The Production and Reception of Multilingual Student Written Assignments in Content Classes at the American University of Afghanistan

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Dedication

I just very simply want to say thank you, thank you to everyone who has been a part of this journey and helped me along the way. Thanks to my family: my mother, my wife, and my son. Also, many, many thanks to Karin, who has listened to all my big ideas and plans and read whatever I sent her way. She has been patient and supportive throughout. Thanks also to all at Lancaster who helped and inspired me in the early days, Uta Papen and Diane Potts in particular.

Thank you.

Declaration

This thesis has not been submitted in support of an application for another degree at this or any other university. It is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated. Many of the ideas in this thesis were the product of discussion with my supervisor, Dr Karin Tusting.

Abstract

This study investigated the production and reception of multilingual students' written assignments in four content classes at AUAF. The goals were threefold: (1) to explore and understand how and/or the extent to which the subject lecturers scaffolded the production of their students' assignments in these classes; (2) how and why the students wrote their assignments in the ways they did; and (3) how and why the lecturers read assessed these assignments in the ways that they did. The overarching methodology was text-oriented ethnography. Ethnographic data were gathered through participant observation in the classes and cyclical talk-around-texts with the students and lecturers. Textual data included assignment guidelines, other written scaffolds or input materials, and the students' assignments and drafts. Analysis of both the ethnographic data and student text drew on Turner's (2018) concept of writtenness to explore if, how, and why the student and lecturer participants' senses of writtenness influenced their text production and reception practices. Findings showed that writtenness did influence these practices, including some of the lecturers in class practices and guidelines, although these practices were often missed or ignored by the students. All the students' texts, however, suggest they had drawn on senses of writtenness during text production, although the amount of work they were willing to devote to the writing in the text as opposed to the content was often also influenced by their perceptions of the lecturers and the extent to which writtenness was valued in their classes or AUAF in general. Some students, however, engaged in significant labour to submit polished work regardless of the contextual factors, although for different reasons. The lecturers' reading and grading practices were also generally influenced by their senses of writtenness, very much so in

some cases. However, although all the texts exhibited varying degrees of marked writtenness, all the lecturers tended not to overly penalise this and rescaled the assessment ranges to the local context of AUAF. While the level and range of grades they awarded varied significantly, text analysis also showed that texts with less marked writtenness received higher grades in each class. The study aims to contribute to understandings of the production and reception of multilingual student writing in contexts such as AUAF.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AL	Academic Literacies
AUA	American University Abroad
AUAF	The American University of Afghanistan
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
HE	Higher Education
LAS	Liberal Arts and Sciences.

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1. Introduction

For the past 15 years or so, academic writing has featured heavily in my life. It is something I have used (and struggled with) to get things done. It helped me earn my MA in Education and Applied Linguistics with the Open University, UK, and complete the coursework on my journey with Lancaster University in pursuit of this PhD. It is also something I have taught, reviewed, commented on, and tried to help many students for whom English is not a first language (henceforth, multilingual students) develop in my role as a lecturer at the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF). My journey with AUAF began in 2009, when I joined as an instructor in the Foundation Studies program, a preparatory program designed to develop students' academic English and mathematical skills needed for their undergraduate programs. In 2010, I joined the undergraduate program, where I have worked since in both teaching and administrative roles. A significant portion of my teaching work has involved designing and delivering academic writing courses, commonly referred to in the American system as first-year composition (FYC) or Composition and Rhetoric. These courses are supposed to provide freshman students with a solid foundation in academic or university-level writing and into the kinds of writers their professors in the disciplines desire (FYC and its roots and rationale are discussed in more depth below)

While my role, then, is to try to make this happen, my experience, reading, research, and, in fact, one rationale for this thesis is the well-documented struggles that

many students have with writing in these ways. Much of this reading began with my MA, two modules of which not only shaped my approach to teaching but also provided a much more nuanced understanding of what academic and essayist writing (e.g., Gee & Hayes, 2011; Scollon & Scollon, 1981) is and why it is like it is. The first module was E841[1], 'Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages Worldwide,' which introduced me to Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and the genre studies and pedagogies that emerged from it (e.g., Martin & D. Rose, 2007). These pedagogical approaches, which draw on Vygotskian socio-cultural perspectives, seemed particularly useful for the explicit teaching of written texts, especially in English-medium universities in non-Anglosphere countries where multilingual students will likely have had far less exposure to texts common at an American university or in Western education; and, therefore, are less likely to have figured out the typicalities or tendencies within these academic English texts for themselves.

The second course was E844[2], Language and Literacy in a Changing World. This course introduced me to an area of writing scholarship that particularly resonated with me, the UK/Commonwealth practitioner/researcher tradition of Academic Literacies (AL, see R. Clark & Ivanic, 1997; Ivanic, 1998; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Tuck, 2012, 2017). Many of the scholars within this tradition were, like me, involved in teaching or remediating academic writing for groups of students from demographics that were not traditionally part of Western university student populations, for whom writing in expected ways was difficult, and for whom failure to do so had negative

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[1] E841 was discontinued in 2008 (see https://www.open.ac.uk/library/digital-archive/module/xcri:E841/study)
[2] E844 was discontinued in 2010 (see https://www.open.ac.uk/library/digital-archive/module/xcri:E844/study)

consequences. Also, like me, many AL practitioner-researchers worked in environments where their work was relatively hidden and seemed to be undervalued and in which they sometimes felt criticised for not being able to fix student issues quickly or consistently teach students to write in the ways their subject specialist professors wanted (e.g., I. Clark & Russell, 2014; Turner, 2011).

AL did not profess, however, to offer ways to improve teaching (although see Lillis, Harrington, Lea & Mitchell, 2015). However, it did encourage me to introduce critique into my classes, encouraging students to look beyond the prescriptivism of the forms of writing we were looking at to try to understand why such writing is how it is. Even so, the value of AL for me, and it seems for many others in my profession, is far beyond any pedagogical applications. Indeed, it provides a platform to view the whole enterprise of writing in higher education. A key aspect of AL sensibilities is that the happenings in and around writing in pedagogical settings are best understood as literacy practices. This literacy as social practices perspective emerged in key work in the New Literacies Studies (e.g., Barton & Hamilton, 1998), which established that (1) rather than being merely able to read and write people do different things with different kinds of reading and writing; (2) amongst other things, some forms of reading and writing are seen as more valuable than others in certain contexts; (3) these literacy practices, are shaped by and shape the contexts in which they are used; and (4) such practices are regulated by those who hold sway over such contexts.

Based on these precepts, while AL researcher/practitioners recognise, and indeed use, the prestigious and valued literacies of the academy, the research focus is more on "the institutional conditions in which" students produce writing and how it "is

taught, elicited, read and assessed by academic staff in the disciplines" (Tuck, 2018, p. 1). For me, reading the work of those writing in AL inspired a sense of community, and their work inspired some of my MA research[3] (e.g., Henderson, 2010), and, indeed, this thesis. Other AL-oriented work (Lillis & Curry, 2010) also offered a methodology for this thesis, text-oriented ethnography. Text-oriented ethnography combines gathering and analysis of "ethnographic data around the processes of text production and interpretation, with detailed linguistic analysis of textual data" (Tusting, 2013, p. 9). As such, this overarching method seemed a useful way to investigate what went on around the production and reception of the texts, what went into the texts themselves and how/why the participants oriented to what was on paper (see Lillis, 2008), and indeed how this indexed the local and broader contexts in which these practices occurred.

This study seeks to contribute to the AL canon by investigating these practices in classes in an institution type less represented in the literature: A US Government-supported, American university abroad (AUA - Long, 2018) that touts a Liberal Arts and Sciences curriculum taught through English as a medium of Instruction (EMI). Each of these characteristics has geohistorical influences on what AUAF is, wants to be, or indeed is perceived as. This introduction will first account for these characteristics and the often-idealized assumptions surrounding them as part of the broader context in which this study is situated. It will then introduce a concept that rather fortuitously emerged during the early cycles of data analysis and thinking that seemed to neatly

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[3] This study, 'Investigating Text, Intertextuality, and Identity in the Academic Literacy Practices of 'English as a Foreign Language (EFL)' Students at an 'Imported' American University' realised for me how, through intertextuality and interdiscursivity, EFL students become writers and members of academic or professional discourse communities by noticing and appropriating the 'registers' of more proficient academic or professional writers.

encapsulate the 'thing' I had in mind when formulating my project: Joan Turner's (2018) concept of writtenness. Writtenness, that is, the writing in texts as separate from the content (Turner, 2018, 2023), also seems to have been of central interest in AL since its outset.

1.1 The Context

1.1.1 AUAF as AUA

AUAF was founded in 2006 by Dr Sharif Fayez, an Afghan émigré who had returned to Afghanistan after the fall of the first Taliban regime in 2001 to serve as its minister of higher education. Fayez saw an American university as a crucial means to provide graduates who could enhance Afghanistan's capacity to manage its own affairs and interact with external powers, businesses, and organizations, following what was presumed to be the end of the ongoing conflict (Long, 2020). Since opening, despite challenges including a deadly attack on its campus, kidnapping and murder of some of its faculty, and financial insecurity, it has remained an English Medium university "Modelled on American Curriculum and standards" (AUAF website, 2017). Keeping Dr Fayez's[4] vision alive, AUAF states that it aims to empower "rising leaders with knowledge, skills, and agency to define their own individual and collective futures ... [it is] a beacon of educational quality and academic freedom ... [that] creates connections between

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[4] Dr Sharif Fayez passed away on the AUAF campus in Kabul in 2019.

Afghanistan and global society through teaching, learning, and research" (AUAF Website, 2025).

