violence and human trafficking at US/Mexico border. In fact, this departure

from the norm of films portraying the border suggests itself as an analyzable theme in the film

for the TICE.

The Border Patrol State (Silko, 1994) – This is an essay about Leslie Marmon Silko's experience

driving home late one night in New Mexico and being stopped by the US Border Patrol. This

experience inspires her to write about the figurative meaning of borders, as well as the official

borders defined by governments.

Let's Climb the Wall (Banks, 2008) – This is an article in a local newspaper about the

controversial border wall that stretches along part of the border between the United States and

Mexico[44]. The article shares the stories of how private citizens (e.g. ranchers) and government

officials regard the wall; it also emphasizes the exorbitant costs of the wall. Banks' bias is

revealed in the sub-headline: "The feds want you to think they're finally controlling the border.

Think again" (internet pagination).

Across the Wire: Life and Hard Times on the Mexican Border (Urrea, 1993) – The students were

given the preface and first chapter of this account of the life of refugees living on the Mexican

side of the border. Urrea's account of their plight comes during his time working as a relief

worker. His candid, and at times graphic, recollections of the danger and horror that beset

refugees shed light on why so many attempt to cross into the U.S. illegally.

I offer the brief synopses of the texts above to provide the reader of this paper with

context for the TICE. The texts, as shown in the order above: humanize illegal immigration (*La

Misma Luna*), challenge the legitimacy of borders (*The Border Patrol State*), question the

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[44] One expects more of the wall has been erected since this story was first published.

efficacy of border patrol measures (*Let's Climb the Wall*), and offer anecdotes that provide reason for crossing into the U.S. illegally to escape deplorable living conditions (*Across the Wire*).

7.3 Student and Instructor Interviews

Following the FY-COMP, I interviewed students and instructors to gather their stories and impressions about it and the EAP-COMP course[45]. Students were interviewed a second time ten weeks later after the last session of the AT, the final session of study for all student participants. In this second interview, they were asked to reflect again on the FY-COMP in session 1. In student interviews, I wanted to find out how they felt about: having the FY-COMP *and* the EAP-COMP course, their two instructors, and their participation and approach to the essays, especially the TICE. I also wanted to see what meta-knowledge improvement they articulated in their interviews.

With Amanda and Heather, I wanted to hear how they felt about co-teaching an FY-COMP in general, and how they felt about each other as colleagues in teaching. Both provided great insights about the difficulties of teaching an FY-COMP, with particular attention to difficult aspects of specific assignments (e.g.: conveying the task, helping students to generate ideas, teaching analysis). Both revealed teaching priorities in their responses. Heather offered follow-up insights by email that acted as an extension of the interview.

7.4 Observational Field Notes

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[45] Interviews were semi-structured and asked questions relevant to a larger study. I have included the full question set asked of students in Appendix i. Teacher questions are shown in Appendices ii & iii.

For the current study, the interviews had a primary role in documenting the participants'

experience. Observational field notes and remarks acted secondarily to confirm or probe the

insights offered by the participants that were pertinent to the research questions. Cross-coding

between interviews and field notes helped to reconcile data. The field notes followed a typical

two-column format with the left column capturing events and the right column adding

comments, reflections, questions, and labels to the event (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, 1995). I

conducted selective coding (Unlu & Wharton, 2015) to seek out places where information

highlighted in the interviews was reflected in events or labels. For example, where students

noted that they had not received adequate help or, as the case may be, where they indicated they

benefitted from help in the TICE drafting process, I reconciled this with field notes where they

had been tagged in feedback interactions. Where instructors highlighted particular challenges or

salient incidents, I sought out incidents in field notes to add dimension to their remarks.

7.5 Tutoring Sessions

Though all of the students in the class consented to the research study and were offered

tutoring, very few took advantage of it, and even those who did, only did so for the TICE.

Another layer of complication was added when students sought out tutoring on an impromptu

basis in class. This happened 3 times in the EAP-COMP course and once in the FY-COMP

course, the latter case being somewhat awkward with Heather and Amanda already

workshopping the TICE assignment with the students. Notably, all of the tutoring sessions were

about the TICE, which also guided my selection of it as the focus of the current analysis.

7.6 Written Reflections

As part of their course assignments, the students wrote reflections about their writing process leading into the TICE based on one of the following two prompts:

1. *What did you change in your writing process between the first two essays and essay three (TICE)? Why? Was essay three easier or more difficult to write? Why? Give examples from your work.*
2. *Make specific statements about your progress as a writer from the beginning of the course until now, use examples from your work to support those statements.*

These reflections revealed a great deal about students' perceptions of the progression of essays, what meta-knowledge they had obtained, and how they approached essay writing by the end of the FY-COMP.

8. Seven Participant Case Studies

In this section, I present case study accounts related to the TICE assignment of the following participants:

- Meilin, Kun, Kamshad, and Dabir (student participants)

- Heather and Amanda (instructor participants)

- Myself (a reflexive account)

To tie each case to the research questions, I list a shorthand version of relevant research questions.

8.1 Meilin

Value of Interactions

In her interview, Meilin claimed that she worked hard in the FY-COMP, but that she paid more attention in other classes. She felt that working hard was more important than understanding the assignments in the class – that "writing a lot" mattered most. She felt that

focusing on local revisions and small parts of an essay was not helpful. Alluding to analysis, she

says the following:

> *[Amanda] always lead us to discuss the reading that we do and talk about how to write*
> *the essay is a little part. [In another writing class taught by a different teacher prior to*
> *the AT], she used most of her class to teach us how to analyze and how to make essay*
> *better. I like it better.* (Meilin, personal interview, April 3, 2013)

She questioned the value of peer activities (e.g. peer review, group brainstorming sessions);

however, the excerpt below shows she did place value on help from specific classmates,

including one of the other focal participants.

> *Comparing a secondary and primary text is difficult. I choose the longest one to read,*
> *and no one choose that one, so I worked on that by myself and that was difficult. It's the*
> *longest one. We have the same materials and maybe the same (about getting help) - it's*
> *like close, so we discussed together how to analyze the things. But with some story,*
> *nobody understand the symbol - I discuss with Kun. I always help Yunxu[46], and he didn't*
> *help me.* (Meilin, personal interview, May 15, 2013)

She also noted a preference for working with the FY-COMP instructor, Amanda, because she felt

that Heather only repeated information without providing new insights.

