BEING, BECOMING, AND BELONGING: EXPLORING STUDENTS'
EXPERIENCES OF AND ENGAGEMENT WITHIN THE
INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL IN HONG KONG

by

Eric Jabal

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

Library and Archives
Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Canada

BEING, BECOMING, AND BELONGING: EXPLORING STUDENTS'
EXPERIENCES OF AND ENGAGEMENT WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL
SCHOOL IN HONG KONG

Doctor of Philosophy 2011
Eric Jabal
Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education
University of Toronto

Abstract

An engaging education attends to the subjective quality of students'

perceptions and experiences within learning and school life: It converges on whether,

how, and why students meaning-make and belong within the school; and focuses on

the conditions for their attachment, participation, and commitment within school

programmes, practices, policies, and people. Three main questions guided this two-

phase, mixed-methods study: 1) What makes international schools engaging places

for students? 2) What meanings do students attach to key areas of their day-to-day

experiences within the international school in Hong Kong? 3) How might re-

imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer

understandings of students' experiences within the international school?

In Phase 1, an achieved sample of 729 senior secondary students at 9

purposively selected schools were surveyed using a mainly Likert scale questionnaire:

to describe their socio-demographics; to examine the relationships between their

socio-demographics, attitudinal features, and schooling experiences, as measured by

the researcher-designed Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* scale;

and to cluster using their socio-demographics and attitudinal profiles. Building on the

tripartite cluster solution, Phase 2 used observations and interviews with 30

purposively sampled teacher-leaders and 34 students, from across the three clusters, to

investigate how the "institutional habitus" (Thomas, 2002) the students encountered at

two international schools shaped their experiences of and engagement within the contexts of school culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum.

A two-stage process of thematic content analysis revealed two super ordinate themes: 1) race/ethnic, linguistic, and nationality identities intersected to shape and challenge patterns of relationships amongst students (and between students/families) and the school to both include and exclude; and 2) the institutional contexts supported and constrained students' sense of belonging therein. Overall, seen through a cosmopolitan lens the study implications are discussed as three lessons to achieve a better fit between students and the international school: 1) Attend to the school's living and learning environment; 2) Take a cosmopolitan turn to school for cosmopolitan subjectivity; and 3) Adopt a student engagement-driven approach to improve and reform school policy, administration, and practice.

Acknowledgements

It would require another chapter to list all those who have supported me in devising, carrying out, and completing this thesis (…and it's long enough already!), but there are several people who deserve special mention without whom this thesis would have never come about.

I am profoundly indebted to my committee. As my supervisor, **Nina** has been unswervingly patient throughout my 10-year affiliation with OISE-UT and instrumental in getting me to finish this thesis. Our conversations and her critical insights have shaped my thinking and practice as a scholar-practitioner-leader in more ways than she will ever know.

Each of my committee members has also inspired my growth in their own inimitable way: as a comparativist and sinologist, **Ruth's** deep understanding of Chinese culture motivate me to bridge the East and the West as a school leader in Hong Kong intent on strengthening inclusive schooling for all students; **Lorna's** ability to 'story-tell' engagingly using mixed-methods continues to positively challenge my own use of data with stakeholders to inform meaningfully school improvement efforts; and **Jim's** social-justice lens, which he brings to bear on the discursive space of schooling and school leadership, in particular, formatively shapes my reading of and response to what I encounter as I walk the halls of the schoolhouse. I hope this thesis does some justice to their guidance, patience, and support.

I am also grateful to six other individuals, who have been important to me as academic mentors (Mark Bray), doctoral classmate (Dominique Rivière), and professional colleagues (Chris Evans, Graham Ranger, Chris Durbin, Ed Wickins). Whilst **Mark's** invitation to attend Hong Kong University's CERC seminar series and conversations with **ChrisD** and **Graham** on understanding the school experiences of the ESF learner have both grown me professionally and allowed me to stay connected to a wider community of scholar-practitioners, collaborating with **Dominique** over the years has helped to sharpen my thinking and focus my writing. As successful Principals and committed mentors, in particular, **Ed** and the late **ChrisE** and have

provided the professional proven grounds that have both inspired and informed this study, as well as my continuing leadership efforts to enhance every students' academic and affective engagement within the international school.

Of course, I am indebted to the international schools, teachers, and student participants themselves, without whom this thesis would have never come about. Allowing me in their midst, holding up the mirror to institutional experiences as lived by students, and seeking to learn from what emerged to achieve a better fit between student and school, requires continuing acts of courage: I hope the final product honours the spirit and intent of our partnership and conversations.

I must thank, too, my wonderful family. Over the years, the hospitality of **Christine** and **Greg**, **Tina** and **Gary**, and my mother, **Astrid**, especially during my brief yet intense stays in Toronto, provided the support (and space!) I needed to progress undisturbed with my thesis writing (whilst remaining well-fed and housed!). Though not a physical presence in this thesis journey, I know that my dad's drive, intellect, and resilience have undoubtedly shaped and guided me to finish.

Perhaps most important, I need to thank my spouse and children. Throughout this decade-long, doctoral journey (and three kids later!), **Susie** has made numerous sacrifices and been unwavering in her support. At her own (mental and emotional!) expense, she has given me the space and time needed during countless weekends and school holidays so that I could maintain some continuity with my thesis thinking and writing. And though my eldest, **Ben**, has perhaps benefitted the most from having a graduate student dad early on in the journey (flexible schedule, early-morning walks), he has also borne the brunt of my relentless thesis-writing weekends and school holidays later on. Yet **Willow**, **Ryder**, and **Ben** are the main reason for doing this study: I want their own schooling experiences to be engaging, enjoyable, and self-fulfilling... and hope that in some small way, the lessons to emerge from my study help schools, teacher-leaders, and families turn this ideal into a reality. **Ben**, **Ryder**, and **Willow** have continued to shower me with more affection and love than I deserve: They truly are the light of my life, and inspire me daily to be the best that I can be.

And it is to them, **Susie** and my three children, that I dedicate this thesis.

Table of Contents

Appendices

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation reports on a two-phase study that explored, using mainly students' perspectives on key areas of their experiences, what makes international schools in Hong Kong engaging places for students. The research entailed, first, surveying a potential sample of 1,270 students at nine international schools in Hong Kong; and, second, interviewing 34 senior students and 30 teacher-leaders, as well as in- and out-of-classroom observations, conducted over 35 days to investigate the contexts that shape the subjective quality of students' lived realities within two international schools. In striving to learn from their interpretations, I share Rudduck and Demetriou's (2003: 275) view that "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution." In this chapter, I present the study background, discuss the role of the researcher, specify the research problem, overview the methodology used, and conclude by outlining the organisation of the dissertation.

International schooling in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong Government defines international schools as those that follow:

> *a non-local curriculum and whose students do not sit for the local examinations (e.g. Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination). They are operated with curricula designed for the needs of a particular cultural, racial or linguistic group or for students wishing to pursue their studies overseas. (HKED 1995: 4)*

The international schools system "forms an important social infrastructure to maintain Hong Kong's status as an international business centre and a vibrant cosmopolitan city" (HKSAR 2003) and represents a sizeable and diverse sector with an ever-increasing role and profile. Though they come in many shapes and sizes (Brown, Course et al. 2006; Heron 2010), the three main initiators of international schools are: government organisations and national communities, religious bodies, and private groups (Yamato and Course 2002). The first international school, Sir Ellis Kadoorie Primary School, opened in 1890 and catered mainly to the Indian community that supported the British administration of Hong Kong. Kowloon Junior and King George V School followed in 1902 and predominantly served British expatriates (Yamato and Course 2002: 5-6). In 2005-06, Government figures indicate that Hong Kong's 56 international schools (+21 ESF; see point 5 below) provide 35,000 places, which represents about 6 percent of its compulsory school system (EMB 2006). The 10 different non-local curricula offered include: Australian, British, Canadian, French, German-

Swiss, International Baccalaureate, Japanese, Korean, Singaporean, and American (HKSAR 2003).

Taking a systems-level perspective, Bray and Yamato (2003: 58-59) usefully classify Hong Kong's international schools arena into six types: (1) One school, one educational system; (2) One school, two educational systems (official affiliation with foreign educational system); (3) Government sponsored, part of foreign educational system; (4) Global focus; (5) English Schools Foundation (ESF; 21 schools in one educational system: five secondary, nine primary, two 'all through' schools, four kindergartens and a school for children with special educational needs); and (6) Self-affiliation with foreign educational system. The typology points to the differential status of international schools in Hong Kong, as well as to their diversity in terms of fees, reputation, curriculum, students' post-secondary destinations, and population mostly served. It also reveals that its international schools are not, *ipso facto*, all western schools (Chan 2004).

Furthermore, in contrast to neighbouring Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore (Lowe 1999), the Hong Kong Government permits 'local' residents to attend either public or private schools, including international schools (Yamato 2003; Forestier 2005). Although those who cannot speak Chinese have few other options in Hong Kong, international schools have become a destination of choice for local families who: are concerned with the direction of public education reforms (Lee 2001; Dowson, Bodycott et al. 2003; Bruce 2004); seek an English-medium schooling experience (Kwok 1998; Yeung 2004; Tong 2005); or believe that the global currency of international qualifications (e.g. International Baccalaureate) makes its graduates more marketable than those schooled in the local curriculum (Lowe 2000; Forse 2010). Indeed, there arguably is a dependence on international qualifications and experience, which has the effect of differentiating local people from one another. Though this may be a hangover from colonial times, it remains a very real element in local patterns of socialization. International schools may represent a destination of choice because they do not socialize their students in the same way as local schools would but because they socialize them differently, especially in terms of language. English will give them a comparative advantage, as will their overseas university education that an international schools education enables them to readily access, which will see them push local graduates out of the contest for jobs.

Hence one way of understanding the enhanced role and status of international schools in Hong Kong is through the "habitus" of English (Chan 2002), which Chan uses to analyse

mother-tongue education policy matters in Government schools within the sociocultural context of post-colonial Hong Kong. Bourdieu's (1990/1977) concept of "habitus" captures the interplay amongst people's acquired, culturally mediated predispositions (i.e., habits) that structure the way they interpret, act in, and respond to their social world. Linking "habitus," English, and cultural capital to the role of international schooling in Hong Kong is useful to my study in two ways. First, it highlights the "habitus" of English as a colonial language. This stems from Hong Kong's 155-year legacy as a British colony, on the one hand, and its place post-1997 as a political subdivision of the People's Republic of China (PRC), which is to function as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) under the principle of "one country, two systems" (PRC 1990), on the other hand. Nearly all of Hong Kong's international schools use English as their medium of instruction (AmCham 2007; Chan 2010). Second, it points to the "habitus" of English in prospering Hong Kong's service-led economy on the globalised world stage, in general, and to ensuring its viability as an international centre of trade and commerce (EMB 1997; Au 1998; Kwok 1999), in particular. As noted by Tung Chee Hwa, the first Chief Executive of the Hong Kong SAR, English is "one of our most important *assets*" (PD 2002, Emphasis added). The enhanced role and status of the mainly English-medium international schools in Hong Kong can thus be seen to reflect these two tensions – i.e., cultural imperialism and linguistic instrumentalism.

Educational governance/language policy context in Hong Kong

The second background factor that shapes my study is the policy context of education in Hong Kong. Though the educational governance structures changed on 1 July 2007, when the Education and Manpower Bureau (EMB) was renamed Education Bureau (EDB) as part of a governmental reorganisation of policy bureaus, giving it sole responsibility for the policy portfolio of education (and the policy responsibility of "manpower," previously undertaken by EMB, was taken up by Labour and Welfare Bureau), the portfolio's education-manpower [*sic*] link should not come as a surprise. Its instrumental imperatives were emphasised by the previous Permanent Secretary for Education and Manpower in her keynote address at the 1999 International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement in Hong Kong: "Speaking English well is seen as the stepping stone to a good job" (Law-Fan 1999: 8). I believe the instrumental education-manpower links will persist given the pragmatic "habitus" of English in Hong Kong (Chan 2002) and economic pressures of globalisation, in general.

At the same time, leading up to and since the change in sovereignty in July 1997, the Hong Kong Government has worked hard to strengthen its relationship with the PRC. There are two ways in which it has done so that is relevant to understanding the broader context of my study. The first concerns Government efforts to legislate, at the systems-level, broad norms about the use of Chinese in Hong Kong. Though 90 percent of Hong Kong people identify Cantonese as their first language, 5 percent do Putonghua/Mandarin – the predominant language in the PRC (Staff 2003). Very few Hong Kong residents (3%) consider English their "usual language" (CSD 2001). Moreover, Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law (i.e., constitution) clearly subordinates English: "*in addition to the Chinese language*, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature, and judiciary…" (PRC, 1990, Emphasis added). Even so, English remains the language of Hong Kong's legal system and commerce (Evans and Green 2002).

Against this broader societal backdrop, the Hong Kong Government has pursued a biliterate (i.e., written Chinese and English), trilingual (i.e., spoken Cantonese, Putonghua, English) language policy since its first Chief Executive delivered his inaugural policy address (Tung 1997: 27). In the context of post-colonial Hong Kong, this language policy aims to jointly elevate the status of Chinese and maintain a high standard of English (HKSAR 2005). The effects of this biliterate, trilingual policy can be seen most visibly and emotively in the Medium-of-Instruction (MOI) policy (Hayhoe 2000), a "species of language-in-education policy, which deals specifically with the instructional medium in class" (Poon 2004: 54).

In 2003-04, 114 out of 501 public-sector secondary schools were English MOI (EMB 2004). These "privileged orphans" (O'Halloran 2000) were all elite Band I schools, whose students were essentially the top 30 percent of primary-school graduates. Given that English remains "a signifier of power and wealth in the post-colonial context of Hong Kong" (Choi 2003: 675), students at these English-medium secondary schools arguably possess – and continue to enhance their – "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu 1991). In the prescient words of a 1989 government report, such "linguistic brokers… [can] act as a bridge between East and West, between the expatriates who speak no Cantonese and the locals who speak little English…" (Choi 2003: 687), and arguably profit from having English as "a social [and political] ladder" (Lai 2005: 382) that they can readily climb.

The English MOI schools only teach in Chinese for Chinese language, history, and literature classes; all other academic subjects are taught in English. However, the MOI policy gives

Chinese-medium schools the option to switch to English for certain subjects in Secondary 4 and 5, provided they meet three criteria (i.e., student ability, teacher qualifications and competency to teach in English, and school support measures and English provision) (Morris 2004). In Secondary 6 and 7, schools get to decide on the medium of instruction (EMB, 1997). Yet as Chan (2002: 272) explains, the "medium of instruction in school is… very important, for it trains one *to speak and use the legitimate language* and hence prepares one for the future" (Emphasis added).

These historical, political, symbolic, and educational tensions play out importantly in Hong Kong's international schools. On the one hand, this is because its international schools are open to 'local' residents, unlike other jurisdictions, where international schools are the exclusive reserve of expatriates. This has turned them into largely 'localised' schools, in terms of families served (EMB 2006; AmCham 2007), which offer a non-local curriculum. The resultant inflow of local Hong Kong students to the international schools arena creates both challenges and opportunities for these students, as they must acquire, employ, and connect different local and international cultural knowledge found within a constellation of social worlds (e.g. family, peer group, school). Their transitions amongst "multiple worlds" (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998) are potentially fraught with psychosocial, cultural, and educational challenges. On the other hand, international schools arguably exacerbate the repercussions of the MOI policy as a "key means of power (re)distribution and social (re)construction" (Tsui and Tollefson 2004: 2) in Hong Kong. If the local, socio-economic elites cannot attend a Band I school because they are not in the top third of Primary graduates, they can still get an English-medium education at an international school and gain the coveted "linguistic capital" and global currency of an international qualification.

In short, the "habitus" of English, prevailing instrumental educational imperatives, and uncertainty surrounding the implementation of the biliterate, trilingual and MOI policy in Hong Kong contribute to the ever-increasing but Janus-like role and status of international schools. Yet despite their complex social context of education, international schools have "received little attention from the research community in Hong Kong" (Bray 2003: viii); less is known about the students who attend them; and even less can be said, empirically, about the contexts, individual and institutional, that shape their students' experiences of and engagement within the international school.

The role of the researcher

In designing and implementing this study on student engagement within the international school in Hong Kong, I recognise that my role as researcher was an integral part of the entire research process (Bogdan and Biklen 1997; Peterson 1998; Creswell 2003). Giddens' (1991) notion of the "reflexive self" usefully portrays the narrative of self-identity and researcher subjectivity as a reflexive researcher to highlight the importance of pursuing both personal and epistemic reflexivity through self-awareness, self-questioning, self-monitoring, and self-evaluation activities.

Value-preferences and commitments

My value-preferences and commitments to this study of student engagement partly derive from my life experiences as a mixed-heritage, upper middle class male, who was raised bilingually as a suburban, first-generation Canadian. My German mother and Algerian father, who had emigrated together from Switzerland seeking better professional opportunities, instilled the liberal values of independence, tolerance, and hard work in my two siblings and me. I attended both public (i.e., primary) and private (i.e., secondary) schools; and have pursued post-secondary studies in Canada, France, and the UK.

In addition to how my own negotiations of identity, culture, and place have been internalised and integrated to shape the values I bring to the study (Banks 1998), my commitment to understanding better international schooling contexts for enhanced student engagement also stems from the academic and social mismatches I experienced in my secondary schooling days. In particular, my belief that all schools must do more to understand and attend to these discontinuities derives from my own experiences as an adolescent who, at the age of 13, lost his father unexpectedly. At the time, I found little at school to support me through this time of personal need and/or to strengthen my engagement with the school more broadly. Today, as then, I feel that schools must be constructed as both living and learning environments; and can (must!) respond better to the voices of people of diversity therein (Hargreaves 1996; Corson 1998; Ryan 2005). I believe that independent/private schools, in particular, whose financial and human capital make them a significant source of tomorrow's professional and government leaders (Cookson and Persell 1985; Powell 1996; Gaztambide-Fernandez 2009), have an even greater duty to achieve those double imperatives of inclusivity and excellence by engendering an engaging education for every learner that attends to the subjective quality of students' perceptions and experiences within learning and school life, in general.

Biases

As part of the self-analysis involved in understanding my researcher subjectivity, I also reflected on my perspectives that unavoidably influence the study (Peshkin 1988; Merriam 1998; Peterson 1998; Peshkin 2000). This first entailed examining the 'meaning' of my social privilege as an educated, upper middle class bilingual male. And second, reconciling what I saw between Eastern and Western cultural-educational ideologies and values (Dimmock and Walker 2000; Hayhoe and Pan 2001) growing up in Canada, teaching at an inner-city, public high school in a predominantly immigrant neighbourhood in France, and teaching-leading at two private international schools in Hong Kong, where I have lived and worked for nearly 15 years. In particular, I want to focus on the two ways in which my doctoral studies, in a department that pursues the critical examination of education for social justice, have helped me reframe these life experiences, informed my researcher subjectivity, and shaped the specific biases that I bring to the study.

My perception of student engagement starts from the belief that a richer understanding of such a complex social phenomenon can only be found in the dynamic interplay of different paradigms and theories (in/of practice). They help to define boundaries (or to set limits); and they make it possible to describe, explain, examine, and understand phenomena within those boundaries. At the same time, in trying to make sense of how students' lives intersect with the school context, and of the implications for their engagement within the school, I have come to realise that different paradigms are probably better thought of as "descriptions of, not prescriptions for, research practice" (Greene and Caracelli 1997: 8). Through my doctoral studies, I have come to better appreciate the value of "theoretical pluralism…[as] not all problems are amenable to solution through the same theory, but a particular theory or several theories are appropriate for the problem" (Griffiths 2003: 148). I believe that this readiness to select and apply different paradigmatic lenses in practice is what Foster (1999: 111) was alluding to when he stated, "the administrative coat should be a coat of many colors."

In addition to showing me how and why "theoretical pluralism" can usefully guide the conceptualisation and execution of my study, the second important way in which my doctoral studies have shaped my researcher subjectivity is by foregrounding the ethical dimension of praxis. The problem-centred, action-orientated pragmatism of post-formalism (Kincheloe 1993; Kincheloe, Slattery et al. 2000), in particular, affirms the "ethical nature of educative

practice" (Freire 1998: 24) and the social agency of educators. It turns educational administration into a field for "practical idealism" (Hodgkinson 1991: 164) by asking:

> questions of meaning, self-awareness and the nature and function of the social context. Such concerns move a postformal thinker beyond formalist concerns with proper scientific procedure and the certainty it should produce. Postformalism grapples with purpose, devoting attention to issues of human dignity, freedom, power, authority, domination and social responsibility. (Kincheloe, Slattery et al., 2000: 256)

A post-formal approach attends to matters of context, historicity, etymology (particularly the origin of validated knowledge), process, patterns, and relationships as the critical elements to understanding schooling and education. Through its theories-in-use, educational praxis becomes "that specifically human act of intervening in the world" (Freire 1998: 99).

At the same time, reflecting on my international experiences within a post-formal framework has heightened my sensitivity to the dangers of transplanting, uncritically, knowledge and practices, as well as shown me the uneven outcomes that affect individuals, groups, and institutions when this is done (Begley 2000; Dimmock and Walker 2000; Cheng 2004). Consequently, the reflexivity and criticality of the post-formal perspective I bring to my study of students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international school leads me to attend to macro- (i.e., global, societal), meso- (i.e., institutional), and micro- (i.e., group, individual) level social processes; to take a person-oriented approach that attends to the different values and norms of diverse students (Corson 1998); and to challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions of people and places.

Professional experiences

Finally, my perceptions of student engagement have been shaped by my professional experiences as a teacher-leader at three international schools in Hong Kong (1994-2002; 2006-2010; 2010-present), where I have served as a teacher, middle, and senior leader and helped to develop, align, and evaluate policy, programmes, and practices for enhanced learning and teaching. In the process, I have worked closely with students, teachers, and the wider community. I have seen the many ways in which 'local' Hong Kong students and parents have shaped the international school's complex social context of education. With 20/20 hindsight vision, I now realise that the school's structures and practices may have "look[ed] after the interests of some more privileged social groups better than [they have] look[ed] after the interests of some other sociocultural groups" (Corson 1998: 9). This read of the international school context and understanding of its constituents' schooling

experiences have strengthened my awareness, knowledge, and sensitivity to the complexities of student engagement, as well as my ability to work with the student and teacher-leader informants in this study.

In sum, the influence of these professional experiences, biases, value-preferences and commitments on my researcher subjectivity converge on the reason for conducting this PhD study: to problematise the perception that "[i]nternational schools, by their nature, welcome diversity and are able to cope with it" (Bray and Yamato 2003: 63); and to explore whether this view is borne out empirically by investigating students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong.

Statement of the research problem

The study focus is students' perspectives on key areas of their day-to-day experiences of and engagement within the international school. Student engagement is one way of understanding whether, how, and with what outcomes the conditions of schooling motivate learners to cultivate the skills and dispositions to achieve well-being and be successful today and tomorrow (Starratt 2003; Kuhn 2005; Claxton 2008; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). In striving to learn from their interpretations of the issues that affect their lived schooling realities, as a scholar-practitioner-leader I share Rudduck and Demetriou's (2003: 275) view that "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution." This is because we

> *have to recognize that young people's engagement in school affects not just their future, but the quality of their daily lives and experiences* now. *It is important to remember that young people are not just adults-in-training; their lives as they experience them now are as valuable and meaningful as those of the adults they will become. How they feel about school and their own achievement is, for most young people, central to their daily lives -- whether they feel good about themselves and cared for at school; whether they are frustrated, anxious, bored, or depressed; whether they feel vibrant and excited by what they are learning; and, for that matter, whether they are learning at all. (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009: 7)*

Yet despite the long legacy of international schools (Sylvester 2002; Sylvester 2002; 2003; 2005) and their global reach (Hayden, Thompson et al. 2007), little research has been conducted on student engagement with the international school, in general, and specifically within Hong Kong (Bray and Leong 1996; Westrick 2002; Yamato and Bray 2002; Bray and Yamato 2003; Alviar-Martin 2008). I thus aim to explore what makes international schools in Hong Kong engaging places for students; to understand the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international school; and to consider: How

might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school?

Overview of the methodology and research questions

The data for this study were collected and analysed using mixed methodology (Caracelli and Greene 1993; Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998; Creswell 2003; Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie 2003). Although various definitions exist in the social and human sciences about what mixed methods research is, and for how "method mixing" is carried out in practice (Smith 1997; Creswell, Trout et al. 2002), the explanations tend to emphasise four features: pragmatic knowledge claims; concurrent or sequential data collection; quantitative and qualitative data collection; and data analysis and inference types (i.e., statistical and/vs. qualitative).

A two-phase research design was used in this study because I sought better description and explanation of the 'how' and 'why' of student engagement within the international school than either quantitative or qualitative approaches can provide alone. A "sequential transformative design" (Creswell 2003: 213) was employed because this research was undertaken to better understand, address, and advance issues of student empowerment within the international school in Hong Kong through strengthening the enabling conditions for their attachment, participation, and commitment to learning and school life. Located within a transformative framework (Figure 1), the theoretical perspective is given primacy in this research design; it "is more important in guiding the study than the use of methods alone" (Creswell 2003: 216). A student-as-context approach was taken in this study (McLaughlin and Talbert 1992; Phelan, Davidson et al. 1992; Phelan, Yu et al. 1994; AEL 1997; Mcquillan 1997; Nieto 1999; Cummins 2001; Cook-Sather 2002; Cushman 2003; Wrigley 2004; Lodge 2005; Yazzie-Mintz 2006; Zyngier 2007) to emphasise students' perspectives, concerns, and experiences.

Figure 1: Sequential transformative research design

Phase 1 – quan				**Phase 2 – QUAL**				Integrate results and interpret entire analysis
Data collection	→	Data analysis	→	Data collection	→	Data analysis	→	
Theoretical framework								
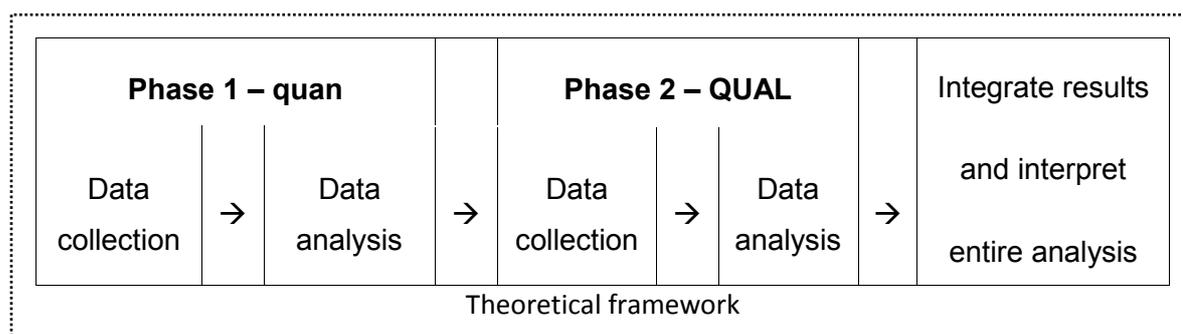
The notation in Figure 1 follows the conventions of other mixed-methodologists (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998: 15; Creswell 2003: 214): i.e., 1) the lower-case 'quan' and upper-case 'QUAL' reflect data collection/analyses priority; 2) the arrows show the study's sequential research design; 3) the solid-lined boxes distinguish the different research phases and features; and 4) the surrounding dotted rectangle emphasises the student-as-context theoretical framework as an all-encompassing perspective to the design.

The sequential transformative strategy made it possible to better understand the complexities of **students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international school**; and to advocate for students from **a broadened and deeper empirical base**. In Phase 1, students were the primary informants through a self-reported survey administered to a potential sample of data 1,270 students from 9 international schools in Hong Kong. Three Phase 1 research questions guide its descriptive and correlational design:

> 1a) What are the socio-demographic features of international high school students in Hong Kong (including background, heritage/culture, and school history)?
>
> 1b) What relationships exist between their socio-demographics, attitudinal features, and schooling experiences, as measured by the researcher-designed Experience of International School (*EIS-R)* scale?
>
> 1c) How can the surveyed students be meaningfully typologised using their socio-demographics and attitudinal profiles (i.e. Social and Personal Identities, View of Internationalism -- Revised, Experience of International School -- Revised, and Self-liking/Self-competence Scale -- Revised)?

Building on the final cluster solution, Phase 2 used qualitative methods of inquiry to extend the survey findings and explore **the subjective quality of students' experiences of and engagement within the institutional "4Cs" (i.e., contexts of culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum)** (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) at two international schools in Hong Kong. Students were the primary research informants in Phase 2, consistent with the theoretical framework, through interviews conducted with a sub-sample from each cluster and their teacher-leaders. Two research questions guided the Phase 2 inquiry:

> 2a) How does the "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) the clustered students encounter support and constrain their experiences of and engagement within the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006)?
>
> 2b) How might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school?

The major findings to emerge from the two-phase study are developed in four case studies: one by-site, teacher-leader (Ch. 5) and three by-cluster student (Chs. 6, 7, 8) case studies. As a research strategy, a case study is

> *an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context.... in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. (Yin 2003: 13-14)*

As an outcome, the case study

> *results in a rich and holistic account of phenomenon. It offers insights and illuminates meanings that expand its readers' experiences. These insights can be construed as tentative hypotheses that help structure future research; hence, case study plays an important role in advancing a field's knowledge base. (Merriam 1998: 41)*

The quantitative (Phase 1) and qualitative (Phase 2) findings are integrated throughout Chapters 5 to 9 to develop the teacher-leader and by-cluster student case studies.

Organisation of the dissertation

In Chapter 2, I examine the two sets of literature that frame the study's research problem of "enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003: 275): the **situational** literature on international (schools) education; and the **conceptual** literature on multiculturalism, inter-culturalism, and cosmopolitanism. I then explicate the conceptual/contextual framework, *Student engagement within the international school's "4Cs" of experience*, which provides clear links from the literature to my study focus: What makes international schools engaging places for students? What perceptions and meanings do students attach to their school experiences and engagement therein? And how might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school? Chapter 3 then delineates the two-phase research design, before the survey data findings are presented in Chapter 4 to describe the student sample from nine international schools in Hong Kong, examine the significant relationships between their socio-demographic features and experience of international school, and classify the students according to natural relationships in the attitudinal data.

Chapter 5 next explores what, from teacher-leaders' perspectives, creates a school environment that both supports and constrains students' lived experiences of and engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 develop three case studies to examine the subjective quality of the clustered students' lived experiences of and engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong. Chapter 9 takes up the integrated cross-site/-cluster findings to discuss the contexts that shape students' experiences of and engagement within the international school. Finally, Chapter 10 concludes the dissertation by: summarising the study findings; using a cosmopolitan lens analytically, descriptively, and normatively to consider the implications for educational practice of the findings and issues raised to achieve a better fit between students and the school; and suggesting some avenues for future research. In the following chapter, I review relevant situational and conceptual literature, as well as explicate the study's conceptual/contextual framework.

Chapter 2: Literature review: Getting to student engagement through a cosmopolitan praxis

In this review, I will concentrate on two sets of literature that enable me to explore what makes international schools engaging places for students, as well as to understand the subjective quality of their lived experiences of and engagement therein. I first examine the situational literature on international (schools) education to map out how it informs my understanding of the research problem. The contours show that the field's corpus of knowledge, in the main, tends to emphasise the macro/systemic- (e.g., history, school networks) or the meso/institutional- (e.g., programmatic, organisational) levels rather than the micro/student-level. Second, I present the conceptual literature in relation to the research problem, limited to multi- and inter-culturalism, and argue for a cosmopolitan turn. This is because cosmopolitanism is about: a) developing self-understanding to/for "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987); b) cultivating a sense of responsibility for the well-being of others; and c) learning to live well together. As a "personal identity model," cosmopolitanism offers "a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97).

This chapter culminates in the study's conceptual/contextual framework, entitled *Student engagement within the international school's "4Cs" of experience*, which integrates the situational and conceptual literature to focus on the relationships amongst the study's three main constructs: i.e., 1) student-as-context, 2) school's four contexts of experience, and 3) "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002). Discerned through a cosmopolitan lens, the outcome -- i.e., higher or lower levels of engagement: School is(n't) part of self-identity -- aims to take a first, tentative step toward meeting Greenfield's (1993: 19) challenge in the context of international schooling in Hong Kong:

> *What is needed for better research on schools is better images of what schools are and what goes on in them. 'Better' in this case means creating images of schools that reflect their character and quality and that tell us something of what the experience of schooling is like [for those who attend them].*

Situational literature: Mapping international (schools) education

Macro: System-level

The macro, system-level literature traces the historical developments that have shaped the arena of international schooling; the relationship between international schools and international education; and the global governance of international schools. All three phenomena contribute to my understanding of the contexts and processes that support and constrain students' engagement with the international school in Hong Kong.

A primary driver to the establishment of international schools in the late 19th century was the need to educate the children of missionaries, diplomats, and multinational organisations in foreign lands (Sylvester 2002), at a time when host-country schools were deemed "ill-suited to [meet] the socioeducational needs of an international community" (Renaud 1991: 6) – e.g., in terms of school medium of instruction or taught curricula. These schools would provide "students of international families with a programme of studies and a set of examinations which are continuous, consistent, and uninterrupted as they move about the world when the careers of their parents require periodic transfers from one location to another" (Blaney 1991: 200). In addition to remedying concerns with the quality of host-country schooling for expatriate families (Pearce 2003), and to providing expatriate children with transferable international qualifications (Lowe 1999; 2000), a secondary driver was to promote and defend national interests abroad (Dudley 1964; Leach 1969; Sylvester 2002).

Taken more critically, this primary driver to the original establishment of international schools reflects ethno-national, colonial tendencies. It also points to an important distinction, then as now, between voluntary im-(migrants) (i.e., expatriates) and involuntary or displaced immigrants. Whereas the former had/have the capabilities – social, political, and economic – to import and transplant international schools, the latter typically did/do not and are expected to assimilate and acculturate into the host-country's school system.

Despite some convergence (Leach 1969; Renaud 1991; Hill 2002), articulation of an architecture for an "international schools system" (Blaney 1991), and interest in allying providers of international schooling (Sylvester 2002) in the middle of the twentieth century, the global arena of international (schools) education today, as then, remains "largely fragmented" (Bunnell 2007). Although the "industry is relatively good at forming

alliances…. [and] at least 25 regional associations now exist" (Bunnell 2007: 362), for example, the European School system (Gray 2003) and FOBISSEA (Federation of British International Schools in South and East Asia), "no single body exists that pulls together the many constituents of international (schools) education" (Wilkinson 2002: 192). Moreover, the absence of an 'official' list of international schools means that trying to paint in numbers the global arena of international (schools) education is a good deal more art than science (Blandford and Shaw 2001; ISC 2008; Schools 2008).

A key reason for this lack of agreement stems from what Cambridge and Thompson (2001) explain are the inherent difficulties in defining reliably who the arena's players are, not to mention the different motivations behind wanting to be "international:"

> *Issues which confront the researcher attempting to understand international schools include their geographical distribution, clientele, relationship with national systems, relationship with particular national cultures, history, language of instruction, cultural diversity and curriculum. International schools and international education are also influenced by the contrasting perspectives of internationalism, international mindedness and globalisation…. [and] thus, it may be argued that there is no single definable entity which can be identified as 'an international school' because a single universal definition of what constitutes international schools cannot be defended.*

In identifying 11 different "issues," Cambridge and Thompson problematise the typical sense in which "international" has been used to qualify a school – i.e., caters "to an expatriate community with English as the language of instruction in a host country with another native tongue" (Davy 2005). This view accords with the working definitions used by industry players (ISCD 2002; ISC 2008; Schools 2008), and is in keeping with how Alec Peterson (2003: xvi) defines international schools in his authoritative contribution to the field:

> *A school specifically established to cater for students from a wide range of different cultures who are likely to be internationally mobile as their parents move from country to country, often in the employ of UN organizations or private international companies…. Such schools normally teach an international program of study or a number of national programs (but usually not of the country in which they are to be found) or a combination of both. They are usually private, fee-paying schools.*

Given the myriad points of contention, I share Cambridge and Thompson's scepticism towards this amorphous concept of "international" when deployed as an adjectival modifier: its multiplicity of purposes, strategies, processes, and practices makes it difficult to express a defensible definition of "what [actually] constitutes international schools," contributes to the semantic and operational slipperiness evident in the literature (e.g. Ronsheim 1970; Terwilliger 1972; Gellar 1981; Matthews 1989; 1989; Gellar 1993; Briks 1997: 265-280; Drake 1997; Sylvester 1998; Thompson 1998; Cambridge and Thompson 2000; Walker 2000;

Cambridge and Thompson 2001; 2001; ISA 2001; Cambridge 2002; Gellar 2002; Langford, Pearce et al. 2002; Phillips 2002; Skelton 2002; Sylvester 2002; Sylvester 2002; Thompson 2002; Walker 2002; Cambridge 2003; Sylvester 2003; Cambridge and Thompson 2004; James 2005; Matthews and Sidhu 2005; Sylvester 2005; Walker 2005; Bray 2007; Bunnell 2007; Carder 2007; Marshall 2007), and must be borne in mind when viewing the "diverse galaxy of institutions which constitute the international schools movement" (Wilkinson 2002). Nevertheless, a large growth overall in the number of international schools is evident given what Hayden and Thompson (1995) conclude in their historical survey of the literature: whereas about 50 international schools existed in the 1960s (Leach and Knight, 1964, cited in Hayden and Thompson 1995), there were nearly 1,000 by the 1980s (Matthews 1989).

At the same time, it must also be recognised that an international school may not *de facto* offer an international education (Hill 2000); and, conversely, that a national school (at home or abroad) may actually engender in students the international characteristics typified by an international education such as international- and open-mindedness, second language competence, flexibility of thinking, tolerance and respect for others (Hayden and Thompson 1995; 1995; Hayden and Thompson 1998; Walker 2000; 2002; 2005). Notwithstanding the "ambiguous and contradictory" (Cambridge and Thompson 2004: 172) history, nature, and practice of international education, these tensions can be usefully understood for the purposes of my study by probing the underlying epistemic presuppositions behind "globalist" and "internationalist" stances (Cambridge and Thompson 2001; 2004).

Globalist and internationalist discourse

Cambridge and Thompson (2004) define a "globalist" perspective as one that "is influenced by and contributes to the global diffusion of the values of free market economics…. [and] of the transnational capitalist class" (172-73). When applied to the arena of international schooling, the "globalist" account privileges the economic logic of globalisation (i.e., global convergence of business-like attributes and values and emergence of a single global market) and its influence on "international education as… globally branded products and services" (Cambridge 2002: 241). Cambridge and Thompson contend that this "globalist current of international education" assumes a "pragmatic" form of international education, which "converges towards the values of the transnational capitalist class" (173) and produces the neo-liberal, economic global citizen.

On the other hand, an "internationalist" approach

> *is founded upon international relations…. [It] embraces a progressive existential and experiential educational philosophy that values the moral development of the individual and recognises the importance of service to the community and the development of a responsible citizenship…. celebrates cultural diversity and promotes and international-minded outlook. (Cambridge and Thompson 2004: 173)*

It aims to cultivate the internationalist characteristics needed to promote peace and understanding between nations and unite people for a sustainable and globally interdependent future (Peterson 2003; UWC 2007). The "internationalist" account is of limited use in my research context, however, because it takes international relations (and the nation-state) as foundational and central frames of reference. It is hard to imagine how Hong Kong's six international school systems (Bray and Yamato 2003) and 56 (plus 21 ESF) international schools (EMB 2006), the majority of which offer transplanted national programmes of education to a predominantly 'local' Hong Kong-Chinese population (AmCham 2007), can be plausibly described as "internationalist" – much as some may aspire to be.

In Hong Kong and worldwide, international schools typically fall outside the local-national education systems of the host-countries in which they are located. Originally designed to serve the needs of expatriates, international schools are seen to provide an enhanced education for today's globalised realities. They increasingly serve the needs of the wealthy local populations, where permitted (as is the case in Hong Kong), and the "value of such [international] schools is readily perceived for the diplomatic and multinational company expatriate communities, let alone for the education of the children of local elites" (Garton 2002: 148). As Gerner and Perry's (2000: 269) studies of children who attend international schools reveals, international school students "have many sociological variables in common: They are predominantly from intact professional families; these families are middle to upper middle class; and education is highly valued." In Hong Kong, "most (though not all) international schools serve the top-income groups in the society; and almost all families have international orientations and close relatives abroad" (Bray and Yamato 2003: 62).

The inherent economic, cultural, and symbolic "social capital" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990/1977) is an opportunity that international schools ought to seize by taking an "internationalist" approach. My positive view of this vested privilege, and the normative and practical opportunities it represents, stems from a belief that stimulating personal engagement, securing commitment, and maintaining school engagement is a generative way of furthering every learner's personal quest for meaning, sense-making, and "moral excellence" (Starratt 2003) – i.e., being responsible to and for what one learns and does, whether in/out of the

classroom or immediate/wider community beyond the school gates. Cultivating engaging experiences for "moral excellence" today may lead international schools to graduate student-citizens with heightened "conscientization" (Freire 1998) for tomorrow – i.e., an awareness of and an ability to use their "social capital" to challenge and change oppressive social orders rather than to reproduce and reinforce their privilege.

Meso: Institutional-level

There are two discernible themes within the meso, institutional-level literature on international (schools) education that frame my understanding of the research problem. The first, the management of 'quality' international schools, predominates in the 103 contributions to the five major and edited volumes in the field to have appeared in the last decade. In Blandford and Shaw (2001), 9 of 12 chapters focus on such school-level improvement and effectiveness. Of the remaining chapters, 4 of 20 (Hayden and Thompson 1998), 9 of 16 (Hayden and Thompson 2000), 9 of 16 (Hayden, Thompson et al. 2002), and 12 of 39 (Hayden, Thompson et al. 2007) address such institutional-level concerns as international school organisation and governance, development planning and review, and staff recruitment and development. To some extent, the institutional improvement and effectiveness account provides a useful backdrop to understanding the meso-level contexts that make international schools engaging places for students, as well as to explore the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement therein.

The second important theme for my study in the meso-level literature attends to curricular and school-ethos matters. These practise-based, rather than theoretical-empirical contributions emphasise the nature and practice of international schools curricula to characterise how students interact with and live the international school's sociocultural environment. Yet few consider the effect of the 'hidden' or 'informal' curricula on students' international school experiences, which are directly relevant to my study and discussed below in the context of school ethos. And of these, only Drake (1998) takes up the nature and practice of an effective pastoral care programme in international schooling (e.g., life skills, cross-cultural counselling, careers and guidance) in these five edited volumes. Other exceptions to look at curriculum for the holistic development of the 'whole' child treat it, for example, in terms of school-community partnerships (Allen 2000), opportunities for community service (McKenzie 1998; Garton 2002), or discuss the positive effects on other students of mainstreaming individuals with special educational needs (Bradley 2000).

Stepping out of these edited volumes, useful empirical investigations of programmatic efforts to develop international school students' inter-cultural literacy (Waterson and Hayden 1999; Gunesch 2002; Heyward 2002; Werkman, Karley et al. 2004; Grimshaw and Sears 2008) through service-related learning (Straffon 2001; Westrick 2002; 2004), as well as of monitoring and supporting the affective and academic needs of newly-relocated students within the international school, can be found in selected dissertations and journal contributions. In particular, Alviar-Martin's (2008) comparative case study of social studies curricula at two international schools in Atlanta and Hong Kong offers useful insight into the influence of teachers' beliefs about citizenship, as well as multi-cultural and global curricula content, on students' experiences with cosmopolitan citizenship education and their formation of multiple civic identities. Yet other than Gunesch (2002), Pearce (2005), Grimshaw and Sears (2008), and Alviar-Martin (2008), the loci remain programmatic and practise-based rather than student experiences therein.

In short, the situational literature as a whole gives little attention to the international school's pastoral and/or out-of-classroom curricula, whether co- or extra-curricular, two key areas of their experiences and engagement within the international school. This oversight is surprising given that the "taught" (i.e., formal) and "caught" (i.e., hidden, informal) curricula (Thompson 1998) not only shape students' lived experiences of schooling, but they also formatively influence a school's ethos or climate -- and is why getting to engagement, I believe, requires a cosmopolitan turn within international (schools) education.

International school ethos and culture

Schools, as any institution or organisation, have cultures of their own (Greenfield 1993; Gaskell 1995; Hoy and Miskel 1996) that emerge from their structures and processes of intentions, interactions, and behaviours; and influence how people think and act therein. The ethos of a school refers to the specific climate that stems from an individual school as a social organisation – i.e., the distinctive range "of values, attitudes, and behaviours [created by teachers for/and students] which will become characteristic of the school as a whole" (Rutter, Maughan et al. 1979: 179). School ethos thus reflects prevailing norms, assumptions, and beliefs within a particular school, and can be a product of the school culture itself. As Solvason (2005: 85-86) explains,

> *culture is the basis on which the day-to-day life at the school is built. Culture has solidity where ethos is more elusive. Culture is deeply embedded in the school's history: beliefs, values, choices made, traditions kept. The school ethos is the*

result of this; the ambience that is felt at a school as a result of its cultural history; past, present and ever changing.

Through students' experiences of their school's ethos, they come to recognise and understand their school's culture, which "provides the framework from which we [teachers and administrators] and our students make sense of the life and world around us" (Poore 2005: 351). Though Poore may be overstating its influence, those who work in and study international schools will recognise how school culture is "not only a framework for interpretation, but also a determinant factor in the process of inter-cultural interaction. Students will [thus] interact with the school culture as much as with one another" (Allan 2004/2002: 91, Emphasis added). An array of forces and factors contribute to a school's ethos and culture that, in turn, will shape students' perceptions, experiences of, and engagement within, school.

These contextual conditions can be seen to derive from a school's purpose, philosophy, and vision. Mission statements, "one of the cornerstones to an organisation" (Bart and Tabone 1998: 54), "capture an organisation's unique raison d'être" (Bart 2001: 360) by answering three questions: Why do we exist? What is our real purpose? What are we trying to accomplish? In defining and communicating organisational goals, priorities, and values, as well as principles and approaches to reaching those goals (Ireland and Hitt 1992; Bart 2001), meanings are conveyed (and interpreted) that construct individual, group, and institutional identities. In expressing how an institution sees itself and wishes to be seen, mission statements use language and other semiotic practices that establish, reproduce, and reinforce power relations (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; van Dijk 2000) amongst individuals and social groups, institutions and the wider environment. School purpose, philosophy, and vision (mission) will thus shape a school's ethos, culture, and structures.

Cambridge's (2002; 2003) treatment of international school mission statements usefully distinguishes between those that favour "internationalist values" (i.e., commitment to world peace and understanding between nations, responsible world citizenship) or "globalist perspectives" (i.e., portable credentials, transferable curricula). Drawing on Cambridge's "internationalist" (process)-"globalist" (product) dualism, I conducted content and critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the mission statements and web-based discourses of three regional organisations of international schools (i.e., EARCOS – East Asia Regional Council of Overseas Schools, FOBISSEA – Federation of British International Schools in South and

East Asia, and NESA – Near East South Asia Council of Overseas Schools) to explore how they projected their institutional identities on-line (Jabal 2003).

By considering CDA's three dimensions of text, discourse practice, and social context (Fairclough 1985; 1995), the analyses revealed how the terminology used and cultural references made to communicate organisational purposes, goals, and values could be seen to express hegemonic beliefs. In particular, the notions of sameness, difference, and diversity conveyed through mission statement and web-based discourse (including images) appeared to both include and exclude certain social groups (largely constituted around non-Western culture, English language, and British/American nationality). The interplay amongst three different value systems (Pasternak 1998) seemed to undergird this dynamic: i.e., informal international, formal education, and home (i.e., parents) value systems. Pasternak (1998) considers the implications of these interdependent value systems to include and/or exclude on the three main groups typically found within international school communities:

1. Domestic international community – i.e., nationally based and "influenced by trade, economic and media values of internationalism on one side and the formal education beliefs of national interest on the other" (254).

2. Osmotic international community – i.e., who have "migrated to another cultural setting and strive to find a balance between the carried values of their origins, the formal beliefs of the host country and the internationalism of a modern lifestyle" (254).

3. Globally nomadic international community – i.e., who have lived outside of their passport country during their pre-adult years and, therefore, have no "fixed" home.

Pasternak (1998) asserts that whilst each group has experienced and brings with it some degree of internationalism, each will respond differently to the interplay amongst the internal, institutional ideology, as expressed and practised in a school's mission, ethos, culture, and structures; the political climate (e.g., power base of school -- independent, UN, European, national); and the wider environmental factors (e.g., local culture, language pluralism of local society). This was borne out empirically in my critical discourse analysis of the EARCOS, FOBISSEA, and NESA mission statements and web-based discourses. For example, there appeared to be greater congruence amongst the three value systems for the "globally nomadic" and "osmotic international" communities than for the "domestic international" community: in other words, whereas the informal international, formal education, and home value system interplay seemed more incompatible for the local, host-country individuals and social groups, it appeared more congruent for expatriates, especially those of Western European or Anglo-

American heritage. Picking up Pasternak's contention, this CDA-derived finding arguably maps on to the experiences of this study's student clusters to emerge, as detailed in Chapters 6 (Cluster I – i.e. "globally nomadic international"), 7 (Cluster II – i.e. "domestic international"), and 8 (Cluster III – i.e. "osmotic international"). In contrast to Pasternak's categories, however, the descriptively-analytic geographical labels used to identify and characterise the three student clusters to emerge in this study were assigned, as explained in Chapter 4, to reflect each group's distinctive attitudinal response patterns, and remain within the 'cosmopolitan' semantic field that is at the heart of my study's conceptual framework.

Allan (2002: 77-78) reframes these value systems tensions as "inter-cultural," and considers their implications within the international school, which he describes as:

> *areas where different cultures operate within the same environment, where there is often a dominant cultural ethos, both amongst the faculty and the students, and where the culture of the host country can impinge on the school culture to varying degrees and in various ways, producing a school culture with individual and specific characteristics. Into this cultural space will come students of different cultural backgrounds and academic histories, bringing with them the experiences, attitudes, expectations and preconceptions which constitute their own individual cultural characteristics. They will encounter the characteristics of the school culture, creating what could be described as 'cultural borderlands', where the students' experience of the school will take place.*

The five overlapping environments that Allan identifies (i.e., host country, school, majority student culture, other student cultures, own culture) help account for why each of Pasternak's three sub-groups arguably perceive and experience differently the international school context. The varying degrees of dissonance and/or consonance each experiences will largely depend on whether the international school views itself and operates as an open rather than a closed system with respect to the host-country environment – i.e., whether it embraces or isolates itself from the surroundings (Cambridge 1998; Garton 2002; Schwindt 2003; Jackson 2005).

As Allan's case study shows, international school students might live the implications and effects of this (dis-) juncture through, for example: language matters (including the status of languages other than English, as well as their accompanying cultures, within the international school); the cultural values of dominant student nationalities; the cultural rules (e.g., behaviour, discipline) of the international school; the cultural style and content of the lessons; and the teaching styles and attitudes of the staff (Jackson 2005). As a result, the international

school's ethos and culture can act as a formative "frame that will define the situation and [students'] experiences" (Allan 2002: 79) of it.

Institutional belief systems and ideology are not, therefore, an abstraction but "part of the student's lived experience" (Giroux 1991: 250) of schooling. They are inscribed in the various relations of schooling, whether curricular, school structures, or teacher-student-parent relations; and get "constructed around coordinates of difference and power" (248) amongst individuals and social groups (Davidson 1992; 1996; Olsen 1997; Ryan 1997; 1999; Yon 2000). The outcome, as Cummins (1996: iii) puts it, is that "Culturally diverse students are disempowered educationally in very much the same way that their communities have been disempowered historically in their interactions with societal institutions." And though Cummins is referring to those who, because of race/ethnicity[1] (i.e., Hispanic, Black), nationality/citizenship (i.e., immigrant), and/or class (i.e., lower), are "disempowered educationally" and societally, his point remains instructive in my research context of international schooling, where "coordinates of difference and power" also shape cultural dynamics amongst individuals and groups to produce differently lived schooling realities for different students.

Not surprisingly, Allan (2002: 80) finds that "the border crossings among student cultures and the [international] school culture seem to be a minefield where some students appear to have a map, while others do not." His metaphor paints a starkly negative image: whereas some social groups can avoid and navigate safely the international school's social-cultural landscape, others might not – and detonate the emanating trip wires. Similarly, Hill (2006) distinguishes between three international school student types (i.e., national, immigrant, internationally mobile), whose needs may (not) be met depending on where an international school is located on a continuum of national to international school culture and ethos given the cultural diversity of the student and staff body, curriculum offered, and external context in which the school is located. As a result, for some students a

> congruent transition occurs between home and school, thus encouraging
> academic [and social] success. This does not, however appear to be the same for
> all groups…. [and] schools often fail due to the cultural incompatibility between
> the culture of the school and the culture of the child. (Cushner 1990: 106)

---

[1] In using 'race/ethnicity' to socially define or locate people, I juxtapose the two terms into one to problematise how 'race' and 'ethnicity' together "contribute to the social, political, and cultural construction of individual cultural identities... that are historically, socially, and contextually based" (James 2006: 53).

Though Allan's (2000) typology of the seven areas of cultural dissonance in inter-cultural learning within the international school ranks home/school interaction last,[2] the dissonance and/or conflict engendered and tolerated therein will 'normalise' values and behaviours that shape all aspects of school practice and ethos.

Cushner's detailing of the contributing factors to the cultural incompatibility between home and school usefully develops Allan's argument. For example, Cushner considers the trend in most national systems in which a growing disconnect exists between student body diversity and teaching force race/ethnicity. This situation largely parallels the reality in the arena of international schooling (Poore, 2005), where "certain [student] populations in the schools are missing important role models due to the relative paucity of cultural and ethnic representation in the teaching force" (Cushner, 1990: 99). Despite the growing number of domestic/local international school students in Hong Kong, who now represent the student-body majority within its international schools (AmCham, 2007; EMB, 2006), the persistent premium placed on expatriate, Euro-Anglo-American teachers means that international schools educators may have had little experience with the culturally different, and may not be able to understand, learn from, and effectively teach those who are different (Pearce 1998; Jackson 2005). And though I disagree with Allan's (2002: 80) assertion that "it is not important how the cross-cultural mines got there",[3] I do agree that every student needs "a map… to help them with the inter-cultural learning needed to negotiate these borderlands between cultures."

"Encapsulated" vs. "inclusive" international school ethos

Sylvester's (1998) distinction between "encapsulated" and "inclusive" international schools is helpful in this regard. Specifically, schools with "encapsulated" missions and aims replicate a particular national culture that has been imported to another country. They are

> *limited by [their] own vision and [their] underlying fear of what lies 'outside' the boundaries of a known national tradition…. educating children to be productive citizens of their land of birth and loyalists of their ethnic perspective. (Sylvester 1998: 194)*

As he explains, such "encapsulated" international schools exhibit five characteristics that lead to the cultivation of a narrower worldview and a more exclusive version of internationalism –

---

[2] From most to least important, the other areas of cultural dissonance in international schools that Allan (2000) identifies include: peer group interaction, individual student factors, teacher/student interaction, academic curriculum, institutional school factors, and host culture.

[3] 'Minesweeping' is necessary to respond to a "terrain of learning [that is] inextricably linked to the shifting parameters of place, identity, history, and power" (Giroux 1991); and this can only come from identifying and understanding the "cross-cultural mines."

i.e., limited diversity of parent/student cultures; teaching (teachers) limited to culture-specific pedagogy; school tends to manage the multi-cultural experience; curriculum is narrowly targeted; and the value system is a product of an imported school culture. These "encapsulated" schools with "cellophane[d] walls" (Leach 1969: 9) remain insulated from the host-country and cast themselves as a "lifeline for the[ir] expatriate community" (Langford 1998: 38) – as potentially the "only stable environment" (Akram 1995) for their transplanted foreign nationals. In the process, they uphold ethno-nationality as the marker of greatest import and the primary mode of experiencing school life; and promote "long distance nationalism" (Castles 2004) as an exclusionary response to the community beyond the school gates.

Sylvester contrasts such international schools' "encapsulated" cultural and structural characteristics to "inclusive" international schools, which have at their core the five "universals of international education" that Hayden and Thompson (1996) identify – i.e., deep and utilized diversity of student and parent cultures; teachers as exemplars of world-minded views; school gives students opportunities to explore diversity; a balanced formal curriculum; and a management regime consistent with institutional philosophy. In such "inclusive" international schools, "nationality does not necessarily define a person" (Willis 1992); instead, language, personality, values, and shared interests do. In his ethnographic study of what could be deemed an "inclusive" international school in Japan, for example, Willis (1992) found that "many students made statements during the research regarding the relative unimportance of nationality in friendships at CA. Some even seemed offended at such a question."

That many pursue "encapsulated" rather than "inclusive" missions, a "unilateral" rather than a "multilateral" internationalism (Leach 1969), is why international schools "have a wide range of rationales for their existence" (Haywood 2002). These "rationales" translate into institutional belief systems and ideologies that get conveyed and interpreted to construct individual, group, and institutional identities. These institutional values and priorities guide the school's decision-making and contribute to its ethos, culture, and structures. In turn, this shapes students' diversely lived experiences of, and engagement within, the international school. Whether (and what) students ultimately feel included or excluded as they negotiate the array of school-level forces and factors will thus depend on what "map" they have to follow when border-crossing the overlapping contexts of schooling; hence the need for a cosmopolitan turn, which is about developing self-understanding to/for "care of the self"

(Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987). In particular, the limits of "encapsulated" school missions and aims are evident when their students may very well locate their sense of 'home', in terms of membership, belonging, and meaning, outside their transplanted international school's nation-state (Walker 1998).

In this study context, where 'local' Hong Kong-Chinese students predominate in Hong Kong's international schools, the majority of which are national schools abroad that offer a transplanted national curriculum, the question of (national) belonging is a complex one – especially if, as some contend, after "150 years of colonial rule [international schooling] was actually just mono-cultural Western national education" (Chan 2004). If indeed a nation's educational aims are a reflection of its cultural values (Banks 1997; Beyer and Apple 1998; Moon and Murphy 1999), then to what extent can such "encapsulated" international schools, which cultivate transplanted Euro-American-centric knowledge, attitudes, and skills and promote "long-distance nationalism" (Castles 2004), be meeting the needs of diverse international school students, in general, let alone of their 'local' Hong Kong-Chinese majority, in particular? As Hong Kong international schools are located in a predominantly Chinese society, which determines the norms, values, and accepted social practices for the majority of the population, to what extent can international schools be a dominant cultural agent for the local student majority who attend them?

Consequently, the situational literature is useful to my study because it treats the broader contextual forces that shape students' schooling experiences. Although most of it focuses on formal curricular, as well as programmatic, staffing, and other managerial matters, some of the meso/institutional-level literature does begin to consider students' lived realities of schooling (Willis 1985; 1992; 1992; Allan 2002; Gunesch 2002; Heyward 2002; Westrick 2002; Alviar-Martin 2008; Grimshaw and Sears 2008). In particular, the conceptual literature next reviewed takes up these promising threads by tracing the merits and limitations to the research problem of multi- and inter-culturalism, two recurring concepts in the international (schools) education discourse. Finally, I make a case for why a cosmopolitan turn helps to understand better international school learners and their different experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Conceptual literature: On the limits of multi-/inter-cultural education and the logic of cosmopolitanism to understanding and achieving student engagement

Multi-cultural education

Multi-cultural education is an evolving concept with extensive roots that reach into the international (schools) education literature (e.g. Pasternak 1998; Thompson 1998; Ainger 2004; Haywood 2007; Marshall 2007). Its beginnings in the United States can be traced to the rise of nativism in the early 1900s (Banks 2002), following massive immigration from southern, central, and eastern Europe; in the United Kingdom, greater ethnic diversity mid-century, following post-war immigration, similarly challenged the dominant Anglo-European ideology and knowledge that undergirded its institutions to privilege particular groups of people and marginalise others (Modgil, Verma et al. 1986; Tomlinson-Clarke 2001). Notwithstanding the diverse conceptions (Goldberg 1994; Parekh 2000) and typologies (Gibson 1984; Sleeter and Grant 1993) of multi-cultural education, which stem from the different concepts of culture that underlie different multi-cultural models (Garcia-Castano and Pulido-Moyano 1997; Boyle-Baise 1999), Davidman and Davidman(1997) identify five characteristics of a comprehensive multi-cultural education: cultural pluralism, education equity, reduction of racism, sexism, and other –isms, freedom, and social justice.

Against this backdrop, Banks (1997) presents "multicultural education" as an idea (i.e., to create equal educational opportunities for all students), an educational reform movement, and a process that recognises a shared humanity, challenges cultural stereotype, and honours diversity. It takes a children-as-different rather than children-as-deficient view, incorporates multiple perspectives in curriculum to reflect the diverse cultures and groups within society, and emphasises the knowledge construction process (Tatum 1997; Fullinwider 2001; Hutchison 2006). So conceptualised, multi-cultural education can be seen in the goals of internationalist education (Cambridge and Thompson 2004; Snowball 2007). Realising the aims of multi-cultural education in practice, for Banks (1993), requires attending to five inter-related components: content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure.

Given the contours of international schooling mapped out in the previous section, it is safe to say that most international schools will address Banks' first dimension by including examples and information in their curricula to illustrate the cultural diversity of human societies and

teach about other cultures. A necessary but not sufficient component, this content-oriented approach tends to be limited to static and stereotypical images of cultures and cultural differences; it fails to get at the knowledge, values, norms of behaviour, and attitudes that are "culture." Such content is, moreover, unlikely to produce a responsive multi-cultural curriculum if it runs contra to the school's "hidden curriculum" (Portelli 1993; Skelton 1997; Wren 1999) or "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998) ethos and practices.

Drawing on pre-existing generalisations, the view and understanding of culture promulgated through such a superficial multi-cultural education will be "wedded to a more restricted agenda, one that hardly ever escapes the confines of race and ethnicity to exploit the 'civilizational' dimensions of culture" (Fullinwider 2001: 339). Emphasising observable and tangible surface markers, caricatured as the 3Ds (dance, dress, and diet), 3Ss (sari, samosas, and steel bands), or 4Fs (fashion, food, flags, and festivals) of multi-culturalism (Donald and Rattansi 1992; Schugurensky 2005), this content-oriented approach will exoticise and perpetuate tokenistic understandings of different cultural knowledge. Such "superficial pluralism" (Kalantzis and Cope 1999) and

> *'commodification' or 'Disneyfication' of culture… [reduces] a complex culture to a few 'safe' items that can easily be understood and 'consumed' by non-members, without really understanding the depths of a culture's beliefs, hopes, loyalties, fears, and identities. (Kymlicka 2003: 163)*

It will not take into account the everyday experiences of students and families (Moll and Gonzalez 1997; Tatum 1997; Nieto 1999; Shields 1999), and instead promote paternalistic attitudes towards difference (e.g., by reinforcing boundaries based on narrow conceptions of cultural heritage) that are unlikely to heighten learners' agency to foster equality and address the unequal power relations that may be creating these dynamics in the first place.

(Further) left-liberatory ideologies, policies, and practices, such as "pedagogies of positionality" (Maher 1999) and "critical multicultural education" (May 1999; Nieto 1999; Cummins 2001), strive to identify and resist forms of cultural exclusion and oppression. These name and examine how the complex dynamics of identity, difference, and inequality interplay; situate cultural, linguistic, and other "differences within the wider nexus of power relations of which they form a part" (Kalantzis and Cope 1999: 32); and consider their influence on the lived experiences of groups and subject positions of individuals. Though neither foregrounds "race-centred analysis" (Dei 1996), as does Critical Race Theory (Tate 1997; Gillborn 2006), all three take a critical-relativist approach to challenge "the normative

notions of *sameness* and *difference*… question mainstream conceptions of *equality* and *equal education*" (Lei and Grant 2001: 228-229), and seek to reconfigure the asymmetrical relations of power and privilege. The common strands of these social justice-driven and identity-based ideologies are evident in Gorski and Covert's (1996/2000) definition of "multicultural education":

> *[A] progressive approach for transforming education that holistically critiques and addresses current shortcomings, failings, and discriminatory practices in education. It is grounded in ideals of social justice, education equity, and a dedication to facilitating educational experiences in which all students reach their full potential as learners and as socially aware and active beings, locally, nationally, and globally.*

So conceptualised and operationalised, multi-cultural education has much to offer international (schools) education for today's increasingly interdependent realities.

However, experience and research (Heyward 2002; Allan 2003; Jabal 2003) would suggest that it is the weaker version of superficial multi-cultural content inclusion that is found within international schools. In the context of "encapsulated" international schools (Sylvester 1998), in particular, which operate with "cellophane walls" (Leach 1969: 9) and pursue "pragmatic" rather than "visionary" ideals (Haywood 2002) – and arguably characterise the majority of international schools world-wide (Matthews 1989; 1989; Pearce 1998; Pearce 2004/2003) – you will likely only end up with an:

> *exaggerated affirmation of the home culture, of its symbols and values…. National days, sports, festivals, pastimes and causes take on an exaggerated significance, creating the common phenomenon of the American or Australian abroad who becomes 'more' American or Australian than his or her family and friends 'back home'. (Heyward 2002: 27)*

From this comes a weaker version of multi-cultural education that promotes fixed and exclusive, rather than emergent and inclusive, cultural-national identities. The resultant 'multi-' (mono?) culturalism will likely be limited to the 3Ds, 3Ss, and 4Fs of difference.

Yet perhaps the main shortcoming of such multi-cultural ideology and educational practice arguably found in the "encapsulated" international schools majority is that their gaze will end up being focused outwards on the culturally different 'Others' rather than inwards onto the 'Self.' The 3D, 3S, and 4F approach to and treatment of multi-cultural matters will be limited to the external superficialities and characteristics of exoticised Others rather than to self-examining and -developing insightful understanding of the 'Self's' own prejudices and biases. This is problematic given that these lenses, which stem from and constitute the

'Self's' own experiences and identities, are through what assumptions about and relationships with others get refracted and enacted.

Consequently, the limited cultural awareness or understanding of cultural differences generated from such a superficial multi-cultural education does little to encourage the personal process of self-examination and self-development needed to engage questions of prejudice, bias, and worldview – let alone to consider their implications for the interplay between 'Self' and 'Others' in interpersonal and institutional contexts. It misses the educative thrust of multi-culturalism, which begins with personal experience set within a specific socio-political context; links it to the cultural (i.e., group identity); and then brings it back to the individual, who is stirred into action to establish and maintain an equitable and just world. Such multi-cultural education affirms cultural diversity based on forms of difference that are socially constructed, faces these differences and resultant conflicts, examines them, and embraces the multiple ways of expressing what it means to be human (Sleeter 2001). It educates for "multicultural literacy" (Banks 2003), i.e., to read the word and the world by questioning assumptions (Freire and Macedo 1987), and encourages students to become change agents for justice and social change (Freire 1998; Hebert 2001).

At its worst, the superficial multi-cultural education that prevails in "encapsulated" international schools only ends up perpetuating the colonialist (and racist) status quo. What gets passed off as multi-cultural education – unlike the stronger version espoused by Banks, Gorski and Covert, and others that take up matters of identity, culture, and oppression – fails to cultivate the forms of reflexive and globally-oriented subjectivities and competencies needed for the 21st century's culturally diverse and interdependent realities. How, then, might the prefixal shift from 'multi-' to 'inter-' cultural help redress this problematique?

Inter-cultural education

As shown above, the prefix 'multi' connotes 'many' cultures co-existing side-by-side. In contrast, 'inter' implies interaction amongst cultures. Prefixally, 'multi-'cultural evokes a *juxtapositioning* and/or co-presence of many cultures, whereas 'inter-' cultural emphasises instead *links* amongst and an *integration* of diverse cultures. This makes an inter-cultural position inherently comparativist and integrationist. By way of introduction to this next section, I draw on this distinction to explore how and why an inter-cultural ideology may help to redress concerns with the weaker version of multi-cultural education arguably found in the majority of "encapsulated" international schools as discussed in the previous section – i.e.,

superficial inclusion of multi-cultural content; treatment of cultural differences in Others rather than the interrogation of how we learn to see ourselves in relation to the world; and tendency to privilege narrow cultural capital that "perpetuates normative national, cultural, and ethnic identities" (Matthews and Sidhu 2005: 49).

Developing inter-cultural habits, beliefs, and virtues goes beyond recognising and celebrating reified and essentialised markers of cultural difference. They come instead from being able to read, appreciate, and adjust to the varying norms, values, and practices that characterise different cultures' semiotic "web of meanings" (Geertz 1973). Despite the 164 different (though closely-related) definitions of "culture" to emerge from Kroeber and Kluckhohn's 1952 study of the anthropological and sociological literature (Firth 2000), finding a way to understand and engage "culture" meaningfully, both personally and communally, is paramount given the central role of culture in a modern world "in which nationalism, religion and inter-ethnic hostility have been far more important than internationalism and secularism" (Worsley 1990: 92). For this reason, Coulby (2006: 52) notes

> *it is the boldness of the aspiration to understand more than one culture and how they*
> *mutually inter-relate… that might characterize intercultural education at all levels.*
> *Certainly, this will involve a recognition of the difficulty, even impossibility, of the*
> *enterprise, but it will also assert the necessity of the attempt….*

In synthesising Kroeber and Kluckhohn's original study findings, Firth (2000) identifies five ways in which an inter-cultural person would understand and engage with culture: i.e., 1) as learned behaviour, values, knowledge, and perceptions; 2) as knowledge that transcends the individual; 3) the way of life of a people; 4) as a process and product of history (i.e., it changes with time); and 5) as ordered and organised in certain ways. An inter-cultural approach thus appreciates human diversity, seeks both to experience and to be enriched through inter-group contact and dialogue, and is able to work through the feelings of awkwardness and confusion that may ensue from inter-cultural relations with diverse Others.

In contrast to multi-cultural education, which overemphasises *inter-group* cultural differences and enhances stereotypes (if not prejudice and discrimination) to the detriment of *intra-group* and *inter-individual* differences, "intercultural reasoning… emphasizes the processes and interactions which unite and define the individuals and the groups in relation to each other" (Abdallah-Pretceille 2006: 476). In particular, the "questioning of one's identity in relation to others is an integral part of the intercultural approach. The work of analysis and of acquiring knowledge applies to others as much as to oneself" (476-77). In this way, inter-

cultural education starts by understanding how one's own roots, connections, traditions, and values shape one's own worldview and relationships with others.

At the same time, *personal* inter-culturalism goes beyond

> *pragmatic necessities given the reality of global interdependence and inter-ethnic mixing... [to be] intrinsically valuable. It enriches our lives to be able to have positive interactions with the members of other cultures: it expands our horizons, provides new perspectives, and teaches us to reflect more critically on our own inherited traditions. It is, in short, an important part of self-development. (Kymlicka 2003: 158)*

Kymlicka's observation makes inter-culturality more than a skill to be learnt and deployed. He evokes its three intertwined dimensions (Chen 1997) – intercultural *sensitivity* (i.e., affective domain), *competence* (i.e., behavioural domain), and *awareness* (i.e., cognitive domain) – to make inter-culturalism both pragmatically and intrinsically valuable to individual self-development and social understanding of the dynamics of human, cross-cultural relations. Yet Kymlicka's treatment of multi-cultural states and inter-cultural citizens also exposes their limits in terms of "two solitudes" – i.e., two cultures (or nations) living within the same state that co-exist alongside each other, but have little interaction and are generally uninterested in learning about each other's culture – that is semantically inherent in the prefix 'multi' rather than 'inter.' Given their narrow introspection, self-examination, and personal identity understanding and development, such "two-solitudes" individuals are clearly not inter-cultural in the way Abdallah-Pretceille, Firth, Coulby, and Cushner operationalise the term.

In contrast, Kymlicka (2003: 157) defines the stronger version of an "intercultural citizen" as

> *someone who not only supports the principles of a multicultural state, but also exhibits a range of more positive personal attitudes towards diversity. In particular, it is someone who is curious rather than fearful about other peoples and cultures; someone who is open to learning about other ways of life, and willing to consider how issues look from other people's point of view, rather than assuming that their inherited way of life or perspective is superior; someone who feels comfortable interacting with people from other backgrounds, and so on.*

The perspectivism of their personal inter-culturalism makes the "intercultural citizen" pursue meaningful inter-group interactions and knowledge to further their own inter-cultural growth.

Continuing, Kymlicka distinguishes between citizens who pursue "global" (i.e., who focus on distant/world cultures) rather than "local" (i.e., focus on neighbouring groups) inter-culturalism – who

may believe deeply in the value of learning about other peoples and cultures, and hence may seek to develop and exercise their intercultural skills, yet nonetheless remain quite ignorant and indifferent to their local/neighboring cultures. They may be genuinely intercultural, and may be genuinely open and curious about others, but they may choose to train their curiosity on more distant or more powerful language and cultures than on the languages and cultures of their local co-citizens. (Kymlicka 2003: 159)

This failure to connect meaningfully with the "local" community has been explored in a small sub-set of the international schools literature (Allen 2000; Pearce 2001; Garton 2002; Pearce 2004/2003; Jackson 2005). It is memorably captured in Leach's (1969) "cellophane walls" metaphor, which insulate the international school from the local community and prevent meaningful integration – i.e., mutual learning and forging of inter-community relations in a context of equality and participation. These tendencies no doubt get reinforced when the "cellophane walls" are combined with the "encapsulated" missions, goals, and practices of nationally transplanted international schools. As Heyward (2002: 25-26) puts it, the

irony is that international schools often work to shelter students from that [cross-cultural] engagement. The greatest cultural resource for international schools… is not their own internal multicultural mix of dislocated students and faculty, although this too is valuable, but rather the deep, rich, dynamic and diverse cultures of their host environment. The greater the distance that international schools maintain from host cultures, however, the less likely it is that students will engage with them. Paradoxically, the path to intercultural literacy is likely to lie not primarily in the international world of the expatriate community, but in the traditional, deeply rooted cultures outside the expatriate compound.

Consequently, the "naïve monoculturalism" that gives rise to Kymlicka's "two solitudes" picture of separate multi-cultural spaces can be contrasted to the "informed and integrated pluralism" that characterises contexts in which individuals with high-level inter-cultural skills and knowledge strive to create shared spaces of inter-cultural dialogue and encounters; and where "interrelated learning of understandings, competencies, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities" (Heyward, 2002: 15) can take place. The former's multi-cultural separateness contrasts the latter's inter-cultural integratedness.

You would expect such inter-cultural development to inform practice in the minority of "ideology-driven" (Matthews 1988) international schools, such as the International Schools Geneva, United Nations International School (Ecolint 2008), and the United World Colleges (Peterson 2003), which aim to further humanistic values of international understanding and cooperation. Their pursuit of a "visionary ideal" lends itself quite naturally to the cultivation of experiences that will "help to promote a world view based on cross-cultural understanding, leading towards a holistic view of world affairs and ultimately towards more peaceful

collaboration between people and nations" (Haywood 2002: 171). Yet as Allan (2002) notes, inter-cultural learning is typically "left to chance" in international schools, out of a belief that it will occur in "the exposure students receive to the 'international environment' of the host culture and the different national cultures of students and teachers" – Poore (2005), Van Oord (2008), and Jackson (2005) provide empirical grist to Allan's mill for why contact alone does not automatically lead to positive inter-group/-cultural encounters.

Even so, this "visionary ideal" undergirds the idealistic imperatives of the International Baccalaureate Organisation's three programmes (Hill 2007). For example, the first official IBO mission statement in 1996 asserts the "ideals of international understanding and responsible citizenship" include being "conscious of the shared humanity… while respecting the variety of cultures and attitudes." For the IBO, cultural matters matter. Yet as shown above, these imperatives could be operationalised and result in Kymlicka's "two solitudes" tension – i.e., in the multi-cultural coexistence of diversity but not in its inter-cultural integration. This would fall short of the IBO's educational ideals of cultivating "international understanding and responsible citizenship." The mission statement's 2002 iteration seems to have recognised and redressed this possibility for multi-cultural tolerance but not inter-cultural mutuality: "The International Baccalaureate Organization aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help *to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect…*" (Hill 2007: 33, Emphasis added). It emphasises the values of "intercultural understanding and respect"; centres on the concept and practice of inter-culturality; and appears to mitigate, through its promotion and pursuit of "intercultural… respect," the prospect of multi-cultural tolerance à la two solitudes.

This idealistic goal is strengthened in the preamble to the IBO's current mission statement, which highlights how the organisation "promote[s] intercultural understanding and respect, not as an alternative to a sense of cultural and national identity, but as an essential part of life in the 21st century" (IBO 2008). Much as being and becoming inter-cultural are "an essential part" of living today, the IBO also makes clear that this is not to come at the expense of developing and valuing specific regional, national, and/or ethnic identities. This imperative is consistent with what Hahn (2003: iv) concluded after conducting critical discourse analyses of 44 IBO documents dating from 1968 to 2000 – i.e., its version of international education "hinge[s] upon the transcendence of the nation." However, by emphasising "intercultural" in its revised mission statement, it would appear that the IBO is after developing stronger "intercultural citizens" (Kymlicka, 2003: 157), who would want to

engage and integrate diversity and difference and not simply tolerate and co-exist with difference(s) (Walker 2001; Heyward 2002; Hill 2006).

By way of concluding this section, then, it should be clear how and why inter-cultural education may better help to reframe international schooling for globally-oriented citizenship and subjectivities than a multi-cultural education framework. This is largely because its personal inter-culturalism is meant to be a "releasing experience for each of the [individuals and] cultures involved, and enables us to become aware of the limits that are inherent to our own cultures" (Coll 2001: 13) and world-views, in particular. In this regard, the distinction Kim (1994) makes between "multicultural identity" (i.e., who we are) and "intercultural identity" (i.e., whom we may yet become) is both analytically and conceptually useful. Whereas the former refers to the "psychological linkage between a person and a specific biological and/or social community" (9), the latter "can be viewed as a linkage between a person and more than one such communities" (9). Kim explains how "intercultural identity"

> *includes a vital component of an emotional identification of oneself that is not limited to one's own social group but to other cultures as well, thereby projecting an outlook that is not locked into a parochial group interest but, instead, one in which one sees and identifies with others' perspectives. (9-10)*

And because

> *an individual's cultural identity evolves toward increasing interculturalness, that person's definition of the self and others becomes increasingly less restricted…. [and] enables the individual to broaden his/her orientation beyond any particular cultural identity and ultimately reach the level of humanity itself. (14)*

Kim (2005) subsequently renamed the distinction "multicultural self" (i.e., ascribed, assigned) and "intercultural personhood" (i.e., achieved, adopted) to reflect this developmental, dynamic, and increasingly individuated 'Self'-'Other' orientation – i.e., "It is a way of existence that transcends the perimeters of a particular cultural tradition, and one that is capable of embracing and incorporating seemingly divergent cultural elements into one's own unique worldview" (416). In this era of globalisation, it should be clear why cultivating a person-centred, reflexive, and responsive inter-culturality ought to be at the heart of an international (schools) education – and why inter-cultural, rather than multi-cultural, education might readily reorient international schooling imperatives in this regard.

Notwithstanding the many strengths of an inter-cultural position, and its emphasis on unity (i.e., the human condition) within diversity, there remains the uncomfortable possibility that a weaker inter-culturality, which tends towards 'parochial' viewpoints and favours "global"

(i.e., distant/world cultures) inter-culturalism, may lead to a "two solitudes" arrangement of parallel rather than integrated societies. And it is this uncomfortable status quo reality, marked by inter-group tolerance yet visible segregation along cultural lines, which is unlikely to change through either inter-cultural or multi-cultural education.

Consequently, at the heart of my concern with multi-cultural and inter-cultural education in practice is the common root "culture," which tends to label differences as derived from sociocultural background and self-evident (or 'given') rather than in the intersection of the cultures and experiences. As Van Oord (2008: 136) explains,

> *intergroup differences develop as people try to make sense of the world by forming their social identities. This is a profound shift in thinking, as it recognizes the fact that individuals can belong to more than one group at the same time. People will hold multiple allegiances, and will from time to time transfer from one group to another. While the cultural model assumes a fairly static culture-bound individual, the group perspective offers more flexibility and individual choice. Group membership… is amorphous, and changes under the influence of context, circumstances and, to some extent, preference.*

Amin Maalouf's (2000: 21) reasoned exemplification evokes the salience of within (rather than between)-group identities and the importance, more broadly, of considering identities in a fluid, relative way:

> *No doubt a Serb is different from a Croat, but every Serb is also different from other Serb, and every Croat is different from every other Croat. And if a Lebanese Christian is different from a Lebanese Muslim, I don't know any two Lebanese Christians who are identical, nor any two Muslims, any more than there are anywhere in the world two Frenchman, two Africans, two Arabs, or two Jews who are identical.*

This is because "different identities become active as the situation changes and as relevant stimuli for self-categorization change" (Stets and Burke 2000: 231). Hence the final section to my review of relevant conceptual literature takes up why cultivating cosmopolitan subjectivities may be the most generative way of building on the strengths of personal inter-culturalism to construct and equip every international school learner with the necessary "map" to negotiate both personal and institutional borderlands, as well as of understanding the subjective quality of their lived experiences of and engagement within the international school, in particular.

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitan tendencies can be seen in the IBO's language. The preamble to its 'IB learner profile,' the educational mission statement that describes IB learner attributes and underpins its Primary Years, Middle Years, and Diploma programmes (IBO 2002), states the "aim of all

IB programmes is to develop internationally-minded people who, recognising their *common humanity* and *shared guardianship of the planet*, help *to create a better and more peaceful world*" (IBO 2006: 5, Emphasis added). Its twin notions of "common humanity" and "shared guardianship of the planet" are wholly cosmopolitan, especially of its universalist doctrinal position (Hollinger 1998). Despite this apparent cosmopolitan transcendence of the nation-state's ethno-national/-cultural borders, the term "cosmopolitan" does not feature in the IBO's official discourse. Instead, "international" (the adjectival modifier used to qualify the organisation) and "international… education… awareness… sensitivity… understanding… and international-mindedness" are what recur throughout the IBO's curricular and policy documents of its Primary Years (IBO 2002; 2002), Middle Years (IBO 2002; 2002), and Diploma (IBO 2002; 2002; 2004) Programmes.

Should we, therefore, conclude that despite evoking cosmopolitan ideals, the term's conspicuous absence from the IBO's official discourse means that it is conflating cosmopolitan(ism) with international(ism)? What are the implications, theoretical and educational, of not distinguishing between 'cosmopolitan' and 'international'? And given the IBO's reach and influence within the arena of international schooling, how might this conflation contribute to the semantic slipperiness with respect to the aims and practices of international (schools) education, in general, as discussed in the situational literature review? These questions get taken up in the next section, which develops my study's conceptual literature review by considering the generative elements of cosmopolitanism. The contours reveal how and why the concept of cosmopolitanism can meaningfully inform our construction of international school students and understanding of their experiences and engagement within the international school, in particular.

Cosmopolitanism has a long history in the Social Sciences and Humanities as both a "multifaceted perspective" and an "ideal project" (Cheah 1998; Robbins 1998; Lu 2000; Appiah 2006; Benhabib 2006; Walkowitz 2006; Fine 2007). In the West, Fine and Cohen (2002) distinguish its "four moments" as: 1) the ancient world of Greco-Roman antiquity (i.e., Zeno's moment); 2) continental Europe's enlightenment (i.e., Kant's moment); 3) post-totalitarian thought in the middle of the twentieth century (i.e., Arendt's moment); and 4) late North American thought (i.e., Nussbaum's moment). Though the four moments share a common foundation in their cosmopolitan humanism and planetary ethos, each can be distinguished through its use and understanding of cosmopolitanism as "a placeless meeting of minds [first]… perpetual peace [second]… justice [third]… and an answer to social

fragmentation, extreme nationalism or ethnic hostility [fourth]" (Fine and Cohen 2002: 161), respectively.

Against this backdrop, Roudometof (2005) pulls out two cosmopolitan threads that help organise the continuing review of conceptual literature to my study: i.e., cosmopolitanism as an attitude (strand one) and cosmopolitanism as an ethical standpoint (strand two). These two threads make it possible to examine a key dualism in the cosmopolitan literature: i.e., between universalist and particularist cosmopolitanism. From this treatment of cosmopolitan ideas/ideals and practices emerges several characteristics that, I contend, are both normatively desirable and educationally generative to better understand the forces and factors within international schools that shape student experiences therein. In particular, Tuan's (1996) paradoxical notion of "cosmopolitan hearth" is taken up as the most applicable to my study because it: recasts schooling for self/identity formation and identificatory practices, meaning-making, and belonging, first (and skills development and information acquisition, second); does not encourage the privileging of one identity (e.g., national-cultural) over (an)other/s; and makes it possible for learners to express themselves within, as much as beyond local, cultural, and/or global identities.

Strand 1: Cosmopolitanism as an attitude

The first thread, cosmopolitanism as an attitude, is typically used to refer to people of privilege with a dilettantish appreciation of the exotic. Related descriptions include "mobile elites" (Featherstone 2002: 1) and "diasporic opportunists" (Matthews and Sidhu 2005: 53-54), who "claim to be a 'citizen of the world' by virtue of independent means, expensive tastes, and a globe-trotting lifestyle" (Robbins 1998: 248). This "cosmopolitanism of the global[ly] marketable" (Beng Huat 2004: 47), famously captured by Calhoun (2003) as "the class consciousness of frequent travellers," features "cosmocrats" who

> *attend business-school weddings around the world, fill up the business-class lounges at international airports, provide the officer ranks of most of the world's companies and international institutions, and, through their collective efforts, probably do more than anyone else to make the world seem smaller. (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2000, cited in Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 6-7)*

Theirs is a

> *bounded and elitist version of cosmopolitanism, marked by a specialised and – paradoxically – rather homogenous transnational culture, a limited interest in engaging 'the Other', and a rather restricted corridor of physical movement between defined spaces in global cities. (Monaci et al., 2001, cited in Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 7)*

This pejorative understanding and use of cosmopolitanism relates the attitude and norms of the wealthy, highly educated, and globe-trotting with those of the neo-liberal, global subject (Pinsky 1996; Brennan 2001; Gowan 2003) – and can arguably be seen to reflect international education's "globalist" rather than "internationalist" current (Cambridge 2002; Cambridge and Thompson 2004). Bauman (1998) contrasts these "tourists" to the forcefully displaced or transplanted non-elite "vagabonds" (i.e., immigrants, refugees), who have "no other bearable choice" (94) but to move to survive. Unlike the socio-economically affluent and intellectually elite cosmopolitans, who are disparaged as the

> *happily situated members of large, powerful nations, prosperous and mobile*
> *individuals, able to serve on UN commissions, who participate in symposia, who plan*
> *the fate of other peoples while flying around the world and staying in splendid hotels*
> *(Pinsky 1996: 87),*

"discrepant cosmopolitans" (Clifford 1998: 365) do not have "the privilege… [to] take a secure nation-state for granted" (Ignatieff 1995). This distinction underscores the different types of cosmopolitanism and reveals the variegated ways in which its experiential standpoints and ontological perspectives can differ.

On the other hand, a more positive view and use of cosmopolitanism as an attitude present it as "an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity" (Hannerz 1990: 239). This "consumer cosmopolitanism" (Hannerz 2004) is a kind of meaning management, "a matter of consumption, an acquired taste for music, food, fashion, art and literature from all parts of the world" (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002: 56). This cultural cosmopolitanism is about attitude and competence; the cultural cosmopolite both wants, and knows how, to negotiate global experiences. S/he has the interest, means, and "cultural competence" to seek, read, and appreciate culturally varied semiotic phenomena (e.g., cuisine, music, literature), which are "relish[ed]… for [their] own sake… where diversity, newness, and wider horizons are sought as being rewarding in themselves" (Hannerz 2004: 77). This more positive understanding of cosmopolitanism as an attitude and mode of practice reflects features of inter-culturalism discussed in the previous section (i.e., whose perspectives of social interactionism and social exchange focus on inter-cultural contacts, relations, and competencies) (Bleszynska 2008).

In short, cosmopolitanism as an attitude, cultural referent, and a sense of competence to cope with newness and uncertainty carries both pejorative and positive connotations. Its chief

characteristics of nomadic mobility and cultural adaptability, however, make this "consumer cosmopolitanism, a cosmopolitanism with a happy face" (Hannerz 2004: 71).

Strand 2: Cosmopolitanism as an ethical standpoint

The second understanding and use of cosmopolitanism derive from both a heightened "consciousness of the world as a single place" (Robertson 1992: 132) and a sense of belonging and commitment to our fellow human beings (Matthews and Sidhu 2005; Shah 2006). In this optic, "humanity as a whole constitutes a relevant identity group… [and] concrete moral and political obligations arise from this identification" (Furia 2005: 338). This cosmopolitanism as "moral globalisation" (Falk 2005) emphasises an ethically universalistic response "commensurate with the macrointerdependencies that affect us" (Mehta 2000: 623). Although "globality" (Robertson 1992), a sense of the world as one, may contribute to a strong sense of civic and humanitarian responsibility that can transcend national borders, for example, the mobilisation of entertainers for Ethiopian famine relief in 1984 (i.e., Band-Aid/Live Aid), as well as the work of the advocacy organisation DATA (Debt, Aid, Trade for Africa), the "arena of cosmopolitan engagement is not always in itself necessarily transnational" (Hannerz 2004: 71).

When it is, however, this issues-based cosmopolitan humanism can bring together global civil society to create transnational institutions (e.g., Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Oxfam). In explicitly pursuing ethical and humanistic goals beyond nation-state borders, a "new order of transnational political structures" (Griffiths and O'Callaghan 2002: 56) may then emerge that aligns with the goals of "cosmopolitan democracy" (Archibugi 2003; Eckersley 2007). In its most complete version, the project for cosmopolitan democracy operates at three interconnected levels (i.e., within states, between states, and at a world level) and relies on a meta-state layer of global governance that limits state sovereignty, and yet is not itself a state (Falk 1995; Held 1997; Archibugi 1998).

At the same time, though such cosmopolitan humanists may consider the state-centric structures of the international system to be inadequate in the face of current social, political, and environmental problems, their civic activism for humanity stems from a bottom-up, people-oriented cosmopolitan commitment to human betterment and meaningful community. The "strong cosmopolitan consciousness" (Beck 1998: 29-30) of these global subject-citizens places "globality at the heart of political imagination, action and organisation"; their transnational identity and solidarity are grounded in both issue-specific concerns and an

individual sense of belonging to the global community (Kymlicka 2002). One such example would be 'Schools without Borders,' a youth-run Canadian charity whose mission is "to develop lasting learning communities through innovative youth-led initiatives that facilitate youth engagement and responsible leadership" (SWB 2008); and which works in partnership with NGOs in Canada, Brazil, Kenya, Nepal, India, and Thailand to provide hands-on/project-based learning experiences for today's youth.

In short, the second view and use of cosmopolitanism as an ethical standpoint focuses on the interdependence of community, society and citizenship. It starts with "the idea that human beings can belong anywhere, humanity has shared predicaments and we find our community with others in exploring how these predicaments can be faced in common" (Fine 2007: x). This cosmopolitanism "with a worried face" (Hannerz 2004: 71) pursues the ideals of equality, compassion, democracy, and care (Papastephanou 2002) by attending to matters of identity, morality/ responsibilities, rights, and competence (Heater 2000). In striving to actualise its ethos of planetary citizenship, this cosmopolitan humanism "mediate[s] actions and ideals oriented both to the universal and the particular, the global and the local… [and] is capable of representing variously complex repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest" (Vertovec and Cohen 2002: 4).

Having traced cosmopolitanism's two **threads** (i.e., as an attitude and an ethical standpoint) and **faces** (i.e., happy/consumer and worried/political), I next examine the distinction between universalist and particularist (or rooted) cosmopolitanism, before settling on Yi-Fu Tuan's (1996) notion of "cosmopolitan hearth" as the most promising to my study. As I argue, Tuan's cosmopolitan praxis brings together these opposing doctrinal positions to sharpen our understanding of students' multilayered identities and to focus our attention on their different experiences of, and engagement within, the international school.

Universalist cosmopolitanism

At one end of the continuum sits cosmopolitanism with universalistic ideas/ideals and practices: "Feel human, act humanely" (Klitou 2005: 45). Such species-wide ethical universalism – "moral obligations know no borders" (Hollinger 1998: 229) – can be traced back to the Cynics' (e.g., Antisthenes, Diogenes) and Stoics' (e.g., Zeno, Hierocles) conception of a world citizen (Fine and Cohen 2002). Hollinger (1998) explains that this "old cosmopolitanism" also characterises its revival in the Enlightenment with Kant's project "Toward Perpetual Peace" (Kant 1795/1991), which "defended a politics based upon reason

rather than patriotism or group sentiment, a politics that was truly universal rather than communitarian" (Nussbaum 1997: 27).

Nussbaum (1994), who champions universalistic cosmopolitanism in her provocative and much-discussed essay on US education reform that appeared in the *Boston Review*, provides a generative perspective for my study:

> *The Stoics stress that to be a citizen of the world one does not need to give up local identifications, which can frequently be a source of great richness in life. They suggest that we think of ourselves not as devoid of local affiliations, but as surrounded by a series of concentric circles. The first one is drawn around the self; the next takes in one's immediate family; then follows the extended family; then, in order, one's neighbors or local group, one's fellow city-dwellers, one's fellow countrymen – and we can easily add to this list groupings based on ethnic, linguistic, historical, professional, gender and sexual identities. Outside all these circles is the largest one, that of humanity as a whole. (Nussbaum 1996: 9)*

Her main image, which centres the self within a series of concentric circles, both emphasises the "interdependence of all human beings and communities" whilst recognising the importance of local origins and group memberships – i.e., the "special affections [for] and identifications" with the groups closest to the self/centre. Yet her appeal to Hierocles and final imperative ("give the circle that defines our humanity a special attention and respect") underscore the Stoic cosmopolitan ideal that one's primary "allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings" (Nussbaum, 1996: 4). In this way, Nussbaum conveys a view of concentric circles with porous to semi-porous boundaries that must be transcended; she thus champions the classical cosmopolitan ideal expressed by Diogenes, "I am a citizen of the world" (Nussbaum 1996: 4).

Nussbaum takes up the apparent paradox between "the rootedness of emotion in local situations and a feeling of global responsibility" (McLemee 2001) in the essay's next section. Specifically, she acknowledges that

> *does not mean that one may not permissibly give one's own sphere a special degree of concern. Politics, like child care, will be poorly done if each thinks herself equally responsible for all, rather than giving the immediate surroundings special attention and care. To give one's own sphere special care is justifiable in universalist terms, and I think that this is its most compelling justification. To take one example, we do not really think that our own children are morally more important than other people's children, even though almost all of us who have children would give our own children far more love and care than we give other people's children. It is good for children, on the whole, that things should work out this way, and that is why our special care is good rather than selfish. (Nussbaum 1996: 13)*

Using an image of children and childcare, Nussbaum asserts that "special attention and care" ought to be given to those within "the immediate surroundings," and with whom we are more intimately connected. Yet she justifies these "special affections and identifications" by appealing to universalistic ethical values and norms. Her neo-Stoic rationality grounds our fundamental allegiance in what is human rather than to "particular loves" for family, "religious, ethnic, or racial communities, or even… country" (9).

In short, Nussbaum's universalistic cosmopolitanism emphasises "the ideal of a citizen whose *primary* loyalty is to human beings the world over, and whose national, local, and varied group loyalties are considered distinctly secondary" (1997: 9). Though she admits to "sympathiz[ing] with this sterner, more exigent [and abstract] version" of cosmopolitanism, which is "based upon reason rather than patriotism or group sentiment" and is "truly universal rather than communitarian" (1997: 27), she relents and appeals to a "more relaxed version" of cosmopolitanism that

> *allows a variety of different views about what our priorities should be but says that,*
> *however we order our varied loyalties, we should still be sure that we recognize the*
> *worth of human life wherever it occurs and see ourselves as bound by common*
> *human abilities and problems to people who lie at a great distance from us. (1997: 9)*

In sum, Nussbaum's humanist universalistic cosmopolitanism "endorses reflective distance from one's cultural affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity" (Anderson 1998: 267). Its two referents of import – i.e., the human condition, transcending cultures, space, and time; and the globe – see "a world full of equally valuable human persons, all of whom have a claim on our sense of moral obligations" (Stoddard and Cornwell 2003).

Particularist cosmopolitanism

At the other end of the continuum sits "particularist cosmopolitanism" (Rengger 2003). This version is "suspicious of universalism" because "it denies difference. To be sensitive to difference, to recognise the fluidity and hybridity of identity is to recognise our 'commonness' without requiring us to think that there are 'universal' norms of any kind" (326). Its particularist perspective resists "conflating cosmopolitanism with humanism," and guards against smoothing over the "different local human ways of being" (Hannerz 2004: 82). From its post-modernist foundation, "particularist cosmopolitanism" does not subscribe to the "natural commonality" (Papastephanou 2002) argument of universalist cosmopolitanism, in

which common human properties are seen to be more salient than humans' many and varied psycho-socially constructed differences.

This universalist-particularist interplay is generatively illustrated in the "dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, which accepts a multiplicity of roots and branches and which rests on the legitimacy of plural loyalties, of standing in many circles, but with common ground" (Cohen 1995: 233). Used by Ackerman (1994) to frame his deliberations on whether he was "a citizen of the world or a citizen of the United States" (517), it is the UK-born, Ghanaian-raised, and American-based philosopher Kwame Appiah who elevated to prominence the related oxymoron of "rooted cosmopolitanism" by making it central to his influential reply to Nussbaum (Appiah 1996), and the thesis of his subsequently developed global "ethics of identity" (Appiah 2005; 2006).

Specifically, Appiah (1998: 91) describes a "rooted cosmopolitan" as someone who is "attached to a home of his or her own, with its own particularities, but [also takes] pleasure from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different, people." Though Appiah consciously invokes and values the communitarian principle of specific group affiliation, he argues that the "rooted cosmopolitan" or "cosmopolitan patriot" can be simultaneously

> cosmopolitan – *celebrating the variety of human cultures;* rooted – *loyal to one local society (or a few) that you count as home;* liberal – *convinced of the value of the individual; and* patriotic – *celebrating the institutions of the state (or states) within which you live. (106; Emphasis added)*

His adjectival modifier emphasises the contextual-specificity of cosmopolitanism – i.e., "rooted" in a specific spatial, temporal, social, and political 'location'. In drawing attention to cosmopolitanism's situatedness, Appiah affirms both the partiality of related categorical identities (e.g., nationality) and the moral and emotional influence of significant communities (e.g., family, race/ethnic) on who we are. Such psychosocial group memberships are an important foundation to our identities and filter of our perspectives. In this way, Appiah takes "seriously… the lives people have made for themselves, with the communities that help lend significance to those lives" (2005: 222-223).

At the same time, Appiah asserts that responding constructively to human diversity (e.g., through toleration and openness) entails articulating these very ethno-cultural (e.g., nationalist) particularisms. His juxtapositioning of "cosmopolitan patriotism" points to how one can be both patriotic (i.e., have roots) and cosmopolitan (i.e., have routes), a dialectic that

is memorably captured in Gertrude Stein's rhetorical reply (Appiah 2005: 297), "What good are roots if you can't take them with you?" Appiah (2005: 213) thus encourages us to cultivate both a "responsible solidarity with all humanity… [and an] intense engage[ment] with many narrower, overlapping communities," a dynamic identificatory process that entails "the interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism" (Robertson 1997: 72). Appiah's flexible roots-routes metaphor reframes Nussbaum's cosmopolitan universalism ("I am a human being") by integrating communitarianism and individualism ("I am an *individual* human being"); in this way, we can still be "unique and individual leaves, but now only on the same tree" (Klitou 2005: 53).

In short, the "new cosmopolitanism" that Appiah and others promote and pursue "take[s] a realistic account of the ethnos as well as of the species, and… assess[es] existing and potential solidarities according to their capacity as viable instruments of democratic-egalitarian values" (Hollinger 1998: 230). In contrast to the "old cosmopolitanism" of the Cynics, Stoics, and the Enlightenment, which may be pluralist but remains "oriented to the pre-existing group, and is likely to ascribe to each individual a primary identity within a single community of descent" (231), the "new" and post-modern incarnation "tempers a respect for difference with a respect of actual human beings" (Appiah 2006: 113). It is universally humanistic in its valuing of "the variety of human forms of social and cultural life" and recognition that everybody matters, without "a deadening urge to uniformity" (Appiah 1998: 94). As Appiah illustrates,

> *The humanist requires us to put our differences aside; the cosmopolitan insists that sometimes it is the differences we bring to the table that make it rewarding to interact at all. That is, of course, to concede that what we share can be important, too, though the cosmopolitan will remind us that what we share with others is not always an ethnonational culture; sometimes it will just be that you and I – a Peruvian and a Slovak – both like to fish, or have read and admired Goethe in translation, or responded with the same sense of wonder to a postcard of the Parthenon, or believe, as lawyers with very different trainings, in the ideal of the rule of law. (1998: 111).*

Cosmopolitan hearth

Yi-Fu Tuan (1996) contributes a cosmopolite's viewpoint from China that draws and Confucian heritage and brings together the twin notions of "cosmos" (i.e., world, civilisation, humankind) and "hearth" (i.e., home, kinfolk, neighbourhood) into "cosmopolitan hearth." In contrast to Cohen, Ackerman, Appiah, and other particularist cosmopolites, whose gloss emphasise the nominal premodifier ("rooted") rather than the noun ("cosmopolitanism"),

Tuan uses "cosmopolitan" adjectivally to modify "hearth," his phrase's noun and, arguably, more important grammatical unit.

For Tuan, the "hearth" embodies the

> *binding powers of culture…. the custom or habit that, stamped on habitat, produces a homeplace. If it is difficult to appraise habitat with the fresh and eager eyes of a visitor, it is more difficult to appraise – or even be aware of – habits, especially those that we repeat daily. I think here not only of such larger acts as getting out of bed, going to the bathroom, preparing and eating breakfast, and so on through the day, but also the infinite number of mini acts within them, such as how one squeezes the toothpaste tube, eats peas, pats the dog, smells the evening air. (183-84)*

Tuan stresses how "culture sets limits, and a particular culture sets a particular set of limits…. to experience" (141) that is acquired, enacted, and/or resisted. As a result, "we are all more or less hearth-bound…. [and must] learn to appreciate intelligently our culture and landscape" (183). To distinguish the "cosmopolitan hearth" from a traditional hearth, with its fixed ties, particularised prejudices, and narrow-minded boundaries, Tuan invokes the Confucian view of the human person. It emphasises the ideals of self-examination/-command -- i.e., "a lifelong pursuit of heartedness, a learning for the sake of the self.... the unlimited potential of each person for development through education.... the perfectibility of each person" (Hayhoe 2008: 26-27) -- and involvement in society, principles that also characterise Socrates' "examined life" and Aristotle's notion of citizenship (Nussbaum 1997).

In particular, Tuan uses two metaphors to express the enabling and disabling characteristics and influence of community and culture (i.e., hearth) on an individual's worldview. On the one hand, "culture as house" "emphasizes its confining and protective roles…. to define and delimit, to protect and nurture by means of confinement…. walls that attempt to keep all dangers out lock people in, and houses that are effective shelters risk being prisons" (142). Invoking Janus-like connotations, this first metaphor makes culture physical, concrete, as a place we inhabit and that, as a result, shapes us both because of what happens inside the house and what is kept out of it. On the other hand, Tuan's second metaphor of "culture as spectacles"

> *emphasizes its focusing and sharpening powers. We need culture as astigmatic people need corrective lenses. Without them, people with poor eyesight find themselves in a fuzzy and disorienting world, in which they cannot operate without any confidence. Unfortunately, all spectacles are tinted…. Each human group has it own spectacles with their own characteristic tint. Different groups recognize the same features in the landscape, but cannot agree on their color…. the tinted world they know seems not so much the best as the only real one. (142-43)*

In extending his metaphor, Tuan invokes both the literal (i.e., to correct defective vision) and figurative signification of spectacles: they mediate and refract the 'real' world from the mental world within. Whilst spectacles can both focus and sharpen images, they do so by magnifying or minifying; they ultimately, then, distort how we come to perceive, experience, and understand reality. Moreover, these tinted/cultured spectacles of the mind cannot be readily taken off or exchanged, because "removing those [spectacles] one has always had… immediately produces sensations of dizziness and disorientation" (143). Tuan's second metaphor thus takes a post-modern approach to culture. People perceive, experience, and make meaning of the social world in different ways because of the different spectacles (i.e., culture) they wear. To understand the social world where there is a multiplicity of realities (Lincoln and Guba 1985; 2000), we need to focus on their different interpretations and experiences of it.

Tuan's twin metaphors of culture as house and spectacles convey his subjectivist (relativist) ontology and epistemology. They point to why it is important to "get a firm grip on our own culture" (184) through an "intimate involvement with place… immersion in the locality where we now live" (188). To develop one's full humanity, the self has to be harmonised with the family, society, and the world of nature (Tu Wei-ming 1998, cited in Hayhoe 2008: 26). This likely explains why Tuan makes "hearth" the dualism's grammatical and semantic unit of importance rather than "cosmopolitan." At the same time, Tuan picks up on what Cohen, Ackerman, and Appiah highlight in qualifying their cosmopolitanism as "rooted." As "new cosmopolitanisms," they all recognise "the instincts to give a special treatment to those with whom one is intimately connected and by whom one is socially sustained" (Hollinger, 1998: 230). In doing so, they all confront the inherent tension between "universalism" (i.e., needs of the human species) and "particularism" (i.e., need for belonging to an ethnos).

Yet Appiah and Tuan, in particular, links and encourages a move from "hearth" (i.e., culture, community) to "cosmos" (i.e., civilisation, world); from recognising, understanding, and valuing our roots to uprooting ourselves and taking route. In drawing upon the contradiction between "rootedness and routedness" (Clifford 1998), between "fixity and flows" (Yon 2000: 134), Tuan's cosmopolite "considers the gain greater than the loss. Having seen something of the splendid spaces, he or she… will not want to return, permanently, to the ambiguous safeness of the hearth" (Tuan 1996: 188). For Tuan, it is through such "exploration (moving out into the cosmos)… [that we come to] know our own hearth better" (183); that we come to have both roots (i.e., hearth) and wings (i.e., cosmos). In the process, Tuan's cosmopolite

achieves a dialectical understanding of hearth and cosmos to be at home in both through its "profound and humane pragmatism that insists on the advancement of knowledge through thoughtful reflection on experience" (Hayhoe 2008: 46) in both the social and natural worlds.

So conceptualised, I feel that Tuan's "cosmopolitan hearth" provides the praxis needed to sharpen our understanding of students' perspectives and experiences of international schooling. In particular, its integration of the twin concepts of "hearth" and "cosmos" focuses on two main aspects of what it means to be, and to become, an international school student: rootedness and routedness (Clifford 1998). More than most, they must work through the tension between knowing and valuing their own *roots* (i.e., fixity) and uprooting themselves as they/to take *route* (i.e., flows). Theirs are global-local lives, through relationships with people in host, 'home', and other contexts; they have multiple, varied, and shifting connections and attachments that straddle borders. Their identities extend beyond the local to international and global contexts because of these attachments and practices; they, more than most, "belong to communities which are both smaller and wider than the nation-state" (Worsley 1990: 93). To what extent, then, does international schooling get students to understand, link, and move successfully between their "hearth" (i.e., culture, community) and "cosmos" (i.e., civilisation, world) – i.e., "to be" (Faure 1972; Delors 1996) and to become "cosmopolitan locals" (Peterson 2003)?

We can safely say it does not in the context of "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998) international schools. As discussed previously, such schools operate with "cellophane walls" (Leach 1969) to cultivate transplanted, ethno-national/cultural values, norms, and structures and promote "long-distance nationalism" (Castles 2004) as an exclusionary response to the community beyond the school gates. Despite the proliferation of IB world schools, whose programmes purportedly "begin by encouraging students to understand their own culture and language before they can appreciate others'" (IBO 2008), and whose rhetoric suggests that they promote internationalist values and "visionary" ideals (Haywood 2002; Hill 2007), it is schools with "encapsulated" rather than "inclusive" missions that seem to predominate in the global arena of international schooling (Matthews 1989; Pearce 1998; Jabal 2003; Pearce 2004/2003). And from this comes the "exaggerated affirmation of the home culture, of its symbols and values" (Heyward 2002: 27), where national days, sports, festivals, pastimes and causes take on an exaggerated significance, which only ends up furthering a version of internationalism that is inward- (i.e., communitarian) rather than outward- (i.e., cosmopolitan) looking.

This contrasts the individuated implications of Tuan's "cosmopolitan hearth," in which meaning-making is distinctly positional (Maher 1999), when applied to international schooling. Its emphasis on autobiographical and contextual connections, amongst individuals and communities, proximate and more distant, can more readily attend to student learners' values, perspectives, and experiences of the curriculum and society than an 'international' education framework (Gunesch 2004), whose internationalism will, by definition, centre on 'national' (nation-state) categories that, *ergo*, are geographically, politically, and culturally delimiting. (Recall that 'internationalism' and 'international' are closely bound to the 'national' (nation-state), even if taken to mean nations interacting as part of an UN/nation-state system of international relations.) As Walker (1998) explores and Gunesch (2004: 267) concludes, "internationalism cannot explain why a person's 'home' might actually be outside his or her own nation state, or in several parts of the world…".

As an analytic and framework, cosmopolitanism thus seems better able to recognise, value, and defend plurality (Vertovec and Cohen 2002). It can better reconcile the national(ism)-international(ism) tensions that get played out within "encapsulated" international schools, in particular, in which "national boundaries [are taken to be] morally salient… [and lend] to what is an accident of history a false air of moral weight and glory" (Nussbaum 1994) – if not ethno-national superiority. This is because cosmopolitanism is "more oriented to the individual, and expects individuals to be simultaneously and importantly affiliated with a number of groups, including civic and religious communities, as well as with communities of descent" (Hollinger 1998: 231). From a cosmopolitan standpoint, therefore, we can more readily question and challenge those inherent cultural (i.e., *ethnos*), geographical, and political (i.e., *demos*) connections made within the context of an institutionalised setting of international education.

Furthermore, Tuan's notion of "cosmopolitan hearth" can not only help shift the focus from an institutionalised to a personalised educational framework, but it can also provide the necessary openings to develop students' cosmopolitan consciousness. Recall that a cosmopolite, for Tuan, must first "appreciate intelligently [their own] culture and landscape" (Tuan 1996: 183) – i.e., the hearth – before they can explore and engage with "other climes, other topographies" (182). Tuan thus emphasises the need to both recognise and understand one's roots before uprooting and taking route. For Tuan, cultivating strong cosmopolitan consciousness begins with the Confucian and Socratic ontological ideal to 'know thyself' – i.e., to journey iteratively inwards (i.e., personal) and outwards (i.e., group, society).

In sum, the conceptual literature reviewed highlights why the cosmopolitan educational project represents the most useful way of reframing and achieving a culturally-responsive international (schools) education. Broadly, this is because it focuses on cultivating in students cosmopolitan identifications and global subjectivities that start with individuals and are about the well-being of people as fellow human beings, rather than state- or nation-centred identities tied to a single territory (or other essentialised social group). As a personal identity model, cosmopolitanism "can provide a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97). This seems more compatible with the nature of international school students, who "are likely to have shifting and multiple cultural identities and a sense of belonging that is not expressed first and foremost in terms of the nation" (Osler and Starkey 2003: 244-245). They are likely to have strong affective ties with other places, local and foreign, than nation-state of origin, and people. Given their sense of belonging, and the fact that cosmopolitanism builds on rather than denies multiple identities and loyalties, international school students ought to be learning cosmopolitan virtues and skills for cosmopolitan subjectivity if indeed school is to be an opportunity for them to engage with and integrate their many and varied experiences and identities.

Consequently, a cosmopolitan lens is taken in my study because in the process of encouraging students to recast their personal and social identities in cosmopolitan rather than international terms, it gets them to reflect upon the ways in which their own experiences, values, beliefs, biases, interests, commitments, and life aims have shaped them. Through the self-reflexive scrutiny that cosmopolitanism promotes emerges a heightened self-awareness that can lead to self-actualisation, which arguably is at the heart of learning for personal well-being and active and shared social responsibility (Freire 1998; Feinberg and Torres 2001). Giddens (1991: 14) describes this subjective process of self-conscious inquiry, self-monitoring, and self-identity as the "reflexive project of the self," where each of us

> *lives a biography reflexively organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life. Modernity is a post-traditional order, in which the question, 'How shall I live?' has to be answered in day-to-day decisions about how to behave, what to wear and what to eat – and many other things – as well as interpreted within the temporal unfolding of self-identity.*

This principle of self-reflexivity inherently guides the cosmopolitan educational project in practice, as the international school "endorses reflective distance from one's cultural

affiliations, a broad understanding of other cultures and customs, and a belief in universal humanity" (Anderson 1998: 267). Such cosmopolitan praxis bridges the situational and conceptual literature reviewed above with the theoretical literature of relevance that informs my study's conceptual framework and research design, in particular, to which I now turn.

Conceptual/contextual framework: Student engagement within the international school's "4Cs" of experience

My study's conceptual/contextual framework, *Student engagement within the international school's "4Cs" of experience* (Figure 2), integrates the conceptual and theoretical literature to show how the international school, as a living and learning environment, shapes students' experiences and engagement therein. Guided by cosmopolitanism, the student-as-context focus is on their "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193) within the school's culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum contexts: 1) to explore what makes international schools engaging places for students; and 2) to understand the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Figure 2: Conceptual/contextual framework: Student engagement within the international school's "4Cs" of experience
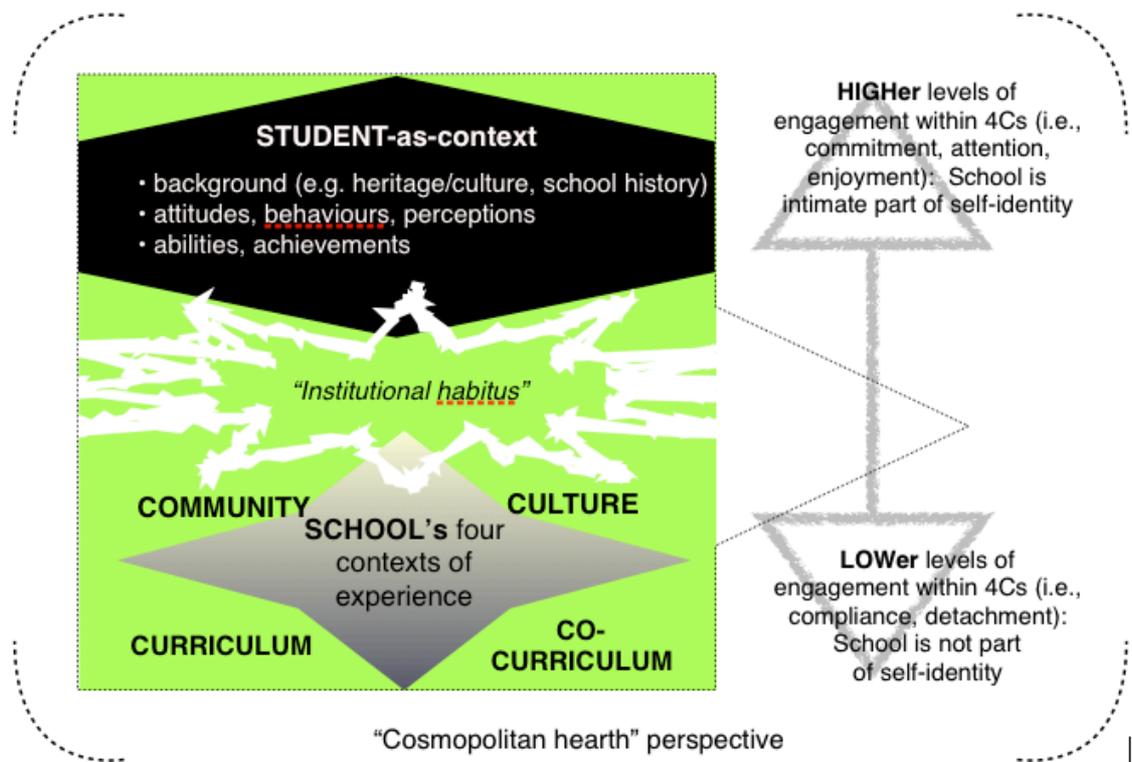
Student-as-context

A student-as-context approach makes students the "context of greatest salience" (McLaughlin and Talbert 1992: 3) to emphasise the "inextricable connections among students' behaviours, their sense of self, and the [school] environment" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 192): i.e., "the intersection of the cultures and experiences of these students, their teachers, administrators, and the school system itself" (Shields 1999: 108). It attends to students' perspectives on key areas of their experiences and engagement within the international school; and aims to learn from their interpretations of the issues that affect their lived schooling realities to inform school improvement practice. In focusing on the "student's relationship with the school community: the people (adults and peers), the structures (rules, facilities, schedules), the curriculum and content, the pedagogy, and the opportunities (curricular, co-curricular, extracurricular)" (Yazzie-Mintz 2006: 1), the conceptual/contextual framework raises issues of identity formation (i.e., how we see ourselves), representation (i.e., how others see us), and experience: i.e., to be, to become, and to belong.