AUAF is not alone in being an American university outside of the US, or indeed in a nation that has held and continues to hold blatant enmity towards US policy (see, for example, the American Universities of Beirut (AUB), Cairo (AUC), and Iraq (AUIB and AUIS). At present, there are, in fact, around 80 independent AUAs in 55 countries, with the oldest AUB being founded in 1866. Many of these institutions are named 'the American University of …'), which has led to a common-sense belief that they are a brand or an "identifiable institution" type (Long, 2018, p. 4) and/or controlled by the US government. In fact, one of Sharif Fayez's struggles throughout his association with AUAF was convincing other Afghans, many of whom, like him, were educated in the US, that AUAF was not, in fact, at least in part, a US government organization or operation (Long, 2020).

AUAs have diverse founding stories and are generally independent of each other and any unifying collective or official regulatory body. The closest thing to such a body is the Association of American International Colleges & Universities (AAICU[5]), which has become "a leadership organisation of American international universities" (website, home). The AAICU aims to maintain and promote "the good name of American education abroad" (Jackson, 2009, p. 73) by providing support and community for not-for-profit

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[5] AUAF was a member of the AAICU at the time of this study but has since become part of the Open Society University Network, another global organisation that aims to prepare "students from diverse geographies and backgrounds to address global challenges as thoughtful and engaged citizens" through a "liberal arts and sciences education" (https://opensocietyuniversitynetwork.org/).

AUAs, such as AUAF, which demonstrate fealty to Liberal Arts and Sciences curricula [6](see below).

Despite the long history of some AUAs, AUAF is one of the 55 that have opened in the last 35 years (Long, 2018), a phenomenon that seems to have several drivers. The AAICU suggests that it reflects the growing global acceptance of and desire for US-style LAS higher education (AAICU, 2008; Godwin, 2017), as well as perceptions that American higher education is the best in the world (Clotfelter, 2010; see also Long, 2020)

Beyond these presumed pull factors, other drivers appear to be global flows and influences such as the spread of neoliberal globalization and a concomitant growth in EMI. These forces introduce phenomena such as the knowledge economy and the commodification of language in higher education (e.g., McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012; Piller & Cho, 2013). This has also led to growth in private education around the world, including the proliferation of branch campuses and locally founded EMI institutions and universities. This academic capitalism (Long, 2020) has encouraged entrepreneurs in several countries to invest in for-profit AUA education.

Another catalyst for the spread of AUAs was the fall of the Soviet Union and the so-called 'end of history' (Fukuyama, 1993), which led to the 'third wave' of worldwide democratization, particularly in the former Soviet republics. This led to the emergence of institutions such as the American University of Central Asia in Kyrgyzstan and the American University of Bulgaria.

However, for AUAs such as AUIS and AUAF, in particular, a more recent driver was the neoconservative Bush Doctrine and the War on Terror. This Doctrine led not only to "hard power interventions" but also to the idea that American political aims and security interests could also be well served by spreading American liberal democratic values (See Monten, 2005; Pamment, 2013). These ideas provided "allies to the founders of AUAs" (Long, 2020), which in the cases of AUAF included initially the Bush-appointed US Ambassador to Afghanistan, another Afghan émigré, Zalmay Khalilzad, and, once the vision had gained traction, Laura Bush herself.

This high-level advocacy has resulted in AUAF receiving and continuing to receive the vast majority of its funding from the US government, primarily through cooperative agreements with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Although USAID has provided smaller short-term grants to other AUAs, the duration of funding for AUAF is uncommon. USAID literature, itself, however, has promoted AUAF as both preparing "students for participation in the global marketplace" (USAID, 2017, p. 1) and as a foundational investment for increasing "the future viability of the country" (Hammink, 2017, p. 13). Arguably, if not officially stated, this support is partially based on AUAF's English-medium LAS curriculum. Indeed, other powerful funding agencies, such as the World Bank (Task Force on Higher Education and Society [TFHES], 2000), have advocated for LAS programs, viewing the protracted embedding of non-pecuniary outcomes of this form of higher education as essential to long-term prosperity in developing countries.

1.1.2 AUAs and LAS

LAS has been championed as the "gold standard" of American and, arguably, global higher education (Marber & Araya, 2017), and contrasts with the utilitarian, professionally oriented higher education forms, which are the 'global norm' (Godwin, 2015). LAS proclaims broader, holistic student development through curricula that require courses in social and natural sciences and the humanities. It is underpinned by what Becker (2013) calls the liberal arts wager: "that love of learning, capacity for critical thinking, and ability to communicate effectively are, in the course of [students'] lives, more valuable to [them] than depth of knowledge in one subject" (p. 3). Nurturing students' communicative abilities in speaking and writing has, it seems, been a cornerstone of LAS for over 200 years. The Yale Report of 1828 stressed:

By reading English, he [a student] learns the powers of the language in which he is to speak and write. … By frequent exercise on written composition, he acquires copiousness and accuracy of expression … Eloquence and solid learning should go together … To what purpose has a man become deeply learned if he has no faculty of communicating his knowledge? (Yale Report, p. 8)

This view persists. Botstein (2018) asserts, "A primary goal of all liberal arts education must be the nurturing of a sophisticated command of language in writing, reading, and speaking" (p. 76), while Stewart (1982) argues that "verbal and written competence may be the most important social and professional skill … [students] ever

acquire" (p. 9). This clearly suggests that a focus on honing facility with the writing in a text, its writtenness (Turner, 2023), is a very much desired outcome of LAS.

1.2 LAS writing and thinking

Beyond this, LAS advocates often link the development of writing proficiency with the development of thinking (see, for example, Becker, 2013). This characterisation seems to echo aspects of what has become known as the 'autonomous' view of literacy (Street, 1984). Part of this autonomous view is that certain types of Western literacy have inevitable consequences on ordering thinking into and promoting facility with accretive exposition (e.g., Olson, 1996). These views have, however, been widely critiqued as a form of 'ontological complicity' a view that assumes 'good' thinking cannot take place without 'good' writing while 'good' writing is equated with 'good' thinking" (Molinari, 2022, p. 57; see also Turner, 2018). Like many other assumptions around writing that are probed by AL, this ontological complicity "remains largely unquestioned" (Molinari, 2022, p. 57).

Arguably, however, Becker's (2013) views above can be seen simply as an over-generalisation or idealisation of writing rather than purely autonomous. For certain students with certain kinds of backgrounds and linguistic repertoires, writing at certain times in certain kinds of contexts can promote a certain type of thinking or "epiphanies" (Leki, 2007). In this sense, this kind of writing indicates aspects of an ideological view of literacy (Street, 1984), which sees certain forms of literacy as embedded in certain historicised contexts and practised for certain purposes. Such ideological literacies orient the habitus of certain institutions and favour some groups whilst marginalising

others (Chapter Two discusses autonomous and ideological views of literacy in more depth).

These beliefs around the consequences of LAS, the development of certain forms of writing and literacies, and the LAS wager (Becker, 2013) remain widely believed. They are also arguably one of the reasons the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) continues to fund AUAF.

1.3 AUAs, English and EMI

One of these implicit outcomes of such AUAs, it would seem, is proficiency in certain kinds of English. Bertelsen (2012) argued that a key aspect of bipartisan support in the US for AUAs is that they will secure 'professional' proficiency in spoken and written English among a comparatively small elite who can then "interact meaningfully with Americans" (Long, 2018, p. 206). In the Middle East, where LAS is little understood, developing English proficiency is a major reason students, their families, and host states also approve of AUAs as "elite bridges to the USA" (Bertelsen, 2012, p. 308). Such local approval has not been lost on various US governments and agencies, which recognise the strategic value and potential to create soft power benefits through having "an American-educated elite in cabinets and boardrooms around the world" (Jackson, 2009, p. 76).

This commonsense assumption that an AUA education will osmotically improve English language proficiency imbricates with one of the rationales for the broader global phenomenon of EMI, "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of

the population is not English" (Dearden, 2015, p. 2). The 'common sense' belief is that EMI will kill two birds with one stone, helping students access published knowledge within their fields while also developing their proficiency in English (Galloway, 2017; Breeze, 2012; Dearden, 2014). Such goals seem implicit in the even broader phenomenon of the internationalisation of HE (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Turner, 2018). This includes the large-scale enrollment of international multilingual students in Anglophone universities, the opening of branch campuses in non-Angloshpere contexts, and the introduction of EMI in non-Anglosphere universities or in individual programs therein (Dearden, 2015).

Murata and Iino (2018) argue that 'E' in EMI remains firmly the native-speaker academic variety and that the implication is that multilingual EMI students will graduate as expert users of this prestigious form. This elite English is presented as affording friction-free communication in global HE and conferring "mobility within high-level global networks" (Turner, 2018, p.126). It is also assumed to be readily available to "those willing to put in the effort to acquire it" (Horner, 2018, p. 414; see Jenkins, 2013). Turner (2018) has argued, however, that within this internationalised elite economy of English, this variety, in reality, is more the province of an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006). As such, it obscures the "operational, on the ground" (p. 136) linguistic realities within such institutions, which she (2018) argues becomes acutely apparent in the struggles many multilingual students have with writing in the ways their professors expect.

Indeed, much EMI research shows that the development of students' writing proficiencies does not match the promotional rhetoric of EMI (Hu, Li & Lei, 2014; Rogier, 2012). Rogier's (2013) quantitative study showed an improvement of around 0.5 of a band

in IELTS over four years at an EMI university in the United Arab Emirates, a finding very similar to an unpublished small-scale investigation at AUAF (Henderson, 2018). Hu, Li and Lei (2014) found similarly limited development overall in a Chinese university, while Knoch, Roushad, Oon, and Storch (2015) found that international students' writing developed only in terms of fluency after three years. In this mixed-methods study, students who felt their writing had improved suggested that this was mainly due to their own practices, such as extensive reading, rather than as a result of EMI. In some qualitative studies, students felt EMI improved their confidence and fluency in English; however, this belief was not always shared by professors, particularly in terms of writing (Belhiah & Maha Elhami, 2015). More recent EMI research echoes earlier research (e.g. Evans & Morrison, 2011) and Turner's (2018) assertions that EMI students still feel they have extensive difficulties with writing "such as organising essays and using appropriate academic style in writing" (Kamasak, Sahan & H. Rose, 2021, p. 11). The existence of this research indexes one of the dichotomies of EMI. While EMI does not aim to teach or develop English pedagogically (Airey, 2016), the evaluation of English is often very much implied in documents such as guidelines and rubrics for written assignments (Gronchi, 2023).