Field notes somewhat confirm Meilin's assessment of the EAP-COMP class. During the

portion of the EAP-COMP class devoted to TICE, the majority of events where she is tagged

involve her offering answers or insights that are then subsequently encouraged by Heather. The

subject of immigration obviously plays a central role in the TICE. During one activity where the

class is seeking to brainstorm themes to write about, the following exchange occurs:

> *Meilin: I think immigration is a double-edged sword*
> *Heather: Whoa! Cool! Tell me more about that.*
> *Meilin offers an explanation of how good opportunities come with immigration, but*
> *you'll never be in the upper class, so there are limitations.* (Field notes)

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[46] A non-focal participant pseudonym

This exchange was typical for Meilin across many of her classes. She would offer insights when others did not, and these insights, while sometimes slightly off target, were typically nuanced and reflected critical engagement with course ideas.

In an impromptu tutoring session, Meilin wanted confirmation that wealth, power, and identity would be appropriate themes to explore for her TICE. I confirmed that they were relevant, but that they could be too disparate and broad for the assignment, which led to a discussion of how she might draft a thesis statement. When challenged to be more specific about themes during tutoring, Meilin asserted her belief that these themes were "okay."

Text Responsibility and Analytical Insight in the Thesis Statement

Ultimately, Meilin tied together her classroom idea of immigration as a double-edged sword with her thesis statement. She opted to use *Let's Climb the Wall* and *Across the Wire* as her secondary texts, but also defied class convention by adding another text Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice (edition unknown)*, which she "used to illustrate the relation between identity and social class" (Meilin, TICE). Her thesis statement reads:

> *The immigration is a double-edged sword. Immigrates in their new country may earn more money and have a better life compare to the life in their own country. The power, wealth and identity that local people and immigrant have, will decide their social class in the society.* (Meilin, TICE)

In this thesis statement, Meilin has used the metaphor of a "double-edged sword" as a critical theme for her analysis. It also implies a certain tension that makes the thesis statement more interesting (Rosenwasser & Stephens, 2011) in that the reader expects to see the advantages and disadvantages of immigration. However, there is no reference to the texts or text authors in the

thesis statement (text-responsibility), a point that had been emphasized in the class and

demonstrated in the textbook (Brown, et al., 2011, pp. 176-177).

Evidence of Meta-Knowledge

With respect to her thesis statement, Meilin reveals in her written reflection that she is

well aware of the issues, but was unable to resolve them:

> *The first problem of my Essay Three is my thesis statement. For the first draft, my thesis statement is "The power, wealth and identity that people have will decide their social class in the society". When I write down my thesis statement, I know it is not specific enough, but I did not know how to write it more specific. Then, I change my thesis statement into "The power, wealth and identity that local people and immigrants have, will decide their social class in the society". I make the "people'' more into specific, so I use "local people and immigrants" instead of "people". However, I still cannot make "power", "wealth" and "identity" more specific.* (Meilin, Writing Reflection)

She emphasized throughout the interviews and this reflection that her ability to organize essays

has greatly improved thanks to the structural tips she has learned, which she conveys as her

essays being more "logical" (Meilin, Writing Reflection and Interviews).

Another critical reflection relates to her inability to reconcile her desire to discuss social

class in *La Misma Luna* with evidence from the delimited source text set provided.

> *From [Let's Climb the Wall], I choose illegal immigrants bring cheap labor to America, and America do not want solve this problem. However, I cannot find evidence of identity decide social class.* (Meilin, Writing Reflection)

It is unclear if Meilin's reading of this article lacked understanding. However, a cursory reading

of the articles shows that of the three source texts, *Let's Climb the Wall* may in fact provide the

least information to discuss the theme of social class.

In Meilin's second interview, I asked if she felt ready to write essays at the university, to which she confidently replied, "yes." While Meilin recognized some shortcomings in her writing, this never translated to a lack of confidence in her readiness to begin university study.

8.2 Kun

Value of Interaction

Kun worked extensively with Meilin throughout the FY-COMP. He mentioned enthusiastically how helpful she was in drafting essays:

> *I always ask Meilin about the topic and the essay. She always give me good ideas.* (Kun, personal interview, April 3, 2013)

Even though they often worked together, Kun's valuation of Heather's support differed from Meilin. In considering the relative value of the supporting EAP-COMP class for FY-COMP vis-à-vis the support class for the other content course he was enrolled in (an Anthropology course), Kun noted:

> *I think ELI course is very helpful especially in FY-COMP. In the first essay, I don't know how to do ideas. And Heather helped to gather all of our ideas and help us with analysis how to write essay. I do not know how to do these things.* (Kun, personal interview, May 15, 2013)

Similar to Meilin, Kun was very participatory in both Heather and Amanda's class. He offered insights and took copious notes, which he gave to me when the AT was finished. The notes confirm what I had observed – that he wrote down nearly everything Heather and Amanda offered in class, and wrote his own notes of how to tie these ideas to his essays. Observation notes confirm Kun's frequent work with Meilin and one other Chinese-speaking participant.

Like Meilin, Kun sought out my help in an impromptu tutoring session about the TICE. In that exchange, he fixated on the metaphor of the border as a door between two worlds. As we attempted to flesh out this idea into a strong thesis statement, I probed Kun for more about the door concept. My field notes reflect that the quality of the tutoring session was compromised by Kun's issues communicating his specific request for help (a phenomenon found in Hyland & Hyland, 2001). He started several sentences with "I don't know how say." These seemed not to simply be instances of him seeking better wording of a concept he had already written, but rather problems articulating the concept to begin with.