The disciplines of social psychology and cultural studies take up identity matters (Phinney 1990; Carter and Goodwin 1994; Hall 1996; du Gay, Evans et al. 2000; Tomlinson-Clarke 2001; Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004) to offer applicable insights on identity formation, representation, and development within school (Davidson 1996; Phinney and Alipuria 1996; Ryan 1997; Shields 1999; Gee 2001; Hebert 2001; Nakkula 2004; Sadowski 2004): e.g., group membership, inter-group relations (in-/out-group dynamics), stereotyping, and performance of and relationships between teacher and student roles within the school. Weinreich (2003: 26) usefully conceives of identity as "defined by the totality of one's self-construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future." He neither reifies one aspect of identity over another nor suggests the possibility of constructing a coherent identity; instead Weinreich emphasises an integrated view of the self. He constitutes selfhood as embodied and autobiographical – i.e., we "experience ourselves as having a thread that runs through time and space" (Butt 2004: 133) – to evoke a central feature of cosmopolitanism taken up in the conceptual literature: i.e. "roots and routes" (Clifford 1998).

Spindler and Spindler's (1994: 13-14) anthropological model of the multi-faceted self develops this integrated view of identity as embodied, autobiographical, and embedded

within contexts of experience. Its tripartite dimensions provide a useful, culturally-situated lens for my study that focuses on the interplay amongst learner's identities, identification processes, and context. Their "enduring"-"situated" self distinction shows that a person's idealised self, which is developed early in life and has historical depth ("that sense of continuity one has with one's own past – a personal continuity in experience, meaning, and social identity"), is to be seen separately from the pragmatic self, which emerges in response to specific situations encountered ("those aspects of the person as he or she copes with the everyday exigencies of life. This self is… contextualized"). In the process, they both distinguish between and inter-relate who one is (i.e., being) and what one does (i.e. doing). When conflict arises between "enduring" and "situated" selves due to cultural discontinuity, Spindler and Spindler (1994: 25-28) identify five responses: i.e., reaffirmation of ethnic identity, withdrawal, constructive marginality, biculturalism, or assimilation. From their ethnographic studies of individuals whose heritage (i.e., enduring self) is mismatched to (and undermined by) the mainstream (i.e., situated self), Spindler and Spindler conclude that the "enduring self will be damaged or even endangered" (14) if a person is unable to reconcile the cultural divergence.

Spindler and Spindler's model thus incorporates a discursive and social constructionist view of self/identity that focuses on personhood as a site from which individuals perceive and act in the world. Category/group- and role-based identities get activated and develop as people move "from one set of socially and culturally formed subjectivities to another" (Holland, Skinner et al. 1998: 6). As cultural-linguistic subjects, people's identities are inscribed in a multiplicity of "language games" (Lyotard 1984/1979) and "phrase regimes" (Lyotard 1989), which are mediated by the discourses and cultural models operating within different social worlds. Yet as Racevskis (1987: 21) explains, this also creates "the paradox of identity":

> [I]dentity is what is naturally given and is therefore considered as a possession, yet it is also that which possesses the individual. If… identity is constituted by a personal experience and an individual history, it is also… a product of the otherness of cultural, social, and linguistic determinants.

For Foucault, the interplay between the "naturally given" and that "which possesses the individual" is how "a human being turns him- or herself into a subject" (Foucault 1983: 208). The analytic strength of Foucault's ideas on the "subjection" of individuals to social practices and structures (Foucault 1977), as well as his concern with technologies of power and the self (Foucault 1984/1987; 1985; 1986; Martin, Gutman et al. 1988), enable the interrogation of the conditions, discourses, and practices that make schools important sites of identity

formation (Davidson 1992; 1996; Gee 2001; Hebert 2001; Sadowski 2004). They focus on how students "are made subjects" through discursive and institutional "dividing practices" (e.g., policy, curriculum, assessment) that seek to objectify, shape, and control students. For Foucault, two mechanisms affect this interplay between "being a subject" and "being subjected to" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 104-204; Foucault 1988): Technologies of power and technologies of the self.

Technologies of power refer to an "objectivizing of the subject" (18), where s/he is defined and controlled through dominant, "official discourses" of institutions that determine conduct by regulating space, time, and capacities and normalizing individuals with certain kinds of identities (Foucault 1972; 1973; 1977). Such technologies of domination show the coercive ways in which individuals become subjected. At the same time as discourses define and subjects get constituted institutionally in "disciplinary blocks" (Foucault 1970), they establish a system of power relations. Their "dividing practices" (Foucault 1977; 1978) shape identities, as discourses are about "what can be said and thought… about who can speak, when, and with what authority. Discourses embody meaning and social relationships, and they constitute both subjectivity and power relations" (Ball 1990: 2) to 'normalise' individuals with certain kinds of identities. So theorised, the student subject internalises the dominant power/knowledge regimes of the school and follows (or resists) the "ensemble of rules for the production of the truth" (Foucault 1984/1987: 16) called for by its disciplinary techniques. Students thus take up identities that are created for them by schooling's discursive and institutional practices, as well as by the dominant "regimes of truth" (Foucault 1970; 1980) of a given age, society, and context, in general.

On the other hand, Foucault (1988: 18) explains how technologies of the self affect the interplay between "being a subject" and "being subjected to" by "permit[ting] individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves…". Technologies of the self show how selfhood can be self-governing and reinvented through resistance and awareness of multiple subject positions. Students, therefore, "can struggle against the forms of subjection – against the submission of subjectivity" (Foucault 1983) and create "new forms of subjectivity" (Foucault 1985; 1986). Bio-power, in particular, points to students' ability to resist dominant power/knowledge regimes (Foucault 1980: 78-108) because inherent in the "constituting of subject both as object of power and as the self-recognized subject of power" (Gutman 1988: 117) is the possibility that power can be

productive and positive, not only repressive and negative. Students can thus constitute themselves not as normalized, disciplined "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977), but as subjects of a different kind. Davidson (1996: 214) describes the productive possibilities of this second technology:

> [S]chools as institutions play powerful roles in shaping certain parts of student identities. At the same time… individuals enter schools with preexisting ideologies that structure their responses to and interactions with the environment. Schools cannot be said simply to reproduce social categories. Rather, student ideologies and school contexts exert a reciprocal influence on one another.

Davidson and others (e.g. Freire and Macedo 1987; Olsen 1997; May 1999; Nieto 1999; Ryan 1999; Yon 2000; Cummins 2001; Hebert 2001; Spencer, Noll et al. 2001) remind us of what happens when educators fail to problematise the interplay between learners' (cultural) backgrounds, dispositions, experiences, and school-level conditions. They reveal the mismatch between how students get constituted and positioned in official educational discourses and what they live and experience as part of their day-to-day schooling realities. Working mostly within critical frameworks, they show how "the process through which subjects and their identities are constituted is one that is deeply ingrained in culture" (Racevskis 1987: 23).

Such an interpretive reading of selfhood highlights how we are neither completely free to choose our identities, nor simply the sum total of ascribed attributes. It eschews "grand narrative" (Lyotard 1984/1979) explanations to focus on relational, dynamic understandings of identities (i.e., being) and identifications (i.e., becoming) in the contexts in which they are sited (i.e., doing, belonging). So conceptualised, identities get constituted as individuals, groups, and society converge within social relationship matrices (Davidson 1996). Appreciating the "endlessly, performative self" (Hall 1996: 1) requires reading the social settings' smaller and plural stories through which identities are activated, developed, negotiated and lived within social contexts of experience. Hence a student-as-context approach privileges the perceptions, feelings, and meanings students attach to their school experiences to explore whether, how, and why school becomes a part of their self-identity.

School contexts of experience: "4Cs"

This study aims to describe and understand the subjective quality of students' experiences of and engagement within the institutional "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006): i.e., school contexts of culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum. Seen as both a

"learning and a living environment" (Engels, Aelterman et al. 2004: 141), the international school's complex set of norms, social arrangements, and practices will both support and constrain the "configuration of meanings" that students encounter therein, and which "will change constantly when new elements are given a place and are related to experiences" (Geijsel and Meijers 2005: 425). Given that "sound educational experience involves... continuity and interaction between the learner and what is learned" (Hall-Quest 1938/1997: 10), the student-as-context approach focuses on students' subjection, selfhood, and experience within the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006): i.e.,

- School CULTURE: School legacy; mission/vision as "encapsulated" vs. "inclusive" (Sylvester 1998)); beliefs/values/traditions kept; aspirations. Also includes: structural/organisational characteristics of school as social organisation (e.g. size, staffing, facilities, rules, calendar, schedules); and "corridor" (Brady 2005) / "caught" (Thompson 1998) curriculum matters.

- School COMMUNITY: Working relationships that characterise school and its members; interactions: internal (students, teachers, administrators), external (communities beyond school); and relationships' quality, breadth, and depth.

- School CURRICULUM: What school values and wants students to learn/experience in-class, on-campus in terms of attitudes, skills, and knowledge; Formal / intended / "taught" (Thompson 1998) curriculum, including academic, human, and civic (Starratt 2003); shaped by how teachers enact and perform it (i.e., pedagogy).

- School CO-CURRICULUM: Provides opportunities to extend learning beyond the formal curriculum out-of-class, off-campus; to connect in-class and out-of-class experiences; to get more immersed in particular interests.

The embedded and overlapping "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) constitute the international school as both a living and learning environment, with the potential to enable and impede students' experiences of, sense of ownership and belonging (Finn 1989; Osterman 2000), and well-being (Hascher 2008) therein. Bourdieu's (1990/1977) concept of "habitus" generatively captures the interplay amongst people's acquired, culturally-mediated predispositions (i.e., habits) that structure the way people interpret, act in, and respond within social contexts of experience.

"Institutional habitus"

In particular, "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) is a useful analytic for my study because it attends to how sense-giving and meaning-making structures, practices, and processes provide guidelines for action to direct social practices within the international school – specifically, to how each school's habitus projects, 'normalises,' and engenders certain

knowledge and experiences within the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006); and to the ways in which the dominant social group therein determine (and control) interactions. These institutional dispositions will be differently perceived and lived by different groups and individual students, whose distinct "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193) provides "interpretive schemes… [and] guidelines of action" (Seidman 1998: 153) to navigate the international school's culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum contexts in particular ways.

Concomitantly, then, "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) helps us view the student-as-context and "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) interface by attending to the discursive and instituted subjection of students, as well as to the ways in which students' selfhood get constituted, changed, and challenged. It shows how learners' social identities (e.g. race/ethnicity, gender) are both an educational resource and an outcome (Wenger 1998) that will, for example, interplay with their self-esteem, academic self-confidence, and purpose in life (Martinez and Dukes 1997; Phinney, Cantu et al. 1997; Roberts, Phinney et al. 1999) to shape their experiences of and engagement within school. Not surprisingly, then,

> *the many adolescents with whom I have worked as a high school teacher, youth advisor, and academic mentor have convinced me that* it is as important for middle and high school educators to understand identity as it is for them to understand pedagogy. *In order for educators to help adolescents succeed as students,* we must develop a better understanding of the issues that affect them as people. *(Sadowski 2004: 2, Emphasis added)*

Recall the two central features of cosmopolitanism discussed in the previous section:

1. Cosmopolitanism is about: a) developing self-understanding to/for "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987); b) cultivating a sense of responsibility for the well-being of others; and c) learning to live well together.

2. As a "personal identity model," cosmopolitanism offers "a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97).

Cosmopolitanism's inward-outward, existential gaze thus pursues a reflexive understanding of one's "roots" (i.e., being) and "routes" (i.e., becoming), agency (i.e., doing), and relationships with others (i.e., belonging).

Discerning "institutional habitus" through a cosmopolitan lens enables us to interrogate how even though social reality may be multidimensional, individuals will usually perceive and

experience it from one culturally-situated position (recall Tuan's house and spectacles metaphor used to illustrate his conception of "cosmopolitan hearth"). As a result,

> *we are both alike and at the same time all different…. we are all beings in the same world, a commonality of situation and culture that enables us to communicate with each other…. [yet] the way we experience the world is very different, and in this sense we are beings in different worlds. (Butt 2004: ix)*

A cosmopolitan lens can, therefore, sharpen understanding of how "institutional habitus" shapes experience by creating and reinforcing meanings tied to category/group- and role-based identities. In particular, the humanistic bi-focality of Tuan's (1996) "cosmopolitan hearth" -- i.e., **cosmos**: 'I am a human being' (Klitou 2005); and **hearth**: 'I am an individual human being' -- focuses on how, as members of various human communities, people are individually constructed in relation to others and within cultures that are historically and contextually situated: i.e., the "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193).

Analytically, cosmopolitanism thus offers a yardstick to gauge self-in-social-context and explore students' experiences of and engagement within the international school's "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002), as gets taken up in the teacher-leader (Ch. 5) and student (Chs. 6-8) data display chapters: i.e., the extent to which schooling is an existential endeavour (Orr 1994; Starratt 2003) in which student learners strive to sense-make and be self-fulfilled through the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006); to develop a broader self-understanding of personhood; and to achieve "moral excellence" within a wide spectrum of achievement (e.g., intellectual, civic, cultural, athletic). Cosmopolitanism's ideational usefulness guides the discussion of the study implications in Chapter 10.

Student experiences of and engagement within the "4Cs"

Finally, the perceptions, feelings, and meanings students will attach to their school experiences and engagement therein will lead to school (not) being and/or becoming a part of their self-identity (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003). Though engagement may be "difficult to define operationally... we know it when we see it, and we know it when it is missing" (Newmann 1986: 242). Broadly construed, student "engagement is located in a complex interface of contexts and people [and practices], rather than residing just within the student" (Butler-Kisber 2007: 8). This is shown visually in my study's conceptual/contextual framework as the 'student-as-context' and 'School's four contexts of experience' dynamic that inheres in "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002). In its deepest forms, Smith, Vibert et al. (1998: 11) conclude from their pan-Canadian study, "student engagement relates to

understanding self and learning to live well together in a democratic society;" this transformative ideal underlies the cosmopolitan heuristic used in the study and the cosmopolitan praxis taken up when considering the study implications in Chapter 10.

Though I recognise the contested discourses of engagement (Vibert and Shields 2003; McMahon and Portelli 2004; Zyngier 2007), which have consequences for how students are constructed, treated, experience, and participate within school, three useful perspectives exist in the literature:

- **"Instrumentalist/rational technical"** -- fundamentally objectivist, "conservative or traditional" (McMahon and Portelli 2004): "[E]ngagement is not an end in itself, but an instrument [and preparatory]..." (Vibert and Shields 2003: 227); "Minimal or no attempt is made... to understand the meaning that students make of the activity or their motivation to participate" (Zyngier 2007: 98); "Curriculum as fixed" (Smith, Vibert et al. 1998: 7) and "separated from every-day concerns" (Vibert, Portelli et al. 2002: 99).

- **"Social constructivist/individualist"** -- "liberal" (McMahon and Portelli 2004) or interpretive/student-oriented, situated learning "through student exploration and discovery of individual interests and experiences" (Clandinin 2007); curriculum as "active learning where students experience self-motivation, reflective and shared goal setting, and choice" (Zyngier 2007: 100-103); "[E]ngagement involves productive students working autonomously and effectively on projects of some particular interest to them and over which they have some control" (Vibert and Shields 2003: 228); Echoing Shor (1987), Zyngier (2007: 103) questions this approach because "it fails to problematise the examination of a real context drawn from student experiences without criticizing his/her daily life."

- **"Critical/transformative"** -- "critical democratic" (McMahon and Portelli 2004): "for the purpose of creating a more just and democratic community, not solely for the advancement of the individual" (Zyngier 2007: 104); "Curriculum as critical practice" (Smith, Vibert et al. 1998: 7): "Located in questions about living well together... address[es] the politics of here and now, relating those politics to a larger world of political action. This approach to 'curriculum of life' appear[s] deeply implicated in the students' sense that the school belonged to them" (Vibert, Portelli et al. 2002: 112); "focus [is] on communal and political issues of identity and on the processes of participatory democracy" (113).

These competing discourses reveal how and why notions of student engagement are not equal. At the same time, all three discourses point to engagement's two important and positive outcomes of schooling (Smith, Vibert et al. 1998; Jimerson, Campos et al. 2003; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009): i.e.,

1. Engagement in learning (i.e. intellectually/cognitively, **academically**; in other words, school as LEARNING and living environment); and

2. Engagement within the school life (i.e. developmentally -- psychologically, **socially**, affectively, behaviourally, physically; in other words, school as LIVING and learning environment).

Both the "social/constructivist" and "critical/transformative" perspectives also show engagement to "not [be] primarily activity-based; rather it is primarily associated with deep and complex relationships and inter-relationships amongst people, activities, and ideas (Smith, Vibert et al. 1998: 10): i.e., being, feeling, thinking, doing, becoming, and belonging. This is because "schools are human communities, not just places where learning is efficiently transmitted" (Gaskell 1995: ix). Much as my study primarily explores students' engagement within school life, I recognise the "synergistic relationship" (Fullarton 2002: 2) between the two facets that ought to turn schools into a "humane and socially nurturing environment in which the pursuit of academic learning would go hand in hand with social learning" (Starratt 2003: 96). The "strong interrelatedness existing between broad social and emotional issues, social learning activities, and academic learning" (Vibert, Portelli et al. 2002: 99) formatively shapes students' experiences within the "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) and helps determine the extent to which school becomes an intimate part of a student's self-identity (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003). So conceptualised and operationalised, student engagement can positively influence students' experiences

> if it can be integrated within the broader school mission and goals. Schools as institutions will have greater motivation and support for implementing policies and practices that foster [student] engagement if they perceive the linkages between student development and the enhancement of the total school environment. (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003: 111)

In this regard, moreover, I share Rudduck and Demetriou's (2003: 275) view that "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution."

To this end, the right-hand side of my conceptual/contextual framework shows how positive experiences of schooling leading to higher levels of engagement, in which "students seem to develop a [greater] sense of belonging, ownership, and responsibility that fosters other aspects of student engagement in school life and in the wider community" (Smith, Vibert et al. 1998: 10), will derive from more "inclusive" (Sylvester 1998) and equitable experiences of the "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) that strengthen students' commitment, attention, and enjoyment. In contrast, negative experiences of the "4Cs" leading to lower levels of engagement and school not being part of learners' self-identity will emerge from more "exclusionary" (Brady 2005) or "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998) "institutional habituses:"

i.e., when a student "is essentially detached from the schooling process and is likely to perceive him or herself as separate from the mainstream school community..." (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003: 110). By engendering the conditions for participation, attachment, commitment, and membership, student engagement for/through cosmopolitan subjectivity offers an optimal space of inquiry into the composition, negotiation, and connecting of identities, meaning, and experiences within the international school contexts of culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum.

In short, my conceptual/contextual framework, *Student engagement within the international school's "4Cs" of experience*, provides clear links from the literature to my study focus -- i.e., What makes international schools engaging places for students? What meanings do students attach to key areas of their day-to-day experiences within the international school in Hong Kong? How might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school? -- informs the research design, and guides the analysis of data and presentation of research findings. The next chapter presents the two-phase, mixed methods used to carry out this study and address these questions.

Chapter 3: Methodology – Phases 1 and 2

This study of the individual- and institutional-level contexts that support and constrain students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong combines quantitative and qualitative methods in a two-phase research design. Phase 1 uses a descriptive and correlational design to examine the social characteristics of students and to develop attitudinal insights into their experiences of international schooling. Building on Phase 1's typologically 'etic' perspective (i.e., the three-cluster solution derived from surveyed attitudinal data response patterns), Phase 2 adopts an "emic" approach (Lincoln and Guba 1985) to focus on and elicit additional insights into the daily lives of senior students within two international schools in Hong Kong. "[S]eek[ing] answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 8), Phase 2 uses qualitative methods of inquiry to better understand the subjective quality of students' perceptions and experiences within the school and in learning: i.e., the conditions for attachment, participation, and commitment that emerge when contexts, people, and practices interface to shape whether, how, and why students sense-make and are self-fulfilled therein. This chapter first explains the Phase 1 methodology, giving special emphasis to the research context and participants, the procedures followed to complete Phase 1, a description of the survey instrument, and the statistical tests used in the main quantitative data analysis. It then explains the Phase 2 methodology, giving special emphasis to the research context, procedures followed, and the data collection, analysis, and interpretation, before concluding with an overview of the research participants.

Phase 1 -- Quantitative methods

Research context and institutional sample

Survey methodology (Rosier 1994; Fowler Jr. 2002) was used, first, to obtain descriptive information of/from senior students at nine international schools in Hong Kong; second, to examine relationships amongst selected constructs for their conceptual fit with my understanding of the research problem; and, third, to cluster the respondents. Drawing on my contacts and experience as a former international schools teacher-administrator in Hong Kong, three non-probability sampling criteria were used to identify and select promising sites of inquiry: 1) Type 5 and 6 international school (Bray and Yamato 2003); 2) different curriculum offered; and 3) available student e-mails. To preserve confidentiality, the Phase 1

schools will be referred to with fictitious names (Appendix A). The survey research activities covered a five-month period from December 2004 to April 2005.

Procedures

Several specific procedures were use to carry out the Phase 1 research design, which was informed conceptually and methodologically by two preliminary studies that had been conducted previously to fulfill doctoral-level coursework requirements. The first was a qualitative (Jabal 2003) exploration of how six international schools alumni see themselves, others, and integrate their "multiple worlds" (i.e., university, international school, host-country, peer, family) of experience (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998). The findings were followed up as a quantitative pilot (Jabal 2003; 2004; 2004), which examined how demographic background, ethnic identity, and self-esteem related to alumni experiences of international schooling. Subsequently, a secondary analysis of the qualitative-quantitative data was undertaken to explore, using a framework of "values-led contingency leadership" (Day, Harris et al. 2000; Day, Harris et al. 2001), what could be learnt about effective school leadership from international schools alumni (Jabal 2006).

I first recruited the nine Type 5 (English Schools Foundation; $N = 5$) and Type 6 (Self-affiliation with foreign educational system; $N = 4$) international schools (Bray and Yamato 2003). After confirming access, giving each school's administrative teams the opportunity to preview the student survey, and obtaining administrator consent, I then reviewed the study objectives with each school's potential senior student participants ($N = 1,270$) at a year-group assembly presentation and invited them to take part by submitting a confidential, self-report 70-item online survey. I also distributed a study information letter for parents/guardians and a consent form. Students who were interested in participating had five days in which to fax me directly a duly completed and signed consent form. Finally, using the school's student e-mail address database, I sent survey access instructions to the students who had consented to participate. The password-protected survey was hosted on an OISE/UT server and responses were recorded in a secure database at OISE/UT. One reminder e-mail was sent midway throughout each school's 10-day survey period; no financial incentives were offered to students for participating.

The achieved sample of 729 represents an overall response rate of 57.4 percent. Institutional response rates ranged from 18.6 to 94.1 percent (Appendix A). Due to the small sample size, returned surveys from two Type 6 schools (School NE1: $N = 27$, 56.7% response rate;

School NE3: $N = 16$, 94.1% response rate) were not kept for further analysis. Neither was Type 5-School E5 because of its low response rate ($N = 30$, 18.6%), which I discussed with my administrative contact who surmised that the timing of the survey's administration (immediately prior to mock examinations) had likely undermined participation. Of the remaining 656 cases from six international schools in Hong Kong, 61 incomplete protocols (i.e., with 15% or more unanswered items) were removed, leaving a cleaned sample of 595 respondents from six international schools that is discussed in the analysis below.

Research participants

The 595 students had a mean age of 17.3 years, and included 345 females (58%) and 250 males (42%). Nearly three-quarters (74%) were in their final year of secondary schooling; and most had spent five or more years (71%) at the same international school. More than half had been born in Hong Kong (55%), which most considered to be home (72%). Indeed the large majority had resided in Hong Kong for 7 or more years (84.9%); and half had done so for 13 or more years. Although nearly two-thirds self-identified as British (27%), Canadian (25%), or Australian (14%) citizens, few considered their passport country to be home -- i.e. UK (3%), Canada (5%), and Australia (4%) -- which challenges the 'third-culture kids' view that international school students' lives are characterised by "rootlessness and restlessness…. a compulsive migratory instinct [and filled with] high mobility" (Lewis 2002: 7-9). The surveyed students in this study were a largely geographically stable population with ties to Hong Kong, though only one-third considered themselves 'local' (37%) – more than twice the number who self-identified as expatriate international school students (14%). A slight majority of respondents considered English a second language (52%), which a large majority mostly used with their friends (82%). Far fewer, however, mainly used English with their parents (38%) -- and almost half mostly used Cantonese (48%). Nearly three-quarters were bilingual (74%), speaking a second language fluently (54%) or well (20%).

Survey design

The first version of the Phase 1 survey instrument had been developed and pilot-tested in 2003 with international schools alumni as part of a doctoral-level quantitative methodology course in educational administration (Jabal 2003). The instrument was subsequently used in a second correlational study of the relationship between experience of international school scores (i.e., dependent variable) for 279 recently-graduated alumni from five international schools in Hong Kong and selected independent variables (i.e., demographic/background –

gender, nationality, international school years, first language; ethnic identity; view of internationalism; and self-esteem) (Jabal 2004). This second study was also used to examine the dimensionality, reliability, and validity of the researcher-designed *Experience of International School* (EIS) scale (Jabal 2004).

Experience of International School (EIS) scale

The *EIS* scale was designed to measure respondents' interest in and positive feelings toward their international school. It integrated the lessons learnt from a qualitative study that had also been carried out in 2003 with international schools alumni as part of a second doctoral-level methodology course in educational administration (Jabal 2003), and drew mainly on the knowledge base of school psychology, educational administration, and international schools education. The *EIS* scale's content domain and facets were first defined (Haynes, Richard et al. 1995; Netemeyer, Bearden et al. 2003): i.e., students' affective, behavioural, and cognitive experiences within the international school. Second, an initial pool of 30 *EIS* items was developed and forwarded to nine critical friends for content analysis assessment. The group included an international schools development officer, Principal and Deputy Principal, and four teachers at three different international schools. In addition, the items were reviewed by an OISE/UT faculty member, who had participated in a pan-Canadian project on student engagement in school life and learning, and a doctoral student colleague with an interest in young people's identity construction through Arts-based education. On the basis of their content analysis assessments, the pool was trimmed to 16 useable *EIS* items that were pilot-tested (Jabal 2003). The data from the second international schools alumni survey study (Jabal 2004) was used to establish the structural validity of the *EIS* scale. As recommended when determining item retention in the early studies of scale development (Robinson, Shaver et al. 1991; Clark and Watson 1995; Netemeyer, Bearden et al. 2003), several item-based statistics (i.e., average inter-item correlations, corrected item-total correlations) were considered in conjunction with exploratory factor analysis to validate the two-factor, 12-item *EIS-Revised* scale (Appendix B).

Instrumentation

The 70-item, mainly Likert-scale on-line questionnaire used in Phase 1 of this doctoral study was organised into five content areas: Experience of International School -- Revised (Jabal 2004), View of Internationalism (Hayden 1998), Social and Personal Identities (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004), and Self-liking/Self-competence (Tafarodi and Swann 2001).

In the fifth section, A Little About You, the students were posted demographic questions regarding their culture (e.g. 1st and 2nd languages, race/ethnicity, nationality) and school history. The examination of such demographic information was important because of what had been learnt in preliminary research with alumni about the relationship between culture, identity, and international schooling experiences (Fail 1996; Jabal 2003; Fail, Thompson et al. 2004; 2006). Guided by the study's conceptual framework, these five dimensions cross-referenced with the research questions by eliciting background and attitudinal data to describe students and their experiences of international schooling (Table 1).

Table 1. Phase 1 survey content areas and number of items

Measures / Constructs	Number of Items
Experience of International School – Revised	12 + 4
View of Internationalism – Revised	12
Self-esteem (i.e., Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised)	16
Social and Personal Identities – Revised	16
A Little About You (Demographics)	10

The Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* scale contained 12 Likert-scale items, which were designed to measure students' affective, behavioural, and cognitive experiences within the international school and classroom contexts (Appendix B). The 12 *EIS-R* items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*) in response to two stems that referred to the school ("My international school…") and classroom ("Nearly all of my teachers…"*)* contexts of experience. *EIS-R* scores were obtained by summing the 12 items; they ranged from 12 to 60. Higher *EIS-R* scores indicated a higher positive experience of international schooling. Four categorical items were also included in the *EIS-R* section of the survey to obtain factual information (e.g. academic achievement, weekly hours spent on homework and co-/extra-curricular activities) that was considered important to describe international school students and to examine in relation to their experiences of international schooling.

The View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* construct was composed of 12 items, which were modified from the original 39-item View of International Education scale (Hayden 1998). The shortened version of the *VIE-R* scale was designed to identify the important features for students of "being international" (Appendix C). It included items about the role of languages, awareness of international affairs, and attitude towards own and other cultures. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Un-important to being international* to 5 = *Very important to being international*). *VIE-R* scores were obtained by summing the 12 items; they ranged from 12 to 60. Higher *VIE-R* scores indicated a higher positive view of

internationalism. The original survey instrument has been used with international school students (Hayden and Thompson 1995; 1997; Hayden 1998; Williams 2000), teachers (Hayden 1998; Hayden, Rancic et al. 2000), and parents (MacKenzie 2000). Permission to shorten the scale was obtained (Appendix BB).

The 16-item Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised scale *(SLCS-R)* was used to measure general self-esteem (Appendix D), which Tafarodi and Swann (2001) view as comprised of two co-equal but distinct dimensions: self-liking and self-competence. Whereas the 8-item Self-liking sub-scale assesses "one's overall sense of worth as an individual with social significance" (655), the 8-item Self-competence sub-scale measures the "valuative imprint of general self-efficacy on identity" (655). Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). General self-esteem scores were obtained by summing the 16 items; they ranged from 16 to 80. Self-liking and Self-competence scores were obtained by summing each of the sub-scales, which were interspersed in the even and odd positions; each ranged from 8 to 40. Negatively-worded items were reverse-scored so that higher scores indicated higher positive self-liking, self-competence, and/or general self-esteem. The *SLCS-R* scale has been used in several studies with undergraduates in Australia (Aidman 1998), the UK and North America (Tafarodi and Swann 1995; Tafarodi, Lang et al. 1999; Tafarodi and Swann 2001; Tafarodi and Milne 2002); and translated into Norwegian and validated (Silvera 2001). It has consistently shown good reliability, with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .80 to .98 for self-liking and .78 to .89 for self-competence. Permission to use the scale was obtained (Appendix CC).

The Social and Personal Identities – Revised *(SIPI-R)* construct was composed of 16 items, 10 of which were taken from the 16-item Social and Personal Identities *(SIPI)* scale (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004). The two-factor *SIPI-R* scale was designed to capture "individual differences in the relative importance and centrality assigned to both personal and social identity" (147). Following content validity assessment, the six additional items were included to measure facets of social and personal identities particular to the target population of international school students and research aims of this study (Appendix E). Responses were given on a modified 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Un-important to who I am* to 7 = *Very important to who I am*). Social identity and personal identity scores were obtained by taking the mean of each sub-scale's items, which were interspersed in the even and odd positions. The original *SIPI* instrument, which uses a 9-point Likert scale, has been administered to undergraduates of North American and international origin; Cronbach's alphas of .55 to .82

for social identity and .77 to .83 for personal identity have been reported (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004). Permission to adapt the scale was obtained (Appendix DD).

The final section in the Phase 1 survey instrument, A Little About You, contained ten questions that asked for factual information (e.g. birthplace, language mostly spoken with parents, years lived in Hong Kong) (Appendix F). Such information was collected because of what was learnt in previous research with international schools students (Willis 1985; 1992; 1992; Allan 2002; Westrick 2004; Grimshaw and Sears 2008) and alumni (Fail 1996; Jabal 2003; Fail, Thompson et al. 2004; Jabal 2004; 2004; 2004; Jabal 2006) about how selected sociocultural characteristics had supported and constrained their experiences of schooling.

Data analysis

SPSS 12.0.1-16.0 for Windows and SPSS Statistics 18.0.2 for Mac were used to analyse the Phase 1 survey data (Field 2000; Kinnear and Gray 2004). Returns were first analysed by respondents and non-respondents. The 57.4 percent response rate across the initial sample of nine international schools was deemed acceptable for such exploratory research. No effort was made to follow-up non-respondents at the eight schools that had a 50 percent or greater response rate (Appendix A). A more detailed description of the preliminary and non-factor analytic analyses conducted can be found in Appendix G.

Main analysis 1 – Exploratory Factor Analysis of *EIS-R* data

The Maximum Likelihood (ML) extraction method was selected because of its goodness-of-fit information about model fit, which can be used to assess the appropriateness of factor solutions. The theoretical and empirical basis for expecting the *EIS-R* constructs to be related to one another led me to select an oblique factor rotation method. Specifically, a promax rotation was used because it provides both orthogonal and oblique rotations and is known to be relatively efficient at achieving simple oblique structure (Rennie 1997); cases were excluded listwise. EFA of the 12 *EIS-R* attributes set returned three eigenvalues greater than unity (5.00, 1.64, 1.06), which accounted for 48.2 percent of the total variance. As this three-factor solution failed to account for 50 percent of total variance (Streiner 1994), several subjective and statistical methods were used to determine the number of factors to extract.

To start, attributes with low communalities (<.30) that contributed little to the scale's factor structure were successively removed and the ML analysis with promax rotation was repeated. As Table 2 shows, eight attributes remained after the third iteration with only one extracted

communality below .30 ('My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have').

Table 2. Communalities: Experience of International School Scale – Revised

	Initial	Extraction
Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	.308	.367
Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	.350	.528
Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	.270	.329
Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out in class.	.389	.512
My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	.254	.277
My international school listens to the views of its students.	.403	.495
My international school helps me understand those who are different from me.	.457	.723
My international school helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	.320	.372

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Table 3 indicates that the two eigenvalues greater than unity (3.39 and 1.22) accounted for 57.6 percent of the total variance (F-1: 42.4%; F-2: 15.2%).

Table 3. Total Variance Explained: Experience of International School Scale – Revised

	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
Factor	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.393	42.410	42.410	2.828	35.350	35.350	1.839	22.982	22.982
2	1.217	15.213	57.623	.776	9.699	45.049	1.765	22.067	45.049
3	.768	9.604	67.228						
4	.656	8.197	75.425						
5	.607	7.582	83.007						
6	.526	6.570	89.577						
7	.449	5.618	95.195						
8	.384	4.805	100.000						

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Both the Kaiser-Guttmann criterion and scree test (Cattell 1966) supported this two-factor solution. In addition, two statistical methods were used to inform factor extraction. First, the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) was used with ML estimation (Fabrigar, Wegener et al. 1999). RMSEA values less than or equal to .05 indicate models that fit well (Steiger 1990; Browne and Cudeck 1992). The RMSEA fit index (.03) suggested that the two-factor model provided an appropriate fit for the data. Second, an examination of the residual correlations, in which all residuals but one were less than |.05|, confirmed that the two-factor solution was plausible (Cudeck 2000). Additionally, the KMO test of sampling adequacy for the 8 *EIS-R* attributes was 0.83; and Bartlett's test was highly significant, X^2 (28, $N = 579) = 1164.40, p < .001$.

As shown in Table 4, the ML analysis with promax rotation provided a clear and readily interpretable two-factor structure with substantial (i.e., >.40) average factor loadings across both factors (Floyd and Widaman 1995). The 8-item *EIS-R* scale had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .80, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .45 to .57. The inter-factor correlation showed a moderately positive linear relationship ($r = .46$).

Table 4. Rotated Factor Matrix[a]: Experience of International School – Revised

	Factor	
	1: School	2: Teacher
My international school helps me understand those who are different from me.	.84	
My international school listens to the views of its students.	.67	
My international school helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	.51	
My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	.48	
Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.		.72
Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out in class.		.68
Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.		.54
Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.		.53

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood; Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

[a] Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

This 8-item, two-factor solution was deemed satisfactory for several statistical and conceptual reasons. First, the attributes loaded simply, parsimoniously, and plausibly on the two major factors. Second, the average factor loadings across factors 1 ($M = .63$) and 2 ($M = .62$) were both substantial and comparable (Floyd and Widaman 1995). The third reason why this two-factor solution was acceptable stems from the first- and second-factor analyses.

The first factor was termed *EIS-F1*: *School*, as the four items loading on the factor relate to respondents' broader school-level experiences of international schooling. The one eigenvalue greater than unity (2.31) explained 57.8% of the total variance. The KMO test of sampling adequacy was good at .75; Bartlett's test was highly significant, X^2 (10, $N = 579$) = 525.32, $p < .001$. The average factor loading was substantial and balanced ($M = .66$). The RMSEA value (.05) indicates a model that fits acceptably (Browne and Cudeck 1992). The 4-item *EIS-F1* sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .76, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .46 to .66. The second factor was termed *EIS-F2*: *Teacher*, as the four items loading on the factor relate to respondents' broader teacher- and classroom-level experiences of international schooling. The one eigenvalue greater than unity (2.26) explained 56.5% of the total variance. The KMO test of sampling adequacy was good at .76;

Bartlett's test was highly significant, X^2 (6, $N = 579$) = 459.74, $p < .001$. The average factor loading was substantial and balanced ($M = .65$). The RMSEA value (.03) indicates a model that fits well (Browne and Cudeck 1992). The 4-item *EIS-F1* sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .75, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .48 to .60.

The results provide evidence of the face, content, and construct validity and reliability of a shortened and revised, 8-item *EIS-R* scale. The results suggest that the *EIS-R* measures two inter-related but different constructs. These two empirical constructs are consistent with the *EIS-R's* conceptualisation of the school- and teacher-level dimensions as distinct. From a practical stand-point, however, I think it more useful to view experience of international schooling as a single meta-construct comprised of two distinct and inter-related dimensions. Separate and equally systematic EFA were conducted on the researcher-modified *View of Internationalism – Revised* and *Social and Personal Identities – Revised* scales, as well as the *Self-liking/Self-competence Revised* scale, to examine their dimensionality and verify the structure of correlations amongst variables. Appendix H provides a detailed description of this EFA of the *VIE-R, SIPI-R,* and *SLCS-R* survey data.

Table 5 summarises the Cronbach's alphas and item-scale correlation coefficients for the Phase 1 scale and sub-scale variables.

Table 5: Cronbach's alpha statistic and item-scale correlation coefficients for Phase 1 variables ($N = 572$)

Variable	Cronbach's alpha	Item number															
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
VIE-R	.78	.72	.64	.54	.46												
EIS-R	.80	.57	.55	.54	.54	.52	.50	.48	.45								
EIS-F1: School	.76	.66	.60	.49	.46												
EIS-F2: Teachers	.75	.60	.58	.49	.48												
SLCS-R	.89	.70	.68	.63	.63	.59	.58	.57	.52	.51	.50	.49	.48	.47	.43	.41	.40
SL	.88	.73	.69	.68	.65	.64	.62	.61	.59								
SC-F2	.78	.67	.59	.56	.53												
SC-F1	.71	.56	.55	.47	.43												

The research problem, framework, and questions were operationalised in Phase 1 using a survey instrument that included 14 categorical and 56 continuous variables. The survey data yielded a wealth of information on 572 senior students from 6 international schools in Hong Kong. The descriptive statistical analyses performed were investigated to address two largely descriptive research questions discussed in the next chapter. Though informative in terms of

uncovering key dimensions of the survey data, these variable-by-variable investigations were limited in their descriptive and explanatory power.

Main analysis 2 – Cluster analysis

Given the study aim – i.e., to explore how contexts, individual and institutional, shape students' experiences of and engagement within the international school – the third research question in Phase 1 sought to identify natural groupings of international school students that exhibited similar patterns of survey response and characteristics. Cluster methodology, an empirically-based tool of discovery that makes "no prior assumptions about important differences within a population" (Punj and Stewart 1983: 135), was used to classify the respondents so that cases in a given cluster tend to be internally similar, on selected attributes, and externally dissimilar to the other groups. Adhering to the guidelines for reporting cluster analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Gore 2000), what follows is a description of the procedures used to determine the final cluster solution; Appendix I provides a more detailed description of the clustering method, choice of (dis-)similarity measure, and validation of the cluster solution.

Procedures used to determine final cluster solution

Guided by the study's conceptual framework and following the process outlined in Appendix I, I used SPSS 12.0.1 for Windows to conduct multivariate cluster analysis and classify the 572 surveyed students from six international schools in Hong Kong. Specifically, I executed four sets of two-step cluster analyses of 38 standardised continuous variables. The first used all 30 individual survey response variables. The second was conducted using the EFA-derived scores for the five sub-scale dimensions. The third used the EFA-derived scale scores for the *VIE-R*, *EIS-R*, and *SLCS-R* constructs. The fourth set combined individual, sub-scale, and scale factors to follow-up previously obtained cluster solutions that seemed promising. In the end, the three factors that 'optimally' and meaningfully partitioned the sample were the Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*) scale, View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*) scale, and Self-competence: Factor *2* (*SC-F2*) sub-scale. In the process of conducting the cluster analyses, 28 cases (4.9% of the sample) were removed because they were missing value(s) on one or more of the continuous variables under consideration.

Through this heuristic, systematic, and extensive two-step analyses plan, a number of clusters were formed, identified, and considered. The attributes of each cluster were then profiled using several statistical and graphical measures to determine the 'optimal' number of clusters in the student survey data. These included SPSS' Two-Step auto-clustering results (i.e., Schwarz's BIC, BIC change, ratio of BIC changes, ratio of distance measures); by-cluster distribution frequencies; by cluster measures of central tendency; by-variable importance charts with t statistic critical values; and ANOVA tables that indicated which factors contributed the most to a given cluster solution. Taking these indicative measures into account, and guided by the study's conceptual framework, a three-cluster solution was selected as the 'most' interpretable and important for the four reasons below.

First, SPSS' Two-Step cluster analysis initially produced a two-cluster solution based on changes in BIC values and the distance measures for the *EIS-R, VIE-R,* and *SC-F2* attributes (Table 6) – a smaller (37.1% of cases) and a larger cluster (62.9%). Upon closer inspection, I felt that the change from a two- to a three-cluster solution, coupled with the reasonably large ratio of BIC change and distance measure change, might yield a 'better' solution.

Table 6: Two-factor solution: SPSS Auto-clustering statistics

Number of Clusters	Schwarz's Bayesian Criterion (BIC)	BIC Change(a)	Ratio of BIC Changes(b)	Ratio of Distance Measures(c)
1	1167.51			
2	963.20	-204.31	1.00	2.02
3	881.00	-82.20	.40	1.41
4	833.95	-47.06	.23	1.25
5	803.91	-30.04	.15	1.47
6	795.48	-8.42	.04	1.26
7	796.59	1.11	-.01	1.01
8	797.95	1.36	-.01	1.05
9	800.98	3.03	-.02	1.04

a The changes are from the previous number of clusters in the table.
b The ratios of changes are relative to the change for the two cluster solution.
c The ratios of distance measures are based on the current number of clusters against the previous number of clusters.

When I re-ran the analysis specifying three clusters, the resultant distribution of cases was more balanced (Table 7) than SPSS' original two-cluster solution.

Table 7: Three-cluster solution: Distribution of cases

	N	**% of Combined**
Cluster I	154	28.3%
Cluster II	195	35.8%
Cluster III	195	35.8%
	544	100.0%

Despite the increased complexity of a three-cluster model (as measured by the number of clusters), this solution produced finer separation between groups that enhanced cluster interpretability. As seen in Table 8, the distribution of mean and median scores within each cluster showed a stronger classification of cases. This three-cluster solution had divided into two the larger of the two original clusters that SPSS had automatically determined.

Table 8: Three-cluster solution: Measures of central tendency by attribute

	EIS-R			VIE-R		SC-F2	
	N	M	Mdn.	M	Mdn.	M	Mdn.
CL-I	154	3.88	3.90	3.99	4.00	4.19	4.00
CL-II	195	3.46	3.40	3.95	4.00	3.09	3.30
CL-III	195	2.92	2.90	2.72	2.80	3.05	3.00
	544	3.39	3.40	3.52	3.60	3.39	3.40

The by-variable importance charts that were produced when the three-cluster analysis was executed seemed to confirm the measures-of-central-tendency trends shown in Table 8. The satisfying intra-cluster homogeneity of the three-cluster solution was evident in the narrow error-bar charts for each attribute means. As shown in figures three to five, all three selected attributes contributed to the formation of clusters I and III (and two of three did for Cluster II). They did so both significantly, as measured by the t statistic, and importantly, given the large t statistics that exceeded the critical values for significance (shown by the dashed vertical lines in each figure) in eight of the nine calculations. However, the relative importance of each attribute to the formation of the clusters varied, as can be seen by the differently-ordered variables on the y-axis in figures three to five.

Figure 3. TwoStep Cluster I: By-cluster variable importance chart
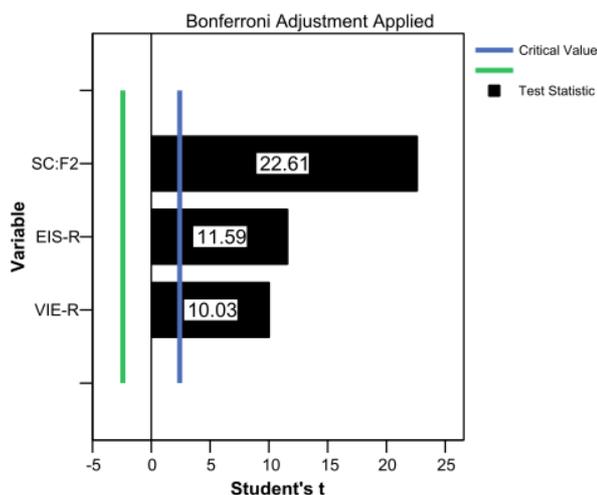
Figure 4. TwoStep Cluster II: By-cluster variable importance chart
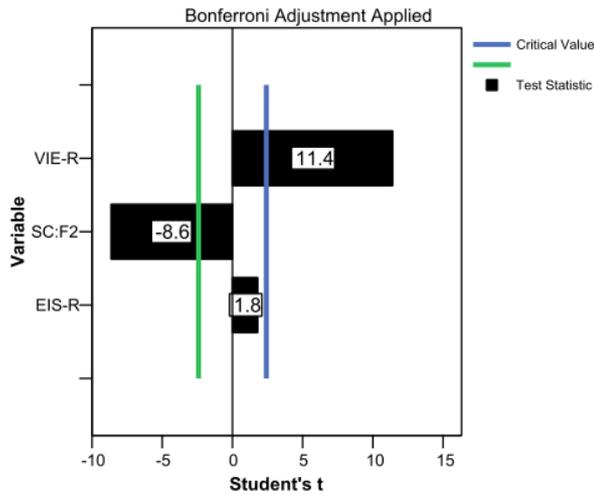
Figure 5. TwoStep Cluster III: By-cluster variable importance chart
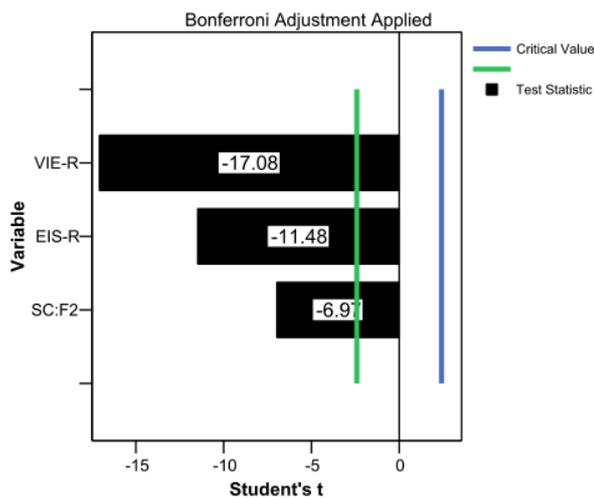
The selection of this three-cluster solution seemed justified when one-way ANOVAs were run to compare all three attribute means. Although considered more descriptively than statistically useful, as clustering procedures are designed to maximise *intra*-cluster similarity while minimising *inter*-cluster similarity, the large *F* statistics indicated the relative importance of each variable to the separation of the three groups (Table 9).

Table 9: Three-cluster solution: Analysis of Variance for the selected attributes

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
VIE-R	Between Groups	196.567	2	98.284	279.749	.000
	Within Groups	190.068	541	.351		
	Total	386.635	543			
SC-F2	Between Groups	137.053	2	68.526	229.727	.000
	Within Groups	161.377	541	.298		
	Total	298.430	543			
EIS-R	Between Groups	79.863	2	39.931	128.227	.000
	Within Groups	168.474	541	.311		
	Total	248.336	543			

Summary – Phase 1 methodology

This first section has explained the quantitative methods used in Phase 1. My professional contacts in Hong Kong helped me to identify and select nine international schools in Hong Kong, using three non-probability sampling criteria, gain research site access, review objectives with each school leadership teams, and address students to inform and recruit them to complete 70-item, mainly Likert-scale on-line questionnaire organised into five sections: *Experience of International School* (Jabal 2004), *View of Internationalism* (Hayden 1998), *Self-liking/Self-competence -- Revised* scale (Tafarodi and Swann 2001); *Social and Personal Identities* (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004), and *A Little About You* (background questions regarding heritage/culture and school history. The achieved sample of 729 senior students represents an overall response rate of 57.4 percent; a cleaned sample of 595 respondents from six international schools was kept for further analyses, descriptive and statistical, notably using exploratory factor and cluster analytic procedures. The next section explains the Phase 2 methodology, giving special emphasis to the research context and participants, procedures followed, the data collection, analysis, and interpretation, and the validity and reliability procedures used.

Phase 2 -- Qualitative methods

Research context

In choosing two international schools in Hong Kong based on maximum variation sampling strategy – i.e., one Type 5 (English Schools Foundation) and one Type 6 (Self-affiliation with foreign educational system) international school (Bray and Yamato 2003) – three criteria also guided Phase 2's purposive identification and selection of the institutional sample: (1) school had taken part in Phase 1; (2) different curricula offered; and (3) interested in investigating

further the phenomenon of student engagement by permitting me to conduct student and teacher-leader interviews and to observe school life within its formal (e.g., classroom, assemblies) and informal (e.g., playground, after-school co-curriculum) settings.

To preserve confidentiality, the two Phase 2 schools are referred to with fictitious names. Whereas Windsor Secondary High is an 11-to-18 secondary school (Type 5), Waratah High is an all-through school for students between the ages of 4 and 18 (Type 6). They are located in different residential districts of Hong Kong and offer non-local, international curricula through the English language. Both are large, enrolling in excess of 1,000 students, of which 80 are in the two senior secondary year groups at Waratah High; nearly 400 students comprise the senior school at Windsor Secondary High. Both are co-educational and non-selective academically, and include children with special educational needs (mainstream and/or learning support classes). Both are also non-profit making and non-denominational.

The research activities covered a four-week period at Waratah High in August and September 2005. The fieldwork spanned five weeks at Windsor Secondary High, from February to March 2006. Table 10 charts the number of students surveyed and interviewed at each school, as well as the number of teacher-leader interviews and total number of days spent conducting observations at each school. In turn, each Phase 2 school is presented below.

Table 10. Waratah and Windsor Secondary High: Phases 1 and 2 overview

School	Description	Students surveyed	Students interviewed	Year groups interviewed	Teacher-leaders interviewed	Observation days
Waratah High	Type 6: Reception to Yr12	50	18	Yr11, Yr12	15	21
Windsor Secondary High	Type 5: Yr7 to Yr13	215	16	Yr12, Yr13	15	14
Totals		265	34	Yr11, Yr12, Yr13	30	35

Waratah High

Waratah High is a large, all-through Type 6 international school (Bray and Yamato 2003) in a low-density residential district. The school's purpose-built, multi-storied, open-plan building overlooks its sports arena. Despite being relatively new, the school underwent a significant building extension shortly after the fieldwork portion of the study was completed. Waratah High takes its students from all over Hong Kong, though the vast majority carry passports from one Western country (EMB 2006) from where its curriculum comes.

The school mission and aims state clearly that it is designed to serve the needs of expatriates from this particular country, as well as those who wish to leverage its nationally-based programme for (re-) entry into the "country of origin's" educational system. Although children of Chinese-heritage (mainly Hong Kong) visibly predominate, those of Anglo-Saxon backgrounds are a small but vocal part of the school community. The vast majority of the teachers and the entire senior administrative team are Caucasian and recruited from the one particular country. Significantly, the school opened on that country's national day. In documentation prepared for a recent accreditation visit, Waratah High describes itself as "a source of pride for the [country's] community." The school materials (including student uniform), rituals, and practices reflect the dominant country's traditions, values, and ethos. The majority of Waratah High's graduates pursue higher education in that country, though a small but increasing number are choosing to do so in the UK, Canada, and Hong Kong.

Windsor Secondary High

Windsor Secondary High is a very large, 11-18 Type 5 international school (Bray and Yamato 2003) in a mostly residential area of Hong Kong. It has had a storied history that has contributed to many of its long-standing traditions. The expansive campus includes several multi-storied and adjoining buildings that overlook a sports arena. Nearly all of Windsor Secondary High's students reside in its immediate vicinity due to the geographically-determined catchment area admissions policy of its parent organisation.

Windsor Secondary High serves a broadly mixed population by nationality: about one-quarter of the students are British, one-fifth Canadian, one-seventh Hong Kong-Chinese, and one-tenth other Asian and Australasian (EMB 2006). Though the majority of its students are of Chinese (mainly Hong Kong) heritage, Windsor Secondary High, like the other 20 ESF schools, is designed for children who speak English as a first (or alternative language) but do not speak Cantonese and/or read and write Chinese. An ESF survey conducted in 2005 found that 70 percent of its students have parents who are permanent residents of Hong Kong (Forse 2010). Windsor Secondary High includes a significant number of Anglo-Indian students; and those from Anglo-Saxon backgrounds are a visible minority. The vast majority of the teachers are Caucasian and recruited from the UK. Windsor Secondary High has an established reputation for high academic standards and excellent student achievements, both curricular and co-/extra-curricular (notably in music and the arts). Most of its graduates

pursue higher education at leading universities in the UK, North America, and Australia, though an increasing number are opting to do so at one of Hong Kong's universities, too.

Procedures

Several specific procedures were used to carry out the Phase 2 research design. Waratah and Windsor Secondary High were first identified as promising sites of inquiry from the Phase 1 institutional sampling frame and invited to participate. I met with each school's administrative teams to review the Phase 2 objectives, discuss the logistics of participation, and outline the research outcomes. After obtaining administrator consent and confirming site access, I spoke about the research study at a staff meeting at each school, answered questions, and invited teacher-leaders to take part. All teacher-leaders who were interviewed, and/or whose lesson(s) I observed, completed a consent form (Appendix J).

I next reviewed with students at an assembly (as had been done earlier at each school with Phase 1) the Phase 2 objectives, procedures, and outcomes. The Phase 1 respondents who had previously indicated an interest to be interviewed were emailed and invited to participate. Nine agreed to take part from Waratah High (50%); seven did from Windsor Secondary High (46.7%). An additional 18 student participants were recruited in the course of conducting school and classroom observations at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High; what I heard and/or saw led me to believe they could usefully contribute to the study, so I discretely approached these potential participants and offered them the opportunity to partake. Before being interviewed, all Phase 2 student participants had to submit a consent form (co-signed by their guardians/parents if under the age of 18) (Appendix K) and complete, if they had not done so already, a Phase 1 survey to determine their cluster grouping.

Though the research design called for a minimum of three students per cluster, per school, to be interviewed for descriptive and analytic *intra*-cluster similarity and *inter*-cluster difference at each school, this was not achieved for the Cluster III sample from Windsor Secondary High, which had two participants. This is one sampling limitation that needs to be considered when evaluating the Phase 2 findings for Cluster III/Windsor Secondary High, in particular.

Research participants

Given the study's student-as-context approach, the primary research participants are the 34 purposefully sampled senior students at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The research focus is their day-to-day experiences of and engagement within the international school,

including formal and informal settings, and the perceptions, feelings, and meanings they attach to those experiences, in particular. I only chose senior secondary students as they would have considerable school experience and presumably have the insights into what makes international schools engaging places for students. The student interviewees were identified using "criterion-based selection" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, cited in Merriam, 1998: 61): namely, they had to be in their penultimate or final year of secondary school (first criterion); to complete the Phase 1 survey (second criterion); and to group into one of the three student clusters (third criterion), whose lived experiences of and engagement within the international school I sought to exemplify and understand. A more detailed description of the Phase 2 student participants' socio-demographic and attitudinal characteristics can be found in Chapter 4 and Appendices U-Z; student names are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the participants.

The secondary research participants in Phase 2 included 30 teacher-leaders, equally divided between Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, who were purposefully sampled using two criteria: responsibility post (i.e., Senior leader, middle leader, main-scale teacher) and scope (i.e., administrative, curricular, pastoral) with respect to senior secondary students. Appendix L shows the positions and areas of responsibility for the teacher-leader participants at the two schools; teacher-leader names are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of the participants. The 18 female (60%) and 12 male (40%) teacher-leaders had an average of 17.5 years ($Mdn. = 16$) of school teaching and leadership experience. Of the 15 Waratah High teacher-leader participants, 9 were female (60%) and 6 male (40%). They were all foreign-country nationals from the school's 'home' system of education, and had been teaching for 20.6 years on average ($Mdn. = 21$). The 15 Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader participants also included 9 females (60%) and 6 males (40%). Bar one, they were all foreign-country nationals from the school's 'home' system of education, with an average of 14.3 years of school teaching and leadership experience ($Mdn. = 14$).

Data collection

Several qualitative methods of inquiry and recording processes were used to collect, triangulate, and check the validity and reliability of the Phase 2 findings. The primary source of evidence at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High was individual, semi-structured interviews with two types of people. Guided by the study's conceptual framework, research questions, and the Phase 1 findings, two different protocols were developed and used to

interview the students from each cluster (Appendix M) and their teacher-leaders (Appendix N). The teacher-leader sample was stratified into 'key informants' with senior (i.e., policy, staffing decision-making power), middle (i.e., academic department or student development), or main-scale (i.e., teaching, form tutor) curricular and pastoral responsibilities, and who were deemed to have knowledge about and perspectives on student experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Consistent with the study's interpretive paradigm, my interviews with students focused on understanding better the subject position(s) that individuals occupy and their subjective interpretations of the realities of schooling; the questions asked about their background, knowledge, values, assumptions, and attitudes they bring with them, and through which they perceive, experience, and engage within the international school. To explore how international schools respond to their students' backgrounds, attitudes, behaviours, abilities, and achievements, my interviews with teacher-leaders elicited their insights into the prevailing institutional norms, assumptions, beliefs, and practices, as well as their conception of their role and feelings about what makes for an international school. All interviews were carried out at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, digitally recorded, and transcribed verbatim for later review. Each participant was sent a soft-copy and given the opportunity to review the transcript of their interviews within six weeks of our conversation; none made any changes. The 34 student interviews lasted between 27 and 70 minutes; the 30 teacher-leader interviews ranged from 26 to 99 minutes in length.

Second, participant observations were conducted for a total of 35 days to ground firmly the interview findings within students' lived experiences of the school as a social environment: 21 days at Waratah High and 14 days at Windsor Secondary High. Two different protocols were used to observe students within the informal (Appendix O) and formal (Appendix P) contexts of the school, in general, and of the classroom, in particular. The observation schedule was initially drawn up with input from my administrator contact at each school, each of whom was also a participant. Although general site observations were carried out throughout my time at each school, my first two to three days at each school (and final half day) were mainly spent observing the common spaces (e.g., playgrounds, library, refectory), walking the hallways, and looking at display when not reviewing school documentation and following-up teacher-leader requests to be interviewed. I then did three to four classroom observations daily -- either after a teacher-leader had invited me to observe their lesson or because I wanted to observe a particular student participant in class, and so had approached

the teacher-leader beforehand and requested permission to come in -- which I worked around my interviews. I also managed to gain access to observe lessons and after-school activities following informal conversations with teachers in the staff room during breaks and lunch-time, as well as through key informant recommendations whom I then approached.

An observer-as-participant stance was taken throughout – i.e., the participants knew the study objectives; and researcher participation was "definitely secondary to the role of information gatherer" (Merriam 1998: 101). The observations provided generative insights into the 'lived' impact of the social environment on students' experiences of and engagement with the school outside of interview situations (e.g., where and how students self-grouped in/out of lessons; how teacher-leaders addressed and why they disciplined students in the library, refectory, and school corridors; what and who got celebrated at school assemblies). In addition, field notes were kept to record reflections during the research process and on my fieldwork observations (Bogdan and Biklen 1997).

Third, document analyses of student-record (e.g., achievement, attendance), programmatic (e.g., curriculum), teacher-leader (e.g., handbook, policy), parent (e.g., newsletter), and school web-site data were carried out before entering, during, and after exiting the field to further contextualise the research settings and student experiences therein. Particular attention was paid to the meanings, 'hidden' and intended, within the documents for insights into the forces and factors that may support and constrain students' experiences of and engagement with the school.

Data analysis and interpretation

Student experiences of and engagement within the international school is seen as a socially constructed phenomenon that is intimately connected with those who create it, and must be understood through the eyes of participants by asking "questions of meaning, self-awareness and the nature and function of the social context" (Kincheloe, Slattery et al. 2000: 256). In striving to understand what makes international schools engaging places for students, two questions guide the Phase 2 inquiry: 2a) How does the "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) the clustered students encounter support and constrain their experiences of and engagement within the school culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum? 2b) How might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school? N6 software (Richards 2002; QSR

2004) for Windows (version 6.0) was used to conduct two-stage content analysis of the data from the two research sites.

In Stage One, all student and teacher-leader transcriptions from Waratah High were first read to get a sense of the school's interview data. An initial coding scheme was generated from the student interview data ($N = 18$), which was reviewed for frequency, omission, and declaration (LeCompte 2000). Specifically, "[e]vents, happenings, objects, and actions/interactions that are found to be conceptually similar in nature or related in meaning are grouped under more abstract concepts and termed 'categories'" (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 102). The coding scheme was then applied to the teacher-leader interview data ($N = 15$) for Waratah High. Descriptive and analytical matrices (Miles and Huberman 1994) were used to represent the emergent themes and patterns from the student and teacher-leader interview findings (a sample matrix can be found in Appendix Q) and the initial codes were refined. Next, the observational and document data from Waratah High, as well as my field notes, were sifted through for relevant units of data that were located within the appropriate matrices and the coded categories and themes were further refined. Finally, all of the Waratah High interview data was re-read and the classification scheme revised into major and minor sub-categories, before analytical descriptions of the setting, people, and categories for analysis were generated. In the same way, content analysis was carried out of the 16 student and 15 teacher-leader interviews, 14-days' observation, and document data from Windsor Secondary High to identify patterns and thematize its site-specific findings. The common themes to emerge from the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High findings about the enabling contexts for student engagement were then combined. These are taken up in Chapter 9.

In Stage Two, by-cluster membership was used as an analytic lens to undertake a secondary analysis of the cross-site codes and themes. One in-depth case study was developed for each site (Chapter 5) and student cluster (Chapters 6, 7, and 8). Three primary themes emerged from the integrated quantitative-qualitative data and combined cross-site, teacher-leader, and by-cluster findings to interconnect the interview, observation, and document data and show how individual and institutional contexts shape students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. These are taken up in Chapter 10.

Validity and reliability procedures

Several validity procedures were used in the study to establish the credibility and strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings (Merriam 1998; Creswell and Miller 2000). First, I self-disclosed in Chapter 1, under the heading, 'The role of the researcher', the assumptions behind the study, biases that may influence this inquiry, and my position vis-à-vis the target population. As an established international schools educator in Hong Kong with contacts across schools, a number of which participated in Phases 1 and 2, I remained sensitive throughout the research process about matters of access, intrusiveness, familiarity, and rapport (Mercer 2007). Second, when forming themes and categories in the study I looked for converging evidence about student experiences of and engagement with the international school through two types of triangulation (Denzin 1994; Bogdan and Biklen 1997): across data sources (i.e., student and teacher-leader participants) and data collection methods (i.e., quantitative – survey; qualitative – interview, observations, documents).

The third strategy used to ensure internal validity was "member checking," which Lincoln and Guba (1985: 314) consider the "most crucial technique for establishing credibility" (as cited in Creswell and Miller 2000: 127). Specifically, I practised reciprocity (Noddings 1984; Lather 1995) by giving each student and teacher-leader participant the opportunity to read the transcript of their interview and comment on its accuracy. In addition, one session was convened at each school with teacher-leaders who were given the opportunity to review the interim findings, my interpretations, and feedback on "how accurately [and completely] participants' realities ha[d] been represented" (Creswell and Miller 2000: 125).

Finally, to ensure external validity a "chain-of-evidence" was incorporated so that readers could understand what is going in, follow the analysis, and arrive at a conclusion based on the data (Anderson 1998). Although the study uses thick, rich description to convey the findings and examine the psycho-sociocultural processes of student engagement within the international school that operate across two sites, drawing mainly on in-depth data from a small sample size, the views of the 34 student and 30 teacher-leader participants may not represent the populations at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The richness and depth of data does, however, make it possible to gain insight into student engagement matters from their particular experiential standpoints and ontological perspectives; to build a coherent justification for the emergent themes; and to achieve credible interpretations of the forces and factors that support and constrain students' experiences of and engagement within two

international schools in Hong Kong. The study thus aims for analytic rather than "statistical generalization" (Yin 2003: 32). In particular, it draws on a "post-structural model of processual generalizability" (Stoddart 2004) that is more concerned with social processes than populations; it does not "claim to represent processes as social facts; it… also eschew[s] claims to represent *the truth* about any social processes [and guards against] reifying the social processes it describes…". In doing so, the study aims to connect its findings to the world beyond the boundaries of the immediate research data so that readers may compare, contrast, and transfer the contextuality of the attitudes and behaviours to their own situations.

Summary – Phase 2 methodology

This second section has explained the Phase 2 qualitative methods. Qualitative methods of inquiry were used to extend the survey findings and explore the subjective quality of students' experiences of and engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong. Specifically, I interviewed 34 senior students and 30 teacher-leaders and conducted 35 days of in- and out-of-classroom observations at two international schools in Hong Kong, which were identified using my professional contacts and selected using three purposive criteria: Phase 1 involvement, different curricula offered, and interested in investigating further the phenomenon of student engagement within the institutional contexts of culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum. After gaining site access and reviewing the study objectives with the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High leadership teams, I met with teachers at a staff meeting and senior students at an assembly to inform and recruit them to participate.

Data collection involved individual, in-situ, semi-structured interviews with students from each cluster and their teacher-leaders, who were stratified into 'key informants' with senior, middle, or main-scale curricular and pastoral responsibilities. All interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed verbatim, reviewed, and shared with participants, who were invited to review and/or comment on the accuracy and completeness of the transcript. Participant observations, using two protocols for informal and formal settings, were conducted to ground interviews findings within students' lived experiences of the school as a living and learning environment. Field notes and document analyses of student-record, programmatic, teacher-leader, parent, and school web-site data helped to further contextualise the research settings and student experiences therein.

N6 software for Windows was used to support two-stage content analysis. In Stage One, all student and teacher-leader data from Waratah High was reviewed to develop an initial coding

scheme, before sifting through observational and document data for relevant units and generating analytical descriptions of the setting, people, and categories. This process of data analysis and interpretation was repeated for Waratah Secondary High. In Stage Two, I carried out secondary analysis of the cross-site themes using by-cluster student membership as the analytic lens, before developing one in-depth case study for each site and student cluster.

To establish the credibility and strengthen the trustworthiness of the findings, I self-disclosed, looked for converging evidence about students' experiences of and engagement within the international school across data sources and data collection methods, and gave each interviewee the opportunity to review and comment upon the completeness and accuracy of their transcription. To strengthen external validity, I also incorporated a "chain-of-evidence" to convey the findings thickly and richly so that readers could understand what is going on, follow the analysis, and arrive at a conclusion based on the data.

Chapter 4 next presents the quantitative results to describe the socio-demographic features of the surveyed international school students; examine the relationships between their socio-demographics and experience of international schooling (as measured by the *EIS-R* scale); and to profile quantitatively the three sub-groups to emerge from the cluster analysis using their socio-demographics and attitudinal data. This is followed by four analytic vignettes. Chapter 5 draws on the perspectives of teacher-leader participants to construct the institutional portraits, as well as to describe the contextual elements that shape students' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 then construct case studies of the Cluster I (Septentrional), II (Equatorial), and III (Meridional) students to explore and understand the subjective quality of their lived experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Chapter 4: Results – Quantitative

As stated in Chapter 1, the two-phase study reported here examined the individual- and institutional-level contexts that shaped students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. This chapter presents the results from Phase 1, whose descriptive and correlational design serve to answer three research questions:

1. a) What are the socio-demographic features of international high school students in Hong Kong (including background, heritage/culture, and school history)?

1. b) What relationships exist between their socio-demographics, attitudinal features, and schooling experiences, as measured by the researcher-designed Experience of International School *(EIS-R)* scale?

1. c) How can the surveyed students be meaningfully typologised using their socio-demographics and attitudinal profiles (i.e., Social and Personal Identities, View of Internationalism -- Revised, Experience of International School -- Revised, and Self-liking/Self-competence Scale -- Revised)?

This chapter is organised into three sections according to the specific Phase 1 research questions.

1a) What are the socio-demographic features of international high school students in Hong Kong (including background, heritage/culture, and school history)?

When describing the characteristics of the international school students in Hong Kong who took part in my study, I am referring to the cleaned sample of 544 surveyed students from six international schools used to derive the final three-cluster solution in Phase 1; and the 34 surveyed and interviewed Phase 2 students from Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. In evaluating these results, readers should pay attention to respondents' socio-demographics and attitudinal profiles, in terms of View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised *(SLCS-R)* scale scores, to both appreciate the relevant sample characteristics as a whole, which may be shaping the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international; as well as to compare and contrast the salient attributes of the three student clusters, whose perspectives on key areas of their experiences and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are developed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

Socio-demographic results

Phase 1 (*N* = 544)

The 544 international school students had a mean age of 17 years and 3 months (*SD* = .88) and included 316 females (58.1%) and 228 males (41.9%). Nearly three-quarters were in their penultimate year of secondary school (73.9%), and most had spent five or more years there (71%) – very few (14.8%) had been at their current school for two years or less. The majority of Phase 1 respondents came from two schools (59.5%), though more than one-third (39.5%) attended Windsor Secondary High, the largest of the six Phase 1 schools and a Phase 2 research site in which I followed-up the survey work.

More than half of the surveyed international school students had been born in Hong Kong (55.3%), which most (70.5%) considered home. The majority had resided in Hong Kong for 7 or more years (84.9%); half had done so for 13 or more years (50.3%). Challenging the popular "third-culture kids" view that international school student lives are characterised by "rootlessness and restlessness… a compulsive migratory instinct [and filled with] high mobility" (Lewis 2002: 7-9), the surveyed international school students in this study seemed to be quite a geographically stable population with considerable attachment to Hong Kong. Moreover, though nearly two-thirds were British (27.2%), Canadian (24.8%), or Australian (13.9%), few considered their passport country of the UK (3.4%), Canada (5.4%), or Australia (3.6%) to be home. One-in-ten also self-reported not knowing where 'home' was for them in the world (9.1%). A little more than one-third of the Phase 1 respondents considered themselves to be 'local' Hong Kongers (37.2%), more than twice the number who self-identified as expatriate international school students (14.2%). The majority considered English a second language (51.8%), which a large majority mostly used with their friends (81.9%). Far fewer, however, mainly used English with their parents (38.3%); and nearly half mostly used Cantonese (47.5%). Although the majority were comfortably bilingual (74.3%), speaking their second language fluently (54.0%) or well (20.3%), more than one-in-ten of the international school students were monolingual (11.1%).

As a cohort, the surveyed respondents were academically able: more than half (52.6%) generally achieved A (21.7%) or A/B (30.9%) grades; and few self-reported that they typically got C/D grades or below (6.4%). However, more than one-third spent 6 or fewer hours per week on homework outside lessons (39.1%); and only one-quarter generally did 13 or more hours of homework weekly (25.3%). Nearly one-third of the surveyed students spent

7 or more hours weekly in school-based co-/extra-curricular activities (31.7%); and very few did not take part in any activities at all (4.9%).

In sum, that so many respondents self-report Hong Kong as their home, a relatively high percentage were born in Hong Kong, and the majority speak Cantonese (and use it with their parents) indicate that these students are not typical international school students that one would find in any other context and very much reflect some of the unique characteristics of the Hong Kong population; this is particularly true of the Cluster II (Equatorial) student. At the same time, though I did not use any indicators in the survey to help determine the socio-economic status of respondents, the relatively high tuition fees of the participating international schools mean that, in the main, the respondents are all rather privileged young people, children of professional families with good incomes, which is more typical of international school students in other jurisdictions (Gerner, Perry et al. 1992; Garton 2002; Bray and Yamato 2003).

Phase 2 ($N = 34$)

The 34 student participants had a mean age of 17 years 4 months ($SD = .89$), and included 18 females (52.9%) and 16 males (47.1%). Slightly more of the student interviewees attended Waratah (52.9%) than Windsor (47.1%) Secondary High. The majority were in their final year of secondary school (58.8%); and half had spent five or more years at either Waratah or Windsor Secondary High. Slightly more than one-third of participants had been born in Hong Kong (35.3%), and exactly half considered Hong Kong home. The majority had resided in Hong Kong for either 7 to 12 (23.5%) or 13 or more years (41.2%); 12 had done so for six or fewer years. Other than Hong Kong, the participants had been born in nine countries, including the UK (14.7%), Australia (14.7%), and Canada (8.8%). Though more considered themselves Australian (29.4%), British (23.5%), or Canadian (14.7%), few considered their passport country of the UK (2.9%), Australia (8.8%), or Canada (8.8%) to be home. One-fifth, in fact, self-reported not knowing where 'home' was for them in the world (20.5%).

The majority of the Phase 2 participants self-identified as expatriate (32.4%) or expatriate-Hong Kong (41.2%) international school students, rather than local-Hong Kong (26.5%). Nearly two-thirds considered English as their first language (64.7%), which a large majority mostly used with their friends (88.2%). Even so, one-third mainly used Cantonese with their parents (32.4%), which slightly fewer considered their first language (29.4%). Although the

majority of participants were confidently bilingual (67.6%), speaking their second language fluently (38.2%) or well (29.4%), one-fifth were monolingual (20.6%).

In short, the demographic characteristics of the Phase 2 student sample ($N = 34$) were broadly consistent with those of the surveyed Phase 1 sample ($N = 544$) in terms of birthplace, passport country, place in the world called home, second language, and language mostly used with parents.

Table 11. Demographic similarities between Phase 2 and Phase 1 student participants

	Phase 2 ($N = 34$)	Phase 1 ($N = 544$)
Birthplace		
Canada	8.8%	8.5%
US	5.9%	5.0%
Passport		
Hong Kong	11.8%	10.5%
Place in the world called home		
Canada	8.8%	5.1%
UK	2.9%	3.4%
Second language		
Cantonese	17.6%	19.7%
Putonghua	5.9%	4.1%
Language mostly used with friends		
English	88.2%	81.5%

At the same time, the results of cross-tabulation analyses revealed *descriptively* but not *statistically* significant differences between the Phase 1 and 2 participants on six demographic variables (Table 12).

Table 12. Demographic differences between Phase 2 and Phase 1 student participants

	Phase 2	Phase 1
Birthplace		
Hong Kong	35.3%	56.6%
Passport		
Australia	29.4%	12.6%
Canada	14.7%	25.0%
Place in the world called home		
Hong Kong	50.0%	70.8%
I don't know	20.5%	9.1%
First language		
English	64.7%	45.0%
Cantonese	29.4%	43.4%
Second language		
English	35.3%	52.9%
I don't have one	20.6%	10.5%
Language mostly used with parents		
English	55.9%	37.1%
Cantonese	32.4%	48.5%

However, statistically significant (albeit small) differences indicate that the Phase 1 and 2 samples were demographically different on two variables (Table 13): a larger proportion of Phase 2 respondents self-reported having lived fewer years in Hong Kong (i.e., nearly three

times more) and self-identified as expatriate international school student (i.e., more than two-and-a-half times more) than had been the case in Phase 1.

Table 13. Demographic differences between Phase 2 and Phase 1 student participants – statistically significant

	Phase 2	Phase 1	Significant differences
Years spent living in Hong Kong			
0 to 6	35.3%	13.8%	$X^2 = 11.58$; df $= 2$, $p = .003$. Cramer's V
7 to 12	23.5%	35.3%	$= .15$; $p = .003$.
13 or more	41.2%	50.9%	
Type of int'l school student			
Expatriate	32.4%	12.9%	$X^2 = 9.98$; df $= 2$, $p = .007$.
Local-Hong Kong	26.5%	37.8%	Cramer's V $= .14$; $p = .007$.
Expatriate-Hong Kong	41.2%	49.0%	

Waratah High ($N = 18$)

The Waratah High student sample included an equal number of females ($N = 9$) and males ($N = 9$). Of the 18 interviewees, most were in their final year of secondary school (55.6%); and more than three-quarters had spent four or more years at Waratah High (77.8%). One-third of participants had been born in Hong Kong (33.3%), which nearly half considered home (44.4%). The majority had resided in Hong Kong for either 7 to 12 (27.8%) or 13 or more years (33.3%); 7 had done so for six or fewer years. Other than Hong Kong, the participants had been born in seven countries, including Australia (27.8%) and Singapore (11.1%). Though half considered themselves Australian (50.0%), few considered Australia home (16.7%). More than one-quarter, in fact, self-reported not knowing where 'home' was for them in the world (27.8%).

Nearly half of the Phase 2 participants self-identified as expatriate-Hong Kong (44.4%); of the remaining, an equal proportion considered themselves to be either expatriate (27.8%) or local-Hong Kong (27.8%) international school students. Half considered Cantonese their first language, which more than one-third mainly used with their parents (38.9%). More than three-quarters favoured using English with their friends (77.8%), however, which the majority considered a second language (55.6%). Although nearly three-quarters of Waratah High participants were confidently bilingual (72.2%), speaking their second language fluently (38.9%) or well (33.3%), more than one-fifth were monolingual (22.2%). Appendices U and V summarise the demographic and schooling characteristics of the individual Phase 2 Waratah High student participants.

Windsor Secondary High ($N = 16$)

The Windsor High student sample included slightly more females ($N = 9$; 56.3%) than males ($N = 7$; 43.8%). Of the 16 interviewees, the majority were in their final year of secondary school (62.5%); and less than one-fifth had spent four or fewer years at Windsor Secondary High (18.8%). More than one-third of participants had been born in Hong Kong (37.5%), which the majority considered home (56.3%). The majority had resided in Hong Kong for either 7 to 12 (18.8%) or 13 or more years (50.0%); five had done so for six or fewer years (31.3%). Other than Hong Kong, the participants had been born in five countries, including the UK (31.3%) and Canada (12.5%). However, few considered the UK home (6.3%); more did Canada (18.8%). Only two interviewees self-reported not knowing where 'home' was for them in the world (12.5%).

An equal number of the Phase 2 participants self-identified as expatriate-Hong Kong (37.5%) or expatriate (37.5%) international school students rather than local-Hong Kong (25.0%). The vast majority considered English their first language (87.5%), which slightly fewer mainly used with their parents (75.0%). Only two participants mainly spoke Cantonese with their parents (12.5%); and none self-reported mainly using Cantonese with their friends. However, one-third did identify Cantonese as their second language (37.5%). Nearly two-thirds of Windsor Secondary High participants were confidently bilingual (62.5%), speaking a second language fluently (37.5%) or well (25.0%); almost one-fifth self-identified as monolingual (18.8%). Appendices X and Y summarise the demographic and schooling characteristics of the individual Phase 2 Windsor Secondary High student participants.

Summary – demographic characteristics, question 1a

We can conclude that the 544 Phase 1 student respondents were a largely 'localised' international school population, with the majority born in Hong Kong (55.3%), nearly three-quarters who considered it home (70.5%), and more than half who considered English a second language (51.8%). Although nearly 10 percent reported that they did not know where 'home' was for them in the world, the respondents were a relatively stable school population, with the vast majority completing their compulsory studies at the same international school (70.6%). The respondents were also academically able, with more than half self-reporting A- (21.7%) or A/B- (30.9%) grade achievement. Respondents were also active participants in their school co-/extra-curricular programme, in which nearly two-thirds spent 4 or more hours weekly (61.6%). The Phase 2 sample was demographically similar in terms of

participants' birthplace, passport country, place in the world called home, second language, and language mostly used with parents. A statistically significant between-phase difference was found in terms of years spent in Hong Kong and self-reported type of international school student, although the tiny effect size makes this difference of little practical importance. We can also conclude that the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High student interviewees shared a number of demographic similarities – namely, their birthplace, years spent living in Hong Kong, and type of international school student. At the same time, the by-school sample of interviewed students was different in terms of first language, language mostly used with parents, years spent at current international school, and not knowing where 'home' was in the world. This represents a sampling limitation that must be borne in mind when evaluating the Phase 2 findings. With these salient demographic characteristics in place, I turn next to the attitudinal ratings of the survey variables to deepen the profile of the study's participants.

Attitudinal results

Phase 1

Table 14 reports the measures of central tendency for the three survey scales: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)*, Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*, and Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised *(SLCS-R)* scale. Although their distributional symmetry and flatness were within the acceptable range for normality of (i.e., between -1 to +1) (Hair, Anderson et al. 1998), significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics ($p<.05$, $N = 544$) indicated that the *VIE-R* ($D = .11$), *EIS-R* ($D = .05$), and *SLCS-R* ($D = .04$) sample data deviated from normality.

Table 14. International school student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SLCS-R* survey scales ($N = 544$)

	# items	Mdn.	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)	4	3.50	3.52[a]	.84	-.53	-.01
Experience of Int'l School – Revised (*EIS-R*)	8	3.40	3.39[b]	.68	-.22	-.11
Self-esteem (*SLCS-R*)	16	3.20	3.21[b]	.63	-.02	-.29

a. Rating scale: 1 = *Un-important to being international*; 5 = *Very important to being international*
b. Rating scale: 1 = *Strongly disagree*; 5 = *Strongly agree*

Table 15 reports the measures of central tendency for the five survey sub-scales. As with the scale variables, the distributional symmetry and flatness were within the acceptable range for normality (Hair, Anderson et al. 1998). However, highly significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics ($p<.001$, $N = 544$) indicated that the *EIS-F1* ($D=.08$), *EIS-F2* ($D=.08$), *SL* ($D=.07$),

SC-F2 (*D*=.06), and *SC-F1* (*D*=.08) distributions were not normal; as a result, non-parametric procedures were used.

Table 15. International school student ratings: *EIS-F1, EIS-F2, SL, SC-F2,* and *SC-F1* survey sub-scales

	# of items	Mdn.	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis
EIS-F1 (School)	4	3.50	3.36[a]	.78	-.17	-.47
EIS-F2 (Teacher)	4	3.50	3.46[a]	.77	-.18	-.29
Self-Liking (SL)	8	3.40	3.37[a]	.80	-.16	-.45
Self-Competence: Factor 2 (SC-F2)	4	3.00	3.04[a]	.62	-.05	.04
Self-Competence: Factor 3 (SC-F1)	4	3.30	3.39	.74	-.05	.04

a. Rating scale: 1 = Strongly disagree; 5 = Strongly agree

Having described the broad attitudinal characteristics of the surveyed 544 international school students, I turn now to their ratings of individual survey items to characterise more fully the respondents.

If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of agreement (i.e., *EIS-R, SLCS-R*) and importance (i.e., *VIE-R*) on the 1-5 Likert scales, then the student respondents rated 11 items highly (Table 16). For reference purposes, as the *VIE-R, EIS-R, and SLCS-R* sample data are non-Gaussian, Table 16 also includes Huber's M-Estimators, which are robust measures of central tendency that can "provide better estimates of central tendency than do the mean or median" because they are "not sensitive to departures from normality" (SPSS 2003).

Table 16: Highly rated items: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SLCS-R* scales (*N* = 544)

View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)	Mdn.	M	Huber's M-Estimator
In order 'to be international', it is necessary to be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.	4.00	3.98	4.06
In order 'to be international', it is necessary to understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	4.00	3.67	3.75
In order 'to be international', it is necessary to be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	4.00	3.53	3.63
Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*)			
My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	4.00	3.77	3.86
Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.00	3.69	3.78
Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.00	3.66	3.73
Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	3.64	3.71

Table 16 cont'd: Highly rated items: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SLCS-R* scales (*N* = 544)

Self-liking / Self-competence – Revised (*SLCS-R*)	*Mdn.*	*M*	Huber's M-Estimator
I have a negative attitude toward myself.*	4.00	3.57	3.67
I am almost always able to accomplish what I try for.	4.00	3.53	3.56
I am very comfortable with myself.	4.00	3.49	3.55
I feel great about who I am.	4.00	3.45	3.48

*Reverse-scored item

If a medians of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement (i.e., *EIS-R, SLCS-R*) and a low level of importance (i.e., *VIE-R*) on the 1-5 Likert scales, then two reverse-scored *SLCS-R* items were rated so lowly by the student respondents (Table 17).

Table 17: Lowly rated items: *SLCS-R* scale (*N* = 544)

Self-liking / Self-competence – Revised (*SLCS-R*)	*Mdn.*	*M*	Huber's M-Estimator
I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals.*	2.00	2.59	2.59
I wish I were more skilful in my activities.*	2.00	2.24	2.14

*Reverse-scored item

Phase 2

Turning to the attitudinal data for the Phase 2 participants, Table 18 reports medians, Huber's M-estimator, and dispersion (i.e., interquartile range – IQR) for the three clustering attributes: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence: Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*. The attribute items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 being low (un-important to being international) and 5 being high (very important to being international) for *VIE-R*; and 1 being low (strongly disagree) and 5 being high (strongly agree) for *EIS-R* and *SC-F2*.

Table 18. Phase 2 student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* (*N* = 34)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-estimator	IQR	Reliability *α*
View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)	4.00	3.90	3.25-4.50	.81
Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*)	3.70	3.71	3.33-4.16	.75
Self-competence-Factor 2 (*SC-F2*)	3.50	3.68	3.19-4.31	.88
Aggregated cluster attributes	3.80	3.74	3.35-4.10	-

Recall the Phase 1 student ratings of the three clustering attributes (Table 19).

Table 19. Phase 1 student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* (*N* = 544)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR	Reliability *α*
View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)	3.50	3.59	3.00-4.25	.78
Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*)	3.40	3.40	2.89-3.89	.80
Self-Competence: Factor 2 (*SC-F2*)	3.30	3.38	3.00-4.00	.78
Aggregated cluster attributes	3.40	3.44	3.07-3.81	-

The results of a Mann-Whitney test confirmed that the Phase 1 and 2 student samples were significantly different in terms of *VIE-R* ($U = 6831.50$, $p < .05$, $r = .09$), *EIS-R* ($U = 5867.0$, $p < .005$, $r = .14$), *SC-F2* ($U = 6900.50$, $p < .05$, $r = .09$), and aggregated cluster attribute ($U = 5907.0$, $p < .005$, $r = .13$) scores. However, the small effect sizes indicate that there was not much (practical) difference between the Phase 1 and 2 samples in terms of *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2,* and aggregated cluster attribute attitudinal scores.

Waratah High

Turning to the attitudinal data, Table 20 reports the measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three clustering attributes: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence: Factor 2 *(SC-F2).* The attribute items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 being low (not important to being international) and 5 being high (very important to being international) for *VIE-R*; and 1 being low (strongly disagree) and 5 being high (strongly agree) for *EIS-R* and *SC-F2*.

Table 20. Phase 2 Waratah High student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* ($N = 18$)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR	Reliability α
View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R)*	4.30	4.16	3.44-4.50	.78
Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R)*	3.60	3.72	3.31-4.34	.80
Self-competence-Factor 2 (*SC-F2*)	3.80	3.80	2.94-4.75	.89
Aggregated cluster attributes	3.90	3.81	3.35-4.27	--

Recall the Phase 1 Waratah High student ratings of the three clustering attributes (Table 21).

Table 21. Phase 1 Waratah High student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* ($N = 50$)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR	Reliability α
View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R)*	3.80	3.73	3.19-4.25	.71
Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R)*	3.40	3.37	2.86-3.81	.80
Self-competence: Factor 2 (*SC-F2*)	3.50	3.45	2.94-4.00	.87
Aggregated cluster attributes	3.50	3.52	3.14-3.92	--

The results of a Mann-Whitney test confirmed that the Phase 1 and 2 Waratah High student samples were significantly different in terms of their *VIE-R* ($U = 184.50$, $p < .05$, $r = .30$), *EIS-R* ($U = 166.0$, $p < .05$, $r = .35$), and aggregated cluster attribute ($U = 171.0$, $p < .05$, $r = .33$) scores. The medium effect sizes indicate that there was a practically important difference between the Phase 1 and 2 samples on these three measures: i.e., those interviewed (Phase 2) scored the cluster attributes higher than their classmates who had only been surveyed (Phase 1). However, the result of a Mann-Whitney test indicated that the Phase 1 and 2 Waratah High student samples were not significantly different in terms of their

SC-F2 (*U* = 208.50, *p* > .05) scores. On the basis of these findings, we can conclude that the Phase 2 sample of Waratah High student interviewees was significantly different to the school's' surveyed Phase 1 respondents in terms of *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and aggregated cluster attribute scores, but not *SC-F2*. This is a sampling limitation that must be borne in mind when evaluating the Phase 2 Waratah High qualitative findings to follow.

Tables 22, 23, and 24 report the Phase 2 Waratah High Septentrional (*N* = 9), Equatorial (*N* = 5), and Meridional (*N* = 4) measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three clustering attributes. Appendices U, V, and W summarise the salient socio-demographic and by-clustering attribute characteristics of the individual Waratah High student participants.

Table 22. By-cluster Phase 2 Waratah High: Experience of International School – Revised

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	9	4.30	4.26	3.58-4.57
CL-II: Equatorial	5	3.40	3.40	3.30-3.58
CL-III: Meridional	4	3.00	3.02	2.77-3.84

Table 23. By-cluster Phase 2 Waratah High: View of Internationalism – Revised

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	9	4.50	4.40	4.13-4.75
CL-II: Equatorial	5	4.30	4.25	3.88-4.75
CL-III: Meridional	4	2.50	2.50	1.94-3.06

Table 24. By-cluster Phase 2 Waratah High: Self-competence-F2

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	9	4.30	4.45	4.00-5.00
CL-II: Equatorial	5	2.80	2.71	2.50-3.13
CL-III: Meridional	4	3.40	3.38	3.06-4.44

Recall the by-cluster Phase 1 Waratah High student ratings of the three attributes (Tables 25, 26, 27).

Table 25. By-cluster Phase 1 Waratah High: Experience of International School – Revised

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	17	3.90	4.00	3.56-4.50
CL-II: Equatorial	17	3.40	3.34	2.94-3.68
CL-III: Meridional	16	2.80	2.89	2.69-3.22

Table 26. By-cluster Phase 1 Waratah High: View of Internationalism – Revised

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	17	4.30	4.04	3.38-4.50
CL-II: Equatorial	17	4.00	4.05	3.75-4.50
CL-III: Meridional	16	2.90	2.90	2.50-3.25

Table 27. By-cluster Phase 1 Waratah High: Self-competence-F2

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	17	4.30	4.39	4.00-4.88
CL-II: Equatorial	17	3.30	3.16	2.75-3.50
CL-III: Meridional	16	3.00	2.96	2.50-3.44

The by-cluster Phase 1 response patterns were maintained in Phase 2 for the aggregated cluster attribute scores (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*): i.e., Meridional (Low; *Mdn.* = 3.10), Equatorial (Middle; *Mdn.* = 3.40), and Septentrional (High; *Mdn.* = 4.20). However, in Phase 2 the *SC-F2* median score for the Equatorials (*Mdn.* = 2.80, *N* = 5) was lower than the Meridionals (*Mdn.* = 3.40, *N* = 4), whereas the reverse had been true in Phase 1 – i.e., Equatorials (*Mdn.* = 3.30, *N* = 17) had a higher *SC-F2* than Meridionals (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *N* = 16). The results of Mann-Whitney tests indicated that this difference was statistically significant in Phase 1 ($U = 35.50$, $p < .05$, $r = .44$) but not Phase 2 ($U = 2.50$, $p > .05$). The medium effect size indicates that there was a practically important difference between Phase 1's Meridionals and Equatorials in terms of *SC-F2*.

As Table 28 summarises, the results of Mann-Whitney tests confirmed that the Phase 1 (*N* = 50) and Phase 2 (*N* = 18) Waratah High student samples were not significantly different ($p > .05$) for the Septentrionals (i.e., *EIS-R, SC-F2*), Equatorials (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, Aggregated*), and Meridionals (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2, Aggregated*),

Table 28. By-cluster Phases 1 and 2 Waratah High: *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*, Aggregated cluster attributes

	VIE-R	EIS-R	SC-F2	Aggregated cluster attributes
CL-I	$U = 11.50$, $p < .05$, $r = .58$	$U = 26.0$	$U = 30.0$	$U = 9.00$, $p < .01$, $r = .63$
CL-II	$U = 23.0$	$U = 19.50$	$U = 10.50$, $p < .05$, $r = .51$	$U = 28.0$
CL-III	$U = 12.50$	$U = 16.50$	$U = 8.00$	$U = 16.00$

There were, however, significant between-phase group differences for Equatorials (i.e., *SC-F2*) and Septentrionals (i.e., *VIE-R*, Aggregated). The moderate effect sizes indicate that these differences were practically important, which represents a sampling limitation that must be borne in mind when evaluating the Phase 2 findings for Waratah High.

Windsor Secondary High

Turning to the attitudinal data, Table 29 reports the measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three clustering attributes: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)*, Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*, and Self-competence: Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*. The attribute items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 being low (not important to

being international) and 5 being high (very important to being international) for *VIE-R*; and 1 being low (strongly disagree) and 5 being high (strongly agree) for *EIS-R* and *SC-F2*.

Table 29. Phase 2 Windsor Secondary High student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* (*N* = 16)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR	Reliability α
View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)*	3.70	3.74	3.42-3.97	.85
Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*	3.60	3.67	3.25-4.19	.74
Self-competence-Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*	3.50	3.55	3.25-4.19	.87
Aggregated cluster attributes	3.70	3.70	3.29-3.92	--

Recall the Phase 1 Windsor Secondary High student ratings of these three clustering attributes (Table 30).

Table 30. Phase 1 Windsor Secondary High student ratings: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* (*N* = 199)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR	Reliability α
View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)	3.50	3.47	3.00-4.00	.81
Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*)	3.40	3.43	3.00-3.89	.80
Self-competence: Factor 2 (*SC-F2*)	3.30	3.38	3.00-4.00	.78
Aggregated cluster attributes	3.40	3.41	3.06-3.76	--

The results of a Mann-Whitney test confirmed that the Phase 1 and 2 Windsor Secondary High student samples were significantly different in terms of *EIS-R* (*U* = 1098.0, *p* < .05, *r* = .14) scores. However, the small effect size indicates that there was not much practical difference between the Phase 1 and 2 samples in terms of *EIS-R*. The other results indicate that the Phase 1 and 2 Windsor Secondary High student samples were not significantly different in terms of *VIE-R* (*U* = 1377.50, *p* > .05), *SC-F2* (*U* = 1365.50, *p* > .05), and aggregated cluster attribute (*U* = 1164.0, *p* > .05) scores. On the basis of these findings, we can conclude that the Phase 2 sample of Windsor Secondary High interviewees was broadly similar to the school's Phase 1 respondents in terms of these four attitudinal measures.

Tables 31, 32, and 33 report the Phase 2 Septentrional (*N* = 7), Equatorial (*N* = 7), and Meridional (*N* = 2) measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three clustering attributes, respectively. Appendices X, Y, and Z summarise the salient socio-demographic and by-clustering attribute characteristics of the individual Windsor Secondary High student participants.

Table 31. By-cluster Phase 2 Windsor Secondary High: Experience of International School – Revised

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	7	3.80	3.79	3.67-4.44
CL-II: Equatorial	7	3.80	3.76	3.33-4.00
CL-III: Meridional	2	3.20	3.22	2.78-3.67

Table 32. By-cluster Phase 2 Windsor Secondary High: View of Internationalism – Revised

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	7	3.80	3.86	3.25-4.50
CL-II: Equatorial	7	4.00	3.78	3.25-4.00
CL-III: Meridional	2	1.60	1.63	1.00-2.25

Table 33. By-cluster Phase 2 Windsor Secondary High: Self-competence-F2

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	7	4.30	4.25	3.75-4.75
CL-II: Equatorial	7	3.30	.	2.25-3.25
CL-III: Meridional	2	2.90	2.88	2.25-3.50

Recall the by-cluster Phase 1 Windsor Secondary High student ratings of the three clustering attributes (Tables 34, 35, 36).

Table 34. By-cluster Phase 1 Windsor Secondary High: Experience of International School – Revised

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	56	4.00	3.89	3.44-4.22
CL-II: Equatorial	66	3.60	3.51	3.22-3.81
CL-III: Meridional	77	3.00	3.01	2.61-3.39

Table 35. By-cluster Phase 1 Windsor Secondary High: View of Internationalism – Revised

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	56	4.00	3.94	3.50-4.25
CL-II: Equatorial	66	4.00	3.89	3.50-4.25
CL-III: Meridional	77	2.80	2.67	2.25-3.00

Table 36. By-cluster Phase 2 Windsor Secondary High: Self-competence-F2

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	56	4.00	4.09	3.75-4.44
CL-II: Equatorial	66	3.00	3.10	3.00-3.25
CL-III: Meridional	77	3.00	3.09	2.63-3.50

The by-cluster Phase 1 response patterns were maintained in Phase 2 for the aggregated cluster attribute scores (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*): i.e., Meridional (Low; *Mdn.* = 2.60), Equatorial (Middle; *Mdn.* = 3.50), and Septentrional (High; *Mdn.* = 3.90). However, in Phase 2 the *EIS-R* median score for Equatorials (*Mdn.* = 3.80, $N = 7$) was the same as Septentrionals (*Mdn.* = 3.80, $N = 7$), whereas in Phase 1 the Equatorials' (*Mdn.* = 3.60, $N = 66$) was less than the Septentrionals' (*Mdn.* = 4.00, $N = 56$) higher score.

As table 37 summarises, the results of Mann-Whitney tests confirmed that the Phase 1 ($N = 199$) and Phase 2 ($N = 16$) Windsor Secondary High student samples were not significantly different ($p > .05$) for the Septentrionals, Equatorials, and Meridionals on all four measures.

Table 37. By-cluster Phases 1 and 2 Windsor Secondary High: *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2,* aggregated cluster attributes

	VIE-R	EIS-R	SC-F2	Aggregated cluster attributes
CL-I	$U = 184.50$	$U = 190.50$	$U = 175.0$	$U = 182.0$
CL-II	$U = 197.0$	$U = 164.50$	$U = 213.0$	$U = 202.50$
CL-III	$U = 20.0$	$U = 59.50$	$U = 65.50$	$U = 34.0$

Summary – attitudinal characteristics, question 1a

The 544 Phase 1 respondents returned middling (*SLCS-R*) and middling-to-high (*VIE-R, EIS-R*) scores on the three survey scales. Their propensity for being international, as measured by the modified View of Internationalism (Hayden 1998) scale, could be seen in the high level of importance attributed to three of the four *VIE-R* items, which had median scores of 4 out of 5. Respondents also had a largely positive experience of international school, as measured by the Experience of International School – Revised (Jabal 2004) scale; four of the ten *EIS-R* items also had median scores of 4, which indicates their high level of agreement. And despite their middling global self-esteem scores overall, as measured by the Self-liking/Self-competence -- Revised (Tafarodi and Swann 2001) scale, there was a high level of agreement amongst the Phase 1 respondents on four of the 16 scale items, which had median scores of 4 out of 5. Despite the statistically significant between-phase difference, the small effect sizes would suggest that the 34 Phase 2 participants profiled similarly in terms of their attitudinal characteristics.

From the results of Mann-Whitney tests, we can also conclude that attitudinally there were no significant differences ($p > .05$) between Waratah and Windsor Secondary High student samples in terms of *VIE-R* ($U = 101.0$), *EIS-R* ($U = 142.0$), *SC-F2* ($U = 120.50$), and aggregated cluster attribute ($U = 117.0$) scores; nor were there by cluster. However, there was a significant difference between Waratah High's Phase 1 and 2 student participants in terms of their *VIE-R* and *EIS-R* scores. This is a sampling limitation that must be borne in mind when evaluating the Waratah High students' qualitative findings to follow.

1b) What relationships exist between their socio-demographics, attitudinal features, and schooling experiences, as measured by the researcher-designed Experience of International School (EIS-R) scale?

The second Phase 1 research question of this study aims to determine the relationship between the researcher-designed Experience of International School -- Revised scale (*EIS-R)*

scores and various independent variables. A series of Spearman's rho correlation tests were performed to explore whether the demographic, scale, and sub-scale variables were related; to examine the direction, form, and degree of any detected relationship; and to determine the educational importance of any paired variables. Cohen's widely accepted benchmarks guided my assessment of what constituted a practically and educational significant effect (Cohen 1988) – i.e.,

- $r = .10$ (small effect): effect explains 1 percent of the total variance;
- $r = .30$ (medium effect): effect accounts for 9 percent of the total variance; and
- $r = .50$ (large effect): effect accounts for 25 percent of the total variance.

Drawing on Cohen's benchmarks, significant correlations of .31 to .50 were seen to be of moderate educational, practical significance; .51 to .70 were considered of high educational importance; and .71 and above were taken to be of very high educational importance.

Socio-demographic variables

Table 38 shows the Spearman's rho inter-correlations amongst ten demographic variables for the 544 Phase 1 respondents. Not surprisingly, the results revealed a positive and large relationship between students' first language (Q4) and the language mostly used with parents (Q7), $r_s = +.76$. Similarly, an expected positive and moderate association was found between respondents' place of birth (Q1) and their passport country (Q2), $r_s = +.50$. The results also indicated a negative, moderate-to-low relationship between first language (Q4) and type of international school student (Q10), $r_s = -.47$: those with Cantonese as a first language were more likely to self-identify as a local-Hong Kong international school student, rather than as an expatriate or expatriate-Hong Kong international school student. The significant relationship between language mostly used with parents (Q7) and student type (Q10) (i.e., $r_s = -.47$), as well as a positive, moderate association between years spent in Hong Kong (Q8) and student type (Q10) ($r_s = +.45$), appeared to support this educationally important finding: the Phase 1 respondent sample seemed largely localised because of the salience of Hong Kong-specific factors (i.e., Cantonese first-language, self-identification as local-Hong Kong international school student, years spent in Hong Kong).

Table 38. Spearman's rho correlation matrix of demographic factors

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10
Q1 Country of birth	--	+.50**		+.31**	+.32**		+.37**			
Q2 Country of passport		--								
Q3 Home country			--							
Q4 1st language				--		+.44**	+.76**			-.47**
Q5 2nd language					--		+.31**			
Q6 Language mostly used: friends						--	+.35**			
Q7 Language mostly used: parents							--			-.47**
Q8 Years in HK								--	+.32**	+.45**
Q9 Years in current school									--	
Q10 Type of int'l school student										--

$N = 544$; **$p < .01$ (2-tailed); Spearman's rho coefficients ≤.30 and non-significant suppressed

Attitudinal variables

Turning to the attitudinal data, the results of a Spearman's rho correlation test indicated that all three scale variables – i.e., View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised *(SLCS-R)* inter-correlated significantly. However, the positive associations were of a small magnitude: *EIS-R* and *VIE-R*, $r_s(544) = .28$, $p < .01$; *EIS-R* and *SLCS-R*, $r_s(544) = .23$, $p < .01$; and *VIE-R* and *SLCS-R*, $r_s(544) = .18$, $p < .01$. Table 39 shows the Spearman's rho inter-correlations amongst the survey's five sub-scales. Although similarly inter-collinear, there were no practically important associations *between* the sub-scales; the largest inter sub-scale correlation coefficient was +.27 (*EIS-F2* and *SC-F2*). Yet as theorised and operationalised, moderate (*EIS-F1* and *EIS-F2*, +.46; *SL* and *SC*, +.54) and large (*SC* and *SC-F2*, +.82) positive relationships existed *within* the *EIS-R* and *SLCS-R* sub-scale constructs, respectively.

Table 39. Spearman's rho correlations matrix for *EIS-F1, EIS-F2, SL, SC,* and *SC-F2* survey sub-scales

	EIS-F1	EIS-F2	SL	SC	SC-F2
EIS-F1 (School)	--	+.46**			
EIS-F2 (Teacher)		--	+.23**	+.24**	+.27**
Self-liking (SL)			--	+.54**	+.44**
Self-competence (SC)				--	+.82**
Self-competence-F2 (SC-F2)					--

$N = 544$; **$p < .01$ (2-tailed); Spearman's rho coefficients ≤.20 and non-significant suppressed

Table 40 shows the Spearman's rho inter-correlations amongst the four View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R)* scale items for the 544 participants. All six possible pairings correlated significantly; and three did so moderately. The two *VIE-R* pairings that had medium (Q2-Q4, +.45) and moderately-large (Q1-Q2, +.52; Q1-Q4, +.65) positive

associations highlight 'teachable' opportunities that schools ought to seize to cultivate students' international-mindedness through current affairs and world literature, for example.

Table 40. Spearman's rho correlations matrix for *VIE-R* survey scale items

In order to be 'international,' it is necessary…	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Q1 To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	--	+.52**	+.41**	+.65**
Q2 To read/view media and books from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation).		--	+.26**	+.45**
Q3 To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.			--	+.33**
Q4 To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.				--

N = 544; **p < .01 (2-tailed)

Table 41 shows the Spearman's rho inter-correlations amongst the Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* survey items. The first four constitute the *EIS-F1 (School)* sub-scale, which had a high degree of inter-collinearity; all six possible pairings correlated significantly. Items 5 through 8 comprise the *EIS-F2 (Teacher)* sub-scale; all six of its possible pairings also correlated significantly.

Table 41. Spearman's rho correlations for *EIS-R* survey scale items

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
My international school…								
Q1 encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	--	+.37**	+.41**	+.31**	+.32**	+.22**	+.21**	
Q2 listens to the views of its students.		--	+.59**	+.40**	+.26**	+.23**	+.24**	+.33**
Q3 helps me understand those who are different from me.			--	+.47**	+.31**		+.25**	+.30**
Q4 helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.				--	+.32**	+.29**	+.33**	+.34**
Nearly all of my teachers…								
Q5 create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.					--	+.45**	+.32**	+.42**
Q6 give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.						--	+.39**	+.51**
Q7 assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.							--	+.46**
Q8 have helped the 'real' me come out in class.								--

N = 544; **p < .01 (2-tailed); Spearman's rho coefficients ≤.20 and non-significant suppressed

Two significant *EIS-F1* pairings, with moderate positive relationships (Q3-Q4, +.47; Q2-Q3, +.59), are of educational importance and relevance to the study's Phase 2, as they highlight how international schools may both mirror and shape students' identity development. The largest *EIS-F1* pairing (Q2-Q3), in particular, reveals the educationally important relationship between an international school "listen[ing] to the views of its students" and it taking a person- rather than student-centred approach to them – i.e., by recognising the ways in which their personal and social identities interplay to shape their experiences of schooling. The second pairing (Q3-Q4), my international school helps me understand "those who are

different from me" and "the key issues and events taking place around the world today," is explored in Phase 2 through fieldwork, which extends the survey findings by investigating qualitatively the specific contexts that supported and constrained young people's academic and social engagement at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Three significant *EIS-F2* pairings, with moderate positive relationships (Q5-Q6, +.45; Q7-Q8, +.46; Q6-Q7, +.51), are of educational importance and direct relevance to the study's Phase 2. Whereas the first (Q5-Q6) points to how respondents associated having "teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong" with feeling "confiden[t] to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class," the second pairing (Q7-Q8) shows a largely expected relationship between constructive teacher feedback and respondents' investment in and self-identification with the classroom context. Both reveal how the classroom's affective climate mattered to respondents' engagement with learning. The third and largest *EIS-F2* pairing (Q6-Q7) develops this picture by highlighting the educationally important relationship between teachers giving respondents the "confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class" and having the "'real me' come out in class."

Table 42 shows the Spearman's rho inter-correlations amongst the Self-liking / Self-competence – Revised (SLCS-R) survey items designed to measure general self-esteem, which Tafarodi and Swann (2001) view as comprised of two co-equal but distinct dimensions. The first eight constitute the Self-liking *(SL)* sub-scale, which has a high degree of inter-collinearity: all 28 possible pairings correlated significantly and moderately; 10 did so strongly. The two strongest *SL* pairings (Q2-Q6 and Q3-Q6), in particular, underscore the direct relationship between being "very comfortable with myself" and "secure in my sense of self-worth" and "feel[ing] great about who I am." These *SL* associations bring to mind the two strong *EIS-F1* and *EIS-F2* pairings (Q4-Q10 and Q8-Q10). How respondents saw and felt about themselves, their self-image, could be seen relevant to their school and classroom behaviours (e.g. willingness to participate, take risks), as will be developed qualitatively in Phase 2. Items 9 through 16 in Table 42 comprise the Self-competence *(SC)* sub-scale. Only 12 of its 28 items correlated moderately. The one moderately-large and positive pairing (Q13-Q15, +.61) is of educational importance and relevance to the study because it reveals a strong association between "perform[ing] very well at many things" and being "very talented." Similarly, two other *SC* associations (Q9-Q10 and Q9-Q13) point to why it is important for educators to understand how school-level conditions give students the opportunities to participate and be engaged within the school's learning and living environment.

Table 42. Spearman's rho correlations for *SLCS-R* survey scale items

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q16
Q1 I tend to devalue myself.	--	+.37**	+.46**	+.42**	+.53**	+.47**	+.42**	+.49**								
Q2 I am very comfortable with myself.		--	+.59**	+.40**	+.46**	+.63**	+.49**	+.43**	+.35**	+.41**			+.39**		+.33**	
Q3 I am secure in my sense of self-worth.			--	+.40**	+.48**	+.62**	+.55**	+.48**		+.41**			+.36**		+.35**	
Q4 It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself.				--	+.59**	+.47**	+.38**	+.46**								+.32**
Q5 I have a negative attitude toward myself.					--	+.52**	+.43**	+.57**			+.33**					+.30**
Q6 I feel great about who I am.						--	+.55**	+.54**		+.36**			+.40**		+.40**	+.31**
Q7 I never doubt my personal worth.							--	+.41**					+.31**			
Q8 I do not have enough respect for myself.								--								+.38**
Q9 I am highly effective at the things I do.									--	+.47**			+.48**		+.41**	
Q10 I am almost always able to accomplish what I try for.										--	+.34**		+.45**		+.37**	
Q11 At times, I find it difficult to achieve the things that are important to me.											--	+.38**		+.49**		+.38**
Q12 I sometimes deal poorly with challenges.												--		+.44**		
Q13 I perform very well at many things.													--		+.61**	
Q14 I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals.														--		+.36**
Q15 I am very talented.															--	
Q16 I wish I were more skilful in my activities.																--

N = 544; **p < .01 (2-tailed); Spearman's rho coefficients ≤.30 and non-significant suppressed

In short, the statistically significant and educationally important pairings of *Self-liking* items highlight the salience of identity-based concerns to the surveyed respondents; in particular, to the way in which a positive "self-worth" was associated with "feel[ing] great" about oneself. In terms of *Self-competence*, the findings revealed how "perform[ing] very well" was significantly and importantly associated with respondents' feelings of general self-efficacy. As a set, these salient relationships amongst self-esteem factors could be seen to shape the beliefs and emotions that guided students' behaviours at school – i.e., to their confidence (or lack thereof) and willingness to show their "'real' me" in and out of the classroom. This interplay between self-regard and "self-competence" (Tafarodi and Swann 1995) is conceptualised and operationalised in the psychological literature as "global" or "general" (Rosenberg 1979; Tafarodi and Milne 2002) and "domain-" (Rosenberg, Schooler et al. 1995) or dimension-specific self-esteem (e.g. academic). Its relevance to the subjective quality of students' lived experiences within the international school will be shown in Phase 2, as participants share their perspectives on key areas of student engagement therein.

Summary – research question 1b

Despite this educationally plausible interplay, and the considerable degree of inter-collinearity between *SLCS-R* and *EIS-R* items (94 of 176 possible pairings correlated significantly), the largest Spearman's coefficient was +.27: i.e., 'Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong' and 'I feel great about who I am'. Recall, too, that the two scale variables only weakly correlated, $r_s(544) = .23, p < .01$. On the basis of these survey findings, then, we can conclude that there was not much of an educationally important relationship between respondents' global self-esteem and experience of international schooling.

Similarly, even with a high degree of inter-collinearity between *VIE-R* and *EIS-R* items (84 of 120 possible pairings correlated significantly), the largest Spearman's coefficient was +.28: i.e., 'To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today' and 'My international school helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today'. Moreover, recall that the two scale variables only weakly correlated, $r_s(544) = .28, p < .01$. On the basis of the data, then, it would also appear that there was not much of an educationally important relationship between the surveyed respondents' view of internationalism and experience of international schooling.