1.4 The Deficit View of Student Writing in Western Higher Education

AL research has shown that it is not only EMI students who struggle with the writing requirements in Western-style universities (e.g., Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001).

Upsurges in criticism of student writing have often seemed to follow demographic shifts in university populations, which have also often resulted in reactive research traditions and pedagogical responses. AL itself emerged from the influx in the UK in the 1980s of large numbers of non-traditional students from previously excluded social and linguistic groups into UK universities and the following well-publicized complaints from lecturers that these students could not write well (Lillis & Scott, 2007; Lillis & Tuck, 2016).

In the US, pedagogical responses to perceived student deficiencies regarding writing can be traced back to Harvard in 1869 when the newly appointed University President sought to transform the University from a finishing school for the sons of the New England elite to a "training center [sic] for national leaders." When it was found that these bright new students "unfortunately, often did not write and speak like Harvard gentlemen" (Stewart, 1982, p. 3), the result was one of the first required first-year composition (FYC) courses. In 1892, as these students were still "grossly unprepared to write like college students" and struggled "with superficial mechanical correctness" (Stewart, 1982, p. 4), FYC became a "back-to-basics movement focusing on "spelling, punctuation [and] grammar drills" (p. 4). The goal was for students to index membership of an elite club, the educated classes, through facility with writtenness, the production of "English of which they need not be ashamed" regardless of what they were writing about (Copeland & Rideout, 1901, p. 2). Interestingly, echoing a situation that persists in the US system, the task of teaching this form-focused FYC was passed on to Graduate students who regarded it as a "period of penance ... and looked forward eagerly to the day when they would escape this slave labor [sic]" (Stewart, 1982, p. 4).

I. Clark (2005) points out that while correctness is still a requirement for entry to the elite club, the current situation is more complex (see also Gilbert, 2012; Hicks, 2016;

Tuck, 2013). Students need rhetorical knowledge of how to respond differently to differing audiences and "learn to think across disciplines and domains of knowledge" (I. Clark, 2005). Although under these conditions, I. Clark (2005) argues, "correctness is nice, but it isn't enough" (ibid), it seems it is still expected.

In LAS and many AUA systems, FYC is still tasked with bestowing both rhetorical knowledge and correctness, as indicated in beliefs that if FYC practitioners can get it right, students will write well thereafter, whatever the task. Russell has described this as the 'myth of transience' (Russell, 2002), "the mistaken belief that writing skills, once learnt, can be 'transferred' to any writing context" (Molinari, 2022, p. 26, see also Wardle, 2009). This myth fuels critiques of FYC for not delivering, thereby burdening subject specialist faculty with poor writers and the need to do remedial writing work themselves. Among many of these faculty, as M. Rose (1985) noted, "The belief persists in the American university that if we can just do x or y, the problem of poor student writing will be solved ... and higher education will be able to return to its real work [teaching disciplinary content]" (p. 354).

The pursuit of elusive x or y solutions has often fuelled other geo-historically situated writing research traditions over the last 70 years or so. Widening access to HE in America following World War II and the influx of non-traditional and linguistically diverse students led to the influential field of Composition Studies (D. W. Smit, 2007; Horner & Lu, 2015), a significant subfield of which was Second Language Writing (SLW) or L2 Writing (Matsuda, 2012). Outside of these US-FYC-oriented traditions (Ivanic, 1998; see Ortega, 2009), research on multilingual student writing in contexts which do not have these required courses, including the UK and Commonwealth, has predominantly

occurred within English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012), and English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Like SLW, EAP and ESP generally take a text-oriented normative 'identify and induct' (x or y solution) approach (Lillis & Scott, 2007; Blommaert & Horner, 2017). Much of the work in these fields has been highly influential in shaping discourses about academic writing (Molinari, 2022).

Beyond this in the US, based on growing understandings of disciplinary specificity of writing and the recognition that FYC was perhaps not the best way to assist students in dealing with this, the WAC (Writing Across the Curriculum) and WID (Writing in the Disciplines) movements arose. These related traditions have done much to encourage faculty outside of writing classes to do more to help their students write in the ways they want and, indeed, have provided many resources to help faculty do so (I. Clark & Russell, 2014 – see Chapter three for a review of some of this work).

The above account has aimed to provide some sense of the broader, if rather idealised, institutional and global landscape in which AUAF, as an EMIAUA, locates. While considerations of such factors are integral in AL research, my interest in this study was also in a way to account for the 'thing' that seems central to many of the traditions above, including AL, the writing in texts. While terms such as polished prose, academic writing, or student writing in higher education were helpful, they all seemed a little fuzzy. Fortunately, in 2018, Joan Turner provided a concept that succinctly encapsulates what I was thinking about.

1.5 Writtenness

Turner (2018) characterises writtenness as the Received Pronunciation of Writing. It is a metonymical phenomenon, both cultural and linguistic, that orchestrates a highly prescriptive, trans-disciplinary culture of expectation around academic writing. As such, it is also a meta-discursive regime that indexes the centripetal power of mono-cultural English within global HE marshalled through a stylistic hegemony which extends beyond prototypical correctness protocols commonly connected with written forms of language (Lillis, 2013). This hegemony, in terms of academic writing at least, regiments prescriptivism around style and ease of reading embedded in three enduring ideologies: (1) *The Expository Ideology* which arises from a structural homology between enduring epistemologies associated with the scientific revolution of the late 17th century, and a linear, ordered, both accretive and strategically recursive, revelation of findings and thought through expository prose which would "make the knowledge visible" in the same way that it was unveiled through observable scientific processes (Turner, 2023, p. 210); (2) *the Smooth Read Ideology* which emphasises the writers' responsibility for engineering such texts by ironing out any conceptual and linguistic obstacles and making sure the message unfolds smoothly; and (3) t*he Linguistic Conflation Ideology* that any linguistic 'bumps' in texts are indicative of poor thinking rather than merely linguistic deficits (Turner, 2018).

These ideologies, which ingrain a deontic 'verbal hygienist' (Cameron, 1995) sense of evaluation throughout the academy (Turner, 2018), clearly resonate with LAS' preoccupation with eloquent and elegant written communication (e.g., Becker, 2013; Botstein, 2018). Typically, in texts that attend entirely to the ideologies of writtenness, the writtenness is hidden and virtually invisible. It begins to become more visible when it

is marked "when expectations of how it should be are not met" (Turner, 2018, p.33). This markedness draws attention away from the content to the writing itself, often leading to negative evaluation of the text and/or the writer as deficit.

1.5.1 Writtenness in Flux

Also of interest to this study, however, is Turner's (2018) argument that the widespread Englishization of HE (U. Smit 2017 – see also above) and likely multilingual majority in Englishized/Englishizing HE (Jenkins, 2014) and the US (Hall, 2009), may precipitate a more flexible, interpretive reading of multilingual texts, a "rougher ride as it were, through a text" (Turner, 2018, p. 13). This is evident in scholarship in translingualism (e.g. Horner, NeCamp, & Donahue, 2011), Critical Applied Linguistics (e.g. Canagarajah, 2002) and English as an academic lingua franca (e.g., Hynninen, 2016; Jenkins, 2014) that advocates for more accommodation for variations from standard written English (SWE - see also Horner, 2018 for critiques of the concept of SWE)

Despite these demographic changes, Green (2020) argues it is "unlikely that register modifications will fundamentally change the nature of Western 'writtenness" (p. 32). Hall (2014) noted that institutionalising translingual sensitivities or wider accommodations in the US "remains, frankly, an uphill battle" (p. 47). Translingual writing remains uncommon across the academy (Turner, 2018); the ideologies of writtenness continue to dominate and overcoming them, Wingate (2018) argues, would be a "monumental task" (p. 436). These realities echo attitudes at AUAF, where faculty still complain about student writing, and students also voice dissatisfaction with their writing and often request formative feedback to 'clean up' their texts.

1.6 The Study

With all of the above in mind, this study sought to explore the literacy practices of junior and senior [7] students and their lecturers in and around the production and reception of written assignments in one lower-division [8] and three upper-division [9] content classes at AUAF. To do so, it sought to explore three broad research questions.

1. What assignment or writtenness-oriented teaching or literacy practices did the native speaker or multilingual lecturers at AUAF draw on to set writing assignments and explain and/or scaffold (or not) them in their classes?

2. What assignment or writtenness-oriented literacy practices did the junior and senior multilingual students at AUAF draw on to produce these assignments, including any interactions with their lecturer's assignment or writtenness-oriented teaching or literacy practices?

3. What assignment or writtenness-oriented assessment literacy practices did the native speaker or multilingual lecturers at AUAF draw on to read and assess these assignments?

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[7] Third and Fourth year students.
[8] First or second year (in this study it was a second-year course)
[9] Third or fourth year (in this study they were all third-year courses)

Apart from my interest in investigating what went on in these classes, the study also aims to address the paucity of studies that focus empirically on practices around particular assignments or particular student texts (Tuck, 2017) and the relative invisibility, empirically and institutionally, of "many of the routine practices involved in work with student writing and writers" (p. 53). However, some of the discussion above regarding AL's focus on the academy rather than students and movements such as WAC/WID can sometimes imply "academic teachers themselves as being deficient where it comes to student writing" (Tuck, 2017). Therefore, while this text-oriented ethnography sought to contribute to "an ethnographic picture of pedagogy around undergraduate writing as a social practice", it aimed to consciously do so "with a curious, rather than an evaluative, research gaze" (Tuck, 2017, p. 10). There was a conscious effort to recognise that the study took place in lecturers' day-to-day lives and that the lecturers were considered experts in their fields and worked conscientiously to fulfil their duties as they saw them.