Text Responsibility and Analytical Insight in the Thesis Statement

In Kun's TICE thesis statement, the door metaphor was abandoned, though it did appear in the first body paragraph of what he wrote. His thesis statement reads:

> *By using the shot scale, shot angle, non-diegetic sound, and metaphor, the director explores the common social issue about the immigrant`s fear to the border, social class between the American people and the immigrants, the dummy border locked Enriqur`s kindness mind, and the border separates the mother and her son in two different worlds.* (Kun, TICE)

Kun's use of a by-phrase ("by using the shot scale") demonstrates a basic understanding of analysis, which is defined in the student textbook as "the act of explaining *how* and *why* a written or visual text does something and whether or not it does it effectively" (Brown, et al., 2011, p. 150, emphasis in original). His thesis statement becomes difficult to read not because of its length, but because of grammatical issues in the noun phrases that follow the word "about." These difficulties notwithstanding, in terms of specificity and analytical insight, Kun's thesis statement shows a very high level of sophistication and text-responsibility to *La Misma Luna*.

Kun introduces *The Border Patrol State* and *Let's Climb the Wall* as source texts early in his introduction. With respect to the former, he highlights the fear the writer feels when she's "checked up by the border patrol" (from Kun's TICE). With respect to the latter, Kun says neutrally that the article shows how American people treat immigrants from Mexico. Whether these are central themes or not, in my subsequent reading of Kun's essay, I felt that tying his source texts to the themes he included in his thesis statement would have offered him a better point of reference for the paragraphs that followed in keeping with the parameters of the assignment. His use of these secondary sources in the body of the essay is limited to one reference of each. This seemed more like task fulfillment than a text-in-context analysis where the texts truly informed the analysis.

Evidence of Meta-Knowledge

In Kun's reflective writing following the TICE, he responds to the second reflection prompt where he is asked to make specific statements about his writing progress using examples. Kun emphasizes his attention to specificity in his writing:

> *[…] after essay one, I learned how to make my body paragraph focus on the thesis and how to fix the general sentence turn to be specific.* (Kun, Writing Reflection)

He makes no specific mention of the third essay in this reflection. He does reference it in his interviews, noting that it was difficult, but that he understands essay structure, which he felt made it easier to write. In his own estimation, Kun confirmed my beliefs about where his biggest limitations lie:

> *I feel better, but I know my grammar mistake must reduce. My grammar is very poor, but it will be better than before.* (Kun, personal interview, May 15, 2013).

Kun also affirmed that he was ready for written assignments at the university, grammar issues notwithstanding.

8.3 Amir

Value of Interactions

In his interview, Amir made a point to emphasize the difficulty of the FY-COMP class relative to his other AT classes and his prior Intensive English Program (IEP[47]) courses at ELI.

> *Amanda's class was much more difficult than my other classes because of the writing. The writing in the FY-COMP was really specific, not like what we learned in the IEP. It's like night and day.* (Amir, personal interview, April 9, 2013).

He valued the work in Heather's class because she re-explained difficult concepts. He mentioned that working with classmates did not help him much in his classes, but that he liked peer work on essays.

Field notes indicate that Amir's level of participation in class was mixed. When given highly structured tasks (e.g. filling out a chart), he complied readily, but verbal participation in the classes observed, especially during the portion covering the TICE, was limited to responding to instructor questions when other students did not. Amir seemed to prefer to work alone. I observed him withdrawing during peer work often even when the directive called for idea sharing.

Immediately before the final draft of the TICE was due, Amir came to my office for a tutoring session. The reflection I wrote after the session indicated that the state of his essay at the time of the tutoring showed that he had not really engaged with the texts more than

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[47] In the articulation of ELI's academic programs, most students matriculate into the AT from the IEP.

superficially, and that he seemed to not have availed himself of the scaffolding and explanations

Heather and Amanda had offered repeatedly as students developed their ideas.

Because I felt that the essay was "odd and disjointed" (field notes), I suggested we start

with the introduction, which Amir felt was "no big deal" (field notes). His goal was to use the

theme of "sacrifice" to describe how the characters in *La Misma Luna* sacrifice for their families,

and then contrast this with someone "making you do whatever they want" (field notes) in

reference to border guards' reckless detainment of individuals as portrayed in *The Border Patrol

State*. In the end, I felt I had helped Amir too much at this late stage of the essay process, but he

was extremely grateful.

Text Responsibility and Analytical Insight in the Thesis Statement

Amir stayed with the theme of "sacrifice" in his ultimate analysis. His final thesis

statement reads:

> *From these two texts and the film, all set in the border they explores how social
> relationship between families, friends can make people sacrifice. On the other hand,
> people who have no relationship with others they might force them to do what ever they
> want.* (Amir, TICE)

 Amir's thesis statement refers to *The Border Patrol State* and *Let's Climb the Wall.* There is

tension in this statement as represented in the juxtaposition of "sacrifice" (positive) and being

forced to do "whatever they want" (negative). However, the thesis statement lacks clarity with

respect to how these two concepts are related, and does not clarify what Amir's subsequent text

will consider.

Later in Amir's essay, it becomes evident that he wishes to juxtapose sacrifice by people

who are bound together in some way (e.g. friend or family member) with the selfishness or self-

interest that can arise in a power dynamic (e.g. border guard and citizen) between two unbound

parties who must negotiate a tense situation: "People with no relationship sometimes they don't care about each other and they only think about them selves" (Amir, TICE). This juxtaposition is an interesting one to explore, and is very much bound to the source texts. Thus, Amir's subsequent analysis proves interesting even if the thesis statement is somewhat unclear.

Evidence of Meta-Knowledge

In his post-essay reflection, Amir offers interesting insights about the process of analysis and concludes that the TICE is actually easier for him because of the extra sources, not in spite of them:

> *Between the first two essays and [the TICE] I've change a lot of thing. For example, I change the way that I write; in the first essay I wrote a lot of things in general and just summary. I did not know how to analyze a quote. In the second essay I started to get a little better with analysis and I learned to write specific. However, in [the TICE] I found my self-able to analyze the text automatically. Now I just realized why I was writing a summary in the first two essays. The reason is that because I used to read the quote several times and every time I tried to analyze I go back to the quote and read it. That's why I was writing summary not analysis. But now I learned to read the quote deeply only once and then write about it, so I think that I have improved my writing process really good.*
>
> *Actually I think that [the TICE] was easier for me to write then the other essays. Because the first two essays I did not know the strategy for writing as well as I know it know. And another reason why it was easier than the first two essays is that I have more than one resource to take a quote from. That gave me the opportunity to find more examples to support my ideas. And not sticking in only one resource, so that's why I think [the TICE] was easier.* (Amir, Writing Reflection)

Amir's conceptualization of reading a quote deeply shows his growth as an analytical writer. It shows an emergent understanding of interpretation, while the rest of his quote shows an implicit understanding that interpretation and analysis are bolstered by supporting evidence (i.e. secondary sources).