Finally, the only three socio-demographic variables that correlate significantly (albeit very weakly) with *EIS-R* are gender, academic achievement, and weekly hours spent on homework: i.e., whereas being female negatively correlates ($r_s = -.11, p < .05$), respondents with higher academic achievement ($r_s = .14, p < .05$) and who spent more time weekly on homework ($r_s = .17, p < .05$) had a weak positive association with higher *EIS-R* scores.

1c) How can the surveyed students be meaningfully typologised using their socio-demographics and attitudinal profiles (i.e., Social and Personal Identities, View of Internationalism -- Revised, Experience of International School -- Revised, and Self-liking/Self-competence Scale -- Revised)?

As explained in Chapter 3 (and detailed in Appendix I), the 544 senior secondary students from six international schools in Hong Kong were clustered into three distinct groups using three attitudinal attributes: Experience of International – Revised, View of Internationalism – Revised, and Self-competence: Factor 2. On the bases of conceptual rationale, statistical computations, and subjective inspection, a tripartite cluster solution was selected as the most parsimonious and found to be valid and reliable. It uncovered inherent groupings within the international school student sample, yielding interpretable clusters that organised meaningfully and empirically the surveyed respondents. The geographical labels used to identify and characterise each cluster were assigned to reflect each group's distinctive attitudinal response patterns, whilst remaining within the 'cosmopolitan' semantic field that is at the heart of my study's conceptual framework:

- **Septentrional** means "of the north." Septentrional was assigned to Cluster I because of its comparatively HIGHER scores on the survey measures.

- **Equatorial** pertains to the equator, "a great circle of the earth… and equidistant from the two poles" (OED, 1989). Equatorial was assigned to Cluster II because of its MIDDLING scores on the survey measures.

- **Meridional**, from Old French ('meridionel'), means "of the south." Meridional was assigned to Cluster III because of its LOWER scores on the survey measures.

Though I recognise the unfortunate utility and irony of these descriptively-analytic labels (i.e., as ethnocentric and expressing a Northern-hemisphered view of the world), I feel them better suited for my purposes than Pasternak's (1998) tripartite distinction, as taken up in Chapter 2,

given internationalism's "inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education" (Gunesch 2007: 97) -- unlike the "personal identity model" that is cosmopolitanism. In turn, each student cluster is attitudinally profiled below for Phases 1 and 2 using the attribute measures of Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*), View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*), and Self-competence: Factor 2 (*SC-F2*). When evaluating these results, readers should pay attention to the distinct cluster profiles, which highlight their different characteristics that may be shaping student engagement within the two research sites, as developed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8.

Tables 43, 44, and 45 report the Phase 1 Septentrional (*N* = 154), Equatorial (*N* = 195), and Meridional (*N* = 195) measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three clustering attributes of *EIS-R, VIE-R*, and *SC-F2*.

Table 43. By-cluster Phase 1: Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*)

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	154	3.90	3.90	3.53-4.22
CL-II: Equatorial	195	3.40	3.48	3.11-3.89
CL-III: Meridional	195	2.90	2.94	2.56-3.33

Table 44. By-cluster Phase 1: View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	154	4.00	4.02	3.63-4.50
CL-II: Equatorial	195	4.00	3.95	3.50-4.25
CL-III: Meridional	195	2.80	2.76	2.25-3.25

Table 45. By-cluster Phase 1: Self-competence-F2 (*SC-F2*)

	N	*Mdn.*	**Huber's M-Estimator**	**IQR**
CL-I: Septentrional	154	4.00	4.10	3.75-4.50
CL-II: Equatorial	195	3.30	3.14	2.75-3.50
CL-III: Meridional	195	3.00	3.05	2.50-3.50

Note the high-medium-low distribution of attribute scores, which reflects each cluster's attitudinal tendencies and comes through very clearly when the aggregated attribute scores are considered (Table 46).

Table 46. By-cluster Phase 1: Aggregated *EIS-R, VIE-R,* and *SC-F2*

	N	*Mdn.*	**Distribution**
CL-I: Septentrional	154	4.00	High
CL-II: Equatorial	195	3.50	Medium
CL-III: Meridional	195	2.90	Low

Tables 47, 48, and 49 report the Phase 2 Septentrional (*N* = 16), Equatorial (*N* = 12), and Meridional (*N* = 6) measures of central tendency and dispersion for the three clustering attributes.

Table 47. By-cluster Phase 2: Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*)

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	16	4.00	4.05	3.67-4.53
CL-II: Equatorial	12	3.60	3.57	3.34-3.86
CL-III: Meridional	6	3.00	3.08	2.76-3.78

Table 48. By-cluster Phase 2: View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*)

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	16	4.30	4.23	3.56-4.50
CL-II: Equatorial	12	4.00	4.00	3.56-4.44
CL-III: Meridional	6	2.40	2.26	1.56-2.69

Table 49. By-cluster Phase 2: Self-competence-F2 (*SC-F2*)

	N	Mdn.	Huber's M-Estimator	IQR
CL-I: Septentrional	16	4.30	4.37	4.00-4.94
CL-II: Equatorial	12	3.00	2.94	2.50-3.25
CL-III: Meridional	6	3.40	3.31	2.81-3.81

The by-cluster Phase 1 response patterns were maintained in Phase 2 for the aggregated cluster attribute scores (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*): i.e., Septentrional (High, *Mdn.* = 3.90), Equatorial (Medium, *Mdn.* = 3.50), and Meridional (Low, *Mdn.* = 3.00). However, in Phase 2 the *SC-F2* median score for the Equatorials (*Mdn.* = 3.00, $N = 12$) was lower than the Meridionals (*Mdn.* = 3.40, $N = 6$), whereas the reverse had been true in Phase 1 – i.e., Equatorials (*Mdn.* = 3.30, $N = 195$) had a higher *SC-F2* than the Meridionals (*Mdn.* = 3.00, $N = 195$). Yet the results of Mann-Whitney tests indicated that these differences were not statistically significant in Phases 1 ($U = 17769.0$, $p > .05$) or 2 ($U = 24.0$, $p > .05$).

As Table 50 summarises, the results of Mann-Whitney tests confirmed that the Phase 1 ($N = 544$) and Phase 2 ($N = 34$) student samples were not significantly different ($p > .05$) for the Septentrionals (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*), Equatorials (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*, Aggregated), and Meridionals (i.e., *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*, Aggregated). And though there was a statistically significant between-phase difference for the Septentrionals in terms of aggregated cluster attribute scores, the small effect size indicates that this difference was not practically important.

Table 50. By-cluster Phases 1 and 2: *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*, Aggregated cluster attributes

	VIE-R	EIS-R	SC-F2	Aggregated cluster attributes
CL-I	$U = 332.0$	$U = 417.0$	$U = 428.0$	$U = 528.50$
CL-II	$U = 1049.50$	$U = 910.0$	$U = 878.0$	$U = 1070.50$
CL-III	$U = 893.0$	$U = 894.50$	$U = 871.0$	$U = 750.0$, $p < .05$, $r = .17$

In short, the attitudinal findings indicate that the student interviewees within each Phase 2 cluster had broadly similar attitudinal characteristics, in terms of their *VIE-R, EIS-R, SC-F2*, and aggregated cluster attribute scores, as their surveyed Phase 1 counterparts. Appendices R

(Septentrional), S (Equatorial), and T (Meridional) provide a more detailed attitudinal profile of each Phase 1 cluster using individual item-based statistics. In addition, Appendices R, S, and T take up selected socio-demographic features found relevant in Phase 2 to the perceptions, experiences of, and engagement within the international school of students from each cluster, which are developed in the by-cluster Chapter 6 (Septentrional), 7 (Equatorial), and 8 (Meridional) case studies.

Summary – research question 1c

The quantitative results indicate that the surveyed international school students can be meaningfully clustered using average score profiles on three attributes: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)*, Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*, and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*. Initially selected on the basis of the study's conceptual framework, the three item sets were found to be statistically valid and helpful in identifying, forming, and characterising three distinct sub-groups of international school students -- i.e., Septentrional (High), Equatorial (Medium), and Meridional (Low) -- and begin to account for some of the variability amongst the three clusters.

With medians of and greater than four on the 5-point Likert scales, the Septentrionals' attitudinal scores indicate their strong view of internationalism, highly positive experience of international school, and high self-confidence. Additionally, Septentrionals identify strongly as 'international school students' (*Mdn.* = 5.40) and as 'students at their particular international school' (*Mdn.* = 5.40) They also attach great importance to their 'academic achievements' (*Mdn.* = 6.00), tend to achieve higher academically than Cluster II and III students, spend more time attending to homework, and do more co-/extra-curricular activities. Though the Equatorials also possess a high view of internationalism, their middling experience of international school and medium-low self-confidence scores reflect their profiles main characteristic. In addition, the Equatorials attach medium-high importance to their 'academic achievements,' tend to achieve highly academically (nearly half self-reported A or A/B achievement), spend more time attending to homework, and do more co-/extra-curricular activities. Their salient demographic characteristics – i.e., Hong Kong as birthplace, where majority of life has been lived, place in the world called home, 1st-language Cantonese-speaking, largest proportion of self-identified local-Hong Kong international school students relative to Clusters I and III – also make Equatorials a 'localised' international school student. The Meridionals group because of their low attitudinal scores

on the three cluster attributes. They also attach medium-low importance to their 'academic achievements,' tend to achieve lower academically, spend less time doing homework, and do fewer co-/extra-curricular activities. The Meridional group also included the largest proportion of self-identified expatriate international school students.

Given this early stage of empirical and theoretical knowledge, however, the cluster profiles at best inform our understanding of international school students in Hong Kong and their experience of international schooling. They are not designed to make stereotypic, cookbook generalisations about international school student characteristics or traits. Although the cluster groups reveal *some* important things about international school students in Hong Kong, they do not tell us *everything* about them. Neither international school students nor the clustered sub-groups are static. The place for such typology research is that it provides a lens through which to understand group membership of this population based on patterns of response on a set of items. The achieved typology is a first step at characterising empirically international school students in Hong Kong and their experience of international schooling.

The heuristic nature of the procedure underscores why cluster analysis is best used in conjunction with other data collection and analyses techniques. How useful are these three profile types to understanding students' experiences of and and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong? Answers to this question are best obtained by interviewing and observing students within each cluster to elicit qualitative data and more richly describe each group's lived schooling realities. Chapter 5 draws on the perspectives of teacher-leader participants from the Phase 2 fieldwork to construct the institutional portraits of Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, as well as to describe the contextual elements that shape students' experiences of and engagement therein. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 then develop case studies of the Septentrional, Equatorial, and Meridional students to convey their perspectives, experiences of, and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Chapter 5: Teachers' takes on student engagement

The chapter is organised by research site into two sections. Each takes up teacher-leader perspectives to construct the institutional portraits outlined in Chapter 3 by describing and examining the specific contextual forces and factors that shaped students' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Although the study focus is students' perspectives on key areas of their experiences and engagement within the international school, observational and document data are integrated and discussed to contextualise further teacher-leader perceptions of the ways school culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum both enabled and impeded students' experiences therein. This is because in striving to learn from the students' interpretations of the issues that affect their lived schooling realities, I share Rudduck and Demetriou's (2003: 275) view that "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution." What teacher-leaders see, feel, and believe and how they act will clearly influence matters of "fit." In particular, readers should attend to the effect of each school's "institutional habitus" on school-community (i.e., school-families and school-teachers) and teacher-student relations, as it reproduces and 'normalises' certain knowledge(s) and experiences that could be located on a continuum of "encapsulated" to "inclusive" international schooling (Sylvester 1998). These were, in turn, differently perceived and lived by different students to shape their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, as developed through student eyes in Chapters 6 (Septentrional), 7 (Equatorial), and 8 (Meridional). In the process, Chapters 5 to 8 help to answer the two Phase 2 research questions:

> 2a) How does the "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) the clustered students encounter support and constrain their experiences of and engagement within the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006)?
>
> 2b) How might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school in Hong Kong?

Waratah High

Institutional identity and school-community relations

As introduced in Chapter 3, and evident throughout the student vignettes to follow, the institutional identity of Waratah High could be characterised as "encapsulated" (Sylvester

1998). Its transplanted, nationally-based curriculum and ethos sought to transmit the country's national culture through its narrower version of international schooling. Given this interplay of structure and histories, the concept of "institutional habitus" is a useful analytic because it attends to how sense-giving and meaning-making structures, practices, and processes were perceived, experienced, and directed social practices at Waratah High – specifically, to how the school's habitus reproduced and 'normalised' certain knowledge and experiences within the school culture, curriculum, and co-curriculum; and to the ways in which the dominant social group therein determined (and controlled) interactions, priorities, and practices within the school community, more broadly.

In a recent strategic planning exercise document, Waratah High explored how it could distinguish itself within Hong Kong's international schools arena, which was framed in neo-liberal terms as a "highly competitive market for educational services." The school's nation-based values and ethos, community, and curriculum topped its list of characteristics that gave Waratah High a comparative advantage. At the same time, it recognised that these features could also be a "disabling belief" that might weaken the school's educational niche in at least two ways: first, if the race/ethnic (i.e., White-Western) and monolingual (i.e., English) legacies of the transplanted national culture, rather than the country's multi-cultural and inclusive diversity policies also being pursued, were associated with the school; and second, if the educational qualities of the curricular framework were not promoted, championed, and elevated to the same pedestal as other, arguably more established national systems offered by rival international schools in Hong Kong.

Referring to follow-up work carried out as part of the strategic planning exercise, a member of the senior leadership team reported that "focus groups with students, parents, and staff members to unpack what it was the school stood for… identified '[country-nationality]-ness' as one of the delineators and 'international' as the second one" (Lurline: ll. 36-38). Elaborating upon the former's characteristics, Lurline added that

> *it really is our differentiator in Hong Kong. The fact that we're [country-nationality] is the one thing that cropped up every time. But of course to define what that means to different people is the dilemma the school faces. What meanings do we attach to being [country-nationality]? Because that won't be the same for every person – and it won't necessarily be the same for the [country-nationality] community in Hong Kong. (ll. 117-23)*

For Lurline, who had over three decades of educational leadership at the school, division/district, and ministerial levels in Waratah High's national system, the two specific

identifiers of the national culture were being "inclusive" and "multicultural." Dick, a senior leader colleague with nearly three decades of comparable leadership experience in the same national system and overseas, notably in Mainland China, concurred, adding "tolerance and accepting that you need to work with people who are different to you" as "values that are valuable, that our culture has endorsed and promoted, and that we've been brought up with as kids – and that I think are important globally" (ll. 664-68). Given these pre-eminent qualities of the national culture for him, Dick believed it "valuable to not forget the word '[country-nationality] in the school name;" at the same time, he would "hate to think that a student from any nationality or cultural group felt left out or treated unequally because they weren't from [country] or didn't have a [country-nationality] background" (ll. 658-62).

However, judging by the last part of Lurline's utterance, it would appear that neither the country's individual expatriates nor its diasporic community in Hong Kong more generally shared their view. Indeed, Lurline acknowledged that "in reality, this may be a little different to some of the behaviour that the [country-national] community exhibits in Hong Kong" (ll. 129-30). Her distinction develops a point made at the outset of our conversation, when she described what she found upon joining Waratah High, her first international school posting: "my assumptions about what [country-nationals] believed and what [country-national] schools were like wasn't replicated in the sense of inclusion that I observed when I started here" (ll. 20-2). As the fieldwork revealed, Lurline's read of the situation reflects what a number of Waratah High student participants perceived and experienced – i.e., exclusion along heritage-based (language, race/ethnicity, nationality) lines. Hence the Janus-like tensions between Waratah High's country-nationality and inter-nationalness that Lurline and Dick raise reflect the contextual cues that structured social practices in certain ways to both support and constrain different students' lived schooling realities.

In this regard, the impact of its "institutional habitus" on school-community relations can be seen in what Elicia, a Waratah High teacher, remarks:

> *That's something we have to look at as a school and really develop – a mission or an ethos that underpins what we're here for. I know that's something parents and teachers ask: 'Why are we here? Are we here to educate [country-national] students? Are we here to educate international students? Or are we here to educate Hong Kong students?' (ll. 96-100)*

Similarly Tyesha, who had joined Waratah High's middle leadership team at the beginning of the academic year, believed that

a lot of this comes down to the school's identity: Who are we? What are we here for? Where are we going? Those kinds of questions help define a school's ethos, and I don't think this school could answer them. For example, several months ago there was a guest speaker at the school who asked, 'What is the school motto?' We had to say what it was within our tables of ten or twelve, and there were just perplexed faces around the room. Interestingly, the only people who could give the motto were the new staff because they would have read it for their CVs…. The school motto should sink into every aspect of our professional lives. It should be publicised and promoted so that students know what it is, visitors, parents, and teachers are reminded of it daily. It's like our catch-cry that helps define our day-to-day existence and who we are…. [Pause]. But I think that's really hard because we're in the middle of a city that's not Asian, European, or even Chinese, really. It's so hard to describe and define because in so many different ways that you look you see different aspects of the city's personality. Where is the [school] juxtaposed against that? We can't operate like a school in [country] because as a school in [country], we would have a certain identity by nature because we were in [country]. But we are an [country-national] school in Hong Kong outside of [country]. How does that influence our identity? (ll. 137-55)

Whereas Tyesha felt that Waratah High lacked a clear institutional identity, which she partly attributes to its Hong Kong location, Elicia did not "think of it as an international school at all…. see it as being any more different to any school I've taught in because it has 'international' in the name" (ll. 323-28).

As a result, the 'international' delineator did not appear to be as relevant an influence on Waratah High's content and context for Tyesha or Elicia (at least not in terms of how Lurline defines it). Indeed, Elicia goes on to suggest that

for the first time teaching overseas, I think this was an easy move. I walked in the door and things were familiar. The books were familiar. The attitudes were familiar. The language was familiar. Even the calendar and the schedule were familiar. I've taught in a number of schools in [country]… and the transition moving between [country sub-territories] was probably as big as the transition moving here…. Outside the school, it's different. (ll. 24-30)

In the process, she highlights the "encapsulated" qualities of Waratah High, in terms of its school ethos and culture, programme, and structures, which made for a relatively seamless professional transition for her. Though the school may espouse

a philosophy about being inclusive and wanting an international experience for all students…. how that happens depends very much on the people in the school, the teachers, and what they understand by being inclusive and what an international education is all about. (Digna: ll. 75-84)

The remarks by Elicia and Digna, in particular, who has been at the school for two years as its counsellor and a learning specialist, speak to how people's learned, culturally-mediated predispositions and responses structure the way they think and act. It shows how Waratah

High's "institutional habitus" intersected with teachers' habitus, influencing their interpreting and enacting of the conditions that shaped students' lived realities of schooling.

Tyesha develops Elicia's experience by contrasting her own meaning making of the school's sense-giving acts, processes, and conditions to where she had lived and worked previously as a pre-service teacher instructor and school teacher of the Arts:

> *When I consider the parallels of the little country town that we were living in before… I see examples of a country-town mentality in this international school and, at the same time, I see aspects of internationalism in the country-town schools that I really think should be displayed here. (ll. 93-97)*

She foregrounds the interplay between country-national and inter-nationalness that Lurline, Dick, and Elicia bring up. At the same time, it focuses on the disconnect Lurline found between her understanding of the country's proclivities for inclusivity and its manifestations in the exclusionary behaviours she witnessed by some of its foreign nationals in Hong Kong.

For Marcelino, a seasoned international schools educator who had been at Waratah High for three years and had come across a number of such individuals in his professional experiences in Hong Kong and elsewhere in Southeast Asia, such culturally hidebound colleagues saw themselves as part of "a [country-national] enclave in another country" (l. 520) and, it seemed, tried hard "to not absorb the culture around them" (l. 521). Marcelino was the only Caucasian teacher participant in the study to speak confidently an Asian language (he was fluent in Chinese); his colleague Frederic, who had a working knowledge of Japanese learnt from living in Japan and marrying a Japanese woman, was the other.

More forcefully, Hyun, who had been at Waratah High for two years and was one of the very few mixed-heritage teachers at either school, felt that

> *many of these teachers might as well be living back in their own countries. They stay in their own enclave. They don't mix with the general population. It's like a [country-nationality] ranch. They don't really understand the culture of the place beyond the gates.... I think teachers who come and teach over here ought to come not because they think the money is good, but because they're interested in the culture in which they live. Not to become totally Chinese, but to be able to understand why people do things in a certain way, what makes them tick.... With that kind of understanding, I then think that they can actually help the kids who are the majority here. (ll. 377-405)*

Albertina goes one step further. As a senior leader at Waratah High and its longest-serving faculty member, as well as one of its few non-Caucasian faculty members, she asserts:

> *I think the teachers need to be educated. [Pause]. That may be a bit too strong a term to use, but when they come to an Asian country are they ready to learn from the*

*culture? Or do they just come here because it's better paid? [Pause]. I suppose I
don't blame them. But you also have to accept the culture. Otherwise, how can you
do your job well? (ll. 137-41)*

Both Hyun and Albertina indicate that better salaries may be motivating Waratah High
teachers to work there, rather than the opportunity to connect with and learn from the wider
Hong Kong culture at its gates. Such perceptions about teachers' worldview and motives
would both stem from and contribute to the "institutional habitus," which in turn would
influence the school's relations with its internal and external community members.

Continuing, Elicia brings up a recurring point the Waratah High students made about their
school's relatively limited cultural diversity: "We had more of an international clientele at
my last school than here. We really only have [country-nationals], Chinese, and a sprinkling
of others. It's not really multi-national like many urban and suburban [country-national]
schools are" (ll. 32-34). Although Hyun uses nationality rather than race/ethnicity to paint a
similar picture ("We've got about 25 different nationalities here… my school in [country]
had more than 50" (ll. 414-15)), I believe their point is the same: Waratah High's student
body was less culturally diverse than what each had previously experienced. Elicia's
tripartite division of the student body echoes Dick's description, who felt he had

> *enough variety in my background to empathise with the key cultural groups within the
> school. These include the expat more-[country-national]-than-[country-national]
> type; the Cantonese community that is basically local but want to come here; and the
> students who've got an Asian background but who have lived elsewhere and then
> moved to Hong Kong. (ll. 78-82)*

Dick's characterisation of the first group, the "expat more-[country-national]-than-[country-
national] type," echoes impressions shared about how some of their country's expatriates and
colleagues in Hong Kong accentuated its (less desirable) cultural-national attitudes and
behaviours. As Marcelino puts it, "you can be both very parochial and an expat" (l. 453).

From their remarks, then, it is clear that Waratah High had to contend with the variegated
ways in which its community, external (i.e., parents) and internal (i.e., teachers), local and
foreign-national, drew on transplanted "imagined geographies" (Said, 1979) to construct their
group identities and occupy both privileged and marginalised social positions within it.
Despite what Dick asserts, "we all bring something of value… that must just, by sheer impact
of the many personalities and priorities here, have an impact on what the values and the ethos
of the school are now and will become" (l. 103-04), it appears that the relative value of what

each individual and/or group contribute depends on how their individual and collective habituses intersect with the school's "institutional habitus."

For example, Cruz, an educator at Waratah High with more than two decades worth of teaching experience, a significant portion of which had been in the international system (and a long-standing member of its middle leaders), felt that "the students here tend to cluster into Western and Cantonese, generally, *which I suppose is understandable*. I think language sometimes presents a barrier to both groups, as do interests and cultural things" (ll. 108-10; Emphasis added). Like Dick, he seems to conflate race, ethnicity, and nationality/geographic origin, though he goes on to specify how "language… interests and cultural things" may present "barrier[s]" to inter-group relations; this point is subsequently developed when Waratah High's "institutional habitus" is discussed in terms of student-student relations.

For the immediate purposes of considering how the contextual clues that directed social practices in the school shaped its relations with the community, it is the expectations that Cruz had internalised with respect to the "understandable" clustering of students into "Western and Cantonese" groups that are noteworthy. How does this 'normalised' pattern of relationships shape the ways in which Waratah High exercised its habitus within its Anglo-"Western" and "Cantonese"-Chinese parent communities? For example, Merlin notes that

> *when we were building this school site, one of the values that the parent community –*
> *or rather part of the community, which was really the vocal, expat one – reiterated*
> *was that we must have real grass for the children to play on, which was simply a*
> *physical impossibility in Hong Kong. (ll. 83-87)*

His perspective, rooted in nearly three decades of educational leadership at the school and division/district levels, more than 10 years at Waratah High, and his role as one of its senior school leaders, raises two points. The first relates to how the constituents had differential voice and influence; and the second to their seemingly different expectations of and sense of entitlement. Specifically, Merlin contrasts the "vocal, expat" minority to

> *the mass of students and parents here who are the silent majority, who don't come to*
> *parent-teacher meetings, who don't come to parent association meetings, who don't*
> *come to socials. Who just pay the fees and are happy to stay in the background. It's*
> *hard to access them.... (Dick: ll. 553-57)*

Complementing Merlin's example, Dick characterises the "silent [local] majority" as disinterested stakeholders, who do not buy into Waratah High's prevailing way of doing things by not attending its functions. He opines that they are "happy to stay in the

background", which makes them out to be passive unlike the proactive, "vocal, expat" segment; and, as a result, "hard to access" and to engage in school-community matters.

In contrast, Albertina offers another interpretation of the forces that directed Waratah High's social practices to shape differentially its external relations:

> *I don't see that Chinese parents are included in our parent bodies. In fact, they are quite excluded – and it can't just be the Chinese parents' fault. They actually exclude themselves because they don't feel that they're accepted. Our school newsletter is totally in English. Sure our Chinese parents should understand English, but should they have that level of understanding to understand everything in the newsletter? Should the main information items not also be in Chinese? [Pause]. You can definitely see the strong involvement in and support of the school by the Caucasian parents. But you don't see many Chinese parents there…. have they been invited? Do we make them feel accepted and welcome? I think that for a school of this size, with the local population we have, we want and need their support. (ll. 158-168)*

Albertina adds to the partial picture that Merlin and Dick paint by pointing out the mismatch that seems to exist between Waratah High's meaning-making structures and practices and the needs and expectations of its local Hong Kong majority constituents. In doing so, Albertina reiterates the impressions of colleagues (and student experiences to follow) about the rhetoric-reality gap of inclusivity and multi-culturalism as enacted at Waratah High.

Yet as Merlin illustrates, the repercussions of such a mismatch at the level of school-community relations reverberate in how Waratah High's "institutional habitus" may be (mis-) shaping the lived schooling realities of some students in this "silent majority."

> *I think one of the biggest culture shifts we have in the school is kids coming from the local schools who have to adapt to [country-nationalness], which can be reflected in the ways we teach, or seen in the ways we teach. For students, that's about having to speak up in class. You need to do. Some of the quieter Hong Kong Chinese students find that intimidating and are just not used to it, so that is a big cultural step for them. It's also reflected in the friendships, the socialisation patterns because our students are more boisterous. They try to fit into that and some kids fail at that, and so therefore, in some ways, we fail, too. We've had a few kids over the last few years who have who have come from a local school and who, after six or eight or ten months here, have gone back because they just found it too traumatic. (ll. 95-105)*

His observation develops his third point, which was that Waratah High's "vocal, expat" parent minority sought to prioritise national, culture-specific values and expectations (e.g., grass playing field) – i.e., constitutive of their "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) – in the new building plan with little regard for their feasibility in the Hong Kong context. In this case, it relates to the school's espoused instructional approaches (i.e., dialogic teaching) and the "more boisterous" behaviour of the expatriate students. Interestingly, Merlin uses the possessive pronoun "our" to refer to this expatriate group of students; no other qualifier,

geographic or cultural, is used. He thus seems to position them centrally, grammatically and semantically, in their relationship with Waratah High. Not only do the "quieter Hong Kong Chinese students" have "to adapt" to Waratah High's national-cultural ethos and different instructional approaches, but they also have "to fit into" such "friendships, socialisation patterns" that, it seems, the expatriates govern. Not surprisingly, "some kids fail at that" and, unable to acculturate ("they just found it too traumatic"), return to the local schooling system.

Continuing, Merlin also brings up the "mix of parental expectations" (l. 74) that influences Waratah High's relations with the community:

> There is also an expectation within that part of the parent body that by coming here, their children are going to become proficient in English because it is an English-medium environment. But the majority of the community speaks Cantonese. The school is immersed in a Canto-speaking community that is Hong Kong, so it is difficult for that to happen quickly. (ll. 106-10)

On the one hand, these relate to the instrumental expectations that may drive local Hong Kong families to send their children to an English-medium international school such as Waratah High: it "enhances the[ir] opportunities in the labour market" (Bray 1994: 2642). On the other hand, these expectations can turn

> into a sort of racial and/or ethnic issue. On occasion, parents will ask me, 'If I keep them here until Year 10, how many White kids will there be in the class?' The question is not necessarily racially aimed although it is racially loaded, because what they are really asking is, 'What are the values and social patterns of the group who will be continuing? How comfortable will my child be in terms of peer group? Will they be an isolate because there is going to be a whole lot of one culture group that they don't fit easily into?' Sometimes that question comes from parents of kids who have lived in Hong Kong for most of the child's life. (Merlin: ll. 120-28)

The expectation of this sub-group of expatriate parents is essentially national and race/ethnic: the on-going cultivation and transmission of (selected) national and cultural values that are closely associated with concepts of race (i.e., Caucasian) and ethnic heritage. These derive from a narrower version of Waratah High's home country's nationalism rather than a broader view of its inter-nationalism or multi-culturalism that Lurline, Dick and others describe. Given these tendencies, this sub-group of expatriate parents "struggle[d] to look beyond their own [country-national] backyard… and to think more in global terms" (ll. 462-63), according to Frederic, a seasoned and long-time middle Waratah High leader, when describing the families that had trouble adjusting to the school's changing demography. The tensions between potentially contradictory parental expectations are succinctly summarised by Digna:

> That poses a question which comes back to when the parents choose to send their children to [Waratah High]: What are they really sending them here for? Do they

really appreciate that… is going to be focused on [country], [country-nationality] curriculum, and on learning about [country-nationality] things? Or are they sending them here for the English? (ll. 207-11)

As Albertina describes, however, this question of cultural-linguistic imperative can have far-reaching implications for the lived schooling realities of Waratah High students:

Language can definitely set children apart or bring them together. At recess, you'll see separate Caucasian and Chinese groups of children, who are basically together because of their common language. They don't mingle, which is a shame. Though the school policy is English, which I totally agree with and encourage, you can't really enforce it during their leisure time. So language really stops the student body as a whole from coming together…. I think it's a very big challenge for students, particularly the Chinese students, to feel connected to the school, as they'll ask themselves, 'Do I come here because I want to go overseas to do my tertiary education in [country]? Or do I come here because I actually love this school?' (ll. 92-121)

Albertina's read of the self-segregative playground dynamics recurs in what her colleague, Dick, also sees:

Probably the hardest issue the school has is getting the students to mix. Walking around, you don't really get a strong impression that mixing is naturally occurring…. Certainly in the junior years, you could walk into most classes and they would be visibly sitting in cultural groups. (ll. 191-211)

Dick does not believe that mixing is "naturally occurring" amongst students in the classroom; nor does the self-segregation seem to be problematised by teachers, if students are "visibly sitting in cultural groups," or challenged (e.g., by using a culturally integrated seating plan). Whether this may be because the "very strong culture" of the numerically "dominant Cantonese community… [that] does not immediately blend with the cultures of the other students here" (Dick: ll. 133-39), or because the linguistic- and career-orientated motives for attending Waratah High – rather than affective – may undermine students' ability "to feel connected to the school, particularly for the Chinese students" (Albertina: l. 120-21), the outcome appears to be the same. The self-segregative patterns of relationships amongst students arguably mirror the cultural dynamics amongst the school's parental community, in which the Western Anglophone expatriate minority is positioned centrally, with respect to school matters, and the local Cantonese-speaking Chinese majority appears to be peripheralised.

As a result, the findings summarised thus far indicate that how Waratah High exercised its "institutional habitus" with regards to language, race/ethnicity, and (inter-) nationality mattered enormously in its relations with the community. In particular, they highlight the contestedness and complexity of these matters for Waratah High whilst, at the same time,

revealing the effect of changes in Hong Kong's international schools more widely since 1997 – i.e., to the shift from being "really international then… a lot of blond hair and blue-eyed students and very few locals, if any. And if they were Chinese then they would be overseas locals coming back" (Hal: ll. 429-31) to the current situation in most:

> *We have a big population of local Hong Kong-Chinese families…. which needs to feel valued, respected, and accepted. You can't really be an international school if you don't have the support and involvement of those who make up the majority of the school's community. (Albertina: ll. 73-77)*

In sum, the nature and influence of Waratah High's "institutional habitus" on its school-community relations stemmed largely from the way it constructed and engaged the "imagined geographies" and "imagined communities" of its constituents, whether external (e.g., families) or internal (i.e., the teachers), local or foreign-national. More specifically, the manner and matter of its "institutional habitus" directly influenced the extent to which the school understood and met the diverse needs and expectations of its community's foreign-national minority (who came from/affiliated strongly with one country) and local-Hong Kong majority, as well as those of a smaller and variegated Asian segment. To do so inclusively would mean overcoming the normalisation that has cast these cultural 'groups' as separate and focusing on the commonalities that bind these stakeholders together – e.g., the "different places and experiences that students have had and where they are citizens from" (Arnetta: ll. 311-12); their "awareness and experiences of other cultures" (Jonelle: l. 295); and their

> *head-set, most of them, about being international. They don't perceive that they're only going to go to university in Hong Kong. Many don't even relate to [country] as a potential destination. They look around the world to where they would like to end up, and we foster that. We actively try and encourage them to look to the whole globe for their future. (Dick: ll. 669-72)*

In short, it would mean attending to and reframing both spatial (the *here* and the *there*: i.e., Hong Kong and Waratah High's transplanted country system) and temporal (the *legacy* and *aspirations*: i.e., of the school's and its country's) dimensions. The recurring forces of import to emerge – i.e., matters of language, race/ethnicity, and (inter-) nationality in both space and time – would also need to be affirmed and questioned. Not doing so, as developed below, has lived implications for how students experience and engage with Waratah High.

Consequently, the teacher-leader interview, observational, and document data converge to present Waratah High's institutional identity as "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998). The nature and influence of its "institutional habitus" on school-community relations derived from the way Waratah High constructed and engaged the "imagined geographies" and "imagined

communities" of its constituents, whether external (e.g., its student families) or internal (i.e., its teachers), local or foreign-national. In so exercising its "encapsulated" "institutional habitus," Waratah High reproduced and 'normalised' certain knowledge and experiences that hierarchically stratified, mainly along race/ethnic, national, and linguistic lines, school-community relations and reflected the transplanted cultural group's priorities and practices.

Enabling "institutional habitus" and teacher-student relationships

This section turns to the importance of the school's hierarchically stratified habitus on teacher-student relations. The Waratah High teachers' ideology provided guidelines for action that shaped positively students' academic and social experiences of schooling in three ways: 'anywhere, anytime, anyhow' approach to schooling and students; use of humour; and their (varying degrees of) inter-cultural sensitivity to connect with one or both of the school's Hong Kong-Chinese majority and foreign-national minority student body groups.

The first main way in which teachers' habituses were found to influence formatively and positively their relations with students stems from a broadly 'anytime, anywhere, anyhow' approach to schooling. For example, Hal believed that "learning is not just about what goes on in the classroom – it's about what goes on in and out of it, during week days and on weekends" (ll. 86-88). I found Hal to be a 'consummate teacher,' who indeed seemed to engage successfully students academically and socially, whether in or out of lessons. As recurs throughout the student cluster chapters, teachers who take this more encompassing view of education and schooling imperatives, in particular, tended to have more favourable relationships with students. For Digna, the school counsellor, it comes down to

> understand[ing] where the student comes from.... The relationship is what's all-important. If you have got a good relationship with the student then the student is going to perform, to react positively to you and to what you are teaching. So the individual relationships that you have with each and every student is what's all-important. The more you take time to get to know the students as people, the better that relationship will probably be. (ll. 415-422)

Digna highlights the personalised and holistic approach to (teaching and) learning that Septentrionals, Equatorials, and Meridionals all bring up as enablers of engagement. Such a habitus clearly influenced the relationships Evelyne, a highly-regarded middle leader at Waratah High, had with her Waratah High students:

> I find that after you've been teaching a while, you don't worry about the content so much. It's whether you can see an understanding of the process. [Pause]. But even

more so now, what matters more than anything else to me is the actual bond with the students.... if I can see that they've related it to something in their life and then we've had some connection. I find that really gives me a bit of a buzz. Even if it's talking about something they've done on the weekend and relating it to what we're doing in class. Because kids at the moment have so much stuff on and they never get a chance to talk about it and actually use any of it in class. For example, a number of the senior kids are a bit stressed out about the play, the exams coming up, and where they're going to next. Just to be able to talk to them about it. I like to do that while they are working – just go around and have a quiet chat about it, 1 to 1. I find that more rewarding than anything else. (ll. 176-190)

As with Hal, my two-lesson observations of Evelyne found her doing just that: her purposeful yet sensitive lesson starters bridged students' academic and social-personal needs; and her personalised interactions with individual students throughout each lesson's development sections jointly and effectively addressed subject-specific objectives and student interests.

In addition to how Hal, Digna, and Evelyne exercised their professional habituses, for example, by prioritising in equal measure students' academic, social, and personal dimensions, their colleagues seemed to draw on a similar semantic field when describing Waratah High's foremost goal: to "educate kids to the best of their abilities" (Hyun: l. 251); to get "children achieving their personal best" (Albertina: l. 51); or to achieve "whole-person excellence" (Frederic: l. 158). This view is consistent with a summary statement made in a document that had been prepared for a recent accreditation visit: "We have developed a student body that is eager to learn, happy to come to school *and knows that the school cares not only about their education but also about them as individuals.*"

These are no empty platitudes for Marcelino, a Waratah High colleague:

The first thing that strikes me about this place is that it wants students to be comfortable in getting an education. It provides an environment that gives students a feeling of ease and support. That we're here to help. We're not the enemy, the student-teacher conflict thing. [Pause]. I think the school does everything it can to get the best out of every student in whatever they are good at.... I think all the ECAs [extra-curricular activities], sports, excursions, Activity Week – I think they are all towards that end. So I don't get the feeling that this is just an academic school. Although the school prides itself on its academic record, I think equally important is the fact that we say, 'Ok. What can they do?' That's the holistic thing. Go out and see the kids at their matches and their concerts and their performances outside school. Let them know that you know they are good at something – that your relationship is not just limited to 40-to-50 minutes three times a week that you see them. The school encourages this... and I think a lot of the teachers actually do it off their own back. I find it's just a very supportive school that tries to make students feel comfortable so that they can do their best. (ll. 87-107)

By way of concluding this first sub-section, Marcelino captures the sentiments expressed by the majority of his Waratah High colleague participants. Teachers' ideologies and practices, with respect to their 'any time, anywhere, anyhow' approach to schooling, enabled their engaging relationships that met and supported students' affective and academic needs.

The second main way in which teachers' habituses at Waratah High shaped positively their relationships with students brings together a number of specific strategies they used. For example Arnetta, a newer Waratah High teacher with seven years' experience in its national state system, relied on her "sense of humour" to engage productively her senior students:

> *It's been very difficult, as you would have seen, with a few Year 12 students because there are actually a lot of social issues that come from the playground – bullying issues and things like that are ever-present in my [subject] class. But what I've found works is a sense of humour. What doesn't work is if you take them too seriously and come down on them hard.... (ll. 166-70)*

In my three-lesson observations of Arnetta, as well of her more general interactions with students outside class, it was obvious that humour figured integrally as part of her respectful, purposeful, and 'authentic' relationships with students. It was something to which they responded well, that helped bridge the academic and social dimensions of learning, and ultimately put students in her lessons at ease. Like Arnetta, Marcelino used humour as part of his strategy to connect with students, partly because he felt that they were

> *in a school mid-life crisis. They are out of the junior school shell, the protective shell and, especially in Year 11, are facing the reality that in a couple of years' time they'll be on their own. So I think they can recognise that there is a need for them to really knuckle down. But as 16-17 year-olds, they have this conflict.... and for most, school is one of them. (ll. 384-421)*

Translating this view of students and schooling into practice, Marcelino made himself readily available to students before and after the taught school day. He also tended to stay in his teaching room during breaks and lunch. My fieldwork walkthroughs found it to be generally full of an array of students, who visibly felt at ease in it – whether reading quietly, playing chess, or talking to Marcelino or each other, amongst other things. His classroom was, in fact, one of only two at Waratah High that seemed to be consistently occupied by students during breaks. The others were either locked by teachers between lessons or simply left vacant, as students chose to congregate instead on the playing field, in the library, or refectory areas.

The second classroom that also tended to be used by students outside lessons was Elicia's. She shared Marcelino's view of students and schooling, and also relied on humour in her relationships. However, whereas Marcelino's classroom attracted a larger and visibly more

diverse group of students during break-times, Elicia's featured a smaller number of mainly expatriate and Caucasian students. This may be because Marcelino openly, actively, and equitably embraced Sino-Western matters. Unlike Elicia, he was also fluently bilingual and, by his own admission, a keen student of all things "Chinese and Western."

On the other hand, the findings shared previously point to Elicia's more "encapsulated" worldview. She considered the foreign nationals at Waratah High, who had also come from its 'parent' country, to be "*guests* in Hong Kong… and we really should be doing something for it" (l. 232-33). Taken more critically, Elicia expresses a 'white [wo]man's burden' ideology that resonates throughout our conversation. This sense of responsibility to impart her imported national culture arguably shaped her differential view of, and relationships with, students, local and foreign-national, as seen in her continuing remarks about an outreach activity she runs as part of the school's extra-/co-curricular programme:

> *I think the local students get far more out of it [local secondary school visits] because in lessons here they're the quiet ones down at the back of your class that just don't get the chance to contribute. They want to, but are too scared because the [Country] expat kids, well, they like to be the centre of attention. They do the talking. And that's fine by me. (ll. 240-43)*

Elicia's beliefs and actions contribute to and reflect Waratah High's "encapsulated" "institutional habitus," which in turn affected its community relations. Elicia foregrounds the differential footing of students in the classroom because of heritage-based (i.e., linguistic, race/ethnic, or national) markers of social identity. These markers thus both enable and impede different students' experiences of Waratah High's ethos and climate and their patterns of relations with teachers, in particular. For Hal, the shift from a more "encapsulated" (e.g., Elicia's) to "inclusive" (e.g., Marcelino's) habitus can more readily occur if you've got

> *teachers who understand the needs of these students… and that means being in touch with both cultures. [Pause] You really need teachers who've got the two cultures and can see both sides…. they can be a bridge within your school. They can help, one, the 'gweilo' [Cantonese term for Caucasian people – literally, foreign devil people] part of the school understand a little more about the local students' experiences of the school. And two, they can help to bring the locals closer to the 'gweilo' kids. (ll. 332-360)*

Hal is one such border-crossing individual, who had first-hand knowledge and understanding of Waratah High's foreign-national and local environs. He was of Hong Kong-Chinese and Cantonese-speaking heritage, though he had been schooled and raised in its parent country. In what I observed, and in what students had to say, Hal negotiated successfully these different worlds of experience and maintained confidently his identity options in the different

multi-lingual and multi-cultural contexts. As a cosmopolite with feet in both worlds, he exhibited great self-understanding and exercised a more "inclusive" rather than "encapsulated" habitus, which likely contributed to his more equitable relationships across Waratah High's linguistically and culturally diverse student groups.

Yet despite his willingness, readiness, and ability to connect cross-culturally, Hal felt that his mixed-heritage was also his Achilles' heel in Hong Kong (see also Kirkpatrick 2006):

> *In the high school, I'm the only Chinese teacher…. except for Chinese teachers who teach Mandarin…. Now there are a lot of people like me around but we're just not tapped into. I know a lot of people who've applied but just don't get a look in. Teachers like me get caught in the middle. The local schools don't want you because they're after 'gweilos' – they want blond-hair, blue-eyed teachers. I know a lot of NET teachers [Native English Speaker] like me who've got that background and are perfectly good teachers, but the local school principals don't want them because they're after 'gweilos'…. who international schools want because they're seen to be better. (ll. 279-318)*

Hal's experience seems incongruent with what Dick, a senior Waratah High administrator, describes when outlining the desirable qualities of new appointees:

> *They need to be very sensitive to cultural difference. Part of the selection process is linked to knowing that the teacher has cultural sensitivity. They can't just be dragged out of mid-western [country] somewhere and dropped in here and think it's all going to be the same… because it isn't. (ll. 525-28)*

Dick's observation is useful for two reasons. First, he states that Waratah High recruits need to be "very sensitive to cultural difference." Second, he intimates that the sociocultural context of "mid-western [country]" is markedly different to Hong Kong's. From the findings shared thus far, it would appear that Waratah High teachers in the study possessed varying degrees of "cultural sensitivity" – ranging from the culturally sensitive (i.e., "inclusive") to the insensitive (i.e., "encapsulated"). Assertions by Lurline, Tyesha, Hyun, Marcelino, and Elicia speak to the culturally hidebound tendencies of some Waratah High foreign-national teachers, who operate in pluralistic Hong Kong as if they were still in their culturally less diverse "mid-western [country]" town. This has lived implications for teacher-student relationships, as described by colleagues (e.g., Lurline, Tyesha, Elicia) and will be shown in the experiences of a number of Waratah High students (e.g., Freya, Sienna, Riley).

As a result, teachers' habituses were found to shape importantly their ability to connect with students and could be located on a continuum from "encapsulated," i.e., stem from a colonial disposition towards Hong Kong or draw on Western stereotypical representations and misconceptions about Chinese learners, which are seen to derive from their different

educational cultures (Lau 1996; Watkins and Biggs 1996; Grimshaw 2007; Ryan 2010); to "inclusive," i.e., recognise the impact of cultural predisposition on worldview and promote the development of cross-cultural understanding and informed respect for diversity.

In short, how Waratah High teachers exercised their habitus affected their relationships with students in three important ways. The first can be seen in the 'anywhere, anytime, anyhow' approach to schooling and students of a number of them. This engaged students' affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively and helped to personalise learning for them. The second main way relates to the specific ways in which teachers used humour. And the third to their (varying degrees of) inter-cultural sensitivity and ability to connect with one or both of the school's Hong Kong-Chinese majority and foreign-national minority student body groups. Although the discussion took up the positive effects, what follows focuses on contrary evidence to explore the less favourable consequences of teachers' habituses on students' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Disabling "institutional habitus" and teacher-student relationships

This section turns to the disabling influence of the school's habitus on teacher-student relations. The Waratah High teachers' ideology provided guidelines for action that challenged students' experiences of schooling in two ways: i.e., transplanted, ethnocentric content leading to disconnected curricular experiences for the largely 'localised' student body majority; and undue emphasis placed on content-delivery for the more academic students rather than differentiated, whole-person development for the range of Waratah High learners.

The first way in which teachers' habituses challenged their relationships with students at Waratah High relates to their understanding and enactment of the school's written (i.e., formal) curriculum. As Jonelle notes, an experienced and well-respected middle leader of a large department at Waratah High, "at the end of the day, the curriculum is quite restraining because it's set. Our students have to do the [name of parent country's credential awarded to senior students] and sit an external exam" (ll. 112-13). Her view that its nation-based content could not be readily 'internationalised' to meet inclusively the needs, preferences, and experiences of non-country nationals, was expressed by several teacher participants. They recognised the challenges it presented, as there were "so many things in it that [students] would find difficult to understand" (Digna: ll. 202-04). As Dick puts it, the

other aspect of the curriculum that frustrates me is that it can be so [country] focused. Now I understand why that is – the external exams impose [country] history and geography... and it's not that I'm saying that's not important. But it runs contra to what modern education logic says we should be doing – i.e., relay to students curriculum that they can actually touch, feel, and see, not some abstract thing that many have never seen or experienced, and that only a [country national] can really understand. (ll. 226-32)

So viewed, Waratah High teachers worked with curricula content that could not be readily contextualised for a large segment of its localised student body. This added an additional hurdle that students and teachers had to overcome – namely, "How can our local Hong Kong students feel connected to the curriculum?" (Digna: l. 205).

The solution for Arnetta, Cruz, Marcelino, Hyun, Lurline, Evelyne, Tyesha, and Albertina, all of whom similarly described how they inclusively enacted curricula content in their subject areas so as to bridge the local-national-international divide, was

to include… social, cultural, and historical elements from Hong Kong and China into the curriculum that most of our students can relate to, that makes sense given their background, what they already know, what they watch on TV, what they talk to their parents about every day. (Albertina: ll. 79-83)

This approach is consistent with a "liberal" (McMahon and Portelli 2004) or interpretive/student-oriented (Zyngier 2007) conceptualisation of engagement in which curricula-making in the classroom puts children's and teachers' lives at the centre of practice (Clandinin 2007).

Looking beyond such geo-cultural and socio-historical contextualisation, which overcome access matters by localising content, the nature of the transplanted Waratah High curriculum itself was also found to be a constructive force. Elicia, for example, explains that her

subject is a very practical subject – one of the few, really – so I can make things more relevant to Hong Kong than a lot of other subjects can. [Country] history or geography is a bit hard to make relevant to Hong Kong.... I also like it because it allows those less academic students to maybe do something, achieve well, and feel good about themselves. (ll. 112-16)

Though she admits that hers is "one of the few" such "practical subject[s]" available to senior students, Elicia adds

language can be a problem for some because it's a very verbal subject. There is no textbook that students can read, though I do write things on the board.... The problem that some students face is that they need to initiate something themselves and then be able to talk about it with others. So there's a lot of oral stuff going on that I don't think happens in other subjects. So I find that for some students, their language really does hold them back. (ll. 137-143)

131

Whilst the content of Elicia's "practical subject" may be readily contextualised, it requires considerable oral proficiency in English that creates its own instructional issues for teachers and (the significant number of second-language English) students to work through.

Stepping back, Elicia's impression that Waratah High had "kids with major English problems and learning needs that aren't being met" (ll. 153-54) was consistent with the picture gleaned from policy and departmental curricular documents examined: e.g.,

> *There is an English language proficiency requirement for students enrolled in the school, but still many of our students are second language learners of English and need support in their on-going acquisition of English….*
>
> *The unique characteristics of the [school] student cohort, which is geographically isolated from [country], and also includes a large number of students with EAL [English as an Additional Language] issues, provides a challenge but not a barrier to successful studies in [subject].*
>
> *The students' facility with the English language varies considerably. Teachers of [subject] therefore must develop both the language of [subject] as well as the content of the subject.*

Given this backdrop, Waratah High aimed to recruit teachers who were "very sensitive to cultural difference" (Dick: l. 528), capable of "working with students of diverse cultural backgrounds… and [had] an understanding of inclusive practices and… expertise in English as a Second Language teaching" (Lurline: ll. 53-7). Yet when seen in conjunction with the student cluster findings, a gap remained between the rhetoric expressed by Dick and Lurline and the lived realities of some Waratah High teachers and students evident in the field.

At the same time, whilst some considered EAL students "the hardest challenge here because many of the teachers still think that if you do EAL then you're dumb" (Hyun: l. 96-7), others felt that Waratah High's provision produced "skewed learning support… [leaving] other kids with needs that maybe we aren't accommodating" (Elicia: ll. 127-28):

> *[W]e need to do more to support the reluctant learners. There has been a lot of emphasis on EAL students, and as an EAL-trained [subject] teacher I can see why. But in the process, I think we've forgotten some of the weaker, native English speakers.... there's an expectation that they're better off academically than someone who's EAL… We need to do more now to address that imbalance. Although there still needs to be a focus on EAL, I think there also needs to be more work done with those who are your native English speakers and academically weaker students. (Arnetta: ll. 238-52)*

Waratah High's "institutional habitus" thus seemed to impact teacher-student relations in the classroom because the EAL needs of some were seen to be prioritised in terms of school provision over the needs of other students (i.e., native English speaker but less academic).

Dick shares Elicia's and Li Na's concerns, which he locates within the broader Hong Kong context:

> *We do have an issue with the non-academic strain of [country-national] kids. We don't cater well for them. While that is not typically the local Cantonese-enrolled student, it can certainly be the expat students who come here and who, in another place, would be doing more vocational training courses, which is basically unheard of in Hong Kong. It's just starting to get some attention from the Hong Kong authorities, but it's 20 years behind countries that encourage strong vocational education programmes. (Dick: l. 203-09)*

This "non-academic strain" of Western, monolingual, first-language English students has few viable schooling options in Hong Kong, as English-medium Government secondary schools are academically highly selective. And while selective to comprehensive English-medium international schools exist, there are few in the latter camp – and few student vacancies at any international school (Heron and Clem 2005; AmCham 2007; Heron 2007; 2010). Much as Waratah High characterises its intake as comprehensive, "cares" about students "as individuals," and is after achieving "whole-person excellence," the teacher remarks (and student experiences to follow – e.g., Riley, Mason) would indicate otherwise. Though these students may well be sociable and friendly with teachers because of a broadly shared sense of commonality (e.g., nationality, background, sporting interests), and solidarity as members of the same diasporic community, their academic needs did not seem to be so readily and successfully met and supported.

Hyun further complicates the question of curriculum access/support and learner ability/motivation (mis-) match for EAL and "non-academic" students at Waratah High:

> *I think it's a bit unfair that all non English-speaking background students have to undergo a test to come to the school. Whereas if you're a native English speaker you get into the school without really having your results looked at.... and some of these kids have huge learning difficulties.... I think that's a problem. I feel it a bit unfair, actually – inequitable. I think we should test all kids who want to come in to this school. Of course, that wouldn't go over very well with the western parents, who see us as the [Country-nationality] school. Since the school is [country-nationality] and they're [country-nationality], then their native English-speaking kids should get in by virtue of this. I think there would be resistance to that idea from those parents and kids. I think teachers would welcome an entrance exam across the board because they've got some real dozzies in their classes that probably shouldn't be there, as the school simply can't provide the learning support help they need. (ll. 293-315)*

Hyun flags how an educationally plausible response to redress the potential mismatch between school provision and student needs (i.e., EAL and first-language English "reluctant learners") could be seen differently by the school's different constituencies. Whereas teachers might welcome an "entrance exam" for all, as it would allow them to screen all

students' abilities at point of entry and decide if they could effectively school them, Hyun suggests that first-language English "western parents" of children with cognitive "learning difficulties" might not if it could lead to their child not gaining admission to the school.

In sum, and by way of concluding this section, Hyun highlights how Waratah High's "institutional habitus" directly impacted both the school-community and teacher-student relationships to shape importantly students' curricular experiences of and classroom engagement within Waratah High. Questions raised of curriculum (i.e., content, nature, and access), medium of instruction, and educational provision in Hong Kong for less academic English-speaking students highlight how school culture, community relations, and curricular matters intersected to affect students' lived schooling realities. As revealed in the interview, document, and observational findings, the way Waratah High exercised its "institutional habitus" to reconcile (or not) these forces and factors largely depended on its location on an "encapsulated" to "inclusive" international school continuum – by and large, it would appear that Waratah High intentionally and operationally tended to the former ("encapsulated") rather than the latter ("inclusive"). Having considered some ways in which these forces and factors interplayed to shape formatively students' experiences of and engagement with Waratah High, I turn next to Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader participants' perspectives to construct its institutional portrait and describe, examine, and explain the contextual elements that supported and constrained its students' experiences therein.

Windsor Secondary High

Institutional identity and school-community relations

As introduced in Chapter 3, Windsor Secondary High's identity as an international school has been built up over the years to give it a unique institutional persona within Hong Kong's educational arena. Its long history and deep traditions, in particular, have shaped the school's reputation and standing in the wider community: they were described by a number of participants as a source of pride and a formative influence on their experiences therein.

Winfred, for example, a teacher who had been at the school for more than a decade, has

> *always been very, very fond of it. For me, [Windsor Secondary High] epitomizes all the good things about Hong Kong. You've got a diversity of people, a huge diversity of backgrounds, and a diversity of reasons as to why people are here. I think that cocktail, squirted in with a bit of 'we want to do well,' really makes me feel very powerfully attached to this school. (ll. 31-5)*

It was people's cultural and experiential "cocktail," coupled with their pro-achievement orientation, which enhanced its institutional identity and strengthened his connection to it. The growing cultural diversity of its faculty team was something that other teachers felt contributed positively to the school's evolving ethos. Anette, for example, a senior leader who had also been at Windsor Secondary High for more than a decade, believed it

> *benefited from having a much more racial and international mix of staff. A lot of that comes down to... the previous principal. He was from New Zealand, and he certainly did go on an [Australasian] recruitment drive, which has been great because that's added flavour to our staff and helped broaden our perspectives. The variety makes this a great place to be. (ll. 56-60)*

She relates the "more racial and international mix of [teaching] staff" to "added flavour" and "broaden[ed]… perspectives," which has led to a changed "institutional habitus." So whilst colleagues such as Drucilla, who had only been teaching there for one year but had been raised in Hong Kong and attended as a student one of Windsor Secondary High's sister schools, may have felt that its "key values are often in the teachers that have been there a long time" (ll. 37-8), the vast majority of whom reflected the school's British heritage and Hong Kong's wider legacy as a former British colony, it appears that personnel changes may be helping to internationalise it. This impression was apparent to me following the 2004-05 recruitment round. Reviewing school records on the background of teachers who had joined in the past five years showed that the majority of them were no longer from the United Kingdom, and more linguistically and race/ethnically diverse than those recruited previously.

Notwithstanding these findings and other related remarks about the shift in institutional identity from being British-dominated towards greater cultural heterogeneity, there was also fieldwork evidence to suggest otherwise. Winfred, for example, declares

> *we can't afford to be too British. I think there is a danger of that at this school, and it seems to wax and wane. When I first had anything to do with the school... I thought it was a very British, almost colonial institution. That was quite a powerful image that I had then. Then when I joined as a full-time teacher, I found it to be more international. There was some diversity amongst staff. The student mix was more evenly balanced between Chinese, Indian ethnic children, and sort of 'the rest'. And I've felt, probably in the last couple of years, that it seems to be getting more English again. So I think that's a challenge…. I think it's something the school needs to address given its clientele and the way it wants to achieve greater internationalism. (ll. 46-55)*

Winfred's view that "it seems to be getting more English again" runs contra to Anette's feelings that the more recent "recruitment drive[s]" had "added flavour" and "helped broaden our perspectives." At the heart of Windsor Secondary High's "challenge" is the cultural

tension between being "too British" and "achiev[ing] greater internationalism" – a tension that can markedly shape a school's relations with the wider community, as seen with Waratah High; and that is especially challenging given Windsor Secondary High's celebrated legacy and traditions (e.g., school song, motto, uniform) that stem directly from its British lineage and contribute to its unique and, for some, venerated institutional identity in Hong Kong.

This tension between the school's past and present was evident at an alumni function I attended in October 2005. Although the venue decorations sought to balance the school's Western/colonial past with its increasingly more localised present, the juxtapositioning of the 15 senior student prefect ambassadors – all but three of whom were race/ethnically Chinese (two were of Indian heritage and one was Caucasian) – and the majority of alumni attendees, the largest contingent of which were Caucasian (largely British) and EurAsian, served as a visible reminder of this cultural-historical tension and change.

Alysha is one such alumnus, who now teaches at Windsor Secondary High, to be living first-hand these developments as evident in the memories shared of her student days:

> *I think when I was here it was perhaps a little more UK-centred, largely because at the time Hong Kong was still a colony. There was a much larger contingent of expatriate kids from the UK here, who weren't originally from Hong Kong and then went to the UK, but rather who had originally come out to Hong Kong from the UK only to return to it once they were done their studies. (Pause). I think half of my friends from back then are Eurasian or Korean or Japanese…. It's a much larger school now than when I was here as a student. And I think it makes it a little more impersonal. (ll. 333-44)*

The first way highlights the student body's different demographic (i.e., race/ethnic, nationality) composition, which Alysha attributes to Hong Kong's former status as a British colony. This change to a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China seemed to be reflected in the visible phenotypic contrast I saw between the school's student ambassadors and the returning alumni. It also comes through in the comments made by an illustrious alumnus, who had joined the school in 1936 and had been recently profiled in the popular press following her first visit to Hong Kong after more than five decades away:

> *I joined [Windsor Secondary High] at age 10, just after Easter. It was the beginning of the most wonderful childhood. Being at this school was like a mini-United Nations. That was part of the wonder of it. All these children together, just friends from different nations. I sat next to a Chinese boy. There were Swiss, Dutch, Canadian, White Russians, everything…. I remember once one girl at the school saying: 'Of course, my father is a Soviet,' but that's the only time I remember hearing anything about politics. (Evans 2007)*

The irony of her observation in this context is hard to miss. Though she describes Windsor Secondary High as "a mini-United Nations," the examples given of why this made it so for her – "I sat next to a Chinese boy. There were Swiss, Dutch, Canadian, White Russians, everything" – point to her arguably narrow view of UN cultural-national diversity. Except for the singular Chinese boy, the other nationalities mentioned are Western, Northern-hemisphered countries, which certainly then (if not now, save for Canada) were overwhelmingly Caucasian. Contrast her UN allusion to Yon's (2000: 29), who makes it to describe his initial impressions of the Toronto high school where he carried out his critical ethnography to explore the construction and negotiation of student subjectivities:

> *To visit Maple Heights is a bit like going to the United Nations… if you think of the UN as a place where different-looking peoples from around the globe meet…. Maple Heights can be seen as reflective of Greater Toronto, which has been designated 'the most ethnically diverse city in the world.'*

That she does not "remember hearing anything about politics" at Windsor Secondary High perhaps speaks to the incongruities of her romanticised recollection of her school days and United Nations association. At the same time, the connotations of her partial view of the UN (i.e., as a group of Western- and Northern-hemisphered dominated countries) reflects some of the broader criticisms that have been levelled at both the UN itself (Puchala 2005) and English-medium international schools with "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998) missions, in particular, as discussed in Chapter 2. This line of criticism argues that neither takes a respectful and equitable view of the cultural mosaic within their respective jurisdictions, be it in terms of the diversity found within the UN's 192 member states or in how such schools relate to (let alone "cellophane" themselves from) their host-country contexts.

The second germane point that Alysha makes stems from her observation that Windsor Secondary High is a "much larger school now," which seems to lead to student experiences that are "a little more impersonal." Both this change and its consequences will be discussed in a subsequent section, which examines school size as a contextual factor that appeared to adversely affect relationships between teachers and students.

In this way, then, the changes in the cultural demographics of Windsor Secondary High's community and implications of this shift for its "institutional habitus" broadly parallel what American (e.g., Phelan, Davidson et al. 1993; Olsen 1997; Nieto 1998), Canadian (e.g., Ryan 1999; Yon 2000), and other urban and suburban schools elsewhere have had to contend with in the face of increasing visible minority immigrant populations. The ensuing understanding

and practice of multi-culturalism by these schools in response will impact their "institutional habitus." This will be evident in a shift from a singular (i.e., mainly along race/ethnic, citizenship, nationality, or linguistic lines) representation of a dominant identity to an array of co-equal or non-compromising representations of identity that more equitably (and accurately) reflect the cultural diversity found within their communities.

At the same time, Windsor Secondary High's institutional identity was very much wrapped up with conflicting perceptions about the extent to which it actually was an 'international school'. Unlike Waratah High, whose transplanted, nationally-based curriculum and ethos were intentionally designed to transmit a particular country's national culture within the context of a certain (arguably limited) version of international schooling, Windsor Secondary High did not face the same pressures. Much as its storied legacy and successful history contributed to a unique institutional identity, this did not readily translate into a widely shared understanding of it as an international school, which arguably further challenged how its "institutional habitus" impacted school-community relations.

For example, at one end of the spectrum sit teachers like Cleo and Emory. Though they expressed some doubt as to what exactly constituted and contributed to whether a school was 'international,' despite their extensive professional experiences in a number of such schools, they conceded that overall, Windsor Secondary High likely was an international school:

> *I don't know what an international school is. I haven't heard one definition that satisfies me. We're international in that we have a very international student body. So does that make us international? We've become more international in the makeup of our teaching body.... we've got people from different European countries, both hemispheres, North America. So I assume that's made the teachers more international. Our students go on to a wider variety of higher education institutions than they ever did. And so they're looking outwardly more internationally. I think that as a school – what's that wonderful little phrase? – we celebrate diversity. You know, the Indian students do their night of Indian dance and songs. We have different ways for the ethnicity of our students to come out. I think we probably could do more along those lines, but whether you need to to be international, I don't know.... I also wonder whether if we were classified as an international school, would we be any better than just being what we are? A school that takes no notice of students' ethnic background; that is not particularly interested in the teachers' ethnic background, provided they can teach; where, as far as I can see, there are no racial tensions at all. Why are we not happy with that? If that's what makes an international school, then we're international. If it doesn't, well, I don't know what else we need. (Cleo: ll. 387-405)*

Cleo describes two broad features that most would consider to be important characteristics of international schools. He illustrates the first, inter-national diversity, by referring to the varied nationalities of students and teachers, as well as the greater range of countries where

graduates were pursuing their post-secondary school studies. And though he caveats the second by stating that it "could do more" to allow "the ethnicity of our students to come out," his main point seems to be that it is the lack of race/ethnic awareness, and the absence of "racial tensions," that make it an international school. In this way, Cleo does not seem to appreciate how "tak[ing] no notice of students' ethnic background" may, in fact, be "seen as a racist value, rather than an expression of justice" (Corson 2000: 117) – especially coming from a Caucasian, British man, who had worked previously as a civil servant in the colonial government and had been at Windsor Secondary High for more than two decades.

Broadly aligned with Cleo, Emory adds five additional characteristics to the mix:

> *You would think that with students who come with different citizenships, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, have experienced different educational systems, and are living in an internationally-minded city like Hong Kong, that would make us an international school…. We've got the direct tangible curriculum element in terms of international content. And I see that the IB was certainly marketed here specifically with this in mind – whether that was a positive or a cynical strategy to convince people that may not have been convinced in other ways, I don't know. But there seems to be a mind there to show the community at large that we're not an expatriate institution, and that we will now be more international because we'll be doing the IB, an 'international curriculum.' And then, of course, there are the less tangible co-curriculum elements – the celebrations, the sports and service trips abroad, etc…. The students, I think, would perceive themselves as internationally-orientated. But again, what does that really mean? (ll. 434-57)*

In addition to their different inter-nationalities ("citizenships") and multi-cultural diversity, Emory considered the experiences of "different educational systems" that some students come with, the fact that they were all "living in an internationally-minded city like Hong Kong," and that the students saw themselves as "internationally-orientated" as three further reasons why Windsor Secondary High ought to be considered an international school. He also adds two additional characteristics: its curriculum (i.e., current and future) and co-curriculum. In the process, Emory reveals his skeptical read for the IB Diploma Programme's introduction at Windsor High – i.e., to rebrand the school as "not an expatriate institution" and as "more international." This widely-shared sentiment amongst a number of his colleagues whom I interviewed, as well as others I spoke to informally, reveals the ideologically and practically complex interplay between its "institutional habitus" and community relations.

Second, the middling position on whether Windsor Secondary High was an international school can be seen in remarks by Florentina and Kurtis. Though they identified similar features to what Cleo and Emory emphasised, neither one seemed convinced that on that

basis alone, Windsor Secondary High ought to be considered an international school. For example, Florentina states

> *we talk about ourselves as an international school, but that's such a difficult concept to grapple with. It certainly is something that we've taken on board with the work that we've done recently with [an external consultant].... It's an international school, I guess, because its clientele is international. So it's an international school in terms of passport holders. But, in many ways, it's not a multi-cultural school, perhaps in the ways that other schools have been that I've worked at. In [European city]... there were many pupils and teachers from many different cultures. That was a multi-cultural school. Same for the school in [Australiasian city], which had huge immigrant populations and EAL issues.... So I'm not sure that this has a multi-cultural or international ethos to it in many, many ways. But I'm also not sure whether I know what internationalism means. I think I understand what multi-culturalism means – and I don't think that this is a particularly multi-cultural school. (ll. 23-36)*

She highlights the tension between its inter-national "clientele" (i.e., foreign passports, citizenships) and the absence of multi-cultural (i.e., race/ethnic, heritage-based) diversity within the school community. Summing up, Florentina considered its "ethos" neither multi-cultural nor international. Similarly, Kurtis did not feel that the lived values, attitudes, and behaviours that were characteristic of Windsor Secondary High as a whole made it

> *typically an international school nor even strongly an international school compared to say the UWCs [United World Colleges] of this world. But the make-up of the students, I think, dictates that it's neither an English nor a Hong Kong school. So I suppose the make-up of the students is the strongest element of its internationalism. Obviously, the staff are less international than the students.... The curriculum is not hugely international. (ll. 242-50)*

Like the others, Kurtis identifies the students' broadly inter-national background as the "strongest element of its internationalism." Unlike Cleo and Emory, however, Kurtis did not feel that its staff body or curriculum contributed in this regard. He also characterises it as neither "typically" nor "strongly" an international school compared to the United World Colleges, whose 12 schools are part of a "global educational movement that brings together students from all over the world… with the explicit aim of fostering peace and international understanding" (UWC 2007).

Third and finally, representative remarks by Suzanne, a senior leader, characterise the other pole to Cleo and Emory:

> *I'm not sure it is an international school. When people ask me what's [Windsor Secondary High] like, I tend to say you could take any British comprehensive and dump it into Hong Kong. Change some of the population in here and it would be the same. I don't think we are international. I don't see we do anything more international here than any other school in Britain or probably America or Canada or Australia. We just claim we are because of our location. We don't look out. We*

say we do, but we don't. We pay lip service. But I don't know how you'd do it better unless you changed your curriculum, so that you're not tied to these constraints that your curriculum gives you. And I don't think it's because it's ethnocentric. It's just the nature of the curriculum that we have. So I don't think we are an international school – unless you just mean we've got lots of nationalities.... I'd like to see us doing more things outside of the school. Going more into this community. But that still wouldn't make us international. It just means that we've got more links.... I don't know. It's not just running mock U.S. elections, although that's part of it. It's not the textbooks you use, although that's part of it.... But is any school international? I'm not sure what it means to be an international school, to be honest. (ll. 289-315)

Suzanne starts by expressing a hedged position in whether it is an international school ("I'm not sure it is…") and in "what it means to be an international school," more generally, to close. She casts Windsor Secondary High as a transplanted "British comprehensive," the predominant State secondary school type in the UK, whose only significant marker of difference may be its Hong Kong "location". Though it has "lots of nationalities," a recurring characteristic of international schools mentioned by others, she considers the "constraints" of its formal curriculum and limited co-curricular outreach "into this community" as the main reasons for concluding, "I don't think we are an international school."

In sum, the perspectives discussed above reveal three broad positions on a continuum of understanding about whether Windsor Secondary High's "institutional habitus" makes it an international school. In the eyes of its teachers, the recurring characteristics that enabled or impeded its claim to be include: nationality (of students and staff), race/ethnic cultural diversity, curriculum (formal and informal), prevailing worldview, post-secondary schooling destinations, and school location. Yet throughout was a shared degree of uncertainty with the fundamental question (i.e. yes, maybe, no) – i.e., What makes for an international school? – as discussed in Chapter 2. The answer will have implications for the espoused ideologies and beliefs that direct practices, and whose sum total will constitute and contribute to a school's institutional identity and habitus.

In this regard, translating the rhetoric into reality continues to be a significant challenge according to Denver, one of its senior leaders with nearly a decade of experience at two Hong Kong international schools, because Windsor Secondary High

> *has yet to find the relevant local reference points to actually understand Hong Kong. I think many of the staff, because of the bubble they live in, aren't connected to what you might call 'real Hong Kong' – whatever 'real Hong Kong' is. They haven't got that connection. So they haven't got a local reference point. If you ask them some questions about… Hong Kong laws on data protection, for example, many will refer to data protection in the UK. But we're not in the UK! People who have been here a long, long time are still making the UK their reference point and not Hong Kong. (ll. 204-15)*

Denver's observation is ironic, at one level, given its long history in Hong Kong; has it not had the time or opportunity to 'localize' itself? Yet as suggested previously, its colonial past positions it in a certain relationship to Hong Kong and its localised denizens and citizens, and can lead to a partial view of contemporary and "real Hong Kong." Interestingly, given what Emory suggests previously, including local examples from the "internationally-minded city" that is Hong Kong ought to be readily possible – and yet, in Denver's opinion, is just not happening. In this regard, the referencing of foreign examples reflects this tensional interplay between what may be familiar to expatriate (i.e., transplanted) teachers and potentially foreign for the majority of local-Hong Kong students at Windsor Secondary High. It speaks to the lived ways in which ideology and beliefs shape its institutional and teachers' habituses, as well as school-community relations, in general.

In this case, such teacher practice reflects a transplanted approach that is more characteristic of "encapsulated" rather than inclusive international schools. Not integrating "local reference points," if seen more critically, is exclusive because "culturally relevant pedagogy" (Ladson-Billings, 1995), which is student-centred and incorporates the community's cultural capital, is not used. As relayed by several Waratah High teachers (e.g., Hyun, Marcelino, Albertina), colonial mentalities persisted in the worldview and actions of some of their colleagues. Such teachers resist and/or overlook including "relevant local reference points." Left uncontested, such culturally hidebound pedagogy may create dissonance for the local-Hong Kong student majority who, unable to reconcile the cultural divergence between their "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves, may be left with an "endangered" self (Spindler and Spindler 1994). The negative ramifications of this for students' lived experiences of the school's sociocultural environment are developed by Equatorials (Chapter 7), in particular, the second cluster in which local-Hong Kong international school students predominated.

For teacher-leaders like Suzanne, who has "lived here longer than the UK… but I still don't consider it home. I still just consider Hong Kong a place I'm working in" (ll. 8-9), the inability (or unwillingness) to seize "local reference points" formatively influences their professional habitus to affect adversely their school-community relations:

> *How do you educate parents? How do you educate parents to say: we don't have to*
> *test every single day. You should allow your child to do some extracurricular*
> *activities. You don't need four A2s. There are huge cultural divides… that, more*
> *than ever, now seem to be so intense. (ll. 246-52)*

That Suzanne sees "huge cultural divides," which she feels unable to successfully bridge despite having lived more than half of her life in Hong Kong and spent her entire professional life in its international schools arena, indicates the nature and impact of her "interpretive schemes… [and] guidelines of action" (Seidman 1998: 153) in her relationships with the community. Given her role as a senior leader and ability to influence its "institutional habitus," her outlook does not seem conducive to enabling inclusive conditions for every student's engagement.

Yet Suzanne is not alone in this regard, given the recurring remarks by colleagues about the "unreasonable parental expectations" and "pressure" (i.e., Lurline, Jazmine) for Windsor Secondary High students "to achieve As all the time" when a "B grade is not bad. It's good. There was absolutely no way their child could achieve an A… but they [the Hong Kong-Chinese parents] just couldn't see that" (Kaylene: ll. 54-9). Such teachers deemed them unable to "see that it is not just a set of top grades [that matters]…. It is making sure that the student achieves the best that they can – not just academically, but also socially and extra-curricularly. Getting that over is a major challenge" (Jazmine: ll. 140-47).

Characterising further the nature of the divide between the school and its local-Hong Kong majority constituency, Jazmine goes on to say "but I feel like I'm banging my head against a brick wall…. the children are under such pressure – and I don't necessarily think it's the school that puts that pressure" (ll. 578-92). Though she goes on to say that she is "quite pastorally focused…. I don't believe that you can be a truly effective teacher unless you consider the pastoral" (ll. 365-89), like a number of her colleagues Jazmine presents this as a problem for the local Hong Kong-Chinese rather than the Caucasian or Indian constituents: "[W]e have a large number of students, mostly Hong Kong students, who have far too much pressure put upon them because of expectations at home that they feel obliged to try and meet or rise to" (Kirby: ll. 514-15). Interestingly, Kathryn, one of only two local-Hong Kong Chinese teachers at Windsor Secondary to work outside the Chinese languages department, concurs with the prevailing view that this "major challenge" was largely a cultural one:

> *I find that for a lot of our local students, their parents have arranged too many things for them outside of school. Maybe they have tutoring in maths and in English and they have to take piano lessons….. It's all about doing and achieving. I think they have too many activities…. students say they're not free at lunchtime, after school. They've always got something on. (ll. 77-81)*

This narrower view of schooling by the Hong Kong-Chinese constituents, and its implications for an unbalanced pursuit of academic achievement over social and personal

well-being, could also be seen in their aspirations for higher education: "Amongst our ethnic Chinese community, there is a feeling that they need to apply to prestigious universities. It's always very difficult to advise them that those universities may not be the best fit for them – that there may be universities that better suit their aptitude and personalities" (Cleo: ll. 94-7).

As shown above, several teacher-leaders referred to the perceived disconnect between what the school was trying to achieve with students in terms of a broad and balanced education and what the numerically dominant, local Hong Kong-Chinese parental community wanted. Indeed for Kirby, a highly regarded senior leader at Windsor Secondary High, the

> *weaker area is probably the wider community one – that kind of contact with our families. I think that's very difficult. I've built this up over a period of ten years because you attend Parents' Evenings. In the various roles that I've had, I've kind of bumped up against families, parents – I know some of them outside the school. But it's very limited.... And actually, the dialogue with the wider parental community is, I think, a little thin because of the nature of the families that make up the large majority of our community. They're sometimes linguistically removed, sometimes geographically removed, sometimes professionally removed. The practicalities of having a dialogue are far more difficult here compared with the comprehensive school that I taught at in England, where you were sitting in the middle of an area that all your kids come from and the parents are literally on your doorstep all the time. What we have here is a very different kind of situation. (ll. 117-31)*

The "very different kind of situation" he concludes with echoes a defining characteristic of international schools – i.e., they cater to transient, globally-mobile families who tend not to be from the host country, let alone the school's proximate neighbourhood. This challenges school-community relations because the school is not "sitting in the middle of an area that all your kids come from;" and its constituents may have neither the opportunity nor ability to cultivate a shared understanding of each other's ideologies.

Yet that was not the case for international schools in Hong Kong and Windsor Secondary High, in particular. As presented in Chapters 2 and 3, Hong Kong's international schools arena is not typical because its population is relatively stable. Nearly three-quarters of the surveyed participants in Phase 1 ($N = 544$) will have attended the same international school for their entire secondary school career (71%), as reported in Chapter 4; and only 15 percent had been there for two years or less. The stability of Windsor Secondary High's student population's is even greater: in Phase 1 ($N = 199$), 85 percent had spent 6 or more years there; only 5 percent had been there 2 or fewer years; and in Phase 2 ($N = 16$), 81 percent had done their compulsory secondary schooling at it – and none of the interviewees had been there two or fewer years. Qualitative impressions complement this picture to emerge from the survey data: e.g., "The turnover of students has dropped dramatically in the time that I've

been here. So far more of our senior students are Year 7 right the way through… and increasingly they're going right through from our primary feeder schools" (Emory: ll. 181-84).

In keeping with the central tenet of "culturally relevant pedagogy" (Ladson-Billings 1995) – i.e., show respect for students' home and community culture by drawing on their backgrounds, knowledge, and experiences to inform lesson content and processes – these findings highlight the need for a more systematic integration of "local reference points" in students' lived experiences of Windsor Secondary High (Clandinin 2007). This imperative becomes even more pressing in light of the evidence from Denver's recent straw poll of his four senior school classes: the majority of the students planned to return to live and work in Hong Kong after their university studies. If indeed that is the case, then what messages are students getting given Hong Kong's conspicuous absence from their formal and informal schooling experiences? How is Windsor Secondary High readying them effectively for this return if the experiences it engenders are "selected by people [socioculturally] remote from the circumstances of [the] learners themselves" (Corson 2000: 94)?

At the same time, Kirby's explanation for why the school's dialogue with its local-Hong Kong families may be "thin" usefully develops our understanding of the school-community "cultural divide" in two ways. His first reason, the families were "linguistically removed," echoes what a number of Waratah High teacher participants similarly expressed. That the school and its majority student/family constituents did not readily share English as their first language created a practical cultural/linguistic issue to work through (e.g., in terms of school-home communication). The second reason, being "geographically removed," mainly refers to a comparatively small number of local-Hong Kong Chinese students whose parents lived in Mainland China because that is where their business was located, which left the children in the care of their 'amah' (i.e., domestic servant/helper) and/or extended family members in Hong Kong. During my fieldwork at both schools, I came across a dozen or so senior students whose parents were either 'absent' for this reason, or where they had to commute daily from Shenzhen, a city across the border in Mainland China, to attend their school in Hong Kong. The "very simple and mundane issue" Kirby had to contend with in his current role (i.e., student payment of examinations fees) illustrates the lived implications of the "linguistically," "geographically," and "professionally" removed families:

> *You send a letter home stating the exams entered, the costs, and request a cheque.*
> *Now that's, in essence, a fairly straightforward task…. I would actually send home*

letters with Chinese translations. Now the number of students who actually can respond to that quickly, promptly, and reliably is not as big as you might think it should be. I think you could find all sorts of factors in there. Students are themselves irresponsible, and the letter's left stuffed at the bottom of their bag for a while. Or they take the letter home but there is no parent there to sign it. Or they take it home and the parents are there, but they are too busy to actually get a cheque together. My favourite one is where I've had the father's secretary phoning me up to get me to explain what it's all about and then having her cut me a cheque. (ll. 225-41)

Hence for some teacher-leaders it was the "nature of the families themselves" that led to tensions between the school and its majority local Hong Kong-Chinese constituents. The school-community dynamics to emerge, depending on how Windsor Secondary High exercised its "institutional habitus," had the potential to exacerbate the "cultural divides."

At the same time, teachers like Florentina, an experienced middle leader with an extensive background in urban schools of diversity, acknowledge how

we're very lucky to work within the Chinese cultural context. Certainly in other schools that I've worked at, education hasn't been valued to the same degree, neither by the kids nor the parents. So this is a real opportunity to work where education matters and is valued by the whole community. That's definitely one thing about… that I really like. (ll. 182-86)

Though Florentina generalises to convey a 'deficit' view of parental and student engagement at her previous government/public urban schools, her main point echoes Winfred's to favourably portray the wider Windsor Secondary High community as pro-school.

Even Kaylene, a new recruit to Windsor Secondary High (yet raised in Hong Kong and attended an international school) who expressed frustration at the narrow academic focus of local-Hong Kong Chinese families, could appreciate its silver lining:

School achievement is pushed here. Everyone's expected to go from GCSE to A-level and then university. That's the norm. If you don't do that, it just seems that you're a step out of the norm. But in the UK, you're able to drop out after GCSE or go on to a Sixth Form. Not everyone goes to university. Some people even start working. So it's a different culture here. (ll. 37-41)

It made for students who valued achievement and "wanted to succeed in school." As Cleo remarks, "It's not frowned upon here to be a SWOT [nerd; boringly studious]. If you're good, everybody thinks, 'Wow! He's got 95% – great. I wish I could do that.' They don't think, 'Uhh – loser'" (ll. 275-77). As Emory puts it, "the big thing that keeps us unified is a culture that wants success and is prepared to work for success" (ll. 59-60). This focus arguably is a characteristic of international school students, in general, who possess considerable "cultural capital" in terms of background, aspirations, and networks. At the same time, this narrower

version of "success" (i.e., as academic) was not evoked by student participants as the main way to be engaged and experience school as positive (Riviere, Sotomayor et al. 2008; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009), as exemplified through all three student cluster chapters. Interestingly, Warratah High teacher participants also seemed to tie such "success" more closely to heritage (e.g., recall references made by Dick and Albertina); and student comments (e.g., Freya, Sienna, Johnny) present local-Hong Kong Chinese students as more academic, in contrast to the expatriate students, who are described as more disruptive and less achievement-oriented (e.g., Riley, Mason).

In sum, Denver's observation that Windsor Secondary High needed to find "relevant local reference points" is indeed what Garton (2002) and Allen (2002: 141) call for when discussing constructive school-community relations: "If international schools want to preserve their mission of developing tolerance and understanding, they might well be advised to invest heavily in local connectedness." For Denver, one way forward would be to

> *use our parents. They can help us find and realign our reference points because many of them are working in what I would call 'the real Hong Kong'. They are going to be less in that colonial bubble because in a multi-national company [in Hong Kong], the vast majority of people are going to be local Chinese. We haven't got that. Well, we've got that in terms of our support staff, but we have to recognise that there are limits there. But in that same professional stratum, you are going to have considerable cultural diversity. We haven't got that in the school. So we've got to somehow break out of that bubble.... It comes down to that relationship between local, regional, and international – but starting with the local. We have to get that across much more than we're currently doing. (ll. 218-29)*

And yet turning to parents was no panacea, either, given the broadly pejorative perceptions about the "nature of the [school] families themselves." Such naturalisation, also done by Waratah High teachers, reified these constituents as a largely unfavourable force – be it the expatriate minority (i.e., too "pushy") or the Hong Kong-Chinese majority (i.e., too "disconnected"). Indeed, Denver (Windsor Secondary High), Albertina and Lurline (Waratah High) were part of a small number of participants to characterise parental constituents as a potentially constructive force on school-community relations.

At the same time, my conversations with Windsor Secondary High teachers and leaders, observations, and review of documentation found that the school was striving to promote cultural diversity practice and intercultural dialogue by, for example, partnering with a local university to conduct, interpret, and disseminate the results of a multi-level survey using the 'Index for Inclusion' (Booth and Ainscow 2002); bringing in an external consultant to work with the teachers on their view of internationalism; introducing the International

Baccalaureate Diploma programme; and recruiting actively teachers that represented greater cultural diversity. Despite such efforts, the remarks shared thus far coupled with my fieldwork observations would suggest that it still had considerable ground to cover in this regard. Other than Denver and Kirby, who in the next section advocate for more personalised relationships that treat "students as individual people" (l. 525) and take explicitly into account their social identities, only two other Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader participants referred directly to how they cultivated "local connectedness."

This happened quite naturally to Winfred, who tended to "start with local examples before going to overseas examples…. to move from the known to the unknown" (ll. 96-100), even though "at the end of the day we are doing a UK syllabus and kids have got to be prepared for that" (ll. 94-5). For Anette, "an understanding and appreciation of Hong Kong culture" was "of huge importance" in her teaching. Their reactions would indicate a positive response to cultural and contextual differences. At the same time, Anette acknowledges how

> *you've really got to stop yourself sometimes, particularly in a subject like mine, where you tend to give a lot of stories and anecdotes to exemplify a point. You can't always make them UK-centric. I was conscious when I first arrived here that I was, and within a year I completely shifted into being almost anti UK-centric (Laughing) – to looking for examples from the rest of the world. In a way, I now think I've sort of gone back into trying to make sure it's a balance. Because as I say to the students, that's my culture. If we're talking about the problem of evil, for example, I would talk about the Jamie Belcher murders…. I'm sure there are examples from elsewhere in the world, but this is the one that for someone who is from the UK, who was living in the UK at the time, horrified me. They can then share their examples, which they've known from other countries. But I don't think you should be frightened of bringing in your own personal experiences. I guess this is the essential characteristic needed to succeed here – the empathy to understand that that's not the only experience. (ll. 291-313)*

Anette shows how a heightened awareness of ethnocentric behaviour, and her desire to be culturally inclusive, prompted her to question, adjust, and reframe her selection and explanation of examples in the classroom. Anette's inter-cultural sensitivity grew as she changed her attitude and adapted her behaviours to integrate the localised cultural differences. Her suggestion that "empathy to understand" others was a key attribute indicates that she sought, recognised, and accepted 'other' worldviews as viable interpretations of reality. Anette thus seemed to have internalised inter-cultural frames of reference to achieve Appiah's (2006) cosmopolitan ideal: i.e., she could see herself in others, respect the cultural differences that existed between people, and was open to learn from cultural differences. In Emory's words, Anette has "realise[d] that what you bring has value, but its value is limited by your ability to be flexible… and to adapt it to the Hong Kong context" (ll. 421-23).

In short, redressing the "institutional habitus" at Windsor Secondary High through strengthened "local connectedness" – i.e., identify, understand, and use "relevant local reference points…. that are more relevant for this school" – requires promoting and practising inclusive leadership (Ryan 2003; 2005). Interestingly, Piedmont Academy participants in Alvia Martin's (2008) remarked similarly that the "curriculum did not lend itself to the discussion of local issues and multicultural issues" (111). Indeed, teachers at both Piedmont and Bayview "indicated discrepancies between their schools' predominantly global outlook and lack of student awareness about issues in the local community" (Alviar-Martin 2008: 185). Such intentionally inclusive practice values all cultures -- global and local. It demonstrates a respect for and readiness to learn from differences by creating spaces and opportunities to learn about and to incorporate diversity into school decision-making bodies, as it is simply not possible/practical to know about all the cultural-historical influences that shape a context and position people within it (Corson 1998; 2000). This makes it possible to then cultivate culturally responsive insights about, and from within, local constituencies and to make informed decisions with the potential to strengthen school-community relations.

On the other hand, such intentionally inclusive leadership practice also values all types of students (Ryan 2003; 2005). In addition to the noted diversity of students along nationality and race/ethnic lines at Windsor Secondary High, this would mean attending to and responding with deeper understanding to students with different linguistic and academic needs and abilities. For example, Cleo notes that

> *the writing standards are falling. I don't think they've got the same writing skills that students used to have. But I think, and again I've got no data to back this up, it's because the nature of the school body has changed. We have far more students now for whom English is an additional language. Twenty years ago it was mainly first-language English expatriates with a few Chinese. (Pause). Maybe this EAL situation is something that we need to be dealing with as a school more than we're presently doing. (ll. 178-85)*

Cleo not only focuses on the change he has seen in students' English literacy skills, but also identifies it as a school-level area of concern that is perhaps not being addressed as it should be. Drucilla concurs, believing that "we struggle a lot more with EAL as an issue than people are prepared to admit" (ll. 129-30); as does Emory: "my experience over the last few years has shown that students' competence in the English language has become much more of an issue" (ll. 110-12). Similarly, Alysha finds that because

we're accepting a lot of kids now whose standard of English is lower; it's something we've got to focus on a lot more. Trying to help those kids where English is an additional language. I can see a big difference in the quality of work that gets produced – not the quality of thinking, mind you – between students who don't have English as their first language. I think they're really hampered by it. I think we're trying to address it, but it's quite a big issue that involves quite a number of students. (ll. 57-63)

Cleo, Drucilla, Emory, and Alysha express a recurring concern with the gap between current EAL student needs and school provision for it (recall the similar Waratah High perceptions). Given the evidence, and the observational findings – i.e., EAL was not a separate department, though it was coordinated by an EAL specialist. Its small 'team' consisted of peripatetic teachers who were essentially surplus to requirements in their first subject area, and had been asked to 'support' EAL students by either going into mainstream lessons or conducting sheltered withdrawal; only one of the four teachers on the EAL 'team' (other than the coordinator) had some form of EAL qualification – it was debatable whether Windsor Secondary High was indeed engaging these EAL students within the classroom and meeting their developmental needs.

Another type of student at Windsor Secondary High that an inclusive leadership approach would support are those struggling to access its academic curriculum. Zada, Florentina, and Suzanne were the only three (of 15) teacher participants to refer directly to this "smaller group" of students and talk about their school engagement challenges. Though the school had an "Individual Needs" (IN) coordinator, they, too, faced similar constraints as EAL in terms of limited provision and lesser status when compared to other pastoral and curricular areas at the school. Note that none of the IN-identified students participated in the study.

Promoting and practising inclusive leadership (Ryan 2003; 2005) at Windsor Secondary High, which valued all types of differences in students, teachers, and parents, requires confronting and, ultimately, moving away from the Anglo-European cultural frameworks that seemed to dominate the school's social order, as alluded to by Emory:

[Windsor Secondary High] has this reputation in Hong Kong as being the established school, the traditional school…. And I guess that what it's now experiencing is a re-designated blend of old traditions and old values, some of which still have contemporary relevance – plus some of the new traditions and values that have developed more recently. All of that's being worked through… with varying degrees of success, depending on how you look at it (and who is doing the looking!) (ll. 185-94)

This entails making a greater effort *to learn about* the different constituencies in the school community, and the local-Hong Kong segment, in particular; and *to learn from* them, on the

other hand. Striving to lead inclusively in diverse sociocultural context means taking on board both "factual" (i.e., learn about) and "interpretive" or "critical" (i.e., learn from) knowledge (Corson 2000; Ryan 2000) to participate in and build on constituents' multiple and nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities. Having considered how Windsor Secondary High's "institutional habitus" enabled and impeded its school-community relations, the next section turns to the second set of relationships: teacher-student.

Institutional identity and teacher-student relationships

The first way in which teachers' habituses were found to influence formatively and constructively their relations with students at Windsor Secondary High stems from their more expansive understanding of the school's curricula. Zada, for example, an experienced European languages teacher with middle leader pastoral responsibilities, believes that

> *basically, internationalism isn't curriculum. It's hidden curriculum. [Pause] It's anything that makes that up in terms of friendship groups, level of tolerance, level of representation, level of celebrating different aspects of a person's background. So an international school could be anything that is representative of a number of cultures and nationalities to having international content in the curriculum. But I don't feel the curriculum does it by itself. As long as it's not biased towards one culture or nationality, then it's fine. So what makes a school international is the fact that you have a tolerance of other people's cultures and backgrounds. (ll. 321-28)*

By focusing on how "hidden curriculum" shapes internationalism, and defining it in terms of patterns of relationship amongst students, tolerance, representation, and recognition, and not simply as content, Zada foregrounds school ethos and climate over the more formal aspects of the written, taught, and assessed curriculum. She emphasises the values, attitudes, and behaviours to being international, which get lived by students more informally within the social-cultural context of schooling, rather than just the teaching and learning of internationalised content or knowledge. Though she indicates that "tolerance of other people's cultures and backgrounds" is "what makes a school international" -- which arguably is more passive since "tolerance" does not necessarily mean understanding or respecting -- Zada seems to recognise the limits of this in her continuing remarks:

> *I think it's strong here, but student criticisms would be that they feel they should be allowed to speak their own language at school. They don't feel it should just be English. They can't see why not doing so is not being inclusive…. Still, I would say that students are pretty tolerant, accepting. They like to celebrate each other's cultures. But at the same time, the younger students still feel the need to be in a background culture, a ghetto, mainly in terms of language or ethnicity. So you'll see Japanese students together or Indian students together with little mixing…. For the most part, by the time these students get to the Senior School it's mostly worked its way out of the system, and I think students mix more naturally. (ll. 328-39)*

Her explanation points to why tolerance does not, *ipso facto*, lead to inclusivity. Tolerating the speaking of different languages can be exclusive if it divides the student body into linguistic "ghetto[s]." Though she claims that such self-segregative dynamics have "mostly worked [their] way out of the system" as students move through the school, fieldwork data from both sites would suggest otherwise. Moreover, is "mostly" good enough for a school that purportedly "upholds a fine tradition of high achievement and creativity in an ambitious, exciting and enjoyable learning environment; celebrating diversity in an inclusive and supportive international community," as expressed by Windsor Secondary High's mission statement? Zada illustrates why it is necessary to problematise, talk about, and support students from tolerating and accepting cultural difference to engaging and understanding it – from a weaker to a stronger version of internationalism that tends towards a greater cosmopolitan ethic (Appiah 2006): i.e., they can see themselves in others, respect the cultural differences that exist between people, and are open to learn from cultural differences.

In this way, then, thinking narratively about engagement (Clandinin 2007) enacts more encompassing curricula that get students to "not just see learning as something that takes place in a particular class, but to see it as something that will enrich and give value throughout their lives to themselves and others" (Florentina: ll. 233-35). Although some participants maintain that cultivating internationalism is more "easily done" in subjects that "deal with examples from all over the world" (Alysha: l. 97), and to which students can readily relate because we have "so many different nationalities here" (l. 101), others seize the opportunity to interrogate the "obvious cultural bias in my subject" (Kurtis: l. 51), whose "curriculum is obviously not hugely international" (l. 246), and to "look at different views, different versions of events" (l. 92). Alysha's and Kurtis' perspectives are broadly representative of the two main approaches to curriculum at Windsor Secondary High: Whereas Alysha describes the insertion of international content, perhaps concepts, into Geography curriculum to which students can relate and through which they can develop greater international-mindedness, Kurtis aims to cultivate students' critical dispositions in History by problematising content, interpreting it multi-perspectivally, and uncovering biases.

The direction the school was moving in given the Senior Leadership Team's priorities is arguably reflected in Alysha's and Kurtis' approaches. For example, Windsor Secondary High was to offer the IB Diploma from 2007-08. In preparation, the teachers had been undergoing IB training since the decision was made in 2005. From my conversations with nearly one-quarter of all teachers, both as participants and around the staff room, two of the

more obvious lessons they had taken away from their IB workshops was, first, the centrality of 'international' content in the IB curriculum; and, second, the need for students

> *to be questioning. To be thoughtful, reflective, and, at the same time, questioning and compassionate. To recognise that there are going to be differences between people and cultures – and to know enough about and, also, what to do when faced with this difference. That's much more important than just having specific subject knowledge. Sure, you need some subject knowledge because that enables other things to happen. You have to have some knowledge to get into higher-order thinking. But I am never so hell-bent about subject knowledge… like what A-level seems to encourage. To me, the IB is about getting students to look at real problems, to think about them, and to act. To use the knowledge that they are beginning to develop, to question it, and to use it to ask further questions… to understand better and be able do something about these issues and problems. (Denver: ll. 286-99)*

In his understanding of the IB, honed over a decade (he was an IB Diploma Programme (IBDP) coordinator at a UK Sixth-Form College before coming to Hong Kong), Denver describes a view of curriculum that brings together its formal and lived dimensions. He contrasts the IBDP to the UK A-level system currently being taught, in which senior students take three subjects in their penultimate two years. With the IBDP, Windsor Secondary High students would take six subjects plus a core triad, one of which would be taught (i.e., Theory of Knowledge) whilst the two others elements (i.e., Creativity-Action-Service and Extended Essay) would be pursued independently with teacher guidance.

The distinction Denver makes focuses on the way in which the IBDP aims to develop students' capacity to question sensitively and probingly, on the one hand, and to use what they learn to act, on the other. So enacted, such educational purposes and outcomes reflect engagement through more "critical/transformative" curricula (Vibert, Portelli et al. 2002; Zyngier 2007) rather than "instrumentalist/rational technical" or "social constructivist/individualist" curricula.

At the same time, a more skeptical take of the IBDP's potential was voiced by a number of participants at Waratah (i.e., Hyun, Albertina, Cruz, Jonelle) and Windsor Secondary (i.e., Cleo, Jazmine, Emory, Anette) High. Related concerns have also been noted in the more critical literature about the IBO, which argues that it articulates conflicting views of internationalism in its mission statement and curricular documents (Hahn 2003) and promotes hegemonic "global cultural capital" (Bagnall 1994). What is useful to take away from these conflicting interpretations of the IBDP's promise and peril, and most directly relevant to the point at hand, are that whatever the formal curricular framework in place, the teachers were the ones left to mediate and teach it; and the students were the ones who must then translate it

(via their teachers' enactment of it) and make sense of it for themselves. Teachers' ideology and beliefs, with respect to curriculum content and their teaching of it, are thus an important influence on students' experiences, as "It is what teachers think, what teachers do, and what teachers are at the level of the classroom that ultimately shapes the kind of learning that young people get" (Hargeaves and Fullan, specific source unknown). Given the previous section's findings and those presented in the student cluster chapters to follow, it is clear that Windsor Secondary High's "institutional habitus" impacted both the school-community and teacher-student relations to shape students' lived realities of schooling.

The second way in which teachers' habituses were found to influence formatively their relations with students at Windsor Secondary High shifts from their holistic understanding of the school's official, hidden, and lived curricula to their attempts at individualising it for students. For Kirby, this means worrying less about 'what' is codified and focusing more on 'who is' (and 'how' they are) decoding it; it's about attending to the ways his students integrate public, applied, and academic meaning with the personal (Starratt 2003):

> *For me, the international part is about individual students. I mean, if you're an 'international school' because the students have different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and come from different parts of the world, in a sense, it doesn't make a huge deal of difference if you are not dealing with these students as individual people. Whether those individual differences are because of their different national backgrounds, or different language backgrounds, or because they're from different social groups, or have different levels of affluence, you know, it's all part of the same thing. If your values and ethos are based on the individuality of the students that you teach, then that takes account of internationalism. Because if you're dealing with an individual, you're dealing with the individual who is Korean and speaks three languages and whose father is constantly overseas working. That's all part of it…. If you're genuinely engaging people as individuals, the fact that it is an 'international school' is almost secondary if not insignificant. (ll. 522-35)*

Kirby's argument starts by positing that the "international part" of an international school is its students. Yet in "not dealing with these students as individual people," no matter how culturally diverse they may be, the school cannot claim to be so because its "values and ethos are [not] based on the individuality of the students that you teach." In the process, Kirby expresses a cosmopolitan perspective.

In the second part, and like Kurtis previously, Kirby goes on to problematise the curricular area he leads and Windsor Secondary High, more widely, for their inherent cultural and linguistic biases:

> *I find that a bit more problematic… because you are teaching English, which is the language of one nation or one group of people in the world, and the literature part of*

*it as well, and it is hugely dominated by one kind of cultural view. Much as you try
and avoid unnecessarily Anglo-centric teaching, it's not easy to do. (ll. 542-46)*

Continuing, Kirby expresses his reservations with the IB English curriculum to be introduced
and shows why its content will not readily address his cultural bias concerns:

> *The problem I have with 'IB English' is that with the literature to be taught, you call
> it English because it's all been written in English. But there is some Japanese,
> Korean, Chinese literature in there, too. The fact that it's been translated into
> English, for me, is different from something that was written in English to start with.
> So I have slight reservations with 'IB English in that it hijacks the English language
> to deliver this world literature agenda. Now I'm quite happy to go with that, as long
> as people are clear about the social and political thrust to it. But what irritates me a
> little bit is that the IB calls it 'English'. They should call it 'World literature' instead,
> as that's actually what it is: an internationalised body of literature from around the
> world accessible through the English language. (ll. 553-61)*

To some extent, Kirby's observations bring to mind the issues that Pennycook (1998) and
Crystal (2003) have examined as English's "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson 1992). The
imperialist connotations he infers echo one set of concerns that have been levelled at the IBO
by its more critical observers. Kirby's way around it is to argue for greater semantic clarity
with IBDP English to better reflect the distinction he sees between world literature originally
written in English and world literature that has been translated into English – a distinction
that has perhaps been blurred to mask the curriculum's "social and political thrust."

Kirby's final point emphasises the importance of, and way to, connect with students through
curricula that are relevant, personalised, and meaningful:

> *It goes back to engagement again, doesn't it? Students will be more engaged with
> something that has relevance to them. And where you can tweak your curriculum to
> do that, you should do. I think the problem is that what we've done in the past has
> been a bit tokenistic. So because we live in Hong Kong, we do this module on Hong
> Kong. I don't think that addresses the nature of our students terribly well. I mean
> I've lived in Hong Kong for 10 years. I know quite a lot about it. But I'm not
> automatically going to respond to everything with 'Hong Kong' attached to it
> because there are hugely significant aspects of my life and experience that have
> nothing to do with Hong Kong. [Pause] I would guess that applies to a large
> number of our students as well. Whilst living in Hong Kong is the one thing that we
> all have in common, I don't think it takes you very far if that's all you do with it. And
> given the Indian, Korean, Japanese, European, North American students that we have,
> it's very difficult to find a common platform, even by using that Hong Kong idea.
> You've got be much wiser than that. So in that sense, I think that 'internationalising'
> the curriculum is hugely important, but I think it's also hugely difficult. And I don't
> think you can do it until you've got a much more thorough and high profile
> knowledge of your students than we offer at the moment to anybody. (ll. 574-90)*

Though Kirby labels as "tokenistic" past attempts to localise curriculum content, at the heart
of his concern is the assumption that "a large number" of the students have, like him, "hugely

significant aspects" of their lives and experiences "that have nothing to do with Hong Kong."

Recall that: 70% of the 544 Phase 1 participants considered Hong Kong home; 76% of the

199 Windsor Secondary High Phase 1 participants considered Hong Kong home; and 56% of

the 16 Windsor Secondary High Phase 2 interviewees considered Hong Kong home. It

would appear that Hong Kong did indeed matter to these students, perhaps more so than what

Kirby intimates. Nevertheless, given what he opens and concludes with in this final utterance,

and threads throughout the previous three speech acts, Kirby wants a more "thorough and

high-profile knowledge" of his students so that he can engage them better as individuals in

Windsor Secondary High's written, taught, assessed, and lived curricula.

Seen concomitantly, these findings draw attention to the potential (mis-) matches between

students and their immediate experiences of schooling. Specifically, the gap Kirby sees

between the current situation and what he is calling for:

> *I think the system lets us down a little bit because it condones the idea that you're teaching a class of fairly similar people, and all you're interested in is how good they are at this subject or that. Whether there are issues in their wider life that facilitate or create problems in terms of their progress are not really of any immediate concern. I don't think that's satisfactory…. So teachers need to have that information about every student to begin with, rather than having to go to considerable amounts of time and effort in order to dig it out. Having got the information, you then would hope that people would make use of it simply in the kind of interpersonal dealings that they have with students, as well as in the wider sense of how they teach them and the pedagogy that they would use. I'm not an extremist or a Howard Gardener to the 'T' here, where you go into every lesson with eight different modes of learning and three different registers with the expectation that you'll meet all needs. That's just totally impractical. But a sense of who the children really are that you are teaching can make a huge difference without necessarily having to produce lessons or schemes of work that are full of bells and whistles that will hit every target that you can possibly think of. (ll. 287-301)*

The cosmopolitan turn Kirby describes and calls for is precisely what Denver feels is missing

from current teacher practice at Windsor Secondary High:

> *It's that ability to recognise individuals…. Teachers who are going to spend time finding out about them – not just see a class as a class, but recognise the individuals within it. I took the basketball team the other day; there were only six of them. I started asking them about where they came from and whatever. At times, I felt as if no teacher had ever asked them that before. (Laughter). I might be wrong, but I just sensed they don't get asked much about themselves very often. But really they should be… I think that's an absolutely key thing. I start with nationality – one of the first activities I do when I get a class, no matter what subject or age, is find out about them. From that, I can then start to tailor my lessons to link in to who they are. (ll. 180-94)*

Another related way in which teachers' ideology and beliefs shaped classroom practice to offer students a more personalised experience stems from their active solicitation of student input to improve the teaching and learning. For example, Emory

> *ask[s] the students themselves. How do they look at things? Where do they see their blocks? So when students say, 'Well I don't understand this topic,' which I invariably find that's not true, we would break down the syllabus into its component parts. I give them a grid that says on a scale of 'feel very comfortable' to 'feeling very uncomfortable,' can you indicate where you feel within that particular topic, and can you give reasons as to why? We can then almost profile an individual student and say, 'Right. The group generally has problems with this topic, but this person specifically has a problem with this aspect of it.' I wouldn't ever dream to say that I want individually crafted programs for every individual. But that's an illustration of where you can perhaps target the teaching a little better to individual students. (ll. 355-65)*

As shown in the student cluster chapters, they enjoyed co-setting the classroom agenda, when given the chance, and characterised such involvement as a favourable factor in their classroom engagement. However, only a few described ever being given opportunities to provide feedback, as Emory illustrates above, or to help teachers "target the teaching a little better to individual students." As Emory continues, the teachers who do so are "prepared to have that two-way dialogue with students.... *and do not work along the idea that their authority is unquestioned"* (ll. 375-78; Emphasis added).

The bigger point that Emory makes has ample support in the student voice/engagement literature, which develops the benefits of involving students in broader school (Flutter 2006; Rudduck and Fielding 2006) and classroom practice (Morgan and Morris 1999; McIntyre, Pedder et al. 2005; Rudduck and McIntyre 2007) matters, in particular. There was some empirical support in the study, too, though it was skewed away from the classroom context; very few teachers at either Waratah or Windsor Secondary High described or were observed giving students the opportunity to provide feedback and improve the teaching and learning. However, as shown in the three cluster chapters, there is some evidence to indicate that students were able to co-participate in classroom agenda-setting, which they found beneficial to their engagement if/when given the opportunity.

This relates directly to the question of how teachers' habituses positively influenced their relations with students at Windsor Secondary High. Taking a holistic, narrative approach to constructing curricula in terms of the lives that children and teachers are living out/in classrooms (Clandinin 2007), on the one hand, and working to personalise its enactment, on the other hand, arguably reframed the relationship from a narrower role-based one of teacher

and student to a broader one that focuses on students' person-hood, not just their student-hood. As Suzanne puts it, effective and supportive teachers

> *give it the time because they're really interested in the welfare of the students. Not to the point where they're nosey, but they're going to be there for students. They will sit and talk. You know that they know the students – and the students know that they're known. (ll. 276-79).*

Zada blurs further the power differential of the asymmetrical student-teacher relationship when characterising what, for her, makes for a constructive dynamic:

> *They have to know you're on their side. They have to know you're not out to get them. So your role… is to be there for them. If they know that, then they will confide in you. They will talk to you like another colleague, really. Not in a disrespectful manner, but they'll feel comfortable talking to you. They'll trust you. They'll know that they can go to you at any time. That you're there to support them. That you're not out to trip them up…. You're not judging them, and you're there to help them consider other perspectives and to support them, rather than just only ask them about their report and marks. It's not all about that. It's about them as a person. (ll. 277-300)*

Zada makes several relevant points about how teachers' habituses can reframe the traditional teacher-student dynamic. The first, "you're on their side… you're not out to trip them up," recasts the relationship as collaborative. Such equal footing is evident in her suggestion that once this understanding is in place, students will "talk to you like another colleague." The second point gets to the heart of the teacher's role – i.e., "to be there" for students – to emphasise who schools ought to be serving: the students. Zada's third point develops how teachers' habitus can influence formatively and positively their relations with students: "they can go to you at any time." This 'anytime, anywhere, anyhow' approach to schooling was also espoused by a number of Waratah High counterparts (e.g., Hal, Evelyne, Marcelino).

The second half of Zada's assertion focuses on the non-judgemental ways a collaborative rather than confrontational dynamic can emerge once the relationship is realigned to be about "them as a person" – and not just "about their report or marks." In this way, Zada reiterates the importance of prioritising learners' affective, behavioural, and cognitive engagement; of seeing them wholly as people and not just functionally as students. Zada also points out that those teachers will be "there to help them consider other perspectives," which suggests the need to guide and develop through both pressure and support. For Florentina, such *person-*alised care is especially important at a high-achieving school like Windsor Secondary High:

> *I think an ability to see below the surface, to see below this veneer of, 'Our kids… are so good, so successful and well behaved. We have no problems.' To see that all kids have issues, and that we have to be open and willing to ask, to listen, to find out, and then to do something about it. So an openness to listen and a willingness to poke behind that veneer, because there is a real veneer here. Everyone says that [Windsor*

Secondary High]'s a fabulous school – international kids, great kids, yes. But the same as anywhere else…. We don't have kids here who are coming without having eaten in the morning, who haven't got money for lunch. But there are kids who struggle with money for lunch. We have high standards with the uniform, and there are kids here whose shoes are scruffy with holes in them – and their parents can't afford new shoes. They're struggling to get the fees together. So we need to stop and look beyond that veneer of middle-class educated, well-parented children, and start to see the realities of our kids' lives as they really are. (ll. 440-54)

In addition to picking up the characteristic features of a more equitable teacher-student dynamic that Zada, Suzanne, Emory and others illustrate above, Florentina emphasises the need "to see below the surface." Her fourfold repetition of "veneer" and dominant semantic field used of appearance versus reality indicate her read of the potential disconnect between outward show and lived actuality. Florentina recognises how even the more privileged young people face pressure (Levine 2006) – and when this privilege is unevenly distributed within the context of the school, this pressure can be overlooked by teachers and administrators.

In terms of the socio-economic class issues that Florentina describes, the combination of few overt 'signs' coupled with students' middle-class respectability mean that these personal and social "issues" may be left masked in the international school context. That so few teachers in the study referred to socio-economic class as a relevant factor in the schooling experiences of students could either mean that it simply was not an issue or that these participants were indeed unable "to look beyond that veneer… to see the realities of our kids' lives as they really are" (note: no data pertaining to socio-economic status were collected from the surveyed students). Indeed, Florentina and Dick (Waratah High), were the only two to discuss at any length how being comparatively less well off financially than peers could have a detrimental effect on those individuals' experiences of schooling. As Dick put it,

the majority of the kids in our school are fairly affluent; that's why they're here. But I think it's very valuable to have the scholarship holders who, by definition, usually aren't affluent. Having their input, without the other kids knowing who the scholarship holders are, their perspective on things is really important – because it's pretty easy to get a five-star hotel view of the world as an international school student, and I'd hate to think we foster that at this school. (ll. 575-81).

In sum, the remarks above point to the need for teachers to exercise their habitus in their relationships with students in such a way as to narrow the gap between their assumptions and expectations and students' lived realities. They illustrate how doing so means balancing both the bigger and the smaller pictures – i.e., to see students as people, first, and learners, second; and to engage them academically, personally, and socially. In this regard, they reveal why a cosmopolitan turn may represent a generative way of reconstructing inclusively teacher-

student relations, as cosmopolitanism is about: a) developing self-understanding to/for "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987); 2) cultivating a sense of responsibility for the well-being of others; and 3) learning to live well together.

The demands of such a reframed teacher-student dynamic will challenge secondary school teachers, in general, and those working in academically high-achieving schools such as Windsor Secondary High, in particular, because it means

> *recognising the students' priorities – but not without qualification, as they do need a lot of guiding. So their inter-house dance will be the most important thing to them. I've taught students who have, I think, undeniably, or at least almost certainly, ended up with a lower [subject] grade than they should have got because of their commitment to dancing or sport or whatever. So to handle that in a sensitive way and to recognise the importance of the activity they're involved in. Obviously, it might be important to us how well they do in essays or tests, but it's equally important to them how well they do in a variety of other ways as well. (Kurtis: ll. 193-201)*

This balancing act between student interest/expectations and assessment realities/outcomes transcends the classroom walls. Despite Windsor Secondary High's results-focused ethos, the majority of the teacher participants also referred to the various ways in which the out-of-classroom curriculum contributed to students' positive experiences of schooling. For example, consider Emory's more expansive view of a balanced student curriculum:

> *I guess it depends to a degree how we're going to define curriculum. We've moved away from talking about extra-curriculars to co-curriculars. A few years ago... [we sought] to establish a real genuine core curriculum experience that would be put at the heart of the senior school experience, which would include the PSE [Personal, Social, Education] programme, the General Studies programme (the enrichment programme that ran at that time), and PE [Physical Education] (and the team building that went on within that). This is what we're really pushing as the core and essential element of the senior school experience – and the academic is what goes on within and around that. I guess you could make some analogies with CAS, ToK, and the Extended Essay elements of the IB. (ll. 148-58)*

Emory begins by describing a semantic shift that, when institutionalised, has potentially far-reaching implications in practice. Whereas "extra-" curriculars connote athletic-, social-, personal-, or service-driven learning opportunities to be pursued in addition to and outside of the classroom-based curriculum, using the pre-modifier "co-" indicates that these are jointly and developmentally important and to be seen alongside the traditional academic curriculum. This prefixal shift brings with it a conceptual and pragmatic change, which elevates the status of curricular experiences that typically fall outside of the 'normal' academic curriculum and expands the curricular playing-field. Continuing, Emory describes how

the curriculum as a whole, I guess, by the very nature of the A-level programme, is more fragmented and arguably unbalanced. Students have more freedom of choice – but do they choose well? .... It came to the point where an increasing number of students, we felt, were simply not choosing well. So we asked ourselves, 'What are the kinds of things that are going to hang together well and support their personal, social, and academic development, career trajectory, and life expectations?' Behind our decision to implement a common core was the understanding that while students should be transitioning to a more independent mode of learning, and for virtually all of our students that meant getting ready for college or university, they needed guidance to make that transition go well. Having a core co-curriculum, where the actual learning experiences are common, was our attempt at providing such guidance writ large. (ll. 158-74)

He not only picks up on his (and other's) concerns discussed previously with the nature and content of A-level curriculum (i.e., to its fragmented and unbalanced nature), but goes on to suggest that offering a common core will provide students with what was seen to be needed if they were to be readied effectively for their post-secondary study, work, and life experiences.