The aim of maintaining a curious rather than evaluative research gaze also extended to the students. Many had jobs and other life commitments; some had long daily commutes to the university; and many submitted the assignments, like many students do, often at the last minute, with the primary goal of passing courses. They had also been successful to date in their education at AUAF, and several were in their final year at AUAF and were keen to get their degrees and move on.

1.7 Overview

This introduction has attempted to frame the study by drawing on mainstream, if somewhat idealised, conceptions of what an EMIAUA is or would like to be seen as. That is, as an institution that promotes a central ethos of LAS, graduating students who are not only well-versed in their fields but also able to communicate their knowledge well, if not eloquently, in speaking and writing. Chapter two, however, aims to provide an overview of a perhaps more grounded way to consider the role of the participants' senses of writtenness in the production and reception of assignments in some of the classrooms of AUAF, which in LAS systems ideally should make some contribution to the goals stated above. To do so, it draws on central tenets of AL and looks more deeply at what writtenness is both in its immaterial sense, i.e., in the mind, and its material sense, what might contribute to or detract from it in its materialised forms. This also includes considerations of what goes into forming it and considering ways of conceptualising the classrooms at AUAF where it is used and assessed.

The following chapter reviews the literature and previous studies on how writtenness seems to remain central to global HE and how it is promoted as a desired outcome. The chapter is loosely organised around literature relevant to the three research questions. It looks first at efforts to bring writtenness into the disciplines, how and why, particularly in settings with multilingual students, and other research that has investigated what lecturers do outside individual departmental or institutional writtenness-oriented interventions. This chapter also looks at research into the relatively hidden, sometimes purposely so, practices some students draw on to cater for their senses that writtenness is important in their work. The chapter ends with research into

how subject lecturers typically respond to multilingual students' writing and why this may be.

Chapter 4 elaborates on how text-oriented ethnography can be used to investigate the role of writtenness in the classes and how and why texts were produced and received in the ways they were. While it covers relatively common AL data collection techniques, it also aims to account for the evolution of data analysis techniques, notably how focusing on specific writtenness-oriented practices of production and reception emerged as a way to deal with large amounts of ethnographic data gathered. In line with ethnographic sensibilities (e.g., Blommaert, 2007), one aim here is to convey how the ethnography did not end after data collection and the ways that iterative use of the data was very much an aspect of the continuation of this thinking.

Chapters Five to Seven present the study's findings, largely in an unfolding chronological way, again reflecting the three research questions, and the order of the process in which the production and reception of the assignments occurred. Chapter Five focuses on the in-class practices of introducing, discussing, and scaffolding the assignments, including any direct or indirect references to expected aspects of writtenness or writtenness in general. This chapter also includes how the students responded to these lecturers' practices and/or drew on other practices to get the work done.

Chapter Six looks at some of the students' practices of production. While it acknowledges that all the students drew on their senses of writtenness as evidenced by the amount of data collected and analysed, due to space constraints, it focuses primarily on three case studies which provided particularly rich data on how these students' senses of writtenness played out in the production of their texts. Chapter Seven focuses

on the lecturers' practices of reception. Again, in keeping with the overall goals of this study, it looks in particular at how their senses of writtenness were inculcated into their reading and assessment practices. Chapter Eight attempts to draw these findings together to address the research focus and the role of senses of writtenness in and around the production and reception of assignments in some classes at AUAF. It also considers how these findings might inform those interested in the current and future role of writtenness in internationalised education and looks forward to future research.

22. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

An overarching assumption in this study was that the students, as juniors and seniors, and their lecturers as academics, brought senses of writtenness with them to the classes, and these senses played at least some role in and around the production and reception of assignments in these disciplinary classes at AUAF. Based understandings of AL, another assumption was that these roles could be inferred through the literacy practices of production and reception in and around these assignments. The use of the words 'in' and 'around' here indexes (1) an interest in the material writing 'in' the assignments, "the linguistic and discoursal choices that the writer makes" (R. Clark & Ivanic, 1997, p. 83) as separate from the content, and (2) practices 'around' how and why this writing was produced in the way it was and how it was received and assessed. This chapter intends to flesh out the thinking around these assumptions.

It first discusses AL, its foundational concepts, methodology, ideology, epistemology, and catalytic role in shaping ways to consider what happened in the classes and texts. AL has, it seems, always been concerned with writtenness, investigating, explaining, and critiquing the social practices of production and reception in and around it. However, as writtenness is a relatively new term, the chapter will expand on it and how, usefully for this study, it is a transdisciplinary concept that manifests both immaterially and materially, i.e., it can be understood as being in the minds of readers

and writers and also being linguistically in texts (Turner, 2018). Given the key complementary role of text analysis in this text-oriented ethnography (Tusting, 2013, p. 9), the chapter explores linguistic elements that, arguably, can be seen to contribute to writtenness. While it must be stressed that this does not intend to be a definitive account of all aspects of the elusive quality of writtenness (Molinari, 2022), the account here aimed to flesh out the concept a little and provide a basis for the text analysis techniques discussed in Chapter Four. The current chapter then moves on to consider some of the social and cognitive aspects that may impinge on what Turner (2018) describes as the hidden labour of writtenness, the often-unseen work that goes into producing it. This part also considers ways that, linguistically, the writing in texts may draw attention to itself through variation and, in the normative sense, error. Finally, as multilingual student texts do often exhibit such variation (Leki, Cumming, & Silva, 2008; Jenkins, 2014; Hynninen, 2016; Turner, 2018) but are still successful, i.e., they help students pass courses, the chapter will draw on recent theoretical work to consider why this may be.

2.2 Academic literacies

The overarching theoretical framework for this text-oriented ethnography has always been AL. AL's notion of literacy as a social practice provides an umbrella for everything this study focused on regarding the happenings in and around the production and reception of students' assignments in these classes.

As noted above, the emergence of AL in the UK during the 1990s was a response to the influx of large numbers of non-traditional students (Lillis, 2001; Lillis & Scott, 2007) and the "language difference" in their texts being "coded as deficit" (Horner, 2018, p.

417). AL scholars do not, however, discount the value of raising non-traditional and/or international students' "awareness of valued academic genres, and to efforts to help them to present 'polished' work which does not draw attention to itself through 'errors'" (Lillis & Tuck, 2016, p. 34). Indeed, AL researcher-practitioners endeavour to "make students aware of the rules of the game and the consequences of not using these" (Lillis with Horner, 2015, p. 331). However, their research goals are considerably more focused on the productive critique of "the institutional conditions in which" students produce writing and how academic writing "is taught, elicited, read and assessed by academic staff in the disciplines" (Tuck, 2018, p. 1). Much of this "substantial … body of enquiry and practice" (Tuck, 2018, p. 7) aims to reveal how such conditions and practices disadvantage students less adept at indulging the ideologies of writtenness. This critical gaze has meant that Academic-Literacies, beyond similar roots and generative cross-fertilisation with the other academic writing research traditions such as EAP, WAC/WID composition and Rhetoric SLW (e.g., Horner, 2013; Lillis & Tuck, 2016; Russell, Lea, Parker & Donahue, 2009; Wingate & Tribble, 2012) has emerged as a methodologically, ideologically and epistemologically distinct field (Lillis & Scott, 2007).

Methodologically, most AL research orients towards ethnography and emic understandings of the practices and perspectives of those involved with academic writing. Studies have included observing practices surrounding the production and reception of texts and detailed descriptions of the contexts and conditions of these practices (e.g., Boz, 2006; Ivanic, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Tuck, 2013). These studies have aimed to elicit participants' perspectives on their texts and production practices (Lillis & Scott, 2007), often through a method almost synonymous with academic literacies, 'Talk around Texts' (Lillis, 2008).

Ideologically, although AL is a critical field of enquiry, as with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the term "critical" in AL indicates a "sense of critique, with the goal of a positive outcome" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 1) rather than negative evaluation. AL's ideology is therefore transformative; through critique of the conventions and ideologies of evaluative regimes such as writtenness, it encourages "alternative ways of meaning-making in academia, not least by considering the resources that (student) writers bring to the academy as legitimate tools for meaning-making" (Lillis & Scott, 2007; see also Lillis, Harrington, Lea & Mitchell, 2015).

Epistemologically, AL is firmly aligned with New Literacy Studies (NLS) tenets that all activities involving reading and writing are best understood as literacy practices, foregrounding "the social nature of what ... [people] do as writers" and "what they make of what they do, and how it constructs them as social subjects" (R. Clark & Ivanic, 1997, p. 82). The NLS perspective that literacy practices are varied, culturally shaped, and situated in different aspects of people's lives (Barton & Hamilton, 2000, p.7) radically challenged widespread common-sense views of literacy as an acquirable cognitive skill that, once acquired, can be deployed as an autonomous resource in any act of reading and writing regardless of context (Street, 1984). Clearly, there is some substance in the notion "that if one cannot read [or write], then one cannot read [or write] anything" (Williams, 2004, p. 597). However, it is also clear that some texts are significantly "more linguistically and cognitively challenging than others" (Wallace, 2002, p. 92) to both read and write. Therefore, it is equally true to say that the ability to read and write some texts does not mean that one can read or write all texts equally well (Williams, 2004). Indeed, the varying complexity and difficulty that seems designed into some texts suggests

ideology at play, and, therefore, that literacy practices are 'ideological'; they are infused with socially determined linguistic and discursive practices which are patterned by the local and wider social and cultural contexts in which they are situated and used (Papen, 2005). The value of this perspective for research such as mine is neatly captured in an often-cited passage from Barton and Hamilton (2000): "The notion of literacy practices offers a powerful way of conceptualising the link between the activities of reading and writing and the social structures in which they are embedded and which they help to shape" (p. 7).