Like Meilin and Kun, Amir noted without hesitation that he is ready for university writing, saying he's had "enough support."

8.4 Dabir

Value of Interactions

Dabir was very reflective and insightful about his time the FY-COMP, offering some of the most extensive comments of all focal participants. He perceived the FY-COMP to be his hardest class. He expressed having some initial anxiety in the class, but that this subsided after he received a good grade on his first essay. It also encouraged him to work harder and helped him to believe he could pass the class.

Dabir valued Heather's class a lot, but more in terms of ideas and perspectives offered in the class than personal help from Heather or classmates:

> *I can't work in groups in class. Too much noise and it distract me. I just organize my ideas in class. But [Heather] usually teach us how to analyze. She gave us examples and exercises.* (Dabir, personal interview, April 3, 2013).

He articulated some problems in Amanda's class based on how she presented information, but noted elsewhere in his interview that this improved over time.

> *She just put [examples] in the projector, and we have to skim it very quickly. We don't get the idea because it was a difficult example. You don't know where's the thesis. It wasn't clear enough - it's not how we write exactly*. (Dabir, personal interview, April 3, 2013)

Dabir elaborated on the end of this point by explaining that finding a thesis statement was not an easy way to learn it. It was better to find out from the instructor what the thesis statement was, and to receive an explanation of why it was strong or weak.

Dabir also echoed the sentiments of Amir with regard to the difference between writing classes he had taken in ELI's IEP and the FY-COMP:

> *In the past, we just write -we have a point, and we write about it. It doesn't matter if you're talking about your experience or if you're citing something from the internet. But in the [essay structure we learned in class], with the illustration and explanation, you have to think and explain - ask yourself questions. That was helpful.* (Dabir, personal interview, April 3, 2013)

Field notes confirm Dabir's self-assessment of his participation in class, especially during the class time devoted to the TICE. Interestingly, outside of the TICE, events involving Dabir's participation are much more frequent.

Dabir never sought out help from me, either in class or at home. In his own estimation, he is shy and reluctant to participate in classes. Although I also observed Dabir to be quite reserved throughout the FY-COMP and EAP-COMP classes, when he did participate, his contributions were thoughtful and meaningful.

Text Responsibility and Analytical Insight in the Thesis Statement

Dabir's TICE also dealt with the theme of sacrifice. He used *The Border Patrol State* and *Let's Climb the Wall* as secondary sources. He summarizes these texts as "both giving and discussing some of illegal immigrants' issues and stories. In which illegal immigrants and some Native Americans face challenges and problems near the borderland" (Dabir, TICE). Using the signal phrase "on the other hand," he characterizes *La Misma Luna* as a story about "illegal immigrants' reality." This confuses the reader somewhat leading into the thesis statement because the secondary sources are stories that are real accounts of events, whereas *La Misma Luna* is a fictional film that is *based on* a number of real accounts. Dabir's thesis statement reads:

The three sources lead one to think that because of poor control of the border between Mexico and the United States, that allows some Mexicans to think about crossing the border illegally. In Patricia Rigger's film La Misma Luna, she shows how illegal immigrants sacrifice to turn around their standard of living and the emotional and psychological challenges that the illegal immigrants face may affect their opinion and character. (Dabir, TICE)

The first part of his thesis statement exhibits text-responsibility in that its claims of poor border control are discussed or displayed in all three sources. However, a cause/effect relationship is implied that seems irrelevant to Dabir's argument – essentially, because border control is poor, Mexicans contemplate crossing. The latter part of his thesis statement reveals that Dabir's essay will *analyze* how immigrants' sacrifice and the emotional and psychological challenges they face ultimately impact who they are, which seems to be an allusion to identity or self-worth, though the remainder of his analysis renders his ultimate analytical premise somewhat ambiguous.

Evidence of Meta-Knowledge

Dabir's writing reflection shows an understanding of the importance of clarity and organization in writing, and especially the importance of a clear thesis statement.

Instead of making brain storm, I found that the outline is better, faster and also eases the hardest part of the essay which is begin writing. For example, the first essay I wrote was difficult because I found all my ideas scattered by many things, and sometimes I confuse myself because I think something is not clear such as the instruction of the essay. Second thing, the way I write my thesis. For the first two essays, my main theme is the first thing came to my mind, but [in the TIC] essay I watched the film 2 times, and then I decided my theme. Also, in [the TIC] essay I tried to make my thesis much more clearly for readers. (Dabir, Writing Reflection)

Dabir's attention to the components that make-up essay writing has obviously changed by the TICE. He also demonstrates an emerging critical stance about assignments in a comment about the TICE that aligned with some of my own feelings about the assignment (expanded on in section 10: *Reflexivity and Positionality*).

The secondary texts didn't support the primary source, so connecting them all was difficult. (Dabir, personal interview, April 3, 2013).

Dabir offered a qualified "yes" when asked if he is ready for writing at the university because of his shyness.

8.5 Heather and Amanda

In this section, I weave responses and field notes related to Heather and Amanda together to form a narrative illustrating how each characterized their relationship with the other, where their instructional priorities overlapped, and how they perceived the students' approaches to the TICE.

The Instructional Relationship

Heather noted that she had no experience teaching a credit-bearing FY-COMP prior to teaching in the AT, which made it necessary to spend the first few weeks defining what her role would be. She characterized her initial relationship with Amanda as follows:

I was not really sure about what I was supposed to do, what my role was. It helped to talk to Amanda a lot. We spent the first couple of weeks going back and forth about what I should do. I found that some of the things I had planned to do as assignments, she had planned to do - like, reflections, we had the same questions, so we sorted out who would do what. It got to be - we got into a flow after a while. It was just natural - after her class finished, we knew where I was going to pick up the next day, so, yeah. It became an extension of her class. (Heather, personal interview, April 5, 2013).