Interestingly, Emory was the only Windsor Secondary High teacher participant to characterise the out-of-classroom curriculum in "co-" rather than "extra-" curricular terms. A few either did not refer at all to the role and value of out-of-classroom activities on students' school experiences or, as was the case with the majority, dichotomised these in terms of the study- and lesson-based curriculum versus the out-of-classroom, "extra-" curriculum. Cleo was the only other teacher to come close to the tripartite distinction that Emory expresses:

I think the students here are very proud of the wider curriculum and, as a result, the school itself. I think the vast majority of students are proud to be members of this school. So I think it's difficult to know whether they could get more out of their senior school experience.... I think for the majority of our students, what we offer – although it's not part of the formal curriculum – is a wide range of informal activities that challenge them in many different ways. Just look at the kinds of things that go on, the community service, the environmental things, charity committees, all of that, on top of which there is sport, music, the Hong Kong Award for Young People, etc. So we offer them a broad range of opportunities outside of lessons, of an intellectual, practical, and recreational nature, that broadens their horizons. (ll. 194-217)

Cleo opens by positing a positive relationship between the "wider curriculum" and students' sense of school pride. Although these are "not part of the formal curriculum…. [the] broad range of opportunities outside of lessons, of an intellectual, practical, and recreational nature" are, for him, a formative force that will "challenge" students and enhance their school experience. In this way, Cleo emphasises the central influence and importance of such out-of-classroom pursuits. He picks up on the thrust of Emory's earlier point and reflects the findings of the student engagement literature (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003: 110) – i.e.,

Participation (behavioural involvement) contributes to the formation of interpersonal Attachments (social bonding), which in turn results in a student developing a sense of

personal Commitment (valuing of education), and ultimately to incorporating school Membership (identification as a school community citizen) as part of his or her self identity [P>A>C>M].

Students who are so engaged within schooling end up making 'it' part of their self-identity and who they are.

In contrast to Cleo's and Emory's semantic and pragmatic emphasis on the "co-" prefix, the majority of Windsor Secondary High teacher participants described the positive impact of extra-curriculars on students' experiences of schooling by highlighting the 'in-addition-to' curriculum elements rather than 'at-the-heart' of. For example, Alysha feels that

> *we are very good as far as the extra-curricular side of things go. I'm really just amazed by some of those things that the kids do outside of the classroom – be it the music, which is just fantastic, the drama, the sports.... And what I've noticed is that the kids who really seem to enjoy their time here – and it may be the kids who feel the most affinity for [Windsor High] when they leave – are the ones who do a lot of the extra-curricular stuff. The kids who... may be academically okay but are not the top-top of their classes are the ones who seem to have the most enjoyment out of being in school.... and who are really involved in all aspects of this school. They seem to be the ones to have the most affinity with the school.... So it's kind of the whole experience as opposed to just the academic experience. (ll. 30-45)*

She sees a link between extra-curricular participation and heightened sense of school affiliation. Yet Alysha does not emphasise the "intellectual, practical, and recreational" benefits of these out-of-classroom opportunities. She focuses instead on the distinction between the "whole" and the singularly "academic" experience. In the process, Alysha indicates that it may be those who do not succeed so highly academically that pursue these out-of-classroom activities. Extra-curriculars were the most fondly remembered experiences she had had as a Windsor Secondary High student more than two decades ago.

Though she feels similarly, Drucilla goes one step further than Emory, Cleo, and Alysha by suggesting

> *the thing that students would experience most intensely about this school comes through the extra-curricular activities. They're so supported in all of those areas. That's a major difference that I see between this school and my previous school in the UK – the extra-curricular activities are really what make the school what it is. You've got teachers who just devote their lives to the school. I mean [teacher 1] has done so much for them. So if you're a [artist], you know that he's there and he's excited to provide lots of opportunities for you to grow in that way. [Teacher 2] is very supportive. I could mention names of staff that certainly stand out as being responsible for other areas where I think students feel very supported. (ll. 88-99)*

Echoing her, Zada states that

in terms of the opportunities that students are allowed to take up within the school, that is very supportive and supported. They can explore their interests, their talent whether it's music, sport, peer support, or community service. If any of them have ideas they're always nurtured, they're always being encouraged to go for it. Largely because of this, I think if it was me sending somebody from my family to school, [Windsor Secondary High] would certainly be a school that I would send them to rather than maybe one of the other international schools in Hong Kong. (ll. 131-37)

Zada and Drucilla highlight the catalytic and supportive role that teachers play in this regard. For Kurtis, though, it is the students themselves rather than the teachers (or school leaders) who have turned Windsor Secondary High's out-of-classroom curriculum into what it has become:

I think student demand has played a large part in the overwhelming nature, in many ways, of extra-curriculars, which have traditionally been a strength of the school. I've been here five years and I don't know how long that tradition goes back. I'm pretty confident it goes back decades, if not a century.... I don't see any evidence of senior leadership deciding how things should be. They've sort of come and gone over the years, but the strength of extra-curriculars and the particular activities that go on have absolutely just continued to go on from strength to strength. (ll. 205-14)

In sum, the habitus of the majority of the Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader participants showed that they viewed a balanced student curriculum as one that integrated in- and out-of-classroom learning to further both formal and informal learning objectives. Though the majority framed this dichotomously as 'academic' versus 'extra' curricula, some did describe how formative student learning occurred throughout the academic, co-, and extra-curricula. Such experiences provided students with athletic-, social-, personal-, or service-driven learning opportunities that could "broaden their horizons" intellectually, practically, and recreationally. In the process, all of these teacher participants revealed how their ideology and beliefs about curricula transcended the four walls of the traditional classroom.

Taking it one step further, Emory's person- and learning-centred perspective conveys a more expansive view of the experiences curricula ought to encompass and cultivate:

What I really like is when subject teachers throw away their subject hats and actually appreciate… that their subject is but one part of the big puzzle for students. I really enjoy working with those teachers because of how they help students by throwing away their subject hat, taking a step back from that role, and looking at the holistic point of view. So when advising a student with what's best for them within the context of their subject to actually stop and say, 'Let's look at this within the context of your other subjects. Let's look at this in the context of your broader position – where you are, where you want to be.' Those teachers are incredibly helpful assets to the school and really stand out for me… but there just aren't so many of them here. (ll. 380-89)

Through his mixed metaphors of teachers' "subject hats" and students' "big puzzle," Emory's comparisons express the same message: taking a holistic person-hood rather than strict student-hood approach will challenge secondary school teachers because of the premium placed at that level on teaching subject matter to students rather than on teaching young people a subject. As a result, students' "broader position" or bigger picture, which is conveyed by the image of a "big puzzle" of school and life, ends up being hidden because teachers cannot (or choose not to) see beyond the rim of their "subject hats."

On the other hand, those "incredibly helpful" – albeit scarce, as "there just aren't so many of them here" – "assets to the school" who can do so are the teachers who start with students' needs and realities, rather than their own assumptions and expectations, and strive to balance students' academic and social learning needs. Adding to Emory's point, Suzanne notes that

> *teachers here just don't see themselves as holistic educators. Their take basically is that I've got to get my students through this particular course…. Part of that problem is actually the nature of the courses that we do. I've just done the most dreadful lesson because I needed to finish something quickly, and it's not how I would want to have taught it at all. But it just had to be done like that. And I think that is a problem of the curriculum that we follow. If you do something like the European Abitur, or one of the American APs [Advanced Placement], where you can write your own curriculum and as long as you're accredited you can do your own thing, I think in many respects that's much better. [Pause]. I just think we're too content-driven. And we're too content-driven because of our examinations system – and I don't think IBs going to be any different. (ll. 67-76)*

She echoes Emory's concerns with the content-driven teachers who seem to predominate at Windsor Secondary High: i.e., in their "curriculum as fixed" (Smith, Vibert et al. 1998: 7) approach, "minimal or no attempt is made... to understand the meaning that students make of the activity or their motivation to participate" (Zyngier 2007: 98). And like others, as discussed in the section to follow, Suzanne does not feel that the IB Diploma Programme will help in this regard.

Changing tack slightly, Winfred echoes Florentina's concerns ("look beyond that veneer") and argues for a greater emphasis on cultivating the "practical tools" of a curriculum *for* life:

> *In the school that we're in, it's very easy to mistake the senior students as adults. Most are socially comfortable, able to talk to adults about current affairs, and just seem mature all around. But while our students are very, very cosmopolitan, very worldly, they're not very street-wise.... So I think we need to give them more practical tools to take away to places where they're not going to be insulated by many of the things that they have now. They're not going to get picked up at the airport by a chauffeur. They're not going to have an amah to tidy their stuff up. They're not going to have whoever running around for them. So I think a little bit more of a practical push would be very valuable…. You don't want to rob a child of*

their childhood, but at the end of the day you also want to make sure they're tooled
up to deal with what they're going to have to face when they go to university. (ll.
143-59)

He feels that a broadened programme, in which academic, personal, social, and practical matters were explicitly covered in currricula, is needed to better ready graduates for their post-secondary school lives. Though not the only one, Windsor Secondary High was known as a highly successful school – a reputation that had arguably been earned through the work of these content-/course-driven and results-focused teachers. Because this proven formula had garnered the school success and an enviable reputation in Hong Kong's educational arena, concerns over its "content-driven" curriculum and pedagogy were readily and expectedly rationalised by teachers. Anette, for example, recognises that

one problem with our students is that they are very mollycoddled. I think that's why
some of them struggle when they get to university. Because we do chase them up, nag
them about deadlines, etc. [Pause]. But I don't think that's the school's fault. I
think that's a Hong Kong issue. I think they're too used to not making their bed every
day. Too used to not putting tea on the table. Too used to not picking up their bag at
the end of the school. I think that transfers into being too used to teachers preparing
notes for them. Too used to teachers marking repeated drafts of essays. Too used to
you sitting down with their course-works and going through it over and over. But my
problem is if we're going to break away from that, we need to break away in Year 7.
We've left it too late by the time they're in Year 12. (ll. 288-96)

Interestingly, Anette opens by putting the blame on the students ("one problem with our students"), before shifting the responsibility to the teachers, who are the ones to "chase them up" and mollycoddle them. In the process, she points out that the short-term benefit to students of this coddling (i.e., higher grades) may mean that "some of them [will] struggle when they get to university." Though Anette lists five ways in which teachers have likely contributed to this problem by so normalising expectations, she then downplays the school's role ("I don't think that's the school's fault") before shifting responsibility to Hong Kong society more widely. In particular, she suggests that its prevailing amah culture, in which domestic servants are both maid and nanny, has made employers and their children greatly dependent upon them. It is not uncommon, for example, to see children (even in the upper-primary or lower-secondary years) walking to/from school ahead of their amahs, who follow them laden like a pack horse carrying their lunch, school, sports bag, and musical instrument.

Zada largely concurs with Anette in this regard, and admits that Windsor Secondary High may not be scaffolding appropriately students' development:

So I think in terms of support, there is very little that a member of staff at [Windsor
Secondary High] would not do for a senior student if they needed extra help, extra

*revision. They get a lot of support…. I think some students are maybe given a little
too much support. I think it's not always balanced with, 'Hang on a minute. We
need to improve their independence, too.' I think they leave [Windsor Secondary
High] – and I know this for a fact, because I've talked to students who've left.
They've come from a very protected and structured environment – and suddenly
they're out in the wide world at university in a foreign country and they've not been
able to cope. So I think there is plenty of evidence that shows we're looking after
them very well here, but I don't know whether that's always beneficial down the road.
It needs to be more measured support. (ll. 118-29)*

The lack of readiness for post-secondary life that Anette, Zada, Winfred and others described
was an important theme to emerge from my preliminary research with international schools
alumni (Jabal 2004). Several participants shared stories of once academically-successful and
confident students who found themselves unprepared, personally and socially, and unable to
transition successfully from their international school to college and university. The 'fall' for
some of these alumni meant dropping-out, after a year or two of university studies, because
they could not balance the demands of post-secondary study with the freedom of being an
undergraduate; one participant to so fall had been a successful Deputy Head boy at a
prestigious international school in Hong Kong.

In sum, the influence of Windsor Secondary High's "institutional habitus" on teacher-student
relationships can be seen in two broad ways. First, in terms of the nature, content, and
approach to the curricula teachers enacted in and out of classrooms; and second, in the role
students could play to shape and evaluate curricula content, instruction, and assessment, both
formal and informal. More specifically, the extent to which curricula was personalised (or
not) for students – i.e., localised, historicised, and explicitly contextualised in the more
proximate Hong Kong realities of Windsor Secondary High's student majority – both enabled
and impeded students' lived realities of schooling.

On the one hand, the curricular tensions to emerge reflect the institutional matters Windsor
Secondary High was working through, as discussed previously, in its school-community
relations. In particular, this came down to teachers' (competing) ideologies and beliefs about
whether it was an international school – and uncertainty about whether its move to the IB
diploma programme would make Windsor Secondary High any more international than it
already was. On the other hand, the curricular matters that shaped importantly teacher-
student relations could be seen in teachers' different awareness, understanding, and
appreciation of the interplay between the school's formal and informal (or "hidden")
curricula – and its influence on students' experiences of the school ethos, climate, and
practices. The findings indicate that the habituses of Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader

participants could be located on a continuum. In their enactment of curricula, they sought to cultivate values, attitudes, and behaviours that either tended towards (liberal) multi-cultural (i.e., include, tolerate, and respect cultural difference) or more critical (i.e., engage, value, and learn from cultural difference) sensibilities. The findings also reveal varying conceptions about "co-" and "core" curricula (i.e., content, role, and value of the former versus the latter), and about what the optimal balance ought to be for Windsor Secondary High students to experience school as positive and to be engaged affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively.

Despite the varied perceptions, a recurring concern amongst Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader participants was the need for greater personalisation of schooling for students. Again, and as could be seen in teachers' (competing) ideologies and beliefs about whether Windsor Secondary High was an international school, as well as in the interplay with respect to the content of and optimal balance between the school's formal and informal (or "hidden") curricula, the crux seemed to pit those with a more holistic, person- versus student-centred approach. Notwithstanding the broadly shared goal of getting students "tooled up" (Winfred: l. 496) for the future, this tension comes through in the ways participants differently recognised, understood, and appreciated the educationally relevant ways that the school's social environment supported and constrained students' experiences of and engagement therein.

In short, teacher-leaders such as Kirby, Emory, Anette, Zada, and Denver strove to exercise their habitus by strengthening the match between students' cultural capital and the nature of the learning experiences cultivated by the school, both formally and informally. Their empathy for the national-cultural (i.e., race/ethnic, linguistic, geographic) social locations of Windsor Secondary High students, in particular, the borders, boundaries, transitions, and adaptation strategies they negotiated when moving amongst their "multiple worlds" of experience (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998), was integral to how they worked to bridge the predominantly HK-Chinese society's norms, values, and accepted social practices for the majority of the student population with Windsor Secondary's school culture and to create constructive student-teacher relationships. In the process, they revealed how their ideology and beliefs served as formative "interpretive schemes" that provided "guidelines of action" and, ultimately, favourably shaped their relationships with students.

Summary

This chapter has drawn on teacher-leader participants' perspectives to construct the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High institutional portraits, as well as to describe, explain, and examine the specific contextual forces and factors that supported and constrained students' experiences of and engagement with their international school. The formative influence of each school's distinct "institutional habitus" on school-community (i.e., school-families and school-teachers) relations and teacher-student relationships was considered. These sense-making, "interpretive schemes" directed social practices at each school, which can be located on an "encapsulated" to "inclusive" (Sylvester 1998) international schools continuum.

The discussion showed how each school's habitus reproduced and 'normalised' certain knowledge(s) and experiences that were differently perceived and lived by different students through curriculum, co-curriculum, and the community. Supporting all border-crossing students to contend with their "multiple worlds" requires inclusive practices that confront the potentially divisive race/ethnic-language-nationality matters which play out in the school's living and learning environment. Having got teacher-leaders' perspectives on the complex issues of being and becoming an international school student at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, the next three chapters build on this foundation to construct vignettes of the Septentrional (Chapter 6), Equatorial (Chapter 7), and Meridional (Chapter 8) students: What makes international schools engaging places for them? What is the subjective quality of their lived experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High? And how might re-imagining student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school?

Chapter 6: Septentrionals – Cluster I student

As stated in Chapter 1, the study reported here examined the individual- and institutional-level contexts that shaped students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. Organised by student cluster, this chapter is the first of three "analytic vignettes" (Erikson, 1986, as cited in Smith 1997: 83) to portray the "concrete particulars" of the Cluster I students: the Septentrionals.

Recall from Chapter 4 and Appendix R that the Septentrionals group together because of their higher attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions: i.e., View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2).* With medians of and greater than four on the 5-point Likert scales, their attitudinal scores indicate the Phase 2 Septentrionals' strong view of internationalism (*Mdn.* = 4.30, *N* = 16), positive experience of international school (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *N* = 16), and high self-confidence (*Mdn.* = 4.30, *N* = 16). Additionally, the Septentrionals identify strongly as 'international school students' (*Mdn.* = 6.00) and as 'students at their particular international school' (*Mdn.* = 5.50). They also attach great importance to their 'academic achievements' (*Mdn.* = 5.70), tend to achieve higher academically than Cluster II and III students, spend more time attending to homework, and do more co-/extra-curricular activities.

This chapter first profiles the Septentrionals in terms of their demographics and life experiences, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which the Hong Kong context shaped their sense of place and self. The discussion shows that a number of culturally informed, socially salient, and situational identities (i.e., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial) played an important role in how they see and locate themselves within Hong Kong (or, for that matter, elsewhere in the world). Some Septentrionals' awareness of their trans-national realities also revealed their cosmopolitan sensibilities. Second, the chapter examines the specific forces and factors that enabled and impeded Septentrionals' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Deriving from and contributing to each school's habitus, these included: co-curricular opportunities and activities, peer relations, student-teacher relationships, experiential curricula, differentiated and discussion-based pedagogy.

Demographics and life experiences

The importance of Hong Kong to the Septentrionals can be seen in their attachment to it as the place in the world they called home. Half of the Phase 1 Septentrionals ($N = 154$) had lived in Hong Kong for 13 or more years; 83 percent had done so for seven or more years. More than two-thirds (69%) considered it home. The result of a Spearman's rho correlation test indicated that there was an inverse, moderate relationship between Hong Kong as home and years in Hong Kong, $r_s(154) = -.52, p < .001$: Septentrionals who considered Hong Kong home tended to have lived longer in the territory. In Phase 2, half of the Septentrional interviewees ($N = 16$) had lived for 7 or more years in Hong Kong (one-quarter had done so for 13 or more); and less than half considered Hong Kong home (44%). As with Phase 1, the result of a Spearman's rho correlation test revealed a large and inverse relationship between Hong Kong as home and years in Hong Kong, $r_s(16) = -71, p < .005$.

The relative importance of Hong Kong to the Septentrionals can also be seen in terms of their first language and self-reported international school student type: i.e., as expatriate, expatriate-Hong Kong, or local-Hong Kong international school student. In Phase 1, a slight majority of the surveyed Septentrionals ($N = 154$) considered English (53%) their first language; a little more than one-third did Cantonese (35%). Relative to Clusters II and III, the Septentrionals included the largest proportion of expatriate (16%) and expatriate-Hong Kong (53%) international school students. The result of a Spearman's rho correlation test indicated that there was a small, inverse relationship between first language and type of international school student, $r_s(154) = -.37, p < .001$: Septentrionals whose first language was English were more likely to self-identify as expatriate or expatriate-Hong Kong international school students than local-Hong Kong. The small, positive correlation between student type and years in Hong Kong ($r_s(154) = .41, p < .001$), as well as inverse relationship between student type and Hong Kong as home ($r_s(154) = -.47, p < .001$), underscore the relative importance of Hong Kong to the surveyed Septentrionals.

A broadly similar pattern can be seen with the Phase 2 Septentrionals ($N = 16$). Three-quarters considered English their first language; and one-fifth (19%) did Cantonese. The majority of the Septentrional interviewees self-identified as either expatriate (44%) or expatriate-Hong Kong (31%) international school students. As with Phase 1, the result of a Spearman's rho correlation test revealed a moderate, inverse relationship between first language and type of international school student, $r_s(16) = -.54, p < .05$: Septentrionals

whose first language was English were more likely to self-identify as expatriate or expatriate-Hong Kong international school students than local-Hong Kong. As with Phase 1, the positive and large association between student type and years in Hong Kong ($r_s(16) = .71$, $p < .005$), as well as inverse relationship between student type and Hong Kong as home ($r_s(16) = -.61$, $p < .05$), show the importance of Hong Kong to the interviewed Septentrionals.

Hence the statistically significant and practically important relationships amongst four demographic factors – i.e., place called home, years in Hong Kong, first language, and type of international school student – indicate that Hong Kong mattered to the Phase 1 and 2 Septentrionals. And although Septentrionals group together because of their higher scores on the three cluster attributes of View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)*, Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*, and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*, taking these demographic factors into account with their descriptions of, and attachment to, Hong Kong usefully contribute to our understanding of how and why it may be shaping importantly their sense of place and self.

Selected survey and interview data are next discussed to develop our understanding of these demographic factors and life experiences. In particular, cluster analysis, using five demographic factors (i.e., years in Hong Kong, first language, student type, place called home, birthplace), revealed three distinct Septentrional sub-groups. Each is described briefly in turn, before the salient individual- and school-level influences that affected Septentrional experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are taken up.

Septentrional sub-group one – Hong Kong as home

The first Septentrional sub-group includes seven Septentrionals, all of whom considered Hong Kong as home. Four self-identified as local-Hong Kong international school students (i.e., Li, Kuan-Yin, Jiao, Mohammad); three had been born in the city (i.e., all but Kuan-Yin); two were fluently bilingual in English and Cantonese (i.e., Li, Jiao), though both reported mainly using the latter with their parents; and one considered Cantonese his first language (i.e., Kuan-Yin), which he mostly used with his parents and friends. Four of the seven were race/ethnically Chinese (i.e., Li, Kuan-Yin, Jiao, Li Na); and three of them had also been schooled locally (i.e., all but Li Na). Although their demographic characteristics evoke the Cluster II profile, in which localised, Hong Kong international school students converged, recall that Septentrionals so group because of their higher scores on the three attitudinal cluster attributes.

In contrast, the three other Septentrionals who also called Hong Kong home were neither race/ethnically Chinese nor Cantonese-speaking. Though Mohammad and Evan had been born and raised in the territory, only Mohammad self-identified as a local-Hong Kong international school student. Of Indian heritage, he played an active part in this diasporic community, which has a long and storied history in Hong Kong (White 1994; Lock and Detaramani 2006); he also spoke its main language (i.e., Hindi) well. Evan and Johnny self-identified as expatriate-Hong Kong international school students. Interestingly, Johnny considered Hong Kong home despite having been schooled in his birth country until aged 9, before moving to Australasia for his early secondary studies. He finds "the values and beliefs they have [in his birth and Australasian country] are completely opposite to Hong Kong. So I've experienced all these different things and it's shaped me into this one person" (ll. 173-76).

Johnny's view, in particular, speaks empirically to Spindler and Spindler's (1994: 13-14) theorisation of identity as comprised of **enduring** (i.e., "that sense of continuity one has with one's own past – a personal continuity in experience, meaning, and social identity") and **situated** (i.e., "those aspects of the person as he or she copes with the everyday exigencies of life. This self is situated and contextualized") selves. He "experience[s] [himself] as having a thread that runs through time and space" (Butt 2004: 133), and talks about his personhood as "a configuration of meanings… [that] will change constantly when new elements are given (Geijsel and Meijers 2005: 425).

Septentrional sub-group two – Elsewhere as home

The second Septentrional sub-group included three who considered home to be elsewhere: De, Riley, and Yi Men. They self-identified as expatriate international school students and foreign nationals; had been born and raised in Asia (i.e., De, Yi Men) or Australasia (i.e., Riley); and had lived four years (i.e., Yi Men) or less (i.e., De, Riley) in Hong Kong. Yi Men and De had been schooled in two countries other than Hong Kong. None spoke Cantonese. Though De was race/ethnically Chinese, his ties to Hong Kong were limited to his immediate family (De was, however, proficient in Putonghua). In this way, De, Yi Men, and Riley typify a weaker version of the globally mobile international school student – i.e., who has spent some time in a place other than their country of citizenship; and does not readily identify with the host-country context (Useem and Downie 1976; Pollock and Van Reken 1999; Werkman, Karley et al. 2004).

Septentrional sub-group three – I don't know where home is

The third sub-group included six Septentrionals, all of whom did not know where in the world home was for them: Freya, Rosie, Manchu, Ryan, Sienna, and Brock. They had all been born elsewhere, and self-identified as either expatriate (i.e., Rosie, Ryan, Brock) or expatriate-Hong Kong (i.e., Freya, Sienna, Manchu) international school students. Of the six, Freya had resided in Hong Kong the longest (i.e., 12 years), and had attended an international school since Primary 3. Although it was important to her, "I love Hong Kong. It's my favourite place and I never want to leave…" (l. 51), she did not call Hong Kong home. However, she did believe that living in

> *Hong Kong, just being out of your culture, has been a good opportunity. If I was in India or Malaysia, anywhere that's not my culture, I think it gives me a greater opportunity. Even if I failed in my schooling, to know that I've been in a different culture and learned something else, not just in lessons but in terms of experiences. I think that helps me. It makes me a different person. (ll. 54-9)*

Interestingly, though Freya had spent more than three-quarters of her life in Hong Kong, she still felt "out of [her] culture" and saw herself as "a bit of a stick in the mud" (l. 42). At the same time, Freya characterised Hong Kong as a place where "everyone's in transit. It's really just a stop-over for somewhere else, or a place that people come to for a short period of time and then leave" (ll. 30-32) – except for her.

Similarly, Manchu described Hong Kong and Waratah High, more specifically, as a

> *Bus interchange where all the passengers come. They all have different characteristics and they all eventually leave…. When passengers meet, they don't ask, 'Which stop are you coming from?' They ask, 'Where are you going?' (ll. 532-36).*

Like Freya, Manchu had been born elsewhere, and he also self-identified as an expatriate-Hong Kong international school student. Unlike Freya, however, Manchu was race/ethnically Chinese, considered English and Cantonese his first languages (he was also fluent in Putonghua), and had been schooled in both Chinese-medium government and English-medium international schools in Hong Kong and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. His insightful metaphor speaks to his cosmopolitan sensibilities, as gets taken up in the next section.

For Sienna, the return to Hong Kong two years ago had prompted a considerable mind shift in how she saw herself: "I don't really remember being an expat before arriving here" (l. 20). Like Freya, Sienna is Caucasian and monolingual. Before returning to Hong Kong, she had

lived in Australasia for seven years and elsewhere in Southeast Asia for five; as a young child, Sienna had also lived in Hong Kong and neighbouring Macau. Yet it was resuming her residency in Hong Kong that had heightened Sienna's sense of being an expatriate and foreigner in Hong Kong. As she explains,

> *I feel like Hong Kong is a bubble in itself. It's very safe… because of my white skin, I would never be harmed…. But then I feel like I live in a bubble. I live in [district] – Westernville. I go to [international] school – and it's like [Western country-] ville…. I am an [Australasian country] girl who's been transplanted into Hong Kong, who basically still does the same thing every day except for the fact that she might walk past Wan Chai fish market where they're cutting fish in half that are still alive. (ll. 476-496)*

Sienna describes her return to Hong Kong as "such a culture shock. It took me a long time to adjust to it…. to the huge differences in people. All of these cultures living in one country" (ll. 32-44). At the same time, she admits that "[n]ow, when I go back to [Australasia], I think the [Western] culture is so alien" (ll. 38-9). By working through these experiences, and her sense of betwixtness, in particular, Sienna believed that she had become "more aware of differences, more accepting, definitely, and more intelligent. It's broadened my perspective of what is right or acceptable and what is not" (ll. 52-4). As a result, Sienna

> *definitely think[s] moving to Hong Kong has made me a better person…. I'm not sure that I would be as responsible as I am now if I had stayed in my little cocoon in [Australasia]. I would not be as brave or as willing to change…. I think living this international school life has been beneficial to my future… it's forced me to move out of my comfort zone. (ll. 708-20)*

The three other Septentrional interviewees who did not know where in the world home was for them (i.e., Rosie, Ryan, Brock) arguably embody the international schools arena's stereotypical student: Expatriate, Caucasian, Anglophone, and globally mobile. Ryan and Rosie had each lived in four countries, spanning the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Europe. Neither had spent much time in their birthplace and/or country of citizenship; and both self-identified as expatriate (rather than expatriate-Hong Kong) international school students. Ryan, who had lived in Hong Kong for five years, saw himself "as part of the expat thing. Even though I've lived in Hong Kong the longest out of any country, I don't really call it home. Well, I call it home in that I live there, but when people go, 'Where are you from?' I usually say, 'I'm British'" (ll. 44-6). Ryan had never resided in the UK, though he had been born and raised in a former British colony until aged 4.

Rosie, who had also lived in Hong Kong for five years, similarly describes her predilections as a globally mobile international school student:

In my life I've moved around a lot, so I don't really consider myself rooted in any one place. I'm kind of just a floater. But I like it that way, because I've learnt a lot of stuff and I find it makes me more interesting…. I think it's a good way to live, actually…. There are some things you think you might miss out on, like I don't get to see my extended family as much. Or some people here have lived in Hong Kong their whole life and can say, 'Oh, we've been friends since I was 5.' I don't have things like that. But I think that other things that I have had make up for those little things that you miss. (ll. 8-23)

When asked about these "other things," Rosie refers to how she has grown up

know[ing] about different cultures. It's not something I've consciously had to learn. I think it's important to be aware of things like that. To understand the world and different issues like that. I've got to meet hundreds of different people and experience things that a lot of people won't get to. I consider myself lucky to have been able to do that. (ll. 31-4)

In contrast, Brock, another Septentrional to not know where in the world home was and to self-identify as an expatriate international school student, found the move to Hong Kong two years ago a "real shock. I was surprised to see how different things were" (ll. 32-3). Born in Europe, Brock had spent the majority of his life in Australasia, where over 15 years he had lived in three different cities. A relative new comer to Hong Kong, he felt it brought "western and eastern worlds together" (ll. 614-15):

Everyone in Hong Kong is trying to integrate into one big culture. But Hong Kong is everyone from everywhere coming together, learning everything about everyone else and becoming something different than just a nationality. It's a mix. You're a mix. You're like a mongrel. A mix of different parts of the world. You're not just this or just that. People will say, 'I'm Hongkongese.' What is 'Hongkongese'? When you say you're 'Hongkongese', what are you? Who are you? You're not Chinese. And being 'Hongkongese' is different from being Asian. Hong Kong is different from being just Eastern or Western. I find that real interesting. (ll. 572-579)

Continuing, Brock expresses his strategic sensibilities. He focuses on Hong Kong's location as a doorway to Mainland China and its growing importance on a globalising stage:

Living here has given me an advantage already. I'm already in it. I'm learning about it. I'm living it. I'm starting to understand the culture, the people…. To actually know first-hand how the culture works is going to benefit me so much, especially if I want to get into international business and deal with this part of the world. (ll. 594-600)

Echoing Freya, Sienna, Ryan, and Rosie, Brock emphasises the favourable and formative ways in which Hong Kong had made it possible for him to learn about "other cultures" and to grow in his ability to cope with being out of his "comfort zone."

This brief treatment of salient demographics and life experiences of the 16 Phase 2 Septentrionals highlights a number of characteristics, whose impact can be understood by

profiling the tripartite sub-groupings that emerged from the cluster analysis using five demographic factors: i.e., years in Hong Kong, first language, international school student type, place called home, and birthplace. Though linked as Septentrionals because of higher attitudinal scores on the three cluster attributes, the sub-group profiles show them to be distinct – most notably, in terms of the demographic factors of place called home, first language, and type of international school student. This is a salutary reminder that whilst the empirically distinct student clusters, using *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* attitudinal data response patterns, reveal some important things about international school students in Hong Kong, important within-student group differences also exist. These must be borne in mind when examining Septentrional experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High reported in this chapter.

Nevertheless, three general patterns emerge from this closer consideration of the Septentrionals' demographics and life experiences that seem to influence their sense of self and place. First, a number of culturally informed, socially salient, and situational identities (i.e., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial) play a key role in how the Septentrionals come to locate themselves within Hong Kong. As they develop, construct, and negotiate these and other types of identities, which "do not merely exist *a priori* but rather are the result of distinct identification processes" (Rummens 2003: 25), it seems necessary to explore their relative and combined influence on the meanings the Septentrionals attach to, and their experiences of, international schooling in Hong Kong. Second, the combined quantitative and qualitative data reveal how the Septentrionals' (in-) congruent border-crossings within and across global-local-personal contexts has come to shape their sense of self, place, and home. Though the majority of the Septentrionals were drawn to specific nationalist contexts, to issues, people, and experiences associated with these places (dominated by Hong Kong, which seven considered home), the remaining six were unable to identify a home country. In this way, the move to the international school system in Hong Kong could be seen to present adaptive complexities that would challenge, to varying degrees, how the Septentrionals learned to see and locate themselves in the wider world. Remarks by the third sub-group, in particular, indicate a heightened awareness of their trans-national realities on various levels – and even a strong identification as cosmopolites.

Finally, the predilections of the Septentrional interviewees point to the dialectic they face between their "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993), which speak to the challenges that they face when

negotiating the broader Hong Kong and international school contexts. At the same time, their high rating of the *Social and Personal Identity (SIPI-R)* scale item, 'My being an international school student' (*Mdn.* = 6.00, IQR = 4.72-7.00, N = 16), indicates that being an international school student was important to Septentrionals' sense of self. The third general pattern to emerge from this closer consideration of the Septentrionals' demographic factors and life experiences, therefore, brings together the identity-based concerns of the first and border-crossings dynamics of the second to focus on how their varied identities and multiple worlds contributed importantly to their sense of self and place, on the one hand, and shaped saliently their experiences of international schooling in Hong Kong, on the other.

In the next section, attitudinal survey data are jointly triangulated with interview, observational, and documentary evidence to contextualise the foregoing discussion of salient demographic features within the Septentrionals' weaker and stronger international-mindedness, as well as to begin constructing interpretive accounts that portray their "concrete particulars" at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Note that their medium-to-high rating of the *Social and Personal Identity (SIPI-R)* scale item, 'My being a student at this school' (*Mdn.* = 5.50, IQR = 3.56-6.11, N = 16), indicates that being an international school student at their particular school was of considerable important to Septentrionals' sense of self. This sets-up the discussion of the specific individual- and institutional-level contexts that both supported and constrained Septentrionals' experiences of and engagement therein.

Continuum of international-mindedness

'Weaker' version

> *The school celebrates multi-cultural events. For example, next week we'll be having the school fair. The theme is 'Around the World', which is purposefully picked so that we can celebrate every single culture. We celebrate different cultures by having the dances of different cultures, for example, Indian and Chinese, shown in assemblies. (Li: ll. 119-22)*

Li expresses a recurring and representative view of the 'weaker' version of internationalism. The celebratory, tick-list approach to culture at Windsor Secondary High described focuses on superficial, folkloric manifestations of cultural differences. He evokes a "saris, samosas, and steel-bands syndrome" (Donald and Rattansi 1992: 2), whereby cultural features of dress, dinner, and dance are recognised and romanticised, but the "continuing hierarchies of power and legitimacy that exist amongst different centres of cultural authority" remain uncontested, characteristic of a 'weaker' international-mindedness.

Riley takes a similarly "tourist"-like approach (Lei and Grant 2001) to describe his multi-cultural reality at Waratah High:

> *The different nationalities and cultures make this an international school. I've got friends from all over the place. I've got a South African friend, another one from Australia, a Norwegian-Australian, a Canadian. And most of them have travelled all over the world. (ll. 223-26)*

Despite claiming "I am friends with both Chinese and Westerners" (l. 73), his cataloguing does not count members of the invisible majority (i.e., race/ethnic Hong Kong-Chinese) within his friendship group. My observations of Riley showed him having few and fleeting interactions with such peers; he associated almost exclusively with other Caucasians.

Further evidence of Riley's 'weaker' international-mindedness can be found in his description of Waratah High:

> *This just feels like a normal high school back home. We run on a [country] timetable. The teachers are all [country citizens]. All the kids are Chinese, but if they're born in Hong Kong, because they go here, they'll speak English like us. They know places like us. They go on holidays to [country], so they know what we're talking about. (ll. 29-33; Emphasis added)*

His "us"/"we"-"they" distinction positions the two groups to convey a sense of insiders (i.e., expatriate, White, Australasian, Anglophone) and outsiders (i.e., Hong Kong-Chinese, Cantonese). He portrays the Hong Kong-Chinese student majority on an unequal footing, given that agenda-setting and topic management appear to be governed by the English-speaking minority from one country – and from which the Waratah High teachers are mainly recruited. His read of it as a "normal high school [like] back home," which is characterised by ethnocentrism, cultural separatism, and largely transplanted nationally-based school ethos and structures, expresses a narrower and 'normalised' multi-cultural experience that can hardly be expected to engender a 'stronger' version of internationalism. A conflicting picture thus emerges from Riley's relatively high *VIE-R (Mdn. = 4.50)* score and his discernibly 'weaker' international-mindedness that comes across in the interview and observations.

The survey and fieldwork data for Freya paint a similarly discordant picture. For example, she considers Waratah High an

> *international school because you have to deal with people who aren't of your culture. You're in a place to study that isn't yours. You're learning about a place that isn't yours. So the school's international because it's kind of a melting pot; everyone's out of their comfort zone. That's a good way to be. I think it also brings the school together. (ll. 272-76)*

At first blush, Freya seems to convey a 'stronger' version of internationalism. Her read of Waratah High's multi-cultural reality, where "everyone's out of their comfort zone," appears propitious, as she feels that it "brings the school together" and is "a good way to be." In actuality, however, Freya's international-mindedness is also hidebound.

Though she has lived in Hong Kong for three-quarters of her life, and self-identifies as an expatriate-Hong Kong (rather than expatriate) international school student, she does not consider it her "place." Her "melting-pot" metaphor, moreover, has assimilationist connotations that reflect a narrower conceptualisation of multi-culturalism. Its cultural blending contrasts what gets conveyed through the alternative "mosaic" and "salad bowl" metaphors, in which various (cultural) ingredients can inter-mingle/relate without losing their individual properties. It becomes clear that a 'weaker' international-mindedness undergirds Freya's "melting-pot" metaphor when taken in conjunction with her assertion below:

> *You really can't pretend that there's no sort of division between the Chinese kids –*
> *well the Chinese locally educated kids and the Chinese internationally educated*
> *kids…. So, it's very divided. And it gets me angry because a lot of the time the*
> *international or Caucasian kids get told off for being racist when we're the ones who*
> *can only speak one of the languages that the other body of students choose not to*
> *speak. So it's very divided.... It's very 'Us and Them'. But there's no angst. It's just*
> *that we don't bother them, and they won't bother us. (ll. 153-76)*

Freya recognises how cultural difference(s) may be dividing Waratah High students. Yet given her sense of indignation, resolve, and acceptance of this reality, she appears to neither respect those who are different nor is prepared to learn from them. Her final utterance, in particular, expresses a dogmatic attitude that accepts the "us"-"them" ghettoization. Indeed, despite nearly a decade of international schooling in Hong Kong, Freya remains functionally monolingual and was described as "extremely racist" by one of her peers: "She is very ignorant, which is weird because she's lived here her whole life. She does not accept Chinese culture, which is the same for a lot of the Western kids at this school" (Sienna: ll. 438-45). Freya was also not observed interacting with any Hong Kong-Chinese peers.

At least two things should be clear about the characteristics of Septentrionals' 'weaker' internationalism from this brief treatment of qualitative data for Li, Riley, and Freya. First, it takes a 'tourist'-like approach that emphasises the superficial and tokenistic features that make cultures different. Second, the remarks by Riley and Freya, two Septentrionals of the dominant socio-political and cultural group (i.e., Caucasian, Australasian, Anglophone), suggest that they remain in the centre when thinking about the perspectives and experiences of 'Others.' Though they recognise and may be prepared to tolerate difference(s), they do not

appear to engage (and arguably respect) perspectives other than their own. They neither see themselves in 'Others' nor walk in the shoes of those who are different, two key capacities of a "world citizen" (Nussbaum 1997; Walker 2005) or cosmopolite. Those who possess such a 'weaker' view of internationalism do not seem sensitized to how their and other people's cultural position(s) affect perspective and experience.

'Stronger' version

In contrast, a stronger version of internationalism moves towards achieving the twin cosmopolitan ideals of "universal concern" and "respect for legitimate difference" (Appiah 2006). Representative remarks by four Septentrionals at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High reveal their heightened recognition of the latter capacity, in particular – i.e., human beings are different; we have much to learn from each other's differences.

> *To me, an international school just means that there is a wider range of students. You can mix with other people more than in the local school, where you only get one ethnic group. But in an international school, because it's international, there is much more of a mix in the cultures, religious beliefs, and personalities. It is a better school than the local school because there you're really only getting local teachers and local students who have similar thoughts. You can't really get wide-ranging points of views about how to think. (Kuan-Yin: ll. 334-46)*

Kuan-Yin frames his comparative advantage gain in those very terms when discussing his move from the local to the international school system. He has benefited from the "wider range of students" at Waratah High, whose different "cultures, religious beliefs, and personalities" give him "wide-ranging points of views about how to think." Seizing the opportunity to learn from these "other people," Kuan-Yin evokes the "salad bowl" rather than "melting-pot" metaphor – i.e., different cultural ingredients "mix" rather than blend; and, in the process, they do not lose their individual properties… and can be so tasted.

Though his classmate, Manchu, also speaks to the importance of this second cosmopolitan capacity in a 'stronger' version of internationalism (i.e., respect for legitimate difference), in the process he calls into the question the salience of the local-international school distinction made by Kuan-Yin, as well as by Ni (Equatorial) and Yun (Septentrional):

> *I think I would just call this a 'school' because by definition, 'school' is a place where you come to learn. Putting 'international' in front of it doesn't make a difference…. In local schools, students come from the surrounding suburbs. In international schools, they may come from a country that's further away. But in both schools, you have to learn about other people's characteristics and cultures. So I would just call this a 'school' rather than an 'international' school. (Manchu: ll. 542-48)*

Manchu's view is eminently cosmopolitan. It transcends the global and the local to focus empathetically and inquisitively on what (and from whom) he has "come to learn" at school: i.e., "other people's characteristics and cultures." That imperative does not change for Manchu, whether you attend a local or an international school, come from near or far.

Ryan develops this person-centred, cosmopolitan view of schooling when describing what he has learnt as a Windsor Secondary High student:

> *It's taught me to look at different sides of arguments, different perspectives, and made me realise that there's not always one way that's right. People do things differently depending on how (and who) people are. And because there are so many different types of people here (the teachers come from all over the place, too), you get different opinions and views. So I see what different people are thinking. I hear different opinions of places and experiences. And I learn from this. I think that makes me accept and understand people more. (ll. 251-55)*

Ryan expresses an awareness of different centres of (cultural) authority. He is willing to walk in the shoes of 'Others' – even when this may challenge his own beliefs. He realises that he is connected to "different types of people;" recognises how his own (and other's) worldview is shaped by a personal and sociocultural history; and respects and remains open to learn from the different 'Others.' In this way, Ryan "experience[s] [himself] as having a thread that runs through time and space" (Butt 2004: 133), and speaks about his personhood as "a configuration of meanings… [that] will change constantly when new elements are given a place and are related to experiences' (Geijsel and Meijers 2005: 425).

Though she broadly shares Ryan's perspective, Sienna decries the limited opportunities for her to develop it at Waratah High:

> *The school needs more teachers from different places. Our Principal only recruits from [country], though we have Mr. [name], who is not [country citizen]. But I don't have any European teachers, for example. It's not that they would teach me anything different, because it's still the [country] syllabus, but they would know and share different things because they've probably experienced things differently…. Not having these other influences doesn't make us very international. (ll. 525-39)*

Interestingly, her read of Waratah High's social context contrasts Kuan-Yin's, whose opinion shared at the section's outset describes a diversity that she does not see. This difference of opinion may stem from the different social locations each occupies due to their race/ethnicity, place of origin, and first language. At the same time, Sienna's suggestion (get more "European teachers") neither casts the net especially wide nor considers the contribution that more local, Hong Kong-Chinese teachers could make to enhancing the range and diversity of (cultural) 'authorities' at Waratah High.

Nevertheless, a 'stronger' version of internationalism arguably lies at the heart of Sienna's point. She laments Waratah High's "encapsulated" qualities, where one group of teachers, recruited from one dominant source (i.e., the school's country of origin), forms the dominant group that delivers its nationally-based syllabus. The teachers' values, sources of knowledge, and experiences, whose common points of reference are bound by particular national borders, limit her opportunities to learn about and from difference. In the process, she points to how Waratah High seems to be promulgating a 'weaker' version of internationalism. At the same time, Sienna threads throughout our conversation how she has sought out and learnt from the cultural identities and experiences of her Hong Kong-Chinese peers, amongst others. In decrying the status quo, and in seeking to engage culture differences as/where she can, Sienna exhibits a 'stronger' view of internationalism.

In sum, at least two things should be clear from this treatment of Septentrional evidence (i.e., Kuan-Yin, Manchu, Ryan, and Sienna) about the characteristics of 'stronger' internationalism. First, it requires a shift from recognising and celebrating superficial manifestations of culture toward respecting and understanding how an individual's personal-social history and cultural tradition influence their worldview and sense of belonging in Hong Kong and at school, in particular. Second, an array of school-level forces and factors interrelate to shape formatively students' view of internationalism. The confluence of people, programme, policies, and procedures, in particular, creates schooling environments that both cultivate and constrain students' abilities to understand and learn from the cultural "thread[s] of affiliation" (Maalouf 2000) between themselves and others. This will, in turn, influence where individuals are located along the 'weaker'-to-'stronger' continuum of international-mindedness. The next section brings together what has been learnt so far about the Septentrionals' backgrounds and experiences, as well as their view of internationalism, to set-up the finer-grained analyses of their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, to which the rest and majority of the chapter is devoted.

Institutional identity matters

The Septentrionals identified several school-level forces and factors that shaped the relative importance and centrality they ascribed to being students at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The most formative of these institutional identity matters include: school legacy and aspirations, uniform expectations, and school culture and ethos.

The first theme to emerge, buy-in and pride for their school, recurs in what a number of the Septentrionals recount. For example, Mohammad's pride in Windsor Secondary High stems from its legacy and brand recognition in the wider community: "We [My friends and I] are all happy to say that we're at [school]. It's got a great history behind it…. Hong Kong knows [school]. You get into a cab anywhere in Hong Kong and tell them to go to [school] and they'll know about it" (ll. 92-100). This also matters to his classmate, Ryan, who adds two more features that contribute to its comparative advantage:

> *People are quite proud to go to [school]. There is a rivalry between schools… and I think people who come here think they are maybe slightly above the others. We have a uniform. Everyone else is named after where they are, whereas our school name has a distinct history and background built into it. So I think students are quite proud to be here. (ll. 68-72)*

A third classmate, Rosie, echoes their sentiments: "We're very different to the other international schools, which makes us feel unique and special. We like it that way" (ll. 130-32). At the same time, Rosie describes what she has got out of attending Windsor Secondary High and, in the process, reveals why being a student at that school matters so much to her (Note: She did rate 'My being a student at this school' a maximum 7):

> *I love [school]…. The opportunities here… the things I've been able to do…. I would have always wanted to do them because it's in my nature, but I probably wouldn't have been able to at a different school. It's the nature-nurture debate. It's in my nature to strive to be successful and to try to achieve things. But had I not been in a school like this, I wouldn't have been able to do those things even if it is in my nature. (ll. 38-45)*

A little later, Rosie highlights what, for her, are some Windsor Secondary High features that distinguish it from other international schools in Hong Kong:

> *I was talking to someone the other day from [another international school] about my swimming gala. Every year we have a swimming gala, and everyone gets involved. Everyone swims; there is cheerleading, things like that. I was talking to them about it and they were saying, 'Oh – the seniors here do nothing. We sit in the stands and play cards.' It's just an entirely different atmosphere at this school. Everyone gets involved, whereas at the other schools it doesn't seem so homely and interactive…. why it's like that, I don't know. Maybe it's the values. We have traditional values. Our house system is competitive in a good way – positive competition. Everyone's urged to get involved in things, so you automatically get swept up. Everyone has a house, and there are always house competitions. So everyone wants to raise points for their house…. The older years urge the younger years to get involved, as well…. You have the Year 13 peer support programme where, once a week, we go to the Year 7s for registration. We talk to them about what's going on in school, any problems. So they hear about things that we've done and they think maybe they'd like to do that. So it's kind of a circle, really. It goes around. (ll. 157-79)*

Rosie identifies strongly with Windsor Secondary High because of its general ethos, which she feels stem from its institutional values – and to which co-curriculars formatively contribute. Indeed participants from all three clusters shared how out-of-classroom, school-facilitated opportunities (or lack thereof) formatively shaped their experiences of international schooling. The Septentrional lessons to emerge in this regard are discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter; the cross-cluster implications of co-curriculars on students' engagement within the international school are taken up in Chapter 9.

From what Rosie describes, we can see that co-curriculars, in the context of a House system, enable vertical bridge-building between year groups that is conducive to mixed-aged patterns of relationships amongst students. One of the benefits of this is that the older students end up taking on mentorship roles to guide the younger students in their Houses. This creates a "circle" of experiences and expectations that can, in turn, shape positively the school's ethos and institutional identity. Interestingly, the friend she refers to attends another international school that does not have a House or dynasty system in place. Instead, its students are mainly grouped horizontally (i.e., by year group) and school events tend to be age-alike rather than mixed-aged. For Rosie, the House system at Windsor Secondary High makes for a constructive match between its ethos and culture and her personality and priorities. At the same time, though she proffers that "just about everyone loves" (l. 124) Windsor Secondary High, Rosie admits that "there's the odd person who isn't happy because there are lots of rules and there's a certain way things are done. It's very traditional. But once you get used to that, people learn to respect it" (ll. 128-30).

As discussed below, and similarly described by Equatorials and Meridionals, "rules" and the "way things are done" were contextual factors that stood out for Waratah High Septentrionals as reasons why being a student there did not matter so much to their sense of self. For example, Riley explains

> *that they're a bit too strict here for not being a prestigious school. The school I went to before in [country] had a lot of rich people, celebrities' kids, members of Parliament going there. So it had the right to be stricter. With being prestigious, we had to wear a uniform and stuff like that. But here they take their role way too seriously, I think. (ll. 93-9)*

His classmate, Freya, adds:

> *Because the school's still young and establishing itself, it feels like it has something to prove…. And so things like uniforms get really micro-managed, and I just don't think they're important to our learning. For me, school needs to be a foundation to figure out who we are. We can't all be kept in such strict lines. The only vent I have*

at school is Art. And for my coursework, I had to get special permission to do it. I was told that it can only be displayed in a specific area because it's an 'attack on the school.' I told them that it wasn't, but they didn't believe me. (ll. 112-22; Emphasis added)

The uniform expectations, rules, and less storied legacy are three factors that matter to Riley's and Freya's Waratah High experiences and likely contributed to the middling degree of importance they assigned to being students there (i.e., 4 out of 7) – despite their more than 10 years at the school, collectively.

Interestingly, Yi Men, a Windsor Secondary High Septentrional, counterpoints what her classmates Mohammad, Ryan, and Rosie extolled as a positive feature of its institutional identity, and which they felt shaped favourably their orientation toward their school: "Because this school is old, and it has a history, it's very traditional. Some aspects of being traditional are good. I don't want them to lose all the tradition. But some things you just have to adapt" (ll. 311-13). Pressed to specify, Yi Men offers the "uniform" regulations and format of "assemblies" as two time-worn features that she would like updated to improve her lived experiences of Windsor Secondary High.

In sum, these qualitative insights show how certain contextual forces and factors contributed to the relative importance and centrality the Septentrionals ascribed to being students at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The most formative of these institutional identity matters include school legacy and aspirations, uniform expectations, and school culture and ethos. Drawing on these specific individual and institutional-level contexts and processes, the next section adds "concrete particulars" to develop the picture of Septentrionals' lived international schooling realities. The discussion is organised in terms of the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. It first reports on the salient forces and factors that Septentrionals identified in the out-of-classroom contexts of co-curricula and peers. It then examines the teacher- and classroom-level contexts, in terms of their relationships and pedagogical experiences, which supported and constrained their academic and social engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Co-curricular context: Opportunities and activities

Positive

As illustrated below, the Septentrionals identify five ways in which co-curriculars shaped positively their experiences and engaged them with their schooling: i.e., 1) the broad range

of activities for students to do, be they school-facilitated or student-directed; 2) the balance they provided to complement classroom learning; 3) the self-development and growth, both for the individual/group and for the school in terms of its ethos; 4) the experiential learning opportunities, including service-oriented projects; and 5) the relationship-building possibilities that arise when collaborating with others outside the classroom.

The first sub-theme to emerge relates to how the broad range of co-curricula opportunities shaped favourably Septentrionals' experiences of international schooling. For example, Rosie explains that at Windsor Secondary High,

> *pretty much anything you want to do, you can do. There's something for everyone….*
> *There's everything you want to do. And if there isn't something you want to do, you*
> *can usually make your own club if you want to…. People can't say there's nothing*
> *that they want to do. There might not be everything, but there's at least, usually, one*
> *thing that they're interested in. (ll. 136-43)*

As Rosie describes, and Manchu exemplifies below in the Waratah High context, if school-facilitated co-curriculars are not available, then the students can fill the gap themselves (Recall the similar observation made by Jude, a Windsor Secondary High Meridional):

> *When I arrived at this school, I noticed it lacked activities. For example, there are a*
> *lot of juniors who want to do computing. They like to do graphics, but no one teaches*
> *them…. So in Year 10, I created my own computer club… nine juniors signed-up and*
> *we got it running…. I really enjoyed this club because I could share my experience,*
> *teach the juniors, but also learn from them because they have a lot of creativity….*
> *But I made that activity myself. The school didn't provide it. I said, 'I want this.'*
> *And I got to do it. (ll. 285-99)*

A second reason given for how and why co-curriculars influenced favourably Septentrionals' school experiences was the balance they provided. Li, for example, believes that Windsor Secondary High

> *doesn't just focus on academic achievements. Take HKAYP [Hong Kong Award for*
> *Young People – formerly known as the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, a programme for*
> *the personal development of 14-to-17-year-olds]: I do things like camping,*
> *community service, sports, and I learn skills (e.g., cooking, debating). I experience*
> *things outside the classroom that I haven't tried before…. So HKAYP helps me focus*
> *on things other than academics, which I think is very important. (ll. 103-07)*

What matters most to his classmate, Evan, is the recreational pay-off rather than the self-developmental benefits of participating in an activity such as HKAYP (whose requirements, admittedly, make it one of the more formalised co-curriculars):

> *There's always something going on – a drama performance… musicals, an inter-*
> *school orchestra competition tomorrow. We're represented a lot in Hong Kong, so*
> *it's very competitive. But not to the point where we train every single day…. We kind*

of do it once a week and enjoy ourselves. We see activities as fun, as leisure… rather than as another lesson. (ll. 88-94)

At the same time, as Evan continues,

everyone is able to stand out in their own way. If you're academic, then lessons are your thing. But if you're artistic, then you can participate in those things…. Even though you might not be good academically, it makes you known to the teachers and students, which is good. Everyone can stand out in their own way. (ll. 98-102)

For Freya, the importance of out-of-classroom activities for her lies in their ability to galvanize the school community and shift students' focus from the academic to the social:

It's really not what you learn in your lessons that you remember about school. It's the school play. It's that amazing final in [sport] that everyone was watching and cheering and you won. It's the school trips you take. You remember and learn most from those things. That is what's most important for me about this school. (ll. 137-41)

She marries the other qualities (i.e., the availability of co-curriculars, their ability to complement classroom learning) to focus on how a strengthened school ethos and community can come out of the individual, self-developmental gains of participating in co-curriculars. Such a symbiotic dynamic is precisely what Brock cherishes, as he reflected on his three-day "prefect team leadership retreat." Not only was it "a lot of fun," but he "learn[t] a ridiculous amount about [him]self" (ll. 374-75). In particular, the "leadership courses" and feedback he got from leading smaller group activities made him realise that

I might explain things well but, at the same time, also block out other people's ideas. I won't really listen to what they have to say. I'll listen to some people but not everybody, and make decisions based on that. It was good to see how I can improve myself – and how improving those things works for the group and helps to achieve our goals. (ll. 384-88)

Following this leadership training, Brock feels that the student leaders were able "to come together… [and] put it all into practice" (ll. 391-93) when they resumed their prefect roles at Waratah High. My observations of Brock at a student meeting, which was co-led by three prefects and had been convened to review the expectations of the elected student representatives as understood by each form group, found him to be a deft listener and facilitator. He encouraged and got input from the vocal and less vocal alike; and his questions and comments to contributors reflected a sensitive understanding and summarising of different points of view from both younger and older students.

His classmate, Johnny, has channelled his leadership efforts "to enhance sport at this school because I don't feel that they've done it. So I'm trying to do it for the generation behind me.

I'm training the younger kids in [sport 1] and helping coach the [sport 2] team…. Doing that makes me happy at school." (ll. 142-51). Similarly, Freya waxes lyrical about what she has got out of the "dance group" she started at Waratah High. Not only did it get her "involved with the younger kids" (l. 312), but in the activity's second year the student-run dance group performed to critical acclaim at a prestigious Youth Arts Festival in Hong Kong. In addition to this successful initiative, Freya shared how she has used her position as a student leader to lobby the school administration and change two rules that directly affected students. Mohammad sums up this pervasive sense of school ownership and responsibility for student welfare that Brock, Johnny, and Freya express, and which derives from co-curriculars:

> *As a senior student, I have a bigger role to play in the school with house activities and just helping the younger students. Having had the opportunity to be a house captain has been really good and enjoyable. It's meant I can give back to the school. (ll. 13-16)*

Changing tack slightly, Yi Men, a Windsor Secondary High classmate, explains how her self-development through a service-oriented, co-curricular activity not only complemented her classroom learning, strengthened her peer relationships, and contributed to her sense of school belonging, but it also deepened her sense of civic responsibility and engagement:

> *Last year, I went on a trip – [name]. We went into rural China for two weeks to teach English to children at two schools. That was an amazing experience. It's a very limited number who get to go – 20 people out of 200 – and there is a lot of work to do for it…. A lot of the people who went on the trip weren't my closest friends, but I got along with them very well. We bonded. There was a lot to learn in terms of each other, my team, and about the kids there. I actually think I learned more from them than I taught them. Because of how they live, I realised how much I have. It was a very emotional trip. After I got back, I sent the kids a letter thanking them and they replied…. Even though I don't have the power to change the world, the trip made me realise that I can make a small difference. I can do something and help others. (ll. 487-512)*

Before going, participants spent eight weeks preparing for it by learning about the region's climate and geography, as well as the community's social, economic, and cultural features. From Yi Men's descriptions of it, it is clear that the experience had a profound effect on her personally, as well as in terms of awakening her civic- and service-oriented sensibilities.

In sum, the Septentrionals bring up five ways in which co-curriculars shaped positively their experiences and strengthened their engagement within schooling: i.e., 1) the broad range of activities for students to do, be they school-facilitated or student-directed; 2) the balance they provided to complement classroom learning; 3) the self-development and growth, both for the individual/group and for the school in terms of its ethos; 4) the experiential learning

opportunities, including service-oriented projects; and 5) the relationship-building possibilities that arise when collaborating with others outside the classroom.

Negative

At the same time, there was fieldwork evidence to indicate that the co-curricular context may have also contributed to their less positive experiences of international schooling. This included: the school not doing enough to provide students with a sufficient number and range of appropriately challenging or resourced co-curriculars; the lack of student-run co-curriculars; the differential statuses of different activities; and the ineffectualness of the student voice to influence and/or be recognised and accepted by peers and adults.

> *We need the school to help us get into university and to prepare us for what we want to do. And for that we need extra-curricular activities. I especially do, as I live very far away from school and I can't always do something in town after school. So I do rely a lot on the school to provide me with what I need. (Yi Men: ll. 327-31)*

Yi Men's observation establishes two interesting relationships. Whilst the first is predictable (i.e., the school supports and readies students for higher education), the second, students "need extra-curricular activities" to achieve self-developmental and instrumental ends, seems to heighten the importance of the non-formal curriculum.

Given this premise, Manchu is, not surprisingly, concerned that Waratah High's co-curricular "activities aren't that broad – its few inter-house competitions a year are not enough to get to know others" (ll. 65-6). For his classmate, Johnny, the issue has less to do with the inter-personal dimension and more to do with the lower standard of play: "I'm forced to pursue sport outside school because they can't provide it. And even if they do have it, it's not competitive enough for me" (ll. 49-50). As Brock sums up, the "extra-curricular activities and sports teams here aren't great" (l. 373).

For Kuan-Yin, another Waratah High participant, the issue stems from what he perceives to be an incompatibility between the practical constraints of schooling in Hong Kong whilst trying to cultivate a nationally-culturally transplanted idea/l:

> *There is a lack of space and activities that we can do and that the school offers…. So we often have to go use other venues, book courts, and we can't always get them. There are interruptions and we have to find other activities to do. These are some of the disadvantages we face in Hong Kong, where the school is trying to promote the [country] spirit and type of activities but just doesn't have the facilities to do so. (ll. 104-33)*

The second half of Kuan-Yin's remark reveals a tension between Waratah High's championing of transplanted, nationally-specific practices in Hong Kong (which includes some of the most expensive real estate and densely populated urban landscape in the world), and the constraints this represents in terms of school facilities (Recall Merlin's observation in this regard discussed in Chapter 5). The broader implications of its "encapsulated school mission" (Sylvester 1998) on students' experiences of schooling are taken up in Chapter 9.

The Septentrionals also described other co-curricular hurdles that inhibit their self-fulfillment of developmental and instrumental imperatives. For example, Li Na asserts that

> *we need more student-run activities. It's something that we wanted to start last year*
> *but the student council didn't get around to it. So there are a lot of students that want*
> *to run their own clubs but they haven't got the permission to do so. (ll. 232-34)*

A Windsor Secondary High student leader herself, she notices how the demand for activities out-strips the supply. Despite the interest for student-run clubs, "the student council didn't get around to" sanctioning these, and has arguably missed out on an opportunity to grow student leadership more widely. Li Na's take contrasts her classmate Rosie's, as well as Manchu's and Freya's experiences at Waratah High. Li Na also brings up how questions of status may also be undermining students' co-curricular experiences: "The school has a lot of activities, but some of them are overlooked. For example, the orchestra got one assembly devoted to it but no one knows who the chess team is. It's kind of unfair" (ll. 208-10).

Yi Men comments on another way in which co-curriculars may not be contributing favourably to Septentrionals' experiences of international schooling:

> *They give us a student voice… to try and change things. We also have a student*
> *representative on the PTSA [Parent-Teacher-Student Association]. But the whole*
> *school does not know those student voices. So it's good to have a voice, but it's not*
> *much of one if the whole school doesn't really know about it – or know what they do.*
> *(ll. 563-67)*

She describes a mismatch between the rhetoric of student voice/empowerment and its reality in practice. This was partly why Freya lobbied to change the role of students in electing their student council at Waratah High. She argued successfully that because they did have a stake in who represents them, the younger year groups should also get to vote.

In a related way, Yi Men goes on to describe the missed teachable moment at Windsor Secondary High when co-curriculars were not used as a vehicle to get students to make a positive difference in the lives of others (and, in the process, be of benefit to themselves):

> *I think the school could have a lot more interaction with people outside the school. We have the [Special Education school] right next to us and we have no interaction whatsoever with it. The school should… find an opportunity for our students to interact with them. It would be easier for the kids there who need help to get an understanding from students who don't have the same problems, and for students without problems to understand them better. That way, when we meet them later in life we'll at least know how to interact with them. Some things you just can't do because it just offends them and it's just not right. But kids, you know, say things like "retarded" because they haven't been given an opportunity to understand. They don't need sympathy. They need understanding. (ll. 582-611)*

Admittedly, Yi Men was the only Septentrional (and Phase 2 participant – of 34) to identify and lament this gap. Though hers is a singular perspective, she alerts us to a rhetoric-reality deficit that co-curriculars could help bridge and, in the process, perhaps enhance students' social justice sensibilities. I believe this to be a key 'teachable' moment to be leveraged when working in such school contexts of privilege, and which a cosmopolitan turn makes readily possible given that cosmopolitanism, as outlined in Chapter 2 and discussed in Chapter 10, is about: a) developing self-understanding to/for "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987); 2) cultivating a sense of responsibility for the well-being of others; and 3) learning to live well together.

In sum, the Septentrionals offer at least three ways in which co-curriculars contributed to their less positive experiences of and lesser engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The first stems from the schools not doing enough to provide students with a sufficient number and range of appropriately challenging co-curriculars. A related issue brought up is when country-specific activities get transplanted to Hong Kong but are inadequately resourced. Second, the lack of student-run co-curriculars, as well as the differential statuses of different activities, was also seen to be detrimental to Septentrionals' experiences of schooling. The third reason concerns the reach of the student voice in schools (in influence and acceptance by others) – or the lack thereof.

Student-student relationships

Positive

Peers are a second important context that shaped Septentrionals' experiences of international schooling. Though what follows explores the ways in which they did so favourably, in the next section aspects of the peer-level context will be shown to exert a less positive influence on Septentrionals' experiences of their school's ethos, on the one hand, and on how they recognised and comprehended its school culture, on the other hand.

The first factor that contributes to Septentrionals' positive experiences of the peer context can be seen in recurring remarks about their diverse yet seemingly inclusive student bodies. For example, Mohammad claims that at Windsor Secondary High, "everyone mixes together on the weekends. The crowd we sit with in school doesn't mean we don't hang around with the other people" (ll. 124-25). Though he adds that "the different groups blend in well when we're all in there [the senior school common room] together" (ll. 327-28), he also describes, unprompted, how the groups get constituted along gendered ("where all the White boys"), race/ethnic ("one area is called China town… another International"), and year group ("Year 12 at the tables… Year 13 on the sofas") lines. My observations found Mohammad to mostly keep company with male and female peers who shared his Indian heritage. In contrast, De's perspective ("My friends here are quite different. Some are typical Hongkongers…. But most of them are from mixed cultures" (ll. 94-6)), and my observations of him, would suggest that he both sees the student diversity at Waratah High and seizes the opportunity to interact with peers who are different to him. At the same time, the identity markers that he uses to describe his friends are, like Mohammad's, heritage-based.

That these stand out for Mohammad and De, and seem to shape patterns of relationships amongst students, is not all that surprising to Rosie ("There are some tendencies for similar races to group together, which is natural because some people feel more comfortable with that" (ll. 97-8)), Li Na ("Because of the way we're brought up… it's easier to talk to people of your own ethnicity" (ll. 36-8)), and Ryan:

> The White expats, who've got some links to the UK, tend to stick together. And maybe the more local Chinese kids stick together as well. But there are still quite a lot of interactions between. [Pause]. People who come from the same culture or something, say the Indian kids, they have things in common that maybe we don't know about or could understand. So they can talk about stuff that we just won't get what's going on. (ll. 36-40)

From what these and other Septentrionals describe, as well as my observations, it would appear that student groupings along heritage lines are both a largely 'normalised' phenomenon and a significant influence on the patterns of relationships within the student bodies at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

At the same time, the between-group differences that Kuan-Yin depicts at Waratah High reveal their potential effect on students' lived schooling realities:

> I have met Hong Kong students who, like me, have been educated in [country] and come back. And I have met Hong Kong students here who have come from a local education. They have a very different experience at this school than me…. I think

it's mainly because of how people in Hong Kong emphasise education above everything else. In [country], it's more of a balance between sports and education. That makes for different priorities and, I think, a different experience here. (ll. 57-65)

Despite relying on stereotype, Kuan-Yin indicates that national-cultural heritage does matter because it may contribute to different expectations of/for schooling. He shifts attention from race/ethnicity as a marker of social identity to focus upon how heritage may produce (mis-) matches between a student and the school that lead to differently lived schooling realities. In doing so, Kuan-Yin evokes the dialectic between Septentrionals' "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993).

Pulling these strands together, Ryan explains that

you can be who you are here [at Windsor Secondary High] because everyone's from all over the place. It's not like you have to be like this – and only like this. Everyone's got their own, different sorts of things that they bring that with them. I think that probably makes it better than a school where everyone's from the local area and has the same views that their parents would have had because maybe they went to the same school, too. At an international school like this, you get totally different perspectives on things. So I think you generally get a better understanding of everything…. And because there are so many different kinds of people here, you kind of have to find a way to get on. Otherwise, maybe you're the one who doesn't fit in because you're not getting along with everyone else. (ll. 17-32)

Like Mohammad, Ryan alludes to a diverse yet inclusive Windsor Secondary High student body. But he goes one step further by not just recognising difference(s); Ryan both sees the commonalities and harmonises the largely heritage-based markers of identity that the Septentrionals seem to emphasise. As he explains,

I see myself as part of the expat thing, because even though I've lived in Hong Kong the longest out of any country, I don't really call it 'home.' Well, I call it 'home' in that I live there, but when people go, 'Where are you from?' I usually say I'm British. So, I see myself as part of that. But then I'm also part of other groups. I play rugby, so I'm part of the rugby group – and the rugby group isn't all expats. I enjoy playing in a band, so I'm part of a group of people who listen and play music, which are again different people. (ll. 44-49)

Recognising oneself in the 'other' is an important cosmopolitan point of departure (Appiah 2006). Ryan manages to engage with and to integrate his varied experiences and mosaic identities so as to belong in "multiple worlds" (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998) of family, school, peer, and community contexts. In addition to background, the shared interests that matter to Ryan's friendships are sports and music.

A cosmopolitan perspective characterises the few Septentrionals who seem able to mediate and integrate meaning within and across their different worlds of experience, in general, and

within their peer-level contexts at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, in particular. Rosie, for example, feels that

> *because I've lived in so many different places, I have Western friends. I have Chinese friends. I have Indian friends. I have friends who are more religious than others. I have friends whose parents aren't as lenient – so they don't go out as often. Having met so many different people, I find that it's easier for me to accept that because you know that everyone's different. You just accept people as they are. They're your friends. They're all going to be different. And you just love each one for who they are individually. (ll. 98-104)*

Rosie has become sensitised to cultural difference through her globetrotting upbringing, which has taken her from the UK to Saudi Arabia, Japan, and Hong Kong. This has taught her to move beyond tolerating differences toward recognising, accepting, and respecting the various social locations that she and her peers occupy. And yet, though Rosie admits "be[ing] friends with a wide-ranging group of people" at Windsor Secondary High, she also characterises the other students as "a lot like myself. We tend to have similar views, similar attitudes to work, similar attitudes to how we live. We tend to be interested in the same things" (ll. 78-85). Taken concomitantly, Rosie's observations suggest that she both sees differences in others and appreciates the "similar views" and "attitudes" amongst her peers – with a nod to Starratt (2003), she accepts their "common biography." Yet she does so from a point of departure in which "everyone's different. You just accept people as they are…. and you just love each one for who they are individually."

Yi Men, a Windsor Secondary High classmate, shares much of Rosie's cosmopolitan outlook, which was also cultivated through her own cultural-geographic nomadism as a youth:

> *Moving from [Asian country 1] to [Asian country 2], and not being able to speak English, was a huge shock at first. I'm not a particularly quiet person, so I was irritated that I couldn't talk with others when I first got there because I couldn't speak the language. So I had to learn to make friends without really talking too much. At the time, I also realised that there are things you just don't do or say in another culture because they may have different notions. I then moved school again when I came to Hong Kong, so that meant another change of friends. I guess because I have been more exposed to different cultures and things, I've had a lot more to get used to. I've met people from everywhere around the world, and I've come across stuff that I've found difficult to understand…. When I was talking to, say, a Christian person and they started relating everything to God and Jesus Christ, at first I was like, why? Now I understand their religion. That's just the way they think and talk. Things like that, I think, have helped me become adaptable. (ll. 216-31)*

As Yi Men explains, the main catalyst to her becoming cosmopolitan-minded was the need to communicate and connect with people in three culturally distinct Asian contexts. Yet unlike Rosie, who was a native English speaker, Yi Men had to acculturate and learn the language of

instruction through immersion at the three international schools she has attended. Motivated to bridge her background and the languages and cultures encountered, Yi Men feels that she has "become adaptable;" she can participate in and build on multiple and nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities. Like Rosie, Yi Men evokes both the cosmopolitan joy of discovery and the acculturative challenges of living within and between cultures, whilst striving to care for the self.

Similarly, Manchu shows how his friendships have less to do with finding others who share his heritage and are more about recognising, respecting, and learning from the different social locations people occupy. Though his move to Hong Kong also presented some acculturative stress, he cites Waratah High's smaller school size as a key reason for his personal growth:

> *Back in [Asian country], my social group was usually in the same year. I didn't talk to older or younger students…. But here, I'm forced to interact with students of all ages. That expands my horizon of knowledge – I get a different perspective from just being around older students. The young ones remind me of what I was like at that stage. They make me realise stuff that I can't see but that they can. Overall, this makes me more mature because of my bond with students in other grades. (ll. 53-9)*

Continuing, Manchu explains that he

> *like[s] to interact with other students. I like to talk to them and learn about where they come from because we all have different backgrounds. So I tend to walk around the school and if I see someone, a primary, junior, or senior kid, I'll go up to them, say hi and introduce myself. And we'll talk. Just like that. Perhaps this school forces me to do that, so I've developed this ability to go out and interact with people. (ll. 65-72)*

As with Ryan, Rosie, and Yi Men, Manchu takes a broader view of difference(s) – "different backgrounds" does not just mean heritage, nationality, or language. In fact, Manchu does not use such categories when characterising his Waratah High peers. He refers instead to age/grade level, academic proficiency/motivation, sporting ability, and interests and hobbies. In describing his own acculturative experience, Manchu explains that

> *fitting into one group was really hard when I first came to Hong Kong…. So I had to find a way to blend in with different people. That's what I'm good at. I'm not good at only being part of one group. I like to make friends with a variety of people. That's where I can be my true self. As someone who can blend in like a chameleon, any environment is good for me. (ll. 135-40)*

Although the first part refers to the acculturative challenges he faced when negotiating the (mis-) matches between different contexts, the central image of the second conveys how and why he is able to thrive within and between cultures and contexts. Given his self-understanding, Manchu can "blend in like a chameleon;" he adapts situationally. The

positive connotations of his verb ("blend") and simile ("like a chameleon") choices, as well as the broader implications of his previous remarks, speak to Manchu's interest in and respect for others. Consequently, "any environment is good for me" – a central quality of a cosmopolite, whose bi-focality integrates communitarianism (i.e., cosmos: 'I am a human being') and individualism (i.e., hearth: 'I am an individual human being'). Manchu highlights how, as members of various human communities, we are individually constructed in relation to others and embedded within cultures that are historically and contextually formed: i.e., the "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193).

In sum, the way Manchu, Yi Men, Rosie and Ryan talk about their experiences of the peer-level contexts reveals their cosmopolitan sensibilities. Whereas they see themselves in others, and seem to recognise, respect, and learn from the different social locations people occupy, Mohammad, Kuan-Yin, and Li Na appear to focus instead on heritage-based markers of social identity as salient and potentially divisive inter-personal factors. These contrasting perspectives are developed more fully in the next section, which examines how and why peer-level forces might exert a less positive influence on Septentrionals' experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Negative

Recurring Septentrional comments reveal several ways in which patterns of relationships amongst students contributed to a less positive orientation toward their school's ethos and culture. They raise questions about the nature, scope, and effect of majority and minority cultures within the student body, and of how mainstream cultures and sub-cultures within them get constituted along the lines of categorical identities – primarily linguistic, race/ethnic, and nationality, but also interest group and academic subjects – to undermine students' experiences of and engagement within school.

Li not only depicts a less diverse student body at Windsor Secondary High than had been presented in the previous section, but he also characterises it as clustered along heritage-based (i.e., race/ethnic, linguistic) lines: "You can see that the social groups are mostly Chinese, Indian, and English – though we really don't have very many in that group." Echoing him, Yi Men notes that you can clearly see how "Indians tend to stick with Indians, White people stick with the White people, and some Chinese stick with other Chinese students" (ll. 249-51). Their classmate Li Na identifies the same tripartition, "You still get people sitting in groups – mainly Indian, Chinese, and Caucasian," though she does add that

"people here mainly just see each other as people. They don't categorise into different nationalities, for example" (ll. 29-30). Continuing, Li Na asserts that "it's not as segregated as it was before. [Pause]. It still is, actually – even though this is an international school and Hong Kong is, you could say, a cosmopolitan city" (ll. 31-32). Li Na's seesawing suggests that she both recognises the student segregation at Windsor Secondary High and thinks it problematic in "cosmopolitan" Hong Kong.

Similarly, other Septentrionals comment on the pervasiveness of heritage-based student groupings at both sites, though in contrast to Li Na's questioning/challenging, they evoke an almost fatalistic acceptance of them. For example, Sienna declares that

> *there's definitely a divide between the Westerners and the Chinese. I noticed it immediately when I first came here. At the start, I wanted to change it. But then I sort of just got sucked into it. If you look at the people that I hang out with at school, it's the Westerners. If you look at the people I hang out with on the weekend, it's the Westerners. The people that I like may not necessarily be the Westerners, but because this school has such a divide, I am Western and so I hang out with the Westerners. (ll. 66-72)*

Sienna's opening adverbial ("definitely"), repetition ("divide"), and syntactical patterning present a race/ethnically divided student body that she feels unable to bridge. She goes on to explain that language plays a big part in this regard:

> *Well, it's not like I don't want to talk to the Chinese students. It's just that when I first got here, and I tried to make a connection with them, they only spoke in Chinese and kind of pushed me away. It almost feels like they don't really want to be part of the school. (ll. 94-7)*

So used, language excludes to reinforce segregative student dynamics along heritage-based lines. The implications for certain students' experiences, as conveyed in Sienna's closing utterance, are troubling: "they don't really want to be part of the school."

The divisive effects and repercussions of language can also be seen at Windsor Secondary High. For example, Yi Men feels that

> *because there are a lot of Chinese-speaking people in this school, there is a group of people who even in school mostly speak Chinese. So it's difficult for people like us who don't speak Chinese to be in that group. It's kind of like they're desensitized to what they're doing; they don't find it offensive to talk in Chinese when someone is sitting there not understanding what's going on. So that sort of secludes them from us…. When I was younger, I used to have fights with them because I would tell them to speak English. But now I just sort of leave them alone. The people who I talk to are mostly English speaking and prefer to use English at school – even if they are Chinese. Some of my Hong Kong-Chinese friends will even say that their English is better than their Chinese! (ll. 235-46)*

Yi Men's description draws on a semantic field of conflict: e.g., "desensitized", "don't find it offensive", "secludes", "fights". Despite initially resisting and disapproving of these exclusionary dynamics, Yi Men, like Sienna, Freya, and others, eventually resolves herself to the situation: "But now I just sort of leave them alone."

At the same time, Yi Men's concluding utterance is salutary, as it points to the shortcomings of stereotype and the danger of assumptions: a Chinese phenotype does not, *ipso facto*, mean Chinese speaker. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 7 (i.e., Equatorials who, recall, largely self-identify as local-Hong Kong international school students), the "Chinese students" Yi Men and Sienna describe, who appear to use language to "seclude them[selves]" and "don't really want to be part of the school," may very well only be responding to their schools' "encapsulated qualities" (Sylvester 1998) and practices.

Continuing, Sienna reveals how the "divide between the Westerners and the Chinese" has become a 'normalised' part of how she sees the Windsor Secondary High student body and interacts with her peers:

> *I've talked to my mom about this. She tells me to go up to them [Chinese peers] and just say, 'Hey. Do you want to hang out on the weekend?' Even though I know that would be easy, I just can't imagine doing it. We might be close in class – I now have Asian friends that I prefer to sit with – but it's just some kind of line that you don't cross. So we don't hangout together on weekends. (ll. 120-24)*

Her classmate, Kuan-Yin, describes a similar dividing line between him and his Western peers that stems from the intersection of language and national-cultural heritage:

> *Most of my friends are Chinese-background students because I am Chinese as well, so it's much easier to communicate with them. In terms of the Western students, it's much harder because their background and my background can't really mix together. So it's very hard to communicate… because of our very different experiences and lifestyle. (ll. 77-80)*

Drawing on stereotypes and generalisations, Kuan-Yin states, "It comes down to a different upbringing: [Country residents] are brought up to be really sporty and social. The Chinese are brought up to be studious" (ll. 218-19). As a result, he, too, resolves himself almost fatalistically to these divisive dynamics.

At the same time, formative as students' "background" may be on the patterns of relationships within the student body, Sienna points to how Waratah High's 'normalizing' power also orders social interactions in the classroom:

Sitting with my Chinese friends in class is less of a distraction. But to be honest, the teachers here kind of classify you, too. If you're a Westerner, you're obviously a troublemaker. I've noticed in a couple of my classes… I won't be talking but the second I do anything wrong, it's instant detention or trouble. And in my classes, there would probably be a ratio of 30 percent Westerners and 70 percent Chinese. The Chinese students may be talking in Chinese, but because teachers don't understand the language, they just don't hear it – or at least don't react to it. (ll. 130-7)

How students see each other, and how teachers (and the school) treat them, will shape the dynamic in important ways – e.g., by exacerbating a student-body cultural divide. This point gets developed in the next section, which focuses on Septentrionals within the classroom.

Against this backdrop, consider her classmate Freya's observation:

Awards are given out at assemblies. They'll say, 'The award for Science get up,' and it's all Chinese kids. And then they'll say, 'The Sports awards,' and it's all Caucasian kids. I know lots of people here that don't really try to be top of their class because they know that a Chinese kid, who is going to be studying all the time, is going to end up getting it in the end. (ll. 198-201)

In the face of these prevailing stereotypes of Chinese (i.e., studious) and Western (i.e., "troublemaker," athletic) students, which are reinforced by/amongst students and teachers, in and out of the classroom, Freya concludes, "I don't really fit in with the Chinese kids that are studying all the time" (l. 215).

At the same time, Sienna challenges these essentialisms by asserting that "out of my Western friends, I probably have the highest expectations of myself achievement-wise" (ll. 138-39). This creates a tension between Sienna and her Western peers, on the one hand, which affects her lived schooling realities; and between the ways teacher discourses and practices constitute and position her as a certain kind of student, on the other hand. Sienna thus offers a cautionary reminder of the dangers of the Pygmalion (i.e., teacher-expectation) effect, given the prevailing stereotypical view that Chinese and Western students are different and (to be) treated differently. Her experience highlights the dangers of making too much of between-group differences, without taking sufficient account of within-group forces and factors.

Yet the divisiveness of language and perceived differential treatment of students (along race/ethnic lines) at Waratah High are starkly expressed by Freya:

Divided. You really can't pretend that there's no sort of division between the Chinese kids – well, the Chinese locally educated kids – and the Chinese internationally-educated kids and us. Because there are plenty of Chinese kids that look Chinese but who are very American, Australian, or Canadian. So, it's very divided. It gets me angry because… the international-Chinese or Caucasian kids get told off for being

racist when we are the ones who can only speak one of the languages that the rest of the student body can also speak but chooses not to. So it's very divided. (ll. 162-69)

Despite drawing on stereotype, Freya makes a useful distinction between "locally-" and "internationally-educated" Chinese students to focus attention on an important within-group difference. (Recall, too, the predilections of Lee and Jiao, Waratah High Meridionals and Equatorials, respectively, who resisted the tendencies of others, peers and teachers alike to classify them as 'local' students when they considered themselves to be more 'Westernized' and 'international'). Similarly, Riley describes "hard-working… local Chinese" and "westernized Chinese students… who are more like us. They like to go out and some of them fool around in class. They've adopted the ideologies of Westerners, do what Westerners do, and think alike" (ll. 39-44). For Freya, this sub-set of race/ethnically Chinese students "are kind of in the middle and can hang out with either" (l. 213) the "really Caucasian" or "the Chinese locally-educated kids." Although Freya's read of the peer-level context echoes much of what her friend Sienna perceives, her repetition ("It's very divided") and strong emotion ("it gets me angry") convey a deeper sense of aggrievement.

Continuing, Freya uses a telling metaphor to describe Waratah High's social context:

> *I've been to other schools in Hong Kong and everyone seems to be friends with everyone. This is a very family environment… and we get to be friends vertically. So I am really good friends with kids in Year 8 because they feel like they can come up to me and talk to me. But it's only the Caucasian, Anglo kids that can do that. So, we have this unity vertically, but every other school seems to have it horizontally, across the whole year. They don't know people in other years, but everyone in their year is more together. (ll. 169-75)*

Her qualifier ("it's only the Caucasian, Anglo kids that can do that") highlights how silo-like, vertical "family…. unity" is achieved at Waratah High: through 'shared' race/ethnicity. This markedly contrasts how Rosie describes Windsor Secondary High's vertical integration through co-curriculars; heritage-based markers of identity are not a salient factor for her. My observations of Waratah High's social spaces (i.e., corridors, refectory, playground) found that Caucasians of varying ages did indeed seem to congregate in race/ethnic-alike rather than mixed groups. (Recall, too, Yun's observation in Chapter 7 about the middle-years girls at Waratah High. Yun felt that they used their English language and Western heritage to insularise themselves and, despite being the numerical minority, seemed to be "really enjoying their time at this school" and contributing to its ethos, as it harmonised with and contributed to the school's projected and "encapsulated" institutional identity).

Continuing, Freya draws on stereotype to make her point that race/ethnicity is a salient factor in students' co-curricular participation:

> *Take my netball team. When we've gone to other schools they've said, 'Wow. It's the [School name] – the school that doesn't let Chinese kids on their team.' And it's not that we don't let them on. It's just that here, they're so focused on academics that no one tries out…. So it just doesn't seem so united here. It's very 'Us and Them.' But there's no angst. We don't bother them, and they won't bother us. (ll. 176-82)*

Starkly, her conclusion speaks to the perceived immutability of the race/ethnic divide at Waratah High. Yet unlike Sienna, who "regret[s] not reaching out and staying within my race, age group, and nationality" (ll. 371-72), Freya accepts the "Us and Them" divide as a 'normalised' part of how the student body clusters at Waratah High. For Riley, these patterns of relationships amongst students can be readily explained:

> *My Western friends are more go hard, party hard. I think it's got to do with a homesick thing. We just want to go out as Westerners and party hard. You miss [country], so you go out with other Westerners and it almost feels like you're back in [country]. We're sort of loud…. The Chinese are quieter…. But I can be friends with both the Chinese and Westerners. (ll. 68-74)*

Building on the pervasively familiar stereotypes, which echo how Sienna feels her teachers see and treat Westerners at Waratah High, Riley suggests that it is the "homesick thing" for their adopted country that bonds the Westerners together. In contrast to other Septentrionals from the previous section (e.g., Ryan, Rosie, Yi Men), who displayed a greater degree of cosmopolitan resilience, Riley, Freya, and other like-minded expatriate peers do not appear to be as situationally responsive. They do not seem to readily integrate their worlds of experience with the host context of Hong Kong, and instead retreat to their diasporic community. Despite claiming to be "friends with both the Chinese and Westerners," my observations of Riley found him interacting almost exclusively with other Westerners.

In sum, the Septentrionals inform our understanding of the forces and factors that contributed to their less favourable experiences of the peer-level context in two important ways. First, they characterise visibly and spatially stratified student bodies at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, mainly along heritage-based and linguistic lines. For some Septentrionals (e.g., Freya, Kuan-Yin, Riley), these salient and seemingly divisive markers of social identity are seen to be pervasive and immutable. They (re-) produce certain patterns of relationships amongst students, create groups that occupy hierarchised positions in school, and, ultimately, exclude. Second, we learn about the ways in which the discursive space of schooling itself (Davidson 1996; Tatum 1997; Ryan 1999; Yon 2000; Sadowski 2004) may be condoning, if

not reinforcing, such segregative, peer-level dynamics. How students get constituted and positioned through particular discursive and institutional interactions, be it in the classroom, co-curriculars, or on stage at assemblies, will formatively influence their sense of self and place, on the one hand, and specific experiences of international schooling, on the other hand. For as Jenkins (1996: 21) claims, "what people think about us is no less important than what we think about ourselves. It is not enough to assert an identity. That identity must also be validated (or not) by those with whom we have dealings." This cross-cluster point of import, which focuses on the dialectic between students' "enduring" and "situated" selves within institutional discourses and practices, is taken up in Chapter 9. In the next section, the Septentrionals' relationships with teachers and experiences of the classroom-level context are examined to see how discursive and institutional interactions both enabled and impeded their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Student-teacher relationships

Positive

The Septentrionals emphasised two qualities to their student-teacher relationships that shaped positively their school experiences and strengthened their engagement therein: i.e., teachers' holistic perspective of and approach to students; and teacher responsiveness to students' needs and aspirations .

The first theme to emerge for the Septentrional interviewees characterises the nature of the teacher-student relationship as holistic and responsive. The overlap between it and other favourable classroom-level features can be seen in the recurring comments made about teacher expectations, the role of humour, and pedagogy.

> *They know what they're doing. They know how to teach well. There's a very positive feel about them when they talk to you…. The teachers here are great. I like them. They have a good way with us, both in and out of lessons. (Johnny: ll. 57-9)*

Johnny highlights the pedagogical and interpersonal qualities that contributed to his constructive relationships with teachers and positive classroom experiences. He notes that Waratah High teachers have "a good way" with students, "in and out of lessons." Their holistic approach is something that his classmate Jiao also appreciates: "Teachers here are more understanding. They actually engage you. *They want to get to know you as a person. They don't just come in and only teach*" (ll. 288-89; Italics added). Jiao, in particular, values her teachers' integrative perspective of and approach to students, in which their affective and

academic needs are jointly considered. So does Yi Men, a Windsor Secondary High counterpart:

> *I get along very well with some teachers because I can talk to them – as a teacher, of course, but more about other things going on in my life. Last year, for example, I had a psychology teacher who found me a work experience placement. I talked to her about it afterwards. That wasn't directly relevant to the lesson, but I could talk to her about it. I got a lot out of it. (ll. 370-74)*

Her classmate, Mohammad, develops this when responding to my probe of the teacher qualities that make him "respect them a lot" (l. 36): "By not just teaching us the material, but by getting to know us. Knowing how we feel… asking us what we think. Not just keeping to the syllabus, but asking us what we think. And helping us when we're not sure what the work is" (ll. 41-3). Though his correlative conjunctions suggest that equal weight be given to the utterance's two independent clauses, he opens with the negative alternative, which sets up the intended contrast: he likes teachers who prioritise relationship-building over the transmission of material. At the same time, the twice-repeated clause ("asking us what we think") indicates that Mohammad values teachers who engage him both socially – as a person – and academically – as a learner. This point will be taken up in the discussion of specific classroom-level features and the second theme of pedagogy, in particular.

For his classmate Evan, such relationships are more easily cultivated now because

> *you have this really great rapport going between students and teachers. Real friendly. When you get into the Senior School, they tend to treat us more like one of their colleagues. But when you're in Year 7, they have more of a pedantic view towards students. (ll. 26-8)*

Freya echoes this sentiment from her Waratah High experiences: "As you get older, your teachers become more like friends or *partners in learning* rather than teachers" (ll. 65-6; Emphasis added). Her "partners in learning" image is consistent with how Li Na characterises her relationships with teachers at Windsor Secondary High: "Teachers here talk to students as if they're on the same level" (l. 111). For Riley, the closer relationships he has with Waratah High teachers derive from their shared background:

> *I can relate to them more because, number one, I'm [country citizen], they're [country citizen], and we're in Hong Kong. We have a lot in common. We're either from the same town or like the same sports…. We can relate. So it's more of a friend relationship than a student-teacher relationship. (ll. 105-22)*

Freya's and Riley's reference to teachers as "friends" picks up Evan's ("they tend to treat us more like one of their colleagues") and Manchu's sentiments, "The label 'teacher' actually dissolves into 'friend'…. Outside the classroom, teachers treat you like friends" (ll. 163-64).

This transformation occurs, for Manchu, because of shared "interests" (he cites pets and website design), which they "can usually talk about for ages and ages and just enjoy each other's company" (ll. 161-62). Interestingly, Manchu locates this more equitable student-teacher relationship "outside the classroom." As shown in the next section's contrary evidence, the Septentrionals still seem to contend with asymmetrical student-teacher dynamics within the classroom that make it difficult to achieve a "partners in learning" relationship.

In this way, Johnny, Mohammad, Jiao, Yi Men, Freya, and Li Na characterise teachers whose holistic approach to students transcends curricula and classroom walls to connect with them academically, personally, and socially. Evan, Manchu (whose teacher-friend metamorphosis takes place "outside the classroom"), and Riley, in particular, seem to emphasise the more social dimensions of their relationships with teachers over the academic. Although these nine Septentrionals all value teachers who take a holistic approach to students, Johnny, Mohammad, and Jiao most directly convey the ways in which this relationship can jointly encompass and enhance their affective and academic engagement.

A second important factor that strengthened the Septentrionals' relationships with teachers stems from their responsiveness to student needs and aspirations. For example, Rosie presents a contrasting picture of teachers' attitudes and students' motivation when reflecting on her Windsor Secondary High experiences:

> *I think the teachers here are great. They're really helpful. Whatever your intelligence level, they're going to cater to that. In the [UK] state school that I went to before… they kind of gave up on the not-so-smart people. Children here want to learn… so they're willing to help you…. they won't let you fall by the wayside. Everybody is encouraged to learn and reach whatever ability they're able to reach. There's no pressure to do better than you can, though. As long as you try, teachers will help you. (ll. 49-57)*

Rosie highlights her teachers' responsiveness through their high but differentiated expectations, as well as readiness to support student needs and well-being:

> *They're willing to give up a lot of their free time. It's not just lessons over, that's it. If I have a question, they'll sit with me at lunchtime or after school for as long as I need to answer the question, go through any problems that I have. And also personal problems. Obviously, it's not every teacher that I'd talk to, but there are a few and if you do have personal problems, they're willing to sit, listen to you, and work those through with you. So they're not just there for you academically. (ll. 62-7)*

For Kuan-Yin, teacher responsiveness at Waratah High comes through their changed personas in and out of lessons (Recall, too, Manchu's previous comment about his closer relationship with teachers outside the classroom):

In class, teachers can be totally different to what you know outside. Some are very strict. But when you go out to play an activity with them, you find that they're actually quite easy-going. You see that they're not only about teaching you in front of the whiteboard.... Mr. [teacher's name], for example, is very harsh on all his students about the quality of their work. But when he's doing sport with us, we have a laugh and share a joke. He's very relaxed. He goes with the flow. (ll. 147-64)

The emerging picture highlights how responsive teacher-student relationships can meet student needs and enhance their academic and social-personal well-being, both in and out of the classroom. As Freya explains, "I know that a lot of my teachers are concerned about how busy I am. So I talk to them about it. It's reassuring them that I'm okay" (ll. 75-6). And because of their responsiveness, high expectations, and holistic approach, when

students do miss lessons a lot or don't hand in their work, teachers are aware. Subject teachers, form tutors, and the heads of year will talk about it. You'll notice that they'll be called to have a chat with teachers and work it through. So teachers do monitor you closely. (Rosie: ll. 277-81)

Vigilant and responsive teachers helped Brock get through a difficult transition:

In [country], my school grades were good. When I came here, got my first report… the grades were so poor.... How could they have dropped so far just because of the move? So academically wise, the teachers here have been really supportive and I've seen my grades improving.... They understand that I've had hard times with school. And they've been there for me. (ll. 151-62).

However, as will be seen from the next section's evidence, Brock did not find the same teacher support and understanding when he struggled with some social-personal challenges shortly after joining Waratah High.

Nevertheless, De's observation captures the Septentrionals' sentiments that responsive teachers who take a holistic approach to students contribute to their favourable experiences: "Teachers here can relate to your problems. They are concerned with your problems – whatever your problems. They will try and solve your problems. They're great" (ll. 36-7). Though his word choice ("problems," "solve") and repetition ("problems") can be seen more negatively, as they make students seem incapable and dependent on teachers, what I observed of his personality and realise from the transcript of our conversation in its entirety indicate that he feels his Waratah High teachers are holistically and helpfully responsive to student needs and aspirations. This is not in doubt for his classmate Jiao (who, recall, had been schooled in the local system and had deep family roots in Hong Kong):

I actually talk more about my future with my teachers than my parents. They seem more supportive…. They've helped me get more confidence in myself. I was never a very confident person. It's the western teachers that have really given me a lot of encouragement. (ll. 323-50)

Jiao reveals the predilections she faces as a border-crosser, and the challenges when moving between potentially conflicting family/home-international school-peer worlds. It was clear from our conversation that these adaptive complexities had tested her sense of self (i.e., race/ethnic, cultural), social location, and experiences of international schooling: "I'm a westernized, Chinese girl…. I'm not like all the 'Hongkie girls' you've probably noticed here – I don't speak, dress, or act like they do. I don't fit the 'Hongkie' stereotype" (ll. 304-11). Given her sense of social betwixtness, Jiao welcomes her "supportive" and responsive "western" teachers, who have helped her become more "confident."

In sum, the Septentrionals emphasise two qualities that make for stronger relationships with teachers: i.e., teachers' holistic perspective of and approach to students; and teacher responsiveness. Both shaped positively students' experiences of schooling and strengthened their affective, behavioural, and cognitive engagement therein, in particular.

Negative

At the same time, there was contrary evidence that indicated why Septentrionals might have had a less positive experience of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Three recurring factors included teachers: prioritising academic progress and success without attending to students' affective/social needs; (un-) intentionally discriminating against some students; and ineffectually personalising students' learning due to large classroom/school size and exam-driven imperatives stemming from changes in school leadership.

> *Supposedly, we can talk to our teachers. But it just feels more like the thing you would do in primary rather than high school, because going to a teacher is like admitting that you can't handle it yourself…. You would normally go to your friends for support…. or to your parents. But teachers are somewhere in between. They're like piggy in the middle. (Li Na: ll. 290-99)*

Li Na calls into question a key quality of the teacher-student relationship that was seen in the previous section to shape favourably Septentrionals' experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. As imagined and assumed to be true (but on inconclusive grounds), "supposedly" is the first in a series of references that contribute to a negative semantic field and characterisation of the relationship. Li Na conveys her sense of disconnectedness from teachers, whose interpolation makes them unlikely confidantes (contrast this view to Jiao's, who prized her teachers' counsel and support over her parents' input). Given her role as a student leader at Windsor Secondary High, Li Na's perspective is perplexing: What do the

other students, who do not walk the corridors of power and interact with teachers and administrators as she presumably does, feel, think, and believe?

Brock has a similar opinion of the teacher-student relationship at Waratah High, though he uses a different metaphor to express it:

> *I think teachers just need to be more understanding.… I feel there's a barrier here between teachers and students. Students can only get to a certain point before they start feeling uncomfortable. There needs to be a softening of the line between teachers and students. I mean, we've all got over the phase that teachers are the enemy; we know they're here to help us. But I still feel like I'm not going to confide in them.… If teachers really knew and understood you, and you felt comfortable around them, then we'd get on. But if you don't feel comfortable, then you're not going to confide in them. (ll. 223-34)*

Instead of "piggy in the middle," caught between parents and friends as unlikely sources of support, Brock portrays teachers as separated from students by "a barrier" (Recall Kuan-Yin's characterisation of teachers as "strict" and "easy-going" in and out of lessons). As Brock states, "a softening of the line" is needed, which can only occur if teachers "really knew and understood you." In contrast to his earlier remark, in which he felt well-supported by teachers and able to overcome acculturative challenges, he now states that his affective/social needs were unmet because his teachers saw him only partially, as a student, and not wholly, as a person; this left him "uncomfortable" and "unwilling to confide in them."

Yet, Septentrionals realise the difficulties teachers face when trying to cultivate educationally purposeful but friendly relationships with students. For example, Sienna believes that

> *teachers have to find the right balance between being strict and a friend. Because the teachers do try to be approachable and friendly, but then there comes a point where if I didn't do my essay, for example, then I should get in trouble. Maybe I'm not doing the essay because I know that I can get away with it. Well that's when the friendship has to be, 'I like you – but you have to do the work. You didn't, so here are the consequences.' (ll. 269-73)*

Not finding the right balance, as Yi Men describes, can undermine the relationship and lead to students' less favourable experiences of the teacher and classroom contexts:

> *I don't like teachers who are too serious. I find them too much. I can't concentrate that long. [Pause]. Some teachers are also afraid to tell us off now that we're older. It's the difficulty of separating respect with the teacher-student relationship, because they look at us as young adults now. They give us a certain amount of responsibility to basically get ready for university. At the same time, they're still in a position to tell us when we're doing something wrong. But some teachers, I think, are a bit afraid or hesitant to tell off students in lessons that talk, for example, or don't do their work. You can tell us off, you know! So there are some teachers who I don't have as much respect for as teachers. I respect them as people, because they're very*

> *nice and they know what they're talking about. But as teachers, I feel that they just*
> *don't really know when to exert their authority. (ll. 370-80)*

On the other hand, Kuan-Yin complicates this dynamic by asserting, "Many students at this school are afraid of the teachers…. But it's not the [nationality] group students that are scared of them; it's the local Hong Kong-Chinese group" (ll. 179-88). Part of the "local Hong Kong group" himself, the numeric majority, he opines that nationality ("local") and race/ethnicity ("Hong Kong-Chinese") markedly shape how these students respond to their teachers – in contrast to those who are part of the smaller but more powerful transplanted, nationally-culturally group that dominates the Waratah High ethos, practices, and staff.

His classmate, Sienna, offers a converse but complementary angle on how and why this may be contributing importantly to students' less positive relationships with teachers at Waratah High, an international school whose "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) derives from particular staffing practices (virtually all faculty are recruited from the same country), a nationally-based curriculum, and imported culture and structures:

> *I think whenever Ms. [name] ... teaches she seems to teach to me. She always asks me*
> *for my opinion and questions me, or gets me to hand something out. That might just*
> *be because of my leadership role in the school. [Pause]. But then I think she*
> *identifies with me because she's a white woman, I'm a white girl, and we're both*
> *obviously [country nationality]. In a lot of my other classes, teachers give the*
> *attention to the girls, particularly the white girls, because, to be honest, we're the*
> *loudest with our opinions. (ll. 659-663)*

Unsolicited, Sienna suggests that her race/ethnic, gendered, and national-cultural selves intersect to confer dominance on her; they shape saliently her relationships with a specific teacher and in "a lot of [her] other classes," too. Sienna's read provides a complementary perspective that corroborates Kuan-Yin's: i.e., (heritage-based) social identities may be contributing to students' different experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts.

A number of Septentrionals across both school sites also identified inequitable teacher-student relationships as a negative force on their experiences of international schooling. Li Na, for example, explains that

> *some [teachers] are quite biased. They show favouritism... Say, a music teacher*
> *would favour the students who are musical and tend to ignore those who aren't. Or*
> *another teacher might favour some students in his or her class, and let them off easier*
> *when they don't hand in work or plagiarise. So in the end, students do get treated*
> *differently for the same thing. (ll. 95-106)*

Like Sienna and Kuan-Yin, Waratah High counterparts, Li Na raises questions of equity and student entitlement. She does not, however, single out race/ethnicity or gender as factors of

import. Nor does Mohammad, her classmate: "There were teachers who would listen more to some students than others. So they would take that person's perspective over yours, for example. But those are teachers of the past" (ll. 202-04). Pressed to clarify, Mohammad, does not identify a particular social identity as relevant to the (alleged) biased treatment.

Septentrionals from Windsor Secondary High felt that school size could also have an adverse effect on their relationship with teachers. Yi Men, for example, describes

> *how because it's a big school, it's very hard for the teachers to keep an eye on every single student. And, of course, some students don't need as much attention as others. But it's really difficult to even that out. I mean, you can't really give all the attention to someone because he or she has problems, and not care about everyone else who's doing okay. So it's tough. (ll. 27-31)*

Though a larger school size was seen to be a good thing by Septentrionals in the previous section, as its economy of scale meant that a greater number of co-curricular opportunities could be offered, Yi Men considers it detrimental, in this case, because it undermines a more individualised learning experience at Windsor Secondary High. As Yi Men illustrates, having more students creates tension between access and entitlement, on the one hand, and equity and equality, on the other. This gets exacerbated in the context of Windsor Secondary High's academically-driven climate:

> *The first thing that teachers probably have on their mind with us is just to get through the syllabus more than our well-being, what's going on in our life. When some students fall behind, they'll be like, 'Wait, wait, wait – I'm not getting this. Help me out.' But then there are others who are not confident enough to say that in front of the whole class…. And because the classes are so big, the teachers won't notice that some students are falling behind. I've seen it happen to some of my friends. (Yi Men: ll. 31-7)*

The more de-personalised schooling experiences she describes stem from the combination of school size/large classes and exam-driven imperatives. Such conditions make it more difficult for students to develop constructive relationships with teachers that are both holistic in scope and responsive to their needs.

In addition, Septentrionals also identified changes in the school administration and priorities as contextual pressures that adversely affected students' relationships with teachers and their experiences of schooling. Sienna, for example, believes that

> *there have been a lot of changes with the management. Although I respect the new Head because of some of the things that [they have] done for this school, and [they] did give me [position of responsibility], [they have] definitely brought in a new style of teacher shortly after I started. Most of those teachers had been here since the school started. So they knew each student individually: what made them tick, what*

> *they were bad at, what they were good at. It was also more family-orientated and*
> *caring, I'm told. (ll. 165-73)*

Freya and Johnny share Sienna's concerns with the "pace of change" and "change processes" at Waratah High, as well as her yearning for how things once were (recall, too, that Equatorial peers felt similarly). Sienna goes on to characterise some specific changes and their implications on her experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts:

> *The new teachers are more private-school type of teachers: High achievement, that's it. If you're talking in class, it's instant detention. There's no real middle ground. If you start to fall behind, they will help you catch up, but they'll label you as stupid…. It's like they don't really care about us. They just want to get the marks that make them look good, like they're working hard and doing their job. And this is because everybody is nervous with this new Head, I think. In the very early days when I was here, I think it was more about people actually learning, loving the subjects they were doing, and being encouraged. (ll. 174-90)*

In short, Sienna sums up the three main reasons given by the Septentrionals for how and why their relationship with teachers contributed less favourably to their experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. First, the Septentrionals cautioned against the(ir) disconnect from schooling if teachers focused on academic progress and success without attending to students' affective/social needs (Recall Sienna, "It's like they don't really care about us"). These students are after educationally purposeful but friendly relationships with teachers. Second, the Septentrionals picked up on the differential treatment of students by teachers. This created a divide between students and teachers, on the one hand, and amongst the student body itself, on the other, which produced inequities that undermined teacher-student and student-student relationships and adversely affected some students' experiences of schooling. Third, the Septentrionals remarked that school size and changes in administration were two school-level factors that influenced the nature of the relationship between students and teachers. In particular, a lack of personalisation and too great a pressure to excel academically ended up shifting the focus away from "actually learning, loving the subjects they were doing, and being encouraged" (Sienna: ll. 189-90).

Classroom context: Teaching and learning matters

Positive

The classroom was clearly an important context that shaped how Septentrionals experienced their international schooling. Though what follows explores the ways in which teaching and learning matters – namely, differentiated and personalised instruction, discussion-based learning, and fun and humour – shaped positively their classroom experiences, several

pedagogical matters will also be shown in the next section to exert a less favourable influence on Septentrionals' engagement within their international school.

Differentiated and personalised pedagogy

The first strong sub-theme to emerge focuses on the ways in which differentiated and personalised instruction enabled Septentrionals' academic and social engagement. Evan, for example, felt that Windsor Secondary High "teachers cater for different people's learning styles. Visual is what works for me. I can tell that they try to appeal to different students and different abilities" (ll. 49-50). What Manchu found helpful

> *directly, were their teaching methods: write notes, copy exercises, role-play, you name it. It's all in the 'teaching book.' But indirectly, I think they are triggering the initiative within me to do it.... I think the teachers motivate me to go out and self-learn, self-study, and do first-hand investigations. And that knowledge will elevate my marks.... (ll. 170-79)*

Although the first two strategies Manchu mentions evoke more traditional, transmission modes of teaching ("write notes, copy exercises"), his reference to their "teaching book" repertoire and description as a whole would suggest that the pedagogical prompts are varied and work well for him. They motivate him, which he attributes to his academic success (Note: Evan and Manchu are both A-grade achieving students).

De, a classmate and friend, who self-reported generally getting C grades, also remarked on the ways in which teachers' responsiveness met both his academic and affective needs:

> *They have different methods of teaching. They always relate things to the outside world, which is helpful.... Teachers have a more intimate relationship with students. In [Southeast Asian country], they just use facts from books and describe the techniques. They don't get to know you. (ll. 75-9)*

By "relat[ing] things to the outside world," his teachers strove to connect the theoretical with the applied; to show the wider relevance of what is learnt through its transferability. Furthermore, that his "[t]eachers have a more intimate relationship with students" reveals their more holistic approach to teaching and learning – i.e., as an undertaking that needs to be affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively engaging (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003; Jimerson, Campos et al. 2003; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). The interesting distinction De makes between his current and previous schooling environments is taken up in the next sub-section, when the influence of discussion-based pedagogy on students' experiences of the classroom is looked at more closely.

In light of the instructional matters that Evan, Manchu, and De identify, and the conducive teacher-level factors the Septentrionals identified in the previous section, it not unsurprising that Kuan-Yin brings the two together to describe the way in which a personalised learning approach shapes positively his classroom experiences at Waratah High:

> *Teachers will offer you individual help…. they will come and say, 'Do you have any problems? Do you need help?' Sometimes, if you really get stuck on something the teachers will find you other sources of help…. So they're proactive. They're really into helping the students. (ll. 210-16)*

Kuan-Yin emphasises both the individual attention that students get and the commitment of their teachers. Similarly, Mohammad feels that his Windsor Secondary High "teachers don't just rely on the textbook…. They like to interact with *every* student. They'll go up to *each student* and ask them if they need any help" (ll. 218-21; Italics added). Hence the Septentrionals noted that teachers' responsiveness and personalised teaching shaped positively their experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts.

Discussion-based pedagogy

The second sub-theme to emerge focuses on the ways in which discussion-based pedagogy contributed to the Septentrionals' academic and social engagement. For example, Freya and Ryan described how "talking, discussing things" in class constructively influenced their experiences at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, respectively:

> *A good class is if I've been able to express my opinion, learn something, and actually achieve. So when the teacher asks, 'What do you think about…?' and each person has the opportunity to say something. Class debates always make me get up out of my seat and not want to leave the class…. Where people can exchange their ideas and learn from each other. (Freya: ll. 521-25)*

> *I like talking, discussing things in class. What works well is when teachers encourage discussion by asking, 'What do you think about this?' As opposed to, 'This is what I'm telling you. It's right. Learn it. (Ryan: ll. 115-16)*

Both prefer (inter-) active dialogic teaching (Alexander 2003) and instruction (Nystrand 1997), where students and teachers co-participate to jointly shape the agenda of classroom discourse. One such catalyst that both value is the invitational question, "What do you think about…?" (Recall Mohammad's related point in the previous section), which encourages participation by seeking student opinion and can, if responded to in an open-ended, democratic, and dialogic fashion, demonstrate that the student perspective is prized.

In addition to engaging students, such an approach can also enhance an individual's affective and academic experiences by further motivating them: "If I've been able to participate in the

discussion and contribute my opinion, *then I will feel good and learn more*" (Kuan-Yin: ll. 292-93; Italics added). Similarly, his classmate De describes how he has grown because of the prevailing pedagogic modes and processes at Waratah High:

> *In the past, when I was a kid, I was very shy. I couldn't bring myself to buy something from the grocery store. But now I can see that I've come a long way from being that shy kid. It's because of this school, the environment, and the people in it…. The western system requires you to do project work, to discuss, to share with your classmates what you did in your homework. But in [Southeast Asian country], it was usually in and by the book. The teachers just want the correct answers. So you learn but you don't relate it, talk about it. You don't get to express your views. (ll. 161-75)*

In contrasting his current and previous schooling experiences, De associates dialogic teaching and learning with the more (inter-) active "western system" of education at Waratah High. That he juxtaposes his schooling experiences reveals the extent to which De has lived these contrasting approaches as a learner, affectively and cognitively.

Rosie's observation synthesises the shared sentiments above to conclude this brief treatment of discussion-based pedagogy as a salient factor on Septentrionals' constructive experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts:

> *In the lesson I just had, we were discussing the text that we were reading. We were all talking a lot. We were having a debate, really. I got to give my opinion and learn from other people's views. It's much better that way. If you just go to a lesson and you're just talked at, and you don't get the chance to contemplate stuff and share your views with other people, and you've just got to accept what you've heard, it's just not going to be very interesting. You want to be able to think about things, come up with your own ideas, and discuss them. That's how I learn best. (ll. 285-92)*

That she prefers interactive teaching and learning is consistent with a central tenet of social constructivists (Tharp and Gallimore 1988; Wenger 1998; Alexander 2003): i.e., subject-matter competence can be best achieved through collaborative, discussion-based knowledge-building processes that respond to individual learning styles and learner preferences. At the same time, her classmate provides an important qualifier that coheres with a neo-Vygotskian approach to learning and development:

> *As much as I like discussing things, at the end of the day I want the main points to be clear – what I've actually learned. So I like it when at the end, the teacher reviews what everyone's said, or puts on the board the main points which came up, so that I can see what it was that I should've learnt – and can see how it's going to be useful. (Ryan: ll. 158-62)*

Expressing his pragmatic sensibilities, Ryan wants teachers to guide him through his "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky 1978) and ensure that the emergent understanding can be made serviceable for his continued success in school. As a result, we can see that the

Septentrionals responded well to guided dialogue – i.e., literally, as talk; and metaphorically, as the exchange and engagement of ideas, viewpoints, and experiences of others.

At the same time, a recurring point for Septentrionals was that such guided dialogue ought to be equitable. Recall Freya's observation at this sub-section's outset ("each person has the opportunity to say something"). For Li, a good lesson is where "We go in, we discuss… as a group. *Everyone is given equal opportunity to contribute*. We hear different opinions" (ll. 190-94; Italics added). Similarly, De likes it when "*Everyone* is able to speak-up and to express their thoughts" (l. 260-61; Italics added). With a slightly different emphasis, Brock focuses on the importance of dialogue for him to learn, understand, and grow:

> *A good class used to be when I learned something and could do it. Now, it's I've learned something, I understand it, but I've also gained more from not shutting people out – from actually listening to other people. This makes me feel like I've learned more than what the actual work, the topic, has been about – more about myself and others. (ll. 526-29)*

The Septentrionals thus highlighted several ways in which discussion-based pedagogy has enhanced their classroom experiences. Not only does the verbal exchange of ideas get them to learn from others, but in the process it also gets them to learn more about themselves, which is consistent with constructivist learning principles and an ABCs engagement approach (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003; Jimerson, Campos et al. 2003; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). This is consistent with a a cosmopolitan educational turn that takes schooling to be an existential endeavour (Orr 1994; Starratt 2003), in which learners are encouraged to sense-make and be self-fulfilled through the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006); and to develop a broader self-understanding of personhood to/for "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987).