A further key notion in NLS work is that some literacies, particularly the schooled literacies of dominant education systems, are more socially prestigious and enabling than others and have remained so across time and space (Wallace, 2002). As such, some of these more consequential literacies have become internalised and routinised at the level of individual and institutional habitus (Lillis & Scott, 2007), a situation that seems to encapsulate the role of writtenness in Anglosphere education. This deep embedding of such practices underpinned the central idea in this thesis that the "immediate pedagogic contexts", the classrooms at AUAF, and "the disciplinary and broader institutional" (Tuck, 2018, p. 8), and indeed global contexts would shape the lecturers and students' practices around differing aspects of the assignments, including writtenness. As such, it seemed useful to consider that some practices may be oriented to the assignment task at hand in the local, immediate pedagogic context, i.e., specific *assignment-oriented practices*, while others might be oriented to actual writing in the texts as opposed to the content or other specific assignment requirements, i.e., *writtenness oriented practices*.

2.3 Assignment-Oriented and Writtenness-Oriented Practices

The concept of varying levels of context from the immediate or local to the broader institutional or global was also key in the evolution of and a growing sense of the analytical value of ways to theorise the students' and lecturers' literacy practices as varyingly assignment or writtenness-oriented.

Drawing on R. Clark and Ivanic's (1997) model of writing as a social practice (Figure 2.1), it seemed many of the activities highlighted in yellow could be considered assignment-oriented practices.

Figure 2.1: R. Clark and Ivanic's (1997) Model of Writing as a Social Practice
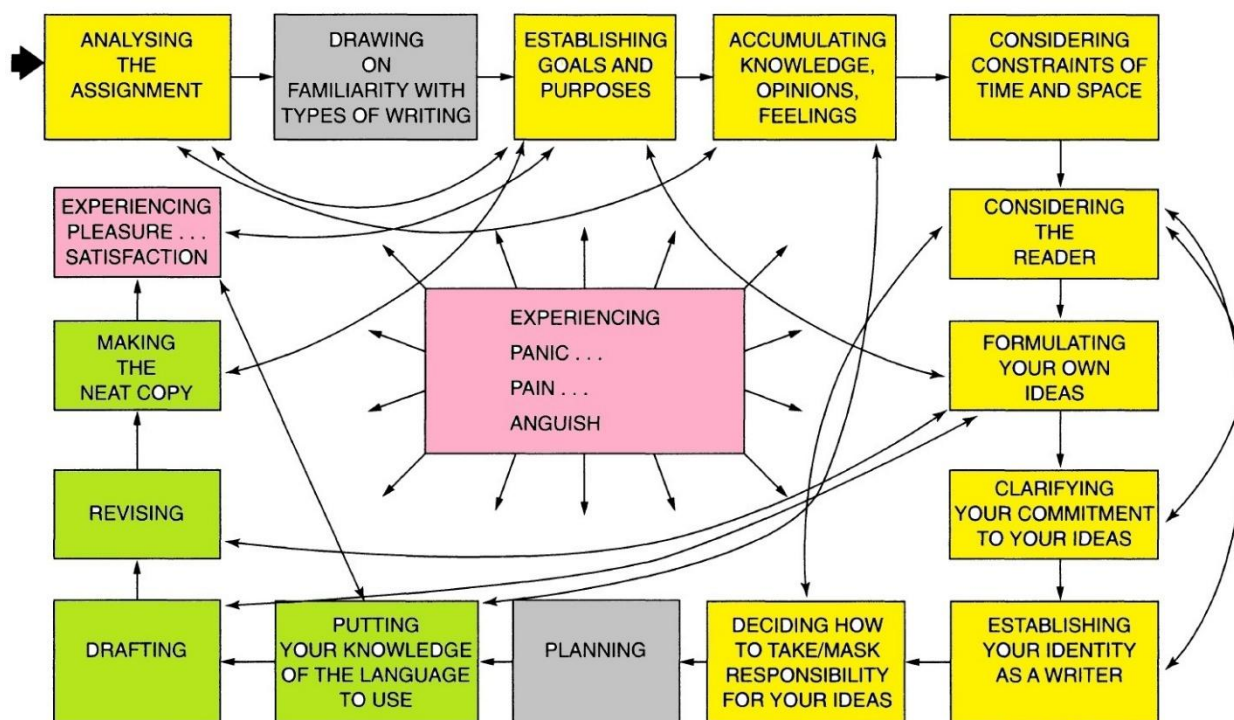
Some of these could be lecturer assignment-oriented practices of production scaffolded or alluded to in class, during office hours or hall conversations (Copland & Creese, 2015) and/or in written assignment prompts, guidelines, or emails. For students, some of the *yellow* assignment-oriented practices could include working or colluding with others to understand the assignment, seeking models, finding and understanding input resources, developing opinions, etc., while some would necessarily happen individually and internally. For both students and lecturers, while all of these yellow practices are associated with academia in general, many would seem to be aimed at and orchestrated by the immediate local context of the classes, i.e., getting this work done for this assignment in this class.

The practices highlighted in green are also clearly assignment-oriented, aimed at conveying the content and meeting other assignment requirements. However, they also clearly entail practices around the writing in the texts apart from the content, i.e., they are writtenness-oriented. Regarding lecturers' work, some of these could also be scaffolded or alluded to through the same means as above and could include reminders of writtenness-oriented expectations or direct writtenness-oriented practices that lecturers felt were assignment-specific. Lecturers could also help with drafting and revising, advising not only on content but also the writing. It is these lecturer writtenness-oriented practices of production that are the focus of research question one (see Chapter five).

For students, green writtenness-oriented practices could include also working or colluding with others. However, at some stage, if the work is done as expected, these practices will involve the internal cognitive and often recursive practices of putting existing or even developing knowledge of the language to use, part of the hidden labour

of writtenness (Turner, 2018). The extent and intensity of this labour may likely depend on other factors, including the complexity of the task and individual factors such as a writer's linguistic repertoire (see, for example, Johnson, 2023; Kormos, 2011), time and inclination, senses of the importance of writing at university, desires to submit polished work, working with informal/formal literacy brokers, etc. All these factors affect what appears on the paper. It is these writtenness-oriented practices that are central to research question two. Lastly, the consequences of these practices, the writing that appears in the assignments themselves, form the focus of research question three, the extent to which writtenness influenced the way the lecturers read and assessed the students' papers.

Clearly, yellow and green practices are not mutually exclusive. For students, the mental gymnastics of writtenness can feature in mental representations of how to clarify commitments to ideas, establish an identity or ways to mask or foreground responsibility for ideas. Such overlaps in assignment/writtenness-oriented practices are also inherent in the stages highlighted in grey. Drawing on familiarity (or lack of) with different types of writing may entail retrieving senses of genre and writtenness from long-term memory. The planning stage may involve drawing on mental representations of genres, their stages and written forms such as meta-textual elements. Also, as indicated in the pink parts, regardless of whether practices are assignment or writtenness-oriented, such practices are also subject to the emotional responses to the labour of producing both assignments and writtenness.

The rationale for such a distinction between assignment or writtenness-oriented practices is twofold. First, it offers ways to narrow the focus of this text-oriented

ethnography, the role of writtenness in these classes. Second, while assignment-oriented practices may be largely orchestrated by senses of the immediate pedagogical contexts, writtenness-oriented practices can be seen to be orchestrated by the senses of the broader contexts in which the classes are situated. The writtenness-oriented practices were (likely) brought into the classes, having been (likely) shaped by previous experiences for both students and lecturers. Therefore, in line with much AL work, the distinction between assignment and writtenness-oriented practices also affords ways to consider if or how both students' and lecturers' practices of production and reception were orchestrated by both the local and broader contexts in which the assignments operated.

To further underpin the rationale for delineating assignment and writtenness-oriented practices, this chapter now considers aspects of writtenness as characterised by Turner (2018) that made it such a valuable concept for the focus of my study.

2.4 Writtenness as a transdisciplinary phenomenon

The focus on the writtenness of texts as separate from content in this study does not discount the diverse, plural nature of academic literacies, which are "situated in specific disciplinary contexts" (Lillis & Tuck, 2016, p. 30) and which influence lecturers' expectations and assessment practices (Lea & Street, 1998). Indeed, the study recognises influential work which has highlighted the disciplinary specificity of academic writing (e.g., Biber & Gray, 2016; Coffin, 2006; Hyland, 2009), what Turner (2018) refers to as the writtenness*es* of HE (p. 7, emphasis added). Despite this, Lea and Street (1998) note that disciplinary lecturers often have difficulties explaining their tacit disciplinary

knowledge of why, beyond content and perhaps explicit disciplinary conventions, particular texts were good or bad (Lea & Street, 1998). Turner asserts that writtenness and its evaluative expository, smooth read and linguistic conflation ideologies transcend "the situated context of any individual written text" (p. 6). Therefore, while acknowledging certain disciplinary textual features and practices do not travel well across disciplines (Lea & Street, 1998; Molinari, 2022), it seems expectations for writtenness are part of the cultural landscape of higher education. As such, this transdisciplinary aspect suggested a focus on writtenness-oriented practices could be applied equally regardless of any disciplinary differences among the lecturers or students[10] in terms of their majors.

2.5   Writtenness as a cultural phenomenon

As a cultural phenomenon, writtenness manifests in an abstract 'immaterial' sense in the minds of text producers and receivers. EMIAUA students have been exposed to it in their FYC classes and texts that travelled into their other classes. These texts can be seen as literacy sponsors, having some capacity to "enable or induce literacy" (Brandt & Clinton, 2002, p. 349). This agentive force suggests many students likely have at least some sense of it 'in mind' and "anxieties about getting it right" (Turner, 2011, p. 430) when writing their assignments, and such senses influence their writtenness-oriented practices. In EMIAUA contexts, these students' anxieties are likely bound up with the

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[10] In terms of their majors.