Amanda said the following about the beginnings of their teaching collaboration:

The first couple of weeks were difficult. [The students] just weren't ready. There's so much that they have to learn in that first 5 weeks from reading skills and critical thinking to essay structure – how to write a thesis- [how to structure a] paragraph. It's like drinking from a fire hose […] I felt like during the first weeks, what was good was that [Heather] was helping the students read and trying to have those academic skills. It was good to be able to hand that off to her. (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013).

As their rapport grew over the 10 weeks, the strong working relationship between Heather and

Amanda continued. Heather felt that the end of the class, when the TICE happened, was

especially productive.

> *The last couple of weeks were a lot better. Students were in the groove. Amanda and I had a good thing going on - we knew at the end of a class, they could get a part done - they needed to finish drafting something - I knew it would carry over to the next class.* (Heather, personal interview, April 5, 2013)

Throughout Amanda's interview, she shared Heather's positive sentiments about their

collaboration. She noted a difference in style related to their support of students as they worked

on the TICE:

> *I'd tell her 'let them work – let's see what happens.' Rather than sitting down and asking leading questions, let's just kind of let go. That's something I would talk to her about, that sometimes the student doesn't need a teacher hovering. And she would tell me that she, at times, couldn't get out of this elementary school teacher mode.*
>
> *She was always wanting to help them, but sometimes they just need to do their thing. It was a difference, but, you know, it worked.* (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013)

My field notes confirm Amanda's observation. Amanda tended to glance at students when she

circulated during student-centered activities, making herself available, but not inserting herself.

Heather would sit down more often with the students to see what they were working on or how

she might help.

In general, Heather's interview responses revealed an intuitive understanding she had

with Amanda that positively impacted the coverage of course topics, as well as a sense of times

when her strengths as the language-oriented EAP instructor complemented Amanda's:

> *I think I might have done a little more explicit teaching of vocabulary ideas that - some words got thrown out in Amanda's lessons where she assumes they're familiar - I would write that kind of stuff down. I'd hit those then the next day. I'd sit there like a student*

and identify - I knew places where they might go off track. So, I'd hit those the next day.
(Heather, personal interview, April 5, 2013)

Amanda felt Heather's presence was critical in the AT offering of FY-COMP:

I think this group of students, compared to what I've seen, are at that mid to lower level in terms of their language proficiency. So, if you look at [remedial composition], which is for lower proficiency students, they do have a lab, so I look at Heather like that, like they have the main teacher, but they also have this support because they absolutely need it to pass. (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013)

Heather also stressed how often she and Amanda checked in with each other to coordinate teaching, and how the eventual approach of group revision meetings where one or both would meet with the students in the same class session.

Amanda and I shared our comments with the students in small-group peer revision meetings. These group revision meetings were tremendous. The students also read each other's papers and supplied comments, which were discussed during the meetings. By and large, Amanda and I noticed that student comments and teacher comments overlapped a great deal. Often Amanda, I, and one or more student reviewer would have given the same comment to the student writer. It made a difference, hearing the same feedback from several people. Students tended to incorporate this feedback in their revisions, which is not often the case with feedback supplied in other contexts. (Email comments)

While sharing a positive view of their collaboration, Amanda wished for more structured coordination:

I would coordinate with Heather more - either setting up a weekly meeting or a little more time before the semester begins. Making sure the team teacher really has a chance to read and understand the sections we're focusing on. (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013)

These interview comments and my observation notes confirm an interdependence between each instructor where class activities were routinely handed off, usually from Amanda to Heather. Based on the general unidirectionality of this handoff, as well as Heather and Amanda's interview comments that primary (Amanda) and subordinate (Heather) roles were loosely

maintained, perhaps because Amanda was the instructor of record for the credit-bearing side of the pairing. However, a majority of their interview sentiments signal parity between them as co-instructors.

Instructional Priorities

With respect to instructional priorities, there were some differences between Amanda and Heather's conceptualizations of how to teach FY-COMP, some of which were a product of their roles in the program.

Heather focused on accountability, needs analysis, and re-teaching with the students, as revealed in this statement.

> *I liked to begin by checking in to see where they were. If they had concerns or anything. After a while, you got the feeling that some students were falling behind. It kept them accountable on the one hand - they'd say I have 2 paragraphs written, or I didn't do anything this weekend, but then it also helped me to know where they were so I'd know where to start. Some of the class periods were exclusively them revising or doing writing they had to do with support from me. There were some days where I did re-teaching or alternative teaching, where I took the same idea Amanda had done and approached it from a different angle just to either reinforce or to clarify where maybe people hadn't gotten it the first time.* (Heather, personal interview, April 5, 2013)

Both focal participants and secondary student participants identified the same areas of concentration as Heather in terms of how they felt EAP-COMP class time was spent. With respect to the TICE, my field notes referred to the large amount of class time she devoted to encouraging students to generate their own thematic ideas. She elaborated on this:

> *It was hard for them to notice there were non-literal things. Once they did notice, it was [awesome]. They started seeing things that I hadn't seen. I remember the same thing happened to me when I started to learn symbolism that, you know, this book might mean something different, and then all of a sudden, it's everywhere.* (Heather, personal interview, April 5, 2013)

She characterized this as helping students "recognize when they aren't understanding something enough," a kind of meta-reflection strategy that really resonated with the students who were often quiet in Amanda's class, and sometimes did not ask questions.