Fun and humour

The third strong sub-theme to emerge from the Septentrional data revealed the positive influence of fun and humour on their interactions with teachers and classroom experiences. More than half, in fact, either directly referred to "funny" (Li, Evan, Manchu), "humorous" (Li, Kuan-Yin), and "entertaining" (Li) as desirable teacher qualities, or described the ways in which related aspects contributed to their engagement in the classroom.

Yi Men, for example, finds that "some teachers will make lessons more interesting by joking around a bit and then by being serious when they need to be" (ll. 362-63). Li Na welcomes "a few jokes in class," as it helps "get a balance of work and… bonding. Everyone feels

more relaxed, more able to talk about whatever they like" (ll. 188-194). An important feature of good lessons for Ryan, other than "getting something done… and learning," is "if there's been a few jokes and people have had a bit of fun" (ll. 187-90). All three bring up how fun and humour enhanced the classroom's affective climate – and helped achieve academic imperatives. That all three also stressed balance between them is not surprising, given the predominance of academic high-achievers in the Septentrional cluster. In Phase 1 ($N = 154$), 71 percent self-reported that they mostly got A and A/B grades; in Phase 2 ($N = 16$), nearly half did (44%) (Note: Li Na and Ryan generally achieved A-grades and Yi Men A/B-grades).

In addition, a number of Septentrionals described the constructive influence of joke-telling and storytelling on their classroom engagement. Kuan-Yin, for example, felt that "Teachers will try to make their lectures more interesting and bring in some of their own experiences…. That's very enjoyable, especially if they make it humorous and tell jokes" (ll. 254-57). Although his remark suggests that transmission ("lectures") rather than dialogic pedagogy prevailed at Waratah High (especially when read in its entirety), it also points to his valuing of joke-telling with storytelling. Similarly, his classmate De found that

> *teachers here try to express things from the book into practical life. Sometimes, they'll recount their personal stories and tell jokes, which make the class more interesting. I like to hear about adult experiences. I think that's helpful. (ll. 238-40)*

De relates the joke-telling and story-telling to the humanness that is at the heart of constructive and productive classroom interactions for him: Teachers who connect the classroom "book" to the text of life, and who integrate, in the process, academic, applied, and public meanings with personal meaning (Starratt 2003), are teachers that will also "make the class more interesting."

In sum, fun and humour, discussion-based learning, and differentiated and personalised pedagogy are three factors that shaped positively Septentrionals' classroom experiences and strengthened their affective, behavioural, and cognitive engagement within the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High classrooms.   In contrast, a number of curricular and pedagogical concerns are taken up below as more negative forces on their experiences therein.

Negative

Curriculum content and access

The first strong sub-theme to emerge focuses on Septentrional experiences of their formal curriculum. For example, Riley "likes to do hands-on stuff – practical stuff…. A lot of the

subjects in the senior school are theory-theory-theory" (ll. 179-80). Freya laments the lack of "applied knowledge" in her English studies, which she sees as "too analytical and theory-based. I love creating. I'd love to write stories or feature articles, stuff like that, but we get so many essays. I like writing essays, too, but I'd also love to write other things" (ll. 469-71). Continuing, Freya questions the approach used to access subject-matter – for example,

> *when we did poetry, one of my friends asked if we could write a poem. The teacher said, 'No. That's so Year 7!' But [they are] teaching us about all these techniques. Why can't we write a sonnet? Something involving hyperboles? Applied knowledge. There needs to be more of that. (ll. 471-74)*

Riley and Freya express a view that is shared by one other Septentrional (and 9 of 34 interviewees in total): their formal curriculum was too theory-laden, content-heavy and its access privileged cognitive rather than affective channels to learning.

Pedagogy

The second strong sub-theme to emerge picks up on how instructional matters detracted from Septentrionals' experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Extending Freya's example above (i.e., of a missed teachable moment that could have been used to bridge the theory of poetic devices with their application in the writing of poetry itself), Li offers a laundry list of factors that have made for "bad lessons" for him:

> *Teachers do not explain themselves well enough. Or they keep using the same explanation over and over again, which doesn't really work if you didn't understand it the first time around. They'll set you work that you either haven't covered yet or that you have no idea how to do, which again is not very helpful. Or, worse, they'll set you work that you think is pointless and can't see how you'll be using it. (ll. 36-9)*

Recall that Li typically gets A grades and rated academic achievements as highly important to his sense of who he is (he gave it a 6 out of 7). If he, on occasion, has difficulty following his teachers, or cannot see the purpose of the work set, then what of his lesser-achieving (and lesser-motivated) peers?

Yi Men, who is also an academically successful Windsor Secondary High classmate, but who attaches comparatively less importance to her academic achievements (she gave the same *SIPI-R* item a 4 out of 7), speaks to some of these consequences:

> *I feel that the quality of teaching is downhill at the moment. I've got eight teachers and not many of them are my favourites. I mean, they're nice people and they all know what they're teaching. But teaching is more than knowing the stuff. It's about getting the information across to students. If the students don't get it, if they're not learning it, then that's not teaching. (ll. 317-22)*

Her two distinctions (i.e. "nice people" can be ineffective teachers; subject specialists do not, *ipso facto*, make for effective teachers) highlight the multi-facetedness of student engagement: i.e., as affective, behavioural, and cognitive (Fredericks, Blumenfeld et al. 2004; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). Not cultivating all three dimensions (in equal measure, arguably), as Sienna illustrates, makes for ineffectual learning:

> *I hate this one class called [subject] .... Whenever we see that we have [subject] we say, 'Hey – we have a free!' I'm not kidding. And it's true because we'll sit there and take notes, but we'll also talk. She'll say, 'Girls, girls. Blah, blah, blah.' But she just gives up and tries to teach to everyone else in the class. I'm not proud of it.... I do love her as a person. That's where the friendship / strictness thing needs to come in. (ll. 620-645)*

Though Sienna's example arguably points to shortcomings in the teacher's classroom management, it also emphasises the need for the teacher-student relationship to be purposeful, firm and friendly, as illustrated previously. Moreover, while Sienna admits "do[ing] work in most my classes," something borne out in several observations, she also adds

> *that school basically feels like one big social fest. You go to class and you just talk to people. Looking back on it, it's kind of worrying because you think, 'I talked so much this week, month, term! How have I got anything done with all the social talk?' (ll. 593-97)*

My Waratah High classroom observations did not find this to be the case (and too few were conducted at Windsor Secondary High to make any empirically-derived claims in this regard). On the contrary, I would characterise nearly half of the lessons observed at Waratah High as Manchu does: "In a typical class, we'll walk in, put our books down, sit there, copy notes, and then we'll discuss a little…. But we won't interact much. It's all about taking notes" (ll. 374-77). Note: Manchu uses "typical" to refer to his non Science-based subjects (i.e., half his course load) that are compulsory. He "can't see the point" of taking those other subjects, and contrasts their "boring classrooms" with his "interactive," "interesting," and "learning-filled" experiences in Science. Li paints a similar scene when walking me through a "typical" lesson for him at Windsor Secondary High that he does not enjoy:

> *For the first 30 minutes, we'll listen to the teacher talk to us in a monotonous voice. In the next 30 minutes, we'll write down notes that we have in our revision guide. In the last five minutes, we'll watch a video that is completely boring. We'll then get out of class and run away. (ll. 165-68)*

One-way, transmission modes of instruction and traditional pedagogy clearly predominate in what Manchu and Li describe. Not surprisingly, this makes for disengaging (and, arguably, ineffective) teacher- and classroom-level contexts. At the same time, the students also recognise what gets rewarded in this environment. Freya, for example,

feels it's a bit sad because the kids who are getting the highest marks are the ones sitting and writing every single thing down. The kids that don't get such good marks are the ones questioning everything. I find I learn more and remember better something that I've asked a question about…. It's ironic, really, how the kids who are participating and questioning everything, and who are not just sitting there and absorbing all the information only to then regurgitate it, are the ones who are getting the lower marks. (ll. 480-505)

Adding that some teachers have said that "I get in the way… [and] am distracting the class" because of this, Freya identifies only three teachers (of her current nine) who, she believes, value her "questioning." It is not unsurprising, then, given what she perceives to be the prevailing climate in two-thirds of her classes, that Freya considers "academic accomplishments" very un-important to her sense of self (i.e., she scored the *SIPI-R* item a 1 out of 7, despite self-reporting achieving middling B to B/C grades).

In sum, representative comments by six Septentrionals point to the ways in which aspects of the formal curriculum itself and the pedagogical processes through which they got to access it, in particular, shaped unfavourably their experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Their observations highlight both the need for teachers to use more engaging strategies to access curriculum, on the one hand, as well as the consequences for students' experiences when this was not done, whether they be highly (i.e., Manchu, Li) or less (i.e., Riley, Yi Men, Sienna, Freya) motivated academically, on the other hand.

Summary

The surveyed, interviewed, and observed Septentrionals described how several contextual features, individual and institutional, supported and constrained their experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. Recall that Septentrionals group because of their higher attitudinal scores on the three clustering attributes of View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*), Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*), and Self-Competence – Factor 2 (*SC-F2*).

Analyses of the combined data showed that five background factors (i.e., place called home, years in Hong Kong, first language, type of international school student, and birthplace) shaped formatively Septentrionals' sense of self and place. In particular, several culturally informed, socially salient identities (e.g., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial/nationality) contributed to dialectical tensions between Septentrionals' "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993). Though the majority of the Septentrionals were drawn to specific nationalist contexts, to people and

experiences associated with these places (dominated by Hong Kong, which seven considered home), six were unable to identify a home country. In this way, the move to the international school system in Hong Kong could present adaptive complexities that might challenge, to varying degrees, how the Septentrionals learned to see and locate themselves in the wider world. Even so, the remarks indicated a heightened awareness of their trans-national realities on various levels and, for some, even a strong identification as cosmopolites.

And though the survey data showed that the Septentrionals believed being an international school student at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High were two relatively important social identities to their sense of who they are, the "enduring"-"situated" selves dialectic interplayed with a number of school-level forces and factors to both enable and impede Septentrional experiences of and engagement therein.

Positive

Out-of-classroom context

The combined Septentrional data showed how school culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum supported their positive experiences of and engagement with Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Not surprisingly, given their comparatively higher *VIE-R* attitudinal scores overall, a number of the Septentrional interviewees possessed an arguably 'stronger' international-mindedness. Kuan-Yin, Manchu, Ryan, and Sienna, in particular, conveyed cosmopolitan sensibilities in how they recognised, respected, and sought to learn from cultural difference; and so behaved through their observed interactions with others at school. Theirs was a solidarity-of-personhood view that, to varying degrees, connected with people as people rather than as beings categorised along various axes of social identities (e.g., race/ethnic, linguistic, national/country of origin). Interestingly, three of those four also did not know where in the world home was for them, which is consistent with a limited cosmopolite, who is at home everywhere in the world (but perhaps has yet to develop a coherent sense of "hearth" – i.e. self-understanding of one's "roots").

Three main school-level factors emerged that shaped Septentrionals' positive experiences of international schooling. The first stems from a heightened sense of school pride and buy-in by a number of the Windsor Secondary High Septentrionals, in particular, which derived from its storied legacy and good-standing in the community as a high-achieving school. The second theme relates to the nature and broad range of co-curricular activities offered at both

sites. Not only did these help to balance out the academic imperatives, but they also provided opportunities for family-like, vertical integration of year-groups and self-development and growth. The third main out-of-classroom factor, peers, is shown to be constructively salient through how a number of Septentrional interviewees characterised their friendships and interactions with other students at school. For example, the dictate of difference was seen to be an important force in how Manchu, Yi Men, Rosie, and Ryan actively sought out, befriended, and gained from peers who did not share their heritage-based cultural identities.

Within classroom/teachers context

The Septentrionals also highlighted two qualities that made for their stronger relationships with teachers: i.e., teachers' holistic perspective of and approach to students; and teacher responsiveness. Both shaped positively their experiences of schooling and strengthened their affective, behavioural, and cognitive engagement within the classroom. At the same time, the Septentrionals emphasised how discussion-based pedagogy enhanced their classroom experiences. In particular, they valued the opportunity to co-participate with teachers and jointly shape the agenda of classroom discourse. Consistent with constructivist learning principles, the verbal exchange of ideas gets them to both learn from others whilst learning more about themselves in the process (e.g., Ryan, Rosie). Moreover, the Septentrionals added fun and humour to discussion-based learning and differentiated and personalised pedagogy as three salient factors that shaped positively their classroom experiences.

Negative

Out-of-classroom context

At the same time, the combined Septentrional data also showed that there were a number of contextual forces and factors, individual and institutional, that impeded their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

The first set of constrainers derives from "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998) values and practices that result when a transplanted, ethnocentric school culture is upheld as the primary mode of experiencing international school life -- i.e., a sort of "long-distance nationalism" (Castles 2004). When such institutional belief systems and ideology promote a narrowly targeted curriculum, culture-specific pedagogy, and a managed multicultural experience (three features of "encapsulated" international schools), a 'weaker' version of internationalism arguably emerges. It can be seen in the more passive or tokenistic approach

to "being international" expressed by a number of Septentrionals at both schools, which fails to disentangle the complex semiotic "web of meanings" (Geertz 1973) relating to knowledge, values, norms of behaviour and attitudes that is "culture." Recall, for example, the 'tourist'-like approach that Li (Windsor Secondary High) and Riley (Waratah High) exhibit; or, worse, the recognition and acceptance of a distinctly ethnocentric perspective and approach to the experiences of the culturally different 'Other' (e.g., Freya, Riley).

The second out-of-classroom factor to exert a less positive effect relates to co-curriculars; in particular, to Waratah and Windsor Secondary High doing too little to provide students with a sufficient number and range of appropriately challenging co-curriculars. A related issue brought up regards the transplanting of country-specific activities without adequate resourcing. In addition, the Septentrionals also identified the lack of student-run co-curriculars, as well as the differential statuses of different activities, as detrimental to students' experiences of schooling. The third recurring theme derives from the schools' disciplinary regime as lived through rules governing student behaviour and expectations and uniform regulations. At the same time, some Septentrional student leaders brought up the reach of the student voice – i.e., be it in terms of its influence and/or acceptance by others – or its lack thereof as a related concern.

Finally, the peer-level context was also described as a constrainer of student experience of and engagement within the international school. Though student body diversity was seen to be an asset, in general, visibly and spatially stratified student bodies, mainly along heritage-based and linguistic lines, appeared to prevail at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. For some Septentrionals (e.g., Freya, Kuan-Yin, Riley), these salient and divisive markers of social identity are seemingly pervasive and immutable. They (re-) produce certain patterns of relationships amongst students, create groups that occupy hierarchised positions in school, and, ultimately, exclude. At the same time, we learn about the ways in which the discursive space of schooling itself (Davidson 1996; Tatum 1997; Ryan 1999; Yon 2000; Sadowski 2004) may be condoning, if not reinforcing, such segregative, peer-level dynamics. How students get constituted and positioned through discursive and institutional interactions, be it in the classroom, co-curriculars, or on stage at assemblies, will formatively influence their sense of self and place, on the one hand, and specific experiences of international schooling, on the other. This cross-cluster point of import (i.e., the dialectic between students' "enduring" and "situated" selves within particular institutional conditions, discourses, and

practices) is taken up in Chapter 10 in terms of: 1) attending to the school's living and environment; and 2) taking a cosmopolitan turn to school for cosmopolitan subjectivity.

Within classroom/teachers context

The Septentrionals also offered three main reasons for how and why their relationships with teachers contributed less favourably to their experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. First, the Septentrionals cautioned against the(ir) disconnect from schooling if teachers focused on academic progress and success without attending to students' affective/social needs (Recall Sienna, "It's like they don't really care about us"). They are after educationally purposeful but friendly relationships with teachers. Second, the Septentrionals picked up on the differential treatment of students by teachers. This created a divide between students and teachers, on the one hand, and amongst the student body itself, on the other hand, which produced inequities that undermined relationships and adversely affected students' experiences of schooling. Third, the Septentrionals remarked that school size and changes in administration were two school-level factors that influenced the nature of the relationship between students and teachers within the classroom, and which they lived in terms of greater pressure to excel academically and a less personalised focus that prioritised academic/cognitive over affective engagement with the international school. To what extent will Septentrional perceptions and experiences of the "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) encountered at Waratah and Windsor High be similar to and/or different from the subjective quality of the Equatorials' (Cluster II) and the Meridionals' (Cluster III)?

Chapter 7: Equatorials – Cluster II student

As stated in Chapter 1, the study reported here examined the individual- and institutional-level contexts that shaped students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. Organised by student cluster, this chapter is the second of three "analytic vignettes" (Erikson, 1986, as cited in Smith 1997: 83) that portrays the "concrete particulars" of the Cluster II international school students: the Equatorials.

Recall from Chapter 4 and Appendix S that the Equatorials group together because of their middling attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions: i.e., View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*. The attitudinal scores of the Phase 2 Equatorials indicate their strong view of internationalism (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *N* = 12), middling experience of international school (*Mdn.* = 3.60, *N* = 12), and medium-low self-confidence (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *N* = 12). In addition, the Equatorials identify middlingly as 'international school students' (*Mdn.* = 5.00) and as 'students at their particular international school' (*Mdn.* = 5.00), though their 'academic achievements' (*Mdn.* = 6.00) matter greatly to their sense of self (note: nearly half self-reported A or A/B achievement). Their salient demographic characteristics – i.e., Hong Kong as birthplace, where majority of life has been lived, place in the world called home, 1st-language Cantonese-speaking, largest proportion of self-identified local-Hong Kong international school students relative to Clusters I and III – also make Equatorials a 'localised' international school student.

This chapter first profiles the Equatorials in terms of their demographics and life experiences, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which the Hong Kong context shaped importantly their sense of place and self. Analyses of the qualitative data shows that several culturally informed, socially salient identities (e.g., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial/nationality) contributed to dialectical tensions between Equatorials' "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993). This produced a Janus-like relationship with Hong Kong and their international school, which can be understood in terms of 'localised' (due to visible, linguistic, and historical, heritage-based connections to Hong Kong), 'trans-localised,' and 'internationalised' (i.e., looking outwards and elsewhere than Hong Kong) identities and social identity group memberships. Second, the chapter examines the specific school culture, community, curricular, and co-curricular contexts that enabled and impeded Equatorials' experiences within Waratah and Windsor

Secondary High (Jabal 2010). As illustrated, these forces both derive from and contribute to each school's habitus, which makes their learning and living environment important contexts that (in)form Equatorials' social identities, self-understandings, and engagement therein.

Demographics and life experiences

The Cluster II international school student was labelled the Equatorial type. Equatorials represented 35.8 percent of the surveyed sample and included 120 females (61%) and 75 males (39%). Most (59%) were born in Hong Kong, and three-quarters (75%) considered it home. The vast majority (89%) had resided in Hong Kong for seven or more years; more than half (54%) had done so for thirteen or more years. Though the majority of Equatorials were Canadian (27%), British (24%), or Australian (15%), very few considered Canada (5%), Australia (4%), or the UK (1%) home. The majority (56%) considered English their 2nd language, although more than three-quarters either spoke it confidently (56%) or well (20%). Nearly one-quarter of Equatorials mainly used Cantonese with their friends (24%), more than double the Septentrionals. Equatorials also included the largest proportion of students who mainly spoke Cantonese with their parents (53%), as well as the greatest number of self-identified local-Hong Kong (44%) international school students and the fewest expatriates (10%).

Most Equatorials (71%) had spent five or more years at their current school; more than one-quarter were in their final year of secondary school (27%). Almost one-third of Equatorials (31%) spent seven or more hours per week in co-curricular activities. Half (50%) self-reported A- (14%) or A/B- (36%) grade academic achievement; one-in-ten Equatorials generally got C-grades or below (11%). One-quarter of Equatorials (26%) spent 13 or more hours per week on homework outside lessons; more than one-third (35%) did fewer than 6 hours weekly.

Though middling scores on the cluster attributes is what distinguishes the Equatorials from the Septentrionals (High) and Meridionals (Low), several shared demographic features also characterise the 12 Equatorial Phase 2 interviewees: i.e., **race/ethnicity** – 83% self-identified as Chinese; **student type** – the majority self-identified as either expatriate-Hong Kong (50%) or local-Hong Kong (33%) international school students; **years in Hong Kong** – two-thirds had lived there 13+ years; **place called home** – two-thirds considered Hong Kong home; **birthplace** – half had been born in Hong Kong; **1st language** – less than half (42%) considered English their 1st language. Cluster analysis using five demographic factors (i.e.,

years in Hong Kong, 1st language, student type, place called home, birthplace), revealed three distinct Phase 2 Equatorial sub-groups. Each is described briefly in turn, before the salient individual- and school-level influences that affected their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are taken up.

Equatorial sub-group one (EQ1) – Localised

The first Equatorial sub-group (EQ1) includes five Phase 2 participants: Zhen, Xia, Yun, Sying, and Ni. All but Zhen attended Waratah High. These EQ1 students shared six demographic features: They all 'called Hong Kong home,' where they had 'lived for 13 or more years;' considered 'Cantonese their 1st language,' which they 'mostly used with their parents,' and 'English as their 2nd language;' and self-identified as 'race/ethnically Chinese.' Three other shared demographic variables also show how and why Hong Kong mattered to EQ1 members (and, as will be shown in the next section, to their Waratah and Windsor experiences): i.e., **birthplace** – 80% had been born in Hong Kong; **student type** – 60% self-identified as local-Hong Kong international school students; **language mostly used with parents** – 100% Cantonese.

The EQ1 sub-group can thus be seen to include the typical 'local' international school student, who opts into Hong Kong's international school system and predominates therein. As indicated in Chapter 2, they tend to do so seeking an English-medium, Western-style international schooling experience in Hong Kong, where Chinese is the dominant medium of instruction in Government schools (EMB 2001; Yamato 2003); out of concern with the direction of local education reforms and the way they have been implemented (Lee 2001); and/or believing that the global currency of international qualifications (e.g., the International Baccalaureate) gives them a comparative advantage over those schooled in the local system (Lowe 2000). As international schools offer "full non-local curricula designed primarily for non-Chinese speaking students and foreign nationals" (EMB 2006: 4), this move likely presents considerable adaptive complexities for EQ1 members. Striving to acquire, employ, and connect potentially divergent local and international cultural knowledge (i.e., values, beliefs, behaviours, and norms), which are found within a constellation of potentially incompatible social worlds (e.g., family, peers, school), will formatively shape Equatorials' sense of self and place, on the one hand, and their international school experiences, on the other.

Equatorial sub-group two (EQ2) – Trans-localised but…

The second sub-group (EQ2) includes three female Equatorial interviewees: XiuXiu, Lily, and Jin. EQ2 students all attended Windsor Secondary High and shared five demographic features. Though they all 'called Hong Kong home,' they also all self-identified as 'foreign nationals' (only Jin had been born in Hong Kong). All three reported 'English as their 1st language,' which they all 'mostly used with their parents and friends' (and considered 'Cantonese a 2nd language,' though Jin spoke it fluently and XiuXiu well). The majority self-identified as 'race/ethnically Chinese,' had 'lived 13 or more years in Hong Kong,' and considered themselves to be 'local-Hong Kong' or 'expatriate-Hong Kong' rather than 'expatriate' international school students.

In this way, EQ2 typifies another important Equatorial sub-group that populates Hong Kong's international schools. As with their EQ1 counterparts, they had lived in Hong Kong for much of their lives, where their extended families were, and were largely of Chinese heritage. In contrast, EQ2 members considered English their 1st language and self-identified as foreign nationals. So though Hong Kong mattered, it arguably did so differently to EQ1 members. Such demographic characteristics presented EQ2 students with both challenges and opportunities to their experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Equatorial sub-group three (EQ3) – Internationalised but...?

The third sub-group (EQ3) includes four Equatorial interviewees: Ai, Bao, Konomi, and Xue. All but Konomi attended Windsor Secondary High. EQ3 students shared three demographic features: all were foreign nationals, did not consider Hong Kong home, and mostly used English with their friends. Though Xue, Ai, and Bao self-identified as race/ethnically Chinese, Ai and Bao deemed English their 1st language; Bao and Xue also spoke Cantonese fluently, which Xue mainly used with her parents (and considered her 1st language). All but Ai had spent 7 or more years in Hong Kong. Ai admits having had some difficulty adjusting to life here, as she "hadn't really spent much time in Hong Kong before moving here… in Year 9" (l. 8) from Canada. She had struggled "to find similar friends that I could hang out with" (l. 17); and still had "very close friends" (l. 186) back in Canada with whom she was in weekly phone and Internet contact. Ai is part of the EQ3 majority that saw itself as expatriate- rather than local-Hong Kong international school students, despite a Chinese heritage and familial links to Hong Kong.

In this way, EQ3 represents a third important Equatorial sub-group. As with their EQ1 and EQ2 counterparts, the majority are race/ethnically Chinese with linguistic and historical/familial ties to Hong Kong. However, no EQ3 student considered Hong Kong home. And as with the EQ2 sub-group, all EQ3 members self-identified as foreign nationals. Given their participation in and building on multiple, nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities, EQ3 students faced a unique set of challenges and opportunities to their experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong.

This brief treatment of the salient demographic features and life experiences of the 12 Equatorial interviewees foregrounds a number of characteristics, whose impact can be understood by profiling the tripartite sub-groupings that emerged from the cluster analysis using five demographic factors: i.e., years in Hong Kong, first language, international school student type, place called home, and birthplace. Though Equatorials cluster because of their middling scores on the three attitudinal attributes, the demographic profiles and life experiences of the EQ1, EQ2, and EQ3 Equatorials taken up show each to be different – most notably, in terms of three demographic factors: i.e., place called home, first language, and type of international school student. This variegation is a salutary reminder that whilst the three empirically-distinct student groups (i.e., Septentrional, Equatorial, and Meridional), using *VIE-R, EIS-R*, and *SC-F2* attitudinal data response patterns, point to some important differences amongst international school students in Hong Kong, notable within-cluster differences also exist. These should be borne in mind when examining Equatorial experiences of and engagement within the international school.

In what follows, attitudinal survey data are jointly triangulated with fieldwork evidence to deepen our understanding of the ways in which Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are important sites of identity formation and experience for Equatorials. Though their medium-high ratings of two Social and Personal Identity *(SIPI-R)* scale items, 'My being an international school student' (*Mdn.* = 5.00, IQR = 5.00-7.00, *N* = 12) and 'My being a student at this school' (*Mdn.* = 5.00, IQR = 5.00-6.00, *N* = 12), indicate the relative importance to their sense of self Equatorials attached to these two social identities, the discussion of specific discursive and institutional interactions shows how the school culture, community, curricula, and co-curricula contexts both enabled and impeded their lived schooling realities.

School culture and ethos

Positive

The first theme for the Equatorials focuses on how school culture and ethos factors influenced their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. As introduced in Chapter 2, school culture is the:

> *collective, mutually shaping patterns of norms, values, practices, beliefs, and assumptions which guide the behavior of individuals and groups and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions on and off the [school] campus. (Kuh 1993: 2)*

The Equatorials revealed how student diversity intersected with each school's habitus to produce (dis-) connections at the student-student, student-teacher, student-school, and parent-school levels that shaped their lived realities therein. In particular, matters of student diversity and school inclusivity recurred as aspects of the school culture and ethos that contributed to their positive experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. As Xue puts it, "Everyone has a different background. We come from all over the world" (l. 152). This contrasts what she knew previously in North America: "Our school community is more tight-knit. We don't have any of the racial segregation. Everyone is just really friendly and everything. It's great" (ll. 16-18). Her Windsor Secondary High classmate, XiuXiu, feels similarly: "There are different nationalities in the school, and we all work together well" (l. 156). Echoing them, Jin highlights how the student body's inclusive national/cultural diversity shaped favourably her perceptions and experiences:

> *[T]here are a lot of people from different backgrounds, different cultures, and religions. It's nice to see everyone getting along well with each other and no one being racist. Because in Vancouver, I came across a lot of people who were quite racist. I guess it's one of the best points about this school. Everyone just accepts each other. (ll. 207-11)*

Even though Jin attends Windsor Secondary High, a large international school of over 1,000 students, she finds that a "comfortable atmosphere" characterises the senior school:

> *There are different friendship groups – I wouldn't really say cliques, but friendship groups. Yet everyone gets along with each other. Our head boy is going to have a grad trip for everyone who wants to sign up. So it's a whole Year 13 thing where we can all just hang out together and stuff, which makes it pretty fun. We're all going to go as friends, as a whole group. (ll. 72-6)*

Similarly, Zhen explains how even with "a student body that is very diverse… the different friendship groups that exist [at Windsor Secondary High] don't really separate us" (ll. 62-3).

On the other hand, though Konomi finds Waratah High "pretty small compared to" her previous international school elsewhere in Southeast Asia, because of this it is

> *easier to get to know people here. Basically, I'm friends with everyone in the class. I talk to everyone. But in my old school, you didn't really talk that much to other people. If you weren't in that friendship group then you just didn't talk to them. So it's much better here. (ll. 17-21)*

Konomi explains that she can "talk about different things with different people at school… so I feel real secure here" (ll. 69-71). Interestingly, Konomi's race/ethnicity and nationality make her an 'invisible' minority at Waratah High. These two social identities are singled out by a number of Equatorials and highlighted, in the section to follow, as factors that adversely affected how they experienced their school's ethos and culture.

Changing tack, Ai is the singular Equatorial voice to suggest that a contributing force to the seemingly harmonious co-existence of student diversity and school inclusivity may be

> *what they teach in lessons. For example, in psychology I get to understand other people from a different perspective without judging them. So you treat each other equally in the school. I don't think students here really judge others by their skin colour. Maybe the school has helped us not to be biased and to look at things from different perspectives. (ll. 276-82)*

As a result, the opportunity to learn about/from others in a culturally diverse and inclusive environment partly explains why she considers it

> *beneficial to have had this international school experience. In Canada, I didn't get to interact with different students from around the world who had different backgrounds. I really didn't know much about different people and the world beyond [Canadian city] before coming to this school. (ll. 12-4)*

Equatorials thus expressed how student diversity and school inclusivity intersected to shape favourably both their experiences of the school culture and ethos and engagement therein.

In the process of describing their current international school days at Waratah High, Ni, Sying, and Xia contrasted these to their time in the local school system. For Ni, the main difference was that "in local schools, we only have one race: Chinese. But here we've got different ones. This might help me understand the experiences of different people – how to welcome and get along with those who are different to me" (ll. 245-47). A little later, Ni adds how "I feel like I really belong here" (ll. 296). For Sying, it is that:

> *[p]eople are more open-minded here. There are foreigners in the school. The culture of the school is different. You get a different feeling here. You have a stronger school spirit…. stronger than what you'd find in the local schools. The environment is also better. (ll. 292-298)*

Sying's view both develops what's been highlighted so far and reflects the second theme (i.e., the constructive influence of co-curriculars). Yet his use of "foreigners" to describe the Caucasian student minority at Waratah High brings into sharp relief the extent to which student diversity and school inclusivity genuinely cohabitate, if indeed this group is seen as 'outsiders'. The section to follow considers the implications of this for how mainstream cultures and sub-cultures get constituted and might be contributing to detrimental patterns of relationships within the student body.

Xia brings together the twin factors of student diversity and school inclusivity as formative and favourable forces on how she experiences Waratah High's ethos and culture:

> [B]eing in this school has exposed me to lots of people from different cultures. It makes me feel like I know a little more about different cultures…. whereas in a local school, it's dominated by one main culture. It's an eye-opener when you get to know different types of customs rather than being ignorant about them, which can lead to all these other problems…. By having a wider view and being more accepting of other cultures, I am not so ignorant. I understand other people's customs, their laws, and don't just impose my own cultures and values on them. Because there are bound to be differences between people and we need to work on something in common. I think that's very important – and it's something I've learnt here. (ll. 10-12; ll. 185-200)

Xia evokes an intra-cultural awareness and sensitivity that transcends *Fei nga juk lui, kei sum bit yi* (i.e., Cantonese romanization for a Chinese saying that means "the hearts of those who are not of my race must be different"; the pinyin for this saying is *Feiwozulei qixinbiyi*) to convey her cosmopolitan sensibilities: We share a common humanity. Heightened awareness of her trans-cultural realities means that Xia recognises, respects, and seeks to learn from cultural difference; hers is a solidarity-of-personhood view that connects with people as people rather than as beings categorised along various axes of social identities.

The learning that comes from "the balance of all the different cultures and nationalities" at Windsor Secondary High is what, in part, leads Lily to declare that "There's good community here" (ll. 16-23). Like Xia, she emphasises how the

> students are all from lots of different countries, and you actually learn more about different cultures, religions, and people's beliefs by interacting with them day-to-day. The teachers come from all over the world, too, so you learn by also interacting with them. I like that about this school. Compared to people I know in England, it's way better here. (ll. 176-79)

Bao echoes her sentiments ("The school has a large number of people from different places, of different races, who have different ideas") and feels that

you really are taking in different points of view and understanding different people…. I certainly know more about the world now because of this school, where I am getting a taste of different cultures and different ideas. So I guess if you dropped me in a foreign country, I would get on fine because I've learnt how to be tolerant and adaptable. (ll. 318-21; 397-401).

The perceived advantage of attending an international rather than a Government school is evident in Yun's assertion:

Compared to local school students, I think I have more world knowledge. Sometimes when I'm doing volunteer work I come across local students. Once they hear that I'm an international school student, that I know different people from different places, speak English, have lived in Canada, and travelled, they think it's great…. Many of them don't have that knowledge. So I think we're [international school students] better off. (ll. 374-82)

Hence Equatorials seem to relish learning from and getting to understand more about others who are different to them (mostly along the lines of race/ethnicity, nationality, and place of origin), which they feel able to do through their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences. This prevailing perception, which arguably characterises a stronger international-mindedness, is not entirely unsurprising: Recall from Chapter 4 that View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* was rated the highest of the three cluster attributes by the Phase 1 (*Mdn*. = 4.00) and 2 (*Mdn*. = 4.00) Equatorials; and, as presented in Chapter 3, *VIE-R* was the cluster attribute of greatest importance ($t = 11.4$) in the formation of the Equatorial group. Moreover, though 'localised' because of cultural heritage, Equatorials have opted into the international (rather than local) school system and, therefore, all arguably possess a degree of inter-cultural awareness and competency needed to border-cross their different social and international school worlds, in particular.

Negative

This next section considers contrary evidence to look at how and why school culture and ethos also seemed to constrain Equatorials' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The discussion, which is organised into institutional identity matters, patterns of relationships, and school expectations of students/disciplinary climate, speaks to the tension Solvason (2005: 92) articulates: "Though the school may claim that its culture is all-embracing, the ethos that the pupils experience as a result of the actual culture may be quite the opposite. Actions reinforce and represent school cultures."

Institutional identity matters

Yun sees a tension between Waratah High's purported internationalism (in name and educational niche, as presented in Chapters 3 and 5) and its parochialness in terms of resourcing and staffing practices. She explains how

> *this school is quite [Country nationality]. Simple things, like the chairs, tables, and materials are all from [Country]. It's amazing because it's not like you can't buy pencils and pens and rulers in Hong Kong! They just get it sent from [Country] – at great expense, no doubt! All the teachers are from [Country], too. So to me, it just doesn't seem that international. (ll. 45-9)*

This transplanted, narrower internationalism has also influenced Yun's experiences in the classroom: "I now know more about [country] because even though I have never been there, I have been taught that syllabus… some courses require us to know a fair bit about [country]. So I've learnt a lot more about it" (ll. 333-38). Even though she has "never seen [country], never been there, it seems like I'm somehow a part of it." (ll. 38-9). Yun's observation above (especially if seen in conjunction with remarks to follow about the co-curricular programme's inward-looking scope and limited opportunities to interact with other students beyond the school walls) highlights how Waratah High's "encapsulated," state-centric internationalism shapes its institutional identity and practices, in general, and helps constitute its ethos and culture, in particular, to contribute to Yun's less positive experiences of it.

Echoing her, Konomi adds that neither its student body nor teaching staff are

> *international because you don't find as much of a multi-cultural mix – there are no Indians, Koreans, Spanish people, for example. There basically are only Chinese, [Country nationality], and I'm one of only a few [Asian nationality]. I think if there were more students and teachers from around the world, then it would be more of an international school. (ll. 194-97)*

As Konomi notices, her race/ethnicity and nationality make her an 'invisible' minority at Waratah High. This likely contributes to why she feels its lack of a multi-national (and race/ethnically) diverse student and staff body make it 'less' of an international school. The deleterious implications of these and other institutional factors on Equatorials' experiences of and engagement with their international school are developed in the next section, which looks more closely at how and why Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are important contexts for the formation of students' social identities and self-understandings.

Yun and Konomi thus describe a number of contextual forces and factors that characterise Waratah High's ethos and culture, contribute to its institutional identity, and, in the process,

shape unfavourably their experiences therein. The examples given (e.g., single-country procurement of material and staff recruitment, narrowly-targeted curriculum, limited diversity of student and staff body) concur with what I observed. These features evoke "encapsulated" practices (Sylvester 1998) – i.e., represent a particular (dominant) national culture, which has been transplanted in another country, with an aim to transmit the culture of this dominant group as a sort of "long-distance nationalism" (Castles 2004) – rather than "inclusive." This encapsulated-inclusive tension recurs in the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement within the international school across clusters. Its implications are touched upon briefly below before being taken up in Chapter 10, which discusses the three main cross-cluster, cross-school lessons to emerge to achieve "a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003: 275): i.e., 1) Attend to the school's living and learning environments; 2) Take a cosmopolitan turn and school for cosmopolitan subjectivity; and 3) Adopt a student-engagement driven approach to improve and reform school policy, administration, and practice.

Patterns of relationships

Recurring comments about the patterns of relationships between students and school leaders, on the one hand, and amongst students, on the other, reveal how these may also be challenging Equatorials' experiences of their international school's ethos and culture.

Between students and school leaders

Bao expresses a view that was shared by a number of Equatorials at both school sites: "There are a lot of… rumours going around about the [Windsor Secondary High] senior management team, and how there are faults within it" (ll. 140-41). Yun explains how she did not "think the communication between [Waratah High] students and the school decision-makers is that great. It doesn't seem to be that effective" (ll. 440-41). For Ai, it was not "know[ing] what is actually going on and what they do in their job. I would like to see more student interaction with the senior management team, with the principal and the heads of year – the people who run…" (ll. 262-63) Windsor Secondary High.

Another way in which these prevailing "faults" adversely influenced Equatorials' perceptions and experiences relates to the change process and outcomes themselves, and to the changing norms and values that new senior leadership teams were creating and imposing. Zhen, for example, feels that Windsor Secondary High

is not as good as it used to be. Part of this is because of the change in the senior management team. Two years ago, the principal resigned and almost all the deputy principals left, too. So the school's senior management team is pretty new, and I think it takes time for senior management staff to really know the school well…. I think they're making too many changes too quickly before really getting to understand the students and the school itself. (ll. 98-106)

Though Zhen is a student leader, he expresses a lack of ownership and input in the change process and questions its pace and direction. Ai also thinks it "has lost its traditions with the school uniform and the extra-curricular activities offered" since "the change in school senior leadership" and would like "to bring back tradition in the school" (ll. 263-66).

Similarly, Konomi finds the principal who joined Waratah High two years ago

a little bit too strict. The principal before was really different. They knew everyone – knew everyone's names. The new principal doesn't really know anyone. [They] just think about uniforms and things. [They don't] really associate with students, [don't] really talk to them as much. Maybe we just don't know [them], but I don't think the current principal is what we want [them] to be like. (ll. 57-62)

As with Ai, Zhen, and a number of other Equatorials at both school sites, Konomi feels that new leadership has adversely changed the school climate and ethos from what it had been (recall what the Meridional students' had to say in this regard, as discussed in Chapter 8). Though Konomi is concerned with the current principal's "strict[ness]", who "just thinks about uniforms and things," she focuses on a main difference between the two principals: their relationship with students. Konomi emphasises that the previous principal "knew everyone – knew everyone's names. The new principal doesn't really know anyone…. [They don't] really associate with students, [don't] really talk to them as much."

Unlike Ai and Yun, whose concerns hinged on the lack of "effective" communication between "students and the school decision-makers," and not "knowing what is actually going on," Konomi emphasises its interpersonal dimension. Instead of the one-way, message-oriented communication breakdown that Ai and Yun focus upon, Konomi laments the lack of two-way, interactional, socially-oriented communication between students and school leaders, which she feels is constraining her experience of the Waratah High ethos and culture.

Summing up, Sying describes a Waratah High climate in which his diminished agency and disconnected relationships with school leaders adversely affect his engagement therein:

What can the school learn from me? The school can't learn much because I'm just a tiny potato in the school. But I reckon that more understanding between the students and the school management will improve connections and relationships and make the school a better place for us. (ll. 398-402)

Though Sying's "tiny potato" metaphor conveys his sense of powerlessness, in the next section he describes the positive way in which a "big change" had occurred in him through his role and influence as a student leader. The second part above does point to how student-staff leader relationships can shape constructively students' engagement within school.

Amongst students

In addition to these shared concerns with the relationship between students and school leadership, recurring comments by Equatorials at both schools revealed several ways in which patterns of relationships amongst students shaped unfavourably their experiences of the school's ethos and culture. They raise questions about the 'naturalised' segregated patterns of relationships amongst students, which produced school spaces that appeared ghettoized by place of origin, race/ethnicity, language, and year group.

The school's social climate leaves Bao, who has been at Windsor his entire secondary career, "not really sure where I fit in… I've never really had a close-knit community of friends that I could rely upon" (ll. 103-05). Even though my observations did not find him to be "not social, quiet, and shy" (l. 246), qualities that XiuXiu, a classmate, felt characterised those who did not fit in, Bao expresses a self-perceived mismatch between Windsor Secondary's sociocultural environment and his personality.

Continuing, Bao presents a divided student body:

> *Strangely enough, although it is an international school, people tend to stick with the same race. For example, in my year we have two types of segregation. The first form is by race. You have the Indians, you have the Chinese, and you have the Caucasians. The second form is by behaviour. You have people who you just keep hearing about – people who make trouble or make themselves known. They tend to sit together. (ll. 362-67)*

His opinion concurs with what his classmates XiuXiu, Lily, and Zhen describe: "I don't exactly know how student friendship groups form. (Pause). Well, to be quite honest, the Caucasian groups have their own friendship groups because, naturally, they're Caucasian. So therefore people tend to stick with their own kind" (ll. 70-4). The kind of normalisation Zhen evokes seems inconsistent with what Bray and Yamato (2003: 63) suggest is a key characteristic of international schools: "by their nature, [they] welcome diversity and are able to cope with it" – unless semantic emphasis is to be placed on "cope with" (through segregation, which also positions diversity as a problem that must be managed) rather than "welcome" (through inclusive integration of diversity, which positions it as an opportunity).

The heritage-based student groupings that Bao identifies also prevail at Waratah High: "It just seems that we never get one group in our Year 12 class…. Even though we know that we shouldn't do that, that we shouldn't be racist, we just have different groups" (Ni: ll. 43-51) (Recall her classmate Konomi, who did not feel that there was "much of a multi-cultural mix" as she believed existed at other international schools).

Their classmate, Xia, brings up another social identity that contributes to the student body's segregation: "My year group first separates by gender and then culture – Asian or Western. Even though some people cross, not many do. So I basically see four groups: two boys groups, two cultures, and two girls groups, two cultures" (ll. 82-85). Gender was not brought up as a salient marker of difference and clustering dimension at Windsor Secondary High, though my observations of student interactions found that gender-alike groupings also seemed to predominate, both in and out of classrooms. Ni develops Xia's dichotomy by offering the following characterisation of the Waratah High student groups:

> *In my group of friends, the girls don't really go to the pub. They don't like it. They think it's noisy. They think it's bad behaviour. It's not good for them. But with the Westerners, a lot of people go to parties on the weekend. So I think they're more outgoing and talkative. (ll. 57-61)*

> *I belong to the Chinese group but I always hangout with the Western group as well because I like to have fun…. They're more fun than the Chinese group. I think some of the Westerners like me. But with others, it seems like they pressure me to join their group. Every week they ask me, 'Are you coming out tonight?' (ll. 119-33)*

In her "first year… [Ni] didn't really like" Waratah High, as "students seemed immature – so much gossip, backstabbing" (ll. 24-5); the "principal even had to stand up at an assembly to denounce the gossiping they were doing on Xanga [a popular on-line social networking site for youth in Hong Kong]" (ll. 26-7). Her view of the student body raises questions about inclusivity, peer pressure, and (social) behaviours. At the same time, Ni presents herself as an Equatorial border-crosser: "I get along with the Chinese students people and some of the Westerners" (l. 42). Forced to negotiate these less inclusive aspects of her school's culture, Ni has perhaps developed more robust inter-cultural skills and competencies.

In a related remark, Sying takes a pragmatic approach to characterise Waratah High's social climate in cultural-political terms:

> *I actually feel that this place is a shadow of society. It's a small society. So if I can cope with this school life then I believe I can get into society more easily in the future…. Pin-pointing, discrimination, friendships are all part of my school life here. I don't know what will happen, but I believe that this is similar to what I will face in society in the future. (ll. 172-82)*

His school-as-society microcosm casts it as a proven ground, from which he can learn how to "cope" and move "into society more easily in the future." In this way, Sying both emphasises the less positive elements of Waratah High's culture (e.g., "[p]in-pointing, discrimination") and recognises how long-term good may come from being able to handle this type of challenging "school life." He develops our understanding of how markers of social identity shaped the patterns of relationships within the student body:

> *I don't really hang out with the foreigner's group, but I reckon that they are the friendliest in the school. I can say what I want to say to them. They are more open-minded. In the Chinese group, people tend to be a bit complicated. You don't always know what they think of you. They won't say to you the things that they have in mind. This problem is much more serious in the local school. So it's better here. I reckon that this is a school where I can find friendship. But I have to be careful about which group I get into. (ll. 103-09)*

In two ways, Sying adds to Ni's observations about the conditions that make Waratah High an important context for the formation of social identities and self-understandings. First, his reference to the "foreigner's group" casts this (predominantly Westerner) minority as outsiders – how ironic, given the role of international schools in Hong Kong (i.e., "offering full non-local curricula designed primarily for non-Chinese speaking students and foreign nationals" (EMB 2006: 4)), his Hong Kong-Chinese race/ethnic and Cantonese heritage, and the legacy of international schooling. Equatorials, though, share his distinction, the majority of whom also describe the visible segregation of students along race/ethnic and heritage lines (and as is similarly expressed by participants across clusters, as discussed in Chapter 9).

Second, though Sying's view of the "foreigner's group" ("the friendliest in the school") largely accords with Ni's, he goes on to contrast their "open-minded[ness]" to the "Chinese group, [where] people tend to be a bit complicated. You don't always know what they think of you. They won't say to you the things that they have in mind." In the process, Sying brings up the question of "face" (mianzi – 面子), a key concept in Chinese culture in which matters of respect, reputation, and social status govern relationships. As a local-Hong Kong international school student, who had previously attended a government school and has lived most of his life in Hong Kong, Sying is well-placed to discern these cultural dynamics. As can be seen in his last utterance, in particular, these patterns of relationship shaped importantly Sying's lived realities of Waratah High's social-cultural environment.

In addition to describing how self-segregation, student associations, and the use of social space along heritage-based, race/ethnic lines (Olsen 1997; Tatum 1997; Yon 2000)

contributed to less favourable patterns of relationships within schools, Equatorials also presented language as a third divisive marker. For example, Ni described the main student sub-groups at Waratah High along cultural lines (i.e., linguistic, race/ethnic): a "Chinese good-English group," a "Chinese not-so-good-English group," and "the Westerner group" (ll. 111-13). Her classmate, Konomi, highlights how race/ethnicity and language intersected to exclude the culturally different: "from what I've seen, all the Chinese students talk in Chinese all the time. They don't really talk to us, it seems" (ll. 77-8). At the same time, the use of local languages (e.g., Chinese and the variety of Indian languages at Windsor Secondary High) and heritage/language-alike social groupings may represent a form of resistance to the school's dominant culture, act as an exclusionary mechanism, or simply be a reflection of confidence in communication, which is naturally higher in the first rather than the second or third language. Interestingly, Ni admits to not having any "really Chinese-Chinese" (l. 38) friends, and to only socialising with English-speaking peers, despite self-identifying as race/ethnically Chinese and as a 1st-language Cantonese speaker.

Similarly, Bao and XiuXiu express how language is also an important segregating force at Windsor Secondary High:

> *I can tell you the English rule[4] isn't working very well in the senior school. You'll have the Chinese people speaking Chinese, the Indian people speaking Indian, and then you'll have the people who can only speak English hanging around in the middle being clueless. (Bao: ll. 329-32)*

> *The four main groups are Indian, White, International (which is where I hang out), and the Chinese group – where everyone speaks Chinese. If you went to the Chinese area of the senior school, even if you're not supposed to speak Chinese they would still be talking in Cantonese. (XiuXiu: ll. 275-82)*

Yet as Yun notes, and as I found in my observations of the corridors and social spaces, it is not just the Chinese-speaking, Chinese-heritage majority who use language to exclude:

> *[They] don't seem to communicate too much with the Chinese students. They seem to be in their own little group. From my perspective, they seem like they're really enjoying their time at this school. They're able to bring the [country] characteristics into this school. (ll. 167-76)*

Yun employs a cultural moniker to describe a group of Waratah High girls, who she feels uses their English language and Western heritage to insularise themselves. Despite being a numerical minority, she sees them as "really enjoying their time at this school" and

---

[4] In invoking "the English rule," Bao is referring to the expectation that students and staff use English, as the common language of inclusion (since it is an English-medium international school), during the school day. This English-only expectation will have to change as the school updates its policies and practices to conform to its new status as an IB world school that will offer the Diploma Programme.

contributing to its ethos. Yun highlights not only how a specific linguistic-heritage helps define and affirm categorical social group identity, but that it also harmonises with (and contributes to) Waratah High's institutional identity. In the process, Yun emphasises the resultant cultural-linguistic privilege enjoyed by these girls. In contrast, she adds that

> [m]ost of the students in the upper grades are Chinese. I think there are only seven [from country], as in White Westerners. So our class is quite Hong Kong. We speak Chinese. We go out and do Hongky activities. How people think, their actions and stuff, are not really [from country]. (ll. 56-9)

Yun appears to consider herself part of the local, Hong Kong-Chinese student majority. Yet if taken in conjunction with remarks shared earlier, we get the impression that Yun is neither fully "Hongky" nor 'international' (at least in terms of embodying the qualities that constitute Waratah High's prevailing institutional identity). Indeed, Yun's global aspirations, inter-cultural perspective, and fluent bilingualism make her one of a handful of border-crossing Equatorials with a stronger view of internationalism. However, unlike her classmates Ni and Konomi (who, recall, is an invisible minority; she typifies another Equatorial border-crosser, though she is neither of Chinese nor Western heritage), fieldwork data found Yun, like Xia and Sying, mostly socialising with local, Hong Kong-Chinese students.

Zhen is similar to Yun in this regard (recall his description of the regime of race/ethnic 'normalisation' at Windsor Secondary High). He also has "a few friendship groups. But in the group I stick to the most, we're all local students" (ll. 89-90). At the same time, he voices border-crossing tendencies that show how heritage, common interests (Ryan 1999), and subject choices combine to influence who he associates with:

> But that [his Hong Kong-Chinese race/ethnicity] doesn't really stop me from being friends with them. (Pause). I've got quite a few Caucasian friends. Probably interests, I guess – interests really set your friendship groups. For example, I've got a friendship group and we're all fans of football. And probably classes now, because in the senior school you have more lessons of fewer subjects. So you bond well with the people in your classes and probably less well with those who aren't. What else? Music type. Some people prefer local Hong Kong music, so they have their own friendship groups, and others listen to more international stuff. (ll. 70-9)

In contrast, Ni and Konomi at Waratah High, and XiuXiu at Windsor Secondary High ("I'm part of the 'International' group. Even though we're mostly Chinese and English, we talk English to each other and all of have the same interests…. We like to go out and play pool, go to the arcade, watch movies, stuff like that" (62-66)), arguably typify the Equatorial border-crosser with a stronger view of internationalism. They are aware of, and comfortable with, social-identity differences amongst peers; and seem to choose friends because of shared

interests and/or compatible personality rather than linguistic-heritage commonalities. As a result, they seem to have less difficulty border-crossing amongst their social contexts.

Another way in which patterns of relationships amongst students seem to adversely affect Equatorial experiences stems from the horizontal structuring of the student body:

> *I feel that senior students don't get to interact with the lower years as much. We tend to just stay up there [common room] rather than walk around school to meet other friends and people. I do peer support and believe that if younger students need to speak to an older student for help, then they should be able to come directly to us to talk. But now that we're up in the [common room] we always just stay there. I know that my Year 7 students are quite scared to come up because we're older, bigger, and all up there together. They feel intimidated. It's a disadvantage for them. (Jin: ll. 83-93)*

Jin has become aware of how academic year groupings contribute to student body division through her involvement in peer support, a highly regarded leadership co-curricular. She recognises the positive, mentorship role that older students can play, which peer support facilitates – and also realises the hurdle created by segregative, age-based social groupings. Similarly, Bao expresses how mixed-year tutor groups have encouraged the integration of senior school students at Windsor Secondary High:

> *In a tutor group you see a bit more of people, which helps you communicate. Having had it for a few months now, I can see the merits to vertical tutoring. We [Year 12s] see the Year 13s more. The Year 13s see us more. We know more about each other. It helps break the ice and gets us talking to each other. I wonder if this should be done lower down in the school? (ll. 379-82)*

Yet as Bao continues, when these formal structures do not direct who uses what spaces, tacit hierarchies emerge that govern the way in which senior students organise themselves: "I can tell you that the [common room] has a history of protectionism. The Year 13s generally dominate the couches and decide what gets played on the stereo. We Year 12s generally go to the less comfortable seats at the tables" (ll. 386-87). Although the Waratah High senior students did not have a common room for their exclusive use,[5] similar age-based dynamics prevailed amongst students in the common social areas (e.g., cafeteria, playing field, library).

The mainly race/ethnic, linguistic, and horizontal structuring of the student bodies at both sites, then, appeared to contribute to segregative relationships amongst students that, in turn, constituted importantly each school's ethos and culture. As will be developed in the next

---

[5] They did the following year, however, as part of the school's site renewal. I made a point of dropping in to see how they were using the space in my follow-up visits to Waratah High. From these informal observations, I sensed that segregative patterns of relationships amongst students persisted in the common room – i.e., students mainly clustered along cultural, linguistic, and gender lines.

section, the ways in which diversity and inclusivity interplayed reflect context-specific conditions, discourses, and practices that made Waratah and Windsor Secondary High important sites of identity formation, shaped Equatorials' lived schooling realities, and directly affected their experiences of and engagement therein.

School expectations of students and disciplinary climate

The final set of conditions brings together recurring Equatorial comments about Waratah and Windsor Secondary High expectations of students and disciplinary climate to reveal how the Equatorials perceived the prevailing norms, values, and beliefs; negotiated and/or subverted them; and what the consequences were for their lived experiences therein.

For example, a number of Equatorials shared Ni's dim view of the school uniform and rules at Waratah High:

> [I]f a student wants to study, he or she will go and study. It doesn't matter what he or she looks like or wears. I think this school is really strict and we are different from other international schools…. [I]n general, the rules here are too strict. (ll. 314-27)

She did not believe that the uniform code contributed to students' academic motivation and found that the disciplinary regime, in this regard, adversely set Waratah High apart from other international schools in Hong Kong. Her classmate, Yun, also found the ethos "quite restrictive in terms of dress code" (l. 144), though she added that the people who have

> been at this school longer seem to have better feelings towards it. They feel more at home here than us. Maybe this is because people who have been to other schools have seen how it's freer elsewhere. How there's more fun in and outside of class…. Those who have experienced other schools might have more criticisms towards this school than those who have been here for a long time. (ll. 133-43)

Her "they"-"us" distinction is telling: "They", who have had the time to internalise Waratah High's prevailing norms, values, and beliefs, may "have better feelings towards it"; others like her (it was Yun's fourth year, mind you: how long does it take to acculturate?), the "us", who have not been at the school as long, may struggle with its institutional *zeitgeist* and feel "[less] at home." Her juxtapositioning of Waratah High's "restrictive" climate to other international schools that she deems "freer" and where "there's more fun in and outside of class" makes clear this distinction. Her read mirrors Ni's, who comments how "In my Year 12 class, there are students who have studied here for nine years. I feel they have a greater sense of belonging here than me" (ll. 103-04).

XiuXiu adds to our understanding of the ways in which institutional approaches to uniform and disciplinary climate interplayed to undermine students' sense of buy-in. As she explains, "the senior students here aren't given enough privileges. The uniform's a bit strict, too. I really don't think my friends at other schools face these issues" (ll. 70-2). Though the mandatory uniform policy at Windsor Secondary High also rankled her, it was the lack of senior student "privileges" (e.g., she described as being able to eat lunch off-site and come to school later/leave earlier when not timetabled), and perception of being different to friends at other international schools, that left XiuXiu dissatisfied with its prevailing regime. In these ways, the disciplinary climate and student behavioural expectations engendered appeared to affect adversely Equatorials' lived realities at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Yet, another set of remarks showed how the Equatorials responded to this by translating and resisting school expectations. For example, Ai recounts that she

> see[s] a lot of the seniors who are also prefects not setting a good example. In a way that's useless because if you're prefect you're supposed to be keeping your uniform tidy. The younger students look up to us, right? But then I see prefects with their shirts untucked! I also think the younger students have lost respect for the uniform and the prefects. One reason could be that the uniform isn't as tight as it used to be – that may be because of the change in principal. There are fewer uniform checks than there used to be. When I was in Year 10, they would do form uniform checks every two weeks or so…. They have less of that now, which doesn't help. (ll. 198-209)

Ai feels that the principal's mixed-messages, which stem from their different priorities over the school uniform, for example, undermine the school ethos and culture. This may, in turn, lead to a loss of student body respect for the senior student leaders, on the one hand, and a lack of compliance with the mandatory uniform rules, by younger and older students alike, on the other. Students thus interpret (and resist, if not subvert) the institutional norms and values that contribute to its climate. Ai links patterns of relationships (between students and school leaders and amongst students) to the school disciplinary regime to illustrate how these are adversely affecting her Windsor Secondary High experiences.

Konomi is similarly unhappy with the school uniform and disciplinary climate at Waratah High more broadly:

> [T]here are a lot of negative things, but basically they're my fault. Like I had my iPod and the principal took it off me. I guess I shouldn't have had it. But I think we should be allowed to use them in study period because when there are classes in the library it can be really noisy and you can't concentrate. That's a negative side of school. It's also pretty strict here in terms of uniform. (ll. 175-80)

Her behaviour shows how students will translate (if not resist) school rules and disciplinary expectations. At the same time, she brings to mind the institutional identity matters (e.g., Sying's "tiny potato" metaphor and powerlessness of students) and patterns of relationships (e.g., student-school leader) discussed previously as school-level forces that also constrained Equatorials' engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

In sum, the Equatorials described an array of conditions that impeded the subjective quality of their lived experiences of and engagement within their school's ethos and culture. The first set revealed how various categorical identities (i.e., race/ethnic, linguistic, nationality) intersected to constitute Waratah and Windsor Secondary High's institutional identities. This point recurs throughout the fieldwork, and will be taken up in Chapter 9 as a cross-cluster theme of import to do with "inclusive" and "encapsulated" international schooling. Second, identity matters shaped patterns of relationship amongst students – notably, in how the international school's social spaces were constituted segregatively and used. The Equatorials provide further empirical grist to illustrate how and why "schools as institutions play powerful roles in shaping certain parts of student identities" (Davidson 1996: 214).

At the same time, Equatorial concerns about patterns of relationships between students and school leadership (due to new administrative teams, ineffective communication, and questionable change processes, direction) revealed the adverse effect this had on their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences. In the process, Equatorials singled out the principal as a key shaper of school culture. Their view aligns with the belief that the principal sets the school climate (Fullan 2003) and "has the most opportunity to exercise leadership" (Gurr, Drysdale et al. 2003); indeed, the Equatorials blamed the principal for cultivating an unfavourable disciplinary climate and student behavioural expectations. In the next section, attitudinal and fieldwork data are triangulated to examine the ways in which the co-curricula and curricula contexts emerged as important sources of engagement.

Co-curricular context: Opportunities and activities

Positive

This next section takes up the positive influence of school-enabled co-curricular activities on Equatorials' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The specific features Equatorials identified included: extensive and varied activities, which balanced-out the demands and pressures of the formal curriculum; provided weaker academic

students with opportunities to grow and be self-fulfilled; and through involvement, participants fostered friendships that enhanced their overall experiences of schooling.

Zhen expresses a view common to other Equatorials: "There are a lot of extra-curricular activities here [Windsor Secondary High] – probably that not many local schools could offer" (ll. 17-8). He asserts his perceived comparative advantage by attending an international rather than a Government/public school. Continuing, he describes the range of sporting, cultural, and service activities and events at hand as "a useful thing for the future…. [that] gives us an advantage" (ll. 108-20) over locally-schooled students to convey a utilitarian viewpoint. At the same time, Xue feels that "the[se] opportunities the school gives us… help me see and do other things than just school work" (ll. 119-21). Co-curriculars make it possible to be "more focused on becoming all-rounded as opposed to only being academically focused like in the local school system" (Zhen: ll. 120-23).

Changing tack, Konomi "got to know two other people [through her mixed-aged sports activity]. I'm friends with them now…. They're in Year 9, and normally I wouldn't talk to them. But from that activity we became friends" (ll. 149-52). Similarly, Jin has "taken on a guiding role" (l. 107) since being appointed to peer support, a co-curricular programme that pairs senior students with Year 7s to help them adapt to school life at Windsor Secondary High. Although she "normally wouldn't speak to the younger years, during peer support and when they come up to me to talk about their problems… it makes me feel special. I'm helping them" (ll. 97-100). Co-curriculars give Konomi and Jin the opportunity to interact with other students outside the regular classroom with whom they normally would not. In the process, they facilitate a vertical integration of the student body by enabling mixed-aged integration around shared interests and activities.

In addition to the self-development, academic-social balance, interpersonal relationships, and peer leadership benefits that derive from taking part in the wide-ranging co-curricular programmes, out-of-classroom activities also contribute to Equatorials' engagement by bolstering their sense of school affiliation. As Ai explains, getting "more involved with school-related activities than in my earlier years" (i.e., inter-house music and dance) made her "feel like I either know the school a bit better or am becoming a part of the school rather than just observing and getting on with my day. I think there is more meaning to my days – something to look forward to" (ll. 163-72). Windsor Secondary High's inter-house competitions also gave Xue "a closer feeling with the rest of the people in your house, a more

united feel. I guess it sounds like something out of Harry Potter!" (ll. 147-48). Zhen's buy-in grows through his inter-school co-curricular participation: "Because I train regularly, and the school gives me this experience of being on the [sports] team and of representing the school at competitions, I feel that I am worth something" (ll. 139-40). As Ai, Xue, and Zhen describe, co-curriculars bolstered their sense of self-worth and school affiliation.

That co-curriculars (i.e., be it intra- or inter-school; for recreational or competitive purposes) strengthen Equatorials' self-identification with Waratah and Windsor Secondary High demonstrates empirically what Furlong et al. (2003: 110) conceptualise as the "PACM" model of engagement. In characterising school engagement as a "multidimensional social relationship construct," they operationalise its four inter-related dimensions as:

> *Participation (behavioural involvement) contributes to the formation of interpersonal Attachments (social bonding), which in turn results in a student developing a sense of personal Commitment (valuing of education), and ultimately to incorporating school Membership (identification as a school community citizen) as part of his or her self identity [P>A>C>M].*

Indeed, 11 of 12 Equatorials described how and why co-curricular involvement fostered their positive orientation toward school along the PACM continuum. For Bao, it is that

> *there are a lot of opportunities in terms of extra-curricular activities. There is the speech festival, sports, music – our music is pretty renowned.... [T]aking part, when I go out there and play games for the school, makes me feel like I am doing something good – for the school and myself. (ll. 175-196)*

For Sying,

> *a big change in my thinking occurred when I nominated myself to be a school prefect. Before, I really didn't have school or house spirit. I didn't think it was important. But since then, I have learned a lot of stuff. For example, with the swimming carnival, I didn't want to compete. Because of my role, I have a responsibility to participate.... Not everyone can be a prefect and have this big change, but these activities can change students' thinking. (ll. 196-203)*

Highlighting the benefit of participating, Sying adds "It's when I've been given those opportunities that I have had the strongest feelings about myself and the school" (ll. 309-10). Similarly, seizing the "opportunities to talk on stage… or to have a leadership role" through co-curriculars means Yun has "found out more about myself" (ll. 216-18). Before joining Waratah High, Yun "didn't really think highly of [her]self." As she explains,

> *I never thought of myself as a leader before.... There are many more chances for me to express my views at this school and to find out my potential. What I can actually do. This is different to when I was in Canada or even when I was in my local school as a small girl. (ll. 233-42)*

XiuXiu echoes Xue when she asserts "because not everyone is academically strong… the activities are another way of balancing your school life" (ll. 182-84). As Konomi states, they can also make you stand out: "When we had the Athletics carnival, I got a lot of firsts. That was pretty good because no one knew that I could run so fast. Everyone was like, 'Wow!' I felt really good" (ll. 166-68). For Lily, not only are the

> *different extra-curricular activities really good to develop your teamwork skills and all that… but they just give you a whole different aspect of the school to look back on when you leave. The [sports] team and all your friends from it are just different to what you get in the classroom. (ll. 154-65)*

In this way, the Equatorials speak to how and why co-curriculars shaped positively their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The activities were extensive, varied, and balanced-out the educational imperatives of the classroom's formal curriculum; gave the weaker academic students an opportunity to grow and feel self-fulfilled; and through co-curricular involvement, participants fostered friendships that enhanced their overall experiences of schooling.

Negative

At the same time, as discussed below the Equatorials described three ways in which co-curriculars impeded their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences: i.e., when the co-curricular programme is comparatively limited in offering or narrow in scope; inward-looking and exclusive; or becomes needs- rather than wants-driven.

> *The school spirit could be reinforced by having more activities. (Sying: ll. 171-2)*

Sying uses a conditional verb (i.e., "could") to express how Waratah High "school spirit" depended on a condition – "more activities" (which he later specifies as co-curricular). In doing so, he associates unfavourably what had been taken up as positive influences on Equatorials' experiences: it is the lack of co-curriculars that undermines his school's ethos. In developing this cause-effect relationship, "Every year, the school has a similar pattern of activities. Nothing much is new to students. I hope the activities will get better, as I do think that they help students establish a stronger connection with the school" (ll. 227-30), Sying evokes the "P" (Participation) and "M" (School membership) interplay of the P>A>C>M school engagement model (Furlong et al., 2003: 110).

Though his classmate Xia neither stresses the protasis' adverse effect on school ethos nor on students' sense of school membership, she does assert that the programme's narrower scope inhibits students' learning opportunities:

> *Other international schools have inter-house activities in the performing arts,*
> *whereas currently we don't. I think such activities are valuable because they*
> *encourage students to develop other talents. We just haven't had that sort of focus at*
> *this school. (ll. 41-43)*

Ai's discontent with Windsor Secondary High's co-curriculars stems from the missed interpersonal opportunities: "I feel that we should interact more because I don't know the Year 12s as much as I would like to. I think the school should have more activities for us to get to know each other better" (ll. 73-5). The issue for Yun is also one of interpersonal relationships, "I don't think there's as much socialising in this school as in others" (l. 421), although the fraternising she feels is missing extends beyond her Waratah High school walls:

> *In Canada, my school would have school dances and other activities that would*
> *combine our school and other schools around [Canadian city]. So, we got to know a*
> *lot of other students. Whereas here, it's quite restricted – "Oh, I'm a [International*
> *school name] student." That's the group…. We don't communicate too much with*
> *other international schools. I mean, some people might get to know them from sports*
> *activities, but I don't. (ll. 424-37)*

For her classmate XiuXiu, the concern is one of entitlement – i.e., Windsor Secondary High should provide generously for and promote widely its co-curricular programme:

> *The school needs to present the students with more opportunities... because with*
> *some students, if you don't tell them about something, then they just won't bother*
> *going or finding out. So I think the school needs to offer different extra-curricular*
> *activities, advertise them, and explain them better to students. (ll. 251-55)*

In the process, XiuXiu shifts responsibilities for co-curriculars to the school and casts herself as a passive beneficiary (or victim in this case). Their classmate Bao goes one step further to emphasise the utilitarian, post-secondary imperatives that drive his involvement in co-curriculars: "Things got busy and hectic in Year 11 with GCSEs [Graduate Certificate of Secondary Examinations] and now… there is the need to do well for university. We have to settle down to make a good impression. So I've got myself into [club] and [sport] and everything else to help with my applications" (ll. 17-23). Though his participation appears meritorious, as he is seizing out-of-classroom opportunities, his reasons for doing so are expressed in transactional terms, which convey a strategic intent that fulfills more of the letter (and less of the spirit) behind school-enabled, co-curricular activities (Barnett 2005).[6]

---

[6] In her synthesis of the literature, Barnett (2005) identifies six developmental processes that may occur as youth take part in extra-curricular and community activities: identity work, initiative development, emotional

In sum, remarks by half of the Equatorials, drawn equally from the two research sites, convey at least three ways in which co-curriculars shaped less favourably their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences. First, they felt that a lack of activities had a deleterious effect on their experiences of the school's ethos. Second, a limited programme of co-curriculars inhibited opportunities to learn new things and interact with others, notably those who were not in the same classes or year group. Third, some Equatorials described how co-curriculars were pursued to enhance university applications rather than out of curiosity, enjoyment, or intrinsic motives. This made co-curriculars more of a duty – and arguably lessened their influence as a positive force on Equatorial experiences of and engagement within school.

Student-teacher relationships

Moving into the classroom, the next section discusses the ways in which student-teacher relationships exerted a positive influence to strengthen Equatorials' engagement within the curricular context, in particular. The Equatorials emphasised two main characteristics: i.e., teachers taking a holistic approach to them, including treating them as people and not just as students; and use of fun and humour.

Positive

The first strong sub-theme to emerge emphasises the importance to Equatorials of teachers taking a holistic approach to students. For example, Yun describes how the

> connections I have with some teachers make for a good class. Some teachers are a bit more open-minded…. Some are a bit quieter and don't joke as much. They don't ask you too much for your opinions. So, maybe that's why we don't have too much of a relationship with them. But those who are more caring and more sensitive, who actually ask you questions about your family and your future – those are the teachers who I feel more in touch with. (ll. 333-51)

Jin adds teachers "actually listen to what our problems are, when we do have problems, and try to sort things out. They give us their perspective on things. *They're just there for us*, I guess" (ll. 30-2; italics added). Indeed, Xia illustrates how her teachers attend to her affective needs and, in the process, strengthen her engagement with Waratah High:

> I can think of examples that go back to my earlier days at this school…. But a more recent example would be last year. I was feeling pretty stressed at the time. My basketball coach came by and said, 'Just relax. You can cope with the exam pressure.' [Starts crying. Pause]. I found that motivating because I was pretty depressed…. comforting. I could be myself. (ll. 134-52)

---

competency, forming new social connections and learning about peers, development of social skills, and acquiring social capital.

Interestingly, Xia singled out her sports coach (i.e., Hal), someone she saw less than her subject teachers, as someone who supported and reaffirmed how school was an intimate part of her identity. For Ai, the spin-off of such a relationship with teachers outside the classroom has constructive implications for her readiness to learn from them in lessons:

> *I prefer teachers who interact with you, do different activities with you, and discuss issues that are going on in and out of school. I find you can then relate to them easier and make better connections with whatever subject or topic you're studying. (ll. 79-83)*

In addition to their personalities, attentiveness, and care, Xia remarks that smaller group sizes at Waratah High make it possible for teachers to

> *really focus on each student. Most of my classes have ten or so students. The teachers definitely know every student – even if you sit in the back row, you get close to the teacher most of the time. Actually, pretty much all the time because the teachers know your name – you can't get away! (ll. 96-101)*

For Xia, like her classmate Konomi (who commented on the favourable teacher-student ratio; and preferred the previous principal because they "knew everyone's names"), smaller class sizes are an important organisational condition that shapes positively her engagement therein. This first theme thus highlights the importance of student-teacher relationships in which students are constituted holistically, "as complete human beings, with minds, hearts, and souls" (Delpit 2003: xvi), and not just functionally in their role as students.

The second strong sub-theme to emerge highlights the positive influence of humour on Equatorial relationships with teachers. For Xue, "good lessons [at Windsor Secondary High] are when I leave smiling because of the jokes my teacher cracked… that the rest of my classmates cracked" (ll. 227-29). Konomi describes her Waratah High teachers as

> *really, really nice, especially Mr. [ ], my [subject] teacher. He's really funny and sometimes gets off topic, but then it's just really fun to be in his classes…. All of my teachers are funny. I think it's just the [country] way. Ms. [ ] is a really nice teacher, too. We talk to her at lunch and after school sometimes. [Subject] also – Ms. [ ] says all these jokes. It's just really fun at this school. At my old international school, we had 30 people per class so the teachers didn't really talk to students that much. We just weren't as close. (ll. 94-108)*

In addition to evoking group size matters, Konomi emphasises the constructive influence of "fun" and humour in the classroom. As McNess (2006: 525) found in her comparative study of pupils' perceptions of the pedagogic process in England, France, and Denmark, teachers' ability and willingness to "have a laugh", "make a joke", and to "liven it up" can make for effective teaching and learning. Konomi also refers to how teacher availability outside lessons enabled her engagement. (To contrast, recall Yun's earlier remark that teachers who

were "a bit quieter and don't joke as much" were perhaps also the ones with whom "we [students] don't have too much of a relationship"). In this way, teacher fun, humour, and approachability shaped favourably the classroom climate for the Equatorials, and led to their positive experiences of and engagement therein.

The third recurring theme points to how teachers' friendly, adult-like treatment of Equatorials contributes to positive student-teacher relationships. For example, Zhen considers

> *some teachers very friendly. They're energetic, and they make their lessons interesting…. As you get older, you make friends with teachers. Instead of just a student-teacher relationship, you get like a friend-teacher relationship – especially in the senior school. You have more conversations with teachers that are outside their academic area, so that's quite fun. (ll. 23-32)*

Xia develops this picture at Waratah High, expressing how with

> *teachers now it's more of a mentor relationship. We're not that distant, especially as seniors. You go through a lot with your teachers. You feel closer to them. It's also the age factor. We're getting close to uni, to adult life. You feel more comfortable, more equal, talking to teachers. When you're in Year 7, you're more fearful of teachers. (ll. 113-18)*

Her classmate Konomi "talk[s] about a lot of things with my teachers – sometimes them, who people like, what we did on weekends, how the holidays were. It's basically what we talk to friends about" (ll. 114-15). Indeed, it is such "friendships with other students and teachers that make for good school days" (l. 214) for Konomi (Recall, too, the teacher-as-mentor and teacher-as-friend distinction that emerged from the Meridionals' interview data). XiuXiu highlights this distinction when describing two of her Windsor Secondary High teachers:

> *My [subject 1] teacher is pretty open. We talk about anything. It's quite friendly. But then with some teachers, it's a different relationship…. for [subject 2], they're really strict. They treat you differently. In [subject 1], they treat you more like an adult. They'll just start small talk and say, 'What are you doing this weekend?' Whereas other teachers will just say, 'We're doing this today. This is the homework. Hand it in on time.' (ll. 223-35)*

XiuXiu associates the friendliness and adult-like treatment of the first subject teacher with phatic and social classroom talk. She contrasts this classroom climate and teacher behaviour to the "really strict" relationship and more instrumental talk of her second subject teacher.

In this regard, Xue adds to our understanding of how different student-teacher interactions come to shape Equatorials' experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts:

> *Teachers here are very outspoken. They give us their opinions and don't look down on us. It's different from when we were younger, like in Year 7. Now they treat us more like equals…. [which] makes it easier to learn. Rather than them just dictating*

everything to us, they ask for our opinions as well. And we normally do class
discussions, which makes learning a lot easier. (ll. 61-80)

Xue not only now feels closer to teachers, but she finds that being treated "more like equals" and "class discussions" make "it easier to learn." (Recall Yun's description of teachers with whom "we don't have too much of a relationship" as ones who "don't ask you too much for your opinions"). Xue also sees her teachers as "very outspoken," which can be constructive if they are "pretty open-minded… [and] rather tolerant of other views" (Bao: ll. 74-5).

In sum, the Equatorials present several ways in which their relationship with teachers shaped favourably their experiences of the classroom- and teacher-level contexts. In particular, this stemmed from teachers taking a holistic approach to students – i.e., seeing them as people; attending to their academic and affective needs. Smaller class sizes were also an enabling condition at Waratah High that made possible this more holistic and positive student-teacher relationship. Second, humour and fun in the classroom were seen to shape favourably students' experiences of the teacher-level contexts. This is consistent with the literature and points to the important influence of classroom climate on student learning and engagement therein (Fraser 1986; van der Sijde 1988; Cheng 1994; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). Finally, Equatorials expressed how their adult-like treatment by teachers, and the way they feel able to talk to teachers as equals, contributed positively to their classroom experiences.

Negative

At the same time, there was contrary evidence that indicated why Equatorials might have had a less positive experience of the teacher- and classroom-contexts. Two recurring factors included: teachers prioritising academic progress and success without attending to students' affective/social needs; and an asymmetrical teacher-student dynamic in which power and status differentials left some Equatorials feeling subordinated and unsupported.

> *Detached. I guess it's not a positive thing to say about my teachers, but in GCSE and*
> *A levels we are too focused on exam preparation. It's work, work, work; exam prep,*
> *exam prep, exam prep; course-work, course-work, course-work. I don't feel as close*
> *to my teachers as before. Back then, it was teachers as more or less friends. But*
> *now… we don't really know much about our teachers outside the subject they teach.*
> *Very rarely do we talk about other matters with them. (Bao: ll. 58-65)*

Bao makes two points to illustrate why such student-teacher relationships may be hindering his engagement within the Windsor Secondary High classroom. The first, classes are "too focused on exam preparation," paints them as uninspiring treadmills. His second exacerbates this impression: he feels "detached" from teachers, with whom he felt closer before joining

the senior school. The examinations focus and absence of a teacher-as-friend relationship lead to Bao's more negative orientation towards the teacher- and classroom-level contexts.

Similarly, Sying describes how even with the "exam-driven expectations now… [he] can't depend on the teachers as much" (ll. 87-8). He adds that "If I really need help… I will try to find the teachers who have the patience to help me. At this school, some teachers are less patient with students" (ll. 90-91). His classmate, Yun, takes a more critical angle on why the student-teacher relationship dynamic at Waratah High may not be so constructive:

> *Some teachers here are not that relaxed compared to Canada. I think the teachers there were not as tense. Even though my school was way bigger, I had more personal relationships with my teachers in Canada. But at this school, I find it hard to talk personally with some teachers. They don't really chat with us. Teachers here seem to have more esteem, maybe because of the power issue. They seem to be more 'up there.' This is different to the teachers in Canada, who really seemed to care about us. If you didn't look too well or seemed unhappy, they'd ask, 'Are you alright today? Is something happening in your family? You don't seem to be too happy'. Stuff like that. But in this school, if you start crying or whatever, they don't ask. They just don't seem to be as caring. It's just business as usual. (ll. 188-208)*

Yun adds distance to the negative traits of "detach[edness]" and impatience that Bao and Sying bring up: her Waratah High teachers have and exercise "power," which gives them "more esteem" and puts them "up there" vis students. Though Yun never specifies "the power issue" that makes them less approachable, it appears to stem from the inherent power differential associated with the different institutional positions of teachers and students. This dynamic is what Emory, a Windsor Secondary High middle leader, problematises in Chapter 5: teachers ought to be "prepared to have that two-way dialogue with students.... [and should] not work along the idea that their authority is unquestioned" (ll. 375-78). The "business as usual" demeanour of her Waratah High teachers only widens the gulf for Yun (recall Sienna's similar observation in Chapter 6), especially when contrasted to the more positive student-teacher relationships she felt she had at her public school in Canada. The Janus-like influence of student-teacher relationships on students' engagement within the international school was introduced in Chapter 5; and is examined in Chapter 10 as a recurring cross-cluster, cross-case theme that can be usefully examined through the lens of cosmopolitanism.

For her classmate, Ni, the implication of such distance is palpable: "Teachers probably see me as hard-working, but I don't always get a good grade. Even though I work hard, my marks are just C or B – no As. But I don't really talk to the teachers because whenever I do, I feel so pressured – like, 'Oh, teacher: Be a good girl'" (ll. 147-50). Recall that Ni is confidently bilingual, counts Hong Kong-Chinese and Westerner peers within her circle of

friends, and happily socialises with both groups. Given these tendencies, and her high levels of self-esteem (*Mdn.* = 4.10), self-liking (*Mdn.* = 4.80), and medium-high level of self-competence (*Mdn.* = 3.50), Ni can be considered a successful Equatorial border-crosser. And yet, she still feels anxious when around teachers –

> *Except for one… since last year, he feels like a friend. He always talks to me first or asks me things…. I think he's quite nosy (Laughs). He always wants to know the gossip – what's going on with the students. So we talk a lot. We don't do much work in his class, but I like him as my teacher. (ll. 161-65)*

That her teacher initiates conversation, relies on her for student "gossip" (thereby elevating her status), and does not seem to make high academic demands in class likely contribute to why Ni feel less "pressured" by him. He is, though, the only "one" at Waratah High.

In short, the Equatorials describe two mains ways in which their relationships with teachers can constrain their classroom engagement. The first, an unswerving examinations focus, leads to singularly academic, transactional relationships with teachers rather than holistic ones, in which learners' academic and affective/social engagement are jointly prioritised and supported. The second, a perceived gulf between teachers and students, portrays an asymmetrical (and traditional) relationship in which power and status differentials leave students feeling subordinated and unsupported. Both reasons figure throughout the fieldwork and are taken up in Chapter 9 as a cross-cluster theme of import.

Classroom context: Teaching and learning matters

Positive

The classroom was clearly an important context that shaped Equatorials' experiences within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Though what follows explores the ways in which instructional matters, discussion-based pedagogy, and teacher feedback enabled their classroom engagement, the next section takes up other pedagogical matters that impeded Equatorials' disposition towards and engagement within the classroom.

Instructional matters

The first strong sub-theme focuses on instructional matters as positive forces to Equatorials' classroom experiences. For example, Zhen finds Windsor Secondary High "teachers pretty good, and their teaching methods really work for me. So I'm proud of myself for getting my academic achievements" (ll. 146-47). He highlights how teachers' classroom practice helped

him achieve, which strengthened his sense of self-efficacy. His link shows that instructional matters can both contribute to and be an intimate part of a student's self-worth and identity (note that Zhen rated 'academic accomplishments' a 7 out of 7 – i.e., as very important to who he is). He goes on to describe three ways in which his teachers' pedagogy worked well.

The first relates to their general approach to senior students:

> *...it's more like self-learning. You basically learn stuff on your own. The teachers are just there to help you understand stuff, to clarify stuff. So if there's a question or a topic that I don't quite understand, I would go ask the teacher for help and, one-on-one, they would explain it to me. I think this is the best way to learn from a teacher instead of a teacher just giving lectures. You can actually learn on your own and ask the teacher about the areas you don't understand, and the teacher can give you more detailed explanation that way. It suits more of your particular needs, I guess. (ll. 43-50)*

The teaching is tailored to what Zhen favours (and arguably needs/responds well to); and involves him as a partner in learning. Second, when Zhen has "questions about topics I don't understand or topics I want to find out more… they're more than happy to give me more explanation – be it in or out of class, before, during, or after school" (ll. 222-23). His teachers are available and willing to stoke his motivation and support his learning.

The third way comes through Zhen's description of a "good lesson… when the teacher presents the content in an interesting way and makes it relevant to my life" (ll. 242-43). Though this may mean "sidetracking into some other [subject]-related stuff that may not be on the syllabus," this is "very good because it broadens our knowledge" (ll. 184-85). Zhen appreciates how some teachers will not "let the [syllabus] specifications confine us" (l. 186).

The wider relevance of the teaching and learning in its transferability to students' lives is also an important factor for his classmate Jin:

> *Teachers here expose me to a lot of different things in lessons. I am not just required to work. For example, when teachers share their university experiences and help us see what we have to look forward to, and tell us what we have to look out for… [that] prepares me well for my future. (ll. 215-19)*

At the same time, Xia explains that her Waratah High teachers seem to strike the right balance when working with students:

> *They know when to be strict…. Like now, it's final exams. They help us stay focused. Sometimes, some teachers might even seem to be harsh. But doing so also keeps us on the right track. That helps me – especially if I also know how they can be outside of lessons. (ll. 101-04)*

Zhen, Jin, and Xia thus present several ways in which their teachers' teaching and learning shaped positively their classroom experiences. This stemmed from their general instructional approach to students – i.e., as learners who need to be given a direction, allowed to work independently, and supported as/when necessary. On the other hand, it had to do with teachers' ability to bring into their teaching of the formal curriculum both personal and out-of-classroom experiences to 'humanise' their access of the required syllabus specifications.

Discussion-based pedagogy

The second recurring sub-theme focuses on how the Equatorials responded favourably to dialogic rather than transmission teaching and learning approaches. Indeed, 10 of the 12 interviewees referred directly to classroom talk as an important factor in their positive experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Equatorials preferred co-participating in the construction of knowledge that discussion-based pedagogy (Alexander 2003; Skidmore 2006) enables and welcomed the inclusive classroom climate it created.

For example, a good lesson for Bao is when "we're talking, we're listening, and we're reading at the same time. We're doing something. We're not all just sitting there listening to the teacher speaking…. I think we learn better by interacting with each other" (ll. 215-16). For Jin, it is when "teachers write stuff out on the board and talk us through a certain topic, and then we discuss it with the whole class and everyone gets to contribute" (ll. 195-96). Ditto for Lily, who feels that in good lessons her Windsor Secondary High teachers will "encourage class discussions – it won't just be them talking. We'll all get to voice our opinions on what we're talking about (ll. 80-81). Though all three prefer discussion-based pedagogy, where ideas are exchanged and explored, Jin and Lily both emphasise that involving all students was an important feature for them. Konomi's observation provides additional insights into why this may be so, while at the same time reminding us of the importance of fun and humour to an inclusive, discussion-based pedagogic process:

> *In a good lesson, we're discussing and everyone has something to say about a topic. It gives me the sense of really good communication between people. In [subject], [student 1] and [student 2] always crack jokes. That's a really good thing about the class, as we don't just work. Because we talk a lot, we get to know each other better. I think that makes for a good class. (ll. 222-26)*

The relationship building that such discussion-based learning approaches enable is an important contributor to Konomi's affective and academic engagement within the classroom. For Sying, being given "opportunities to contribute my own ideas [in] discussions… means

that the teachers will listen to me. The teachers respect me" (ll. 386-87). He intertwines inter-personal respect with two-way talk as important factors to his classroom engagement.

Ai also prefers it "when it's more discussion and not just teach, teach, teach. Everyone is involved in sharing their opinions and providing feedback. I think that is quite different and fun" (ll. 157-59). Interestingly, she counterpoints "discussion" to "teach, teach, teach;" are the two uncomfortable bedfellows rather than pedagogic partners? Moreover, though she finds it "fun" when everyone is "sharing their opinions," something other Equatorials felt important to their constructive classroom experiences, she adds that this is "quite different." Could this be because Ai is mainly subjected to the typical pattern of one-sided classroom discourse (Cazden 1988) at Windsor Secondary High: i.e., teacher question, student response, teacher evaluation of response? Is discussion-based teaching and learning not the norm? (Recall her classmate Zhen's distinction: the "best way to learn from a teacher" for him meant working independently, only seeking their input as/when necessary, "instead of a teacher just giving lectures"). By inference, are Ai and Zhen indicating that discussion-based learning was not a common feature of their classroom experiences?

Consequently, the Equatorials revealed how discussion-based learning contributes to their positive experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. In the process, they illustrate three of the four conditions for effective dialogic teaching that Alexander (2003) identifies: i.e., talk as "collective", "reciprocal", and "supportive". The fourth criterion, "cumulative" – i.e., "pupils and teachers build on their own and each others' ideas and chain them into coherent lines of thinking and enquiry" (Alexander 2003: 36) – was neither alluded to by the Equatorials nor observed. Instead, Cazden's tripartite patterning (i.e., teacher question, student response, teacher evaluation of response) seemed to prevail in what the Equatorials identify and was seen (yet in this regard, the cross-sectional nature of the classroom observations conducted, and the more limited access to lessons at Windsor Secondary High, are two methodological limitations that need to be considered). Moreover, Xue brings up the role of the curriculum itself as a complementary force to what the Equatorials indicate are the enabling influence of discussion-based instruction:

> *Originally, I was really quiet. I never spoke much during classes. But I guess the last two years have given me more confidence to speak up. This has happened because before in GCSEs, although we were allowed to choose our own subjects, there were still some subjects with which I was really struggling. But with A-levels, because we can choose our own subjects, I am doing those that I actually have an interest in. That's helped improve my confidence and led me to speak-up more in lessons. (ll. 102-10)*

These remarks thus show why the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High Equatorials responded favourably to dialogic teaching and learning. In particular, the interactive and participative nature of discussion-based strategies, their inclusive implementation, and the relationship-building that derived enabled Equatorials' experiences within the classroom.

Feedback

The third strong sub-theme focuses on teacher feedback as an enabler of Equatorials' positive experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. For example, XiuXiu "tend[s] to take feedback from teachers into account and tr[ies] to work on it, because I know the teachers want the best for you. So I listen and try to learn from their comments" (ll. 123-24). That they both responded constructively to teacher guidance is not surprising given that XiuXiu and Konomi rated 'academic achievements' a five (out of seven) in importance to their sense of who they are. Konomi explains "Last year, a lot of teachers wrote in my report card that I was shy. So this year, when I'm in class I make an effort to get involved in discussions…" (ll. 121-22). Continuing, Konomi describes how

> *before, I generally didn't speak-up in discussions. But last term, I was in a class discussion and I said a lot of things. The teacher had me stay after class and told me how well I had done. That had a really positive effect on me. I felt happy. It might sound really stupid, but I went home and told my mom and my dad. They were really happy for me. Because I'm not that good at [subject 2], it made me want to study harder. It made me feel that I can do better. That I'm capable. (ll. 248-53)*

Konomi both highlights the motivating influence of constructive teacher feedback to achieve, as well as how school was an important part of her self-identity. Similarly, Ni will be proactive and "always do a first draft. I'll give it to my teachers to check over so that I can take it back, go home to improve it, and then resubmit it – and hopefully get a higher mark" (ll. 215-17). And when she "get[s] an assessment task back and score[s] the highest mark – an A – that'll make me really happy" (ll. 236-37). Ni's academic engagement (and sense of self-worth as a student, in particular) is sustained by her teachers' formative and flexible assessment practices.

Targeted feedback enhances Zhen's academic engagement, a high-achieving Windsor Secondary High Equatorial:

> *If it is a practise question and I don't understand it, or couldn't do it, or have done it wrong, they'll explain it carefully to me step-by-step. I will take in that feedback, think about it, and work to remember what the teacher said so that next time I can apply it to my work…. The positive feedback I get on how to improve myself, and the way I work, is really helpful. (ll. 229-38)*

Teachers' approach and student response to feedback in these remarks reflect the rank-ordering of *EIS-F2 (Teacher)* sub-scale items by the 12 Equatorial interviewees – i.e., they rated the item, 'Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it' (*Mdn.* = 4.00), the highest. The complementary quantitative and qualitative picture highlights the importance of teacher feedback to the Equatorials' academic engagement within the classroom and positive school experience, in general.

At the same time, Xue suggests that it is not just the students who benefit from such individualised and formative assessment practices:

> *At the end of each term, my [subject] teachers give us a survey to fill out that asks us to rate how well they've taught us during that actual term itself. It also asks for our opinions and comments about how they can actually improve. One of the teachers has actually taken our comments to heart. In fact, after each topic she has a one-on-one discussion with us, where she asks us to tell her about what we've learned. She'll then follow up with the class any specific areas we might not understand. (ll. 196-200)*

Admittedly, Xue was the only Equatorial (and one of only three student interviewees overall) to describe how student feedback on classroom practice was solicited and used responsively by some Waratah High teachers to improve their pedagogy. Even so, Xue highlights how two-way feedback can contribute to students' positive classroom experiences by giving them a sense of ownership of, and influence on, what happens therein.

In short, the Equatorials identified a number of ways in which feedback mattered to their experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Not surprisingly, "being praised or encouraged in some way" (Xia: l. 207) by teachers made them feel supported and enhanced their pro-school motivation. Specifically, formative, flexible, and personalised feedback strengthened Equatorials' readiness to learn. Evident throughout was the sense that teacher feedback mattered enormously to the Equatorials because they wanted to succeed academically; in this way, teacher feedback was inextricably tied to how Equatorials felt about themselves within the classroom. Additionally, recognising and respecting (by soliciting and valuing) student input, in this case feedback on the teaching and learning itself, was mentioned by Xue as an enabling force to her classroom engagement. Overall, several teaching and learning matters shaped importantly Equatorials' classroom engagement. These included: firm and friendly teacher-student relationships; two-way, discussion-based instructional strategies used in the classroom, as well as other personalised instructional approaches to teaching; and individualised teacher feedback.

Negative

At the same time, the Equatorials described how some teaching and learning matters also detracted from their engagement within the classroom and relationships with teachers, in general. Two recurring factors included: teachers relying on 'traditional' pedagogies, which led to transmissive teaching; and the perceived devaluing of student input.

> *[S]ome teachers may be more boring because they're older and use a traditional teaching system – they just lecture and give us worksheets to do. I don't like that, as I don't learn as much. (Pause). Quite frankly, some teachers are just not that responsible. They don't really prepare for lessons, and they just basically copy off books and put the notes on the board and just tell us to copy them down…. But that's only a minority of the staff. (ll. 24-30)*

Notwithstanding his apparent ageism, Zhen portrays a pedagogical dynamic that does not work for him. As already shown, Equatorials prefer (inter-) active instructional strategies; teacher lectures and student worksheets hardly qualify as such. His second point follows on: regurgitative note-taking and unprepared teachers do not make for effective instructional practice. Four other Waratah and Windsor Secondary High Equatorials felt similarly: "teaching like that is pretty pointless… teachers need to explain and give examples rather than just get us to copy down notes" (XiuXiu: ll. 123-31); otherwise, "I just don't feel that the teacher is helping me much" (Lily: ll. 128).

The majority of Equatorials did present pedagogical processes dominated by transmission teaching and learning. For example, Ni characterises the instructional climate in five of her seven classes as "just normal teaching, learning, class and homework. It's not really fun…. We don't talk. We just listen to the teachers the whole time. We do pay attention and eventually learn, but the teachers mostly talk for the whole class – for an hour" (ll. 179-194). The pedagogical 'normalisation' she describes falls well short of the participative classroom dynamic Equatorials, in the previous section, felt enabled their classroom engagement. Her Waratah High classmate, Yun, paints a similar picture:

> *I think teachers talk too much here. I mean sometimes it is interactive, but you just don't get a chance to explore things as much yourself. The teacher talking and explaining can be good, but not for the whole lesson.... [M]aybe they're trying to get out as much information that they know so we can absorb it. But they might not realise that we're not absorbing everything because it's hard for us to listen to someone talk for an hour. (ll. 279-99)*

In addition to describing the prevalence of a transmission model of teaching and learning, Yun drills down to what gets lost in such a one-way classroom dynamic: students "just don't get a chance to explore things as much" for themselves. Echoing Ni, Yun casts students as

passive recipients ("so we can absorb it [content]"). Their perception and experience run contra to what constructivist principles pursue as conducive, effective learning conditions. (Recall Matilda who expressed a similar concern in Chapter 8).

Though Sying does not directly evoke teacher-led, transmission-oriented rather than dialogic teaching (Alexander 2003) and instruction (Nystrand 1997), he adds to Ni's and Yun's read of the pedagogy at Waratah High:

> *The school needs to employ more teachers who can really teach people – not just subjects. Some teachers at this school just can't teach well.... [For example,] they'll encourage you to develop your own ideas. But then when you do and show them your work, they point out all the things that you didn't do. That's a contradiction. That doesn't help me learn. (ll. 397-409)*

Whereas his classmates focus on how teachers seem to control classroom talk, and are seen as knowledge transmitters who "might ramble on for the whole lesson" (Yun: l. 267), Sying suggests that his classroom performance is constrained by incongruent teacher expectations and feedback (Recall Abbie who expressed a similar concern in Chapter 8). Contesting the one-way, teacher-student dynamic, Sying wants teachers whose goal "is not mastery of subject matter but mastery of one's person" (Orr 1994: 236). Teachers of "people" and "not just subjects" is what Equatorials, in the previous section, felt enhanced their classroom engagement: i.e., people-centred teachers, who focus holistically on students' personhood – and not just their (academic) student-hood; who teach students a subject… and do not just teach a subject. (Recall Emory, in Chapter 5, who describes the "few [teachers]… incredibly helpful assets to the school" who can "help students by throwing away their subject hat, taking a step back from that role, and looking at the holistic point of view").

Two further Equatorial observations have us step back from the specific pedagogic modes and processes they found problematic to the broader teaching and learning dynamic:

> *[T]eachers might ramble on for the whole lesson, sometimes you might see someone sleeping because they're too bored. Or because it's so boring, we'll just start to chat to each other. In recent times, maybe because we've finished our courses and are going on to revision, it doesn't feel like we really do anything. (Yun: ll. 267-71)*

Her links show the consequences for students of monologic teaching. Yun's use of the nominative, first-person plural pronoun would suggest that she counts herself amongst those who will disengage and "chat" socially (Recall that Yun did, however, rate 'academic achievements' a maximum seven in its importance to who she was). Her classmate, Konomi, makes a similar point: "If it's [subject]… I tend to talk and miss out on quite a lot of work. But then I can just do it at home. So I feel that's okay if I decide to spend most of my time

socialising during class" (ll. 232-34). Konomi, Yun, and Zhen, at the section's outset, thus depict a disorganised and undemanding academic classroom climate. Ni captures this view succinctly: "So we talk a lot… [but] we don't do much work in class" (l. 164-65). Teacher and student talk may predominate, though it does not *ipso facto* make for effective pedagogy.

In short, several pedagogical matters were seen to impede Equatorials' experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. The first stems from "traditional" instructional strategies (e.g., worksheets, copying down notes, teacher lectures), which lead to transmissive rather than constructive (or co-constructed) classroom dynamics. Because of a lack of interaction, Equatorials such as Yun, Sying, and others felt that they were unable to explore, connect, and make meaning for themselves. For XiuXiu, downplaying if not denying student input in the classroom, which a transmission model of teaching engenders, had disempowering implications that extended beyond her Windsor Secondary High classroom walls: "The teachers didn't really listen to our opinion" when they were looking to restructure vertically the senior school into integrated Year 12 and 13 tutor groups. It happened, and "even though we've been complaining about the new system… they're still not listening to us. I think that's because the system is an advantage to them" (ll. 183-85).

Summary

The Equatorials revealed that several contextual features, individual and institutional, enabled and impeded their experiences of and engagement within the international school. Recall that Equatorials group because of their middling attitudinal scores on the three clustering attributes of View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-Competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2).* The Equatorials also represent the broadly 'localised' international school student given their predominant demographic characteristics (e.g., HK birthplace, HK as home, majority of life lived in HK, 1st-language Cantonese-speaking), as alluded to by a popular columnist in a weekly magazine:

> *A recent report reveals that Hong Kong's international schools have been swarming with local Chinese students since the handover. Hong Kong parents are voting with their children's feet as they flee from the SAR government's patriotic educational policies, despite the much higher school fees. Most international schools see half of their yearly intake consist of local Chinese students, and at the highest end of the spectrum, an overwhelming 80 percent are local Chinese students. (Tsao 2009)*

In particular, whilst Equatorials' border-crossing proclivities are evident in their stronger view of internationalism (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *N* = 12) (recall, too, that *VIE-R* was the cluster

attribute of greatest importance in the formation of the Equatorial student group), analyses of the qualitative data showed that several culturally informed, socially salient identities (e.g., race/ethnic, territorial/nationality, linguistic) contributed to dialectical tensions between Equatorials' "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993). This translated into a Janus-like relationship with Hong Kong, which evoked 'localised' (given visible, linguistic, and historical, heritage-based connections), 'trans-localised,' and 'internationalised' (looking outwards and elsewhere) identities and communities when self-categorising.

Many Equatorials had started their education in the local, Chinese-medium school system before transferring to the English-medium international school system (i.e., EQ1). And though EQ2's (i.e., 'local-HK but…') trans-localised members considered English their 1st language and self-identified as foreign nationals, like EQ1 they had also lived in Hong Kong for much of their lives, where their extended families were, and were largely of Chinese heritage. On the other hand, EQ3, who were also predominantly Chinese with family ties to Hong Kong, did not consider Hong Kong home and self-identified as foreign nationals, which created a unique set of challenges and opportunities to their engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. The Equatorials' move to the international school system could thus present adaptive complexities that might challenge, to varying degrees, how they learned to see and locate themselves in the wider world.

The tensions Equatorials contend with in terms of their sense of self and place within Hong Kong international schools, as well as experience and engagement therein, can be usefully understood using cosmopolitanism. As a "personal identity model," cosmopolitanism offers "a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97). Its inward-outward gaze seeks a reflexive understanding of how one's "roots," connections, traditions, and values come to shape one's "routes," worldview, and relationships with others. In the process, cosmopolites participate in and build on multiple, nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities.

Thus despite the Equatorials' notable within-cluster demographic differences -- i.e., as localised (EQ1), trans-localised (EQ2), and internationalised (EQ3) -- their medium-high rating of being an 'international school student' ($Mdn. = 5.00$, $N = 12$) and 'a student at a

particular international' (*Mdn.* = 5.00, *N* = 12) speaks to the relative importance of these two social identities to their sense of who they are. At the same time, their middling experience of international school (EIS-R) (*Mdn.* = 3.60, *N* = 12) and medium-to-low sense of self-competence (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *N* = 12) indicate why attending to the enabling and impeding conditions, which make schools important contexts for the formation of social identities and self-understandings, may help to strengthen Equatorials' well-being and engagement therein. In this regard, the lowest ranked *EIS-R* item appears salutary given that individual and institutional contexts intersected to shape Equatorials' lived schooling realities: 'Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out in class' (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *N* = 12). What, then, are the school culture, community, curricula, and co-curricula conditions that enabled and impeded Equatorials' engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High?

School culture and community contexts

The Equatorials highlighted why school community and culture (dis-)connections shaped their experiences of and engagement therein. Besides the broadly "comfortable atmosphere" they felt characterised their social context of schooling at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, they identified an inclusive cultural diversity and the opportunity to learn about/from 'different' others as enabling conditions that stood out, in particular, given what a number of Equatorials had previously experienced in the largely mono-cultural, local educational system. Yet the Equatorials also identified 'naturalised' segregative relationships amongst students as a disabling force. Echoing Meridional and Septentrional concerns, they felt that the mainly heritage-based student interactions contributed to visibly self-segregative dynamics that contributed to a less inclusive school ethos and culture.

The Waratah High Equatorials also perceived and lived a transplanted, ethnocentric culture that was upheld as the primary mode of experiencing school life through resourcing and staffing practices, for example. Such institutional belief systems and ideology produced an "encapsulated" school identity, managed multi-cultural experience, and arguably weaker internationalism that did not cohere with the Equatorials' stronger international-mindedness, given their high *VIE-R* scores and qualitative commentary. Striving to cultivate a transplanted, "encapsulated" school culture that is largely removed from the lived experiences and identities of the mostly localised Equatorials will inevitably expose a gulf between majority and minority cultures, mainstream and sub-cultures, and adversely influence relationships amongst individuals and groups. Even so, shared pro-school

expectations and achievement-oriented motivation infused both school's "institutional habitus" to enable Equatorials' largely positive experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. For example, their academic-focused, success-oriented attitude comes through the high rating of the *EIS-R* item, 'Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it' (*Mdn.* = 4.30, *N* = 12), which speaks to the academic "fit" between them as learners/people and the school as an institution (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009).

Finally, the Equatorials characterised the relationship between students and school leaders at both sites as a constraining force. This stemmed mainly from perceptions that: administrative teams were ineffective and/or pursuing an inappropriate change agenda; and that the disciplinary climate and student behavioural expectations engendered by the administration and school more widely created a de-personalised climate in which they felt disempowered.

School co-curricula and curricula contexts

Co-curriculars emerged as a positive force on Equatorials' experiences of the international school in four ways: extensive and varied programmes of activities; opportunity to re-balance classroom/academic curriculum; provide academically weaker students with other ways to grow and shine; and enable cross-aged interactions and friendships.

Moving into the classroom, the Equatorials described how a number of teacher-level forces and factors positively shaped their experiences of and engagement therein. Though smaller class sizes at Waratah High were seen to be a conducive organisational factor, Equatorials at both sites identified positive relationships with teachers as an important contextual factor in this regard. They described how teachers who took a whole-person person approach to them, and jointly addressed their affective and academic needs, motivated them to perform. In particular, the Equatorials characterised their teachers as approachable and friendly, as treating students respectfully and positioning them on an equal footing. In doing so, they evoke the Meridionals' notions of 'teacher-as-friend' and 'teacher-as-mentor' as a positive force on their engagement within the classroom.

In addition, the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High Equatorials described how teachers' instructional practices enhanced their classroom experiences. Though teacher humour and fun were found to contribute to an inviting classroom climate, the Equatorials focused on two

specific teacher-level features. First, teachers' personalised and varied instructional strategies were deemed to be effective – especially when these were used to engage both their academic and affective dimensions (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). Second, the Equatorials highlighted how two-way, discussion-based learning strategies, in particular, made for an engaging classroom environment. Not only did the Equatorials prefer such participative, co-constructed rather than transmissive classroom dynamics, where ideas are exchanged an explored, but a number of them emphasised the importance of having all students involved in the discussion, too.

At the same time, the Equatorials explained that a number of teacher-level forces and factors adversely affected their experiences of and engagement within the classroom. These could be understood in three main ways. First, the examinations focus of the senior years produced stressful and singularly (academically) focused classroom dynamics. This imperative may, in turn, have led to de-personalised student-teacher relationships in which academic (i.e., student) rather than whole-student (i.e., person) dimensions were prioritised. It may also have contributed to the sense of detachment from teachers that some Equatorials described. Though only Konomi, Yun, and Sying explained this perceived distance between Waratah High students and teachers as arising out of a "power" differential, they did proffer that the disconnect may stem from the heritage-based differences between the mostly Hong Kong-Chinese students and Caucasian, Anglo-European teachers – a dynamic that prevails within Hong Kong's broader, post-colonial context, where difficulties do exist in recognising and respecting different experiences and identities on the grounds of race, colour, descent or national or race/ethnic origin (Shamdasani 2004; Ching 2006; Kaur 2007). The third reason relates to teacher practices – i.e., limited teaching and learning repertoire (e.g., worksheets, note-taking); and to teacher-led, transmission-oriented strategies used by some that favoured teacher rather than student talk. To what extent will Equatorial perceptions and experiences of the "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) encountered at Waratah and Windsor High be similar to and/or different from the subjective quality of the Meridionals' (Cluster III)?

Chapter 8: Meridionals – Cluster III student

As stated in Chapter 1, the two-phase study reported here examined the individual- and institutional-level contexts that shaped students' engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. Organised by student cluster, Chapter 8 is the third of three "analytic vignettes" (Erickson, 1986, as cited inSmith 1997: 83) that portrays the "concrete particulars" of the Cluster III international school students: the Meridionals.

Recall from Chapter 4 and Appendix T that the Meridionals group together because of their lower attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions – i.e. View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2).* The attitudinal scores of the Phase 2 Meridionals indicate their weak view of internationalism (*Mdn.* = 2.40, *N* = 6), middling experience of international school (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *N* = 6), and medium-high self-confidence (*Mdn.* = 3.40, *N* = 6). In addition, the Meridionals identify middlingly as 'international school students' (*Mdn.* = 5.00) though less strongly as 'students at their particular international school' (*Mdn.* = 4.50); and their 'academic achievements' (*Mdn.* = 5.00) matter to their sense of self. The Meridional group also included the largest proportion of self-identified expatriate international school students.

This chapter first profiles the Meridionals in terms of their demographics and life experiences, with a particular emphasis on the ways in which the Hong Kong context shaped their sense of place and self. The findings show that several socially-salient and situational identities (e.g., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial/nationality) contributed to dialectical tensions between Meridionals' "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993). This produced a Janus-like relationship with Hong Kong and their international school, which can be understood in terms of 'localised' (due to visible, linguistic, and historical, heritage-based connections to Hong Kong), 'trans-localised,' and 'internationalised' (i.e., looking outwards and elsewhere than Hong Kong) identities and social identity group memberships. Second, the chapter examines the specific school culture, community, curricular, and co-curricular contexts that enabled and impeded Meridionals' experiences within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. As illustrated, these forces both derive from and contribute to each school's habitus, which makes their learning and living environment important contexts that (in)form Meridionals' social identities, self-understandings, and engagement therein.

Demographics and life experiences

The Cluster III international school student was labelled the Meridional type. Meridionals comprised 36 percent of the 544 sampled students and included 108 females (55%) and 87 males (45%). More than half (53%) were born in Hong Kong, which most (67%) considered home. The majority (83%) had resided in Hong Kong for seven or more years, with almost half (47%) 13 or more years. More than half of the Meridionals were either British (30%) or Canadian (27%), though few considered the UK (7%) or Canada (5%) home. A minority (9%) self-reported a Hong Kong passport as their main travel document. The majority (51%) considered English their 2nd language, though most Meridionals either spoke it confidently (50%) or well (21%); nearly half (49%) mostly used Cantonese with their parents.

At the same time, the Meridionals included the largest proportion of self-identified expatriate international school students (17%) – almost twice Cluster II (10%). Most (70%) had spent five or more years at their current international school; and nearly three-quarters were in their penultimate year of secondary school (74%). Relative to the other groups, Meridionals spent less time in school-based co-curricular activities; double (8%) Cluster II (4%) and four times Cluster I (2%) self-reported 0 hours per week. Meridionals also included the largest proportion of 'low' academic achievers – almost one-fifth (17%) generally got C-grade or below, more than four times Cluster I (4%). Half (50%) spent fewer than six hours per week on homework outside lessons. Although Meridionals scored 'academic achievement' (*Mdn*. = 4.70) the highest of the *SIPI-R* items in terms of its relative importance to 'who I am,' it was significantly lower than Cluster I (*Mdn*. = 6.00) and II (*Mdn*. = 5.40). This meridional characteristic of scoring lower on the attitudinal measures is what most clearly distinguishes Meridionals from the Septentrionals and Equatorials.

The importance of Hong Kong to the Meridionals can be understood in terms of their attachment to it as the place in the world they called home. The vast majority of the Phase 1 Meridionals (*N* = 195) had lived in Hong Kong for 7 or more years (83%) – and nearly half had done so for 13 or more (47%). Two-thirds (67%) considered it home. The result of a Spearman's rho correlation test indicated that there was a moderately-sized, inverse relationship between Hong Kong as home and years in Hong Kong, $r_s(195) = -.44, p < .001$: the Phase 1 Meridionals who did not consider Hong Kong home were more likely to have lived there for fewer years. Similarly, though half of the Phase 2 Meridionals had lived for 7 or more years in Hong Kong – and one-third had done so for 13 or more – only one-third

called it home. The result of a Spearman's rho correlation test also revealed a very high and inverse relationship between Hong Kong as home and years in Hong Kong, $r_s(6) = -89$, $p < .05$: the Phase 2 Meridionals who did not consider Hong Kong home were more likely to have resided less long in the territory.

The relative importance of Hong Kong to the Meridionals can also be understood in terms of their 1st language and self-reported student type. In Phase 1, slightly more Meridionals identified English (46%) as their 1st language than Cantonese (43%); and the majority self-reported being either expatriate (17%) or expatriate-Hong Kong (47%) international school students, rather than local-Hong Kong (35%). The result of a Spearman's rho correlation test indicated that there was a moderately-sized, inverse relationship between 1st language and type of international school student, $r_s(195) = -.51$, $p < .001$: the Phase 1 Meridionals whose 1st language was English were more likely to self-identify as expatriate or expatriate-Hong Kong international school students than as local-Hong Kong international school students. The positive correlation between student type and years in Hong Kong ($r_s(195) = .49$, $p < .001$), as well as inverse relationship between student type and Hong Kong as home ($r_s(195) = -.45$, $p < .001$), further underscore the importance of Hong Kong to the Meridionals.

A similar pattern can be seen with the Phase 2 Meridionals ($N = 6$). Twice as many identified English (67%) rather than Cantonese (33%) as their 1st language. The majority of Meridionals also self-reported being either expatriate (50%) or expatriate-Hong Kong (33%) international school students, rather than local-Hong Kong (17%). Though there was no significant correlation between the two factors of 1st language and student type ($r_s(6) = -.78$, $p = .06$), the result approached significance; it might have been significant with a larger sample size. Nevertheless, the statistically significant, positive, and nearly perfect association between student type and years spent in Hong Kong ($r_s(6) = .95$, $p < .01$) reveals the importance of Hong Kong to the interviewed Meridionals: Meridionals who self-identified as expatriate or expatriate-Hong Kong international school students tended to have lived less long in the territory.

In short, the statistically significant and practically important relationships amongst four demographic factors – i.e., place called home, years in Hong Kong, 1st language, and type of international school student – suggest that Hong Kong did matter to the Phase 1 and 2 Meridionals. Though lower scores on the three clustering attributes are what distinguish the Meridionals from the Septentrionals (Higher) and Equatorials (Middling), these socio-

demographics broadly inform our understanding of the Meridionals' sense of place, self, and school experience. Selected qualitative data are next briefly discussed to add to the Meridional portrait, before the specific contexts that enabled and impeded their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are taken up.

Meridional sub-group one -- Hong Kong as home

I love Hong Kong. (Jessica: l. 51)

The first Meridional interviewee sub-group includes those who felt strongly that Hong Kong was home, which Jessica typifies. As a self-identified local-Hong Kong international school student, she is race/ethnically Chinese, Hong Kong-born, passport-carrying, and first-language Cantonese-speaking. "[F]ully Hong Kong, one hundred percent" (l. 445), she did part of her primary schooling in the local system and guesses that half of her friends are neither students at, nor graduates of, an international school. Though she did spend a few years in Australasia in her childhood, Jessica has lived in Hong Kong for 13 years and calls it home. At the same time, she admits that her family are "not those really traditional Chinese people" (ll. 81-2). Confidently bilingual, she feels that Waratah High has increasingly "got more people who are not like me…. most students are from Hong Kong, local people… they're more shy. One kid told me that he feels intimidated when someone talks to him in English. He isn't so comfortable" (ll. 201-04). Though Jessica's background reflects the dominant socio-demographics of the Equatorials, as seen in Chapter 7, she groups as a Meridional because of her comparatively lower cluster attribute survey scores, in general, and *VIE-R* (*Mdn.* = 2.50), in particular, the cluster attribute of greatest importance in the formation of the Meridional group, as explained in Chapter 3.