'commonsense' belief that writtenness should be materialised in SWE (e.g., Horner, 2017; see also Jenkins, 2013; Hynninen, 2016),

Lecturers likely have an "Ideal Text" (Brannon & Knoblauch, 1982, p. 159) mental representation of how their assignments *should* be written in mind when creating assignments and, in particular, when reading student work. Also, as they are likely "rhetorically more experienced, and technically more expert than their apprentice writers" (p. 158), they will be aware when certain linguistic aspects, not least of which may be associated with variations from SWE, trigger their senses of the expository, smooth read and linguistic conflation ideologies.

2.6   Writtenness as a Linguistic Phenomenon

These senses of writtenness that are perhaps most acute when reading indicate that writtenness must have a physical, linguistic materiality. Indeed, Turner (2018) emphasised that writtenness also "accentuates the linguistic materiality of texts" (p. 5); it is linguistically 'in' texts. However, despite acknowledging the materiality of writtenness, Turner (2018) does not provide samples of it or advocate any ways to describe it linguistically, preferring instead to foreground the "overarching role that writtenness plays as a metadiscursive criterion" (p. 6). Indeed, Molinari's (2022) view is that writtenness "is an elusive quality of 'good writing' that is difficult to pinpoint" (p. 28) that good writers simply see in texts. This study does not dispute this. However, to be recognised, however tacitly, it must be made of something, or at least composed of linguistic elements that contribute to its unmarked form. Also, as Turner (2018) argues,

the existence of writtenness becomes apparent in its absence; there must be linguistic elements that detract from it and accentuate its markedness.

Focusing on writtenness as a linguistic phenomenon seems to provide a way to leverage "the text back into the frame" (Lillis & Scott, 2007, p. 22) and address a common critique of AL, its tendency to privilege practices over texts. However, in this study, there remained (remains) a key issue of how to provide a linguistically grounded account of writtenness. As there appears to be no off-the-shelf writtenness analysis technique, this study considered existing accounts of aspects of academic writing that seem writtenness-like. It also went beyond these, however, and drew on the considerable canon of work that has detailed aspects of academic writing that could be considered to contribute to material writtenness.

2.6.1 Essayist Literacy

One relatively well-known writtenness-like account of Western schooled literacy is Essayist literacy. Essayist literacy embodies the expository ideology; it is linear, accretive and recursive, focuses on "one central point, theme, character or event at any one time," and "aims to inform rather than to entertain" (Lillis, 2001, p. 38). Stylistically, it fictionalises the writer as an authority on the topic being written about, concealing their "individual and idiosyncratic identity" (p. 83-84). It is also written for an imaginary, idealised reader, "a rational mind formed by the rational body of knowledge of which the essay is a part" (p. 83). While all this is realised linguistically, essayist literacy also deploys other linguistic resources to attend to the smooth read ideology through logical linguistic signalling of relationships between sentences and ideas. It also aims to cater

for the linguistic conflation ideology by using "the standard version of a language" (Lillis, 2013, p. 38; see also Gee & Hayes, 2011).

2.6.2 Reader-based prose vs writer-based prose

Another conceptualisation of writing that echoes the reader-oriented aspects of writtenness is Flower's (1979) distinction between reader-based and writer-based prose. Reader-based prose is constructed to attend to the reader's expository ideology; it is structured and organised and follows a logical, accretive flow, laying out an intended collection of meanings. It caters for the smooth read and linguistic conflation ideologies aiming to convey information in a way that is easy for readers to grasp and find useful. Writer-based prose, on the other hand, "reflects the associative, narrative path of the writer's own" thinking about a subject. Linguistically, it can include "privately loaded terms" and un-signalled shifts in focus (Flower, 1979, pp. 19-20), unexplained or underdeveloped ideas, and lexicogrammatical errors that prevent meaning from coming through for anyone other than the writer.

2.6.3 Gricean Maxims and Writtenness

An interesting way to consider writtenness by drawing the Gricean Maxims was forwarded by Wyatt and Nunn in 2018. Texts that observe the maxims would be as informative as possible but provide only the information needed, and no more (Quantity); the information therein would be accurate and at least supported by evidence (Quality); it would be relevant, providing information that pertinent to the discussion or purpose (Relation); and it would be laid out in such ways as to make as clear, brief, and orderly as possible and avoiding obscurity and ambiguity (Manner). It seems that observing the

maxims of Quantity, Relation, and Manner would be one way of contributing to writtenness.

While these existing accounts were valuable, this study sought more concrete ways to consider what linguistic elements might contribute to or detract from writtenness.

2.7 What might contribute to material writtenness?

It must be stressed that the following exploration of what might contribute to or detract from writtenness acknowledges that reactions to texts at any given time are idiosyncratic and influenced by various factors outside of the text. Also, the account below in no way claims to have definitively pinned writtenness down. It was worked on solely as part of this study to help interpret ethnographic data, to facilitate a look from the texts to the practices of production and reception and to enable a reciprocal look from these practices and their contexts to the texts (Lillis, 2008).

2.8 Text-analytical approaches

One text-analytical tradition that shares AL's interest in situated language use and has had a productive relationship with AL from its outset (Tuck, 2017) is the form of critical discourse analysis (CDA) associated with Norman Fairclough (see, for example, Ivanic, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Paxton, 2006; Tuck, 2013, 2017). The synergies between Fairclough's CDA and Academic Literacies are numerous and stem from the shared view that language use is best understood as a social practice which is shaped by and shapes "the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) in which it occurs" (Fairclough &

Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Both traditions also share a political agenda of raising awareness of how particular language/literacy practices position people, often in relations of unequal power (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Lillis & Scott; Toh, 2013), and how 'gatekeepers' regulate "what is and what is not acceptable discourse" (Flowerdew, 2013, p. 1).

While AL tends to subsume the linguistics of texts under the catchall notion of literacy practice, content to live with any resulting ambiguity (R. Clark & Ivanic, 1997), Fairclough (2003) extricates language from practices through the notion of 'orders of discourse,' language types and resources drawn on in interactions associated with particular institutions or social structures. Like other orders of discourse, those in higher education are historically situated, "relatively stabilised" (Hyland, 2009, p. 157) and "ideologically shaped by those who exercise authority" (p. 22- 23). R. Clark and Ivanic (1997) argue that institutional orders of discourse provide writers in the academy "templates for appropriate ways of writing about particular topics" (p. 13).

A useful aspect of Fairclough's orders of discourse is that he sees them as comprised of three elements: genres, discourses, and styles, that can be analysed linguistically (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26). However, while Fairclough's orders of discourse provided an initial umbrella concept for thinking about elements of writtenness, particularly in terms of genre and style, as discussed below, his characterisation of discourses was less relevant. Also, as his focus is not strictly on writing, other traditions that have researched genre and style were usefully drawn on to consider what might contribute to writtenness.

2.8.1 Genre

Genre is a concept widely used in various literary and non-literary writing research traditions to indicate an interest in typified uses of language in recurring situations (Lillis, 2013). AL tends to subsume "the troublesome notion of the genre" (Lillis, 2013, p. 57) under its all-encompassing concept of literacy practices (Lillis, 2013; Russell et al., 2009). It is another aspect of what people do with literacy in certain situations. This echoes Fairclough's interest in genres as activity and how they mediate the actions of powerful groups. For Fairclough, genres can be analysed at various levels: From highly abstract pre-genres, such as narrative, report, and argument, a "potential ... used in composing various types of texts" (De Melo Resende, 2009, p. 369) and arguably can underpin senses of writtenness; to less abstract disembedded genres, which have been appropriated from the "networks where they initially developed" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 68) and reused in differing contexts[11]; to situated genres, which Fairclough describes as the least abstract, being situated, purpose-driven, and tied to the specific networks of practices.

These situated genres have been of interest to other writing or writing pedagogy-oriented genre traditions, and it is these traditions that offered concepts and frameworks for text analysis that were more useful for this study.

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[11] Fairclough argues some genres have been disembedded through processes traceable to "the restructuring and rescaling of capitalism" and "the global spread of English" (p. 69), both of which are drivers of the global phenomenon of EMI. In some ways, in many EMI contexts, all academic genres can be seen as disembedded, or at least semi-disembedded, from the Anglophone centre and reused in contexts such as AUAF.

2.8.1.1 Rhetorical Genre Studies

Although work in Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS), like Fairclough, tends to conceptualise genre as types of activity and is, therefore, less useful for text analytic techniques, it did provide some very useful concepts, particularly around ways to consider other texts, such as guidelines and models gathered in the ethnographic part of the study and their roles in the assignments. As such, it is discussed here before moving on to other genre analysis traditions.

Central to RGS is the concept of rhetorical situation, a "complex of persons, events, objects, and relations and an exigence which strongly invites" a typified response (Bitzer, 1968, p. 4). This concept shares much with Halliday's context of situation (within a context of culture) (see Butt et al., 2000; Eggins, 2004; Martin & D. Rose, 2007), which has been used in other seminal AL work (e.g., Ivanic, 1998; Lillis, 2001). In both 'situations', some genres become stabilised based on their socially agreed suitability and appropriateness. Also, in most rhetorical situations, genres are not isolated; they emerge from or lead to other genres and, as such, are part of genre sets/chains/networks (Devitt, 1991; Fairclough, 2003; Raisanen, 2002; Uhrig, 2011)

Genre sets, chains, and networks emphasise the chronology (chains) and patterned ways in which genres work to achieve situated purposes or group together to give rise to an ultimate genre (networks). In many situated chains and networks, these complex relationships also inhere 'uptake' (Freadman, 2002); certain situated genres are responses to "learned recognitions of significance that, over time and in particular contexts, becomes habitual. Knowledge of uptake is knowledge of what to take up, how, and when" (Barwashi & Reiff, 2010, p. 86). This echoes a literacy practices perspective of situational uses of certain literacies in that what "constitutes an appropriate response

within a particular communicative context is relational in that it is guided by understandings (albeit typically tacit ones) that arise from our lived experience" (Artemeva & Fox, 2012, p. 483).