Amanda shared some of the same instructional priorities that involved remediating writing issues such as grammar and sentence structure, although attendance to these matters was something she seemed to engage in reluctantly:

> *I feel like those basic skills, they're starting to get it [at the end of a course], so I can focus on more things like the content, or even getting them to think about their stylistic choices - like what is good academic writing? Things like word choice. I love teaching this stuff, but I don't have a lot of time I find. [...] I try to focus on ideas and really looking at material critically. I think 2 or 3 of them [understood critical analysis]. The rest just jumped on peers' bandwagon, or they don't have the language skills to truly understand the material and look at those deeper themes.* (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013)

Field notes from Amanda's classes on the TICE showed that she attended frequently to matters such as essay structure, clarity of ideas, and the concept of 'text-as-lens' in the TICE. One of my field notes read: "[Amanda] asking a lot about perspective students will use for analysis. Enough examples given? Over their head?" At times, I felt that there may not have been enough support for specific aspects of the TICE assignment.

With respect to the "context" part of the TICE, up until a week before the final draft of the TICE was due, many students could only offer timid and reluctant responses when Amanda asked them to define their context.

Instructors' Perceptions of Student Approaches

Both instructors had cautiously positive perceptions of students approaches to the TICE.

Heather commented in her interview as follows:

> *(with respect to finding a theme to analyze) Yeah, they tried really hard to find something. Some of them would latch on to something you just knew wasn't viable. And you couldn't get them away from that. And some of them still didn't know what it means to analyze.*
>
> *(on whether they came up with their own ideas over time) I think it dissipated. I did some structured guiding. I don't remember ever pointing out things like 'hey, look at this, this means...' There are ways of questioning people along. Asking them where certain themes are discussed. Where do they talk about power, or hope? Sometimes I'd have to get them away from looking for the word "hope" - I'd say, wow, look at this situation, if I were in this situation, I would feel hopeful.* (Heather, personal interview, April 5, 2013)

Heather elaborated on this in a later email:

> *Another difficulty I saw was that students didn't know what to do with the examples that they had collected. Analysis was a mystery- they often would repeat, rephrase, and explain the quotes they chose, rather than analyzing on a more abstract level. It was a difficult concept for us to explain to them. I'm not sure that I ever got very successful at that. The subject matter was also really challenging for our students. The concept of "border" that the assigned texts used focused on the U.S./Mexico border, and [is] very rooted in local culture. So even if border culture were a salient idea in the home culture of a student, there was a great deal of cultural detail that they were missing from the U.S./Mexico context.*

Heather's observation that students had difficulty with abstraction was confirmed in field notes, where I noted that the majority of questions about the TICE in both EAP-COMP and the FY-COMP were related to vocabulary clarification or the organization of paragraphs. Amanda added:

> *With an essay like the text-in-context essay, I'm happy if they can generate a good thesis and essay structure, and if they can start to think about the differences between academic and personal writing.* (Amanda, personal interview, April 4, 2013)

Both instructors expressed that students spent an inordinate amount of time clarifying minor points about the TICE instead of focusing on developing their analysis of a theme using the texts provided, and both demonstrated flexibility in how they worked with the students for the TICE.

9. Additional Findings

Based on observations and interviews, I came to view Amanda and Heather's relationship as truly collaborative: they were a team. While they both acknowledged their position relative to one another as technically stratified, this did not manifest itself in how they worked together, especially in helping to support the TICE analysis, their final essay. Focal and secondary student participants gained insights into the writing process in both classes, adopting a passive role in Amanda's FY-COMP, and seeking clarification in Heather's EAP-COMP course. Wishner (1991) notes: Underprepared students, in particular, can benefit from two concerned instructors whose teamwork often brings problems to light faster than they might surface in an ordinary class and whose heads are often better than one for brainstorming ideas" (p. 4) This was evident throughout the TICE as Heather anticipated places where students were misinterpreting or misapplying course content while Amanda sought to challenge them with abstract concepts that pushed their academic boundaries.

Critically, the relationship between Amanda and Heather did not remotely resemble the occasionally hostile relationships that can form between instructors in linked courses based on perceptions of inequity in their relative "authority, status, and rank" (Goldstein, Campbell, and Cummings, 1994, p. 22; echoed in Schneider & Friedenberg, 2002). In fact, at the end of their term, Amanda and Heather met together of their own volition because they wanted to discuss

their collaboration and how they might improve it in future course iterations in the sheltered model. Indeed, the instructor collaboration in the FY-COMP /EAP-COMP pairing differed substantively in style and scope from other linked course pairings in the AT observed during data collection.

10. Reflexivity and Positionality

"To be self-reflexive is equated with 'coming clean' as a researcher about how race, class, gender, religion, and personal/social values influence the researcher's understanding of the power dynamics of the research settings, the phenomena under study, and the researcher-respondent relationship" (Bloom, 1996, p. 177) Bloom (1996) adds that reflexivity that is "self-justifying" is not as productive as reflexivity that evokes "curiosity about the ways that identity and subjectivity are actively produced [in the research process]" (p. 178). In the context of the current study, I construe this to mean that my lived experience, and reflections about that experience, observing and documenting the research setting is an important part of my findings.

I have revealed some of my subjectivity in earlier comments, especially those where I offer critical commentary on focal participants' TICEs. In particular, I realize that touting the successes of the teaching team may seem contradictory given my skepticism about some of the thesis statements and essays produced by the students. Throughout the period of observation, and especially upon reflection, I came to realize more of my bias as a trained ESL instructor. For example, while I applaud Amanda's penchant for pushing students' cognitive and academic boundaries, I wondered often in field notes if certain concepts would translate in students' TICEs.

Reading Johns' (1997) explanation of "socioliteracies" helped me to come to certain realizations about how I perceived the class in general, and in particular, the TICE. TICEs are an essay genre, and, importantly, "genre knowledge is abstract and schematic, enhanced by repeated, contextualized experiences with texts" (Johns, 1997, p. 21). While earlier in this paper, I focus on students' thesis statements as evidence of text-responsible writing, or lack thereof, I also realize that my understanding of text-in-context and incorporation of sources is very much influenced by years of graduate-level study and research. Johns (1997) reminded me of the complexity of the task with this astute, and open question: "How can we assist [ESL students] to invent a text in a manner that is appropriate and personally satisfactory in academic contexts?" At first, this question seemed in direct conflict with the parameters of a source-text-responsible essay like the TICE. In a second reading, I focused on the word "invent" and how the notion of "text invention" might fit in the TICE process. Indeed, Amanda and Heather did an exceptional job of encouraging invention by allowing latitude in student's identification of themes, so long as the theme could be couched in a thesis statement as a defensible claim. While students had some difficulty with this, it would be unreasonable and unfounded to say that the students did not exhibit nascent analytical and writing abilities based on their essays – i.e. it was important for me to remember that these ESL students were just beginning their American university journey, not finishing it.