Abbie also typifies another type of Meridional 'Hong-Kong-as-home' sub-group member. Caucasian, foreign-born, and a permanent Hong Kong resident, Abbie self-identifies as an expatriate-Hong Kong international school student. Having come "here 14 years ago" (l. 6), she has "really enjoyed [her] years" (l. 11) in Hong Kong and considers it home. Though she is a monolingual Anglophone, she has got "lots of friends at the school from all over the world" (l. 31). At the same time, she is drawn to "the few people who are also from the UK, have similar morals, similar backgrounds, who I like mostly because we share the same humour" (ll. 322-23). Abbie also feels that her Windsor Secondary High teachers, who "mainly are English… [and] similar to my parents" (l. 31), provide a "link to my home

country" (ll. 33-4); they are folks "I can touch home with" (l. 383). 'Home' for Abbie thus refers to both her adopted (Hong Kong) and ancestral (England) jurisdictions.

Hong Kong thus represents an important social context for Jessica and Abbie. Though both affiliate strongly with it, each also reveals how race/ethnic, nationality, language, and place of origin dynamics may be challenging their sense of place and self. As introduced in Chapter 5 and evident in the other student cluster chapters, such dynamics interplay with Waratah and Windsor Secondary High's "institutional habituses" to shape students' experiences of and engagement therein. Though the second Meridional sub-group also grapples with similar issues in how they participate in and build on multiple, nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities, unlike Jessica and Abbie they do not consider Hong Kong home.

Meridional sub-group two -- Elsewhere as home

It's just weird having an [Australasian country] school in the middle of Hong Kong.
(Mason: l. 271)

So ends my conversation with Mason, a monolingual Caucasian who has been in Hong Kong for less than 14 months, after having lived 16 years in a "smallish [Australasian] city" (l. 130) of less than 200,000. A pilot, his father had relocated the family to Hong Kong to work at its airport. The move "to a cultural place like Hong Kong" (l. 17) came as "definitely a big change… a huge change" (129-30) to Mason, just as he was to begin his final years of secondary schooling. In particular, Mason found the "language barriers… hard to get used to" (27). Not surprisingly, Mason was quick to befriend the "few expat kids" (l. 37) at Waratah High who were "sort of in the same position as me" (l. 48): like them, he considers himself an expatriate international school student and does not call Hong Kong home.

Similarly, Jude is a Caucasian Meridional who self-identifies as an expatriate international school student. His three older siblings live in the UK, where he grew up before moving to Hong Kong four years ago. Somewhat bilingual (i.e., French), Jude's Windsor Secondary High friends are "all of different nationalities and range in terms of how long we've been living in Hong Kong. They are American, English, Chinese…. there are three Indian girls who we hang around with as well" (ll. 33-34; l. 218). Jude does not call Hong Kong home, either.

Nor does Matilda, though she is EurAsian and prefers the company of local-Hong Kong international school students: "I think I'm a little different because I can't speak Cantonese,

but I have a lot of Cantonese-speaking friends…. even though I can't speak the language, we just get along so much better than the expatriate group" (ll. 96-100). Of the six Meridional interviewees, Matilda has probably journeyed the most: born in one Southeast Asian country, she then spent four years in Australasia, eight in another Southeast Asian country (where she learnt the native language, which she speaks confidently), before arriving in Hong Kong two years ago. Matilda's journeying is characteristic of the stereotypically 'rootless' international school student, who "move[s] about the world when the careers of their parents require periodic transfers from one location to another" (Blaney 1991: 200). Such change, coupled with her relatively short time in Hong Kong, may explain why Matilda self-identifies as an expatriate international school student. Interestingly, Matilda considers home to be the Australasian country she lived in aged 2 to 6 – where she has not been for ten years, apart from the occasional holiday; and with whose expatriate nationals at Waratah High she does not "get along" (l. 100) because of what she describes as a "culture clash" (l. 116).

In short, this second sub-group of Meridional interviewees affiliates less strongly with Hong Kong, which may be because of their comparatively shorter time living in the territory. Home may also be elsewhere for this sub-group because they do not naturally see and locate themselves within Hong Kong's sociocultural context, given their phenotypic and other differences compared to the Chinese and Cantonese-speaking majority. Yet for Lee, the lone member of the third Meridional sub-group, being 'part' of HK's visible majority represents more of a hindrance than a help given his sense of geo-cultural-national betwixtness.

Meridional sub-group three -- Neither home in Hong Kong nor elsewhere

I think I'm different in the way that I'm from [Western country], and how I lived there for quite some time and then I came here. But I don't think the teachers see that. Because if I don't tell them that I've lived in [Western country] for a long time they just think, without asking, that I'm local. And when I tell them that I'm not local… they then say, 'Oh, yeah. I can tell. You're a bit different. You speak English more fluently,' stuff like that. (Lee: ll. 86-91)

Lee does not know where in the world home is for him, though at first blush he seems to typify the local-Hong Kong international school student: race/ethnically Chinese, Hong Kong-born, passport-carrying, and 1st-language Cantonese-speaking. Though he started in the local school system and knows "a bit about Hong Kong, the cultural things" (ll. 11-12), Lee considers himself "pretty international" (l. 8) and self-identifies as an expatriate-Hong Kong (rather than a local-Hong Kong) student. As with Jessica, Lee considers himself "quite

different from the other students in my class. Most of them have lived in Hong Kong all their life – they're local" (ll. 12-14). He has lived "for a long time" in a Western country (i.e., eight years), which appears to have shaped formatively how he saw himself once he returned to Hong Kong to finish his compulsory secondary school studies at Waratah High:

> *When I first came, the people were very different to me because they're from Hong Kong. It was awkward. I upped myself, in a way, because I was from [Western country].... I didn't want to mix with the local kids... so I tried to stick with the... English-speaking people more. (Lee: ll. 21-23; ll. 30-32).*

Although Lee is fluent in Cantonese and English, and sees himself as a hybridized Hong Kong-Westerner, he admits that when he returned to the territory, "I didn't fit in. With the local kids, I couldn't fit in with their culture. And with the Western kids, I wasn't really [Australasian national]. So I didn't know where to go" (ll. 156-58). Given his sense of geo-cultural-national betwixtness (recall that nearly half of the Septentrional interviewees felt similarly), it is not surprising that Lee does not know where in the world home is for him as he grapples with his multiple, nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities.

Consequently, three general patterns emerge from this closer consideration of the Meridionals' background factors. First, a number of socially-salient and situational (i.e., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial/nationality) identities play a formative role in how the Meridionals come to locate themselves within Hong Kong. As they develop, construct, and negotiate these and other types of identities, which "do not merely exist *a priori* but rather are the result of distinct identification processes" (Rummens 2003: 25), it appears necessary to consider their relative and intersective influence on the meanings the Meridionals attach to them. Second, the combined quantitative and qualitative data reveal the variegated ways in which Meridionals' (in-) congruent border-crossings within and across global-local-personal contexts have shaped their sense of self, place, and home. Though five of the six self-identified with a specific national group, as well as to people and experiences associated with particular nationalist contexts, their remarks also point to a growing identification as trans-nationals with a heightened awareness of their trans-cultural/national realities on various levels. This difference is a salutary reminder that whilst the three empirically-distinct student groups (i.e., Septentrional, Equatorial, and Meridional), using *VIE-R, EIS-R,* and *SC-F2* attitudinal data response patterns, point to some important differences amongst international school students in Hong Kong, notable within-cluster differences also exist. These should be borne in mind when examining Meridional experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Lastly, the way in which the Meridional interviewees saw and located themselves within Hong Kong reveals a dialectic amongst their "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993). These two concepts usefully frame the challenges that all six Meridional interviewees face when negotiating the broader Hong Kong and international school contexts. At the same time, their medium-high rating of the Social and Personal Identity *(SIPI-R)* scale item, 'My being an international school student' (*Mdn.* = 5.00, *N* = 6), and medium rating of 'My being a student at this school' (*Mdn.* = 4.50, *N* = 6), indicate the relative importance to their sense of self Meridionals attached to these two social identities. Starting with a consideration of their international-mindedness, the discussion then turns to the Meridionals' discursive and institutional interactions to explore how and why specific contexts both enabled and impeded their lived schooling realities.

View of internationalism

'Weaker' international-mindedness

Mason expresses a weaker view of internationalism that seemed to stem from his background and likely led to his (dis-) engagement from Waratah High. Recall that Mason considered it a "huge change" to move to a "cultural place like Hong Kong" (l. 17) from the "smallish city" (l. 129) in Australasia where he had been raised. What struck him most about his peers after arriving in Hong Kong was their "amazing number of nationalities…. They go a long way in making this an international environment" (ll. 127-31). As he explains, "it was a really different experience here" because "you've got the different nationalities all mixed into one classroom. *It's all a little weird*" (ll. 137-39; Italics added). In response, Mason retreated into the familiar and gravitated towards the small number of like-minded Western expatriates.

Matilda is another Meridional who arguably conveys a weaker view of internationalism. Like her classmate, Mason, she self-identifies as an expatriate and considers the same Western country home. Unlike Mason, however, Matilda is bilingual, EurAsian, and has spent almost a decade as an international school student in two other Southeast Asian countries. She also prefers the company of her Hong Kong-Chinese rather than expatriate classmates. Yet despite her international predilections, Matilda takes a celebratory approach to culture when discussing what she feels stops Waratah High from "show[ing] that… [it] is an international school:"

> *I can't see much of this school participating in its multi-culturalism. I mean, there is Chinese week, but I've been to another international school… and multi-culturalism was everywhere. For instance, the uniform wasn't so strict so people would come in wearing what they used to wear in their original culture. They would be wearing all the earrings and stuff and all the jewellery, whereas here we can't do that. We can't express any kind of multi-culturalism. We would have international days and come in wearing our national costumes. There'd be performances where people would do their cultural dances, like Indian dancing. That kind of thing. But here, there's really not much to show that this is an international school. (ll. 201-210)*

At the heart of her weaker view of internationalism seems to be an interest in and validation of the superficial, romanticised, and folkloric manifestations of cultural differences (i.e., 3D – dance/dress/diet; 3S – sari/samosa/steel band; 4F – fashion/food/flag/festival (Donald and Rattansi 1992; Schugurensky 2005)). Yet even by these tourist-like standards, Waratah High falls short of the mark for Matilda.

'Stronger' international-mindedness

In contrast, stronger views of internationalism can be seen in what three other Meridionals share. For example, Jude considers Windsor Secondary High an international school because it has "different people from all over the world in close contact with each other, being friends with each other. There's no real discrimination between different people. It's all close" (ll. 168-69). As developed in the next section, the dictate of difference is both an important catalyst for Jude's friendships and a contributor to his positive experiences of and engagement within the international school, in particular. Similarly, Jessica considers Waratah High to be

> *really multi-cultural. There are so many people with different experiences to share and learn from. There's me, who is fully Hong Kong, one hundred percent, but who teachers think I'm [Australasian nationality] because of how I think, talk, and act; and there are people who go the other way around. It's a mix. It's really international. It's great. (ll. 445-49)*

Jessica's sensitivities appear to transcend the (superficial) cultural manifestations that Matilda identifies and seems to value. She focuses instead on the (participative) state of mind/action that makes someone "international" (i.e., how I think, talk, and act) rather than (spectative concerns with) dress, food, or dance. As Jessica explains, in the "mix" of differences that makes Waratah High "really multi-cultural," she sees "a group of international people instead of hundreds of different people" (l. 454). Her allusion evokes the multi-cultural salad bowl metaphor, in which different cultural ingredients "mix" without losing their individual characteristics; and from which an inclusive "group" emerges that integrates rather than assimilates the cultural differences therein. Though her point of view could be taken, more

critically, as 'consumptive,' when seen in relation to her other remarks and observed patterns of interactions I believe that Jessica embodies a stronger view of internationalism that tends towards a cosmopolitan ethic (Appiah 2006): i.e., she sees herself in others, respects the cultural differences that exist, and remains open to learn from "different people" and "different experiences."

Abbie expresses similar cosmopolitan tendencies by wondering whether noticing difference does not end up making someone (and, by extension, their school) "less international:"

> *I don't know if this phrase 'international school' is a good thing. I think we are international in that we recognise everyone's cultures. There's always an Indian dance and, as I was saying about the SSC [Senior School Centre], you've got Bombay, Chinatown, where all the different people sit. So cultures are very recognised here. But I think to be truly 'international' is not to recognise each other's cultures. Not to say, 'Oh look at him. He's Indian. I accept that.' It's not to do that. It's to say 'Well, there's a person. What can I learn from them?' So it depends on how you define 'international.' I don't think there are racial tensions here, but there's racial awareness. And I think that makes us less international than if we just existed normally. (ll. 387-394)*

Abbie gets at the semantic, axiological, and practical issues discussed in Chapter 2 invoked when "international" is deployed. Her remark brings to mind what Pasternak (1998) expresses as the "pipedream" of international education – i.e., the pursuit of a 'universalised' globalised (or inter-nationalised) education versus a more 'particularised' multi-cultural education. Evoking cosmopolitanism, Abbie reconciles the tensions by recognising shared commonality ("Well, there's a person") and engaging inquisitively others ("What can I learn from them?"). That there is "racial awareness" at Windsor Secondary High (e.g., "there's always an Indian dance…. cultures are very recognised"), what Matilda feels is missing from Waratah High, makes it "less international" for Abbie than if they "just existed normally." Its explicit recognition of race/ethnicity and approach to culture run contra to her stronger international sensibilities and cosmopolitan mantra: to "learn from" people's "universality plus difference" (Appiah 2006: 151).

Abbie thus expresses a solidarity-of-personhood that sees a connection "not *through* identity but *despite* difference" (Appiah 2006: 135, Italics in original). Her stronger view of internationalism speaks to a trans-cultural, cosmopolitan connection that is, fundamentally, about being a human, which brings to mind the inherent bi-focality of Tuan's (1996) "cosmopolitan hearth," in particular: she integrates communitarianism (i.e., cosmos: 'I am a human being') and individualism (i.e., hearth: 'I am an individual human being') to focus on how, as members of various human communities, we are individually constructed in relation

to others and within cultures that are historically and contextually formed: i.e., the "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193).

Co-curricula context: Enabler of engagement

The next section develops our understanding of the ways in which Meridionals' international-mindedness enabled their positive experiences of Waratah and Windsor Secondary High by looking more closely at the co-curricular contexts. Specifically, the Meridionals identified several co-curricular conditions: i.e., the broad range of activities for students to do outside the classroom, be they school-facilitated or student-directed; the experiential learning opportunities, locally and out of Hong Kong; the self-development and growth, in terms of skill-set or perspective; and the relationship-building possibilities with teachers and other students that occurs when doing co-curricular activities.

The first strong sub-theme to emerge focuses on the range of opportunities for students in which to get involved. As Jude explains, Windsor Secondary High

> *runs lots of sporting activities – anything from football to the inter-house tennis competitions that are going on at the moment. And if there's a sport that someone likes that the school doesn't offer, then they have the option to start a club for themselves. So the school is very good with the extra-curricular programme. But there's also the debating club, chess team, Model United Nations. There's a wide range. There's something for everyone. (ll. 55-64)*

As Jude also suggests, when such school-facilitated co-curriculars are not available, then the students can fill the gap themselves (Similar observations are made by Manchu and Rosie, Waratah and Windsor Secondary High Septentrionals, respectively, in Chapter 6).

In addition, Meridionals at both schools described how their annual, weeklong co-curricular programme, where lessons are suspended and students pursue a specific co-curricular challenge, enhanced their schooling experiences. For example, Mason found his service trip

> *a great experience. Just being there, with friends from all over the world, was great. It was probably one of the highlights of the year for me. We went and built houses for the Cambodian kids. We also went to temples and other historic places. It was amazing. But, as I said, coming from [an Australasian city] to be standing at a temple in Cambodia with kids from South Africa, England, Hong Kong was also a bit weird. (ll. 162-68)*

The combination of individual (e.g., Mason's background) and institutional factors (e.g., collaborative service work being done, the location, other people) heightened its positive impact for Mason. My four-lesson observations of Mason left me believing that his learning needs are better met through such experiential and non-formal educational opportunities (e.g.,

he was disruptive, disorganised, and for virtually the entire time, visibly off-task. His dis-engagement was also evident in the five morning tutor group registrations I observed). This contrasts what I learnt about him from one of the Cambodian service trip teacher-leaders, who spoke glowingly about Mason's attitude (e.g., he "was really positive about what we were doing there") and behaviour (e.g., he "definitely pulled his weight").

For Lee, it was learning to ski in North Asia that shaped positively his disposition towards Waratah High: "It's the best trip I've been on because I was part of a group, the teachers were fun, and I got to learn something new. It was superb" (ll. 129-31). Whilst Mason highlights the "being there" ("with friends from all over the world") and doing (i.e., building houses) parts of his Cambodian service work, Lee singles out his ski trip's shared experience ("I was part of a group") as a key reason for why this co-curricular event stood out for him. Lee continues with another example:

> *Talking to teachers is positive. On Swimming Carnival day, I had a really long talk with my maths teacher. Just casually, about simple things in life. I was telling him about my life and asking him some questions about himself. He was giving me advice. That's positive. That makes me feel good. (ll. 137-40)*

Lee values the opportunity to develop personalised relationships with teachers, whether out or in the classroom. In the process, he evokes a nuanced distinction between being engaged 'to' rather than 'with' a teacher, a prepositional shift that connotes a differently positive teacher-student partnership (Jarrett 2007). As Mason and Lee describe, students and teachers can connect powerfully through both on-going and annual co-curriculars, a point made by participants across all three clusters, which underscores the importance of attending to the school's living and learning environment.

At the same time, the final reason Lee gives for why his ski trip was so memorable points to this section's second sub-theme: i.e., co-curriculars provide opportunities for self-development that can strengthen students' experiences of and engagement within the school. For example, Jessica feels that she is "outgoing" and enjoys "meeting people" (l. 75) because of what she has done and learnt outside the classroom. Such opportunities are readily available to students at

> *international schools because they encourage you to do just about everything – any activities, sports, drama. I used to do lots of sports in school… I started basketball when I was in Year 7, when I was not as outgoing. But after taking that first step, I became more confident in myself. (ll. 89-93)*

(Xia, a Waratah High Equatorial peer, also describes in Chapter 7 the ways in which the same basketball coach's support helped her grow personally and deepened her sense of school belongingness). As Jessica continues, the

> *school's encouragement makes me more confident.... The school is always encouraging us to be out there, to be confident, to lead. My mom's really glad I'm this way because I'm single-parented and an only child. She's happy I can be out there by myself. That I can adjust to change... be independent. (ll. 94-115)*

Yet it is not only Jessica who has benefited and grown because of this co-curricular opportunities seized. By taking part in and leading "house meetings and house activities" (l. 192), she has got "to know those [students] who are shy… [and got them] out of their comfort zone, talking, and involved" (ll. 193-94). Jessica's positive influence on others was obvious in my observations of her, both in and out of the classroom. I saw her reaching out to others, interacting with a range of students from different year groups, and generally being an infectious and constructive all-around force for good. Not surprisingly, given these sporting and house activity experiences and successes, Jessica's peers and teachers selected her to be a prefect.

Though she had much to say about the positive ways in which this leadership co-curricular had shaped her sense of self and school engagement, she describes the "training camp" at the beginning of her tenure as an especially powerful experience (Recall Brock's description of his similarly transformative experience at the same prefect leadership camp in Chapter 6):

> *There was just the ten of us and [Messrs. Administrator one and two]. Because we were going there to do leadership classes, we at first were quite nervous. At the same time, we thought that if we couldn't do this, we wouldn't have been elected. So we went and did problem-solving, physical stuff, and other team-building activities. It turned out to be really, really good. It made us aware of our strengths and abilities and we became much better friends. When we came back, we felt like we were a team of prefects. We weren't just ten individuals. (ll. 268-75)*

Although her student leadership experience was equally formative for Abbie, a Windsor Secondary High Meridional, who joined the "Senior Student Council (SSC) because [she] wanted to be involved in school change" (l. 364), what made it "really special" for her was that "you're elected by your peers – solely. For the Charity committee and Peer Support, it's the teachers who will look and say, 'Well yes, this person's suitable.' But SSC was peers. That's meant a lot to me" (ll. 366-68). The peer validation also mattered to Jessica -- "Getting elected as prefect means that other people actually agree with me. So that makes me feel really good" (ll. 320-21) -- underscoring the extent to which self-development, self-worth, and sense of school belongingness interplay and can derive from an array of co-curricular

opportunities seized. It is also interesting that whilst Jessica and Abbie are the only Phase 2 Meridionals to hold formal positions of student leadership at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, their *EIS-R* scores indicate very different experiences of schooling: Jessica's ($M = 4.10$) is highly positive – the highest of the six Meridional interviewees; Abbie's ($M = 2.80$) is the second-to-lowest. This speaks to why triangulating data points and using observational and interview data, in particular, can complement, clarify, and extend survey findings.

In short, Abbie, Jessica, Jude, Mason, and Lee express several ways in which co-curriculars enabled their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High engagement: i.e., the broad range of activities for students to do outside the classroom, be they school-facilitated or student-directed; the experiential learning opportunities, locally and out of Hong Kong; the self-development and growth, in terms of skill-set or perspective; and the relationship-building possibilities with teachers and other students that occurs when doing co-curricular activities. It is interesting that no Meridional described the disabling influence of co-curriculars on their school engagement therein.

Peers context

Peers are a second important context that enabled Meridionals' positive experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Though what follows explores the ways in which student body relations did so favourably, aspects of the peer-level context will also be shown to impede Meridionals' experience of their school's ethos and culture.

Positive

Dictate of sameness

The first sub-theme to emerge for the Meridionals highlights the positive influence of the dictate of sameness: i.e., a broadly shared sense of likeness, stemming from mutually compatible personal and social identities, interests, common classes, and use of space. For example, Abbie explains "if you're a loud, confident, boisterous person, you will find yourself with loud, confident, boisterous people. The similar sorts of people go together" (ll. 200-01). For her, that also meant keeping the company of "a couple [of friends] who are very, very academic, and very high achievers. Not only that, but they get involved in all aspects of school life" (ll. 314-15). Jessica emphasises a related set of personal identities when she describes herself as "loud, outgoing, and really active" (l. 173). She associates these qualities

with the "foreigners, expats" (l. 179), a number of whom she counts as friends, and which she contrasts to the main trait of the student body majority from "Hong Kong, local people [who] are more quiet and shy" (l. 195) – who "are not like me" (l. 201). Jessica was nevertheless seen interacting confidently with both Hong Kong-Chinese and expatriate peers alike, in and out of the classroom.

Meridionals also described how shared social identities shaped patterns of relationships amongst students. For Jude, the main factors were being "in the same form or classes. I've also got friends in other years because of sports events or other things that we do together" (ll. 39-40). The second part points to the influence of co-curriculars in bringing together the different year groups and enabling the school's vertical cohesion. (Recall Ryan, who also emphasises the importance of sameness to his friendships in Chapter 6). Continuing, Jude proffers that the use of social space by his group of friends, "the area that we sit-in in the common room, actually – we just sit in the same couple of sofas" (l. 222-23), transcends an otherwise visibly segregated Windsor Secondary High student body (largely along heritage-based lines).

Recurring Meridional comments underscored the important link between personal and social identities, notably of birth-country and/or nationality. For example, Abbie is drawn to the "few students who are also from the UK, have similar morals, similar backgrounds, who I like mostly because we share the same humour" (ll. 321-23). Though Mason seems to have haphazardly befriended a particular student group, "I guess I'm an expat and they're expats" (l. 46), he goes on to describe them as "very opinionated. They've got a lot of self-confidence. Not like me" (ll. 37-8). As Mason continues, the way these peers simultaneously expressed and performed their personal and social identities made it "sort of tough to break into the group when I first came here. It took a few months to become the friends that we are now" (ll. 39-40).

Dictate of difference

On the other hand, the second sub-theme to emerge highlights how the dictate of difference could also be an enabler of Meridionals' friendships and their engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. For example, when asked about his friends Jude starts by describing their differences: "We're all of different nationalities…. There are Americans, English, and Chinese" (ll. 33-34). Similarly, his classmate Abbie states, "I've got lots of friends at the school from all over the world" (l. 31). Jessica characterises her Waratah High

friends as "all different and… all really special and important to me…" (l. 161). (Recall Rosie, who also emphasises the importance of difference to her friendships in Chapter 6).

In contrast, while differences also stand out for Mason, "the kids here are very different to back in [Australasian country]. They have a different take on things, different backgrounds. You've got international people…. Not much of that in [city] where I'm from" (ll. 24-26), his preferences and behaviours point to his ethnocentricity. For example, Mason describes how the "Chinese kids" at Waratah High were "extremely helpful" when he first arrived in Hong Kong – and now, "a few of the Chinese boys in the class *even come out with us*. And some of the girls do, too" (ll. 187-88; Italics added). He not only uses race/ethnicity (and gender) as salient markers of social identity to describe his peers, but the second part of his utterance makes a telling "us" (i.e., expatriate/Western/White) and them (i.e., Hong Kong-Chinese) distinction. The connotation of insider-outsider group positioning gets amplified by Mason's choice of intensive adverb "even" to convey (ethnocentric) surprise: the different student groups *actually* interact socially (though, admittedly, in a one-way fashion). At no time does Mason ever mention joining his Hong Kong-Chinese peers; nor did I ever see Mason overtly interacting with such peers within school.

To varying degrees, Jude, Abbie, Jessica, and Mason call into question the adage that birds of a feather do flock together. Yet for Abbie, the international school can encourage students to learn how to build bridges across difference by

> *forcing us to work with different people in class. I didn't take the same subjects as my best friend, so I was forced to meet new people. That sort of opened me up. I realised, 'Hey! There are other nice people in the world. They don't belong to these cliques… and we have something to offer each other.' That was really enlightening for me. (ll. 294-98)*

Being "forced to work with different people" is enabling her inter-group sensibilities. Abbie has come to recognise that humans are different and is prepared to learn from these differences by seizing opportunities in class and with her tutor group, "to sit and talk to people who I don't get to see in lessons, and who I don't sit with in the SSC. I get a lot out of that" (ll. 234-36).

Negative

At the same time, recurring Meridional comments revealed that other institutional efforts aimed to get students interacting across differences (e.g., vertical tutoring, whole-school assembly reminders) are deemed less effective and seen to impede their experiences of the

social context of schooling. These counterpoint what has been taken up as the enabling force on peer-level dynamics of the dictates of sameness and difference, and raise questions about the nature, scope, and effect of majority and minority cultures within the student body. In particular, they speak to how mainstream cultures and sub-cultures get constituted segregatively along the lines of categorical identities (primarily linguistic, race/ethnic, and nationality, but also interest group and academic subjects) to challenge negatively Meridionals' experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Segregated student body

Jude, for example, a Caucasian European, explains that

> *there are lots of different social groups in the SSC [Senior School common room]. Some of them you can see quite clearly – like nationality and ethnicity groups. There's always a group of just Indians and groups of just Chinese people sitting together. (ll. 226-28)*

He raises a number of germane points. First, conspicuously absent from his description is the Caucasian race/ethnic student group, which is numerically small but highly visible at Waratah Secondary High, given where they congregate during break times. Its omission from Jude's social map of the common room is interesting (recall also that Jude considered his group of friends to be more "international" because they were race/ethnically and nationally diverse).

Yet Jude does single out two "different social groups" that "you can see quite clearly": "*a group of just Indians and group*s *of just Chinese.*" The singular-plural distinction is a second relevant point that he raises. Why singular for Indians? They were, after all, the second largest sub-group of students by race/ethnicity at Windsor Secondary High after the Hong Kong-Chinese majority. Virtually all of these students were long-term Hong Kong residents, though many could also speak an Indian language (Hindi, Bengali, and Gujarati being the most common) in addition to English; and some were also proficient in Cantonese. Did Jude really only notice *one* (undifferentiated) group of Indian students in the common room? For I observed at least five different sub-groups of Indian students, which regularly congregated therein over the three weeks I spent at Windsor Secondary High. Though all race/ethnically Indian, my informal conversations found them to sub-cluster first by year group (i.e., Year 12 or 13), second by shared heritage-based commonalities (e.g., Indian province family comes from, language, and/or religion), and third by shared interest (e.g., sports, classes). This intra-group diversity is not apparent in Jude's singular and undifferentiated reference to "a

group of just Indians." Jude neither included Indian as part of his "international" circle of friends nor was seen to interact with any Indian peers.

In contrast, Jude's pluralisation of "groups of just Chinese" more truly depicts the prevailing peer-level patterns of relations amongst the Hong Kong-Chinese students at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. One recurring factor that seemed to influence their intra-group dynamics was their provenance – i.e., 'localised' (due to visible, linguistic, and historical, heritage-based connections to Hong Kong) versus 'trans-localised' versus 'internationalised' (i.e., looking outwards and elsewhere than Hong Kong). This distinction recurred in Septentrional (e.g., Freya, Manchu, Li Na), Equatorial (e.g., Sying, XiuXiu, Ai), and Meridional (e.g., Jessica, Mason, Lee) self-characterisations. Though birthplace (i.e., Hong Kong vs. elsewhere) and schooling (i.e., local, Chinese-medium vs. international, English-medium) background mattered, language preferences seemed to be the main contributing force to how the Hong Kong-Chinese students sub-clustered. Given the choice, did they default to Chinese (i.e., Cantonese, Putonghua) or English with their peers?

Such dynamics are largely consistent with Matilda's experiences at Waratah High, who sees

> *a bit of a division in the school because we have Cantonese speakers and non-Cantonese speakers. Although there are cliques and groups in every school, in this one I see it as quite a big division because you've got 80 percent of the students that speak Cantonese most of the time and maybe 20 percent of us expatriates who speak English all the time. (ll. 85-9)*

Despite the school's 'English only' policy (as the shared language of inclusion), her observation echoes what others at both research sites noted: students used language intentionally to exclude others. (Recall Freya's and Yun's similar point in Chapters 6 and 7). Yet the picture gets more complicated as Matilda, who is 1 of 34 Phase 2 interviewees to self-report a mixed heritage (and the only Meridional to do so), explains:

> *I think I'm a little different to the others because I can't speak Cantonese, but I have a lot of Cantonese-speaking friends…. When I first came here, I would sit at the table and wouldn't know what's going on. But my friends would translate for me and still do today. Even though I can't speak the language, we just get along so much better than the expatriate group. (ll. 96-100)*

Pressed to clarify, Matilda offers "culture clash" (l. 116) as the main reason for why she does not freely associate with her expatriate peers: "I've not lived in [Australasian country] for over ten years, though I've been there on holiday. They've only come to Hong Kong after having lived there for a long time" (ll. 117-19). Despite having the same passport, desire to pursue further studies in Australasia, and English as a 1st language, Matilda was neither born

in Australasia nor has resided there for any significant period of time. She is confidently bilingual, moreover, and has lived in four countries in all – two background traits that do not, according to her, apply to her Waratah High expatriate peers and contribute to their different worldviews.

So whilst Matilda readily self-identifies as an expatriate, and still considers that particular Australasian country home (though her "holiday" reference above evokes a tourist rather than resident view), she prefers the company of her Hong Kong-Chinese peers. Her family has likely influenced her in this regard; her mother is Southeast Asian and teaches in a local school, and her Caucasian-Western father is also a teacher in a local school. Given her bilingualism, formative international experiences, and mixed race/ethnic heritage, on the one hand, and her unfavourable view of the school's expatriates (i.e., values, beliefs, and behaviours), on the other, it is not surprising that she offers "culture clash" as the reason why she does not identify with the expatriate minority and prefers the company of her Hong Kong-Chinese peers.

Though English is their common language, her assertion indicates that they prefer speaking Cantonese to each other – even when she is present and knowing that she does not understand them. Indeed, the use of language as a mechanism to exclude (un-) intentionally is symptomatic of student body dynamics at both school sites. As Matilda explains,

> *I'm not sure if you've been to a few of the past assemblies, but Mr. [Administrator] has been trying to get the Cantonese speakers to use English at school. He's talking about it as being excluding. I told my Cantonese friends to ignore him. I don't mind if they speak Cantonese. It doesn't bother me. Maybe the teachers see it as a problem that the Chinese and expatriates aren't mingling as much as they should. But I'm in-between, so I don't care. (ll. 125-30)*

Matilda deepens our understanding of the heritage-based student body segregation. She also draws attention to the experiences of those students who, because of their hybridized heritage, may not feel that they readily belong in either the majority or minority student sub-groups that get constituted. Matilda's sense of cultural betwixtness speaks to how matters of diversity, inclusivity, and exclusivity formatively affected students' lived realities of schooling (Nieto 1999; Yon 2000; Brady 2005), as she participated in and built on her multiple, nested local, cultural, and global affinities and identities.

Similarly, her classmate Lee, who is of Hong Kong-Chinese heritage, describes the challenges he had to overcome as a new student at Waratah High:

> *When I first came, I didn't feel that I fit in. With the local kids, I couldn't fit in with their culture. And with the [Australasian] kids, I wasn't really [citizen of that country]. So I didn't know where to go. I didn't know which group to join. I didn't really have a place. (ll. 156-159)*

(Recall Mason's related predicament, who as a Caucasian-Westerner was neither as worldly, self-confident, or "opionionated" as his expatriate peers nor able to readily connect with the Hong Kong-Chinese student majority at Waratah High). Though Lee goes on to say that his sense of social betwixtness lessened over time, as he "got back a bit of the Hong Kong culture" (l. 32) and spent time getting to know the "local kids," it did not help that teachers failed to recognise his predilection: "I don't think the teachers see that, because if I don't tell them that I lived in [Australasian country] for a long time they just think, without asking, that I'm local" (ll. 87-8). Lee's experiences and reactions contrast Jessica's, a more confident border-crosser with both "local" and "international" Hong Kong-Chinese friends, as well as expatriate/Westerner peers, and feet firmly planted in both cultural camps.

Echoing Jude and Matilda, Abbie deepens our understanding of the patterns of relationships amongst students and their implications for students' experiences of the school's social context:

> *I don't involve myself in this, because I don't believe it's right, but in the SSC where the sofas are, Bombay is where all the male Indian cricketers sit. Then there's Coolsville, where all the cool people sit. And they're very divided up on that side. And then on the left-hand side are tables where, if you're being stereotypical, the geeks – the people who are conscientious, hardworking, predominantly Asian, I would guess – are. You walk down the middle to the resources room and I've heard people say that's a real catwalk, with people on the left and the right judging you. I know people feel really insecure about that. They don't like the SSC being so divided. I mean me, personally, I don't have a very tight friendship group. I feel I'm welcomed everywhere.... Having so many different friends from so many different groups... I know people for the people they are. They're all different and they're all great fun.... But it is very, very judgemental up there. Forcing us all into this small space is very intimidating. (ll. 180-196)*

Abbie's observation raises three relevant points. The first, as noted by student and teacher participants alike, is the "divided" student body along heritage-based lines. She highlights how gender, sporting interest, popularity, and academic ability intertwine with race/ethnicity to produce differential statuses therein. These markers of social and personal identities thus visibly and spatially stratify relationships amongst students, who group and occupy hierarchised positions that both stem from and contribute to the common room's "very, very judgemental" atmosphere.

Third, in the process Abbie reveals her own betwixtness within this social cartography. Though she does not involve herself "in this, because I don't believe it's right," and knows that students "feel really insecure about" the judging that goes on, Abbie feels "welcomed everywhere." She has the self-confidence and interpersonal skills needed to border-cross successfully. At the same time, she admits to not having "a very tight friendship group" and to being an insider-outsider:

> Let's take a metaphor. If I fell over and hurt myself, I've got lots of friends from all sorts of different groups who would come and ask me, 'How are you feeling? Are you okay?' But I've got no one who'd visit me in hospital…. Everyone's very nice but I, personally, don't have any close, close friends, or consider myself part of a group. So in the SSC, I'll flit from clique to clique. (ll. 264-71)

The dictate of difference is a Janus-like shaper of Abbie's school experiences. Her negotiation of the student body diversity has enabled her to develop an awareness and understanding of salient differences in terms of peers' personal and social identities, as well as the ability to respect and relate to those who are not like her. By learning how to negotiate and bridge the different norms and expectations of the different student groups, Abbie has cultivated cosmopolitan sensibilities. At the same time, she has come to see the more salubrious effects of this dictate of difference on the patterns of relationships amongst students: "Stepping back, I think it's created quite an unfriendly atmosphere up there" (l. 223). She recognises how these dynamics have produced a visibly stratified student body; and laments the consequences on students' lived realities:

> The people who have more confidence will pass judgments on those who don't. And the less confident ones won't speak out about that. So we get this perceived view that some groups are better or worse on the social status scale because the people at the top decide what that is. And that's just not right. (ll. 202-205)

Other Septentrionals (e.g., Yi Men, Sienna) and Equatorials (e.g., Sying) share Abbie's concern with how group status plays out in the school's social spaces. These prevailing and exclusionary social dynamics are taken up in Chapter 9 as a recurring cross-cluster, cross-site issue of import.

"Institutional habitus" and segregative student body dynamics

Shifting focus from the peer to the school level, Abbie's observation ("Forcing us all into this small space is very intimidating") points to the institution's role in condoning, tacitly and/or explicitly, such segregative dynamics. As Abbie explains,

> in Year 11, we were all in the level above the senior school. Things were very concentrated up there, too, but it was more each group in a different classroom. The

groups weren't interacting, so you didn't notice it so much, but the similar sorts of
people were in the same classroom together. In the SSC, we're all put together. And
because of our free periods, we've got a bit more time to spend together as a year
group. So all of a sudden, you're looking at the bigger picture. You see the different
groups. So it's much more highlighted. (ll. 208-215).

If students are left to self-segregate in this way, then it is not surprising that the divide grows to become more visible when they move into the common room's shared space. My observations of students' use of social space (i.e., playground, refectory, and tutor bases/classrooms) largely concur with what Abbie and others are saying: Waratah and Windsor Secondary High student bodies visibly segregate along gender lines in the lower-secondary school years; and by cultural heritage and gender in the middle-senior secondary schools (a point echoed by a number of teacher-leaders at both sites as seen in Chapter 5).

At the same time, it is interesting that school attempts to reconfigure the patterns of relationships amongst students are described derisively by Meridionals (recall Matilda telling her Cantonese-speaking friends to ignore a school administrator's directive to use English), Equatorials (e.g., Ai), and Septentrionals (e.g., Sienna, Freya) alike. For example, instead of enabling relationship building amongst students, Jude characterises the form group as a bureaucratic device: "The tutor group doesn't really do much. It just seems to be an opportunity to get us all together to check whether we're here and to give messages to the entire school through smaller groups" (ll. 98-100). Abbie calls the introduction of "vertical tutoring" at Windsor Secondary High "insane. The Year 12s and 13s won't mix, however small a space you force us into. In our tutor group, the Year 12s sit on one side and the Year 13s sit on the other" (ll. 232-34). Lee, a Meridional counterpart at Waratah High, considers such institutional efforts to be misguided and detrimental to students' well-being and school engagement:

Don't try to force people together. [Pause] Don't get up at assembly and promote
this group thing! [Pause] If you get up at assembly and start talking about helping
students to fit in, then people will get uncomfortable about it. The students
themselves who are trying to fit in will feel uncomfortable. Instead, I think the school
should get students to know each other more naturally – perhaps by having activities
earlier in the year, for example. (ll. 172-77)

These representative remarks reveal the challenges schools with culturally diverse student bodies face when trying to legislate inclusivity and eliminate exclusive patterns of relationships amongst students. Doing nothing may tacitly condone segregative dynamics. And tinkering at the edges, without getting at the underlying beliefs and behaviours (i.e.,

school ethos, climate), may only produce cosmetic change that, in the long run, further entrenches the patterns of interactions the school wishes to change in the first place.

In sum, the Meridionals present three ways in which peer-level dynamics constrained their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences. The first relates to the self-segregation of the student body mainly along heritage-based lines. The spatially stratified social spaces to emerge reflect the differential statuses of the student groups that occupy hierarchised positions in the school. Second, the Meridionals revealed how within-group differences may belie a superficial sense of sameness that contributes to divisive patterns of relationships amongst students. Lee, Mason, and Matilda, in particular, highlight their sense of betwixtness to demonstrate how diversity, inclusivity, and exclusivity matters directly shaped their lived realities of schooling. Finally, the Meridionals showed how each school's habitus condoned, both tacitly and overtly, student body dynamics that may be exacerbating divisions therein.

Teachers context

In the next section, the Meridionals' relationships with teachers are examined to see how they enabled and impeded their engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Though the Meridionals characterised 'teacher-as-mentor' and 'teacher-as-friend' approaches as positive forces that strengthened their experiences of schooling, they also described the disabling influence of "mixed messages" and a heavily teacher-regulated climate.

Positive

I think the teachers here are really fantastic. Having been at school for six years solid, I've seen my relationships with teachers grow…. They really do make the school what it is. (Abbie: ll. 22-25)

Abbie's observation is a useful point of departure for three reasons. First, her description of the "really fantastic" teachers and the "great student-teacher relationship" (l. 56) at Windsor Secondary High gets at a core Meridional message to emerge: Students' relationships with teachers formatively shaped their engagement within school. As Abbie explains, this derives from its holistic basis: "It's not all worrying about the exams and the syllabus. There's more to it" (ll. 57-58). Second, Abbie emphasises how this relationship gets cultivated over time and grows as students enter the "senior school. I love the stronger relationships we now have with teachers. We're older, young adults, and they see us as that. We've got much closer to teachers now. We all feel that" (ll. 145-47). Third, Abbie highlights how it is teachers, rather

than students, "who make the school what it is." This is interesting given who schools are arguably designed to serve.

Abbie offers several reasons why her "strong relationship" (l. 106) with teachers has developed, and what this means to her engagement within the classroom. On the one hand, she appreciates the teachers "who train you for the exam and will push you in that direction. That's useful – it gets you the academic grades you need" (ll. 48-49). At the same time, she values those who

> *just give me so much knowledge about the world. Hearing their opinions and then taking that into account and forming my own is so important to my personal development…. Being able to have intellectual debates and conversations about these things with teachers, even if it's not relevant to the syllabus and won't get me passed the exam – that, I think, is the most useful thing. (ll. 50-56)*

Abbie singles out three qualities to develop the continuum above, whose poles differentiate between teachers who pursue more instrumental, pragmatic imperatives ("train you for the exam") and those with more personal-developmental aims (and for whom she reserves the superlative "most useful"). These three teacher attributes are:

> ***Integrity****. They say what they mean. They justify what they mean. I don't always agree with what they're saying, but you can see the thought process. (ll. 42-43)*
>
> *I think it's the **wisdom** of some of the fantastic teachers that we have here. Probably not even on purpose, but setting an example or giving me a comment that I can say, 'Hey wow. That's so important.' (ll. 460-62)*
>
> *They teach you **respect**. You try so hard and then at the end they say, 'Hey that was really good.' I think every student can judge what is a superficial, 'Hey that was really good' or a 'Hey that was really good.' You can see the difference. That comes from respect. (ll. 466-68)*

Abbie feels her teachers "set a great example" (l. 35) through their integrity, wisdom, and respect; they are "such good role models to grow up with" (l. 38). Her teacher-as-mentor picture expresses their enabling influence on her engagement within Windsor Secondary High.

At the same time, the Meridionals present a variation to this student-teacher dynamic that also contributes favourably: i.e., teacher as friend. For example, Jessica explains that

> *teachers always ask me how my acting's going… and sometimes school stuff, too. But most of the time, we just talk like friends…. Most of them are friendly and fun – and understanding. Sometimes when you talk to your parents, they don't understand. But then when you talk to teachers here, they actually do. So they're more like friends. (ll. 137-46)*

Jessica emphasises the affective and emotional dimensions of her learning relationship with teachers rather than the academic (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). As with Jiao (an Equatorial classmate) and Evan (a Windsor Secondary High Septentrional), Jessica contrasts teachers to parents, and likens them to be "more like friends." Jude similarly describes "most" of his Windsor Secondary High teachers: "They know how to interact with us…. They use language that we're familiar with. They have conversations with us as if we're their friends rather than below them, which makes it a lot better. So you're more likely to listen" (ll. 77-84). Though Abbie, Jessica, and Jude all portray their teachers as approachable, the topic management (coupled with their language for Jude) is what makes the relationship for Jessica and Jude one of friends rather than mentor-mentee. Jessica and Jude see themselves on an equal footing with teachers rather than "below them."

Stepping back, the Meridionals refer to four school practices that helped reconfigure asymmetric student-teacher relationship at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The first relates to the dynamics between students and teachers that develop in the student advisory or form/tutor group:

> *[M]ost homeroom teachers have really good relationships with their students. One of my homeroom teachers was my homeroom teacher for two years. I went and talked to him about anything…. when I had family problems last year, I always went to my homeroom teacher. (Jessica: ll. 381-91)*

The second, as discussed in the previous section (and brought up by a majority of Equatorials and Septentrionals alike), arises out of the opportunities for different types of interactions with teachers through co-curriculars than may be possible in the traditional classroom:

> *Our old sports teacher got to be really good friends with us, and so basketball became a social thing that you did. You would go to be with your friends. But even after my friends dropped out, I stayed on the team and learned that I actually liked basketball. I also learned to be around people who aren't my closest friends. (Jessica: ll. 101-105)*

For Mason, responsive teacher support for student-led initiatives is a related and conducive factor:

> *If you want to put something together, the teachers are willing to do it. Like the soccer match we had between the Year 12s and the lower years. We just took it to the teachers and they made it happen…. So when it comes to activities, they're always willing to help us do it. (ll. 117-21)*

A third reason mentioned by half of the Meridional interviewees shows how a smaller student body can help students and teachers connect better:

*[T]eachers here don't really advise you, but they can be someone to talk to. In
[Australasian country], my school was really big. So the teachers didn't know much
about my personal life. But here, it's pretty casual. You can just stop by after class
and talk to the teachers about pretty much anything. (Lee: ll. 75-9)*

In this regard, smaller school size may be an institutional condition that, when coupled with responsive teachers who "are always willing to offer everything they can help-wise" (Mason: l. 94), has the potential to lead to even more positive student-teacher relationships.

Fourth, what also works for Mason is that "not much has changed from the teachers I had in [Australasian country] because many of them are [Australasian country] -orientated" (ll. 71-2). He readily identifies with his teachers in Hong Kong because of the values, beliefs, and behaviours he shares with the majority – "most of the teachers are pretty much in tune" (l. 91) with me – which, in turn, has "made it a lot easier to adjust to this cultural experience" (l. 83). Abbie also readily connects with her Windsor Secondary High teachers, who

*mainly are English. They're similar to my parents. I don't see that a lot in Hong
Kong. That kind of relationship is a sort of link with my home country – the similar
humour, sayings, thoughts. And that's really nice… it's not something I get with my
peers. (ll. 32-35)*

Though these student-teacher affinities (on the strength of their national/cultural ties) may be a constructive influence on student-teacher relationships, they can also rear their Janus-like heads if they only further entrench a school's "encapsulated" rather than "inclusive" mission (Sylvester 1998). (Recall in this regard Elicia's – "I walked in the door and things were familiar. The books were familiar. The attitudes were familiar. The language was familiar. Even the calendar and the schedule were familiar" – and Tyesha's – "When I consider the parallels of the little country town that we were living in before I came here… I see examples of a country-town mentality in this international school setting.…" – remarks discussed in Chapter 5 about their impressions when arriving at Waratah High). They may end up marginalising those who do not share these affinities, as discussed in Chapter 2 and illustrated empirically in the previous section. (Recall also the negative repercussions for Equatorials' school experiences detailed in Chapter 7.) As a cross-cluster theme of import, the intersection of "encapsulated"-"inclusive" institutional aims and students' "enduring"-"situated" selves gets taken up in Chapter 9.

In sum, the Meridionals characterised their relationships with teachers in two broad ways: teacher-as-mentor and teacher-as-friend. Both were seen to strengthen, to varying degrees, their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Negative

At the same time, the Meridionals also described how their relationships with teachers did not always lead to favourable experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. For example, Matilda does not feel "there are close relationships between teachers and students" (l. 54) at Waratah High; she "do[es] not respect or trust them enough" (l. 57). For her classmate Mason, "lack of respect" (l. 207) for the teacher was the "main reason" why he had been having "a lot of troubles" (l. 210) in a particular subject (Recall how Abbie had singled out "respect" as an enabling teacher quality). Admittedly, Mason may not have much respect for the school as a whole, given his sanction the previous year when he had been temporarily suspended for having been caught smoking and drinking alcohol in public whilst still in school uniform.

Matilda develops this less favourable picture when she claims "teachers here just want to keep us in check" (l. 165). She goes on to characterise Waratah High as "too restrictive…. there isn't much freedom given to the Year 12s. Some of us are 19 and we're just not given enough responsibility. Teachers treat us just like the lower years" (ll. 148-51). Given her closing remark about what she will remember – "I think it's just been a way for me to get from point A to point B. Nothing from here will really stick with me when I go to university" (ll. 278-79) – the consequences are real and lived, even if we cannot unscramble her chicken-and-egg problem (i.e., does the lack of "respect or trust" stem from the "restrictive" regime… or vice versa?).

For Abbie, a disabling force is the dissonant priorities of one of her subject's teaching dyad:

> *Getting different pressures from different places is difficult – the mixed messages. For one of my classes, I've got two very different teachers. One of them is the more knowledgeable, rambling kind – hugely informative but not very useful for the exam. On the other side, I've got the teacher who tells us to do this, this, and this for the exam. You're torn. It's the conflicting pressure that, for me, is the worst pressure. (ll. 431-38)*

Though this may perhaps be inevitable when a pair teaches a class, as each partner adds their own personalities and preferences to the instructional mix that students have to translate, Abbie vividly depicts the negative effect on her of the "mixed messages." Her salutary reminder highlights why better scaffolding and guidance are needed to strengthen student interactions with a teaching dyad, as well as to create greater coherence for students.

Changing tack, Abbie adds how student relationships with the school leadership team may be unfavourably influencing their schooling experiences. In particular, Abbie feels that the personnel change, change agenda, and pace of change may be impeding student experiences:

> *I think the problems have got a lot to do with the change of management. I think, generally, teachers aren't as happy. Students aren't as happy. Do you know about the raffle tickets? We sell a lot of raffle tickets because kids will take them home and parents will buy them. But this year, parents haven't been buying them. They're just not so happy with the way things are run. It's a turbulent term, with lots of new things coming in…. It's all caused a lot of problems because things are new and, of course, there needs to be a trial period. But it's been very turbulent. A lot of people have been really quite angered. (ll. 161-67)*

Abbie suggests that teachers, parents, and students alike are adversely affected by "the change of management" and initiatives now being pursued. As Abbie explains, this has a direct effect on students' relationships with teachers and their experiences within the classroom:

> *The teachers have a lot more pressure on them. I mean it's this Friday coming up that there's the three-day IB training course, which means, again, that most of the teachers won't be there. The Year 7s and 9s will be doing something that I guess is personal development, but it just won't be very productive. The Year 8s will be at home. And we'll have supply teachers. It's all this messing about. (ll. 169-73)*

Echoing Abbie, Jessica feels that "everything is getting pulled apart" (l. 208) at Waratah High, which has also experienced a recent change in school leadership. The "new principal" and their initiatives have "made things more difficult" (l. 294) for students this year, which is compounded by the rapidly growing student roll: "a few years ago, this school was really small" (l. 201). So though Jessica continues to work "hard to build on the good image for the school" (l. 228), the nature and scope of change have left her expression disillusionment: "There's really nothing we can do about it except just to be out there and always be this cheery school leader" (ll. 245-46).

In sum, the Meridionals described three ways in which their relationships with teachers did not always lead to favourable experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. The first involved matters of respect, liking, and trust; Matilda and Mason, in particular, felt that this was simply not there for them. They were not able to connect with some Waratah High teachers and, as a result, did not respond well to the teacher-regulated climate. The second factor stemmed from the "mixed messages" the Meridionals got from different teachers about what ultimately mattered at school: i.e., grades and narrowly defined academic achievement or socio-personal growth. The third concerned the effect of the change in management, change agenda, and pace of change on students' experiences of the teacher- and classroom-

level contexts at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. In particular, Abbie and Jessica, two student leaders whose roles required them to bridge the student body and school leadership, emphasised how this change seemed to have had a deleterious effect on students' school experiences.

Classroom context

Moving into the classroom, the next section discusses the ways in which instructional matters and classroom talk strengthened Meridionals' engagement within the curricular context.

Positive

Pedagogical tools and connections

> *Teachers use different tools to help us learn – the overhead projector, whiteboard, online stuff. They try and apply real-life solutions to keep us interested and get us involved. So it's more realistic…. If you need extra classes, they're always willing to help. (Jessica: ll. 410-15)*

Jessica identifies three enabling factors to her classroom engagement: teachers using technology purposefully; connecting class work to the outside world; and supporting students outside lessons. Jessica adds "a good class is knowing what's going on… and feeling good about myself" (l. 438-39). She connects the pragmatic with the affective, illustrating qualitatively what had been found quantitatively in a robust *EIS-F2* (Teacher) relationship, $r_s(6) = +.82$, $p < .05$: i.e., the positive and large correlation between 'Nearly all of my teachers …give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class' and '…have helped the 'real' me come out in class.' Highlighting the important relationship between Meridionals' sense of classroom belongingness and being oneself, an engaging classroom-level experience integrates public, applied, and academic meanings with the personal (Starratt 2003: 161-170).

For Abbie, attending to the intra- and inter-personal nexus in the classroom becomes easier "if the teacher comes across as passionate and enthusiastic about the subject… because then it's infectious" (ll. 80-1). Such an environment nourishes her engagement, as she is encouraged to make connections amongst the lesson content, herself, and beyond:

> *I don't know whether this is because the lessons are going so well, but the concepts being taught don't seem so difficult to grasp. Perhaps this is because the teacher's gone over it so well… I don't know. But I spend a lot of time thinking, 'What does this mean in relation to that? And what about that in relation to this?' So my mind is rarely focused exactly on what's going on in the lesson, but on what it's got to do in*

relation to other things that we've been learning, or the wider world, or how I can apply it to my life. (ll. 91-97)

Echoing Jessica and Abbie, Lee emphasises the pedagogical benefits of integrating and relating material to students' more immediate contexts of experience. At the same time, he highlights classroom talk as a key means by which this can be achieved:

> *There are more discussions in class, which gets me involved…. But it's done differently here because this is an international school. The teachers talk more about international things…. they relate the topics to what's happening in Hong Kong. That helps me make sense of things. (ll. 52-7)*

Lee brings up an instructional quality that recurs throughout the Phase 2 interview data, and is a second condition of importance: discussion-based learning approaches enable students' positive experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts.

Classroom talk

> *The talking, the interactions between the teacher and the students, is what's needed. That makes for good lessons. (Mason: ll. 237-38)*

Though Lee and Mason single-out "discussions" and "interactions" as constructive dimensions, Abbie tempers their perspective by presenting classroom talk as Janus-like:

> *If you sit up front, the teacher overhears your conversations and can get a better relationship with you…. The more you ask questions, the more they understand how you think. Of course, the more interaction you have with someone, the more you can learn about them. So the more vocal students, I would say, have a better relationship with teachers. (ll. 101-10)*

Her reasoning suggests that students who talk may have "better relationship[s]" with teachers, who come to "understand how you think." Though this may advantage the "more vocal students," it may also disadvantage the large number of 'local' students, who may not be so confident using English in lessons (and for whom English may be an additional language). Recall Elicia's remark in Chapter 5 about such students' demeanour: "They're the quiet ones down at the back… that just don't get the chance to contribute. They want to, but are too scared because the [Country] expat kids… like to be the centre of attention. They do the talking."

At the same time, consider the kind of talk that figures in "a good lesson" for Abbie – i.e.,

> *When the teacher [is] standing at the front talking, interacting, walking around, and asking questions. And it's that feeling of, 'Oh wow! I didn't understand that before. And now I do.' That personal contact, where they've touched you almost with that bit of knowledge, where something may not necessarily be interesting but it's come across as interesting, and you've learned something new. That makes for a good lesson. (ll. 71-5)*

The 'benefits' (i.e., that "personal contact" and "Oh wow!" mini-epiphanies) derive from teacher-directed interactions: they are "standing at the front talking… and asking questions." Though this may be consistent with a teacher-as-mentor view of the relationship discussed previously, left unchecked such a pedagogic approach can lead to classrooms where more traditional, one-way transmission modes of teaching predominate. This may also be to the detriment of students' experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts, as developed in the next section.

Negative

At the same time, the Meridionals described several ways in which pedagogical matters (i.e. classroom talk, instructional strategies used) undermined their engagement within school.

Classroom talk

> *I guess you'd see all of us sitting silently, listening to the teacher talk. That's the case, I think, with pretty much all of my classes. (Matilda: ll. 222-23)*

Matilda expresses an extreme but by no means singular take on the less favourable classroom dynamics. Passive students and transmission-dominated instruction were brought up by a majority of Meridionals and nearly one-third of the interviewed students overall, a point taken up in Chapter 9 as a cross-cluster theme of import. Despite teachers trying to rationalise this approach, as Matilda continues, it does not work for her:

> *Maybe the style of teaching here is more like how they might teach me in university. This morning, Mr. [Teacher] was talking about how his style is more of a lecturing style, which they use at uni…. I don't think that works for me. I drift off. Actually, a lot of students drift off. (ll. 287-95)*

Mason describes a similar experience in another subject area, "Mr. [X] can take his talking a little too far. He'll talk you to sleep" (l. 234), which he suggests is characteristic of "about half" of his final-year classes. Staking a more moderate position, Lee describes a classroom context in which student and teacher talk coexist (though, admittedly, the agenda-setting and topic management appear to be teacher-directed in two of the three examples he gives):

> *It varies. The teacher will usually explain something on the board and then we'll do stuff. We'll then ask them if we have any questions. For [Subject 1], usually, the teacher talks for most of the time. For [Subject 2], as you saw, the teacher mostly talks and we'll have to do stuff for homework. In [Subject 3], we mostly talk – about school stuff and other things. So it varies by subject. (ll. 111-15)*

Jude, a Windsor Secondary High Meridional, paints a similar picture. Teachers control classroom talk and are cast as knowledge transmitters:

We'll walk in and talk until the teacher gets too annoyed and tells us all to be quiet. The teacher then introduces the topic for the lesson. They would usually ask if anyone knows anything about the topic, before fully explaining it to us. That takes up much of the lesson…. The teacher will then give us work to do on it for homework. That's it. (ll. 126-32)

Though greater student-teacher interaction arguably characterises Jude's and Lee's account (versus Mason's and Matilda's), a transmission model of teaching and learning seems to prevail at both school sites. While this concurs with my classroom observations, caveating this impression is the reminder that the Waratah High fieldwork was carried out when the students were in the second half of their school year (and therefore readying themselves for their final examinations); and too few lesson observations were conducted at Windsor Secondary High to build up an empirically useful picture of the predominant classroom teaching and learning dynamics.

Limited pedagogical repertoire

At the same, the Meridionals described how teachers' more limited instructional repertoire impeded their experiences in the classroom. For example, Abbie presents a frustrating combination of unproductive classroom talk and unclear progression:

Though we're having lessons every day for every subject, it just doesn't seem as structured. The lesson plan isn't clear – to me, anyways. We'll just talk about random, not constructive things for the whole lesson. And then at the very end, the teacher will say, 'Oh this, this, and this needs to be done….' I know a lot of my friends have also been very frustrated that… we haven't always got the stuff done as productively as we could have. (ll. 149-57)

Jude, a lower-achieving Meridional classmate, goes one step further in his characterisation of ineffectual pedagogy at Windsor Secondary High:

They don't teach. Some of them will walk into a classroom and tell you what to do. Others will just write it on the board and expect you to look and to get on with it. But they don't actually teach you about the work unless you ask questions. It's not what I find a useful way of teaching. (ll. 109-112)

Jude's take is echoed by Mason, a Waratah High counterpart, who says that "teaching straight from the book" (l. 100) and "work sheets. Copying down notes from the board" (l. 234) are "not helpful." Because of the limited opportunities to interact purposefully, he does not "have much time for the teacher that just says, 'Page 263. See you at the end of the lesson'" (ll. 236-37).

In contrast to the picture that Jude and Mason paint, Matilda does feel that her teachers "genuinely want to help us" (l. 46) – even if the limited instructional repertoire of some

means that "classes get a little bit boring… a bit repetitive" (l. 47). Though she is "quite happy learning stuff" (l. 76) on her own, she also recognises the hurdles that some of her peers have to overcome: "Because we're in Year 12, teachers expect the students to take a lot more responsibility. For some students, maybe it's not the best thing. They're not ready for it… so they end up losing out" (ll. 74-6). As Matilda continues,

> a good lesson for me is when all of us, everybody, *understands what the teacher's talking about. When it was a hard concept, but they made a good lesson, engaged everybody, and everybody understood and felt good about themselves when they came out.* (ll. 256-59; Emphasis added)

Starkly, however, she claims "that out of all my classes in the past two years, this has happened maybe once or twice" (ll. 264-65). Stepping back, Matilda rails against the system's drivers and enactment in the classroom, which she feels undermine the experiences of some peers:

> *This school should have supported the weaker students a bit more. I see how the system, which is based on academic results, affects my friends who aren't doing so well. I think it's really unfair because they're great people. They shouldn't be made to feel like they're stupid because they don't understand what the teacher's talking about…. I just don't think it's right to judge people like that, to pit us against each other because we're all competing for the top spot. (ll. 302-39)*

Though she is an academically highly-successful student, Matilda believes that the combination of narrowly-defined, results-driven imperatives and her teachers' more limited pedagogical strategies make for inequitable and ineffectual classroom practice. In particular, she points to how the mis-match between teachers' expectations and instructional strategies used, on the one hand, and students' motivation and readiness to learn, on the other hand, can produce classroom conditions that undermine students' academic and social engagement. One-way, transmission modes of teaching, in which classroom discourse (i.e., agenda-setting and topic management) is controlled by teachers, thus emerge as another factor that Meridionals felt undermined their experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Summary

In sum, the surveyed, interviewed, and observed Meridionals revealed how several contextual features, individual and institutional, supported and constrained their experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. Recall that Meridionals group together because of their lower attitudinal scores on the three clustering attributes of View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*), Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*),

and Self-Competence – Factor 2 (*SC-F2*). In addition, the survey data showed that the Meridionals believed being an international school student at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High were two relatively important social identities to their sense of who they are.

Analyses of the combined data also showed that four background factors (i.e., place called home, years in Hong Kong, 1st language, type of international school student) shaped formatively Meridionals' sense of self and place. Several culturally informed, socially salient identities (e.g., race/ethnic, linguistic, territorial/nationality), in particular, seemed to produce dialectical tensions between Meridionals' "enduring" (i.e., linked to the past) and "situated" (i.e., linked to the present) selves (Spindler and Spindler 1993) that interplayed with several school-level conditions to both constrain and support their Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences.

Negative

Out-of-classroom contexts

The first set of constrainers derives from "encapsulated" (Sylvester 1998) values and practices, which result when an imported, ethnocentric school culture is upheld as the primary mode of experiencing school life. A weaker view of internationalism arguably emerges when such institutional belief systems and ideology promote a managed multi-cultural experience. This comes through in the more passive or tokenistic international-mindedness expressed by a number of Meridionals (and evidenced by their lower *VIE-R* scores overall). For example, Mason's and Matilda's emphasis of observable and tangible surface markers of cultural difference, derided as multiculturalism's 3Ds (i.e., dance, dinner, dress), 3Ss (i.e., sari, samosa, steel drum), and 4Fs (i.e., fashion, festival, food, flag) (Donald and Rattansi 1992; Schugurensky 2005); versus Jessica's and Abbie's more introspective, inward-outward (cosmopolitan) gaze, which expresses a reflexive understanding of how one's own roots, connections, traditions, and values come to shape worldview and relationships with others. Meridionals with a weaker view of internationalism (e.g., Mason) faced greater disconnects moving amongst and trying to reconcile their different global, local, personal, and schooling contexts of experience in Hong Kong.

The second out-of-classroom context of importance that impeded Meridionals' engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High is peers. In particular, the Meridionals illustrated how a segregated student body, and the informal hierarchies therein, undermined

their daily schooling realities. Gender, race/ethnicity, language, and nationality, as well as interest groups and academic classes, stood out as important factors that governed the broader patterns of relationships amongst students and the constitution of student groups, in particular.

In this regard, the Meridionals explained how each school's "institutional habitus" affected their lived schooling realities -- e.g., tacit endorsement of students' self-segregating patterns of interaction. By not challenging the way students were visibly and spatially stratifying along mainly heritage-based lines, Abbie believed that Windsor Secondary High was condoning the divisive dynamics. Yet even when institutional efforts were made to reconfigure exclusive patterns of relationships by, for example, bringing the matter to the student body's attention at a Waratah High assembly, other Meridionals (e.g., Lee, Matilda) considered that misguided and detrimental to students' well-being. Either way, Meridionals described how self-segregative student interactions at both schools impeded their lived experiences of the social context. Another example relates to the management, nature, and pace of change being pursued. Meridionals at both sites shared how personnel changes, changed priorities, and the speed at which change was being implemented directly affected their lived experiences of and engagement within the international school.

Within-classroom/teacher contexts

The Meridionals also described two main factors to unfavourable teacher relations and classroom experiences. The first relates to disabling teacher qualities they identified, which included a lack of respect, liking, and trust for teachers. The second concerns detrimental teacher practices in the classroom – i.e., mixed messages conveyed about what matters, inappropriate/unhelpful feedback on how to improve work, limited teaching and learning strategies (e.g., over reliance on worksheets, note-taking from textbook), and one-way/transmission modes of teaching.

Positive

Out-of-classroom contexts

At the same time, the combined Meridional data also showed how there were a number of contextual forces and factors, individual and institutional, that supported their positive experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The first, peers, came through strongly given how the Meridionals characterised their friendships and student body interactions. For example, the dictate of difference was seen to be an important

force in how Jude, Abbie, and Jessica actively sought out, befriended, and gained from peers who did not share their heritage-based cultural identities; it was so for Matilda, too, though to a lesser extent. In addition to seeing diversity as an asset, these Meridionals both noticed and expressed some concerns about the cultural self-segregation at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. The second context, co-curriculars, contributed favourably to Meridionals' school experiences in four main ways: i.e., the broad range of activities offered; stimulating experiential learning opportunities to be had; self-development and growth possibilities; and the unique relationship-building with teachers and peers not possible within the walls of the traditional classroom.

Within-classroom/teacher contexts

Not surprisingly, then, the Meridionals described several ways in which teachers enhanced their engagement within the classroom. On the one hand, this stemmed from specific teacher qualities the Meridionals singled out as relationship builders: i.e., integrity, wisdom, respect, responsive, caring, approachable, enthusiastic, motivating, and open-minded. On the other hand, these dispositions helped characterise the two enabling roles that engaging teachers fulfilled: i.e., teacher-as-friend and teacher-as-mentor. Though Meridionals considered both to be enablers of engagement, in that both contributed to constructive teacher-student relationships, they felt that the teacher-as-mentor role did seem to privilege academic and pragmatic imperatives over the personal-developmental.

In addition, the Meridionals presented several ways in which the classroom conditions supported their experiences of and engagement therein. For example, the surveyed Meridionals strongly felt that teachers who gave them "the confidence to express [their] ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class" also "create[d] a classroom atmosphere that [made them] feel like [they] belong[ed]." The interviewed Meridionals added qualitative texture to this correlation by describing how teachers' big-picture approach to knowledge, varied and dialogic teaching and learning strategies, and supportive and caring approach to students strengthened their classroom engagement (Clandinin 2007; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009).

Hence the Meridionals show that a positive experience of and engagement within the international school is not just about 'student achievement' in terms of subject-matter competence. It stems from the relationships, and the opportunities to learn through these relationships and to grow, socially and academically (McFadden and Munns 2002). Second, the findings point to how enabling contexts of schooling conducive to connecting with others

must constitute students "as complete human beings, with minds, hearts, and souls" (Delpit 2003: xvi) – and as co-constructors of school culture and ethos. A better match can then be achieved between learners' lived realities (i.e., identities and experiences) and school expectations and practices, which picks up Rudduck and Demetriou's (2003: 275) view that "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution." Finally, the Meridional findings highlight why schools are best seen as a living and a learning environment. In the penultimate chapter, I bring together the salient cross-cluster, cross-site findings.

Chapter 9: Enabling contexts for student engagement

Though embedded and overlapping spheres constitute the school environment to structure (un-) intentionally student experiences, the "context of greatest salience" (McLaughlin and Talbert 1992: 3) in schools arguably is the student learner. What students bring with them in terms of background, assumptions, attitudes, and abilities interplays with school policies, programmes, practices, and people to shape their learning, development, and well-being therein. Within a cosmopolitan framework, the student-as-context approach taken throughout the study emphasises the "inextricable connections amongst students' behaviours, their sense of self, and the [school] environment" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 192).

The teacher-leader (Chapter 5) and student (Chapters 6, 7, 8) voices revealed how an array of conditions supported and constrained the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. As the surveyed students meaningfully sub-grouped, using average score profiles on the View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)*, Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*, and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2)* attributes, the findings were presented in separate chapters to construct the schooling experiences of the Septentrionals (Ch. 6), Equatorials (Ch. 7), and Meridionals (Ch. 8) and to consider how their distinct characteristics interplayed within two international schools, as well as to explore their perspectives on key areas of their experiences and engagement therein. The profiling of each student cluster begins to account for some of the variability – e.g., the Meridionals' lower attachment to their academic achievements and the school's curriculum contexts; the Equatorials' localised demographic features yet strong sense of international-mindedness; and the Septentrionals' strongest attachment to being an international school student. Developing the three composite stories revealed *some* distinct things about their school experiences and engagement therein, and was valuable to explore what makes international schools engaging places for students, in general.

However, the separate narratives did not tell us *everything* about their engagement – and the discerning reader will have noted several important points of convergence that emerged from the fieldwork to reveal some shared schooling realities. This chapter takes up these salient cross-cluster findings to examine how the international school's main contexts – i.e., "4Cs" of culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) – both enabled and impeded students' positive experiences and engagement therein.

Institutional identity and school culture

As any social institution or organisation, schools have cultures of their own (Greenfield 1993; Gaskell 1995; Hoy and Miskel 1996; Barth 2002; Thomas 2002; Brady 2008) that emerge from their structures and processes of intentions, interactions, and behaviours to influence how people think and act therein. For this Waratah High Septentrional, the institutional identity conveyed when qualifying a school as 'international' is less important than what ought to be its main imperative:

> *I think I would just call this a 'school' because by definition, 'school' is a place where you come to learn. Putting 'international' in front of it doesn't make a difference…. In local schools, students come from the surrounding suburbs. In international schools, they may come from a country that's further away. But in both schools, you have to learn about other people's characteristics and cultures. So I would just call this a 'school' rather than an 'international' school.*

You go to school "to learn about other people's characteristics and cultures." In the process, he downplays one of the (too often reified) characteristics of international schools – i.e., its students "come from a country that's further away" than the "surrounding suburbs." His salutary emphasis speaks to the etymological tension inherent in the two Latin roots of the word 'education' (Craft 1984): i.e., *educare*, to train or to mould; and *educere*, to lead or conduct out.

I believe this tension is inherent in Sylvester's (1998) "encapsulated"-"inclusive" distinction, as explained in Chapter 2. Recall that "encapsulated" international schools aim to replicate a transplanted national culture, and strive to preserve and pass down knowledge to mould students ethnocentrically in the image of their parents as a sort of "long-distance nationalism" (Castles 2004) – i.e., *educare*. In contrast, this Septentrional's preferred definition of school – i.e., a place you go to learn from others – appears closer to the meaning of *educere*, which is inherent in cosmopolitanism and a characteristic feature of "inclusive" international schools. In such "inclusive" international schools, "nationality does not necessarily define a person" (Willis 1992); instead, language, personality, values, and shared interests do. Indeed Willis' (1992) ethnographic study of one such international school found that "many students made statements… regarding the relative unimportance of nationality in friendships at CA. Some even seemed offended at such a question."

This cosmopolitan viewpoint shows how the first contextual 'C' – i.e., school culture – might shape student engagement. Taken to its logical conclusion, the structures to emerge would give materiality to "the way we do things around here" (Deal and Kennedy 1983: 14) that

reflects cosmopolitan sensibilities. Such an "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) prioritises student growth and learning – about themselves and others – and pursues the Confucian ideal of "the human person as perfectible through education... and of knowledge as built up through a cumulative study of experience in both the social and natural worlds" (Hayhoe 2008: 46). The prevailing ideas (thinking), values (feeling), and practices (acting) on which day-to-day school life is built would aim to create and reinforce meanings related to people's personal and social identities. In the process, this school culture would attend to the school's living and learning environment; and "express cultural solidarity with [its] students, empower and demonstrate that [it] care[s] about them, and adhere[s] to high expectations for all" (Ryan 2005: 177).

As evidenced, a caring school culture marked by "high expectations" for students both characterised the "institutional habituses" and created environments conducive to students' positive experiences and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. As one teacher put it, "the big thing that keeps us unified is a culture that wants success and is prepared to work for success." At the same time, the study findings did not show the same convergence to support the first two features Ryan (2005) argues promote learning in cultural diverse schools. Septentrionals, Equatorials, and Meridionals alike described mismatches between their personal-social identities and school contexts (e.g., mainly along race/ethnic, linguistic, and nationality lines) that produced incompatibilities, at best, and at worst disconnected them from Waratah and Windsor Secondary High's "encapsulated" school cultures. To this end, enhancing engagement by "achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003: 275) requires attending to school culture (and community) matters.

In this regard, this Meridional injects a generative perspective on "institutional habitus" to both echo her Septentrional counterpart's discomfort with using 'international' and to problematise his contention for what (international) schools and schooling ought to be for:

> I don't know if this phrase 'international school' is a good thing. I think we are international in that we recognise everyone's cultures. There's always an Indian dance and, as I was saying about the SSC [Senior School Centre], you've got Bombay, Chinatown, where all the different people sit. So cultures are very recognised here. But I think to be truly 'international' is not to recognise each other's cultures. Not to say, 'Oh look at him. He's Indian. I accept that.' It's not to do that. It's to say 'Well, there's a person. What can I learn from them?' So it depends on how you define 'international.' I don't think there are racial tensions here, but there's racial awareness. And I think that makes us less international than if we just existed normally.

In the process, she exhibits cosmopolitan sensibilities that tend towards *educere* – i.e., she goes to Windsor Secondary High to learn *from* others. Yet unlike her Waratah High counterpart, who emphasises learning "*about* other people's characteristics and cultures," she prefers "not to recognise each other's cultures" but rather to see, humanistically, the culturally different others as "people." She focuses on shared commonalities (e.g., as international school students at a particular international school) and strives to "learn *from* them." In this way, she wishes to go "beyond [simply] transferring information about groups thought to be different" (Ryan 2005: 154) – what gets caricatured in terms of the 3Ds (dance, dress, and diet), 4Fs (fashion, food, flags, and festivals), and 3Ss (sari, samosas, and steel bands) of multiculturalism (Donald and Rattansi 1992; Schugurensky 2005) – and towards "understand[ing] the processes that highlight particular differences among groups of people and the value and practices that are associated with these differences" in people. Both highlight how institutional culture gets lived by students to shape their experiences therein.

In particular, three aspects of school culture were found to impact student experiences therein. First, a number of teacher-leaders and students at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High described their schools to be no different to an "ordinary" secondary school "back home." Though this might reflect what the Septentrional calls for at the section's outset (i.e., the blurring of local-international distances and differences and the return to *educere*'s first principles: students go to school to learn from other people), the participants were, in fact, emphasising that their school cultures had been so effectively transplanted to Hong Kong that they essentially mirrored their perceptions of and experiences at schools "back home": e.g., "for the first time teaching overseas… this was such an easy move. I walked in the door and things were familiar. The books were familiar. The attitudes were familiar. The language was familiar. Even the calendar and the schedule were familiar." Second, several Waratah High teacher-leaders and students felt it had conflicting imperatives, which produced mixed messages and inconsistent practices: e.g., "I know that's something parents and teachers ask…. Are we here to educate [country-national] students? Are we here to educate international students? Or are we here to educate Hong Kong students?" They were after a more clearly articulated and consistently enacted institutional identity to galvanize the community and create a shared understanding of a coherent school culture and identity. Third, though many Windsor Secondary High teacher-leaders and students felt that its legacy, traditions, and high-achieving track record were important elements of its institutional identity, some believed that its 'total' identity was undermined because of changes in the

school's situation post-1997 (e.g., student body demographics) and orientation, given the administrative team's priorities (e.g., becoming an IB world/Diploma programme school): e.g., "[W]e can't afford to be too British. I think there is a danger of that at this school, and it seems to wax and wane…. I think it's something the school needs to address given its clientele and the way it wants to achieve greater internationalism."

The school culture's "complex patterns of norms, attitudes, beliefs, behaviours, and values, ceremonies, and myths that are deeply ingrained in the very core of the organisation" (Barth 2002: 7) were thus found to both support and constrain student experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Invoking the continuum of "ensapsulated" to "inclusive" tendencies, each school's habituses established, reproduced, and entrenched power relations amongst individuals and groups that showed up in the ideas, values, knowledge, and practices to work in and beyond the international school itself. The lived implications of these school culture matters for student engagement are next taken up by reviewing the emergent findings to do with the second contextual 'C': school community.

Institutional identity and community

> *Whereas culture refers to the overall impact of the underlying mission and focus of the institution, community describes the working relationships and ensuing sense of unity that develops. (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 160)*

Playing a key role as "keepers of the [school] culture" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 62), the study findings highlight the different ways in which teachers and their habitus mattered to how students perceived and experienced the 'character' of their school and its members, the relationships that developed therein, as well as the external relationships each school has with the wider communities. In particular, the formative influence of "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) can be seen on three sets of community relations that had the most impact on Septentrional, Equatorial, and Meridional engagement: school-home, teacher-student, and student-student.

School-home relations

Waratah and Windsor Secondary High both have what can only be described as "good" school-home relations. In part, this stems from the aligned pro-school, achievement- and future-oriented values and norms mutually reinforced between school and home (e.g., "We're very lucky to be work within the Chinese cultural context, which so values education").

At the same time, teacher-leaders called for greater "local connectedness" if the 'local' student majority were to experience smoother "border crossings" (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998) between home and school contexts. The "cellophane walls" (Leach 1969) evident at both schools, as well as the prevailing, largely uncritical Anglo/European lens of the dominant voices, mean that such mutual learning and forging of inter-community relations in a context of equality and participation was limited in practice. As a result, students and teacher-leaders described unequal parental communication with, and involvement in, school affairs (along race/ethnic, linguistic, and nationality lines) – e.g.,

> *I don't see that Chinese parents are included in our parent bodies. In fact, they are quite excluded – and it can't just the Chinese parents' fault. They actually exclude themselves because they don't feel that they're accepted…. You can definitely see the strong involvement in and support of the school by the Caucasian parents. But you don't see many Chinese parents here…. have they been invited? Do we make them feel accepted and welcome?*

Furthermore, student and teacher-leader participants at both schools referred (usually stereotypically) to the "huge cultural divides" evident in, for example, the:

- Hong Kong-Chinese parental premium placed on achieving academically at all costs – in contrast to each school's stated imperative of valuing whole-child well-being;
- "hard to access… silent [local] majority, who don't come to parent-teacher meetings… parent association meetings… cocktail meetings. Who just pay the fees and are happy to stay in the background" – in contrast to the omnipresent "vocal, expat" constituents; and
- lacklustre involvement of 'local' students in school-facilitated co-curriculars and sports, in particular: "Take my netball team. When we've gone to other schools they've said, 'Wow. It's [School name]… that doesn't let Chinese kids on their team.' And it's not that we don't let them on. It's just that here, they're so focused on academics that no one tries out…".

Such ideas and stereotypes promote a deficit perspective of those who are culturally 'different' from the Anglo/European minority, which further entrenches the sociocultural borders between 'local' students' home and Waratah and Windsor Secondary High worlds.[7] Such ethnocentric perspectives reflect and perpetuate (rather than reduce) the unequal power dynamics within the school communities and Hong Kong society at large. In the process, they reinforce hierarchical individual, group, and institutional identities and practices to shape how different members accessed, negotiated, and experienced differently the Waratah

---

[7] See Trinh Le's account, a Type II youth in the Students' Multiple Worlds Study (Phelan et al. 1998), for similar 'model minority' misconceptions and implications when schools fail to take interest in and value the unique background experiences that culturally 'different' students bring.

and Windsor Secondary High school communities, as characterised by this Waratah High Septentrional: "So it just doesn't seem so united here. It's very 'Us and Them.' But there's no angst. We don't bother them, and they won't bother us." This perspective and outcome fall well short of what a cosmopolitan turn engenders: i.e., to develop self-understanding to/for "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987); to cultivate a sense of responsibility for the well-being of others; and to learn to live well together.

Yet despite Waratah and Windsor Secondary High's common need to localise meaningfully, to find local reference points, and to bridge their school's/teachers' habituses with their families'/community's, a disconnect that is well-characterised in related literature (Ryan 1999; Allen 2000; Wrigley 2000; Pearce 2001; Allen 2002; Garton 2002; Irvine 2003; Ryan 2003; Starratt 2003; Wrigley 2003; Pearce 2004/2003; Ryan 2005; Snowball 2007; Alviar-Martin 2008), the source appears to be different. For Waratah High, it stems from its "encapsulated" imperatives evident in its mission statement (e.g., "To provide all students with high quality and comprehensive international school learning experiences, based on [country-national] cultural principles and values…), staffing practices, and predominant curriculum model. As reported in Chapter 5, a strategic planning exercise undertaken by senior administrators found that the school's nation-based values and ethos topped its list of characteristics that were perceived to give Waratah High a comparative advantage in Hong Kong's international schools arena. In follow-up focus-group work, other stakeholders emphasised "'[country-nationality]-ness' as one of the delineators." Much as some of the teacher-leaders interviewed recognised that this could be a "disabling belief," which might weaken the school's educational niche if the race/ethnic (i.e., White-Western) and monolingual (i.e., English) legacies of the transplanted national culture, rather than the country's multi-cultural and inclusive diversity policies also being pursued, were to predominate and be associated with the school, others maintained it "valuable to not forget the word '[country-nationality] in the school name."

For Windsor Secondary High, the main source of the pressure appears to be its colonial legacy, which positions the school in a certain relationship to Hong Kong and its localised denizens and citizens. Several students and teacher-leaders noted that Windsor Secondary High was working to shed its colonial vestiges, which some felt might occur more readily once it began teaching the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme – a plausible though contested view in the literature (Hahn 2003) and to emerge from this study (recall

Cleo, Hyun, Suzanne). This requires confronting and moving away from the Anglo-European cultural frameworks that seemed to dominate the school's social order: e.g.,

> *I guess that what it's now experiencing is a re-designated blend of old traditions and old values, some of which still have contemporary relevance – plus some of the new traditions and values that have developed more recently. All of that's being worked through… with varying degrees of success, depending on how you look at it (and who is doing the looking!)*

At the same time, it could be said that Windsor Secondary High's institutional identity 'crisis' is one shared by most international schools world-wide, as discussed in Chapter 2, due to the "ambiguous and contradictory" (Cambridge and Thompson 2004: 172) history and nature of international education, and its manifestation when practised in international schools.

Irrespective of the source, the salutary finding to emerge from the study about the impact of the community context on student experiences remains the same: Waratah and Windsor Secondary High "do not exist in isolation from their surrounding communities. What and how they learn needs to be in dialogue with their surroundings" (Starratt 2004: 233). Though each is striving to integrate "local reference points," to varying degrees, in mission rhetoric and people, programme, policy, and practice realities, this arguably is all the more necessary now (AmCham 2007; Heron 2007), as noted by a popular columnist in a weekly magazine:

> *A recent report reveals that Hong Kong's international schools have been swarming with local Chinese students since the handover. Hong Kong parents are voting with their children's feet as they flee from the SAR government's patriotic educational policies, despite the much higher school fees. Most international schools see half of their yearly intake consist of local Chinese students, and at the highest end of the spectrum, an overwhelming 80 percent are local Chinese students. (Tsao 2009)*

This finding parallels the discrepancies Piedmont (Atlanta) and Bayview (Hong Kong) teacher participants noted in the "degree to which the academic programs in their [international] schools integrated local issues to students' academic learning" (Alviar-Martin 2008: 166-67).

Teacher-student relations

The second way in which community matters shaped Septentrional, Equatorial, and Meridional engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High is evident in the influence of "institutional habitus" on teacher-student relations. Although those specific to teachers and the curricular and/or co-curricular contexts are taken up in the sections to follow, teachers' attitudes and the inter-personal style and relations they cultivated with students

appeared to have the greatest impact on students' experiences of and engagement within the school and classroom (McFadden and Munns 2002; Jarrett 2007; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009).

A recurring theme is the premium students placed on their teachers' attitudes and roles as "partners in learning." Students across clusters described how teachers developed their personal, social, and academic knowledge and understanding through positive, caring, committed, and mutually respectful interactions. As one Septentrional puts it, they liked how teachers "express[ed] things from the book into practical life. Sometimes, they'll recount their personal stories…. I like to hear about adult experiences. I think that's helpful." Students preferred those teachers who foregrounded their personhood when teaching, who shared their opinions, feelings, and experiences and did not just rely on the 'technical' aspects of their teacher-hood. Shared interests and cultural-national heritage (e.g., sports, country/town of origin) commonalities helped connect some students in this regard (...and differences disconnected others, too). This view highlights how "thinking narratively about student engagement [i.e. in terms of curricula that children and learners are living out] puts lives at the centre of curriculum making" (Clandinin 2007: 24), which can enhance students' learning connections within the classroom and positive affective and cognitive experiences, more broadly (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). Such engagement helps to strengthen the fit between young people and the school as an institution (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003).

Enabling teacher habituses are also evident in the qualities the participants highlighted when discussing teacher characteristics that shaped their positive experiences in school and the classroom: i.e., caring, considerate, empathetic, trustworthy, and enthusiastic. Students want to feel connected: e.g., "we've all got over the phase that teachers are the enemy; we know they're here to help us." Moreover, the perceived and appropriate support and challenge that student participants described stems from teachers who were both "mentors" and "as you get older, you kind of make friends with teachers. Instead of just a teacher-student relationship, you get sort of like a friend-teacher relationships, which I quite enjoy a lot."

Teachers who are open and strive to humanise student-teacher relationships by respecting and validating them as individual people, first, and as learners, second, are teachers who "know how to interact with students…. They use language that we're familiar with. They have conversations with us as if we're their friends rather than below them, which makes it a lot better. So you're more likely to listen to them." The students across clusters expressed a need to feel cared for and connected – to the school, to teachers, to other students (as taken up

below) – and part of the community. The study evidence indicates that caring student-teacher relationships and a positive social climate in general provided important contexts for students' optimal motivation for and engagement within school and the classroom, in particular (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1992; Morgan and Morris 1999; McFadden and Munns 2002; Jarrett 2007; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). Teachers who so behaved "understand that they have a serious pastoral role" (Wrigley 2000: 170) to play in schools: A positive climate for students' learning and development starts from the affective/emotional and the inter-personal (i.e. belonging, ownership) before moving through the cognitive towards academic achievement (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). As several teachers remarked, "there is very little that a member of staff would not do for a senior student…".

In contrast, what impeded students' experiences at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High were asymmetrical student-teacher dynamics, largely to do with conflicting norms, behaviours, and expectations over discipline (e.g., uniform, behaviour). Exams-/high-achievement pressures at both schools also led to some students feeling "detached" from teachers because of the "work, work, work; exam prep, exam prep, exam prep; course-work, course-work, course-work" regimens. At the same time, several Septentrionals and Equatorials described how some teachers labeled students to convey a deficit mentality toward them, as well as relied on cultural stereotype to categorise students and to treat them differently/unfairly (i.e., rewards and sanctions) – e.g., Caucasian, expatriate foreign-nationals were labeled as disruptive, vocal, athletic, participative versus local-Hong Kong Chinese students, who were seen to be conformist, subdued, academic, and less involved in school life. Patterns of relationships between students and administrators were also not conducive due to: poor or absent communication – e.g., I want to "know what is actually going on and what they do in their job. I would like to see more student interaction with the senior management team, with the principal and the heads of year – the people who run the school"; an incoherent or overly-ambitious change agenda being pursued – e.g., "all this messing about"; and/or mismatched senior leadership team priorities that did not appear to meet the school's current needs.

Overall, the major message to emerge about the community context and the impact of student-teacher relationships on student engagement, in particular, is that teachers needed to "find the right balance between being strict and a friend." Though only 2 of 30 teacher-leaders overtly stated that they were prepared to "have that two-way dialogue with students.... and not [to] work along the idea that their authority is unquestioned," it was clear for students

across clusters that teachers' attitudes and personality (e.g., caring, considerate, empathetic, trustworthy, and enthusiastic) and equal, open "negotiative" (Woods 1983) relations mattered enormously. This feature was central to students' classroom engagement, as developed in the curricular context section to follow.

Student-student relations

Participants also showed how student-student relations shaped importantly their experiences of the school community, as well as their relationships therein. The patterns of relationships amongst students at both schools can be characterised as broadly positive and constructive. In part, this stemmed from a shared future- and achievement-oriented culture of high expectations engendered by each school (e.g., "there are different nationalities in the school, and we all work together well") and inherent within their "social capital." Yet fieldwork evidence also revealed how the cultural dictates of sameness and difference formatively shaped student body dynamics and the social cartography at each school, in particular, to both enable and impede students' perceptions, experiences of, and engagement therein.

The dictate of sameness brought students together through common, compatible social anchors of year/tutor group, subject classes, or sporting/artistic interests. Students with congruent personalities also tended to gravitate towards each other: e.g., "if you're a loud, confident, boisterous person, you will find yourself with loud, confident, boisterous people. The similar sorts of people go together." This reflects student relations at schools the world over in which 'birds of a feather flock together' (Hargreaves 1967; Eckert 1989; Phelan, Yu et al. 1994; Olsen 1997; Ryan 1999; Yon 2000; Gaztambide-Fernandez 2009).

Yet what is surprising, in light of the popular view that "by their nature, international schools welcome diversity and are able to cope with it" (Bray and Yamato 2003: 63), are the convergent interview and observational findings that point to how the dictate of difference adversely shaped student relations and use of social space to exclude. Though some students felt that "the different friendship groups that exist don't really separate us," the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High student bodies visibly and spatially ghettoized along cultured and gendered lines in the playground, cafeteria, and tutor bases/classrooms. Echoing Olsen (1997), Tatum (1997), and others -- e.g., as "one might guess, the lunchroom is where the real culture of the international school makes itself known" (Willis 1992) -- recurring student (e.g., "Strangely enough, although it is an international school, people tend to stick with the same race") and teacher-leader (e.g., "the students here tend to cluster into Western and Cantonese,

generally, which I suppose is understandable") assertions highlight the 'naturalised,' segregated patterns of relationships amongst students in how social spaces were structured. These by-nationality (e.g., British, Australian, Indian), -race/ethnicity (e.g., Chinese, Caucasian, Indian), -language (e.g., Cantonese, Putonghua, English), -year group, -place of origin (e.g., local-Hong Kong vs. foreign-national), and -sex sub-groupings (dis-) connected individuals and groups to include (when similar) and exclude (when different) – and, in the process, to both enable and impede students' perceptions, experiences of, and engagement therein (Brady 2005). This was most evident in the subjective quality of the Equatorials' lived experiences within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

The dictates of cultural sameness and difference thus formatively shaped student body relations at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High:

> *[P]robably the hardest issue the school has is getting the students to mix. Walking around, you don't really get a strong impression that mixing is naturally occurring.... Certainly in the junior years, you could walk into most classes and they would be visibly sitting in cultural groups.*

Moreover, what is condoned in patterns of interactions amongst students may also end up reflecting how parents themselves interrelate and engage with the school, as explained earlier in the school culture context and school-home relations sub-sections. Addressing such potentially divisive race/ethnic-language-nationality matters requires attending to the different "cultural baggage" (Louie 2005) carried by learners, teachers, and parents alike (Spindler and Spindler 1993; Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998; Ryan 1999). It also means promoting inclusive practices that "welcome" (through integration) rather than "cope with" (through segregation) cultural diversity; and moving from condoning divisive cultural sub-groupings towards engendering sense of shared, cosmopolitan identities as members of a particular international school community.

As a personal identity model, cosmopolitanism offers "a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97). Exploring "institutional habitus" through a cosmopolitan lens enables us interrogate how even though social reality may be multidimensional, individuals will usually perceive and experience it from one culturally-situated position (recall Tuan's house and spectacles metaphor): e.g.,

we are both alike and at the same time all different…. we are all beings in the same world, a commonality of situation and culture that enables us to communicate with each other…. [yet] the way we experience the world is very different, and in this sense we are beings in different worlds. (Butt 2004: ix)

A cosmopolitan approach can thus sharpen understanding of how "institutional habitus" creates and reinforces meanings related to individual and social identities to enable and impede people's experiences therein. The inherent bi-focality of Tuan's (1996) "cosmopolitan hearth," in particular, integrates communitarianism (i.e., cosmos: 'I am a human being') and individualism (i.e., hearth: 'I am an **individual** human being') to focus on how, as members of various human communities, we are individually constructed in relation to others and within cultures that are historically and contextually formed: i.e., the "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193). Invoking his Confucian heritage, Tuan's bi-focality views "human development as a way of harmonizing the self with the family, society…. and of knowledge as built up through a cumulative study of experience in both the social and natural worlds" (Hayhoe 2008: 26, 46).

At the same time, a cosmopolitan turn helps to reveal how and why cultural dynamics amongst individuals and groups produce differently lived schooling realities for different students. Whether (and what) students ultimately feel included or excluded as they negotiate the array of school-level forces and factors will thus depend on what "map" they have to follow when border-crossing the community's overlapping contexts of experience: "the border crossings amongst student cultures and the [international] school culture seem to be a minefield where some students appear to have a map, while others do not" (Allan 2002: 80). Though Allan's minefield image paints a stark image – i.e., some social groups can avoid and navigate safely the international school's social-cultural landscape, others might not – it is borne out in the study findings given the subjective quality of some students' lived experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High. Given its integration of multiple and overlapping local, cultural, and global affinities and identities, cosmopolitanism can help to equip every international school learner with the necessary "map" to negotiate both personal and institutional borderlands, encourage each to sense-make and be self-fulfilled through the school's "4Cs" of experience (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006), and to develop a broader self-understanding of personhood through their "car[ing] of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987).

Institutional identity and curriculum

Curriculum embodies the knowledge, skills, and attitudes the school values and wants its students to learn and experience – and arguably is at the heart of schooling. What aspects of curriculum did the participants deem formative to students' experiences of and and engagement within the international school? (Note: this third context also includes instruction, as how teachers enact curriculum will shape students' access of it).

The Septentrionals, Equatorials, and Meridionals characterised classrooms as formative living and learning spaces. Not only are they significant contexts in terms of time spent therein, but both schools' ambitions coupled with the students' broadly future- and achievement-orientation mean that "highly engaged" (i.e., high commitment, high attention) and/or "well managed" (i.e., low commitment, high or low attention) classrooms predominated at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High rather than "pathological" (i.e., no commitment or rejection of expectations and requirements) classrooms (Schlechty 2002). Teachers and students interplayed to both enable and impede students' engagement through the what, how, and why of curriculum.

The 'what' of curriculum

Recall two key findings taken up in the school culture and community discussion, which echo what Alviar-Martin (2008) found in her comparative study of two international schools in Atlanta and Hong Kong: 1) Participants felt that "relevant local reference points" were missing from Waratah and Windsor Secondary High; and 2) both schools needed to find and "invest heavily in local connectedness" (Allen 2002: 141) if they were to strengthen culturally-responsive relationships with their largely localised student body majority. For the 'what' of curriculum, this might mean starting with "local examples before going to overseas examples…. to move from the known to the unknown," even though "at the end of the day we [Windsor High] are doing a UK syllabus and kids have got to be prepared for that." It means having "an understanding and appreciation of Hong Kong culture" and issues and drawing on "examples from the rest of the world" to both gear students towards a global outlook and to integrate local content to students' learning. This cosmopolitan turn promotes learning about one's culture and helps to reconcile local content and global events. At the same time, it encourages students to share their anecdotes and develop "the empathy to understand that that's not the only experience." This "lived curriculum making" (i.e., interaction amongst learner, teacher, subject matter, and milieu) evokes a narrative enactment

of student engagement (Clandinin 2007) that resonates with both Confucian ways of thinking and "Dewey's ideas of the human person in relationship to community, of society as changing with problems being solved collaboratively, and of knowledge as advancing experientially..." (Hayhoe 2008: 30).

Such situationally responsive adjustments to 'what' gets taught evoke a guarded awareness of ethnocentric tendencies and curricular flexibility. At the same time, several Waratah High teachers described mis-matched curriculum for both the "non-English speaking background students" as well as the "non-academic strain of [country-national] kids," who are "reluctant learners… the native English speakers and academically weaker students" as a disabling condition that undermined those students' commitment to school and, on occasion, led some to be disruptive within the classroom. Pursuing culturally-relevant and appropriately-demanding content, which includes multiple, alternative perspectives and starts from the local and goes to the global, may perhaps be more feasible now that Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are teaching the IB diploma alongside their transplanted, nation-based curricula in the middle and junior schools. The IB's orientation may also help to further learners' cosmopolitan sensibilities if the schools emphasise culturally-relevant, local-global curricula that heighten self-other awareness and understanding whilst cultivating "a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97).

The 'how' and 'why' of curriculum

[I]n their ranking of the factors which characterise 'good teaching' and 'good teachers', the teacher's interpersonal style and relations was ranked first out of seven categories. (Morgan and Morris 1999: 118)

Similarly, recurring Septentrional, Equatorial, and Meridional comments emphasised teacher-student relations as a key factor to students' engagement at both schools. Finding "relevant local reference points" is but one way of strengthening students' experiences in this regard. This is because mediating the 'what' of curriculum are questions of 'how' (to access optimally?) and 'why' (should we access this content in the first place?). The findings in question thread the theme referred to in the school culture context and community sub-sections, and which passes through the discussion above about the salient features of engaging curriculum, to highlight the instructional (how?) and ideological (why?) matters

that formatively shaped teacher-student relations and enabled students' classroom experiences and engagement therein.

Refracting these findings through a cosmopolitan lens discerns the interplay of subjectivity and personhood within learning situations. Recall that cosmopolitanism is "more oriented to the individual and expects individuals to be simultaneously and importantly affiliated with a number of groups" (Hollinger 1998: 231). A cosmopolitan lens focuses on the individual – i.e., to how each is shaped through experiences, values, beliefs, biases, interests, commitments, and life aims; it builds on (rather than denies) multiple identities and loyalties. The students described how teachers that prioritised personalised relationships – by acting as both friend and mentor, providing appropriate support and pressure, and jointly developing their identity as an individual (i.e., honouring each learner's unique personal, social identities) and as members of a group (e.g., the class, year group) – strengthened their classroom engagement. In addition, fun, humour, and discussion recurred throughout the student clusters as enabling classroom conditions that were interactive and made curriculum more accessible and engaging.

In the process, the students revealed the importance of approaching school as a living and learning environment in which personal, academic, and social learning and development are pursued and a wide spectrum of achievement (e.g., intellectual, moral, cultural/artistic, athletic) gets celebrated. This view was also conveyed by teacher participants – e.g.

> *What I really like is when subject teachers throw away their subject hats and actually appreciate… that their subject is but one part of the big puzzle for students. I really enjoy working with those teachers because of how they help students by throwing away their subject hat, taking a step back from that role, and looking at the holistic point of view. So when advising a student with what's best for them within the context of their subject to actually stop and say, 'Let's look at this within the context of your other subjects. Let's look at this in the context of your broader position – where you are, where you want to be.' Those teachers are incredibly helpful assets to the school and really stand out for me… but there just aren't so many of them here.*

This dynamic gets constructed as teachers take a holistic person-hood rather than a technical, student-hood approach; and strive to guide learners along a jointly educational/existential journey. Such "incredibly helpful" – albeit scarce, as "there just aren't so many of them here" – "assets to the school" start with learners' needs and realities, rather than their own assumptions and expectations, and strive to balance learners' academic demands with their personal-social development. This is consistent with what Morgan and Morris (1999: 117) conclude from their study: i.e., "the components of *quality* in teaching and learning are

generic; they cross all subject boundaries and apply to all classrooms; and this is a matter where the perspectives of pupils and teachers are shared and agree with each other." Teachers who so behaved "understand that they have a serious pastoral role" (Wrigley 2000: 170) to play in schools: A positive climate for students' learning and development starts from the affective/emotional and the inter-personal (i.e. belonging, ownership) before moving through the cognitive towards academic achievement (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). This empirical convergence points to the importance of humanised relationships to students' engaging school and classroom experiences. Such teachers approach their role as a vocation rather than a job (Pascarella and Terenzini 1991; Starratt 2004; Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006); personalise their interactions with students by working to redress the (im-) balance from the technical/cognitive toward the affective/emotional aspects of teaching and learning (McFadden and Munns 2002); and act as "mentors" and "friends" to students to further both pragmatic/academic and personal/developmental imperatives (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1992; Adams 1997; Smith, Vibert et al. 1998; Yazzie-Mintz 2006; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009).

In addition to highlighting the importance of integrating local reference points (what?) within the curriculum, cultivating personalised teacher-student relationships in which teachers act as mentors, advisors, and friends (how?), and providing clear direction and engagement (why?), the participants emphasised a number of more practical factors that strengthened students' positive experiences of and engagement within the classroom. These included teachers being organised, available, approachable, respectful, committed, enthusiastic, and open-minded; using a variety of instructional strategies that favoured the dialogic/interactive, transactive, and collaborative rather than the passive, transmissive, and autonomous; and injecting purposefully caring humour and fun in learning activities. Such teacher qualities will likely engender a classroom and learning context that "develops a climate of open communication and careful expression of ideas, attitudes and feelings" (IBO 2005: 3) to help build a climate of community and to create an atmosphere of collaboration and compassion.

The findings on curriculum as a third important context threads the previous two Cs by showing how strengthening students' experiences of schooling as positive and engaging means attending to the ways in which a sense of community is cultivated within the classroom, in particular – i.e., as both a living and a learning environment. Teachers' habituses created enabling conditions in which a culture of academic and pastoral, personal support and challenge prevailed so that learners felt cared for, motivated, and able to engage with the curriculum. As evidenced, the curriculum's what (i.e., content), how (i.e.,

pedagogy), and why (i.e., ideology) intersect to both support and constrain students' ability to connect emotionally, socially, and intellectually with other students and teachers, to learn, and to develop, grow, and change as human beings. In the process, the study findings bear out McFadden and Munns' (2002) claim of "pedagogies as relationships," in which the interplay between curriculum/instruction and learner subjectivities "determines whether classroom practices are 'authentic' and 'productive'" (362) or compliant and disengaging. Cultivating learning and living environments that foster engaging relations rooted in "humane pragmatism" (Hayhoe 2008: 46) requires them to be educationally purposeful, open, just, disciplined, caring, and celebrative (Boyer, 1990 cited in Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 162). In this regard, three conducive environmental factors at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High include the (Tableman and Herron 2004):

- **Physical**: e.g., school buildings are welcoming and conducive to learning, adequate textbooks/supplies/resources, relatively small class sizes, safe and orderly classrooms and school property, low noise level, clean and well-maintained school grounds.
- **Social**: e.g., interactive, friendly relations, fairly high expectations largely matched by high-achieving abilities, international-oriented ethos
- **Academic**: e.g., future-oriented, high-achievement ethos, established student monitoring and support mechanisms, varied instructional methods, confident, knowledgeable teachers.

Institutional identity and co-curriculum

Finally, the study findings showed the many ways in which the co-curricular context formatively shaped students' positive experiences of and engagement within Waratah and Windsor Secondary High by extending learning opportunities, connecting in and out-of-lesson experiences, and/or providing opportunities to get more immersed in particular interests. Whether on-going or 'one' off, weekly or immersive / intensive experience, the participants described how co-curricula could create spaces and opportunities both **to be engaged** (i.e., to be personally invested in, motivated for, and involved in an enriching school experience) and **to engage the world** (i.e., to actively make a difference, to be a force for good) by applying their skills, knowledge, and understanding as educated, responsible cosmopolitan citizens and persons of character (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006). Admittedly, however, and consistent with the critical/transformative engagement literature (Vibert, Portelli et al. 2002; McMahon and Portelli 2004; Zyngier 2007), more evidence of the former rather than the latter was found at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

With little prompting (see Appendix L), almost all of the students in the study described how co-curricular places and activities helped (re-) balance the formal curriculum's intellectual/academic demands with their physical and emotional learning and personal-social development. This point recurred for the Equatorials, in particular, whose comparative experience led them to see how they could now be "more focused on becoming all-rounded as opposed to only being academically focused like in the local system." Whether creative (performance – recall Freya, Yun, Ryan), action (sports – recall Konomi, Johnny, Brock), or service (field- and community-based learning – recall Mason, Xue), co-curriculars "broadened horizons" and honed students' leadership skills, teamwork, and civic identities, as they developed their capacities to act in multiple 'glo-cal' spheres. Co-curriculars also had a positive effect on their self-esteem (e.g., [T]aking part in these activities, when I go out there and play games for the school, makes me feel like I am doing something good – for myself and the school") and, in some cases, synergised classroom performance by motivating to strive for excellence and achieve academically (recall Konomi, Lily, Kuan-Yin, Jiao).

This was most apparent for those holding positions of responsibility as student leaders. For example, Waratah High's week-long Senior Prefects residential challenged participants outside the classroom within a climate of support. The activities designed to scaffold their growth as student leaders, as well as the on-going mentorship through follow-up dialogue facilitated by a teacher-administrator, represent a "pedagogy of engagement" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) that encouraged students to "work effectively and willingly in collaboration with others[; to] give thoughtful consideration to their own learning and experience[; and to] take responsibility for their own actions and the consequences that accompany them" (IBO 2007: 5). Applying these skills and understandings in office, as the student leaders mentored younger students and led their peers, further supported and challenged their learning and personal growth ("I normally wouldn't speak to the younger years, [but] during peer support and when they come up to me to talk about their problems… it makes me feel special. I'm helping them"). The findings showed that similar benefits were derived from the community service projects undertaken at both schools as part of week-long co-curricular activities.

As a result, "Students may go on these experiences planning to get exposure to international perspectives, but they tend to come back with a far greater sense of who they are and how they fit in the world" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 184). Such experiences, in which participants are engaged in civics-oriented co-curricula (e.g., Habitat for Humanity) that

could be loosely considered as "critical/transformative" (Vibert and Shields 2003; Zyngier 2007) or "critical democratic" (McMahon and Portelli 2004), and potentially moved towards greater "conscientization" (Freire 1998), may have greater long-term benefit given these students' trajectory of privilege: i.e., "Young people who participate in a variety of extracurricular activities are those who are more likely to be involved in voluntary social and community activities as young adults" (Lindsay, 1984, cited in Fullarton 2002: 32). It would also strengthen students' cosmopolitan subjectivity by enhancing their capacities as citizens of the world, who as "cosmopolitan locals" (Peterson 2003) are committed to pursuing human rights and social justice through such cosmopolitan praxis (Nussbaum 1997; Walker 2005; Appiah 2006).

At the same time, participants also described co-curriculum activities as opportunities to "give back" to their schools and to have "different relationships" with teachers. Through contact (frequent interaction) and collaboration (in-depth interaction) on common projects (e.g., school production) or shared interests (e.g., skiing / snow-boarding), the students developed a more personal rapport with teachers outside the classroom, which strengthened their classroom relationships with teachers and engagement within school, in general. Significantly, virtually all student participants felt that co-curriculum involvement strengthened their sense of school attachment and belonging: e.g., "You get a closer feeling with the rest of the people in your house, a more united feel. I guess it sounds like something out of Harry Potter!" This finding is consistent with the engagement literature (Finn 1989; 1993; Smith, Vibert et al. 1998; Fullarton 2002; Willms 2003; Fredericks, Blumenfeld et al. 2004; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009): Participation can enhance a student's pro-school commitment to learn and develop, as it requires affective and/or behavioural and/or cognitive investment in school (activities) that may then lead to a (greater) identification of the school as part of self-identity (Finn 1993; Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003).

In short, the fieldwork demonstrated that co-curricula enriched students' Waratah and Windsor Secondary High experiences and reflected the popular view in the literature: i.e., Hong Kong's "international schools often seem well catered for…. [and] there are usually plenty of clubs and activities for students" (Yamato and Course 2002: 19). In particular, co-curriculum places and activities helped students: rebalance academic demands with more recreational / experiential pursuits; cultivate different kinds of relationships with teachers outside the classroom that benefitted their engagement within; and relate, make meaning of, and extend classroom experiences by developing attitudes, skills, leadership, and

personal/social community responsibility. For some, their valuing of co-curricula pick up what Goodlad (1984) and others (e.g., Shernoff, Csikszentmihalyi et al. 2003) conclude about students' preference for non-academic undertakings over academic subjects. Yet as with the other three Cs, a key feature that enabled students' engagement was the relationships that developed in the co-curricula's living and learning environment. This is not surprising when seen through cosmopolitanism's self-in-social context lens, in which schooling is an existential endeavour (Orr 1994; Starratt 2003) that encourages learners: to strive to sense-make and be self-fulfilled through the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006); to develop a broader self-understanding of personhood; and to achieve "moral excellence" within a wide spectrum of achievement (e.g., intellectual, civic, cultural, athletic).

Summary – Enabling "4Cs" contexts for student engagement

The "4Cs" constitute the school's learning and living environment that students perceive and experience physically, socially, affectively, and academically. When seen through a cosmopolitan lens, the cross-cluster study findings reveal that student learning and development within the school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) start from the subject position(s) learners occupy and emphasise who learners were/are and are becoming. Student identity/learning processes get produced through daily interactions of students and teachers within the school contexts of culture, community, curricula, and co-curricula. As evidenced, Waratah and Windsor Secondary High's habituses created and reinforced meanings related to personal and social identities to both enable and impede their students' engagement, sense of belonging, and well-being therein; it made some feel more (or less) welcome, included, and supported than others within the "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006). This arguably makes identity matters an integral aspect of learning (Wenger 1998), and just as important to an education for engagement as pedagogy, (co-) curricula, and assessment (Cummins 2001; Gee 2001; Hebert 2001; Sadowski 2004), in particular.

Chapter 10: Summary, Significance, Future directions

This study surveyed international school students in Hong Kong and found three different student clusters with three significantly different perceptions (i.e., emotions, feeling, attitudes) of their schooling experience, view of internationalism, and self-esteem. Waratah and Windsor Secondary High are two international schools in Hong Kong with distinct curricula, historical backgrounds, and organisational cultures (i.e., Type 6 – self-affiliation with foreign educational system vs. Type 5 – ESF (Bray and Yamato 2003); for ages 4-to-18 vs. 11-to-18). What unites the three student clusters and two international schools in the study reported here is one message: Taking a cosmopolitan approach can enhance every student's positive experiences of and engagement therein by attending to matters matters of being, becoming, and belonging.

I have been careful to locate this claim in my own background (Ch. 1), address in relevant literature (Ch. 2), investigate systematically (Ch. 3-4), and explore by drawing on teacher-leader (Ch. 5) and student (Chs. 6, 7, 8) perspectives and experiences. As an aid to the reader, the major sections of this final chapter: first, restate the research problem, review the research methods used, and summarise the Phase 1 and 2 study results; second, note some limitations and delimitations before discussing the implications for educational practice of the issues raised; and, third, conclude with some suggestions for future research.

Summary

Research problem

Student engagement is one way of understanding whether, how, and with what outcomes the conditions of schooling motivate learners to cultivate the skills and dispositions to achieve well-being and be successful today and tomorrow (Starratt 2003; Kuhn 2005; Claxton 2008; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). In particular, I share the view that "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (2003: 275). Yet little research has been conducted on student engagement with the international school, in general, and specifically within Hong Kong (Bray and Leong 1996; Westrick 2002; Yamato and Bray 2002; Bray and Yamato 2003; Alviar-Martin 2008). As a scholar-practitioner-leader, I thus set out to explore what makes international schools engaging places for students; to understand the subjective quality of students' lived experiences and engagement therein; and to consider: How might re-imagining

student engagement through a cosmopolitan lens lead to clearer understandings of students' experiences within the international school?

Methodology

As outlined in Chapter 1, the study was a multi-site, mixed-methods case study of student engagement within the international school in Hong Kong using a cosmopolitan conceptual framework. The descriptive-correlational design first investigated quantitatively the relationship between student socio-demographic and attitudinal variables; and then adopted a qualitative approach to listen to and learn from the students and their teacher-leaders. Using a mixed-methods research design, the case study relied on survey (Phase 1), interviews, and observations (Phase 2) for three purposes (Denzin 1994): **methodological triangulation** – i.e., to explore the consistency of the survey findings through observation, interviewing, and document analysis; **complementarity** – i.e., to clarify, illustrate, and provide new insights into the survey results with qualitative methods; and **expansion** – i.e., to provide richness and detail by expanding the study's investigative breadth of the contexts that supported and constrained students' academic and social engagement within the international school.

Phase 1

I administered an on-line survey to a potential sample of 1,270 senior secondary students at 9 international schools in Hong Kong over a 6-month period in 2004-2005 ($N = 729$ achieved respondents) to examine the relationships between their socio-demographic characteristics and experience of international schooling. The quantitative data were divided into demographic and attitudinal variables measuring students' social and personal identities, view of internationalism, experience of international school, and self-esteem. Guided by the conceptual/contextual framework, correlational, factorial, and cluster analyses were conducted using SPSS software to explore, describe, and analyse these socio-demographics and attitudinal data to answer three research questions. In addition to identifying educationally-salient demographic characteristics and to using significant attitudinal features to profile the students ($N = 544$), the three student clusters to emerge sub-grouped according to survey response patterns on three attributes: *Experience of International School – Revised, View of Internationalism – Revised,* and *Self-competence: Factor 2*. Each cluster was labeled using a geographically descriptive term to reflect their cluster attribute score within a cosmopolitan semantic field: i.e., Septentrional (Higher), Equatorial (Middling), and Meridional (Lower).

Phase 2

In Phase 2, I conducted field observations and semi-structured interviews with a sub-sample of students from each cluster, as well as their teacher-leaders, over an 8-month period in 2005-2006 to explore participants' perceptions, experiences, and student engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong. Guided by the conceptual/contextual framework, thematic analysis of the fieldwork data was undertaken using N6 software. The major findings to emerge from the 34 student and 30 teacher-leader interviews, as well as the 35 days of participant observations, are discussed in the teacher-leader (Ch. 5) and student cluster (Chs. 6, 7, 8) case study chapters; Chapter 9 takes up the salient cross-cluster/-site findings to examine how the international school's main contexts (i.e., culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum) enabled and impeded students' engagement therein.