In educational contexts, I Clark (2005) draws on Freadman's (2002) view of genre and uptake to argue that assignment prompts are primary texts, with the assignments they prompt being uptake texts. She cautions, however, that commonly, students "only partially understand the genre of the primary text and [are], therefore, unable to construct an acceptable response" (I Clark, 2005). This may be accentuated when students are asked to write in a new genre and struggle to "make use of their antecedent genre knowledge" (Graves & White, 2016, p. 300). Other RGS work suggests that working with new genres can be eased through intermediary genres (Tachino, 2012), such as model texts in textbooks or otherwise, that can facilitate the uptake of situational-appropriate genres in student writing. Other genres that are clearly more instructive, such as syllabi, assignment guidelines and manuals, can be seen as what Giltrow (2002) calls meta-genres. Meta-genres can prompt uptakes by providing "guidance in how to produce and negotiate genres within systems and sets of genres" (Barwashi & Reiff, 2010, p. 94).

All these RGS concepts are useful for considering the texts around the students' writing. However, as Aull (2015) notes, "RGS has focused less on recurring linguistic patterns in written genres" (Abstract). Therefore, to consider more specifically linguistic aspects of genre that might contribute to writtenness, the study drew on traditions that have investigated the linguistics of situated genres.

2.8.1.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics: The Sydney School

The text-oriented genre tradition known as the Sydney School, emerged from Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. Like RGS scholars, those in the Sydney School view genres as "predictable patterned ways of making meaning within a culture" (Martin & D. Rose, 2007, p. 6). However, their work has focused on identifying major schematic stages inherent in the beginning, middle and end of various genres (see Butt et al., 2000; Martin & D. Rose, 2007), internal grammatical/rhetorical structures, and registers within 'valued' or 'socially powerful' genres, such as those found in schools and universities.

Key Sydney School SFL concepts helpful in considering what might contribute to writtenness and cater in particular for the expository and smooth read ideologies are overall schematic structures, theme /rheme (given and new), thematic progression and cohesion. At the overall schematic structuring level, certain situated genres include certain stages in certain parts. For example, argument essays (exposition in Sydney School terminology) may have the stages of a 'statement of position' (and a preview of arguments) followed by a series of arguments, followed by a restatement of the position (see, for example, Butt, Fahey, Feez, Spinks, & Yallop, 2000; Martin & D. Rose, 2007). Themes, in SFL, are the beginning points for messages and can operate from the whole text to the clause-to-clause level. As such, beginning elements in the schematic structures are often described as macro-themes which work to provide an opening generalisation in a text and serve to predict its overall development (Coffin, 2006). At an intermediary, or meso level, hyper-themes "function as the opening generalisation in a paragraph and ... typically ...link back to the macro-theme" (Coffin, 2006, pp. 71-72). At the micro-organisational level, clause themes are the starting points for messages. Typically, topical clause themes pick up information that is already known or readily

traceable to a reader and use this as a springboard to newer information, creating a given-new-given-new accretive thematic progression throughout a text. Themes and thematic progression often inculcate other forms of cohesion through conjunction or textual themes, specific words that indicate relationships between ideas, reference and substitution, the use of pronouns and synonyms to pick meanings and carry them forward, and lexical cohesion whereby lexically related meanings also carry meaning forward (see also nominalisation below).

2.8.1.3 English for Specific Purposes

Drawing on a 'communities of practice' perspective, ESP also aimed to establish links between a situated genre's communicative purpose within communities and its textual properties. Similar to the focus on schematic structures in SFL, ESP focuses on describing the stages, or moves, of situated genres. However, while the Sydney School has tended to focus on elemental genres or rhetorical modes at the primary and secondary school level, some of the most famous work in ESP has focused on the Introduction, Methods, Results, and Discussion (IMRD) research paper. One of the most pedagogically used aspects of this work is Swales' breakdown of the CARS (Create a Research Space) introductions found in these types of texts (see, for example, Swales & Feak, 2012). The model suggested that, despite variations, such introductions had three main stages: Move 1. Establishing a territory, Move 2. Establishing a niche and Move 3. Occupying the niche. Swales' (1990) model has remained relatively robust as both an analytical and pedagogical framework. Indeed, in this study, Swales' model seemed particularly relevant as two of the assignments in the study were essentially IMRDs.

More recently ESP has drawn on techniques from Corpus Linguistics to establish typical repeated discourse community-authorized verbalization patterns or realizations within and across generic moves including meta-text[12] and sentence starters (see for example, https://www.phrasebank.manchester.ac.uk/). While it is emphasised, there is usually no direct congruent relationship between moves and realization patterns, there are tendencies for co-occurrence in highly ritualized (Fairclough, 2003) institutional genres such as IMRDs (see Swales & Feak, 2012).

Although, as Fairclough (2003) points out, genres "like any form of social activity are open to the creativity and indeed transgression of individual agents" (p. 69) albeit dependent on "the capacities of the agent" (p. 161), the traditions above provided linguistic elements that may contribute to writtenness, and importantly for this study can be 'looked for' in texts. Also, useful for this study many of the elements such as thematic progression and community-authorized verbalization patterns can be seen as trans-generic aspects of writtenness.

2.8.2 Discourses

Discourse is a notoriously slippery and varyingly defined concept, referring alternately to stretches of language in use (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), or, in the Foucauldian sense, the ways certain social groups use certain kinds of language to represent certain things, and certain perspectives or aspects of the world as related to the way they comprehend it. Fairclough (2003) argues that lexico-grammatical analysis can reveal the specific linguistic way in which some discourses favour the interests of

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[12] Phrases such as, 'This paper will …", "The study shows …" which as in essayist literacy, are commonly used in the effacement of the writer and the construction of authoritative identity

some groups and/or marginalise others. While this study does not discount that some students may hold certain positions and mimic the discourses associated with them in their assignments, it also acknowledges that some students may display discourses in order to be graded favourably and to play the game (Ivanic, 1998), a tell-him-what-he-wants-to-hear approach (Harris, 2010). Also, from a disciplinary discourse perspective, aspects like a lack of hedging or evaluative language in the social sciences or flouting the Gricean maxim of quantity through lack of elaboration may be considered by some lecturers as indices of poor disciplinary thinking (see Lillis & Curry, 2010). However, while any instances of disciplinary discourse or possible flouting of Maxims were noted, in the same way that writtenness is transdisciplinary and trans-generic, this study sees it as trans-discoursal, a vessel for representing written versions of the discourses. Therefore, due to the focus of the study, Faircloughian discourse analysis did not seem helpful.

Writtenness can be seen to have discourse-like properties in the sense of Gee's notion of secondary dominant 'D' Discourses [13] (Gee, 1989). Gee argues that such Discourses are 'identity kits' (1989, p. 7). Full membership of a group comes with the mastery of the Discourse and its associated literacies; anything less than this "marks you as a non-member of the group that controls this Discourse ... a *pretender* to the social role instantiated in the Discourse" (Gee, 1989, p. 10). This clearly echoes Turner's account of the stigmatisation of students who cannot easily attend to the ideologies of

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[13] Secondary dominant discourses are those learned in social institutions such as school mastery of which has the potential to confer social "goods" (money, prestige, status, etc. Gee, 1989)

writtenness. Gee's focus on the identity aspect of dominant secondary Discourses, however, seems to imbricate his account with what Fairclough refers to as style.

2.8.3 Style

For Fairclough (2003), style is the use of language "as a resource for self-identifying" (p. 26); the linguistic elements of style are bound up with "identification ... how people identify themselves and are identified by others" (p. 159).

Ivanic (1998), in her seminal CDA-influenced AL work on student writing and identity, argued that "when a writer words something in a particular way, by a particular choice of words and structures, they are aligning themselves with others who use such words and structures, and hence making a statement of identity about themselves" (p. 45). Although there is no "single, unitary academic literacy ... no single, finite set of textual forms and processes that can be identified as 'academic writing'" (Green, 2020, p. 14), usefully, for this study, as with genre, many styles associated with academic writing have been extensively analysed. Ivanic (1993), drawing on SFL, described academic style as comprised of "a preponderance of relational and mental process clauses, very few material process clauses, a highly nominal style, the use of the use of carrier nouns and Graeco-Latin vocabulary, [and] the lack of expressive metaphor" (p. 226). Much SFL work shows academic styles are more commonly emblematised by 'grammatical metaphor', one of the most studied forms of which is nominalisation (Halliday & Martin, 2004; Schleppegrell, 2004).

Nominalisation, the process of forming nouns from verbs or adjectives, has become associated with writer identities of logical reasoning and authoritativeness and conveying technicality and abstraction (Dreyfus, Humphrey, Mahboob, & Martin, 2016;

Schleppegrell, 2004). Nominalisations are often associated with another well-studied linguistic feature of academic style: nominal groups. Nominal groups comprise a head, or main, noun, often a nominalisation, that can be surrounded by various forms of premodification and/or post-modification that pack meaning onto the noun (Ravelli, 1996). This process often transforms clauses into nominal groups that can be related to other nominal groups within a single clause. The resultant phrasal complexity of these linguistic processes is the hallmark of academic style (Biber & Gray, 2016).