The data collection process in this study may have been impacted by my position as a program coordinator in a different program within the ELI during this research. I acknowledge the students' perception of me as an authority figure may have had some impact on their

interview responses especially, though I believe the rapport I developed with them in the class as a willing tutor and frequent observer mitigated this concern.

11. Conclusion

This study has offered a reflexive account of the milieu of one ESL-only first-year composition course in a sheltered format. I have detailed the struggles students faced in completing a complex assignment: the Text-in-Context Essay. Mostly, I have attempted to show that the collaborative effort of this community was fruitful, especially for the students. My analysis revealed that the constant interaction with two qualified writing instructors helped to guide them through an assignment that may have otherwise been beyond their grasp, even though at certain junctures in this paper, my own perceptions of aspects of their writing (e.g. thesis statements) indicate that an assessment of success or "fruitfulness" in TICE process is perhaps a qualified assessment. The group's engagement in: discussing and negotiating the terms and definitions of success for the TICE and other assignments (students and instructors), seeking out expert opinions (students, instructors, and myself), and growing confidence in how to write (students) as well as how to teach writing to ESL students (instructors and myself) all reveal a strong and valuable community of practice, one "bound by the value that they find in learning together" (Wenger, 2002, p. 5).

Critically, students conveyed that they valued their interactions during the TICE assignment, especially those with the instructors. Generally, it was clear that students felt the instructors filled in gaps with respect to one another, which was partly attributable to their teaching styles and sensibilities, but also partly to how the co-instructors communicated with one another about the next steps students should take in the process on a day-to-day basis. In some

ways, the combination of multiple perspectives seemed to lower student affect, perhaps because

the environment was sheltered, but also because it seemed that two instructors with writing

expertise did not always have to have the same perspectives, indeed "by displaying […]

alternative perspectives, […] students see their own views as valid and worthy of discussion"

(Bowen & Nantz, 1992, p. 30). One student said:

> *In the IEP writing we have before [the FY-COMP class in the AT], it's like it's in your*
> *hand. I mean the teacher says "this is right" or "this is wrong." In the [FY-COMP*
> *pairing], you learn that it's not like that. Everyone in the class disagree on some thing,*
> *but if you can prove it with [evidence in the text], you will be okay. I know my teachers*
> *disagreed with me on the second essay, but I proved it, and my grade was okay. (so you*
> *just had to show how what you found made sense?) Right, because we all see things*
> *differently, even you and the teachers probably.* (Farid, non-focal participant, personal
> interview, April 3, 2013)

I believe this was a revelation for students, and it empowered them to go with their ideas and see

if they could defend them in their analysis. Subsequent reflections, class discussions, and

interviews for this study allowed for them to debrief about their successes and difficulties in this

process.

Students showed an emerging understanding of how to write a specific thesis statement

that makes a claim, though I perceived this to be their weakest point in the TICE assignment.

However, it is worth adding that the students in this FY-COMP go on to take a second course in

the sequence to further develop their skills. The students were articulate about what they had

learned about writing in the FY-COMP class. In particular, they saw a great deal of value in

learning how to structure paragraphs and ideas, and also noted repeatedly that they now

understand why evidence is so important in cogent analysis. I echo Morton, et al.'s (2015)

conclusion that participation in meta-research about writing processes (e.g. reflective writing and

interviews) builds up "reflexivity and meta-knowledge [that can be seen as] an unexpected benefit of participating in this type of research" (p. 9).

Heather and Amanda's interview consistently revealed a mutual respect and trust for one another. They came to view each other's skills and classes as complementary and equally beneficial for the students. Their approaches differed, with Amanda being more hands-off and Heather being more inquisitive with students, but these styles worked well together. Though she showed no particular frustration about students' difficulty producing sophisticated analysis, Heather dwelled on this issue more than Amanda, the actual FY-COMP instructor. Amanda's interview responses reveal a disposition wherein students' particular approaches to the TICE were not as important as them acknowledging the need for an approach in the first place, which, to her, was a sign of success.

Certain unresolved questions still linger. For example, as I observed the process of the TICE, I questioned the unilateral perspectives offered in the source-text set for the TICE, which reveal an anti-authority bias, while also portraying the state of affairs at the US/Mexico border to be an irrefutable humanitarian crisis. Specifically, depictions of: an abusive border patrol, abject living conditions at the US/Mexico border, an ineffective border wall, and families cruelly separated by borders may inevitably evoke a certain pathos in the writer based on an extremely political issue: the reasons for, and prevention of, illegal immigration. This observation does not reflect my view on the issue itself one way or the other. Rather, the point is that my view is irrelevant with regard to the assignment as one that does not offer source texts that could yield different viewpoints and conclusions about the US/Mexico border. One wonders if an issue that is regarded as clearly problematic and negative (indeed, one that evokes passionate response in

fiction and nonfiction) in source texts could inhibit the still-nascent ESL writing skill of analyzing *dispassionately* based on evidence. Ultimately, this bias, while political, seemed to help the students "cherry pick" supporting points during analysis, which is clearly a point in the source text set's favor.

The diverse array of source texts provided (film, newspaper article, narrative account, and opinion essay), the essay task, and the subsequent written reflection that comprise the TICE assignment "help students reflect critically upon the diverse communicative purposes and audiences of texts as well as upon their understandings of themselves as academic writers" (Morton, Storch & Thompson, 2015, p. 10). The TICE assignment as devised and executed is an excellent task to prepare students for the rigors of post-FY-COMP academic writing. The community's approach to the TICE assignment included considering source texts, forming ideas, sharing them, changing them, rejecting them, putting them in drafts, sharing those drafts, revisiting them, standing by them (students) and holding them up against the source text to which they were responsible (instructors). The instructors' dual focus on seeking evidence of analysis and encouraging emergent writing ability was in keeping with the pluralistic approach to evaluation of ESL writing as advocated by Land and Whitley (1998), who suggest that readers of ESL students' writing "suspend judgment and read […] for meaning" (p. 141). This orientation naturally entails an instructional approach that focuses on "facilitating natural language development rather than offering alternative mode of learning" (Ellis, 1994, p. 659) or overemphasis on linguistic accuracy to the detriment of encouraging idea development.