Phase 1 results

1a) What are the socio-demographic features of international high school students in Hong Kong (including background, heritage/culture, and school history)?

The results indicated that the 544 Phase 1 student respondents were a largely localised international school population. At the same time, 10 percent of the surveyed respondents were not able to identify where 'home' was for them in the world in terms of a territorially-defined country/nation-state. The respondents were also academically able and co-curricularly involved. The attitudinal results showed that the Phase 1 student respondents had middling Self-esteem ($Mdn.$ = 3.20), and middling-to-high Experience of International School – Revised ($Mdn.$ = 3.40) and View of Internationalism – Revised ($Mdn.$ = 3.50).

Significant and educationally important pairings were found between five demographic variables to develop this picture of the respondents as localised international school students: i.e., large and positive relationship between **1st language** and **language mostly used with parents**, r_s = +.76; moderate and positive correlation between **place of birth** and **passport country**, r_s = +.50; moderate and negative relationship between **1st language** and **type of international school student**, r_s = -.47: Cantonese, 1st-language speakers were more likely to self-identify as local-Hong Kong international school students than as expatriate-Hong Kong or expatriate international school students; **language mostly used with parents** and **type of international school student**, r_s = -.47: Respondents who mostly used English with

their parents were less likely to self-identify as local-Hong Kong international school students than as expatriate-Hong Kong or expatriate international school students.

1b) What relationships exist between their socio-demographics, attitudinal features, and schooling experiences, as measured by the researcher-designed Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* scale?

The eight educationally important Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* item pairings underscore the salience of inter-personal relationships to students' emotions, feelings, and attitudes towards school. As Phase 2 indicates qualitatively, these *EIS-R* correlations point to the importance students attached to being seen and treated holistically – i.e., they are after a *person*-centred rather than *student*-focused experience; a positive school experience first engages them affectively and then cognitively (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). This turns schools into a "humane and socially nurturing environment in which the pursuit of academic learning would go hand in hand with social learning" (Starratt 2003: 96).

1c) How can the surveyed students be meaningfully typologised using their socio-demographics and attitudinal profiles (i.e., Social and Personal Identities, View of Internationalism - Revised, Experience of International School -- Revised, and Self-liking/Self-competence Scale -- Revised)?

Guided by the study's conceptual/contextual framework and informed by statistical computations, a three-cluster solution was selected as the 'most' subjectively interpretable, valid, and reliable using three factors: Experience of International School – Revised, View of Internationalism – Revised, and Self-competence: Factor *2*. The geographical labels used to identify and characterise each cluster were assigned to reflect each group's distinctive survey response patterns, whilst remaining within the study's cosmopolitan semantic field.

Cluster I: The Septentrionals (Ph-1: $N = 154$, 28%; Ph-2: $N = 16$, 47%) group because of their higher attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions. The Septentrionals identify strongly as 'international school students' and as 'students at their particular international school.' They also attach medium-high importance to their 'academic achievements,' tend to achieve higher academically than Cluster II and III students, spend more time attending to homework, and do more co-/extra-curricular activities.

Cluster II: The Equatorials (Ph-1: $N = 195$, 36%; Ph-2: $N = 12$, 35%) group because of their middling attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions. The Equatorials attach medium-high importance to their 'academic achievements,' tend to achieve highly

academically, spend more time attending to homework, and do more co-/extra-curricular activities. Their main demographic characteristics – i.e., Hong Kong as birthplace, where majority of life has been lived, place in the world called home, 1st-language Cantonese-speaking, largest proportion of self-identified local-Hong Kong international school students relative to Clusters I and III – make the Equatorials a 'localised' student group.

Cluster III: The Meridionals (Ph-1: $N = 195$, 36%; Ph-2: $N = 6$, 18%) group because of their lower attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions. The Meridionals attach medium-low importance to their 'academic achievements,' tend to achieve lower academically, spend less time attending to homework, and do fewer co-/extra-curricular activities. The Meridional group also included the largest proportion of self-identified expatriate international school students.

Though these labels were shown statistically valid and helpful in identifying and profiling the three distinct sub-groups of international school students, this early stage of empirical and theoretical knowledge means that the cluster features at best inform our understanding of international school students in Hong Kong. They are not designed to make stereotypic, cookbook generalisations about international school student traits or characteristics. Whilst the cluster groups tell us *some* important things about international school students, they do not tell us *everything* about them; neither the students nor the clustered sub-groups are fixed or static. The place for such typology research is that it provides a lens through which to understand group membership of this population based on patterns of response on an item set. Hence the achieved typology represents a first step at characterising empirically international school students in Hong Kong and their schooling experiences.

Phase 2 results

Chapters 5 to 8 take up teacher-leader and student voices to highlight the conditions that shape students' experiences of and engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong. Yet as discussed in Chapter 9, whether it be Waratah or Windsor Secondary High, whose contexts are different with respect to curricula, background, and organisational culture, the student perceptions and experiences show that the interplay between individual and institutional contexts both supported and constrained the amount, type, and intensity of investment students made in their learning, development, and school experiences therein.

Specifically, the treatment of student engagement throughout the analytic vignettes, using a cosmopolitan lens, reveals that students' quality and quantity of attention, commitment, and effort are influenced by the school's habitus. As evidenced throughout and taken up in Chapter 9, students' learning, personal/social development, and well-being are tied to what they bring (i.e., internal factors) to their interactions with the school context's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006): i.e., culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum. In particular, "institutional habitus" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990/1977; Thomas 2002) helps explicate how the "4Cs" interplay in a particular setting to provide (un)intended opportunities that shaped the extent to which the school becomes an intimate part of the learner's self-identity as a context of importance. Despite the salient differences amongst the three student clusters and between Waratah and Windsor Secondary High, several points of convergence emerge that are discussed in Chapter 9 – namely, enabling international school environments for student engagement requires cultivating three dimensions: i.e., the

- inter-personal – i.e., school community context
- environmental – i.e. school culture context; and
- professional – i.e. pedagogy, curriculum, and co-curriculum contexts

What the participants revealed is a resource that schools can learn from if they seek to increase the likelihood of every student experiencing their environment as academically productive, as well as socially and personally positive (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009); and to enhance "engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003: 275). In particular, the insights gained provide empirical grist to highlight the value of taking a cosmopolitan turn and schooling for cosmopolitan subjectivity.

Limitations and delimitations

After noting some study limitations and delimitations, three specific lessons learnt from the total research findings to strengthen students' engagement within schools are summarised before the chapter concludes with some suggestions for future research.

Limitations: This study of student engagement was subject to at least three methodological limitations that need to be considered in evaluating the study's findings. First, purposive sampling strategies were used to select the Phase 1 and 2 institutional participants. Since the schools were not randomly selected from all international schools in Hong Kong, results may not be generalisable. Second, the schools' sizes varied considerably; individual schools contributed disproportionately to the achieved student sample in Phase 1. Similarly, the

Phase 2 student sample was neither equally distributed across Cluster I: Septentrional ($N = 16$), Cluster II: Equatorial ($N = 12$), and Cluster III: Meridional ($N = 6$) nor research site:

- Waratah High ($N = 18$): Cluster I ($N = 9$), II ($N = 5$), III ($N = 4$); and
- Windsor Secondary High ($N = 16$): Cluster I ($N = 7$), II ($N = 7$), III ($N = 2$).

Though disproportionate, the Phase 2 sample is nevertheless deemed sufficient for my research purposes as it generated enough in-depth data, provided a clear picture of the student engagement patterns and conditions, and, I believe, helped me achieve "theoretical saturation" (Glaser and Strauss 1967). The third methodological limitation concerns the self-reported survey data. Self-reported information of a sensitive nature (e.g., self-esteem) is especially susceptible to social-desirability bias, and results may be subject to response distortions (Mesmer-Magnus, Viswesvaran et al. 2006). Shared bias could inflate and/or attenuate correlations because the self-reported data measured independent and dependent variables. The survey results could, therefore, be partially attributable to shared method variance.

Delimitations: Three boundaries were used to delimit the study. First, a cross-sectional and correlational design was used in Phase 1 to understand patterns amongst selected variables and to describe the characteristics of the target population. The study was confined to senior students at 9 purposively selected international schools in Hong Kong, as they would have considerable school experience and presumably have the insights into what makes international schools engaging places for students. Second, the Phase 1 analysis focused on five sets of attitudinal (i.e., Social and Personal Identities, View of Internationalism -- Revised, Experience of International School -- Revised, and Self-liking/Self-competence Scale -- Revised) and socio-demographic variables. Third, Phase 2 concentrated on the interviewing and observing of a sub-sample of clustered students, who had completed a Phase 1 survey, at two international schools in Hong Kong, as well as their teacher-leaders.

Significance of study

The study is important to researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners with an interest in understanding what makes international schools engaging places for students, more broadly, and who view school improvement as being about "enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003: 275), in particular. The research problem is important, as the study used a cosmopolitan conceptual/contextual framework to describe and understand the conditions that enable students' positive experiences of and engagement within the international school

contexts of culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum. The study started with the student's perspective on how their lives intersect with the school to investigate how the international school, as a living and a learning environment, can enhance their engagement therein. I did not set out to produce individual diagnoses of student experiences of schooling. Rather, I sought to draw on the students' perspectives to understand what is learnt, so as to inform educational policies and practices that promote culturally-connected learning, respond to the diversity of learners, and take into account better the "cultural baggage" (Louie 2005) carried by student learners and teacher-leaders alike.

Second, the target population and research setting in Hong Kong are both sufficiently unique that the study is likely to advance knowledge in the scholarly and professional literatures. As noted in a rare empirical effort, "Few academic studies have been made of international schools in Hong Kong… [and] the sector deserves more attention precisely because it is diverse and outside the mainstream" (Bray and Yamato 2003: 70). This study of student engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong contributes to our understanding of key educational issues by using a cosmopolitan lens to explore matters of sociocultural identity, student access, and quality of provision; and by questioning distributions of power, position, and privilege. Given the school contexts of diversity and the cosmopolitan conceptual/contextual approach taken, the research problem and findings could also be of interest to those working with young people in other culturally-rich school jurisdictions.

Finally, this study is important because its two-phase, mixed methods research design has not been widely used in international schools research (Westrick 2002; Alviar-Martin 2008). By providing empirical breadth and depth of understanding, three outcomes – i.e., the 1) typology of international school students in Hong Kong; 2) preliminary validation of the researcher-designed, Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* survey scale; and 3) case studies of student engagement within two international schools in Hong Kong – could be of value to researchers and practitioners with an interest in how students' lives intersect within the international school. Consequently, if international "school improvement is about enhancing engagement through achieving a better fit between young people and the school as an institution" (Rudduck and Demetriou 2003: 275), what then are the main lessons to emerge from the total research findings and the salient issues I have discussed?

Implications: Three lessons for student engagement praxis

I see three broad implications for international schools looking to systematise the institutional reflexivity needed for student engagement praxis:

- Lesson 1: Attend to the school's living and learning environments
- Lesson 2: Take a cosmopolitan turn and school for cosmopolitan subjectivity
- Lesson 3: Adopt a student engagement-driven approach to improving and reforming school policy, administration, and practice

Lesson 1: Attend to the school's living and learning environments

The study's cosmopolitan conceptual/contextual framework emphasises the interplay between a school's sociocultural environment and the individuals/groups therein. The student-as-context focus is on their "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193) within the school's culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum contexts. In making students the "context of greatest salience" (McLaughlin and Talbert 1992: 3), the "inextricable connections among students' behaviours, their sense of self, and the [school] environment" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 192) are foregrounded. Each school's habitus directed the institutional norms and social practices that students negotiated and mediated, and which structured further their subjective experiences of the school's living and learning environment. The findings reported in Chapters 5 to 8 are ample testimony to the value of listening to and learning from student and teacher voices to understand better student experiences and to achieve every student's engagement within the international school.

To this end, the situational literature review in Chapter 2 provided some relevant ways in which to understand the broader influences of the macro/systemic- (e.g., history, school networks) and meso/institutional- (e.g., programmatic, organisational) level forces on students' perceptions and experiences of international schooling. The "ambiguous and contradictory" (Cambridge and Thompson 2004: 172) history and nature of international education, and its manifestation when practised, were seen to influence the school's sociocultural environment. The salient features of international schooling in Hong Kong discussed in Chapter 1 also highlighted the persistent "habitus" of English in the territory (Chan 2002), the government's prevailing instrumental educational imperatives (Bray 1994; Law-Fan 1999; Choi 2003; Lai 2005), and the anxieties surrounding the implementation of "the biliterate and trilingual" and Medium-of-Instruction Government policies (Gibbons 1989; Johnson 1994; Poon 1999; Tsui, Shum et al. 1999; Ying Lao and Krashen 1999; Poon 2000; Tsui, Tse et al. 2001; Choi 2003; Poon 2004; Tsui and Tollefson 2004; Tse, Shum et al.

2007). This broader situational and Hong Kong-specific background usefully portray the complex social and political contexts of international (schools) education, in general, and the ever-increasing but Janus-like role and status of international schools in Hong Kong's educational arena, which have "received little attention from the research community" (Bray 2003: viii).

Chapter 5, which takes up teacher-administrators' perspectives of what makes Waratah and Windsor Secondary High engaging places for students, as well their understanding of the subjective quality of students' lived experiences of and engagement therein, helped constitute the institutional portraits by taking up individual-group-institutional dynamics within this "4Cs" educational ecology. The evidence points to how school culture was an important context that framed community relations (external and internal), the enactment of school curriculum and co-curriculum, and the construction of each school's "habitus." Bourdieu's (1990/1977) concept generatively captures the interplay amongst people's acquired, culturally-mediated predispositions (i.e., habits) that structure the way people interpret, act in, and respond within social contexts of experience.

In particular, "institutional habitus" (Thomas 2002) is a useful analytic for my study because it focuses on how sense-giving and meaning-making structures, practices, and processes provide guidelines for action to direct social practices within the international school. These institutional dispositions will be differently perceived and lived by different groups and individual students, whose distinct "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193) provides "interpretive schemes… [and] guidelines of action" (Seidman 1998: 153) to navigate the international school's culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum contexts in particular ways. Waratah and Windsor Secondary High's "institutional habitus" could be located on an "encapsulated" to "inclusive" school continuum (Sylvester 1998) to both foster and impede students' positive experiences of and engagement therein.

The findings also showed how and why teacher-administrator habituses influenced the formative relations between school-home, school-teacher, teacher-student, and student-student. The student picture, as developed in Chapters 6 to 8, underscores the "4Cs'" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) Janus-like implications as lived by the Septentrionals, Equatorials, and Meridionals in their daily interactions within the school's sociocultural environment. The embedded and overlapping contexts constitute the international school as both a living and learning environment, with the potential to enable and impede students'

experiences of, sense of ownership and belonging (Finn 1989; Osterman 2000), and well-being (Hascher 2008) therein.

The rich insights gained through the teacher-leader and student perspectives and experiences provide empirical grist to Freire's (1998: 47) assertion: It is "a pity that the socializing character of the school, with its multiple possibilities for formation or deformation, especially in the context of the ordinary informality of the day to day, is so much neglected." In particular, the fieldwork showed that the cross-cutting relations of community both enabled and impeded students' sense of belonging, self-fulfilment, and engagement within school and the classroom. Recurring comments throughout the clusters (but few teacher-leaders) indicated that Waratah and Windsor Secondary High needed to balance better the pursuit of a strong academic (learning) climate and positive, caring (living) environment (Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). In focusing on the "student's relationship with the school community: the people (adults and peers), the structures (rules, facilities, schedules), the curriculum and content, the pedagogy, and the opportunities (curricular, co-curricular, extracurricular)" (Yazzie-Mintz 2006: 1), the findings raise issues of identity formation (i.e., how we see ourselves), representation (i.e., how others see us), and experience -- i.e., to be, to become, and to belong -- to highlight salutarily why every student needs "a map… to help them with the inter-cultural learning needed to negotiate these borderlands between cultures" (Allan 2002: 80). Discerning Freire's observation and Allan's conclusion through a cosmopolitan lens makes it possible to support student motivation and well-being by focusing on individual subjectivity, institutional structures, and the interactive processes therein.

A "pedagogy of positionality" (Maher 1999), in particular, reveals those living-learning dynamics as it acknowledges and supports an individual's experience and background, on the one hand, whilst illuminating the interactions amongst social groups and institutions, on the other hand. So 'reading' the individual-systemic conditions that can foster and impede a student's quality/quantity of attention, commitment, and effort to learn and develop within school makes it possible to then redress how the "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) constitute the school as a living and a learning environment. To this end, Appendix AA includes some questions to get international school leaders and teachers thinking about how their school culture, community, curricular, and co-curricular contexts might foster (or impede) students' engagement therein.

Lesson 2: Take a cosmopolitan turn to school for cosmopolitan subjectivity

Cosmopolitanism starts from the subject position(s) learners occupy – i.e., their own life experiences, background, and personal-social identities – and through which they perceive and experience the world. A cosmopolitan education sensitizes learners to how their and other people's social locations affect what and how they learn. Schooling for cosmopolitanism emphasises autobiographical-contextual connections to focus on who learners *were… are* (i.e., roots)… and *are becoming* (i.e., routes). As a personal identity model, cosmopolitanism "can [thus] provide a cultural depth of engagement with other cultures, loci and locals which internationalism, for reasons of its inherent traditional geographical, geopolitical and political definition and scope, even within the context of international education, cannot provide" (Gunesch 2007: 97). Moreover, unlike multi-culturalism and inter-culturalism, as discussed in Chapter 2, cosmopolitanism neither reifies culture nor relies on cultural model assumptions in which human differences stem from self-evident sociocultural factors. Instead, cosmopolitanism recognises and affirms that what we may have in common is more important than our interesting differences (as evident in the disaggregated student voices in Chapter 9): i.e., I am an **individual** human being.

The study's formative theoretical literature emphasises the generative usefulness of post-structuralism to approaching schooling within a cosmopolitan framework. Its focus on self/identity formation and meaning-making through discursive and institutional interactions sharpens our understanding of why and how students' experiential standpoints and ontological perspectives come to shape their lived realities of schooling (Davidson 1996; Corson 1998; Yon 2000; Cummins 2001; Vincent 2003; Sadowski 2004) as personally, socially, and/or academically (dis-) engaging. It frames the student-as-context and "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) interface by attending to the discursive and instituted subjection of students, as well as to the ways in which students' selfhood get constituted, changed, and challenged. Spindler and Spindler's (1994) anthropological model of the "enduring," "situated," and "endangered" self, in particular, conveys this dialectic of personhood as a "socially embedded self" (Oyserman and Markus 1993: 193) in a "culturally and historically situated place and time, a specific here and now" (Graue and Walsh 1998: 9). A cosmopolitan turn thus rightly emphasises the "care of the self" (Foucault 1984/1987; Fornet-Betancourt, Becker et al. 1987) to frame schooling in terms of identity formation and identificatory practices, meaning-making, and belonging within the school's learning and living environment. Schooling for cosmopolitan subjectivity

recognises the interplay between "being a subject" and "being subjected to" (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983: 104-204; Foucault 1988) and attends to learners' personal-social identities and sense of efficacy.

As shown by participants across clusters, mismatches between how different students got constituted and positioned within the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High "4Cs" (e.g., due to nationality, place of origin, first language, race/ethnicity, extrovertedness) formatively shaped their perceptions and lived realities of schooling as positive (or not). The findings from two international schools, which "by their nature… welcome diversity and are able to cope with it" (Bray and Yamato 2003: 63), is a salutary reminder of what happens when educators fail to problematise sufficiently and respond inclusively to the interplay between learners' backgrounds, dispositions, experiences, and school-level conditions (Jabal 2010).

In the process, students and teachers alluded to how cosmopolitan tendencies appeared to shape the Waratah and Windsor Secondary High environments. They expressed how differences in learners' cognitive style and cultural backgrounds, for example, likely meant that schooling would get lived differently by different individuals and social groups. Cosmopolitan sensibilities could be seen in the self-reflexivity of some at Waratah (e.g., Xia, Manchu, Sienna; teachers Marcelino, Cruz, Hyun, Hal, Tyesha) and Windsor Secondary (e.g., Rosie, Ryan, Yi Men; teachers Denver, Florentina, Kirby, Anette, Zada) High. They expressed the realisation that as meaning-making is distinctly positional (Maher 1999), we need to first heighten self-understandings of one's own experiences, values, beliefs, biases, interests, commitments, and life aims, before looking at how these unique histories, attributes, and perspectives will interplay within a particular school context's sense-giving acts, processes, and conditions to enable and/or impede students' engagement therein.

Hence a cosmopolitan approach appeared to (in)form students' learning and personal development because the lens through which some teachers peered and practised had them "recognise individuals…. spend time finding out about them – and not just see a class as a class, but recognise the individuals within it." They looked "below the surface…. to see the realities of our kids' lives as they really are." Some more cosmopolitan-minded teachers even called for a root and branch realignment of international school culture and practice to reflect cosmopolitanism's primordial principle – e.g.,

> *For me, the international part is about individual students. I mean, if you're an*
> *'international' school because the students have different cultural and linguistic*
> *backgrounds and come from different parts of the world, in a sense, it doesn't make a*

huge deal of difference if you are not dealing with these students as individual people. Whether those individual differences are because of their different national backgrounds, or different language backgrounds, or because they're from different social groups, or have different levels of affluence, you know, it's all part of the same thing. If your values and ethos are based on the individuality of the students that you teach, then that takes account of internationalism. Because if you're dealing with an individual, you're dealing with the individual who is Korean and speaks three languages and whose father is constantly overseas working. That's all part of it.... If you're genuinely engaging people as individuals, the fact that it is an 'international' school is almost secondary if not insignificant.

Their ability to see students' "various identity markers as social relations [experiences] and not just attributes [phenotypes]" (Yon 2000: 131) is an important cosmopolitan point of departure because it both honours an individual's unique, subjective, human perspective(s) and recognises the individual's "capacity to embody multiple subjectivities" (127). Such a relational and contextual sense of self is evident in this Septentrional's metaphor:

[F]itting into one group was really hard when I first came to Hong Kong.... So I had to find a way to blend in with different people. That's what I'm good at. I'm not good at only being part of one group. I like to make friends with a variety of people. That's where I can be my true self. As someone who can blend in like a chameleon, any environment is good for me.

This cosmopolitan view that people have the "capacity to embody [and deploy] multiple subjectivities" (Yon 2000: 127), and that can enhance students' engagement within school, is shared by other students (e.g., XiuXiu, Rosie, Ni, Ryan, Yi Men, Sienna, Brock) and teachers (e.g., Marcelino, Emory, Tyesha, Anette) participants. It provides insights into how and why individuals can feel at home and belong in multiple places. In this optic,

identity is never only about location, about shoring up a safe 'home', crucial as that task may be in certain circumstances. Identity is also, inescapably, about displacement and relocation, the experience of sustaining and mediating complex affiliations, multiple attachments. The challenge is to articulate, not transcend, these aspects of identity...". (Clifford 1998: 369)

Hence this second lesson highlights the importance of taking a "view of 'engagement' that is grounded in the lives and experiences of students" (Riviere, Sotomayor et al. 2008: 10) – i.e., focus on how their unique histories, attributes, and perspectives interplay with a school's sense-giving acts, processes, and conditions to support and constrain students' engagement therein. This is consistent with narrative conceptualisations of student engagement (Clandinin 2007), in which questions of student identity and belonging are threaded centrally into the construction of socially grounded, interpretive curricula and relationships between teacher and student are at the heart of student engagement (McFadden and Munns 2002; Jarrett 2007). Lesson 2 applies cosmopolitanism's philosophical-psychological-sociological

lens to characterise students' dispositions in response to structures encountered, and to explain the outcomes in terms of their (dis-) engagement from or compliance within the international school.

To this end, I believe that Yi-Fu Tuan's (1996) bi-focal notion of "cosmopolitan hearth" provides the necessary praxis to sharpen our construction of students' perspectives of and "4C" experiences (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006). Tuan's paradoxical phrase generatively integrates "hearth" (i.e., home, kinfolk, neighbourhood) and "cosmos" (i.e., world, civilisation, humankind) to argue for their dialectical understanding: i.e., individuals must first "appreciate intelligently [their own] culture and landscape" (183) before they can explore and engage with "other climes, other topographies" (182). So conceptualised and operationalised, cosmopolitanism's person-oriented, learner-centred approach opens up identity options. Taking a cosmopolitan turn to school for cosmopolitan subjectivity can guide individuals to a broader understanding of personhood – i.e., who both seek and can reconcile their "rootedness and routedness" (Clifford 1998); who can express themselves within, as much as beyond local, national, and other social identities; and who build on, rather than deny, multiple identities and loyalties.

As illustrated throughout the student cluster chapters, developing cosmopolitan virtues and skills also appears more educationally and existentially compatible with the nature of international school students, who likely have strong affective ties with multiple contexts, as it encourages individuals to make multiple connections, build on multiple loyalties, and belong in "multiple worlds" (Phelan, Davidson et al. 1998). If indeed the international school is an opportunity for learners to engage with and integrate their varied experiences and mosaic identities within an inclusive, learning/living environment of challenge, sense-making, and belonging, then the third main implication for international schools to arise from the total research findings and the issues taken up will also help to systematise the institutional reflexivity needed for student engagement praxis.

Lesson 3: Adopt a student engagement-driven approach to improve and reform school policy, administration, and practice

Experience, reflection, and this study's findings lead me to conclude that international schools serious about strengthening students' well-being, self-fulfillment, and academic success ought to build up the positive and reduce the negatives of student engagement. All matters of policy, administration, and practice should be interrogated and acted upon through

a student engagement filter: How might this increase student engagement within school? How might this reduce student dis-engagement, retreatism, or compliance within school?

As introduced in Chapter 1, this standpoint derives from my own value-preferences, commitments, and experiences as a student, as well as an international schools scholar-practitioner-leader. My drive to understand better international school contexts for enhanced student engagement is rooted in my own academic and social mismatches in high school, as well as what I saw professionally as an international school teacher-leader (and to which I no doubt unwittingly contributed!). I believe that international schools must better understand and attend to these potential discontinuities, which they can by strengthening their capacity to engender an affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively engaging environment. As summarised in lessons 1 and 2, this starts by approaching and constructing school contexts – i.e., culture, community, curriculum, and co-curriculum – as a living and a learning environment; and by taking a cosmopolitan turn and cultivating cosmopolitan subjectivities.

A student engagement approach will both further these imperatives and be shaped by them because its holistic view of the individual-institution interface emphasises "learning and development and the integration of intellectual and academic learning and personal development" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006: 25). An ABCs approach to engagement mobilises feeling (affective), doing (behavioral), and thinking (cognitive) (Jimerson, Campos et al. 2003; Fredericks, Blumenfeld et al. 2004; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009) because it views all knowledge as inter-related (i.e., school subjects and personal, social, real-world) and pursues curricula/learning experiences that cater to the needs and development of the whole person -- i.e., physical, social, intellectual, aesthetic, and cultural (IBO 2002). So framed, identity matters become just as important as curricula, pedagogy, and assessment (Cummins 2001; Gee 2001; Sadowski 2004), as people and activities co-construct personal, public, and applied meaning to generate academic understanding (Starratt 2003; Willms, Friesen et al. 2009). As synthesised in Chapter 9, the connection amongst learner ABCs and learning as a reflexive shaping of the self makes the schoolhouse a crucible of support and challenge in which to grow the heart and mind, to strive for and develop personal and social excellence, and to learn to 'be' and to 'become' fulfilled as a human being -- and not just as test scores to be raised, which belies an "instrumentalist/rational technical" (Vibert and Shields 2003; McMahon and Portelli 2004; Zyngier 2007) view of engagement.

Engendering and achieving a learning- and learner-centred culture, in which younger and adult learners alike "care about, look after, and root for one another… work together for the good of the whole…. [and] hold some responsibility for the welfare of every other and for the welfare of the community as a whole" (Barth 2002: 11), underscores the importance of the school's sociocultural environment (i.e., "4Cs") and the connection between and salience of the school culture and community contexts, in particular:

> *Schools as institutions will have greater motivation and support for implementing policies and practices that foster [student] engagement if they perceive the linkages between student development and the enhancement of the total school environment. (Furlong, Whipple et al. 2003: 111)*

As with lessons 1 (i.e., attend to the school's living and learning environment) and 2 (i.e., take a cosmopolitan turn and school for cosmopolitan subjectivity), lesson 3 – i.e., shared individual and communal ownership of and responsibility for enabling and strengthening student engagement conditions – is hardly a radical proposal, especially in school contexts striving to enact a progressive educational model (e.g., Senge, Cambron-McCabe et al. 2000; Wrigley 2003; Feldman, Lopez et al. 2006; Rudduck and McIntyre 2007).

At the same time, the need to adopt a person-oriented (i.e., cosmopolitanism), learner-centred approach for whole-person development (i.e., ABCs of engagement) seems all the more important in the context of international schools for at least two reasons. First, though my study has pursued a conceptual and empirical line of argument premised on the importance to school engagement of acknowledging and affirming in full the diverse identities and "cultural baggage" (Louie 2005) that international school learners bring with them, and through which they perceive and experience differently the world, I am aware that international school learners and communities are all, at one level, inherently privileged due to their considerable (albeit variegated) economic, cultural, and symbolic "social capital" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990/1977). My positive view of this vested privilege, and the normative and practical opportunities it presents, stems from a belief evidenced in the literature that stimulating personal engagement, securing commitment, and maintaining school engagement can enhance every learner's quest for meaning, sense-making, and "moral excellence" (Starratt 2003) – i.e., being responsible to and for what one learns and does, whether in/out of the classroom or immediate/wider community beyond the school gates. To this end, if

> *students are to enter into the learning process as a way of actively constructing themselves, if they are to develop a sensitivity to a plurality of points of view as well as work within that plurality for some pragmatic agreements* on what will constitute some necessary public activity needed by the community, if they are to develop a

> sense of the usefulness of their learning in their present and future lives, *then the…*
> *requirement that they generate personal, public, applied, and academic meanings*
> *from their learning activities will develop the kind of necessary foundation for these*
> *habits of mind and heart. (Starratt 2003: 163, Emphasis added)*

This emphasis foregrounds the opportunity that international schools ought to seize by cultivating engaging experiences for "moral excellence" today if they are to graduate student-citizens with heightened "conscientization" (Freire 1998) for tomorrow – i.e., an awareness of and an ability to use their "social capital" to challenge and change oppressive social orders rather than to reproduce and reinforce their privilege. This imperative characterises "critical democratic" (McMahon and Portelli 2004) discourses of engagement, which pursue "questions about living well together... address the politics of here and now, relating those politics to a larger world of political action" (Vibert, Portelli et al. 2002: 112) "for the purpose of creating a more just and democratic community, not solely for the advancement of the individual" (Zyngier 2007: 104). Seeds of such normative and constructive engagement were evident in how some student participants at Waratah (e.g., Matilda, Manchu, Sienna) and Windsor Secondary (e.g., Ryan, Rosie, Yi Men) High revealed their awareness of the specific standpoints they and other social groups occupied, described the forces that enabled and/or disabled inter-personal and institutional relations, and recognised the need for self-examination, perspective taking, and empathetic listening leading to action both within and beyond the schoolhouse's gates, locally and globally.

Second, cultivating the necessary conditions to achieve such international schooling outcomes requires a degree of institutional reflexivity and practice that attends carefully to the intersection of school culture and community. In this regard, a recurring finding with wider implications for Waratah's and Windsor Secondary High's habitus was their need to realise and respond to their embeddedness: neither "exist[s] in isolation from their surrounding communities. What and how they learn needs to be in dialogue with their surroundings" (Starratt 2003: 233). This means moving towards "relational forms of interaction" (Corson 1998: 208), which engage the links amongst discourse, ideology, and power that govern, as shown in the study, school-home, school-teacher, teacher-student, and student-student relations. The participants revealed that Waratah and Windsor Secondary High need to integrate "local reference points" – within the broader school mission and goals, people, programme, policy, and practice realities – and move towards building a "community curriculum" (Wrigley 2000) if they are to honour their environment's diversity, shape inclusively the school contexts for all stakeholders, and engage them meaningfully therein.

In adopting a student engagement-driven approach to improve and reform school policy, administration, and practice, international schools may wish to take up what Adams (1997) characterises as "five pedagogical dilemmas":

1. balance the emotional and cognitive components of the learning process;
2. acknowledge and support the personal (the individual student's experience) while illuminating the systemic (the interactions among social groups);
3. attend to social relations within [and beyond] the classroom;
4. utilise reflection and experience as tools for student-centred learning; and
5. value awareness, personal growth, and change as outcomes of the learning process.

Doing so will focus on how an individual learner's unique history, attributes, and perspectives interplay within a particular school's "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006), sense-giving acts, and processes to support and constrain their engagement therein. In the process, it will both attend to the "student's relationship with the school community: the people (adults and peers), the structures (rules, facilities, schedules), the curriculum and content, the pedagogy, and the opportunities (curricular, co-curricular, extracurricular)" (Yazzie-Mintz 2006: 1) and raise issues of identity formation (i.e., how we see ourselves), representation (i.e., how others see us), and experience: i.e., to be, to become, and to belong.

Yet this requires dialogue and interchange within a climate of respect, trust, and understanding, something participants across clusters identified and valued as enabling engagement within learning and wider school life. Such culturally-responsive pedagogy has the potential to create engaging environments by, for example, engendering greater reflexivity for learners and teachers alike (e.g., who am I? what do I believe in? what matters to me?) and also helping to bridge meaningfully the school/classroom discourses and practices to those of learners' communities/homes. To this end, the third salutary lesson to emerge – i.e., adopt a student engagement-driven approach to improve and reform school policy, administration, and practice – highlights how an engaging education can intentionally and positively attend to the subjective quality of students' perceptions and experiences within learning and school life. It converges on whether, how, and why students meaning-make and belong within the school; and it focuses on the conditions for their attachment, participation, and commitment within school policies, programmes, practices, and people.

Future directions

This study represents only a few steps in a vast field taken to explore the complex issues surrounding student perceptions, experiences of, and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong. Though there is yet much to be done, if not only to describe and

understand student engagement within other international school jurisdictions than Hong Kong, here are several avenues for future research opened up by my study to go down if we are to achieve a better fit between students and the international school:

Methodological

- Replicate and validate researcher-developed Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* attitudinal scale.

- Use Confirmatory Factor Analysis to examine whether the same cluster attributes meaningfully group international school student populations in other jurisdictions.

Theoretical

- What is the relationship between international school aims (i.e., "encapsulated" vs. "inclusive") and cosmopolitan identity formation and development therein?

- Cosmopolitan citizenship: What, for international school students, is the blessing and burden of developing a cosmopolitan worldview?

Educational practice

- Deepen characterisation of achieved student cluster profiles: What other contextual factors, individual and institutional, support students' (differential) engagement within the international school?

- Move towards "critical democratic" (McMahon and Portelli 2004) engagement: How might international schools' "4Cs" (Braskamp, Trautvetter et al. 2006) enable the cultivation of their students' civic identities and capacities to further the ethico-moral dimensions of cosmopolitan engagement?

References

Abdallah-Pretceille, M. (2006). "Interculturalism as a paradigm for thinking about diversity." Intercultural Education **17**(5): 475-483.

Ackerman, B. (1994). "Rooted cosmopolitanism." Ethics **104**(3): 516-535.

Adams, M. (1997). Pedagogical frameworks for social justice education. Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook. M. Adams, L. A. Bell and P. Griffin. New York, Routledge**:** 30-43.

AEL (1997). Let's ask the students... Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia students talk about schools and change. Charleston, WV, Appalachia Educational Lab.

Aidman, E. V. (1998). "Analysing global dimensions of self-esteem: Factorial structure and reliability of the self-liking / self-competence scale." Personality and Individual Differences **24**(5): 735-737.

Ainger, H. (2004). Thinking about multicultural history: An anthropological perspective. The International Schools Journal compendium: The internatinoal school classroom. E. Murphy. Saxmundham, Suffolk, Peridot Press. **3:** 88-94.

Akram, C. (1995). "Change and adaptation: Children and curriculum in international schools." International Schools Journal **15**(1): 39-53.

Aldenderfer, M. S. and R. K. Blashfield (1984). Cluster analysis (Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 44). Newbury Park, CA, SAGE Publications.

Alexander, R. (2003). Talk in teaching and learning: International perspectives. New perspectives on spoken English in the classroom (Discussion papers). QCA. London, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority**:** 27-37.

Allan, M. (2000). Border crossings: A study of cultural dissonance in an international school. Education. Oxford, Oxford Brookes University.

Allan, M. (2002). "Cultural borderlands: A case study of cultural dissonance in an international school." Journal of Research in International Education **1**(1): 63-90.

Allan, M. (2003). "Frontier crossings: Cultural dissonance, intercultural learning and the multicultural personality." Journal of Research in International Education **2**(1): 83-110.

Allan, M. (2004/2002). Cultural borderlands: Cultural dissonance in the international school. The International Schools Journal Compendium: Culture and international school: Living, learning and communicating across cultures. E. Murphy. Great Glemham, Peridot Press. **2:** 89-97.

Allen, K. (2000). The international school and its community: think globally, interact locally. International schools & international education: Improving teaching, management & quality. M. Hayden and J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 124-139.

Allen, K. (2002). Atolls, seas of culture and global nets. International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools. M. Hayden, J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing Inc.**:** 129-144.

Alviar-Martin, T. B. (2008). Seeking cosmopolitan citizenship: A comparative case study of two international schools. Division of Educational Studies. Atlanta, Emory University. **Doctor of Philosophy**.

AmCham (2007). International schools' expansion efforts in Hong Kong. Hong Kong, American Chamber of Commerce.

Anderson, A. (1998). Cosmopolitanism, universalism, and the divided legacies of modernity. Cosmopolitics: Thinking and feeling beyond the nation. P. Cheah and B. Robbins. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press**:** 265-289.

Anderson, G. (1998). Fundamentals of educational research. Philadelphia, PA, Falmer Press/Taylor.

Appiah, K. A. (1996). Cosmopolitan patriots. For love of country: Debating the limits of patriotism. M. C. Nussbaum and J. Cohen. Cambridge, MA, Beacon Press**:** 21-29.

Appiah, K. A. (1998). Cosmopolitan patriots. Cosmopolitics: Thinking and feeling beyond the nation. P. Cheah and B. Robbins. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press**:** 91-114.

Appiah, K. A. (2005). The ethics of identity. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

Appiah, K. A. (2006). Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers. New York, W. W. Norton & Company.

Archibugi, D. (1998). Principles of cosmopolitan democracy. Re-imagining political community: Studies in cosmopolitan democracy. D. Archibugi, D. Held and M. Kohler. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press**:** 198-228.

Archibugi, D. (2003). Cosmopolitan democracy. Debating cosmopolitics. D. Archibugi. New York, Verso**:** 1-15.

Au, A. (1998). Language standards and proficiency. Teaching language and culture: Building Hong Kong on education. B. Asker. Hong Kong, Longman**:** 179-183.

Bagnall, N. F. (1994). The International Baccalaureate in Australia and Canada: 1980-1993. Melbourne, University of Melbourne. **PhD**.

Ball, S. J. (1990). Introducing monsieur Foucault. Foucault and education: Disciplines and knowledge. S. J. Ball. New York, Routledge**:** 1-7.

Banks, J. A. (1993). "Multicultural education: development, dimensions, and challenges." Phi Delta Kappan **75**(1): 22-28.

Banks, J. A. (1997). Multicultural education: Characteristics and goals. Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives. J. A. Banks and C. A. M. Banks. Boston, Allyn and Bacon**:** 3-31.

Banks, J. A. (1998). "The lives and values of researchers: Implications for educating citizens in a multicultural society." Educational Researcher **27**(7): 4-17.

Banks, J. A. (2002). "Race, knowledge construction, and education in the USA." Race Ethnicity and Education **5**(1): 7-27.

Banks, J. A. (2003). Teaching strategies for ethnic studies. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.

Barnett, R. V. (2005). Adolescent experiences from participating in extracurricular and community-based activities (FCS2239). Gainesville, FL, Family, Youth and Community Sciences Department, University of Florida.

Bart, C. K. (2001). "Exploring the application of mision statements on the World Wide Web." Internet Research: Electronic networking applications and policy **11**(4): 360-368.

Bart, C. K. and J. C. Tabone (1998). "Mission statement rationales and organizational alignment in the not-for-profit health care sector." Health care management review **23**(4): 54-69.

Barth, R. S. (2002). "The culture builder." Educational leadership **59**(8): 6-11.

Bauman, Z. (1998). Globalization: The human consequences. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Beck, U. (1998). "The cosmopolitan manifesto." New Statesman **127**(4377): 28-30.

Begley, P. T. (2000). "Cultural isomorphs of educational administration: Reflections on Western-centric approaches to values and leadership." Asia Pacific Journal of Education **20**(2): 23-33.

Beng Huat, C. (2004). The cost of citizenship: Diaspora, ethnicity and class. Identities, nations and cosmopolitan practice: Interrogating the work of Pnina and Richard Werbner, Asia Research Institute.

Benhabib, S. (2006). The philosophical foundations of cosmopolitan norms. Another cosmopolitanism. R. Post. Oxford, Oxford University Press**:** 13-44.

Beyer, L. E. and M. Apple, Eds. (1998). The curriculum: Problems, politics, and possibilities. Albany, NY, State University of New York.

Blandford, S. and M. Shaw (2001). Introduction. Managing international schools. S. Blandford and M. Shaw. New York, Routledge/Falmer Press**:** 1-8.

Blandford, S. and M. Shaw, Eds. (2001). Managing international schools. New York, Routledge/Falmer Press.

Blaney, J. J. (1991). The international school system. International schools and international education (World Yearbook of Education 1991). D. Harris and P. L. Jonietz. New York, Nichols Publishing Company**:** 199-205.

Bleszynska, K. M. (2008). "Constructing intercultural education." Intercultural Education **19**(6): 537-545.

Bogdan, R. C. and S. K. Biklen (1997). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. New York, Allyn & Bacon.

Booth, T. and M. Ainscow (2002). Index for inclusion: Developing learning and participation in schools. Bristol, UK, Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language and symbolic power. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and J.-C. Passeron (1990/1977). Reproduction in education, society, and culture. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications.

Boyle-Baise, M. (1999). "Meanings of culture in multicultural education: A response to anthropological critiques." Journal of Educational Thought **33**(1): 9-29.

Bradley, G. (2000). Inclusive education in international schools: A case study from Singapore. International schools and international education: Improving teaching, management, and quality. M. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**: 29-41.

Brady, P. (2005). "Inclusionary and exclusionary secondary schools: The effect of school culture on student outcomes." Interchange **36**(3): 295-311.

Brady, P. (2008). "Working towards a model of secondary school culture." Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy(73): 1-26.

Braskamp, L. A., L. C. Trautvetter, et al. (2006). Putting students first: How colleges develop students purposefully. Bolton, MA, Anker Publishing Company.

Bray, M. (1994). Hong Kong: System of education. International encyclopedia of education. T. Husen and T. N. Postlethwaite. Oxford, Pergamon Press**: 2636-2643.

Bray, M. (2003). Foreword. Education in the market place: Hong Kong's international schools and their mode of operation. Y. Yamato. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre**: xiii-ix.

Bray, M. (2007). International and comparative education: Boundaries, ambiguities and synergies. Sage Handbook of Research in International Education. M. Hayden, J. J. Thompson and J. Levy. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage**: 51-56.

Bray, M. and P. Leong (1996). "Education and social change: The growth and diversification of the international schools sector in Hong Kong." International Education **25**(2): 49-73.

Bray, M. and Y. Yamato (2003). "Comparative education in a microcosm: Methodological insights from the international schools sector in Hong Kong." International Review of Education **49**(1-2): 51-73.

Brennan, T. (2001). "Cosmopolitanism and internationalism." New Left Review **7**: 75-84.

Briks, H. (1997). Global citizenship and higher education. Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education. Toronto, OISE/University of Toronto**: 380.

Brown, H., S. Course, et al. (2006). Listings: International schools and private independent schools. Good Schools Guide 2006 (Special Supplement -- South China Morning Post). K. Forestier. Hong Kong, South China Morning Post**: 24-33.

Browne, M. W. and R. Cudeck (1992). "Alternative ways of assessing model fit." Sociological Methods & Research **21**(2): 230-258.

Bruce, N. (2004). Don't plan to bring home the bacon with ham-fisted reforms. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Bunnell, T. (2007). "The international education industry: An introductory framework for conceptualising the potential scale of an 'alliance'." Journal of Research in International Education **6**(3): 349-367.

Butler-Kisber, L. (2007). "Editorial." LEARNing Landscapes **1**(1): Available at: http://www.learnquebec.ca/en/content/learninglandscapes/documents/LL-OCT-2007-LR-link.pdf

Butt, T. (2004). Understanding people. New York, Palgrave.

Calhoun, C. J. (2003). The class consciousness of frequent travellers: Towards a critique of actually existing cosmopolitanism. Debating cosmopolitcs. D. Archibugi. New York, Verso**: 86-116.

Cambridge, J. (1998). Investigating national and organizational cultures in the context of the international school. International education: Principles and practice. M. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing: 197-211.

Cambridge, J. (2002). "Global product branding and international education." Journal of Research in International Education **1**(2): 227-243.

Cambridge, J. (2003). "Identifying the globalist and internationalist missions of international schools." International Schools Journal **22**(2): 54-58.

Cambridge, J. and J. Thompson. (2001). "'A big mac and a coke?' Internationalism and globalisation as contexts for international education."   Retrieved 14 November, 2003, from http://staff.bath.ac.uk/edsjcc/intedandglobaldoc.pdf.

Cambridge, J. and J. Thompson (2004). "Internationalism and globalization as contexts for international education." Compare **34**(2): 161-175.

Cambridge, J. and J. J. Thompson (2000). "Towards the construction of a framework for the description and classification of international schools and other schools in an international context." Collected original resources in education **24**(1): Available on-line at http://staff.bath.ac.uk/edsjcc/isj-article-dec2002.pdf.

Cambridge, J. and J. J. Thompson. (2001). "Internationalism, international-mindedness, multiculturalism and globalisation as concepts in defining international schools."   Retrieved 12 October, 2003, from http://staff.bath.ac.uk/edsjcc/intmindedness.html.

Caracelli, V. J. and J. C. Greene (1993). "Data analysis strategies for mixed-method evaluation designs." Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis **15**(2): 195-207.

Carder, M. (2007). Bilingualism in international schools. Toronto, Multilingual Matters.

Carter, R. T. and A. L. Goodwin (1994). Racial identity and education. Review of Research in Education. L. Darling-Hammond. Washington, DC, American Educational Research Association: 291-336.

Castles, M. (2004). Migration, citizenship, and education. Diversity and citizenship education. J. A. Banks. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass: 17-48.

Cattell, R. B. (1966). "The scree test for the number of factors." Multivariate Behavioural Research **1**: 245-276.

Cazden, C. B. (1988). Classroom discourse: The language of teaching and learning. Portsmouth, NH, Heinemann.

Chan, B. (2004). International and Western are not the same thing. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Chan, E. (2002). "Beyond pedagogy: Language and identity in post-colonial Hong Kong." British Journal of Sociology of Education **23**(2): 271-285.

Chan, M. (2010). Taking the first, careful step Preschool will help shape your child's development so it is vital you do the research and make an informed choice. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong, SCMP: 6.

Cheah, P. (1998). The cosmopolitical -- Today. <u>Cosmopolitics: Thinking and feeling beyond the nation</u>. P. Cheah and B. Robbins. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press**:** 20-41.

Chen, G.-M. (1997). A review of the concept of intercultural sensitivity. Honolulu, HI, ERIC document reproduction service No. ED408634.

Cheng, Y. C. (1994). "Classroom environment and student affective performance: An effective profile." <u>Journal of Experimental Education</u> **62**(3): 221-239.

Cheng, Y. C. (2004). "Fostering local knowledge and human development in globalization of education." <u>The International Journal of Educational Management</u> **18**(1): 7-24.

Ching, F. (2006). 'Foreigner' isn't a nasty word. <u>South China Morning Post</u>. Hong Kong.

Choi, P. K. (2003). "'The best students will learn English': Ultra-utilitarianism and linguistic imperialism in education in post-1997 Hong Kong." <u>Journal of Educational Policy</u> **18**(6): 673-694.

Choi, P. K. (2003). "Introduction: Education policy in Hong Kong." <u>Journal of Education Policy</u> **18**(6): 637-639.

Chouliaraki, L. and N. Fairclough (1999). <u>Discourse in late modernity: Rethinking critical discourse analysis</u>. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Clandinin, J. (2007). "Narrative conceptualizations of student enagement." <u>LEARNing Landscapes</u> **1**(1): Available at: http://www.learnquebec.ca/en/content/learninglandscapes/documents/LL-OCT-2007-LR-link.pdf

Clark, L. A. and D. Watson (1995). "Constructing validity: Basic issues in objective scale development." <u>Psychological Assessment</u> **7**(3): 309-319.

Claxton, G. (2008). <u>What's the point of school? Rediscovering the heart of education</u> Oxford, Oneworld.

Clifford, J. (1998). Mixed feelings. <u>Cosmopolitics</u>. P. Cheah and B. Robbins. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota**:** 362-370.

Cohen, J. (1988). <u>Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences</u>. Hillsdale, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cohen, M. (1995). Rooted cosmopolitanism. <u>Toward a global civil society</u>. M. Walzer. Providence, RI, Berghahn Books**:** 223-234.

Coll, A. N. (2001). Proposals for intercultural diversity in the era of globalisation (Contribution to the World Assembly of the Alliance for a Responsible, Plural and United World to be held in Lille, France, December 2002), Alliance for a Responsible, Plural and United World.

Comrey, A. L. and H. B. Lee (1992). <u>A first course in factor analysis</u>. Hillsdale, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Assoc.

Conti, G. J. (1996). <u>Using cluster analysis in adult education</u>. 37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference, University of South Florida, TA.

Cook-Sather, A. (2002). "Authorizing students' perspectives: Toward trust, dialogue, and change in education." <u>Educational Researcher</u> **31**(4): 3-14.

Cookson, P. W. J. and C. H. Persell (1985). <u>Preparing for power: America's elite boarding schools</u>. New York, Basic Books.

Corson, D. (1998). <u>Changing education for diversity</u>. Philadelphia, Open University Press.

Corson, D. (2000). "Emancipatory leadership." <u>International Journal of Leadership in Education</u> **3**(2): 93-120.

Coulby, D. (2006). "Intercultural education: Theory and practice." <u>Intercultural Education</u> **17**(3): 245-257.

Craft, M. (1984). Education for diversity. <u>Education and cultural pluralism</u>. M. Craft. London, Falmer Press**:** 5-25.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). <u>Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J. W. and D. L. Miller (2000). "Determining validity in qualitative inquiry." <u>Theory into Practice</u> **39**(3): 124-130.

Creswell, J. W., S. Trout, et al. (2002). "A decade of mixed methods writing: A retrospective." Retrieved 13 January, 2006, from http://aom.pace.edu/rmd/2002forum/retrospect.pdf.

Crystal, D. (2003). <u>English as a global language</u>. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

CSD. (2001, 26 October 2001). "Population aged 5 and over by usual language, 1991, 1996 and 2001." Retrieved 20 September, 2004, from http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/fas/01c/cd0062001_index.html.

Cudeck, R. (2000). Exploratory Factor Analysis. <u>Handbook of applied multivariate statistics and mathematical modeling</u>. H. E. A. Tinsley and S. D. Brown. New York, Academic Press**:** 265-296.

Cummins, J. (1996). <u>Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society</u>. Los Angeles, California Association for Bilingual Education.

Cummins, J. (2001). "Empowering minority students: A framework for introduction." <u>Harvard Educational Review</u> **71**(4): 649-656.

Cummins, J. (2001). <u>Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society</u>. Los Angeles, California Association for Bilingual Education.

Cushman, K. (2003). <u>Fires in the bathroom: Advice for teachers from high school students</u>. New York, New York Press.

Cushner, K. (1990). Cross-cultural psychology and the formal classroom. <u>Applied cross-cultural psychology</u>. R. W. Brislin. Newbury, CA, Sage**:** 98-120.

Davidman, L. and P. T. Davidman (1997). The idea of multicultural education: Past, present, and future possibilities. <u>Teaching with a multicultural perspective: A practical guide</u>. L. Davidman and P. T. Davidman. New York, Longman**:** 1-70.

Davidson, A. L. (1992). The politics and aesthetics of ethnicity: Making and molding identity in varied curricular settings (Vols. I & II). <u>School of Education</u>. Palo Alto, CA, Stanford University**:** 498.

Davidson, A. L. (1996). <u>Making and molding identity in schools: Student narratives on race, gender, and academic engagement</u>. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press.

Davy, I. (2005). "Promoting international mindednes in our schools." <u>IB North America enewsletter</u> **2**(1).

Day, C., A. Harris, et al. (2001). "Challenging the orthodoxy of effective school leadership." <u>International Journal of Leadership in Education</u> **4**(1): 39-56.

Day, C., A. Harris, et al. (2000). <u>Leading schools in times of change</u>. Philadelphia, PA, Open University Press.

Deal, T. E. and A. A. Kennedy (1983). "Culture and school performance." <u>Educational leadership</u> **40**(5): 14-15.

Dei, G. J. S. (1996). "Critical perspectives in antiracism: An introduction." <u>Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology</u> **33**(3): 247-267.

Delors, J. (1996). Learning: The treasure within (Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century) -- Highlights. Paris, UNESCO.

Delpit, L. (2003). Introduction: 'Wanted: One teacher. Must be able to listen, even when mad.'. <u>Fires in the bathroom: Advice for teachers from high school students</u>. K. Cushman. New York, New York Press**:** xv-xix.

Denzin, N. K. (1994). Triangulation in educational research. <u>The international encyclopedia of education</u>. T. Husen and T. N. Postlethwaite. Oxford, Pergamon Press**:** 6461-6466.

Denzin, N. K. and Y. S. Lincoln (1998). <u>Strategies of qualitative inquiry</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications.

Dimmock, C. and A. Walker (2000). Developing educational administration: The impact of societal culture on theory and practice. <u>Future school administration: Western and Asian perspectives</u>. C. Dimmock and A. Walker. Hong Kong, Chinese University of Hong Kong**:** 3-22.

Dimmock, C. and A. Walker (2000). Future school administration: Global or culture-bound? <u>Future school administration: Western and Asian perspectives</u>. C. Dimmock and A. Walker. Hong Kong, Chinese University of Hong Kong**:** 335-342.

Donald, J. and A. Rattansi (1992). Introduction. <u>'Race', culture and difference</u>. J. Donald and A. Rattansi. London, Sage**:** 1-10.

Dowson, C., P. Bodycott, et al. (2003). Continuing education reform in Hong Kong: Issues of contextualization. Education Policy Analysis Archives, Retrieved 10 February, 2003, from http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v11n5/. **11**.

Drake, B. (1997). "Pastoral care programmes and their place in international education: The experience of one international school." <u>International Schools Journal</u> **16**(2): 40-52.

Drake, B. (1998). Pastoral care: The challenge for international schools. <u>International education: Principles and practice</u>. M. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 146-170.

Dreyfus, H. L. and P. Rabinow (1983). <u>Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics</u>. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

du Gay, P., J. Evans, et al., Eds. (2000). <u>Identity: a reader</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE.

Dudley, L. P. (1964). "International schools in Vienna." <u>Comparative Education Review</u> **7**(3): 286-296.

Eckersley, R. (2007). "From cosmopolitan nationalism to cosmopolitan democracy." Review of International Studies **33**(4): 675-692.

Eckert, P. (1989). Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school. New York, Teachers College Press.

Ecolint. (2008). "About Ecolint: International School of Geneva." Retrieved 22 February, 2008, from http://www.ecolint.ch/ecolint/ch/en-ch/index.cfm?page=/ecolint/home/about.

EMB. (1997, 28 February 2004). "Medium of Instruction policy for secondary schools." Retrieved 2 September, 2004, from http://www.ed.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeID=1901&langno=1.

EMB. (2001). "Summary table of studies on use of different medium of instruction modes in Hong Kong." Retrieved 17 September, 2004, from http://www.emb.gov.hk/FileManager/EN/Content_1924/tmimstudy.pdf.

EMB. (2004, 28 February 2004). "Policy new support measures: Medium of Instruction policy." Retrieved 2 September, 2004, from http://www.ed.gov.hk/index.aspx?nodeID=1911&langno=1.

EMB (2006). International education in Hong Kong -- A prospectus. Hong Kong, The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Education and Manpower Bureau).

Engels, N., A. Aelterman, et al. (2004). "Factors which influence the well-being of pupils in Flemish secondary schools." Educational Studies **30**(2): 127-143.

Evans, A. (2007). Some of the best days of her life. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong, SCMP.

Evans, S. and C. Green (2002). "Language in post-colonial Hong Kong: The rules of English and Chinese in the public and private sectors." English World-Wide **22**(2): 247-268.

Fabrigar, L. R., D. T. Wegener, et al. (1999). "Evaluating the use of exploratory factor analysis in psychological research." Psychological Methods **4**(3): 272-299.

Fail, H. (1996). "Whatever becomes of international school students?" International Schools Journal **15**(2): 31-36.

Fail, H., J. Thompson, et al. (2004). "Belonging, identity and Third Culture Kids: Life histories of former international school students." Journal of Research in International Education **3**(3): 319-338.

Fairclough, N. (1985). "Critical and descriptive goals in discourse analysis." Journal of Pragmatics **9**(6): 739-763.

Fairclough, N. (1995). Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language. London, Addison Wesley Publishing Company.

Falk, R. A. (1995). On humane governance: Toward a new global politics. University Park, PA, Pennsylvania State University Press.

Falk, R. A. (2005). "Opening speech on behalf of the Panel of advocates." Retrieved 24 March, 2008.

Faure, E. (1972). Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow. Paris, UNESCO.

Featherstone, M. (2002). "Cosmopolis: An introduction." Theory, Culture & Society **19**(1-2): 1-16.

Feinberg, W. and C. A. Torres (2001). "Democracy and education: John Dewey and Paulo Freire." Educational Practice and Theory **23**(1): 25-37.

352

Feldman, J., M. L. Lopez, et al. (2006). <u>Choosing small: The essential guide to successful high school conversion</u>. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.

Field, A. (2000). <u>Discovering statistics using SPSS for Windows</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Fine, R. (2007). <u>Cosmopolitanism</u>. New York, Routledge.

Fine, R. and R. Cohen (2002). Four cosmopolitan moments. <u>Conceiving cosmopolitanism: Theory, context, and practice</u>. S. Vertovec and R. Cohen. New York, Oxford**:** 137-162.

Finn, J. D. (1989). "Withdrawing from school." <u>Review of Educational Research</u> **59**(2): 117-142.

Finn, J. D. (1993). School engagement and students at risk. Washington, DC, National Center for Educational Statistics.

Firth, A. (2000). "Intercultural & international communication (Language and culture: An introduction)." Retrieved 8 January, 2008, from http://www.hum.aau.dk/~firth/Teaching/culture/def1.html.

Floyd, F. J. and K. F. Widaman (1995). "Factor analysis in the development and refinement of clinical assessment instruments." <u>Psychological Assessment</u> **7**(3): 286-299.

Flutter, J. (2006). "'This place could help you learn': Student participation in creating better school environments." <u>Educational Review</u> **58**(2): 183-193.

Forestier, K. (2005). Selecting an appropriate school for your children. <u>Good Schools Guide 2005</u>.

Fornet-Betancourt, R., H. Becker, et al. (1987). The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom: An interview with Michel Foucault on January 20, 1984. <u>The final Foucault</u>. J. Bernauer and D. Rasmussen. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press**:** 1-20.

Forse, C. (2010). Fit for purpose? Why Chinese families choose international schools in Hong Kong. <u>International education and the Chinese learner</u>. G. Slethaug and J. Ryan. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre**:** 85-104.

Foster, W. (1999). Administrative science, the postmodern, and community. <u>Values and educational leadership</u>. P. T. Begley. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press**:** 97-113.

Foucault, M. (1970). <u>The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences</u>. New York, Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1972). <u>The archaeology of knowledge</u>. London, Tavistock Publications.

Foucault, M. (1973). <u>The birth of the clinic: An archaeology of medical perception</u>. New York, Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1977). <u>Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison</u>. New York, Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1978). <u>History of sexuality, vol. I: An introduction</u>. New York, Vintage.

Foucault, M. (1980). <u>Power/knowledge: Selected interview and other writings, 1972-1977</u>. New York, Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1983). Afterword: The subject and power. <u>Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics</u>. H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow. Chicago, University of Chicago Press**:** 208-226.

Foucault, M. (1984/1987). The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom. <u>The final Foucault</u>. J. Bernauer and D. Rasmussen. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press**:** 1-20.

Foucault, M. (1985). <u>The use of pleasure: History of sexuality, Vol. II</u>. New York, Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1986). <u>The care of the self: History of sexuality, Vol. III</u>. New York, Pantheon.

Foucault, M. (1988). Technologies of the self. <u>Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault</u>. L. H. Martin, H. Gutman and P. H. Hutton. Amherst, MA, University of Massachusetts Press**:** 16-49.

Fowler Jr., F. J. (2002). <u>Survey research methods</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Fraley, C. and A. E. Raftery (1998). "How many clusters? Which clustering method? Answers via model-based cluster analysis." <u>The Computer Journal</u> **41**(8): 578-588.

Fraser, B. J. (1986). <u>Classroom environment</u>. Beckenham, Kent, Croom Helm Ltd.

Fredericks, J. A., P. C. Blumenfeld, et al. (2004). "School engagement: Potential of the concept, state of the evidence." <u>Review of Educational Research</u> **74**(1): 59-109.

Freire, P. (1998). "Cultural action and conscientization." <u>Harvard Educational Review</u> **68**(4): 499-521.

Freire, P. (1998). <u>Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy and civic courage</u>. New York, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Freire, P. and D. Macedo (1987). <u>Literacy: Reading the word and the world</u>. South Hadley, MA, Bergin & Garvey.

Fullan, M. (2003). <u>The moral imperative of school leadership</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA, Corwin Press.

Fullarton, S. (2002). Student engagement with school: Individual and school-level influences (Longitudinal surveys of Australian Youth). Canberra, Australian Council for Educational Research.

Fullinwider, R. (2001). "Multicultural education and cosmopolitan citizenship." <u>International Journal of Educational Research</u> **35**(3): 331-343.

Furia, P. A. (2005). "Global citizenship, anyone? Cosmopolitanism, privilege, and public opinion." <u>Global Society</u> **19**(4): 331-359.

Furlong, M. J., A. D. Whipple, et al. (2003). "Multiple contexts of school engagement: Moving toward a unifying framework for educational research and practice." <u>California School Psychologist</u> **8**: 99-114.

Garcia-Castano, F. J. and R. A. Pulido-Moyano (1997). Multicultural education and the concept of culture: A view from social anthropology. <u>Intercultural education: Theories, policies and practice</u>. D. Woodrow, G. K. Verma, M. B. Rocha-Trindade, G. Campani and C. Bagley. Singapore, Ashgate**:** 113-134.

Garton, B. (2002). International schools and their wider community: the location factor. <u>International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools</u>. M. Hayden, J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing Inc.**:** 145-157.

Gaskell, J. (1995). Secondary schools in Canada: The national report of the exemplary schools project. Toronto, Canadian Education Association.

Gaztambide-Fernandez, R. A. (2009). <u>The best of the best: Becoming elite at an American boarding school</u>. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Gee, J. P. (2001). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. <u>Review of Research in Education</u>. W. G. Secada. Washington, DC, American Educational Research Association. **25:** 99-125.

Geertz, C. (1973). <u>The interpretation of cultures</u>. New York, Basic Books.

Geijsel, F. and F. Meijers (2005). "Identity learning: The core process of educational change." <u>Educational Studies</u> **31**(4): 419-430.

Gellar, C. A. (1981). "International education: some thoughts on what it is and what it might be." <u>International Schools Journal</u> **1**: 21-26.

Gellar, C. A. (1993). "How international are we?" <u>International Schools Journal</u> **26**: 5-7.

Gellar, C. A. (2002). International education: a commitment to universal values. <u>International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools</u>. M. Hayden, J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing Inc.**:** 30-35.

Gerner, M. E. and F. Perry (2000). "Gender differences in cultural acceptance and career orientation among internationally mobile and non-internationally mobile adolescents." <u>School Psychology Review</u> **29**(2): 267-283.

Gerner, M. E., F. Perry, et al. (1992). "Characteristics of internationally mobile adolescents." <u>Journal of School Psychology</u> **30**(2): 197-214.

Gibbons, J. (1989). The issue of the language of instruction in the lower forms of Hong Kong secondary school (Chapter 11). <u>Language planning and English language teaching</u>. C. Kennedy. Englewoods Cliffs, NJ, Prentice Hall**:** 124-134.

Gibson, M. A. (1984). "Approaches to multicultural education in the United States: Some concepts and assumptions." <u>Anthropology & Education Quarterly</u> **15**(1): 94-119.

Giddens, A. (1991). <u>Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age</u>. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press.

Gillborn, D. (2006). "Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and anti-racism in educational theory and praxis." <u>Discourse</u> **27**(1): 11-32.

Giroux, H. A. (1991). Postmodernism as border pedagogy: Redefining the boundaries of race and ethnicity. <u>Postmodernism, feminism, and cultural politics: Redrawing educational boundaries</u>. H. A. Giroux. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press**:** 217-256.

Glaser, B. G. G. and A. L. Strauss (1967). <u>The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research</u>. Hawthorne, NY, Aldine De Gruyter.

Goldberg, D. T. (1994). Introduction: Multicultural conditions. <u>Multiculturalism: A critical reader</u>. D. T. Goldberg. Cambridge, Blackwell**:** 1-41.

Goodlad, J. I. (1984). <u>A place called school: Prospects for the future</u>. Toronto, Mc-Graw-Hill.

Gore, P. A. J. (2000). Cluster analysis. <u>Handbook of applied multivariate statistics and mathematical modeling</u>. H. E. A. Tinsley and S. D. Brown. New York, Academic Press**:** 297-321.

Gorski, P. C. and B. Covert. (1996/2000). "Multicultural education definition (Pt. II: A working definition of multicultural education)."   Retrieved 19 January, 2008, from http://www.edchange.org/multicultural/initial.html.

Gowan, P. (2003). The new liberal cosmopolitanism. Debating cosmopolitics. D. Archibugi. New York, Verso**:** 51-66.

Graue, E. M. and D. J. Walsh (1998). Studying children in context: Theories, methods, and ethics. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Gray, M. R. (2003). "Tense subjugations: Translating political values into an educational model: The European Schools, 1953-2003." Journal of Research in International Education **2**(3): 315-330.

Greene, J. C. and V. J. Caracelli (1997). Defining and describing the paradigm issue in mixed-method evaluation. New directions for evaluation, advances in mixed-method evaluation: The challenges and benefits of integrating diverse paradigms, No. 74. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass**:** 5-17.

Greenfield, T. B. (1993). Theory about organization: A new perspective and its implications for schools. Greenfield on educational administration. T. B. Greenfield and P. Ribbins. New York, Routledge**:** 1-25.

Griffiths, D. (2003). After Greenfield -- What? Questioning leadership: The Greenfield legacy. R. Macmillan. London, ON, Althouse Press.

Griffiths, M. and T. O'Callaghan (2002). International relations: The key concepts. New York, Routledge.

Grimshaw, T. (2007). "Problematizing the construct of 'the Chinese learner': Insights from ethnographic research." Educational Studies **33**(3): 299-311.

Grimshaw, T. and C. Sears (2008). "'Where am I from?' 'Where do I belong?': The negotiation and maintenance of identity by international school students." Journal of Research in International Education **7**(3): 259-278.

Gunesch, K. (2002). The relationship between multilingualism and cosmopolitanism. Education. Bath, University of Bath.

Gunesch, K. (2004). "Education for cosmopolitanism: Cosmopolitanism as a personal cultural identity model for and within international education." Journal of Research in International Education **3**(3): 251-275.

Gunesch, K. (2007). International education's internationalism: Inspirations from cosmopolitanism. The Sage handbook of research in international education. M. Hayden, J. Levy and J. Thompson. London, Sage**:** 90-100.

Gurr, D., L. Drysdale, et al. (2003). "Successful school leadership in Victoria: Three case studies." Leading and Managing **9**(1): 18-37.

Gutman, H. (1988). Rousseau's *Confessions*: A technology of the self. Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault. L. H. Martin, H. Gutman and P. H. Hutton. Amherst, MA, University of Massachusetts Press**:** 99-120.

Hahn, A. M. (2003). The intersection of language, power and international education: A critical discourse analysis of the international baccalaureate organization. New York, Teachers College / Columbia University**:** 173.

Hair, J. F., R. E. Anderson, et al. (1998). <u>Multivariate data analysis</u>. Englewood, NJ, Prentice Hall.

Hair, J. F. and W. C. Black (1998/2000). Cluster analysis. <u>Reading and understanding more multivariate statistics</u>. L. G. Grimm and P. R. Yranold. Washington, DC, American Psychological Association**:** 147-205.

Hall, S. (1996). Who needs 'identity'? <u>Questions of cultural identity</u>. S. Hall and P. du Gay. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications**:** 1-17.

Hall-Quest, A. L. (1938/1997). Editorial Foreword. <u>Education and experience</u>. J. Dewey. New York, Touchstone/Kappa Delta Pi.

Hannerz, U. (1990). "Cosmoplitans and locals in world culture." <u>Theory, Culture & Society</u> **7**: 237-251.

Hannerz, U. (2004). Cosmopolitanism. <u>A companion to the anthropology of politics</u>. D. Nugent and J. Vincent. Oxford, Blackwell**:** 69-85.

Hargreaves, A. (1996). "Revisiting voice." <u>Educational Researcher</u> **25**(1): 12-19.

Hargreaves, D. H. (1967). <u>Social relations in secondary school</u>. New York, Humanities Press.

Hascher, T. (2008). "Quantitative and qualitative research approaches to assess student well-being." <u>International Journal of Educational Research</u>.

Hayden, M. (1998). International education: a study of student and teacher perspectives. Bath, University of Bath.

Hayden, M., B. A. Rancic, et al. (2000). "Being international: Student and teacher perceptions from international schools." <u>Oxford Review of Education</u> **26**(1): 107-123.

Hayden, M., J. Thompson, et al., Eds. (2002). <u>International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools</u>. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing Inc.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson (1995). "International education, the crossing of frontiers." <u>International Schools Journal</u> **15**(1): 13-20.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson (1995). "International schools and international education: a relationship reviewed." <u>Oxford Review of Education</u> **21**(3): 327-345.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson (1995). "Perceptions of international education: A preliminary study." <u>International Review of Education</u> **41**(5): 389-404.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson (1996). "Potential difference: the driving force for international education." <u>International Schools Journal</u> **16**(1): 46-57.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson (1997). "Student perspectives on international education: a European dimension." <u>Oxford Review of Education</u> **23**(4): 459-478.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson, Eds. (1998). <u>International education: Principles and practice</u>. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing.

Hayden, M. and J. J. Thompson, Eds. (2000). International schools and international education: Improving teaching, management, and quality. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing.

Hayden, M., J. J. Thompson, et al., Eds. (2007). Sage Handbook of Research in International Education, Sage.

Hayhoe, R. (2000). Top academic calls for more support for teachers and students who have embraced Cantonese mother-tongue policy. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Hayhoe, R. (2008). Philosophy and comparative education: What can we learn from East Asia? Comparative education and international education: Issues for teachers. K. Mundy, K. Bickmore, R. Hayhoe, M. Madden and K. Madjidi. Toronto, Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.: 23-48.

Hayhoe, R. and J. Pan, Eds. (2001). Knowledge across cultures: A contribution to dialogue among civilizations. Hong Kong SAR, Comparative Education Research Center of the University of Hong Kong.

Haynes, S. N., D. C. S. Richard, et al. (1995). "Content validity in pyschological assessment: A functional approach to concepts and methods." Psychological Assessment **7**(3): 238-247.

Haywood, T. (2002). An international dimension to management and leadership skills for international education. International education in practice: Dimensions for national and international schools. M. Hayden, J. J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing: 170-184.

Haywood, T. (2002). Organization of schools and their communities theme. Interpreting International Education, Geneva, International Baccalaureate Research Unit. [On-line]. Avaliable at http://www.ibo.org/ibo/index.cfm?page=/ibo/services/research&language=en.

Haywood, T. (2007). A simple typology of international-mindedness and its implications for education. The Sage handbook of research in international education. M. Hayden, J. Levy and J. Thompson. London, Sage: 79-89.

Heater, D. (2000). "Does cosmopolitan thinking have a future?" Review of International Studies **26**(5): 179-197.

Hebert, Y. (2001). "Identity, diversity and education: A critical review of the literature." Canadian Ethnic Studies Journal **33**(3): 155-177.

Held, D. (1997). Cosmopolitan democracy and the global order: A new agenda. Perpetual peace: Essays on Kant's cosmopolitan ideal. J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachmann. Cambridge, MA, MIT: 235-252.

Heron, L. (2007). International schools 'need high priority' (Classroom waiting lists hitting HK's competitiveness: survey). South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Heron, L. (2010). It's crucial to stay informed. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong, SCMP.

Heron, L. and W. Clem (2005). Study shows there are enough places for expat pupils (EMB says figures reveal international schools to have surplus capacity). South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Heyward, M. (2002). "From international to intercultural: Redefining the international school for a globalized world." Journal of Research in International Education **1**(1): 9-32.

Hill, I. (2000). "Internationally minded schools." International Schools Journal **20**(1): 24-37.

Hill, I. (2002). History & nature of international education theme. Interpreting International Education, Geneva, International Baccalaureate Research Unit.

Hill, I. (2006). "Student types, school types and their combined influence on the development of intercultural understanding." Journal of Research in International Education **5**(1): 5-33.

Hill, I. (2007). International education as developed by the International Baccalaureate Organization. Sage Handbook of Research in International Education. M. Hayden, J. J. Thompson and J. Levy. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage**:** 25-37.

HKED (1995). Report of the working group on the provision of international school places. Hong Kong, HK Education Department.

HKSAR. (2003). "Hong Kong SAR Yearbook, 2003 (Chapter 7)." Retrieved 18 September, 2004, from http://www.info.gov.hk/yearbook/2003/.

HKSAR. (2005). "Language proficiency and language education (November 2005)." Retrieved 22 January, 2006, from http://www.info.gov.hk/info/hkin/language.pdf.

Hodgkinson, C. (1991). Educational leadership: The moral art. Albany, NY, SUNY.

Holland, D. C., D. Skinner, et al. (1998). Identity and agency in cultural worlds. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Hollinger, D. A. (1998). Not universalists, not pluralists: The new cosmopolitanism find their own way. Conceiving cosmopolitanism: Theory, context, and practice. S. Vertovec and R. Cohen. New York, Oxford**:** 227-239.

Hoy, W. K. and C. G. Miskel (1996). Educational administration: Theory, research, and practice. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Hurley, A. E., T. A. Scandura, et al. (1997). "Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis: guidelines, issues, and alternatives." Journal of Organizational Behavior **18**: 667-683.

Hutchison, C. B. (2006). "Cultural constructivism: the confluence of cognition, knowledge creation, multiculturalism, and teaching." Intercultural Education **17**(3): 301-310.

IBO (2002). A basis for practice: The Diploma Programme. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2002). A basis for practice: The Middle Years Programme. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2002). A basis for practice: The Primary Years Programme. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO. (2002). "A continuum of international education: The Primary Years Programme, the Middle Years Programme, and the Diploma Programme." Retrieved 3 April, 2006, from http://www.ibo.org/programmes/documents/continuum.pdf.

IBO (2002). The school's guide to the Diploma Programme. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2002). The school's guide to the Middle Years Programme. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2002). The school's guide to the Primary Years Programme. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2004). Diploma programme assessment: Principles and practice. Geneva, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2005). Programme standards and practices. Geneva, IBO.

IBO (2006). IB learner profile booklet. Cardiff, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO (2007). Creativity, action, service guide. Cardiff, International Baccalaureate Organization.

IBO. (2008). "IB director general addresses Harvard Business School social enterprise conference." Retrieved 27 April, 2008, from http://www.ibo.org/announcements/harvardbusinessschool.cfm.

IBO. (2008). "IBO mission and strategy."   Retrieved 20 February, 2004, from http://www.ibo.org/mission.

Ignatieff, M. (1995). Blood and belonging: Journeys into the new nationalism. New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Ireland, R. D. and M. A. Hitt (1992). "Mission statements: Importance, challenge, and recommendations for development." Business Horizons **35**: 34-39.

Irvine, J. J. (2003). Educating teachers for diversity: Seeing with a cultural eye. New York, Teachers College Press.

ISA (2001). Internationalism self-assessment instrument. Geneva, International Schools Association.

ISC. (2008). "About international schools."   Retrieved 4 January, 2008, from http://www.iscresearch.com/.

ISCD (2002). International Schools Consultancy Database, E-mail.

Jabal, E. (2003). Appearance versus reality: Identity construction and representation in online, K-12 international schools discourses. Winter Roundtable on Cultural Psychology and Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Teachers College.

Jabal, E. (2003). The International Schools Alumni Project: A pilot study. Unpublished TPS3043 course paper submitted to Dr. Lorna Earl, OISE/UT.

Jabal, E. (2003). Who am "I"? Where do I belong? Negotiating the multiple worlds of international schools alumni as they self-identity. Unpublished TPS3042 coursework paper submitted to Dr. Jim Ryan, OISE/UT.

Jabal, E. (2004). "Adolescent identities and sense of school affiliation: An exploratory study of international school students from Hong Kong." Alberta Journal of Educational Research **50**(1): 103-106.

Jabal, E. (2004). Experience of international schooling: A preliminary investigation of reliability and factorial validity. Unpublished manuscript, OISE/UT.

Jabal, E. (2004). How do background, ethnic identity, and self-esteem shape experience of international school? An exploratory study of international school alumni from Hong Kong. International

conference on East-West Identities: Globalization, localization, and hybridization, Hong Kong Baptist University.

Jabal, E. (2004). <u>Learning from Hong Kong alumni: Lessons for inclusive school leadership</u>. Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and Management: Education Leadership in Pluralistic Societies, University of Hong Kong.

Jabal, E. (2006). "Learning from Hong Kong alumni: Lessons for school leadership." <u>International Journal of Leadership in Education</u> **9**(1): 21-44.

Jabal, E. (2010). Being, becoming, and belonging: Exploring Hong Kong-Chinese students' experiences of the social realities of international schooling. <u>International education and the Chinese learner</u>. G. Slethaug and J. Ryan. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press.

Jackson, M. (2005). "The role of the host culture as a resource for developing intercultural understanding in a Dutch international secondary school." <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u> **4**(2): 193-209.

Jackson, M. (2005). "Who are the real international teachers." <u>International School</u> **7**(2): 22-23.

James, C. E. (2006). Race, ethnicity, and cultural identity. <u>Identity and belonging: Rethinking rade and ethnicity in Canadian society</u>. S. P. Hhier and B. Sing Bolaria. Toronto, Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.**:** 43-55.

James, K. (2005). "International education: The concept, and its relationship to intercultural education." <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u> **4**(3): 313-332.

Jarrett, L. (2007). "Engaged <u>to</u> the teacher." <u>LEARNing Landscapes</u> **1**(1): Available at: http://www.learnquebec.ca/en/content/learninglandscapes/documents/LL-OCT-2007-LR-link.pdf

Jenkins, R. (1996). <u>Social identity</u>. New York, Routledge.

Jimerson, S. R., E. Campos, et al. (2003). "Toward an understanding of definitions and measures of school engagement and related terms." <u>California School Psychologist</u> **8**: 7-28.

Johnson, R. K. (1994). "Language policy and planning in Hong Kong." <u>Annual Review of Applied Linguistics</u> **14**: 177-199.

Kaiser, H. F. (1974). "An index of factorial simplicity." <u>Psychometrika</u> **39**: 31-36.

Kalantzis, M. and B. Cope (1999). Multicultural education: Transforming the mainstream. <u>Critical multiculturalism: Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education</u>. S. May. New York, Falmer Press/Taylor & Francis**:** 245-276.

Kant, I. (1795/1991). Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch. <u>Kant: Political writings</u>. H. S. Reiss. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 93-130.

Kaur, J. (2007). This is our home. <u>South China Morning Post</u>. Hong Kong.

Kim, J.-O. and C. W. Mueller (1978). <u>Factor analysis: Statistical methods and practical issues</u>. Newbury Park, Sage.

Kim, Y. Y. (1994). "Beyond cultural identity." <u>Intercultural communication studies</u> **4**(1): 1-24.

Kim, Y. Y. (2005). Intercultural personhood: An integration of eastern and western perspectives. Intercultural communication: A reader. L. A. Samovar, R. E. Porter and E. R. McDaniel. Stamford, CT, Thomson Wadsworth**:** 408-420.

Kincheloe, J. L. (1993). Toward a critical politics of teacher thinking: Mapping the postmodern. Westport, CT, Bergin & Garvey.

Kincheloe, J. L., P. Slattery, et al. (2000). Contextualizing teaching: Introduction to education and educational foundations. New York, Longman.

Kinnear, P. R. and C. D. Gray (2004). SPSS 12 Made Simple. New York, Psychology Press.

Kirkpatrick, A. (2006). Blatant racism in the teaching of English. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Klitou, D. (2005). "The friends & foes of human rights."

Kuh, G. D. (1993). Cultural perspectives in student affairs work. Washington, DC, American College Personnel Association.

Kuhn, D. (2005). Education for thinking. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Kwok, S. (1998). English medium schools swamped by frantic parents. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Kwok, S. (1999). Learning to produce a quality workforce. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Kymlicka, W. (2002). From Enlightenment cosmopolitanism to liberal nationalism. Politics in the vernacular: Nationalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship. Oxford, Oxford University Press**:** 203-220.

Kymlicka, W. (2003). "Multicultural states and intercultural citizens." Theory and Research in Education **1**(2): 147-169.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). "Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy." American Educational Research Journal **32**(3): 465-491.

Lai, M.-L. (2005). "Language attitudes of the first postcolonial generation in Hong Kong secondary schools." Language in Society **34**(3): 363-388.

Langford, M. (1998). Global nomads, third culture kids, and international schools. International education: Principles and practice. M. C. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. London, Kogan Page**:** 28-43.

Langford, M., R. Pearce, et al. (2002). The essential guide for teachers in international schools. Great Glemham, John Catt Educational Limited.

Lather, P. A. (1995). Feminist perspectives on empowering research methodologies. Debates and issues in feminist research and pedagogy: A reader. J. Holland, S. Sheldon and M. Blair. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters Ltd.**:** 292-307.

Lau, S., Ed. (1996). Growing up the Chinese way. Hong Kong, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Law-Fan, F. (1999). "In pursuit of excellence: Challenges and changes for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Keynote address delivered at the 1999 ICSEI conference)." Retrieved 9 September, 2004, from http://homepage.mac.com/moogoonghwa/earth/current/hklna/documents/law99.pdf.

Leach, R. J. (1969). <u>International schools and their role in the field of international education</u>. New York, Pergamon Press.

Leach, R. J. (1969). The International Schools Association. <u>International schools and their role in the field of international education</u>. New York, Pergamon Press**:** 15-44.

LeCompte, M. D. (2000). "Analyzing qualitative data." <u>Theory into Practice</u> **39**(3): 146-154.

Lee, W.-S. (2001). Don urges caution on choice of schools. <u>South China Morning Post</u>. Hong Kong**:** 3.

Lei, J. L. and C. A. Grant (2001). Multicultural education in the United States: A case of paradoxical equality. <u>Global constructions of multicultural education: Theories and realities</u>. C. A. Grant and J. L. Lei. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates**:** 205-238.

Levine, M. (2006). <u>The price of privilege: How parental pressure and material advantage are creating a generation of disconnected and unhappy kids</u>. New York, HarperCollins.

Lewis, L. (2002). Third Culture Kids. <u>Insights into culture and language: Looking behind the mask</u>. S. K. Philips, I. Davis, C. Dennyet al. Hong Kong, English Schools Foundation (Culture & Language Group)**:** 4-13.

Lincoln, Y. S. and E. G. Guba (1985). <u>Naturalistic inquiry</u>. Newbury Park, CA, SAGE.

Lincoln, Y. S. and E. G. Guba (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. <u>Handbook of qualitative research</u>. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE**:** 163-188.

Lock, G. and C. Detaramani (2006). "Being Indian in post-colonial Hong Kong: Models of ethnicity, culture and language among Sindhis and Sikhs in Hong Kong." <u>Asian Ethnicity</u> **7**(3): 267-284.

Lodge, C. (2005). "From hearing voices to engaging in dialogue: Problematising student participation in school improvement." <u>Journal of Educational Change</u> **6**(2): 125-146.

Louie, K. (2005). Gathering cultural knowledge: Useful or use with care? <u>Teaching international students: Improving learning for all</u>. J. Carroll and J. Ryan. New York, Routledge**:** 17-25.

Lowe, J. (1999). "International examinations, national systems and the global market." <u>Compare</u> **29**(3): 317-330.

Lowe, J. (2000). "International examinations: The new credentialism and reproduction of advantage in a globalising world." <u>Assessment in Education</u> **7**(3): 363-377.

Lu, C. (2000). "The one and many faces of cosmopolitanism." <u>Journal of Political Philosophy</u> **8**(2): 244-267.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1984/1979). <u>The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge</u>. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1989). <u>The differend: Phrases in dispute</u>. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press.

Maalouf, A. (2000). <u>In the name of identity: Violence and the need to belong</u>. New York, Penguin.

MacKenzie, P. (2000). Being international and international education: the perceptions of parents in one European international school. Bath, University of Bath.

Maher, F. A. (1999). "Progressive education and feminist pedagogies: Issues in gender, power and authority." Teachers College Record **101**(1): 35-59.

Marshall, H. (2007). The global education terminology debate: Exploring some of the issues. The Sage handbook of research in international education. M. Hayden, J. Levy and J. Thompson. London, Sage**:** 38-50.

Martin, L. H., H. Gutman, et al., Eds. (1988). Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault. Amherst, MA, University of Massachusetts Press.

Martinez, R. O. and R. L. Dukes (1997). "The effects of ethnic identity, ethnicity, and gender on adolescent well-being." Journal of Youth and Adolescence **26**(5): 503-516.

Matthews, J. and R. Sidhu (2005). "Desperately seeking the global subject: International education, citizenship and cosmopolitanism." Globalisation, Societies and Education **3**(1): 49-66.

Matthews, M. (1988). The ethos of international schools. Educational Studies. Oxford, Oxford.

Matthews, M. (1989). "The scale of international education." International Schools Journal **17**: 7-17.

Matthews, M. (1989). "The uniqueness of international education, part 2." International Schools Journal **18**: 24-34.

May, S. (1999). Critical multiculturalism and cultural difference: Avoiding essentialism. Critical multiculturalism: Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education. S. May. New York, Falmer Press/Taylor & Francis**:** 11-41.

McFadden, M. and G. Munns (2002). "Student engagement and the social relations of pedagogy." British Journal of Sociology of Education **23**(3): 357-366.

McIntyre, D., D. Pedder, et al. (2005). "Pupil voice: Comfortable and uncomfortable learnings for teachers." Research Papers in Education **20**(2): 149-168.

McKenzie, M. (1998). Going, going, gone... global! International education: Principles and practice. M. C. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. London, Kogan Page**:** 242-252.

McLaughlin, M. W. and J. E. Talbert (1992). Social constructions of students: Challenges to policy coherence. AERA. San Francisco, CA, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.

McLemee (2001). What makes Martha Nussbaum run? The Chronicle of Higher Education**:** A14.

McMahon, B. and J. Portelli (2004). "Engagement for what? Beyond popular discourses of student engagement." Leadership and Policy in Schools **3**(1): 59-76.

McNess, E. (2006). "Nous ecouter, nous soutenir, nous apprendre: A comparative study of pupils' perceptions of the pedagogic process." Comparative Education **42**(4): 517-532.

Mcquillan, P. J. (1997). "Humanizing the comprehensive high school: A proposal for reform." Educational Administration Quarterly **33**(1): 644-682.

Mehta, P. B. (2000). "Cosmopolitanism and the circle of reason." Political Theory **28**(5): 619-639.

Mercer, J. (2007). "The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: Wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas." Oxford Review of Education **33**(1): 1-17.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). Qualitative research and case study applications in education. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

Mesmer-Magnus, J., C. Viswesvaran, et al. (2006). "Social desirability: The role of over-claiming, self-esteem, and emotional intelligence." Psychology Science **48**(3): 336-356.

Miles, M. B. and A. M. Huberman (1994). An expanded sourcebook: Qualitative data analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

Milligan, G. W. and M. C. Cooper (1987). "Methodology review: Clustering methods." Applied Psychological Measurement **11**(4): 329-354.

Modgil, S., G. K. Verma, et al. (1986). Multicultural education: The interminable debate. Multicultural education: The interminable debate. S. Modgil, G. K. Verma, K. Mallick and C. Modgil. London, Falmer Press**:** 1-18.

Moll, L. C. and N. Gonzalez (1997). Teachers as social scientists: Learning about culture from household research. Race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism. P. M. Hall. New York, Garland Publishing**:** 89-114.

Moon, R. E. and P. F. Murphy (1999). Curriculum in context. London, Paul Chapman Publishing.

Morgan, C. and G. Morris (1999). Good teaching and learning: Pupils and teachers speak. Philadelphia, PA, Open University Press.

Morris, P. (2004). "Teaching in Hong Kong: professionalization, accountability and the state." Research Papers in Education **19**(1): 105-121.

Nakkula, M. (2004). Identity and possibility: Adolescent development and the potential of schools. Adolescents at school: Perspectives on youth, identity, and education. M. Sadowski. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Education Press**:** 7-18.

Nario-Redmond, M. R., M. Biernat, et al. (2004). "The social and personal identities scale: A measure of the differential importance ascribed to social and personal self-categorization." Self and Identity **3**(2): 143-175.

Netemeyer, R. G., W. O. Bearden, et al. (2003). Scaling procedures: Issues and applications. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE.

Newmann, F. M. (1986). "Priorities for the future: Towards a common agenda." Social Education **50**(4): 240-250.

Nieto, S. (1998). Cultural difference and educational change in a sociopolitical context. The international handbook of educational change. A. Hargreaves, A. Lieberman, M. Fullan and D. Hopkins. Boston, Kluwer Academic Publishers**:** 418-439.

Nieto, S. (1999). Critical multicultural education and students' perspectives. Critical multiculturalism: Rethinking multicultural and antiracist education. S. May. Philadelphia, PA, Falmer Press**:** 191-215.

Nieto, S. (1999). The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural learning communities. New York, Teachers College Press.

Noddings, N. (1984). Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Nunnaly, J. C. (1978). Psychometric theory. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1994). "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism." Boston Review **19**(5): 3-34.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1996). Patriotism and cosmopolitanism. For love of country? M. C. Nussbaum and J. Cohen. Boston, Beacon Press**:** 3-17.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1997). Cultivating humanity: A classical defense of reform in liberal education. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1997). Kant and cosmopolitanism. Perpetual peace: Essays on Kant's cosmopolitan ideal. J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachmann. Cambridge, MA, MIT**:** 25-57.

Nystrand, M. (1997). Opening dialogue: Understanding the dynamics of language and learning in the English classroom. New York, Teachers College Press.

O'Halloran, S. (2000). "English medium secondary schools: Privileged orphans in the SAR." Intercultural communication studies **10**(2): 145-158.

Olsen, L. (1997). Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools. New York, The New Press.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J. and C. Teddlie (2003). A framework for analyzing data in mixed methods research. Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research. A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage Publications**:** 351-383.

Orr, D. W. (1994). What is education for? The last best hope: A democracy reader. S. J. Goodlad. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass**:** 231-239.

Osler, A. and H. Starkey (2003). "Learning for cosmopolitan citizenship: theoretical debates and young people's experiences." Educational Review **55**(3): 243-254.

Osterman, K. F. (2000). "Students' needs for belonging in the school community." Review of Educational Research **70**(3): 323-367.

Oyserman, D. and H. R. Markus (1993). The sociocultural self (Chapter 7). Psychological perspectives on the self: The self in social perspective. J. Suls. New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum. **4:** 187-220.

Papastephanou, M. (2002). "Arrows not yet fired: Cultivating cosmopolitanism through education." Journal of Philosophy of Education **36**(1): 69-86.

Parekh, B. (2000). Rethinking multiculturalism: Cultural diversity and political theory. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Pascarella, E. T. and P. T. Terenzini (1991). How college affects students: Findings and insights from twenty years of research. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.

Pasternak, M. (1998). Is international education a pipedream? A question of values. International education: Principles and practice. M. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 253-275.

Pavlenko, A. and A. Blackledge (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge. Toronto, Multilingual Matters**:** 1-33.

PD (2002). Hong Kong determined to boost English standards. People's Daily Online. Beijing.

Pearce, R. (1998). Developing cultural identity in an international school environment. International education: Principles and practice. M. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 44-62.

Pearce, R. (2001). "Plural vision for plural schools: How can we disagree yet both be right." International Schools Journal **20**(2): 39-45.

Pearce, R. (2003). "Cultural values for international schools." International Schools Journal **22**(2): 59-63.

Pearce, R. (2004/2003). Cultural values for international schools. The International Schools Journal Compendium: Culture and international school: Living, learning and communicating across cultures. E. Murphy. Great Glemham, Peridot Press. **2:** 103-108.

Pearce, R. L. D. (2005). Developing a model of identity as a means of monitoring newly-relocated students in international schools. Education. Bath, University of Bath.

Pennycook, A. (1998). English and the discourses of colonialism. New York, Routledge.

Peshkin, A. (1988). "In search of subjectivity. One's own." Educational Researcher **17**(7): 17-21.

Peshkin, A. (2000). "The nature of interpretation in qualitative research." Educational Researcher **29**(9): 5-9.

Peterson, A. D. C. (2003). Schools across frontiers: The story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges. Chicago, IL, Open Court Publishing Company.

Peterson, P. L. (1998). "Why do educational research? Rethinking our roles and identities, our texts and contexts." Educational Researcher **27**(3): 4-10.

Phelan, P., A. L. Davidson, et al. (1992). "Speaking up: Students' perspectives on school." Phi Delta Kappan **73**(9): 695-703.

Phelan, P., A. L. Davidson, et al. (1993). Students' multiple worlds: Navigating the borders of family, peer, and school cultures. Renegotiating cultural diversity in American schools. P. Phelan and A. L. Davidson. New York, Teachers College Press**:** 52-88.

Phelan, P., A. L. Davidson, et al. (1998). Adolescent worlds: Negotiating family, peers, and school. New York, Teachers College Press.

Phelan, P., H. C. Yu, et al. (1994). "Navigating the psychosocial pressures of adolescence: The voices and experiences of high school youth." American Educational Research Journal **31**(2): 415-447.

Phillips, J. R. (2002). "The third way: Lessons from international education." Journal of Research in International Education **1**(2): 159-181.

Phillipson, R. (1992). Linguistic imperialism. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). "Ethnic identity in adolescence and adults: A review of research." Psychological Bulletin **108**: 499-514.

Phinney, J. S. and L. L. Alipuria (1996). "At the interface of cultures: Multiethnic/multiracial high school and college students." Journal of Social Psychology **136**(2): 139-158.

Phinney, J. S., C. L. Cantu, et al. (1997). "Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African Americans, Latino, and white adolescents." Journal of Youth and Adolescence **26**(2): 165-185.

Pinsky, R. (1996). Eros against Esperanto. For love of country. J. Cohen. Boston, Beacon Press**:** 85-90.

Pollock, D. and R. Van Reken (1999). Third culture kid experience: Growing up among worlds. Yarmouth, MA, Intercultural Press.

Poon, A. Y. K. (1999). "Chinese medium instruction policy and its impact on English language learning in post-1997 Hong Kong." International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism **2**(2): 131-146.

Poon, A. Y. K. (2000). Medium of instruction in Hong Kong: Policy and practice. Lanham, MD, University Press of America.

Poon, A. Y. K. (2004). "Language policy of Hong Kong: Its impact on language education and language use in post-handover Hong Kong." Journal of Taiwan Normal University: Humanities & Social Science **49**(1): 53-74.

Poore, P. (2005). "School culture: The space between the bars; the silence between the notes." Journal of Research in International Education **4**(3): 351-361.

Portelli, J. P. (1993). "Exposing the hidden curriculum." Journal of Curriculum Studies **25**(4): 343-358.

Powell, A. G. (1996). Lessons from privilege: The American Prep school tradition. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

PRC. (1990). "The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China."   Retrieved 24 September, 2004, from http://www.info.gov.hk/basic_law/fulltext/.

Puchala, D. J. (2005). "World hegemony and the United Nations." International Studies Review **7**(4): 571-584.

Punj, G. and D. W. Stewart (1983). "Cluster analysis in marketing research: Review and suggestions for application." Journal of Marketing Research **20**(2): 134-148.

QSR (2004). Getting started in N6. Doncaster, QSR International Pty Ltd.

Racevskis, K. (1987). Michel Foucault, rameau's nephew, and the question of identity. The final Foucault. J. Bernauer and D. Rasmussen. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press**:** 21-33.

Reise, S. P., N. G. Walker, et al. (2000). "Factor analysis and scale revisions." Psychological Assessment **12**(3): 287-297.

Renaud, G. (1991). The International Schools Association (ASA): Historical and philosophical background. International schools and international education (World Yearbook of education, 1991). P. L. Jonietz and D. Harris. London, Kogan Page**:** 6-14.

Rengger, N. (2003). Cosmopolitanism. Understanding democratic politics: An introduction. R. Axtmann. Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage**:** 321-330.

Rennie, K. M. (1997). <u>Exploratory and confirmatory rotation strategies in exploratory factor analysis</u>. Southwest Educational Research Association, Austin, TX, Texas A&M University.

Richards, L. (2002). <u>Introducing N6: A workshop handbook</u>. Doncaster, QSR International Pty Ltd.

Riviere, D., L. Sotomayor, et al. (2008). Towards a multidimensional framework for student engagement. Toronto, ON, Centre for Urban Schooling -- Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto.

Robbins, B. (1998). Comparative cosmopolitans. <u>Cosmopolitics</u>. P. Cheah and B. Robbins. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota**:** 246-264.

Roberts, R., J. S. Phinney, et al. (1999). "The structure of ethnic identity in young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups." <u>Journal of Early Adolescence</u> **19**(3): 301-322.

Robertson, R. (1992). <u>Globalization: Social theory and global culture</u>. London, SAGE.

Robertson, R. (1997). Social theory, cultural relativity and the problem of globality. <u>Culture, globalization and the world-system: Contemporary conditions for the representation of identity</u>. A. D. King. Minneapolis, University of Minneapolis Press**:** 69-90.

Robinson, J. P., P. R. Shaver, et al. (1991). Criteria for scale selection and evaluation. <u>Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes</u>. J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver and L. S. Wrightsman. San Diego, Academic Press**:** 1-15.

Ronsheim, S. (1970). "Are international schools really international?" <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u> **7**(2): 43-46.

Rosenberg, M. (1979). <u>Conceiving the self</u>. New York, Basic Books.

Rosenberg, M., C. Schooler, et al. (1995). "Global self-esteem and specific self-esteem: Different concepts, different outcomes." <u>American Sociological Review</u> **60**(1): 141-156.

Rosier, M. J. (1994). Survey research methods. <u>International encyclopedia of education</u>. T. Husen and T. N. Postlethwaite. Oxford, Pergamon Press**:** 5854-5862.

Roudometof, V. (2005). "Transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and glocalization." <u>Current Sociology</u> **53**(1): 113-135.

Rudduck, J. and H. Demetriou (2003). "Student perspective and teacher practices: The transformative potential." <u>McGill Journal of Education</u> **38**(2): 274-288.

Rudduck, J. and M. Fielding (2006). "Student voice and the perils of popularity." <u>Educational Review</u> **58**(2): 219-231.

Rudduck, J. and D. McIntyre (2007). <u>Improving learning through consulting pupils</u>. London, Routledge.

Rummens, J. A. (2003). "Conceptualising identity and diversity: Overlaps, intersections, and processes." <u>Canadian Ethnic Studies</u> **35**(3): 10-25.

Rutter, M., B. Maughan, et al. (1979). <u>Fifteen thousand hours: Secondary schools and their effects on children</u>. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Ryan, J. (1997). "Student communities in a culturally diverse school setting: Identity, representation and association." <u>Discourse</u> **18**(1): 37-53.

Ryan, J. (1999). Race and ethnicity in multi-ethnic schools: A critical case study. Toronto, ON, Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Ryan, J. (2000). "Educative leadership for culturally diverse schools." Leading and Managing **6**(1): 1-19.

Ryan, J. (2003). Leading diverse schools. New York, Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Ryan, J. (2005). Inclusive leadership. San Francisco, CA, Jossey-Bass.

Ryan, J. (2010). "Chinese Learners": Misconceptions and Realities. International Education and the Chinese Learner. J. Ryan and G. Slethaug. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press.

Sadowski, M., Ed. (2004). Adolescents at school: Perspectives on youth, identity, and education. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Education Press.

Sadowski, M. (2004). Why identity matters at school. Adolescents at school: Perspectives on youth, identity, and education. M. Sadowski. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Education Press**:** 1-5.

Schlechty, P. C. (2002). Working on the work: An action plan for teachers, principals, and superintendents. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

Schools, I. (2008). "ISBI Schools: Independent, special, boarding, international." Retrieved 2 January, 2008, from http://www.isbi.com/.

Schugurensky, D. (2005). Citizenship and citizenship education: Canada in an international context (Prepared as an input for discussion for the course AEC 3131: Citizenship Learning and Participatory Democracy). Toronto, OISE/UT.

Schwindt, E. (2003). "The development of a model for international education with special reference to the role of host country nationals." Journal of Research in International Education **2**(1): 67-81.

Seidman, S. (1998). Contested knowledge: Social theory in the postmodern era. Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishers.

Senge, P., N. Cambron-McCabe, et al. (2000). Schools that learn: A fifth discipline fieldbook for educators, parents, and everyone who care about education. Toronto, Doubleday.

Shah, N. (2006). "Cosmopolitanizing and decosmopolitanizing globalization: Metaphorical re-description and transformations of political community." Globalizations **3**(3): 393-411.

Shamdasani, R. (2004). Anti-race blueprint does not go far enough, say activists. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Shernoff, D. J., M. Csikszentmihalyi, et al. (2003). "Student engagement in high school classrooms from the perspective of flow theory." School Psychology Quarterly **18**(2): 158-176.

Shields, C. M. (1999). "Learning from students about representation, identity, and community." Educational Administration Quarterly **35**(1): 106-129.

Silva, A. P. D. and A. Stam (1995). Discriminant analysis. Reading and understanding multivariate statistics. L. G. Grimm and P. R. Yranold. Washington, DC, American Psychological Association**:** 277-318.

Silvera, D. H. (2001). "A Norwegian translation of the self-liking and competence scale." Scandinavian Journal of Psychology **42**(5): 417-427.

Skelton, A. (1997). "Studying hidden curricula: Developing a perspective in the light of postmodern insights." <u>Pedagogy, Culture, and Society</u> **5**(2): 177-193.

Skelton, M. (2002). Defining 'international' in an international curriculum. <u>International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools</u>. M. Hayden, J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing Inc.**:** 39-54.

Skidmore, D. (2006). "Pedagogy and dialogue." <u>Cambridge Journal of Education</u> **36**(4): 503-514.

Sleeter, C. E. (2001). <u>Culture, difference & power (Instructor's Manual)</u>. New York, Teachers College Press.

Sleeter, C. E. and C. A. Grant (1993). <u>Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race, class and gender</u>. New York, Merrill.

Smith, M. L. (1997). Mixing and matching: Methods and models. <u>Advances in mixed-method evaluation: The challenges and benefits of integrating diverse paradigms</u>. J. C. Greene and V. J. Caracelli. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass**:** 73-85.

Smith, W., A. Vibert, et al. (1998). Student engagement in learning and school life: National project report. Montreal, QC, Office of Research on Educational Policy, McGill University.

Snowball, L. (2007). Becoming more internationally-minded: International teacher certification and professional development. <u>Sage Handbook of Research in International Education</u>. M. Hayden, J. J. Thompson and J. Levy, Sage**:** 247-255.

Solvason, C. (2005). "Investigating specialist school ethos... or do you mean culture?" <u>Educational Studies</u> **31**(1): 85-94.

Spencer, M. B., E. Noll, et al. (2001). "Identity and school adjustment: Revisiting the 'acting white' assumption." <u>Educational Psychologist</u> **36**(1): 21-30.

Spindler, G. D. and L. Spindler (1993). The processes of culture and person: Cultural therapy and culturally diverse schools. <u>Renegotiating cultural diversity in American schools</u>. P. Phelan and A. L. Davidson. New York, Teachers College Press**:** 27-51.

Spindler, G. D. and L. Spindler (1994). What is cultural therapy? <u>Pathways to cultural awareness: Cultural therapy with teachers and students</u>. G. D. Spindler and L. Spindler. Thousand Oaks, CA, Corwin Press/Sage Publications**:** 1-33.

SPSS (2003). <u>SPSS for Windows, Rel. 12.0.1.</u> Chicago, IL, SPSS Inc.

SPSS. (2006). "Discover depth and flexibility with TwoStep Cluster analysis (Technical report, A9328)." Retrieved 12 January, 2005, from http://www.spss.com/pdfs/S115AD8-1202A.pdf.

Staff (2003). Greater numbers speak Mandarin. <u>China Daily</u>, China Daily.

Starratt, R. J. (2003). <u>Centering educational administration: Cultivating meaning, community, responsibility</u>. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Starratt, R. J. (2004). <u>Ethical leadership</u>. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

Steiger, J. H. (1990). "Structural model evaluation and modification: An interval estimation approach." <u>Multivariate Behavioural Research</u> **25**(2): 173-180.

Stets, J. E. and P. J. Burke (2000). "Identity theory and social identity theory." <u>Social Psychology Quarterly</u> **63**(3): 224-237.

Stoddard, E. W. and G. H. Cornwell (2003). "Peripheral visions: Towards a geoethics of citizenship." <u>Liberal Education</u> **89**(3): 44-46.

Stoddart, M. C. J. (2004) "Generalizability and qualitative research in a postmodern world." <u>Graduate Journal of Social Science</u> **1**.

Straffon, D. (2001). Assessing intercultural sensitivity levels of high school students in an international school. Minneapolis, MI, University of Minnesota.

Strauss, A. L. and J. M. Corbin (1998). <u>Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory</u>. London, SAGE.

Streiner, D. L. (1994). "Figuring out factors: The use and misuse of factor analysis." <u>Canadian Journal of Psychiatry</u> **39**(3): 135-140.

SWB. (2008). "About SWB."   Retrieved 17 June, 2008, from http://www.schoolswithoutborders.com/swb/about/.

Sylvester, R. F. (1998). Through the lens of diversity: Inclusive and encapsulated school missions. <u>International education: Principles and practice</u>. M. C. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. London, Kogan Page**:** 184-196.

Sylvester, R. F. (2002). The 'first' international school. <u>International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools</u>. M. Hayden, J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 3-17.

Sylvester, R. F. (2002). "Mapping international education: A historical survey 1893-1944." <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u> **1**(1): 90-125.

Sylvester, R. F. (2003). "Further mapping of the territory of international education in the 20th century (1944-1969)." <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u> **2**(2): 185-204.

Sylvester, R. F. (2005). "Framing the map of international education (1969-1998)." <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u> **4**(2): 123-151.

Tableman, B. and A. Herron (2004). School climate and learning (Best Practice Briefs). East Lansing, MI, Michigan State University: University-Community Partnerships. **31**.

Tafarodi, R. W., J. M. Lang, et al. (1999). "Self-esteem and the cultural trade-off: Evidence for the role of individualism-collectivism." <u>Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology</u> **30**(5): 620-640.

Tafarodi, R. W. and A. B. Milne (2002). "Decomposing global self-esteem." <u>Journal of Personality</u> **70**(4): 443-484.

Tafarodi, R. W. and W. B. Swann (1995). "Self-liking and self-competence as dimensions of global self-esteem: Initial validation of a measure." <u>Journal of Personality Assessment</u> **65**(2): 322-342.

Tafarodi, R. W. and W. B. Swann (2001). "Two-dimensional self-esteem: Theory and measurement." <u>Personality and Individual Differences</u> **31**(5): 653-673.

Tashakkori, A. and C. Teddlie (1998). Mixed methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches (Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 46). Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications.

Tate, W. F. (1997). Critical Race Theory and education: History, theory, and implications (Chapter 4). Review of Research in Education. M. Apple. Washington, Americal Educational Research Association. **22:** 191-243.

Tatum, B. (1997). "Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafetaria?" And other conversations about race. New York, Basic Books.

Terwilliger, R. I. (1972). "International schools -- Cultural crossroads." Educational Forum **36**(3): 359-363.

Tharp, R. G. and R. Gallimore (1988). Rousing minds to life: Teaching, learning, and schooling in social context. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, L. (2002). "Student retention in higher education: the role of institutional habitus." Journal of Education Policy **17**(4): 423-442.

Thompson, J. J. (1998). Towards a model for international education. International education: Principles and practice. M. Hayden and J. J. Thompson. London, Kogan Page**:** 276-290.

Thompson, J. J. (2002). "International education: Towards a shared understanding." Journal of Research in International Education **1**(1): 5-8.

Tomlinson-Clarke, S. (2001). Education and identity within a psychological and sociocultural context. Ethnicity, race, and nationality: A global perspective. N. K. Shimahara, I. Z. Holowinsky and S. Tomlinson-Clarke. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates**:** 193-210.

Tong, N. (2005). Parents call for medium choice. South China Moring Post. Hong Kong.

Tsao, C. (2009). Chinatown overcrowded. HK Magazine. Hong Kong.

Tse, S. K., M. S. K. Shum, et al. (2007). "The medium dilemma for Hong Kong secondary schools." Language Policy **6**(1): 135-162.

Tsui, A. B. M., M. S. K. Shum, et al. (1999). "Which agenda? Medium of instruction policy in post-1997 Hong Kong." Language, Culture and Curriculum **12**(3): 196-214.

Tsui, A. B. M. and J. W. Tollefson (2004). The centrality of medium of instruction policy in sociopolitical processes. Medium of instruction policies: Whose agenda? Which agenda? J. W. Tollefson and A. B. M. Tsui. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates**:** 1-20.

Tsui, A. B. M., S. K. Tse, et al. (2001). Implementing mother-tongue education in school: Problems encountered and support needed. Hong Kong, Department of Curriculum Studies, University of Hong Kong.

Tuan, Y.-F. (1996). Cosmos & hearth: A cosmopolite's viewpoint. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Tung, C. H. (1997). "Policy address to the Provisional Legislative Council." Retrieved 22 January, 2006, from http://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/pa97/english/paindex.htm.

Useem, R. H. and R. D. Downie (1976). "Third-culture kids." Today's Education **65**(3): 103-105.

UWC. (2007). "United World College: About Us."   Retrieved 2 November, Retrieved 2 November, 2007, from http://www.uwc.org/about_us, from http://www.uwc.org/about_us.

van der Sijde, P. C. (1988). "Relationships of classroom climate with student learning outcomes and school climate." Journal of Classroom Interaction **23**(2): 40-43.

van Dijk, T. A. (2000). Discourse and access. Rights to language: Equity, power, and education: Celebrating the 60th birthday of Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. R. Phillipson. Mahwah, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates**:** 73-78.

Van Oord, L. (2008). "After culture: Intergroup encounters in education." Journal of Research in International Education **7**(2): 131-147.

Vertovec, S. and R. Cohen (2002). Introduction: Conceiving cosmopolitanism. Conceiving cosmopolitanism: Theory, context, and practice. S. Vertovec and R. Cohen. New York, Oxford**:** 1-22.

Vibert, A. B., J. Portelli, et al. (2002). "Critical practice in elementary schools: Voice, community, and a curriculum of life." Journal of Educational Change **3**(2): 93-116.

Vibert, A. B. and C. Shields (2003). "Approaches to student engagement: Does ideology matter?" McGill Journal of Education **38**(2): 221-240.

Vincent, C. (2003). Introduction. Social justice, education and identity. C. Vincent. New York, Routledge/Falmer**:** 1-13.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Walker, G. (1998). Home sweet home: A study, through fictional literature, of disoriented children and the significance of home. International education: Principles and practice. M. Hayden and J. J. Thomson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 11-27.

Walker, G. (2000). International education: Connecting the national to the global. International schools & international education: Improving teaching, management & quality. M. Hayden and J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 193-204.

Walker, G. (2000). "One-way streets of our culture." International Schools Journal **19**(2): 11-19.

Walker, G. (2001). Learning to live with others. Biennial Conference of Nordic Schools, Herlufsholm, Denmark.

Walker, G. (2002). The language of international education. International education in practice: Dimensions for national & international schools. M. Hayden and J. Thompson. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing Inc.**:** 208-216.

Walker, G. (2005). Educating the global citizen. 10th AHISA Biennial Conference, Adelaide, Australia.

Walker, G. (2005). What have I learned about international education? Biennial Conference of IB Nordic Schools, Stockholm, Sweden.

Walkowitz, R. L. (2006). <u>Cosmpolitan style: Modernism beyond the nation</u>. New York, Columbia University Press.

Waterson, M. and M. Hayden (1999). "International education and its contribution to the development of student attitudes." <u>International Schools Journal</u> **18**(2): 17-25.

Watkins, D. A. and J. B. Biggs, Eds. (1996). <u>The Chinese Learner: Cultural, psychological and contextual influences</u>. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre.

Weinreich, P. (2003). Identity structure analysis. <u>Analysing identity: Cross-cultural, societal and clinical contexts</u>. P. Weinreich and W. Saunderson. New York, Routledge**:** 7-76.

Wenger, E. (1998). <u>Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity</u>. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Werkman, S. L., G. F. Karley, et al. (2004). The psychological effects of moving and living overseas. <u>The International Schools Journal Compendium: Culture and international school: Living, learning and communicating across cultures</u>. E. Murphy. Great Glemham, Peridot Press. **2:** 118-130.

Westrick, J. M. (2002). Making meaning from difference: The influence of participation in service-learning on the intercultural sensitivity of high school students at an international school in Hong Kong, University of Minnesota**:** 173.

Westrick, J. M. (2004). "Influence of service-learning on intercultural sensitivity." <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u> **3**(3): 277-299.

White, B. S. (1994). <u>Turban and traders: Hong Kong Indian communities</u>. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Wilkinson, D. (2002). International education and issues of governance. <u>International education in practice: Dimensions for national and international schools</u>. M. Hayden, J. J. Thompson and G. Walker. Sterling, VA, Stylus Publishing**:** 185-196.

Williams, G. O. (2000). What do students attending international schools perceive as important aspects of an international education. Bath, University of Bath.

Willis, D. B. (1985). "The international Japanese child: a stranger in his own land." <u>International Schools Journal</u> **10**: 37-44.

Willis, D. B. (1992). "A search for transnational culture: An ethnography of students in an international school in Japan (Part I)." <u>International Schools Journal</u>(23): 9-25.

Willis, D. B. (1992). "A search for transnational culture: An ethnography of students in an international school in Japan (Part II)." <u>International Schools Journal</u>(24): 29-41.

Willms, J. D. (2003). Student engagement at school: A sense of belonging and participation (Results from PISA 2000). Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.

Willms, J. D., S. Friesen, et al. (2009). What did you do in school today? Transforming classrooms through social, academic, and intellectual engagement (First National Report). Toronto, Canadian Education Association.

Woods, P. (1983). <u>Sociology and the school</u>. London, Routledge.

Worsley, P. (1990). "Models of the modern world-system." Theory, Culture & Society **7**(2-3): 83-95.

Wren, D. J. (1999). "School culture: Exploring the hidden curriculum." Adolescence **34**(135): 593-596.

Wrigley, T. (2000). The power to learn: Stories of success in the education of Asian and other bilingual pupils. Sterling, VA, Trentham Books.

Wrigley, T. (2003). Schools of hope: A new agenda for school improvement. Sterling, VA, Trentham Books.

Wrigley, T. (2004). "Transformative approaches to student voice: theoretical underpinnings, recalcitrant realities." British Educational Research Journal **30**(2): 295-311.

Yamato, Y. (2003). Education in the market place: Hong Kong's international schools and their mode of operation. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre.

Yamato, Y. and M. Bray (2002). "Education and socio-political change: The continued growth and evolution of the international schools sector in Hong Kong." Asia Pacific Education Review **3**(1): 24-36.

Yamato, Y. and S. Course (2002). Guide to international schools in Hong Kong. Hong Kong, Comparative Education Research Centre.

Yazzie-Mintz, E. (2006). Voices of students on engagement: A report on the 2006 High School Survey of Student Engagement. Bloomington, IN, Center for Evaluation and Education Policy (Indiana University).

Yeung, P. (2004). Look outwards, not inwards. South China Morning Post. Hong Kong.

Yin, R. K. (2003). Case study research: Design and methods. Thousand Oaks, CA, SAGE Publications.

Ying Lao, C. and S. Krashen (1999). "Implementation of mother-tongue teaching in HK secondary schools: Some recent reports." Discover(5).

Yon, D. A. (2000). Elusive culture: Schooling, race, and identity in global times. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press.

Zyngier, D. (2007). "(Re) conceiving student engagement: What the students say they want. Putting young people at the heart of the conversation." LEARNing Landscapes **1**(1): Available at: http://www.learnquebec.ca/en/content/learninglandscapes/documents/LL-OCT-2007-LR-link.pdf

Appendix A: Phase I institutional participation

Table A1: Phases I and II participating schools

	Potential[a] N	Achieved[b] N	Response rate %
ESF -- Type 5			
E1[c] – 2004 (Y12/Y13)	369	187	50.7
E1[c] – 2006 (Y12/Y13)	189	118	62.4
E2 (Y12/Y13)	210	146	69.5
E3 (Y12)	138	75	54.3
E4 (Y12)	104	53	51.0
E5 (Y12)	161	30	18.6[d]
ESF totals	982	491	50.0
Net ESF totals[d]	821	461	56.2
	Potential[a] N	Achieved[b] N	Response rate %
Non-ESF -- Type 6			
NE1 (Y12)	46	27	56.7
NE2[e] (Y11/12)	67	43	64.2
NE3 (Gr. 12)	17	16	94.1
NE4 (Gr. 11/12)	130	64	49.2
Non-ESF totals	214	123	57.5
Net overall totals[d]	1,270	729	57.4

NOTES
a. The POTENTIAL participant count includes those students who attended my presentational invite and received a project information letter/consent form.
b. The ACHIEVED respondent count includes those students who consented to participate, were emailed the survey access instructions, and submitted a survey in which 75 percent of the questions were answered.
c. E1 is also the Phase 2, Site II school: Windsor High.
d. The low response rate for E5 meant that its surveys were not included in subsequent analyses, including the net overall totals (i.e. frequency counts, response rate percentage).
e. NE2 is also the Phase 2, Site I school: Waratah High.

Appendix B: Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*) scale items

EIS-F1 (School)
1. My international school helps me understand those who are different from me.
2. My international school listens to the views of its students.
3. My international school helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.
4. My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.
5. My international school makes me play down parts of my culture or ethnic background in order for me to fit in
6. My international school consists of a 'cliquey' student body.

EIS-F2 (Teacher)
1. Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.
2. Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out in class.
3. Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.
4. Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.
5. Nearly all of my teachers encourage me to mix with those who are different from me.
6. Nearly all of my teachers give me helpful comments on how I can improve the quality of my work.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree		Agree	Strongly agree

Rating scale: 1 = *Strongly disagree*; 5 = *Strongly agree*

1. I have spent [X] (1-2; 3-4; 5-6; 7-8; 9-10; 11-12; 13>) years in total in [Y] (1; 2; 3; 4; 5>) international schools. I have spent ----- [years] at [current international school].
2. On average, I spend about [X] (1-3; 4-6; 7-9; 10-12; 13-15; 16-18; 19>) hours a week doing homework.
3. On average, I spend about [X] (0;1-3; 4-6; 7-9; 10-12; 13-15; 16>) hours a week participating in outside-class, school-based activities (e.g. sports, drama, student government).
4. I mostly get [X] (As; about half As and half Bs; mostly Bs; about half Bs and half Cs; mostly Cs; about half Cs and half Ds; mostly D or below) grades.

Appendix C: View of International Education -- Revised (*VIE-R*) (Hayden 1998)

In order to be international, it is necessary:

1. To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.
2. To read/view media and books from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation).
3. To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.
4. To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.
5. To have lived in three or more countries.
6. Not to feel my culture is better than others.
7. To be prepared to follow the cultural customs of others when in their presence.
8. To mix with people from other cultures rather than just live alongside them.
9. To be able to speak confidently two or more languages.
10. To have teachers from a number of different cultures.
11. To be prepared to defend how I see the world to those who do not share my view of it.
12. To encourage others of different cultures to learn about my own culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Un-important to being international				Very important to being international

Appendix D: Self-liking/Self-competence Scale – Revised (*SLCS-R*) (Tafarodi and Swann 2001)

Please indicate how much you agree with each of the 16 statements below. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree

SELF-LIKING
1. I tend to devalue myself.*
3. I am very comfortable with myself.
5. I am secure in my sense of self-worth.
6. It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself.*
7. I have a negative attitude toward myself.*
9. I feel great about who I am.
11. I never doubt my personal worth.
15. I do not have enough respect for myself.*

SELF-COMPETENCE
2. I am highly effective at the things I do.
4. I am almost always able to accomplish what I try for.
8. At times, I find it difficult to achieve the things that are important to me.*
10. I sometimes deal poorly with challenges.*
12. I perform very well at many things.
13. I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals.*
14. I am very talented.
16. I wish I were more skillful in my activities.*

Key:
SL = sum of 3, 5, 9, 11, 1*, 6*, 7*, 15*
SC = sum of 2, 4, 12, 14, 8*, 10*, 13*, 16*

*reverse-scored

Appendix E: Social and Personal Identities Scale -- Revised (*SIPI-R*) (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004)

Please read each of the items below very carefully. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Give each item the rating that best reflects how central or important that description is to your sense of who you are. Use the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Un-important to who I am						Very important to who I am

[Note: the original scale uses a 9-point Likert scale]

SOCIAL identity
1. My being an international school student.*
2. The similarity I share with others in my group(s).
4. My family nationality or nationalities.
6. The memberships I have in various groups.
8. The places where I have lived.
10. My sense of belonging to my own racial/ethnic group.
12. My gender group.
14. The colour of my skin.
15. My religion.*
16. My being a student at this school.*

PERSONAL identity
3. My rebelliousness.
5. My need to be completely different from everyone else.
7. My creativity.
9. My academic abilities.*
11. My athletic abilities.*
13. My need to be the same as others.*

* researcher-designed item

Appendix F: A Little About You

1. I am ----- [female / male].

2. I was born in 19 ----- [year] in ----- [country].

3. My (main) passport is from ----- [country].

4. I consider my 'home' to be ----- [country].

5. I have lived ----- [years] in total in Hong Kong.

6. My first language is ----- [language].

7. My second language is ----- [language]. I speak it ----- [fluency].

8. I mostly use ----- [language] with my parents.

9. I mostly use ----- [language] with my friends.

10. I consider myself a(n) ----- [student type].

Appendix G: Detailed Phase I methodology – Data screening and preliminary analyses

This appendix provides a more detailed description of the preliminary analyses conducted in Phase I and, in this regard, supplements the description that appears in Chapter 3.

Screening for multivariate normality

Before exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to examine the structure of the researcher-designed *EIS-R* scale, uncover its underlying dimensions, and determine how the individual items loaded on the factors that were extracted (Kim and Mueller 1978; Hurley, Scandura et al. 1997; Rennie 1997; Fabrigar, Wegener et al. 1999; Reise, Walker et al. 2000), the *EIS-R* data was first screened for multivariate normality, given the sensitivity of EFA to the distributional characteristics of a dataset. The distribution of the 12 individual *EIS-R* items revealed no highly unbalanced items. Both the symmetry (skewness = -.37, *SE* = .13) and the flatness (kurtosis = .10, *SE* = .25) of the distribution were within the acceptable range for normality (-1.0 to +1.0). However, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic suggested that the *EIS-R* data were not drawn from a normally distributed population, $D(595) = .05, p < .001$. Moreover, a vertical boxplot graph of the *EIS-R* means revealed four extreme (i.e., more than three interquartile range from the end of the box) and 14 outliers (i.e., more than 1.5 IQR's but less than 3 IQR's) relative to the data set as a whole. After careful assessment, 16 of these 18 technical outliers were removed from further analyses because of the unusually consistent response patterns (i.e., same score repeated) and unreasonably quick response times for the *EIS-R* section (i.e., 12 seconds or less).

Preliminary analysis 1 – Meeting requirements for EFA

The first step in obtaining a factor solution requires satisfying a number of criteria for appropriateness of common factor analysis, including:

1. 10 to 1: The ratio of participants to measured variable (Nunnaly 1978).
2. 300: A "good sample size" for factor analysis (Comrey and Lee 1992).
3. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy should be greater than 0.50 for each individual variable as well as the set of variables as a whole (Kaiser 1974).
4. Anti-image correlation matrix: diagonal elements should be above 0.5 for all variables (Field 2000).
5. Bartlett's test of sphericity should be significant (Field 2000).

The number of valid cases for the set of 12 *EIS-R* variables was 579. The first two criteria are met as the ratio of cases to variables is 48.3 to 1 and the sample size well exceeds 300. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .88, which amply satisfies the third requirement. The anti-image correlation matrix showed that the Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) for individual variables ranged from .46 to .93. The single variable below .50 ('My international school makes me play down parts of my culture or ethnic background in order to fit in') was removed and the analysis was re-run: the revised KMO statistic was .89 and MSA values for individual variables ranged from .66 to .94, which meets the third and fourth requirements. For the remaining 11 *EIS-R* variables, Bartlett's test was highly significant ($p < 0.001$), which indicates some relationships between variables that are to be factor analysed and meets the fifth requirement.

Preliminary analysis 2 – Non-factor analytic analyses

Given the *EIS-R* scale's initial stage of development, several item-based statistics (i.e., average inter-item correlations, corrected item-total correlations) were also considered simultaneously with EFA (Clark and Watson 1995; Netemeyer, Bearden et al. 2003). Specifically, three decision rules for retaining *EIS-R* items for EFA were applied:

1. Cronbach's alpha of .80 and above for a new scale (Clark and Watson 1995);

2. Average inter-item correlations of .15 to .50, with correlations of .30 or better considered exemplary (Robinson, Shaver et al. 1991); and

3. Average corrected item-total correlations equal to or greater than .35 (Netemeyer, Bearden et al. 2003).

The Cronbach's alpha coefficient of the *EIS-R* scale's 11 items was .83, which satisfies the first decision rule. One average inter-item correlation fell below .15 ('My international school consists of a cliquey student body'). It was removed and the revised Cronbach's alpha for the *EIS-R* scale's remaining ten items was .84. Second, average inter-item correlations were examined; 34 of 45 were .30 or better – and none fell below the .15 threshold. Finally, corrected item-total correlations were inspected; the lowest of the ten was .45. On the basis of this preliminary analysis, EFA was conducted on the *EIS-R* dataset of 10 items to examine the structure of the scale, uncover its underlying dimensions, and determine how the individual items loaded on the factors that were extracted.

Appendix H: Detailed Phase I methodology – EFA of *VIE-R, SIPI-R,* and *SLCS-R* data

This appendix provides a more detailed description of the exploratory factor analysis conducted in Phase I on the researcher-modified View of Internationalism – Revised and Social and Personal Identities – Revised scales, as well as the Self-liking/Self-competence Revised scale. In this regard, it supplements the description that appears in Chapter 3.

EFA of *VIE-R* survey data

The EFA results for *VIE-R* suggested that a shortened and revised, 4-item *VIE-R* scale had the best face, content, and construct validity and reliability. EFA of the four *VIE-R* attributes set returned one eigenvalue greater than unity (2.43), which accounted for 60.7% of the total variance.

Table H1. Total Variance Explained: View of Internationalism – Revised

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.426	60.660	60.660	1.985	49.632	49.632
2	.712	17.809	78.468			
3	.544	13.592	92.061			
4	.318	7.939	100.000			

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

Both the Kaiser-Guttmann criterion and scree test (Cattell 1966) supported this one-factor solution. The KMO test of sampling adequacy for the four *VIE-R* attributes was 0.75; and Bartlett's test was highly significant, X^2 (28, $N = 579$) = 646.73, $p < .001$. As shown in Table 6, the ML analysis with promax rotation provided a clear and readily interpretable one-factor structure with a substantial (i.e., >.40) .69 average factor loading (Floyd and Widaman 1995). The 4-item *VIE-R* scale had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .78, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .46 to .73.

Table H2. Factor Matrix: View of Internationalism – Revised

	Factor 1
To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	.89
To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	.75
To read/view media and books from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation).	.61
To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.	.51

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood; 1 factor extracted. 4 iterations required.

EFA of *SIPI-R* survey data

On the other hand, item-based statistics and EFA of the 16 *SIPI-R* attributes set indicated that the *SIPI-R* did not satisfy construct validity with this population of international school students from Hong Kong. Although this may very well be due to its modification for this study, problems with how the personal and social identity constructs were operationalised in its original form were reported by the scale designers in a series of validation studies (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004). After repeated iterations and a careful assessment of the item-based statistics and EFA results, I decided against using the *SIPI-R* attributes set in any subsequent analyses because of my inability to extract a conceptually tenable model with satisfactory reliability.

EFA of *SLCS-R* survey data

Finally, EFA of the original *SLCS-R* scale was conducted. Its screening for multivariate normality indicated that the distribution of the 16 *SLCS-R* items revealed no highly unbalanced items. Both the symmetry (skewness = -.02, *SE* = .11) and the flatness (kurtosis = -.29, *SE* = .21) of the distribution were within the acceptable range for normality (-1.0 to +1.0). However, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic suggested that the *SLCS-R* data were not drawn from a normally distributed population, $D(579) = .04$, $p < .05$. Moreover, a vertical boxplot graph of the *SLCS-R* means revealed nine technical outliers (i.e., more than 1.5 IQR's but less than 3 IQR's). After careful assessment, seven of these outliers were removed from further analyses ($N = 572$).

The Maximum Likelihood (ML) extraction method was selected because of its goodness-of-fit information about model fit. Given the theoretical and empirical basis for expecting the *SLCS-R* sub-scales to inter-correlate, a direct oblimin factor rotation method (delta equals 0) was used. EFA of the 16 *SLCS-R* attributes set returned three eigenvalues greater than unity (5.96, 1.84, 1.54), which accounted for 58.4 percent of the total variance.

Table H3. Total Variance Explained: Self-liking/Self-competence scale – Revised

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.961	37.253	37.253	5.460	34.127	34.127	3.650	22.810	22.810
2	1.841	11.507	48.761	1.331	8.319	42.446	2.417	15.103	37.913
3	1.536	9.603	58.364	1.023	6.395	48.841	1.749	10.928	48.841
4	.834	5.210	63.573						
5	.744	4.650	68.223						
6	.660	4.126	72.349						
7	.606	3.787	76.136						
8	.573	3.581	79.717						
9	.523	3.271	82.988						
10	.512	3.198	86.187						
11	.447	2.795	88.982						
12	.406	2.539	91.521						
13	.388	2.427	93.948						
14	.347	2.171	96.119						
15	.316	1.973	98.092						
16	.305	1.908	100.000						

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

The KMO test of sampling adequacy for the four *SLCS-R* attributes was 0.90; and Bartlett's test was highly significant, $X^2 (120, N = 572) = 3355.08$, $p < .001$. After the direct oblimin rotation (see Table H4), all eight self-liking items loaded on the first, largest factor (37.25% variance, see Table H3), which had a substantial (>.40) .65 average factor loading (Floyd & Widaman, 1995). The second factor (11.5% variance, see Table H3) featured all four positive-worded self-competence items; its average factor loading was also .65. All four negative-worded self-competence items determined the third factor (9.6% variance, see Table H3); its average factor loading was .58. The three factors were moderately-strongly (F1 & F2, .52), moderately (F1 & F3, .41), and weakly (F2 & F3, .33) correlated.

Table H4. Rotated Factor Matrix[a]: Self-liking/Self-competence scale – Revised

	Factor		
	1	2	3
I feel great about who I am.	.716		
I have a negative attitude toward myself.	.699		
I do not have enough respect for myself.	.679		
It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself.	.656		
I am secure in my sense of self-worth.	.633		
I am very comfortable with myself.	.617		
I tend to devalue myself.	.611		
I never doubt my personal worth.	.591		
I perform very well at many things.		.741	
I am very talented.		.652	
I am highly effective at the things I do.		.624	
I am almost always able to accomplish what I try for.		.581	
I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals.			.681
At times, I find it difficult to achieve the things that are important to me.			.634
I sometimes deal poorly with challenges.			.549
I wish I were more skillful in my activities.			.434

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood; Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.
a Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

The internal consistency of each factor, using Cronbach's alphas, was next examined. At .88, the eight-item self-liking sub-scale was the highest, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .59 to .73. The four-item Factor 2 (self-competence: positive-worded) had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .78, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .53 to .67. At .71, the four-item Factor 3 (self-competence: negative-worded) was the lowest, with corrected item-total correlations ranging from .43 to .56.

The results provide evidence of the face, content, and construct validity and reliability of the original 16-item *SLCS-R* scale. Although the scale designers Tafarodi and Swann (2001) conceptualise and operationalise self-liking and self-competence as two co-equal but distinct dimensions of general self-esteem, these results suggest that the *SLCS-R* instrument measured three inter-related empirical constructs as opposed to two. That the four positive and four negative self-competence attribute items contribute to and constitute separate factors reveals the difficulties of capturing the affective nature of self-efficacy/competence through self-report measures such as the *SLCS-R*.

Appendix I: Detailed Phase I methodology – Description of the clustering method, choice of (dis-)similarity measure, and validation of cluster solution

Adhering to the guidelines for reporting cluster analysis (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984; Gore 2000), this appendix provides a more detailed description of the clustering method, choice of (dis-)similarity measure, and validation of cluster solution. In this regard, it supplements the description that appears in Chapter 3.

Description of clustering method

Using SPSS 12.0.1 for Windows, multivariate cluster analysis was conducted to classify the 572 surveyed international school students from Hong Kong. In total, 38 continuous variables were used in the cluster formation and identification process, all of which derive from the study's conceptual framework and were described previously. Thirty of these were individual survey response variables; five were exploratory-factor-analysis (EFA)-derived scores for the underlying sub-scale dimensions; and three were computed EFA-derived scale scores for the study's three main constructs: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)*, and Self-liking/Self-competence *(SLCS-R)*.

Specifically, a two-step clustering procedure was used, an approach that has received widespread support amongst researchers in the social and behavioural sciences (Punj and Stewart 1983; Fraley and Raftery 1998; Gore 2000). In the first step, a preliminary identification of clusters is made. SPSS (2006) builds "a data structure called a modified Cluster Feature (CF) Tree, which contains the cluster centres. TwoStep Cluster grows the CF Tree during the first stage of clustering and adds values to its leaves if they are close to the cluster centre of a particular leaf." This pre-clustering produces smaller sub-clusters. In the second step, SPSS uses the user-specified agglomerative hierarchical clustering algorithm (i.e., Schwarz Bayesian Criterion – BIC) on the sub-clusters and calculates BIC for each potential number of clusters. It combines changes in BIC and changes in the distance measure between the two closest clusters in each hierarchical clustering stage to determine the 'best' cluster model; smaller values in BIC indicate 'better' models or cluster solutions (SPSS 2003). Given the heuristic nature of clustering methodology (Milligan and Cooper 1987; Hair and Black 1998/2000), it was decided that as many clusters as possible would be developed, provided that each was both statistically and subjectively interpretable.

Choice of (dis-)similarity measure

A two-step clustering procedure was used with the log-likelihood distance measure. This probability-based proximity measure, the default setting for Two-Step cluster analysis in SPSS, categorises cases within the cluster with the larger log-likelihood. Likelihood distance measures assume that variables in the cluster model are normally distributed and independent. As described previously, the *EIS-R* and *SLCS-R* scale variables were both Gaussian; the *VIE-R* scale variable was moderately negatively skewed. Although the scale variables were significantly correlated, the relationships were negligible:
- *VIE-R* and *SLCS-R*, r_s (572) = +.17
- *EIS-R* and *SLCS-R*, r_s (572) = +.21
- *VIE-R* and *EIS-R*, r_s(572) = +.24.

Bearing this in mind, a likelihood distance measure was still used given what SPSS (2003) has concluded: "[e]mpirical internal testing indicates that the [likelihood distance measure] procedure is fairly robust to violations of both the assumption of independence and the distributional assumptions…".

388

Validation of cluster analysis solution

Four procedures were used to examine the reliability and validity of the three-cluster solution (Hair and Black, 1998/2000) and to make sure that "these groups are 'real' and not merely imposed on the data by the method" (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984: 16). First, a quick cluster (i.e., k-means) analysis was performed with SPSS to ensure that the cases had been assigned to appropriate clusters (with the results from the two-step clustering procedure with the log-likelihood distance measure taken as the input for a quick cluster analysis). The majority of international school students (82.7%) were correctly classified by quick cluster analysis, with adequate (Cluster 1: 72.8%), satisfactory (Cluster 2: 81.0%), and excellent (Cluster 3: 97.4%) classification.

Second, to examine the reliability of the three-cluster solution, the sample was randomly divided in half by SPSS and a quick cluster analysis was conducted on each half. As shown in Tables I1 and I2, the results for the randomly selected sub-samples were similar, in terms of proportion and cluster structure, to the results of the two-step clustering solution. The majority of the cases were also correctly classified in both cluster set one (85.9%) and two (79.7%).

Table I1: Correct classification of set one: Comparison of two-step cluster solution to randomly split sub-sample and k-means cluster solution

	TWO-STEP		SET ONE TWO-STEP		SET ONE QUICK CLUSTER		
	N	Proportion %	N	Proportion %	N	Proportion %	Correctly classified %
CL-1	154	28.3	78	28.9	83	30.7	94.2
CL-2	195	35.8	93	34.4	92	34.1	83.4
CL-3	195	35.8	99	36.7	95	35.2	81.1
	544		270		270		85.9

Table I2: Correct classification of set two: Comparison of two-step cluster solution to randomly split sub-sample and k-means cluster solution

	TWO-STEP		SET TWO TWO-STEP		SET TWO QUICK CLUSTER		
	N	Proportion %	N	Proportion %	N	Proportion %	Correctly classified %
CL-1	154	28.3	84	30.7	70	25.5	85.7
CL-2	195	35.8	98	35.8	102	37.2	80.4
CL-3	195	35.8	92	33.6	102	37.2	75.0
	544		274		274		79.7

Third, descriptive stepwise discriminant analysis was then performed on the variables used to create the three-cluster clusters as another validity check for stability of the cluster solution (Silva and Stam 1995). Although the use of discriminant analysis "in this fashion is inappropriate statistically" (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984: 64) because of the invariably high significance results, Conti (1996: 71) demonstrates how it can be "a useful tool for exploring if a clear process exists which separates the groups." Two discriminant functions were calculated, with a combined $X^2(6) = 860.48$, $p<.001$. The practical results of using this discriminant model indicate just how well maximal group separation can be explained in terms of the three underlying dimensions: the vast majority (96.3%) of cases were correctly classified, with 95.4% of cluster one, 94.9% of cluster two, and 99.4% of cluster three correctly classified. The proposed three-cluster solution appeared optimal on the basis of Wilks' Lambda, percent correct assignment of cases to clusters, and visual inspection of both the concentration of cases within a cluster and maximal separation amongst clusters in multivariate space (as seen in a combined-groups scatterplot of the first two discriminant function values).

Fourth and finally, significance tests were performed on external variables not used to generate the three-cluster solution. This "external criterion approach" (Milligan and Cooper 1987) entailed conducting non-parametric analysis (i.e., chi-square test for independence, Kruskal-Wallis) to examine the relationship between cluster membership and the selected variables. Considered by Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984: 66) as "among the better ways to validate a clustering solution," the descriptive utility of the tripartite cluster structure was explored using ten other variables – five categorical (i.e., demographic) and five continuous (i.e., Social and Personal Identity – *SIPI*) – that were considered salient, in the empirical and professional literature, to student experiences of and engagement with schooling. Although the *SIPI* scale measure was not considered for cluster analyses because of concerns over its dimensionality and reliability, as discussed previously, five individual *SIPI* response variables were identified and deemed acceptable through item analyses for cluster validation purposes. On nine of these ten external variables, the three clusters were significantly different. Table I3 shows the percentage for each cluster by the five demographic variables. As can be seen, the clearest differentiator of the groups is self-reported 'academic achievement' level.

Table I3: Distribution for each cluster by demographic variables

	CLUSTER 1 %	CLUSTER 2 %	CLUSTER 3 %
Academic achievement, $X^2(10) = 64.44$, $p < .001$			
A	41.6	13.2	14.7
A/B	29.5	36.3	26.7
B	16.8	22.1	22.0
B/C	8.1	17.9	19.4
C	2.7	3.7	7.3
C/D & below	1.3	6.8	9.9
Weekly hours spent in school-organised co-/extra-curricular activities, $X^2(8) = 21.77$, $p < .005$			
0 hours	2.0	4.2	7.9
1-3 hours	24.5	38.9	35.1
4-6 hours	34.7	25.8	30.4
7-9 hours	18.4	14.2	17.3
10 hours or more	20.4	16.8	9.4
Language mostly used with parents, $X^2(6) = 16.27$, $p < .05$			
Cantonese	39.6	52.7	48.7
Putonghua	7.1	4.1	.5
English	43.5	33.0	39.4
Other	9.7	10.3	11.4
Language mostly used with friends, $X^2(2) = 10.12$, $p < .01$			
Cantonese	11.0	24.2	17.6
English	89.0	75.8	82.4
Type of international school student, $X^2(4) = 9.22$, $p \leq .05$			
Local-HK	31.2	43.8	35.4
Expat-HK	53.2	46.4	47.2
Expat	15.6	9.8	17.4

Table I4 shows the means, medians, and Huber's M-estimators for each cluster by the four *SIPI* variables. The Likert-scale scores for importance to '*who I am*' of '*academic achievement*' differentiated mostly strongly amongst the three clusters.

Table I4: Measures of central tendency for each cluster by significant *SIPI* variables

CLUSTER 1 (*N* = 154)			CLUSTER 2 (*N* = 195)			CLUSTER 3 (*N* = 195)		
M	*Mdn.*	Huber's M-estimator	*M*	*Mdn.*	Huber's M-estimator	*M*	*Mdn.*	Huber's M-estimator
My academic achievements, *H*(2) = 47.30, *p* < .001								
5.55	6.00	5.83	5.22	5.40	5.42	4.48	4.70	4.59
My being a student at this school, *H*(2) = 35.72, *p* < .001								
5.10	5.40	5.35	4.62	5.00	4.79	4.08	3.90	4.14
My being an international school student, *H*(2) = 23.14, *p* < .001								
5.18	5.40	5.33	5.00	5.40	5.17	4.38	4.70	4.52
The places where I have lived, *H*(2) = 8.33, *p* < .05								
4.69	5.00	4.90	4.53	4.70	4.62	4.18	4.00	4.23

Note: Rating scale: 1 = *Un-important to who I am*; 7 = *Very important to who I am.*

Appendix J: Phase II -- School administrator / teacher consent form

Research project: *Border-crossing Students & Border-transformative International Schooling*
Researcher: Eric Jabal, OISE/UT   **Supervisor**:   Dr. Nina Bascia, OISE/UT
                (ejabal@oise.utoronto.ca)   (nbascia@oise.utoronto.ca)

I, _____, Administrator/Teacher at ▮▮▮, understand that Eric Jabal is conducting qualitative research (e.g. interviews, observations) into student engagement at 2 international schools in Hong Kong.

I understand that with my permission, Eric will contact up to 20 of the school's Year 12/13 students for the sole purpose of involving them in Phase II of the project. Before being interviewed, the participants will have to submit an informed consent form. If they are under 18, their parents/guardians will have to co-sign the consent form. The interviews will focus on students' academic and social engagement with the school and last about 30 minutes. With the student's permission, interviews will be audio-recorded and later transcribed.

I understand that with my permission, Eric will spend up to 20 days at ▮▮▮ to carry out confidential, unobtrusive observations of school and classroom life. The purpose of these observations is to identify and recruit student participants; and to contextualize the student interview data. The observations will focus on the forces and factors that shape students' lived experiences of ▮▮▮. Classroom observations will only be conducted with the permission of individual educators. Eric will also interview selected educators to understand how they see their role vis-à-vis students; and to sample their perceptions of students' engagement with ▮▮▮. I understand that with my permission, Eric will also examine school documents (e.g. curriculum, student data) for the sole purpose of this research. When at ▮▮▮, Eric will wear a Visitor's badge at all times.

I understand that the Phase II data will be kept on a secure computer, which will be password-protected. The only other person to have access to the raw data will be Dr. Nina Bascia, Eric's faculty supervisor. All research data will be destroyed five years after the successful completion of the project. I understand that Eric will report on the research findings in such a way that individual schools and students cannot be identified. He will provide the school with a report of the Phase II findings by May 2006. The research will be incorporated into his PhD thesis, published in scholarly-practitioner forums (e.g. journals), and used in school development work.

Any questions I have asked about Phase II have been answered to my satisfaction. I have been assured that no information will be released or printed that would disclose the identities of my school and/or students and that all data will be completely confidential. I understand that neither the school nor its student participants will at any time be judged or evaluated and at no time will be at risk of harm. Any risks or benefits that might arise out of the school's participation have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that participation is completely voluntary and I can withdraw the school from the project at any time without explanation.

I have read and understand the conditions under which my school and senior students will participate. I consent for ▮▮▮ to participate in Phase II of the *Border-crossing Students & Border-transformative International Schooling* research project.

Name: _____   Date: _____

Signature: _____   School: _____

Appendix K: Phase II -- Consent letter to student participants and parents/guardians

Research project: *Border-crossing Students & Border-transformative International Schooling*

Researcher: Eric Jabal, OISE/UT   **Supervisor**:   Dr. Nina Bascia, OISE/UT
 (ejabal@oise.utoronto.ca)   (nbascia@oise.utoronto.ca)

I, _____ (STUDENT'S FULL NAME), understand that Eric Jabal is conducting research to explore the forces and factors within international schools in Hong Kong that shape student learning and school connectedness.

I understand that Eric is interviewing 30-35 international school students at two international schools in Hong Kong. I understand that I will participate in an interview that will be informal, last approximately 25 minutes, and touch upon my background and school experiences.

I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and later transcribed. I do not have to answer any questions I don't want to, and at any time I may stop the interview and speak off the record. I understand that the audio-tapes and transcripts will not have my name or any other identifying information on them.

I understand that all data will be kept on a secure computer which will be password-protected. The completed interview schedules, transcriptions, audiotapes and other research data will be stored in a secure, locked cabinet in the researcher's office. The only other person to have access to any of this will be Dr. Nina Bascia, Eric's faculty supervisor. All research data will be destroyed five years after the completion of the project.

I understand that no information will be released that would disclose my personal identity and that my responses will be completely confidential. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that my decision to participate (or not) will be kept confidential. I further understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time without explanation.

☐   I have read this document and understand the conditions under which I will participate.

☐   Any questions I have asked about the project have been answered to my satisfaction. Any risks or benefits that might arise out of my participation have also been explained to my satisfaction.

☐   I consent to be a participant in the *Border-crossing Students and Border-transformative International Schooling* research project.

_____   _____
Parent's / Guardian's Name   Parent's / Guardian's Signature

_____   _____
Student Participant's Signature   Date

Appendix L: Waratah and Windsor Secondary High teacher-leader participants

Table L1: Phase II teacher-leader participants – Selected characteristics

Name	Sex	Teacher-leader experience	Post of responsibility	Scope of responsibility
WARATAH HIGH				
Merlin Girven	M	27	Senior	ADM/PAS
Lurline Parreno	F	33	Senior	ADM
Dick Caramanica	M	27	Senior	ADM
Tyesha Heberer	F	9	Middle	CUR
Albertina Detlefs	F	15	Middle	CUR
Arnetta Aroca	F	8	Teacher	CUR
Hyun Nalbach	F	21	Middle	CUR
Cruz Catalanatto	M	26	Middle	CUR
Marcelino Hackner	M	18	Teacher	CUR
Elicia Pakonen	F	21	Teacher	CUR
Frederic Kinkelaar	M	26	Middle	CUR
Jonelle Mozgala	F	21	Middle	CUR
Evelyne Colmer	F	16	Teacher	CUR
Hal Heiskell	M	16	Teacher	CUR
Digna Oppegard	F	25	Middle	PAS
WINDSOR SECONDARY HIGH				
Denver Cherubin	M	16	Senior	ADM/PAS
Kirby Levien	M	22	Senior	ADM
Anette Cosano	F	14	Middle	CUR
Florentina Everleth	F	24	Middle	CUR
Kathryn Myrck	F	3	Teacher	CUR
Winfred Gochanour	M	10	Teacher	CUR
Jazmine Galanga	F	12	Teacher	CUR
Cleo Lonsinger	M	31	Middle	CUR
Drucilla Middough	F	5	Teacher	CUR
Kurtis Ramones	M	15	Teacher	CUR
Alysha Desiato	F	2	Teacher	CUR
Kaylene Mccarn	F	5	Teacher	CUR
Suzanne Autobee	F	30	Senior	PAS
Emory Kilkus	M	12	Middle	PAS
Zada Hardacre	F	15	Middle	PAS

Appendix M: Interview protocol – Students

1. Tell me about yourself. (Probes: where born, family members, where lived, languages, schools attended)

2. Tell me about this school. What is it like to be here?
    a. Teachers – what adjectives you would use to describe them? Why? What do you talk about with them? How do they help you learn? How do teachers feel about you?
    b. School friends – describe them. What do you talk about with them? How do they feel about the school?
    c. Other students – describe them. How would they describe you?
    d. Co-curriculars – what's available? Do you participate? In what ways do co-curriculars make you feel, think about school?
    e. When do you feel most engaged within school?

3. What, if anything, makes this an international school?

4. What are things that have happened since you have been here that have made you feel really good about yourself? (probe: where/when can you be yourself?)

5. What school pressures or problems are you experiencing right now, if any?
    a. How do you get help? (probe: how effective is that help?)

6. Walk me through a typical class for you.
    a. What do you spend the most time doing?
    b. Who generally gets attention from the teacher?
        i. What kind of attention do you get? (probe: how do you behave)?
        ii. What helps you learn (probe: where/when do you get to learn like this?)
    c. What kind of feedback do you get? (probes: how often? Vary across classes?)
        i. What do you generally do with this feedback?
    d. What makes you feel that you've had a good class?

7. What does being an international school student in HK mean to your life/future?
    a. How is this school preparing you for your future/life?

Appendix N: Interview protocol – Teacher-leaders

1. Tell me a bit about yourself.

2. Tell me about this school. What is it like to teach/lead here?
    a. What are its key goals and values?
    b. What are its greatest challenges?
    c. What do you think supports or constraints students' learning and school connectedness?

3. What are some strengths and shortcomings of the school curriculum?
    a. How do students react to your subject's curriculum?
    b. What kinds of data do you use to monitor student learning?

4. Walk me through a typical class for you.
    a. What are your expectations of students in your class?
    b. What kinds of student achievement do you recognize?
    c. Please describe a student who is engaged with your class.
        i. How do you engage the quieter/reluctant students in your class?
    d. What makes you feel that you've had a good class?

5. What specific qualities or characteristics should teachers possess to work effectively with students at this school?

6. What, if anything, makes this an international school?

Appendix O: Informal observational protocol (out of classroom)

- What messages does the out-of-classroom environment send?
- How is students' out-of-classroom and language behaviour?
- What differences, if any, are there between school sites?

1.   Physical space
a.   How are the school grounds arranged?
b.   What (special) facilities are available to students (e.g. library, computer labs)?
c.   Is there anything particular about the 'common rooms'?

2.   Interaction and engagement
a.   How are students / visitors greeted upon entry?
b.   What can be heard (& noise level)?
c.   What can be seen (e.g. displays, graffiti)?
d.   What is student movement like between classes?
e.   How do school staffers manage these times?
f.   What is the out-of-classroom disciplinary climate?

3.   Social clustering
a.   Where / how do students congregate before / after classes?
b.   How do students use the 'common spaces' before, during, and after school?
c.   What are the demographics of participation in co-curricular activities?
d.   What does the out-of-class social 'map' look like?
    i.   Are there identifiable cliques?
    ii.   What group(s) appear more 'high status'?

Appendix P: Formal observational protocol (in lessons)

- What messages does the classroom environment send?
- How is students' classroom and language behaviour in the classroom?
- What differences, if any, are there across classrooms (e.g. teachers' talk and interactions with students, participation and interactions of selected students)?

1.   Physical space
a.   What's posted on the walls?
b.   How is the furniture arranged?

2.   Interaction and engagement
a.   Teacher attention (i.e. time, nature of) in relation to student representation
b.   Questioning
          i.   higher- vs. lower-order?
          ii.   distribution?
c.   Where does the teacher direct their attention?
d.   What areas receive significant / minimal teacher attention?
e.   Time spent on (non-) instructional activity?
          i.   Nature of: individual, group, whole-class?
f.   Teacher movement?
g.   (In-) voluntary student responses?
h.   Wait time given to students to respond?
i.   Do students get to ask questions?
          i.   How comfortable are students when asking questions of teachers?
j.   What kind of teacher feedback is given?
          i.   How do students respond to teacher feedback?
k.   What kinds of records are kept concerning student needs and progress?
l.   What is the disciplinary climate?

3.   Social clustering
a.   How do students organize themselves?
b.   What does the social 'map' look like?
          i.   Are there identifiable cliques?
          ii.   What group(s) appear more 'high status'?

Appendix Q: Phase II – School engagement contexts, factors, and processes

Table Q1: Descriptive and analytical matrix of school/student engagement

CONTEXTS	FACTORS AND PROCESSES
SELF-AS-STUDENT	
1. Geo-cultural origin and attachment	Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, South Asia, UK, Canada, elsewhere
2. Previous school experience	Local, international, public, private, religious, single-sex, co-ed, boarding
3. Motivation for being at the school	Instrumental (e.g. learn English to attend English university), developmental, social
4. Post-secondary aspirations/destinations	Medical, legal, business, engineering, Arts; local, N. America, UK, Oz, elsewhere
OUT-OF-CLASSROOM	
1. Activities and opportunities	Nature, breadth, frequency, location; leadership, service, student input
2. Size	# students in year group, in school
3. Facilities	Size, space, availability, use
4. Institutional identity: internal, external	Academic, sporting, performance, international, language; reputation
5. Climate/ethos/spirit/pride	Home room, year group, whole school, respect
6. Approach to students	Expectations, discipline, differentiation, assumptions/labelling
7. Pastoral care structures / processes	Counsellor, teacher-tutor; (in)formal
8. Assessment	Evaluation and recognition of students' achievement
CLASSROOM	
1. Size	# of students in classes
2. Curriculum: courses, content, scope	On offer; material, amount, progression, student input; local, international, A-level, IB
3. Assessment	Norm- vs. criterion-referenced, competition, variety, student input
4. Pedagogy	Teacher- / student-centred, passive / interactive, individual / group
5. Discipline	(In)consistency, appropriateness, fairness, respect
6. Career & guidance counselling	Availability, geo-cultural appropriateness
TEACHER	
1. Roles and relationships	Friend vs. mentor; academic, pastoral; in-, out-of-class persona(lity)
2. Growth and change	#, length of service at school, turnover, new vs. current teachers
3. Approach to students	Expectations, discipline, differentiation, assumptions/labelling
OTHER STUDENTS/PEERS	
1. Geocultural origin, attachment	Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, South Asia, UK, Canada, elsewhere
2. Size, growth and change	# in homeroom, year group, school, turnover, new vs. current students
3. Groupings and hierarchies	Yr group, race/ethnicity, language, yrs at school, attitude twd school
4. Motivation for being at the school	Instrumental (e.g. learn English to attend English university), developmental, social
5. Post-secondary destinations	Local, N. America, UK, Oz, elsewhere

Appendix R: Cluster I: Septentrionals

Phase I

The Cluster I international school student was labelled the Septentrional type. Septentrionals comprised 28.3 percent of the surveyed sample and included 88 females (57.1%) and 66 males (42.9%). More than half (53.2%) were born in Hong Kong, and most (68.9%) considered it home. The majority (82.5%) had lived in Hong Kong for seven or more years; exactly half of Septentrionals (50.0%) had done so for thirteen or more years. Nearly two-thirds (65.4%) were UK (27.5%), Canadian (20.3%), or Australian (17.6%) citizens, though very few Septentrionals considered Canada (6.3%), Australia (4.0%) or the UK (2.0%) home. Relative to the other groups, Septentrionals included the smallest proportion (34.6%) of Cantonese first-language speakers. Moreover, the fewest number of them mainly used Cantonese with their friends (11.0%). The majority (52.9%) of Septentrionals considered English their first language. Septentrionals also included the largest proportion of monolinguals (14.3%) – nearly double Cluster II (7.2%). Yet, Septentrionals also included the greatest number of speakers who mostly used Putonghua with their parents (7.1%) – almost double Cluster II (4.1%) and fourteen times Cluster III (.5%) – and the fewest (39.6%) who used Cantonese.

More than half of Septentrionals (53.2%) self-identified as an expatriate-Hong Kong international school student. Most (69.6%) had spent five or more years at their current international school; almost three-quarters (74.7%) were in their penultimate year of secondary school. More than one-third of Septentrionals (38.8%) spent seven or more hours per week in school-based co-/extra-curricular activities; and the fewest of all groups (2.0%) did none. The majority of Septentrionals (71.1%) generally achieved A- or A/B-grades; very few got C-grades or below (4.0%). Almost half of Septentrionals (41.6%) self-reported A-grade achievement – more than three times Cluster II (13.2%) and almost thrice Cluster III (14.7%). Nearly two-thirds of Septentrionals spent fewer than 6 (30.9%) or 13 or more (30.2%) hours per week on homework outside lessons. For all *SIPI* variables, Septentrional measures of central tendency were the highest. This septentrional characteristic of scoring higher on the attitudinal measures is what most clearly distinguishes Cluster I from the others.

In terms of the first set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Septentrionals had a significantly higher View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* (*Mdn.* = 4.00) than Cluster III (*Mdn.* = 2.80, *r* = .74). The very large effect size indicated that the effect of membership on *VIE-R* was very substantial. However, there was no significant median difference between Septentrionals and Cluster II. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of importance on the 1-5 Likert scale, then three of four *VIE-R* items were rated so very important *to being international* by the Septentrionals (Table R1). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating a low level of importance, then no *VIE-R* item was rated so un-important *to being international* by the Septentrionals.

Table R1: Septentrional ratings: View of Internationalism – Revised

In order to be 'international,' it is necessary…	*Mdn.*	*M*	*SD*
To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.	5.00	4.35	.76
To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	4.50	4.25	.86
To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	4.00	4.08	.89

Note: *N* = 154

In terms of the second set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Septentrionals had a significantly higher Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* (*Mdn.* = 3.90) than Cluster III (*Mdn.* = 2.90, *r* = .44). Septentrional medians for *EIS-F1 School* (*Mdn.* = 4.00) and *EIS-F2*

Teacher (*Mdn.* = 4.00) also differed significantly to Cluster III (*EIS-F1: Mdn.* = 2.80, *r* = .54; *EIS-F2: Mdn.* = 3.00, *r* = .63). The moderate (*EIS-R*) and large (*EIS-F1, EIS-F2*) effect sizes revealed the substantial effect of membership. Septentrionals also had significantly higher *EIS-R* (*Mdn.* = 3.90) than Cluster II (*Mdn.* = 3.40, *r* = -.35). Similarly, Septentrional medians for *EIS-F1* (*Mdn.* = 4.00) and *EIS-F2* (*Mdn.* = 4.00) differed significantly to Cluster II (*EIS-F1: Mdn.* = 3.50, *r* = -.21; *EIS-F2*: *Mdn.* = 3.50, *r* = -.35). The moderate effect sizes revealed the substantial effect of membership on *EIS-R* and *EIS-F2*.

If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then seven of eight *EIS-R* items were rated so strongly by the Septentrionals (Table R2). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then no *EIS-R* item was so strongly disagreed with by the Septentrionals.

Table R2: Septentrional ratings: Experience of International School – Revised

	Mdn.	M	SD
a) Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.00	4.23	.81
b) Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	4.21	.78
c) My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	4.00	4.18	.88
d) Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.00	4.06	.84
e) My international school helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	4.00	3.74	.96
f) My international school helps me understand those who are different from me.	4.00	3.64	.92
g) My international school listens to the views of its students.	4.00	3.60	1.04

Note: *N* = 154

In terms of the third set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Septentrionals had significantly higher Self-competence: Factor 2 (*SC-F2*) (*Mdn.* = 4.00) than Cluster II (*Mdn.* = 3.30, *r* = .82). Septentrional Self-competence (*Mdn.* = 3.60), *Self-liking* (*Mdn.* = 3.90), and overall Self-esteem (*Mdn.* = 3.70) were also significantly higher than Cluster II (Self-competence: *Mdn.* = 2.90, *r* = .65; Self-liking: *Mdn.* = 3.30, *r* = .34; Self-esteem: *Mdn.* = 3.00, *r* = .54). The effect of membership was moderate (Self-liking), large (Self-competence, Self-esteem), and very large (SC-F2). Similarly, Septentrionals had significantly higher *SC-F2* (*Mdn.* = 4.00) than Cluster III (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *r* = .72). Septentrional Self-competence (*Mdn.* = 3.60), Self-liking (*Mdn.* = 3.70), and overall Self-esteem (*Mdn.* = 3.90) were also significantly higher than Cluster III (Self-competence: *Mdn.* = 2.90, *r* = .63; Self-liking: *Mdn.* = 3.10, *r* = .37; Self-esteem: *Mdn.* = 2.90, *r* = .55). The effect of membership was also moderate (Self-liking), large (Self-competence, Self-esteem), and very large (SC-F2).

If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then thirteen of sixteen Self-liking / Self-competence – Revised *(SLCS-R)* scale item were rated so strongly by the Septentrionals (Table R3). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then no *SLCS-R* items were so strongly disagreed with by the Septentrionals.

Table R3: Septentrional ratings: Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised (*SLCS-R*)

	Mdn.	*M*	*SD*
I am almost always able to accomplish what I try for.	4.00	4.29	.69
I perform very well at many things.	4.00	4.25	.61
I am highly effective at the things I do.	4.00	4.14	.64
I am very talented.	4.00	4.07	.75
I am very comfortable with myself.	4.00	4.04	.87
I feel great about who I am.	4.00	4.04	.81
I am secure in my sense of self-worth.	4.00	3.96	.94
I have a negative attitude toward myself.*	4.00	3.89	1.09
I do not have enough respect for myself.*	4.00	3.75	1.19
It is sometimes unpleasant for me to think about myself.*	4.00	3.57	1.19
I tend to devalue myself.*	4.00	3.53	1.09
I never doubt my personal worth.	4.00	3.46	1.16
I sometimes deal poorly with challenges.*	4.00	3.43	1.04

Note: *N* = 154; * reverse-scored item

In short, the Septentrionals grouped together because of their higher attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions – i.e. View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2).* In addition, the Septentrionals tended to achieve higher academically, spend more time doing homework, and do more co-/extra-curricular activities. At the same time, the Septentrional group included the smallest proportion of Cantonese first-language speakers and the largest number of monolingual (English) speakers.

Phase II

View of Internationalism -- Revised (*VIE-R)*

The Septentrionals responded to the View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* scale items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from *'Un-important to being international'* (1) to *'Very important to being international'* (5). Their high rating (*Mdn.* = 4.30, IQR = 3.63-4.50, *N* = 16) of the four-item *VIE-R* scale indicates a strong view of internationalism. Recall, too, that the Septentrionals' *VIE-R* scale score was significantly higher than the Meridional (*Mdn.* = 2.40, U = 1.00, r = -.74, *N* = 6) interviewees; the very large effect size points to the substantial effect of Septentrional-Meridional membership on *VIE-R*. However, there was no significant between-group difference in the *VIE-R* scores of the Septentrional and Equatorial (*Mdn.* = 4.00, U = 76.0, *ns*, *N* = 12) interviewees. Moreover, as explained in Chapter 4 in terms of the by-variable importance charts, *VIE-R* was the cluster attribute of least importance (t = 10.03) in the formation of the Septentrional student group.

Cluster analysis using the *VIE-R* scale revealed two distinct and unevenly-sized Septentrional sub-groups:

- Medium (*Mdn.* = 3.50, IQR = 3.25-3.75, *N* = 6); and
- Very high (*Mdn.* = 4.50, IQR = 4.25-4.87, *N* = 10).

A Mann-Whitney post-hoc test found a statistically significant difference between the two sub-groups, U = .00, p < .001, r = -.83. The large effect size underscores the educational importance of this within-Septentrional group difference.

Table R4 shows that medium-very high membership on the *VIE-R* scale drew disproportionably from the two sites. However, the result of a Spearman's rho test indicated that there was no significant relationship between international school attended and sub-group membership on the *VIE-R* scale, r_s(16) = -.40, *ns*: Waratah High Septentrionals were no more or less likely to be internationally-minded than were those from Windsor Secondary High.

Table R4: Phase II Septentrional ratings – View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*): Within-Septentrional differences at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High (*N* = 16)

	WARATAH HIGH	WINDSOR SECONDARY HIGH	*N*
MEDIUM (*Mdn.* = 3.50)	Freya De	Li Na Li Rosie Mohammad	6
VERY HIGH (*Mdn.* = 4.50)	Sienna Johnny Riley Brock Jiao Manchu Kuan-Yin	Ryan Evan Yi Men	10
Totals	9	7	16

Table R5 shows the rank-ordering of *VIE-R* scale items by the medium and very high Septentrional interviewee sub-groups. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of importance on the 1-5 Likert scale, then the very high sub-group rated all four *VIE-R* items so very important to being international; the medium sub-sample did so for two items. Conversely, if a median of 2.0 and below is taken as indicating a low level of importance, then no *VIE-R* items rated so un-important to being international by either Septentrional sub-group.

Table R5: Phase II Septentrional ratings: View of Internationalism – Revised (*VIE-R*) (*N* = 16)

In order to be international, it is necessary…	VERY HIGH *Mdn.*	MEDIUM *Mdn.*	Sig. Diff.
a) To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	5.00	4.50	
b) To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.	5.00	4.00	
c) To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	5.00	3.00	*
d) To read/view media or books from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation).	4.00	2.50	*

* Indicates a statistically significant between-group difference ($p < .005$)

The statistically significant and large between-group difference for items 'c' ($U = 6.00$, $r = - .72$) and 'd' ($U = 6.00$, $r = -.66$) appears telling. Both seem to require a more active input from respondents *'to be international'* (e.g., to be interested in, to read/view). That the Septentrionals in the medium sub-group rated the two items middling-to-low could, therefore, indicate their less proactive approach 'to being international' as compared to their Septentrional counterparts.

In short, the *VIE-R* item scores, rank ordering, and significant between-group differences would suggest that the Septentrional interviewees exhibited both 'weaker' and 'stronger' versions of internationalism. Given this attitudinal backdrop, qualitative data are next used to explore the contextual forces and factors that may have contributed to this within-Septentrional continuum of international-mindedness. The picture to emerge provides finer-grained insights into the characteristic feature of their 'weaker' and 'stronger' versions of internationalism, as well as develops our understanding of the Septentrionals' lived international schooling realities at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

Experience of International School -- Revised (*EIS-R*)

The Septentrionals responded to the Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* scale items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from *'Strongly disagree'* (1) to *'Strongly agree'* (5). Their high rating of it (*Mdn*. = 4.00, IQR = 3.67-4.50, *N* = 16) indicates a positive attitude towards their international school experience. Recall, too, that the Septentrionals' *EIS-R* scale score was significantly higher than the Meridional (*Mdn*. = 3.00, *U* = 12.0, *r* = -.57, *N* = 6) and Equatorial (*Mdn*. = 3.60, *U* = 50.50, *r* = -.40, *N* = 12) interviewees. The large and medium effect sizes, respectively, point to the substantial effect of cluster membership on *EIS-R*. Yet as explained in Chapter 4, *EIS-R* was the cluster attribute of middling importance (*t* = -11.6) in the formation of the Septentrional student group.

Cluster analysis using the *EIS-R* scale revealed two distinct Septentrional sub-groups:
- Medium (*Mdn*. = 3.70, IQR = 3.40-3.73, *N* = 8); and
- Very high (*Mdn*. = 4.50, IQR = 4.35-4.57, *N* = 8).

A Mann-Whitney post-hoc test found a significant between-group difference, *U* = .00, *p* = .001, *r* = -.84. The very large effect size underscores the educational importance of this within-Septentrional sub-group difference.

Table R6 shows that medium-very high membership on the *EIS-R* scale variable drew disproportionably from the two research sites. However, the result of a Spearman's rho test confirmed that there was no significant relationship between international school attended and sub-group membership on the *EIS-R* scale variable, r_s(16) = -.25, *ns*: Waratah High Septentrionals were no more or less likely to cluster in the *EIS-R* very high sub-group than were those from Windsor Secondary High.

Table R6: Phase II Septentrional ratings – Experience of International School – Revised (EIS-R): Within-Septentrional differences at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High (*N* = 16)

	WARATAH HIGH	WINDSOR SECONDARY HIGH	Totals
MEDIUM (Mdn. = 3.70)	Brock Johnny Freya	Rosie Yi Men Ryan Li Na Li	8
VERY HIGH (Mdn. = 4.50)	Riley Jiao Kuan-Yin Manchu De Sienna	Evan Mohammad	8
	9	7	16

Table R7 shows the Septentrionals' rank-ordering of the *EIS-R* scale items by the medium-very high interviewee sub-samples. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then the very high sub-group rated all eight *EIS-R* items so strongly. The medium Septentrionals rated five of the items so strongly. Conversely, if a median of 2.0 and below is taken as indicating strong disagreement, then no *EIS-R* items were so strongly disagreed with by either sub-group.

Table R7: Phase II *EIS-R* ratings: Within-Septentrional ratings (*N* = 16)

	VERY HIGH	MEDIUM	Sig.Diff.
EIS-F1 (School): My international school…	*Mdn.*	*Mdn.*	
a) encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	5.00	4.00	
b) helps me understand those who are different from me. (*U* = 7.50, *r* = -.70)	5.00	4.00	*
c) listens to the views of its students. (*U* = 12.50, *r* = -.53)	4.50	3.00	*
d) helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today. (*U* = 12.50, *r* = -.59)	4.00	4.00	*
EIS-F2 (Teacher): Nearly all of my teachers…			
e) create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	5.00	4.00	
f) assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it. (*U* = 12.50, *r* = -.55)	5.00	4.00	*
g) give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class. (*U* = 16.0, *r* = -.49)	5.00	3.50	*
h) have helped the 'real' me come out in class. (*U* = 13.0, *r* = -.52)	5.00	3.50	*

* Indicates a statistically significant between-group difference (*p* < .05)

In addition, the results of Mann-Whitney post hoc tests revealed six between-group differences of statistically significant and educationally important magnitude. The pattern appears telling given what was learned in the previous section. For example, item 'd' elicits attitudinal insights into the role of the school in cultivating students' international-mindedness; it revealed a large within-Septentrional sub-group difference (*r* = -.59). Moreover, item 'd', which probes the extent to which the school cultivates students' understanding of (cultural) differences, moderately correlates with item 'b' (r_s = +.57, *p* < .05). Taking this 'd'-'b' pairing in conjunction with the large between-group difference for item 'b' (*r* = -.70), in particular, provides some insights into the 'weaker'-to-'stronger' continuum of international-mindedness for the Septentrional interviewees. At the same time, the moderate association between items 'a'-'d' (r_s = +.52, *p* < .01) usefully adds to our understanding of how Septentrionals associated service (i.e., *'do[ing] something to help people who have less than I have'*) with *'understand[ing] the key issues and events taking place around the world today.'* These large and positive relationships also reveal considerable affective (feeling), behavioural (doing), and cognitive (thinking) engagement through schooling experiences.

On the other hand, the second set of noteworthy within-Septentrional sub-group differences brings together items 'c' (*r* = -.53), 'g' (*r* = -.49), and 'h' (*r* = -.52). Whilst item 'c' looks at whether respondents feel their school listens to students, the highly correlated 'g'-'h' pairing (r_s = +.76, *p* < .01) probes specifically their sense of belonging in the classroom as people and learners. That statistically significant and educationally important differences exist between the medium and very high sub-group for those three items underscore the need to develop a finer-grained understanding of the salient teacher- and classroom-level forces at play, and of their implications for Septentrionals' academic and social engagement, in particular. Although there was no significant between-group difference for item 'e', its moderate correlation with 'g' (r_s = +.54, *p* < .05) points to the important relationship for the Septentrionals between classroom climate, sense of belonging, and confidence to participate.

In short, Septentrionals' rank-ordering of *EIS-R* scale items and significant inter-item associations usefully develop our understanding of their sense of self and place, as well as 'weaker' and 'stronger' versions of internationalism. In the next section, qualitative data are used to examine the specific contextual forces and factors, positive and negative, which make international schools important sites of identity formation and shape Septentrionals' experiences of international schooling. From this closer consideration of specific discursive and institutional interactions, we can begin to appreciate better the lived schooling realities of the Septentrionals, on the one hand, and to understand where,

how, and why their experiences of and engagement with Waratah and Windsor Secondary High may differ from the Meridionals' (Cluster III) and Equatorials' (Cluster II), on the other, as is suggested by their higher *EIS-R* scores, in particular.

Experience of International School -- Factor 2 (Teacher) (*EIS-F2*)

The Septentrionals responded to the Experience of International School – Factor 2 (Teacher) *(EIS-F2)* sub-scale items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from 'Strongly disagree' (1) to 'Strongly agree' (5). Their high rating of it (*Mdn*. = 4.30, IQR = 3.50-4.75, *N* = 16) indicates their positive experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Recall, too, that the Septentrionals' *EIS-F2* scores were significantly higher than the Meridional (*Mdn*. = 3.10, *U* = 13.50, *r* = -.55, *N* = 6) interviewees, but not the Equatorials (*Mdn*. = 3.80, *U* = 60.50, *ns*, *N* = 12). The large effect size points to the substantial effect of cluster membership on *EIS-F2* between the Phase II Septentrionals and Meridionals**,** underscoring its educational and practical importance as a differentiating variable of import.

Table R8 shows the rank-ordering of *EIS-F2* sub-scale items for the Phase II Septentrionals. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then all four items were rated so very highly. This suggests a strongly favourable and positive experience of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts of international schooling. The top two rated items, in particular, indicate the Septentrionals' very strong (affective and behavioural) engagement within the classroom.

Table R8: Phase II Septentrional ratings: Experience of International School – Factor 2 (Teacher) (*N* = 16)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-estimator
EIS-F2 (Teacher): Nearly all of my teachers…		
a) give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	5.00	--
b) create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.50	4.49
c) assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.00	4.19
d) have helped the 'real' me come out in class.	4.00	3.91

Appendix S: Cluster II: Equatorials

The Cluster II international school student was labelled the Equatorial type. Equatorials represented 35.8 percent of the surveyed sample and included 120 females (61.5%) and 75 males (38.5%). Most (59.3%) were born in Hong Kong, and three-quarters (75.4%) considered it home. The vast majority (88.6%) had resided in Hong Kong for seven or more years; more than half (54.1%) had done so for thirteen or more years. Although the majority of Equatorials were Canadian (26.5%), UK (23.8%), or Australian (14.8%) citizens, very few considered Canada (5.1%), Australia (3.7%), or the UK (1.0%) home. The majority (56.2%) considered English their second language, although more than three-quarters either spoke it confidently (56.2%) or well (20.1%). Nearly one-quarter of Equatorials mainly used Cantonese with their friends (24.2%), more than double Cluster III and almost one-and-a-half times Cluster I. Equatorials included the largest proportion of students who mainly spoke Cantonese with their parents (52.6%).

Relative to the other groups, Equatorials featured the greatest number of self-identified local-Hong Kong (43.8%) international school students and the fewest expatriates (9.5%). Most (70.8%) had spent five or more years at their current international school; more than one-quarter were in their final year of secondary school (26.7%). Almost one-third of Equatorials (31.0%) spent seven or more hours per week in school-based co-/extra-curricular activities. Nearly one-half (49.5%) self-reported A- (13.2%) or A/B- (36.3%) grade academic achievement; one-in-ten Equatorials generally got C-grades or below (10.5%). One-quarter of Equatorials (25.8%) spent 13 or more hours per week on homework outside lessons; more than one-third (35.3%) did fewer than 6 hours weekly. For all four *SIPI* variables, Equatorial measures of central tendency were in between those of Clusters I and III. This middling characteristic on the attitudinal measures is what most clearly distinguishes Equatorials from the others.

In terms of the first set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Equatorials had a significantly higher View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* (*Mdn*. = 4.00) than Cluster III (*Mdn*. = 2.80, $r = -.76$). The very large effect size indicated that the effect of membership on *VIE-R* was substantial. However, there was no significant *VIE-R* median difference between Equatorials and Cluster I. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of importance on the 1-5 Likert scale, then three of four *VIE-R* items were rated so very important *to being international* by the Equatorials (Table S1). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating a low level of importance, then no *VIE-R* item rated so un-important *to being international* by the Equatorials.

Table S1: Equatorial ratings: View of Internationalism – Revised

In order to be 'international,' it is necessary…	*Mdn.*	*M*	*SD*
To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.	4.00	4.27	.82
To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	4.00	4.09	.78
To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	4.00	4.07	.80

Note: *N* = 195

In terms of the second set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Equatorials had a significantly higher Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* (*Mdn*. = 3.40) than Cluster III (*Mdn*. = 2.90, $r = .23$). Equatorial medians for *EIS-F1 School* (*Mdn*. = 3.50) and *EIS-F2 Teacher* (*Mdn*. = 3.50) also differed significantly when compared to Cluster III (*EIS-F1: Mdn*. = 2.80, $r = .40$; *EIS-F2: Mdn*. = 3.00, $r = .35$). The moderate effect sizes revealed the substantial effect of membership on *EIS-F1* and *EIS-F2*. In contrast, Equatorials had a significantly lower *EIS-R* (*Mdn*. = 3.40) than Cluster I (*Mdn*. = 3.90, $r = -.35$). Equatorial medians for *EIS-F1* (*Mdn*. = 3.50) and *EIS-F2* (*Mdn*. = 3.50) also differed significantly when compared to Cluster I (*EIS-F1: Mdn*. = 4.00, $r = -.21$; *EIS-F2: Mdn*. = 4.00, $r = -.35$), though the effect size of membership was moderate (*EIS-R, EIS-F2*) and small (*EIS-F1*).

If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then five of eight *EIS-R* items were rated so strongly by the Equatorials (Table S2). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then no *EIS-R* item was so strongly disagreed with by the Equatorials.

Table S2: Equatorial ratings: Experience of International School – Revised

	Mdn.	*M*	*SD*
a) My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	4.00	3.85	.93
b) Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.00	3.76	.97
c) Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.00	3.76	.93
d) Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	3.66	.84
e) My international school listens to the views of its students.	4.00	3.41	.99

Note: *N* = 195

In terms of the third set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Equatorials had a significantly lower Self-competence: Factor 2 (*SC-F2*) (*Mdn.* = 3.30) than Cluster I (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.82). Equatorial Self-competence (*Mdn.* = 2.90), Self-liking (*Mdn.* = 3.30), and overall Self-esteem (*Mdn.* = 3.00) were also significantly lower than Cluster I (Self-competence: *Mdn.* = 3.60, *r* = -.65; Self-liking: *Mdn.* = 3.90, *r* = -.34; Self-esteem: *Mdn.* = 3.70, *r* = -.54). The effect of membership was moderate (Self-liking), large (Self-competence, Self-esteem), and very large (*SC-F2*). However, there were no significant median differences between Equatorials and Cluster III. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then one reverse-scored Self-liking / Self-competence – Revised *(SLCS-R)* scale item was rated so strongly by the Equatorials: *I have a negative attitude toward myself* (*Mdn.* = 4.00). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then two reverse-scored *SLCS-R* items (the same as Cluster III) were so strongly disagreed with by the Equatorials (Table S3).

Table S3: Equatorial ratings: Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised (*SLCS-R*)

	M	*SD*	*Mdn.*
I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals.*	2.45	.84	2.00
I wish I were more skillful in my activities.*	2.02	.99	2.00

Note: *N* = 195

In short, Equatorials grouped together because of their middling attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions – i.e. View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*. In addition, the Equatorials self-identified most strongly with Hong Kong; the majority used Cantonese with their parents, and nearly one-quarter preferred speaking Cantonese with their friends than English (more than double Cluster III and almost one-and-a-half times Cluster I). The Equatorial group also included the largest proportion of self-identified local-Hong Kong international school students.

Experience of International School -- Revised (*EIS-R*)

The Equatorials responded to the Experience of International School – Revised (*EIS-R*) scale items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from 'Strongly disagree' (=1) to 'Strongly agree' (=5).

Phase I. The Equatorials had a significantly higher *EIS-R* (*Mdn.* = 3.40) than the Meridionals (*Mdn.* = 2.90, *r* = .23). Equatorial medians for *EIS-F1* School (*Mdn.* = 3.50) and EIS-F2 Teacher (*Mdn.* = 3.50) also differed significantly when compared to the Meridionals (*EIS-F1*: *Mdn.* = 2.80, *r* = .40; *EIS-F2*: *Mdn.* = 3.00, *r* = .35). The moderate effect sizes revealed the substantial effect of

membership on *EIS-F1* and *EIS-F2*. In contrast, Equatorials had a significantly lower *EIS-R* (*Mdn.* = 3.40) than the Septentrionals (*Mdn.* = 3.90, *r* = -.35). Equatorial medians for *EIS-F1* (*Mdn.* = 3.50) and *EIS-F2* (*Mdn.* = 3.50) also differed significantly when compared to the Septentrionals (*EIS-F1*: *Mdn.* = 4.00, r = -.21; *EIS-F2*: *Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.35), though the effect of membership was moderate (*EIS-R, EIS-F2*) and small (*EIS-F1*).

If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then five *EIS-R* items were rated so strongly by the Equatorials (Table S4). If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then no *EIS-R* item was so strongly disagreed with by the Equatorials.

Table S4: Equatorial ratings: Experience of International School – Revised

	Mdn.	*M*	*SD*
a) My international school encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	4.00	3.85	.93
b) Nearly all of my teachers give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.00	3.76	.97
c) Nearly all of my teachers assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.00	3.76	.93
d) Nearly all of my teachers create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	3.66	.84
e) My international school listens to the views of its students.	4.00	3.41	.99

Note: *N* = 195

Phase II. The medium-high *EIS-R* score (*Mdn.* = 3.60, IQR = 3.34-3.86, *N* = 12) indicates the Phase II Equatorials' middling attitude towards their international school experience. Recall that the Equatorials' *EIS-R* scale score was higher than the Meridional interviewees' (*Mdn.* = 3.00, *N* = 6) and significantly lower than the Septentrionals' (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *U* = 50.50, *r* = -.40, *N* = 16). The medium effect size points to the substantial effect of *EIS-R* cluster membership on the Equatorials and Septentrionals. As explained in Chapter 3, however, *EIS-R* was the cluster attribute of least importance (*t* = 1.8) in the formation of the Equatorial student group.

Cluster analysis using the *EIS-R* scale revealed two Equatorial sub-groups:
- Medium-high (*Mdn.* = 3.80, IQR = 3.68-4.06, *N* = 6); and
- Medium (*Mdn.* = 3.40, IQR = 3.24-3.38, *N* = 6).

A Mann-Whitney post-hoc test found a significant between-group difference, *U* = .00, *p* = .005, *r* = -.83. The very large effect size underscores the educational importance of this within-Equatorial sub-group difference.

Table S5 shows that the medium-high and medium membership on the *EIS-R* scale variable cut across the EQ1, EQ2, and EQ3 sub-groups that emerged from the cluster analysis using the five demographic variables (i.e., years in Hong Kong, first language, student type, place called home, birthplace). The result of a Spearman's rho test confirmed that there was no significant relationship between demographic sub-group membership and *EIS-R* attitudinal score, $r_s(12) = -.44$, *ns*: Equatorial interviewees who clustered medium-to-high were no more or less likely to be in EQ1, EQ2, or EQ3 than those who did medium.

Table S5: Phase II *EIS-R* ratings: Within-Equatorial differences (*N* = 12)

EIS-R	EQ1	EQ2	EQ3	Totals
MEDIUM-HIGH (*Mdn.* = 3.80)	Zhen	XiuXiu Jin	Ai Xue *Konomi*	6
MEDIUM (*Mdn.* = 3.40)	*Yun Ni Xia Sying*	Lily	Bao	6
Totals	5	3	4	12

Note: Regular-font pseudonyms are Windsor Secondary High; italicised students attend Waratah High students.

Even so, the majority of EQ1 students (the same four as in the previously discussed *SIPI* items) – i.e., the sub-group that was most closely connected to the Hong Kong context, given the six demographic characteristics they had in common; and that represented a predominant (and 'local') group of students in Hong Kong's international schools – clustered in the medium group. The majority of EQ3 students – who seemed to have a more Janus-like relationship with Hong Kong (recall that even though the majority self-identified as race/ethnically Chinese, all were foreign nationals and none called Hong Kong home) – clustered in the medium-to-high group. Moreover, the result of a Spearman's rho test confirmed that there was no significant relationship between international school attended and sub-group membership on this *EIS-R* scale variable, $r_s(12)$ = -.51, *ns*: Waratah High Equatorials were no more or less likely to cluster in the *EIS-R* high sub-group than were those from Windsor Secondary High.

Table S6 shows the Equatorials' rank-ordering of *EIS-R* scale items by the medium-high and medium interviewee sub-groups. Recall, as presented in Chapter 3, that two four-item factors were extracted when exploratory factor analysis of the *EIS-R* scale variable was conducted. Measuring school (*EIS-F1)* and classroom/teacher (*EIS-F2*) levels, the scores on these two sub-scales provide attitudinal insights into the Equatorials' experiences of the school- and classroom/teacher-level contexts. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then the medium-high sub-group rated seven *EIS-R* items so strongly, including all four *EIS-F1* (School) sub-scale items. In contrast, the medium Equatorials rated only two of the *EIS-F2* (Teacher) items so strongly. Conversely, if a median of 2.0 below is taken as indicating strong disagreement, then no *EIS-R* items were so strongly disagreed with by either Equatorial sub-group.

Table S6: Phase II Equatorial ratings: Experience of International School – Revised (*N* = 12)

	MEDIUM-HIGH	MEDIUM	Sig.Diff.
EIS-F1: My international school…	*Mdn.*	*Mdn.*	
a) encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have. (U = 4.50, r = -.67)	4.50	3.50	*
b) helps me understand those who are different from me.	4.00	3.00	
c) helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	4.00	3.00	
d) listens to the views of its students.	4.00	3.00	
EIS-F2: Nearly all of my teachers…			
e) assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.50	4.00	
f) create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	4.00	
g) give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.00	3.50	
h) have helped the 'real' me come out in class.	3.00	3.00	

The results of Mann-Whitney post hoc tests revealed one between-group difference of statistically significant and educationally important magnitude for item 'a', $U = 4.50$, $r = -.67$. Interestingly, Huber's M-estimators also indicate that the lowest ranked *EIS-R* item for the medium-high (*Mdn.* = 3.00, $M = 3.50$, $SD = .84$, $N = 6$) and medium (*Mdn.* = 3.00, $M = 3.17$, $SD = .75$, $N = 6$) Equatorial sub-groups was the same: 'Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out in class.' The fieldwork data taken up in subsequent sections provide some insights into why this may be so.

In Table S7, we can see that there were five strong and significant inter-factor item correlations for the Equatorial interviewees ($N = 12$).

Table S7: Phase II *EIS-F1* and *EIS-F2* inter-factor item correlations: Equatorial interviewees ($N = 12$)

	EIS-F1 (School)				EIS-F2 (Teacher)			
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
EIS-F1: My international school…								
Q1 encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	--	+.66*	+.68*					
Q2 listens to the views of its students.		--			-.69*			-.79**
Q3 helps me understand those who are different from me.			--					
Q4 helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.				--			+.71**	
EIS-F2: Nearly all of my teachers…								
Q5 create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.					--			
Q6 give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.						--		
Q7 assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.							--	
Q8 have helped the 'real' me come out in class.								--

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; Spearman's rho coefficient is <.50 and non-significant suppressed

Interestingly, there was a strong and positive correlation between Q1-Q2 (+.66) and Q1-Q3 (+.68): The Equatorial interviewees related being encouraged to help the less fortunate to feeling that my international school 'listens to the views of its students' and helps me 'understand those who are different from me.' The Equatorials felt slightly more strongly about the role of the school in helping me 'understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today' and teachers' formative assessment of their work (Q4-Q7). On the other hand, the two strong and negative correlations between Q2-Q5 ($r_s = -.69$) and Q2-Q8 ($r_s = -.79$) indicate an inverse relationship between Equatorial perceptions of and sense of school belonging and their classroom-based experiences, in particular, an intriguing association to be probed qualitatively in the fieldwork follow-up.

In light of the Equatorials' *EIS-R* item rank-ordering and inter-factor item correlations, we can begin to see how/why 'identity' may indeed be a useful lens to understand how students make sense of schooling (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Davidson, 1996; Gee, 2001; Hebert, 2001; Ryan, 1997; Tomlinson-Clarke, 2001; Yon, 2000).

Experience of International School -- Factor 2 (Teacher) (*EIS-F2*)

The Equatorials responded to the Experience of International School – Factor 2 (Teacher) (*EIS-F2*) sub-scale using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from 'Strongly disagree' (=1) to 'Strongly agree' (=5). Their medium-high rating of it (*Mdn.* = 3.80, IQR = 3.50-4.25, $N = 12$) indicates a broadly favourable attitude towards their experiences of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts. Recall, too, that the Equatorials' *EIS-F2* median was significantly higher than the Meridionals (*Mdn.* = 3.10, $U = 14.50$, $r = -.48$, $N = 6$); the medium effect size points to the substantial effect of cluster membership

on *EIS-F2* for the Equatorials and Meridionals. It was not, however, significantly lower than the Septentrional (*Mdn.* = 4.30, U = 60.50, *ns*, N = 16) interviewees.

Cluster analysis of the EIS-F2 sub-scale for the Phase II Equatorials revealed two distinct and equally-sized sub-groups:
- High (*Mdn.* = 4.30, IQR = 4.00-4.31, N = 6); and
- Medium-high (*Mdn.* = 3.50, IQR = 3.25-3.50, N = 6).

A Mann-Whitney post-hoc test found a significant between-group difference, U = .00, p = .005, r = -.86. The very large effect size underscores the educational importance of this within-Equatorial sub-group difference.

Table S8 shows that high and medium-high membership on the *EIS-F2* sub-scale variable cut across the EQ1, EQ2, and EQ3 sub-groups that had emerged from the cluster analysis using the five demographic variables (i.e., years in Hong Kong, first language, student type, place called home, birthplace). However, the result of a Spearman's rho test confirmed that there was no significant relationship between *EIS-F2* attitudinal score and demographic sub-group membership, r_s(12) = -.12, *ns*: Equatorial interviewees who clustered high were no more or less likely to be in EQ1, EQ2, or EQ3 than those who did medium-high. Moreover, there was no significant relationship between *EIS-F2* attitudinal score and international school attended, r_s(12) = -.15, *ns*: Waratah High Equatorials were no more or less likely to cluster in the *EIS-F2* very high sub-group than were those from Windsor Secondary High.

Table S8: Phase II *EIS-F2* ratings: Within-Equatorial differences (N = 12)

EIS-F2	EQ1	EQ2	EQ3	Totals
HIGH (*Mdn.* = 4.30)	Zhen *Yun* *Ni*	XiuXiu	Xue *Konomi*	6
MEDIUM-HIGH (*Mdn.* = 3.50)	*Xia* *Sying*	Lily Jin	Ai Bao	6
Totals	5	3	4	12

Note: Regular-font pseudonyms are Windsor Secondary High; italicised students attend Waratah High students.

Table S9 shows the Equatorials' rank-ordering of the *EIS-F2* (Teacher) sub-scale items by the high and medium-high interviewee sub-groups. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then the high sub-group rated all four *EIS-F2* sub-scale items so strongly. This suggests a strongly favourable agreement and positive experience of the teacher- and classroom-level contexts of international schooling.

Table S9: Phase II Equatorial ratings: Experience of International School – Factor 2 (*EIS-F2*) (*N* = 12)

	HIGH *Mdn.*	MEDIUM-HIGH *Mdn.*
EIS-F2: Nearly all of my teachers…		
a) assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	4.50	4.00
b) give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.50	3.00
c) create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	3.50
d) have helped the 'real' me come out in class.	4.00	3.00

The medium sub-group only rated one *EIS-F2* item so strongly (i.e., item 'a'). Also rated highest by the Septentrials, recall that the Meridional interviewees rated item 'a' last (*Mdn.* = 2.00). Moreover, given their two lowest-ranked EIS-F2 items (i.e., 'b' and 'd'), the medium Equatorial sub-group

clearly felt less self-confident and able to 'be themselves' in the classroom. The result of a Mann-Whitney post-hoc test found a significant between-group difference for item 'b' ($U = 6.00$, $p < .05$, $r = -.59$). The medium effect size underscores an educationally and practically important within-group difference on this item for the Equatorial interviewees.

Appendix T: Cluster III: Meridionals

The Cluster III international school student was labelled the Meridional type. Meridionals comprised 35.8 percent of the 544 sampled students and included 108 females (55.4%) and 87 males (44.6%). More than half (52.9%) were born in Hong Kong, which most (67%) considered home. The majority (82.9%) had resided in Hong Kong for seven or more years, with almost half (46.6%) 13 or more years. More than half (57.1%) of the Meridionals were either UK (30.4%) or Canadian (26.7%) citizens, though few considered the UK (6.8%) or Canada (5.2%) home. A minority (9.4%) self-reported a Hong Kong passport as their main travel document. The majority (51.3%) considered English their second language, though most Meridionals either spoke it confidently (50.3%) or well (21.2%); nearly half (48.7%) mostly used Cantonese with their parents.

At the same time, the Meridionals included the largest proportion of self-identified expatriate international school students (17.4%) – almost twice Cluster II (9.8%). Most (69.6%) had spent five or more years at their current international school; nearly three-quarters were in their penultimate year of secondary school (73.8%). Relative to the other groups, Meridionals spent less time in school-based co-/extra-curricular activities; almost double (7.9%) Cluster II (4.2%) and four times Cluster I (2.0%) self-reported 0 hours per week. Meridionals also included the largest proportion of 'low' academic achievers – almost one-fifth (17.2%) generally got C-grade or below, more than four times Cluster I (4.0%). Nearly half (49.5%) spent fewer than six hours per week on homework outside lessons. Although Meridionals scored the importance to *who I am* of *academic achievement* (*Mdn.* = 4.70) the highest of the *SIPI* items, their overall medians were significantly lower than those of Cluster II (*Mdn.* = 5.40) and I (*Mdn.* = 6.00); this pattern recurred with the other *SIPI* variables. This meridional characteristic of scoring lower on the attitudinal measures is what most clearly distinguishes Meridionals from the others.

In terms of the first set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Meridionals had a significantly lower View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* (*Mdn.* = 2.80) than Cluster II (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.76) and I (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.74). The large effect sizes indicate that the effect of cluster membership on *VIE-R* was substantial. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of importance on the 1-5 Likert scale, then no *VIE-R* items were rated so very important *to being international* by the Meridionals. If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating a low level of importance, then one *VIE-R* item rated so un-important *to being international* by the Meridionals: *To read/view books or media from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation)* (*Mdn.* = 2.00).

In terms of the second set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Meridionals had a significantly lower Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* (*Mdn.* = 2.90) than Cluster II (*Mdn.* = 3.40, *r* = -.23) and I (*Mdn.* = 3.90, *r* = -.44). Meridional medians also differed significantly for *EIS-F1 School* (*Mdn.* = 2.80) and *EIS-F2 Teacher* (*Mdn.* = 3.00) when compared to Cluster II (*EIS-F1: Mdn.* = 3.50, *r* = -.40; *EIS-F2: Mdn.* = 3.50, *r* = -.35) and I (*EIS-F1: Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.54; *EIS-F2: Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.63). The moderate-to-large effect sizes revealed the substantial effect of membership on *EIS-R, EIS-F1*, and *EIS-F2*. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then none of the eight *EIS-R* items were rated so strongly by the Meridionals. If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then one *EIS-R* item was strongly disagreed with by the Meridionals: *Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out* (*Mdn.* = 2.00).

In terms of the third set of attributes used in the cluster analyses, the Meridionals had significantly lower Self-competence: Factor 2 *(SC-F2)* (*Mdn.* = 3.00) than Cluster I (*Mdn.* = 4.00, *r* = -.72). Similarly, Meridional Self-competence (*Mdn.* = 2.90), Self-liking (*Mdn.* = 3.10), and overall Self-esteem (*Mdn.* = 2.90) were also significantly lower than Cluster I (Self-competence: *Mdn.* = 3.60, *r* =

-.63; Self-liking: *Mdn*. = 3.70, *r* = -.37; Self-esteem: *Mdn*. = 3.90, *r* = -.55). The effect of membership was moderate (Self-liking), large, (Self-competence, Self-esteem), and very large (*SC-F2*). Yet, in contrast to what was found with *VIE-R* and *EIS-R*, there were no significant median differences between Meridionals and Cluster II.

If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then none of the sixteen Self-liking / Self-competence – Revised *(SLCS-R)* scale items was rated so strongly by the Meridionals. If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then two reverse-scored *SLCS-R* items were so strongly disagreed with by the Meridionals (Table T1).

Table T1: Meridional ratings: Self-liking/Self-competence – Revised (*SLCS-R*)

	Mdn.	M	SD
I sometimes fail to fulfill my goals.*	2.00	2.53	.83
I wish I were more skillful in my activities.*	2.00	2.19	1.05

Note: * Reverse-scored item; *N* = 195

In short, Meridionals grouped together because of their lower attitudinal scores on the three clustering dimensions – i.e. View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R),* Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R),* and Self-competence – Factor 2 *(SC-F2)*. In addition, the Meridionals tended to achieve lower academically, spend less time doing homework, and do fewer co-/extra-curricular activities. The Meridional group also included the largest proportion of self-identified expatriate international school students.

View of Internationalism

The Meridionals responded to the View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* scale items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from 'Un-important to being international*'* (=1) to 'Very important to being international' (=5).

Phase I. The Meridionals had a significantly lower *VIE-R* score (*Mdn*. = 2.80) than Cluster II (*Mdn*. = 4.00, *r* = -.76) and I (*Mdn*. = 4.00, *r* = -.74). The large effect sizes indicate that the effect of cluster membership on *VIE-R* was substantial. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of importance on the 1-5 Likert scale, then no *VIE-R* items were rated so very important 'to being international' by the Meridionals. If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating a low level of importance, then one *VIE-R* item rated so un-important 'to being international' by the Meridionals: 'To read/view books or media from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation)' (*Mdn*. = 2.00).

Phase II. The low *VIE-R* rating (*Mdn*. = 2.40, IQR = 1.56-2.69, *N* = 6) by the Phase II Meridionals indicates their more subdued view of internationalism. Recall, too, that the Meridionals' *VIE-R* score was significantly lower than the Equatorial (*Mdn*. = 4.00, *U* = 1.00, *r* = -.78, *N* = 12) and Septentrional (*Mdn*. = 4.30, *U* = 1.00, *r* = -.74, *N* = 16) interviewees. The very large effect sizes point to the substantial effect of cluster membership on *VIE-R*, underscoring its educational and practical importance as a differentiating variable of import. As explained in Chapter 3, moreover, *VIE-R* was the cluster attribute of greatest importance (*t* = -17.08) in the formation of the Meridional student group.

Table T2 shows the rank-ordering of *VIE-R* scale items for the Phase II Meridionals. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating a high level of importance on the 1-5 Likert scale, then no *VIE-R* items was rated so very important to being international. Conversely, if a median of 2.0 and below is taken as indicating a low level of importance, then three (of four) *VIE-R* items were rated so un-important to being international by the Meridional interviewees.

Table T2: Phase II Meridional ratings: View of Internationalism – Revised *(VIE-R)* (*N* = 6)

In order to be international, it is necessary…	*Mdn*.	Huber's M-Estimator
To be aware of the cultural customs of people from other parts of the world.	3.50	3.42
To be interested in what happens in other parts of the world.	2.00	2.22
To read/view media or books from other cultures (either in their original language or in translation).	2.00	2.00
To understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	2.00	1.78

The large median-score difference between the first-ranked and other three items appears telling: whereas the bottom three seem to require a more active input 'to be international' (i.e., to be interested in, read/view, understand), the first-ranked item suggests a greater passivity from the respondent (i.e., to be aware). That the Meridional interviewees rated so un-importantly the bottom-ranked three items perhaps indicates their less proactive approach 'to being international.'

Experience of International School

The Meridionals responded to the Experience of International School – Revised *(EIS-R)* items using a five-point Likert scale that ranged from 'Strongly disagree' (=1) to 'Strongly agree' (=5).

Phase I. The Meridionals had a significantly lower *EIS-R* (*Mdn*. = 2.90) than Cluster II (*Mdn*. = 3.40, *r* = -.23) and I (*Mdn*. = 3.90, *r* = -.44). Meridional medians also differed significantly for *EIS-F1 School* (*Mdn*. = 2.80) and *EIS-F2 Teacher* (*Mdn*. = 3.00) when compared to Cluster II (*EIS-F1: Mdn*. = 3.50, *r* = -.40; *EIS-F2: Mdn*. = 3.50, *r* = -.35) and I (*EIS-F1: Mdn*. = 4.00, *r* = -.54; *EIS-F2: Mdn*. = 4.00, *r* = -.63). The moderate-to-large effect sizes revealed the substantial effect of membership on *EIS-R, EIS-F1,* and *EIS-F2*. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then none of the eight *EIS-R* items were rated so strongly by the Meridionals. If a median of 2.0 and below is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong disagreement, then one *EIS-R* item was so strongly disagreed with by the Meridionals: 'Nearly all of my teachers have helped the 'real' me come out' (*Mdn*. = 2.00).

Phase II. The medium *EIS-R* rating (*Mdn*. = 3.00, IQR = 2.76-3.78, *N* = 6) by the Phase I Meridionals indicates their middling attitude towards their international school. Recall, too, that the Meridionals' *EIS-R* scale score were significantly lower than the Septentrionals (*Mdn*. = 4.00, *U* = 12.0, *r* = -.57, *N* = 16); the medium effect size points to the substantial effect of cluster membership on *EIS-R* and underscores its practical importance. The Meridionals' *EIS-R* scale score was not, however, significantly lower than the Equatorials (*Mdn*. = 3.60, *N* = 12). As explained in Chapter 3, moreover, *EIS-R* was the cluster attribute of second greatest importance (*t* = -11.48) in the formation of the Meridional student group.

Table T3 shows the rank-ordering of the *EIS-F1 (School)* sub-scale items for the Phase II Meridionals. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then no items were rated so very highly. Conversely, if a median of 2.0 and below is taken as indicating strong disagreement, then one item was so strongly disagreed with. Recall that a similarly-worded *VIE-R* item was also ranked last by the Phase II Meridionals (i.e., 'In order to be international, it is necessary to understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today').

Table T3: Phase II Meridional ratings: Experience of International School – Factor 1 (School) (*N* = 6)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-estimator
EIS-F1 (School): My international school…		
a) encourages me to do something to help people who have less than I have.	3.50	3.58
b) helps me understand those who are different from me.	3.00	3.22
c) listens to the views of its students.	3.00	2.78
d) helps me understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today.	2.00	2.22
EIS-F1 sub-scale (IQR = 2.44-3.81)	3.00	3.07

Descriptively, these results would suggest that the Meridional interviewees felt that their international schools were neither 'helping them understand the key issues and events taking place around the world today' (item 'd'); nor believed that such understanding was necessary to be international. Statistically, however, there was no significant relationship between these two bottom-ranked *EIS-F1* and *VIE-R* items, $r_s(6) = .49$, *ns*. Selected implications of this attitudinal snapshot were considered in the previous section to characterise the Meridionals' weaker and stronger views of internationalism; and, in the next section, will be shown relevant to how Meridionals talk about their in- and out-of-classroom experiences at Waratah and Windsor Secondary High.

The middling medians for items 'b' and 'c' would suggest that the Meridionals felt rather ambivalent about the role of the school in getting them to 'understand those who are different from me' and in 'listen[ing] to the views of students.' Insights into these perspectives, as well as into why they felt more strongly about item 'a', are discussed in the next section using qualitative data. In the process, finer-grained understanding is gained into the specific discursive and institutional interactions that support and constrain the lived schooling realities of the Meridionals. From this closer consideration, we begin to appreciate better where, how, and why their experiences of and engagement within the international school may differ from the Equatorials' and Septentrionals,' as is suggested by their lower *EIS-R* and *EIS-F1* scores, in particular.

Experience of International School -- Factor 2 (Teacher) (*EIS-F2*)

The medium rating of the Experience of International School – Factor 2 (Teacher) *(EIS-F2)* sub-scale (*Mdn.* = 3.10, IQR = 2.88-3.69, *N* = 6) by the Meridional interviewees indicates their middling experiences in the classroom context. Recall, too, that the Meridionals' *EIS-F2* median was significantly lower than the Equatorials (*Mdn.* = 3.80, *U* = 14.50, *r* = -.48, *N* = 12) and Septentrionals (*Mdn.* = 4.30, *U* = 13.50, *r* = -.55, *N* = 16). The medium and large effect sizes point to the substantial effect of cluster membership on *EIS-F2*, underscoring its educational and practical importance as a differentiating variable of import.

Table T4 shows the rank-ordering of *EIS-F2* sub-scale items for the Phase II Meridionals. If a median of 4.0 and above is arbitrarily taken as indicating strong agreement on the 1-5 Likert scale, then two items were rated so highly. Both would indicate that the Meridionals found the classroom context to be affectively and behaviourally positive (item 'a'), as well as supportive (item 'b'). The results of a Spearman's rho inter-correlations revealed a large and positive association between items 'a' and 'b', $r_s(6) = .82$, $p < .05$, which highlights the important relationship between students' identities/self-confidence and teacher-/classroom-level conditions conducive to learning. It also points to why the combination of post-structuralism and constructivism, which casts education and schooling in terms of self/identity formation and identificatory practices, meaning-making, and belonging, can usefully reframe what goes on in classrooms to deepen our understanding of the student engagement forces and factors therein.

Table T4: Phase II Meridional ratings: Experience of International School – Factor 2 (Teacher) (*N* = 6)

	Mdn.	Huber's M-estimator
EIS-F2 (Teacher): Nearly all of my teachers…		
a) give me the confidence to express my ideas, opinions, and beliefs in class.	4.00	--
b) create a classroom atmosphere that makes me feel like I belong.	4.00	3.78
c) have helped the 'real' me come out in class.	2.50	2.58
d) assess my work thoroughly so that I can see how to improve it.	2.00	--
EIS-F2 sub-scale (IQR = 2.88-3.69)	3.13	3.18

Conversely, if a median of 2.0 and below is taken as indicating strong disagreement, then one *EIS-F2* item was so strongly disagreed with. At the same time, the bottom two *EIS-F2* items, and the large divide between them and the top-ranked pair, would suggest that the Meridionals felt less favourably about their affective, behavioural, and cognitive experiences in the classroom context. Moreover, the low item 'c' median indicates that the Meridionals did not feel teachers helped their "'real' me come out in class," which seems incongruent with the picture to emerge from the 'a'-'b' pairing. The bottom-ranked item 'd' reveals the Meridionals' strong disagreement with the usefulness of the teacher feedback received on their work.

The results of two Spearman's rho inter-correlations develop the picture to emerge from the Meridional survey data. Whereas the positive and large 'a'-'c' correlation makes sense, $r_s(6) = +.82$, $p < .05$, underscoring the important relationship between Meridionals' sense of classroom belongingness and being oneself, the inverse and very large association between items 'a' and 'd' is more problematic, $r_s(6) = -.89$, $p < .05$: Meridionals who felt that teachers created a positive classroom atmosphere were less likely to feel that their work was assessed thoroughly and formatively. This suggests an intriguing disconnect between their affective (i.e., positive, item 'a') and academic (i.e., negative, item 'd') experiences in the classroom.

Appendix U: Phase II Waratah High students – Selected demographics

Table U1: Phase II Waratah High students – Selected demographics

Cl	Pseudonym	Sex	Race/ethnicity	Birthplace	Nationality	Years in HK	Place called home	1st language	Language mostly used – parents
I	Johnny	M	Coloured	South Africa	South African	7-12	HK	English	English
	Manchu	M	Chinese	Australia	Australian	0-6	Don't know	Cantonse/English	Cantonese
	Sienna	F	Caucasian	Australia	Australian	0-6	Don't know	English	English
	Jiao	F	HK-Chinese	HK	Australian	7-12	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Brock	M	Caucasian	BEL	Australian	0-6	Don't know	English	English
	Riley	M	Caucasian	Australia	Australian	0-6	Australia	English	English
	De	M	Chinese	Singapore	Singapore	0-6	Singapore	English	English
	Kuan-Yin	M	HK-Chinese	United States	HK	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Freya	F	Caucasian	Australia	Australian	7-12	Don't know	English	English
II	Sying	M	HK-Chinese	Canada	Canadian	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Ni	F	HK-Chinese	HK	HK	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Konomi	F	Japanese	Japan	Japanese	7-12	Singapore	Japanese	Japanese
	Xia	F	HK-Chinese	HK	Australian	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Yun	F	HK-Chinese	HK	HK	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
III	Lee	M	HK-Chinese	HK	HK	7-12	Don't know	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Mason	M	Caucasian	Australia	Australian	0-6	Australia	English	English
	Matilda	F	EurAsian	Singapore	Australian	0-6	Australia	English	English
	Jessica	F	HK-Chinese	HK	HK	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese

Appendix V: Phase II Waratah High individual student school characteristics

Table V1: Phase II Waratah High individual student school characteristics

Pseudonym	Yr	International school student type	Years at Windsor High	Academic achievement	Homework (weekly hours)	Co-/extra-curriculars (weekly hours)
Johnny	13	Expatriate-HK	0-2	C/D	1-3	1-3
Manchu	12	Expatriate-HK	3-4	A	16+	4-6
Sienna	12	Expatriate-HK	3-4	B	13-15	4-6
Jiao	13	Local-HK	3-4	C	7-9	1-3
Brock	13	Expatriate	0-2	C/D	4-6	1-3
Riley	12	Expatriate	0-2	C/D	1-3	1-3
De	12	Expatriate	0-2	C	4-6	1-3
Kuan-Yin	12	Local-HK	7-8	B/C	1-3	4-6
Freya	12	Expatriate-HK	7-8	B/C	4-6	4-6
Sying	12	Local-HK	3-4	A/B	7-9	1-3
Ni	13	Expatriate-HK	0-2	B/C	10-12	1-3
Konomi	13	Expatriate	0-2	C/D	16+	0
Xia	13	Expatriate-HK	9+	B	10-12	1-3
Yun	13	Local-HK	3-4	B/C	13-15	1-3
Lee	13	Expatriate-HK	0-2	B/C	1-3	0
Mason	13	Expatriate	0-2	C/D	1-3	1-3
Matilda	13	Expatriate	0-2	A/B	13-15	0
Jessica	12	Local-HK	5-6	B	1-3	4-6

Appendix W. Phase II Waratah High students – Selected attitudinal characteristics

Table W1: Phase II Waratah High students – Selected attitudinal characteristics

Pseudonym	Cluster	*VIE-R*	*EIS-R*	*SC-F2*	Aggregated cluster attributes	
Johnny	1	3.50	5.00	4.30	4.20	
Manchu	1	4.40	4.30	5.00	4.50	
Sienna	1	4.10	5.00	5.00	4.70	
Jiao	1	4.60	4.50	3.50	4.20	
Brock	1	3.70	4.50	4.00	4.10	
Riley	1	5.00	4.50	5.00	4.80	
De	1	4.30	3.50	4.00	3.90	
Kuan-Yin	1	4.60	4.30	4.30	4.40	
Freya	1	3.30	4.00	4.80	4.00	
	Mdn.	4.20	4.40	4.40	4.30	HIGH
Sying	2	3.40	3.80	2.80	3.30	
Ni	2	3.30	5.00	3.50	3.90	
Konomi	2	3.70	4.50	2.50	3.60	
Xia	2	3.50	4.30	2.50	3.40	
Yun	2	3.40	4.00	2.80	3.40	
	Mdn.	3.40	4.30	2.80	3.50	MEDIUM
Lee	3	3.00	2.50	3.30	2.90	
Mason	3	3.00	3.30	3.00	3.10	
Matilda	3	2.70	1.80	4.80	3.10	
Jessica	3	4.10	2.50	3.50	3.40	
	Mdn.	3.20	2.50	3.60	3.10	LOW

Appendix X: Phase II Windsor Secondary High students – Selected demographics

Table X1: Phase II Windsor Secondary High students – Selected demographics

Cl.	Pseudonym	Sex	Race/ethnicity	Birthplace	Nationality	Years in HK	Place called home	1st language	Language mostly used – parents
I	Li	M	HK-Chinese	HK	HK	13+	HK	English	English
	Rosie	F	Caucasian	UK	British	0-6	Don't know	English	English
	Evan	M	Indian	HK	Mauritian	13+	HK	English	English
	Yi Men	F	Japanese	Japan	Japanese	0-6	Japan	Japanese	Japanese
	Li Na	F	American-Chinese	United States	Australian	0-6	HK	English	English
	Ryan	M	Caucasian	Mauritius	British	7-12	Don't know	English	English
	Mohammad	M	Indian	HK	British	13+	HK	English	English
II	Zhen	M	HK-Chinese	HK	British	13+	HK	Cantonese	Cantonese
	Bao	M	HK-Chinese	Canada	Canadian	13+	Canada	English	English
	Lily	F	Caucasian	HK	British	13+	HK	English	English
	Xue	F	HK-Chinese	Canada	Canadian	7-12	Canada	Cantonese	Cantonese
	XiuXiu	F	HK-Chinese	HK	British	7-12	HK	English	English
	Jin	F	HK-Chinese	HK	Canadian	13+	HK	English	English
	Ai	F	HK-Chinese	Canada	Canadian	0-6	Canada	English	English
III	Jude	M	Caucasian	UK	British	0-6	UK	Eng	English
	Abbie	F	Caucasian	UK	British	13+	HK	Eng	English

Appendix Y: Phase II Windsor Secondary High individual student school characteristics

Table Y1: Phase II Windsor Secondary High individual student school characteristics

Cl	Pseudonym	Yr	International school student type	Years at Windsor High	Academic achievement	Homework (weekly hours)	Co-/extra-curriculars (weekly hours)
I	Li	12	Local-HK	5-6	A	7-9	4-6
	Rosie	13	Expatriate	5-6	A	10-12	1-3
	Evan	13	Expatriate-HK	7-8	A	16+	4-6
	Yi Men	13	Expatriate	5-6	A/B	1-3	1-3
	Li Na	13	Expatriate	5-6	A	13-15	10+
	Ryan	13	Expatriate	3-4	A	10-12	4-6
	Mohammad	12	Local-HK	5-6	B	10-12	4-6
II	Zhen	12	Local-HK	5-6	B	4-6	7-9
	Bao	12	Expatriate-HK	5-6	A/B	4-6	4-6
	Lily	13	Expatriate	7-8	A/B	1-3	1-3
	Xue	13	Expatriate-HK	7-8	B	4-6	1-3
	XiuXiu	13	Expatriate-HK	7-8	B/C	1-3	1-3
	Jin	13	Local-HK	7-8	C	7-9	0
	Ai	13	Expatriate-HK	3-4	A/B	4-6	1-3
III	Jude	12	Expatriate	3-4	B/C	1-3	1-3
	Abbie	13	Expatriate-HK	5-6	A	13-15	7-9

Appendix Z: Phase II Windsor Secondary High students – Selected attitudinal characteristics

Table Z1: Phase II Windsor Secondary High students – Selected attitudinal characteristics

Cl.	Pseudonym	Cluster	*VIE-R*	*EIS-R*	*SC-F2*	Aggregated cluster attributes	
I	Li	1	3.70	3.50	4.50	3.90	
	Rosie	1	3.90	3.30	4.00	3.70	
	Evan	1	4.60	4.50	4.30	4.40	
	Yi Men	1	3.80	4.30	3.80	3.90	
	Li Na	1	3.10	3.80	5.00	4.00	
	Ryan	1	3.70	4.70	4.80	4.40	
	Mohammad	1	4.40	3.30	3.50	3.70	
		Mdn.	3.90	3.90	4.30	4.00	HIGH
II	Zhen	2	3.90	3.50	2.30	3.20	
	Bao	2	3.20	4.50	3.80	3.80	
	Lily	2	3.30	4.00	3.30	3.50	
	Xue	2	3.80	3.30	2.30	3.10	
	XiuXiu	2	4.20	4.00	3.30	3.80	
	Jin	2	3.70	4.00	3.30	3.60	
	Ai	2	4.00	3.30	3.30	3.50	
		Mdn.	3.70	3.80	3.00	3.50	MEDIUM
III	Jude	3	3.70	1.00	2.30	2.30	
	Abbie	3	2.80	2.30	3.50	2.80	
		Mdn.	3.20	1.60	2.90	2.60	LOW

Appendix AA: Applications: "4Cs" and student engagement

School CULTURE and student engagement

1. In conveying its institutional identity and culture to the community, what images, words, or phrases does your international school's mission/vision statement use…

    a. to communicate its core norms and values?

    b. to reflect the school as a learning and living environment?

    c. to project a positive community identity (and a sense of belonging) by affirming the cultural capital of its community's diverse sociocultural groups?

    d. to avoid (and/or challenge) stereotype and discursive bias?

2. To what degree does your international school…

    a. community reflect a shared (consistent) view and (realistic) understanding of the culture's core norms and values?

    b. culture reflect its location?

    c. use its location to further its school culture?

    d. integrate the cultural capital of the school community's diverse sociocultural groups?

    e. maintain discipline and guide behaviour (e.g., strict, rule-based vs. mutual respect, negotiated)?

3. By what practical means does your school's culture and climate (i.e., physical, social) bear on it being experienced as…

    i. multi-cultural (i.e., seen/celebrated as separate cultures but some linkages attempted through content)?

    ii. inter-cultural / "internationally-minded" (i.e., aware of psycho-social diversity of viewpoints and experiences; integrate that diversity into all aspects of schooling)?

    iii. international (i.e., system of inter-national relations)?

    iv. cosmopolitan (i.e., start with self, others, common humanity; for the development of the learner as a whole person; planetary commons focus)?

School COMMUNITY and student engagement

To what degree does your international school…

1. ensure its mission/vision as stated gets lived by staff and students in their community relationships?

2. promote a "community-based education" (rather than "community education") (Corson 1998) approach to engage its community's diverse sociocultural groups and shape inclusively the school's learning and living environment?

3. get students "using their own culture[s] as their vehicle for interacting with the [school's] majority culture" (Corson 1998: 81)?

4. talk about community when characterising specific patterns of relationships (including use of space) amongst students, staff, parents, and others?

5. recognise and understand the ways in which its constituents belong to a variety of dominant and subordinate sociocultural groups (e.g., cultural, national, 'natural')?

6. use stereotypes/myths to characterise particular sociocultural groups and individuals in the community through "imposed" or "assumed" identity options (Corson 1998: 114-119; Ryan 1999: 95-115; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004)?

     a.   …mostly positive for the dominant ones?

     b.   …mostly negative for the subordinate ones?

7. reflect, learn about and from the cultural capital of the school community's diverse sociocultural groups?

8. include its diverse constituents' knowledge, values, assumptions, attitudes, and background in its day-to-day practices (including appointing staff from students' own cultural backgrounds to serve as mentors and role models)?

9. community's diverse constituents, dominant and subordinate, influence day-to-day practices?

10. mirror and shape its different learners' diverse roots and routes?

11. challenge its staff to recognise and understand how their community relations are supported and constrained by their own roots and routes, privilege and prejudice?

12. provide in-service professional development on such issues as cultural differences and parental involvement?

13. encourage staff to be both familiar with and comfortable in the local community?

14. assure that every student has an active and meaningful connection to at least one staff member in the school?

15. community reflect a shared (consistent) view, understanding, and experience of the school culture as:

i. multi-cultural (i.e., seen/celebrated as separate cultures but some linkages attempted through content)?

ii. inter-cultural / "internationally-minded" (i.e., aware of psycho-social diversity of viewpoints and experiences; integrate that diversity into all aspects of schooling)?

iii. international (i.e., system of inter-national relations)?

iv. cosmopolitan (i.e., start with self, others, common humanity; for the development of the learner as a whole person; planetary commons focus)?

School CURRICULUM and student engagement

1. To what degree does your international school's mission/vision…

   a. influence the academic curriculum taught?

   b. help to shape staff's prevailing pedagogies and practices (e.g., whole-class, teacher-centred, learner-centred, individualised, personalised)?

   c. inform the kinds of pedagogies, practices considered engaging/'good' (e.g., co-operative, collaborative, independent, competitive, examinations-driven, problem-solving)?

2. To what degree does your international school's academic curriculum…

   a. reflect and accommodate (i.e., anti-bias) the cultural capital of the school community's diverse sociocultural groups?

   b. involve (and collaborate with) parents and the local/wider community to strengthen students' curricular learning?

   c. mediate the cultural discontinuities between the school and home?

   d. connect with the co-curriculum's environment and activities?

   e. include features of the "human" and "civic" curricula (Starratt 2004)?

   f. take up and further inter-national, inter-cultural, and/or cosmopolitan experiences?

   g. construct learners and learning relationships (e.g., respectful, friendly, informal, distant, co-operative)?

   h. get enacted within the classroom in compatible ways with students' values, discourse norms, and preferred interaction style (e.g., personalised, meaning-based instruction, interactive, dialogue used purposefully and regularly, caring humour and fun, collaborative rather than competitive)?

   i. affirm, celebrate, and reward (or silence) student and group accomplishments given status and considered successful?

   j. encourage goal-setting (pre) and reflection (post) on learning successes and setbacks?

3. To what degree are staff sensitised to how their work with students in the curriculum is supported and constrained by their own roots and routes, privilege and prejudice?

4. Through their teaching of the academic curriculum, to what degree are staff expected…

   a. to get students "using their own culture[s] as their vehicle for interacting with the [school's] majority culture" (Corson 1998: 81)?

   b. to support learners' holistic and full development – i.e., affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively?

c. to challenge learners' holistic and full development – i.e., affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively?

d. to maintain discipline and guide behaviour (e.g., strict, rule-based vs. mutual respect, negotiated)?

e. to further values, character formation, and social and moral responsibility through the human, civic, and co-curricula?

f. to integrate 'local' and alternative perspectives and experiences – a range of other ways of looking at and living the same situation?

School CO-CURRICULUM and student engagement

1. To what degree does your international school…

   a. mission/vision influence the co-curriculum's environment and activities?

   b. provide multiple and varied opportunities to participate in the co-curriculum?

   c. as a learning and a living environment get lived within the co-curriculum?

2. To what degree does the co-curriculum…

   a. reflect and accommodate (i.e., anti-bias) the cultural capital of the school community's diverse sociocultural groups?

   b. involve (and collaborate with) parents and the local/wider community to strengthen students' co-curricular learning and experiences?

   c. connect with the academic curriculum?

   d. mediate the cultural discontinuities between the school and home?

   e. include features of the "human" and "civic" curricula (Starratt 2004)?

   f. take up and further inter-national, inter-cultural, and/or cosmopolitan experiences?

   g. construct participants?

   h. get enacted to encourage staff and students to interact?

   i. affirm, celebrate, and reward (or silence) student and group accomplishments given status and considered successful?

   j. enable and include student-initiated activities?

   k. encourage goal-setting (pre) and reflection (post) on learning successes and setbacks?

3. To what degree are staff…

   a. encouraged to work with students in the co-curriculum?

   b. prepared to work with students in the co-curriculum?

4. Through their involvement in the co-curriculum context, to what degree are staff expected…

   a. to support learners' holistic and full development – i.e., affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively?

   b. to challenge learners' holistic and full development – i.e., affectively, behaviourally, and cognitively?

c. to maintain discipline and guide behaviour (e.g., strict, rule-based vs. mutual respect, negotiated)?

d. to further values, character formation, and social and moral responsibility of through the human and civic curricula?

e. to integrate 'local' and alternative perspectives and experiences – a range of other ways of looking at and living the same situation?

Appendix BB: Permission to use *VIE-R* (Hayden 1998)

From: Mary Hayden <M.C.Hayden@bath.ac.uk>
Date: Thu, 2 Dec 2010 21:00:04 +0800
To: Eric Jabal <ejabal@isf.edu.hk>
Cc: Jeff Thompson <J.J.Thompson@bath.ac.uk>
Subject: Permission granted for the use requested in the email below

Dear Eric Jabal

Thank you for your message. I was interested to hear about your doctoral research; coincidentally, we received just yesterday for review in the Journal of Research in International Education a copy of the new book in which you have a chapter - I'm looking forward to reading it.

Jeff Thompson and I have discussed your request, and we are happy to agree to the 12 Likert-scale items being included in your thesis as outlined - on the understanding that the source of those items is clearly acknowledged.

In due course, once your thesis has been successfully completed, we would be interested in including a copy of the thesis abstract in the JRIE. And as and when you might turn your thoughts to generating articles from your research, you may wish to remember the JRIE as a possible outlet for your writing!

With good wishes

Mary Hayden and Jeff Thompson

Dr M C Hayden
Director, Centre for the study of Education in an International Context
Editor in Chief, Journal of Research in International Education

---
From: Eric Jabal <ejabal@isf.edu.hk>
Date: Thu, 2 Dec 2010 16:48:45 +0800
To: <M.C.Hayden@bath.ac.uk>
Subject: Requesting permission to use in my doctoral thesis at the University of Toronto

Dear Dr. Hayden:

I am completing a doctoral thesis at the University of Toronto entitled 'Being, becoming, and belonging: Exploring students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong'. I would like permission to allow inclusion of the following material in the thesis and permission for the National Library to make use of the thesis (i.e., to reproduce, loan, distribute, or sell copies of the thesis by any means and in any format).

These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you.

The material to be reprinted is:

12 selected Likert-scale items from Hayden, M., Thompson, J. J., 1998. International Education: Perceptions of Teachers in International Schools. International Review of Education, 44 (5-6), pp. 549-568.

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please kindly reply to this email with the following stated at its header: 'Permission granted for the use requested in the email below'.

Thank you for your consideration and kind assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Eric

Appendix CC: Permission to use *SLCS-R* Revised (Tafarodi and Swann 2001)

From: Romin Tafarodi <tafarodi@psych.utoronto.ca>
Date: Fri, 3 Dec 2010 00:09:28 +0800
To: Eric Jabal <ejabal@isf.edu.hk>
Subject: Permission granted for the use requested in the email below

Here you go, Eric.
Best wishes,
RT

_____
Romin W. Tafarodi, Associate Professor
Department of Psychology
University of Toronto
100 St. George St.
Toronto, Ontario | Canada M5S 3G3
Phone: 416-946-3024 | Fax: 416-978-4811

From: Eric Jabal <ejabal@isf.edu.hk>
Date: Thu, 2 Dec 2010 16:56:04 +0800
To: <tafarodi@psych.utoronto.ca>
Subject: Requesting permission to use in my doctoral thesis at the University of Toronto

Dear Professor Tafarodi:

I am completing a doctoral thesis at OISE-University of Toronto entitled 'Being, becoming, and belonging: Exploring students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong'. I would like permission to allow inclusion of the following material in the thesis and permission for the National Library to make use of the thesis (i.e., to reproduce, loan, distribute, or sell copies of the thesis by any means and in any format).

These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you.

The material to be reprinted is:
Tafarodi, R. W., & Swann, W. B., Jr. (2001). Two-dimensional self-esteem: Theory and measurement. Personality and Individual Differences, 31, 653-673. PDF full-text article

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please kindly reply to this email with the following stated at its header: 'Permission granted for the use requested in the email below'.

Thank you for your consideration and kind assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Eric

Appendix DD: Permission to use *SIPI* (Nario-Redmond, Biernat et al. 2004)

From: "Nario-Redmond, Michelle R." <NarioMR@hiram.edu>
Date: Thu, 2 Dec 2010 20:38:29 +0800
To: Eric Jabal <ejabal@isf.edu.hk>
Subject: Permission granted for the use requested in the email below

Hi Eric,

Please let me know what results you found with the modified SIPI!

Michelle

Michelle Nario-Redmond, Ph.D.
Chair, Department of Psychology
Hiram College
330-569-5230

From: Eric Jabal [mailto:ejabal@isf.edu.hk]
Sent: Thu 12/2/2010 3:37 AM
To: Nario-Redmond, Michelle R.
Subject: Requesting permission to use in my doctoral thesis at the University of Toronto

Dear Professor Nario-Redmond:

I am completing a doctoral thesis at the University of Toronto entitled 'Being, becoming, and belonging: Exploring students' experiences of and engagement within the international school in Hong Kong'. I would like permission to allow inclusion of the following material in the thesis and permission for the National Library to make use of the thesis (i.e., to reproduce, loan, distribute, or sell copies of the thesis by any means and in any format).

These rights will in no way restrict republication of the material in any other form by you or by others authorized by you.

The material to be reprinted is: Modified version of the 'Social and Personal Identities Scale' from Nario-Redmond, M. R., Biernat, M., Eidelman, S., & Palenske, D. J. (2004). The social and personal identities scale: A measure of the differential importance ascribed to social and personal self-categorizations. Self and Identity, 3, 143-175.

If these arrangements meet with your approval, please kindly reply to this email with the following stated at its header: 'Permission granted for the use requested in the email below'.

Thank you for your consideration and kind assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Eric