On a practical note, I feel that the FY-COMP is an excellent course to include in a BPP for all of the reasons described by Duffy in this paper's introduction. Indeed, what better place

to place this pivotal course than in a supported environment like the AT? In this environment, students can see what parts of the assignment are negotiable (Benesch, 2001), while also exploring and reconciling alternative points of view as they will have to after the FY-COMP. University students, regardless of background, often regard initial forays into writing research papers as "a rite of passage, a form of punishment, the kind one endures because it's supposed to be good for you" (Johnson & Moneysmith, 2005, p. ix). The complexities of this passage are increased manifold for the ESL student; dedicated support does wonders.

The nuances of an FY-COMP that is ESL-only, in a sheltered program, and supported by an EAP-COMP instructor made this an interesting research setting. Should more BPPs opt to include an FY-COMP as part of their curricula, there will be many interesting research directions to follow in the future; ones that focus specifically on FY-COMP with EAP support will be very welcome additions.

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Appendix i: Interview Questions – Students
1. State name
2. Can you tell me where you're from?
3. Tell me about school back home. Is it different from here?
4. How has the bridge program been?
5. Can you tell me about the first couple of weeks of this past session?
6. How about the last couple of weeks?
7. What were your goals?
8. How did you study to achieve those goals?
9. Tell me about the classes (support, university)
10. (if applicable) Was one of the classes you took more challenging? (follow-up why – then why other was less challenging)
11. Did your study habits change as the class moved forward? (how you wrote essays? What you know about writing essays?
12. How did (support teacher) support you in (university class)?
13. What worked well?
14. What didn't work as well?
15. Did you get help from your classmates sometimes?
16. What did you focus on in the CESL classes? How did you spend your time?
17. Were there any particular assignments or parts of the course that were easier for you? How were the essays?
18. Any that were more difficult? Why?
19. Was there anything in _____'s course that surprised you? That you didn't expect to learn about?
20. Did _____ (university instructor) change anything about how she taught over time? (or did [univ class] change over time?)
21. What worked well about (univ teacher) teaching?
22. What didn't work as well?
23. Have you ever taken a class like (univ class)?
24. Were there times where the language was too hard? (if yes, examples)
25. (Participant-specific questions from observation notes)
26. Would you take the program again?
27. What changes would you like to see made to the program if any?   (if no response) Format? Hours?
28. Anything you'd like to add? Any questions? Any other stories from the course you'd like to share?

Appendix ii - Interview Questions –EAP Instructors
1. State name
2. Can you very briefly talk about your teaching background?
3. How has it been teaching in the bridge program?
4. Can you tell me about the first couple of weeks of this past session?
5. How about the last couple of weeks?
6. What goals did you have for the classes?
7. How did you design the course to achieve those goals?
8. What did you choose to focus on in your class time?
9. Did you have to change how you went about supporting the university course as time passed?
10. Were there times where you felt particularly strongly one way or another about the students' performance? Can you give examples?
11. Were there times where you felt particularly strongly one way or another about the content being covered in (univ class)? Can you give examples?
12. What kind of support did the program have in place for you as you taught? (Did you want/need more support?)
13. How did you coordinate with your co-teacher, _____? How did it go? (official meetings?)
14. What did you perceive your role in the course pairing to be? Did it change as the course went on?
15. Were there any particular assignments or parts of the course that were easier in terms of instruction? Any that were more difficult? Why?
16. Did you have any specific strategies or tasks to bridge the content of this course?
17. Did you spend some time talking about note-taking or other study strategies?
18. Were any special accommodations made for the students? If so, what were they?
19. Was there anything related to their language ability that impacted their work in the class? Any examples?
20. If you were to teach the course again in this bridge format, is there anything you'd do differently?
21. If you could make any suggestions for (univ teacher) the next time teaching this course, what would they be?
22. (specific questions from observations - here)
23. What changes would you like to see made to the program if any?   (if nothing) Format? Hours?
24. Anything you'd like to add? Any questions? Any other stories from the course you'd like to share?

Appendix iii: Interview Questions – University Instructors
1. State name
2. Can you very briefly talk about your teaching background related to this subject?
3. How has it been teaching in the bridge program?
4. Can you tell me about the first couple of weeks of this past session?
5. How about the last couple of weeks?
6. What goals did you have for the course?
7. How did you design the course to achieve these goals?
8. Was it any different than teaching the class as you normally would in a regular gen ed situation?
    a. (if ambiguous response) Did you have to make any changes to how you delivered the course? If yes, what changes?
9. Were there times where you felt particularly strongly one way or another about the students' performance? Can you give examples?
10. Did the students seek help outside of class?
11. What kind of support did the program have in place for you as you taught? (Did you want/need more support?)
12. How did you coordinate with your co-teacher, _____? How did it go? (official meetings?)
13. What did you perceive your co-teacher's role in instruction to be? Did it change as the course went on?
14. What did you perceive your role to be?
15. Did your plans for the delivery of the course change over time?   If so, how?
16. Were there any particular assignments or parts of the course that were easier in terms of instruction? Any that were more difficult? Why?
17. Did you make any specific assignment accommodations for the students? If so, what were they?
18. With this being a group made up of solely English language learners, was there anything related to their language ability that impacted their work in the class? Any examples?
19. If you were to teach the course again in this bridge format, is there anything you'd do differently?
20. If you could make any suggestions for (univ teacher) the next time teaching this course, what would they be?
21. (specific questions from observations - here)
22. What changes would you like to see made to the program if any?   (if nothing) Format? Hours?
23. Anything you'd like to add? Any questions? Any other stories from the course you'd like to share?