Halliday and Martin (1993) assert that the use of language in this way emerged during the scientific revolution the period which, interestingly, according to Turner (2018), gave rise to writtenness. Indeed, Halliday and Martin (1993) argue that:

The core of a scientific text was the development of a chain of reasoning (ultimately based on experiments) in which each step led on to the next. But in order to lead on to the next step you have to be able to repeat what has gone before … as the springboard for the next move (Halliday & Martin, 2004, p. 144)

This clearly suggests the expository and smooth-read ideologies of writtenness. Halliday and Martin (1993) add that such springboards (or clause themes) are often linguistically realised as nominalisations or nominal groups of previously given or easily retrievable information (Halliday & Martin, 1993). In the theme position, these points of departure were seen to have the effect, as in the staged experiments performed in the Royal Society, to provide the reader with solid footing before introducing the next piece of new information (Halliday & Martin, 1993: see also Coffin 2006; Schleppegrell, 2004)

Biber and Gray, however, argue that the resulting "extremely dense use of phrasal structures" (Biber & Gray, 2016, pp. 79 – 82) is often a "deliberately complex" identificational style, "more concerned with impressing readers than communicating ideas" (p. 1). Echoing AL's critical perspectives, they argue that this style can make academic writing "needlessly difficult to understand" (p. 1). Interestingly, such styles do seem to affect the assessment of multilingual student writing. Bychkovska and Lee (2017) showed that in FYC essays, more varied and more abstract nominalisations with more pre/post-modification were features of higher-scoring essays.

2.8.4 Writtenness and Interdiscursivity

The discussion above, based on the extensive amount of research that has been done into academic writing, indicates that commonalities exist in terms of genre, cohesive elements, and lexicogrammatical forms. This indicates what Fairclough has described as 'constitutive intertextuality' or interdiscursivity. Ivanic (1998) eloquently describes interdiscursive relations: "The echo in the new text is not of another specific text but of a recognisable abstract text type or set of conventions: a pattern or template of language use rather than a sample of it" (p. 48). These interdiscursive relations suggest that at least some of the elements above are relatively common and are likely embedded in the lecturers' (and some students') tacit knowledge about what academic writing and its writtennesses look like. Therefore, it can be argued that these elements can contribute to writtenness. Useful for this study, also, is that many of the linguistic elements above can be looked for in texts (see Chapter Four).

2.8.4.1 Disclaimer

The above claims regarding the linguistic make-up of writtenness, however, in no way claim to definitively pin it down and render it describable. Many other elusive aspects, such as 'elegance' (Turner, 2023), are aesthetic and subjective. While the development of elegance and eloquence is often implied in the LAS literature (see, for example, Botstein, 2018), Turner (2023) highlights that such desires can work against multilingual students. Citing Hinkel (2003), she notes, "Elegance is a level of achievement that is unrealistic for L2 students (Turner, 2023, p. 212).

2.9   What Might Affect the Materialisation of Writtenness

While the above suggests that some of the elements contributing to writtenness can be seen and taught/learned, actualising unmarked writtenness in a text is clearly dependent on many factors. In this study, many of these, such as student motivation, time, and perceptions about the value of writtenness in each individual class, in AUAF or in general, were sought through the ethnographic investigation of assignment and/or writtenness-oriented practices around the texts. All these factors affect the stages of text production in R. Clark and Ivanic's model of writing as a social practice (see Figure 2.1). However, during the green stages therein, some of the hidden labour of writtenness must involve cognitive processes of composition internal to the writer.

R. Clark and Ivanic's (1997) diagram, which aimed "to show the interplay between cognitive processes and writing practices" (p. 94), was a response to other models that had focused primarily on the cognitive aspects.

One of the most cited of these cognitive models is Kellogg's (1996) proposition that during any act of writing, working memory is drawn on in three processes:

Formulation, planning content and translating it into lexicogrammatical forms; execution, the physical process of drafting the text; and monitoring, the ongoing review of the adequacy of the formed text for expressing meanings and revising reordering if necessary.

Flower and Hayes' (1983) more holistic model emphasises the dynamic and recursive activity of writing and focuses on how long-term memory was drawn into the process. This included drawing on knowledge of the topic and the task environment, including writing goals and audience. It also emphasised the role of monitoring in recursive episodes of writing, including instances of (re)planning, (re)translating, and reviewing text already produced and the effect of additions and modifications.

Johnson (2023) notes that it is widely accepted that writing incurs heavy cognitive demands on the working memory and attentional resources of any writer; he adds, however, that "these demands are likely compounded for L2 writers" (p. 5). Some research in task-based learning work in Second Language Acquisition (SLA, e.g., Skehan, 2009) indicates that two integrated factors, writing task complexity (e.g., writing from memory vs. writing form sources; writing about familiar topics in using familiar genres vs. novel topics and/or genres) and language proficiency, can have significant impacts multilingual writers' cognitive composition processes. These two factors can lead to a trade-off of attentional resources (Revesz, Kourtali, & Mazgutova, 2017) between writing subprocesses of formulation (planning/translation), execution and monitoring. Regarding task complexity, Johnson (2023) argues that competition for cognitive and attentional resources and what aspects of the process to focus on becomes more acute "for L2 writers composing in a genre with which they have limited experience" (p. 5).

The effects of language proficiency on the writing process seem obvious. However, some L2 writing work that draws on the SLA research cognitive models provided useful ways to consider aspects of the students' texts in this study. Manchon, Roca de Larios, & Murphy (2009) argue that more proficient multilingual writers are generally able "to strategically decide what attentional resources to devote to which composing activities at any particular point in the writing process" (p. 108; see also Kormos, 2011). However, below a certain threshold of proficiency, other research shows multilingual writers devote most of their attentional resources to the lexicogrammatical encoding of messages at the formulation stage, leaving fewer attentional resources for monitoring how the message unfolds at a more global level (Revesz, Kourtali, & Mazgutova, 2017; see also Schoonen, Snellings, Stevenson, and van Gelderen, 2009). As such, the reduced focus on the monitoring and revision processes may lead to linguistic bumps that may trigger the expository and smooth-read ideologies (see Kormos, 2011). Proficiency, then and experience with forming the linguistic elements at the clause level that can be seen to help with forming writtenness described in this chapter. It seems proficiency can also free up resources for other practices involved with monitoring the overall structure and the smoothness of the unfolding message.

Proficiency, however, is obviously not the sole factor in engineering writtenness. Other factors such as time, motivation, emotions, perceptions of the value of writing or the assignment at hand, and willingness or desire to invest labour in materialising writtenness, will also affect what students put on paper. Therefore, while high proficiency likely lightens the load, it does not necessarily mean less marked writtenness. Significant engagement in some of the other practices associated with the

hidden labour of writtenness, along with the motivation to do so, is also clearly important.

Despite this, the entire remedial economy of English (Turner, 2018) is based on the fact that multilingual students (as with many native speakers) struggle to materialise writtenness and produce texts with marked features.

2.10 What Might Detract from Writtenness

The most obvious aspect that detracts from writtenness is a surface-level error, the first level of static. Leki, et al. (2008) note that for lower proficiency multilingual students, surface level remains "an inevitable, defining characteristic of [their] writing" (p. 84).

Gee (1989) links surface-level correctness to Discourses, arguing that "mainstream status-giving Discourses often do stress superficial features of the language" (p. 11), adding that even minor errors can suggest that the writer is not the "right sort of person." Fields such as EALF or the translingual paradigm suggest these negative views of error indicate a "refusal to negotiate" (Canagarajah, 2007, p. 929) or accept that language difference is evidence of multilingual writers trying to convey meaning based on their language and literacy repertoires (Zawacki & Habib, 2014). This suggests that the problem lies not with language but with the orientation to it based on a geocultural sense of what is right. It also echoes Turner's suggestion that in the future, lecturers will need to accept 'a bumpier ride' through a text.

In higher education, however, the situation seems to remain that "grammatical accuracy is one of "the main criteria of good writing" (Hyland, 2010, p. 9). Connors and Lunsford (1988, p. 396) assert, "The world judges a writer by her mastery of conventions,

and we all know it." Heng-Hartse and Kubota (2014) note that in high-stakes writing in particular "lexicogrammatical variation from standard English is easily noticed by native and nonnative English speakers alike, and it can quickly lead to sentences, texts, or authors being perceived as deficient" (p. 73). This clearly echoes the stigmatisation of international and EMI multilingual learners that Turner (2018) refers to (see also Bitchener & Ferris 2012).

It seems that surface-level error is the most noticeable level when reading a text and the most likely to trigger the linguistic conflation ideology, which Turner suggests can also be the most influential when judging a writer or a text. However, other linguistic elements can trigger the smooth read ideologies. These can include the linguistic bumps that lower proficiency students may miss due to the diversion of attentional resources to clauses level lexicogrammar. These can include de-emphasis, odd placement or omission of macro or hyper themes, or disruptions in thematic progressions. In the field of error analysis, James (1998) identifies these and similar disruptions as discourse errors, disruptions in relational coherence, such as abrupt un-signalled shifts in topic, sequential coherence, such as jumping between unrelated topics, and redundancy, such as unnecessary (i.e., not structural) repetition (see also Kobayashi & Rinnert, 1996). Based on Wyatt and Nunn (2018), disruptions can be seen as flouting the Gricean maxim of manner and relation and, in the case of insufficient elaboration, the maxim of quantity.

However, despite this, much of the literature suggests that faculty overlook or accommodate surface and discourse error, quell their ideologies of writtenness and suspend their senses of what the writing in the text should be like and accept and pass

work that exhibits marked writtenness (e.g. You & You, 2013; Fishman & McCarthy, 2001; Jenkins, 2014).

2.11 What might affect orientations to writtenness

Several valuable ways to consider why multilingual texts that exhibit marked writtenness are still successful can be seen in what Baynham and Prinsloo (2009) have dubbed third-generation NLS (see also Canagarajah, 2013) and Blommaert's (2008, 2010) sociolinguistics of globalisation.

2.11.1 Literacy regimes, orders of indexicality, and spatiotemporal scales

One way to consider what goes on regarding marked writtenness in EMIAUAs such as AUAF is Blommaert's concept of 'literacy regimes' (Blommaert, 2008). Blommaert sees literacy regimes as relatively autonomous, hierarchically ordered sites which form their "own values and norms on what constitutes a meaningful or effective text" (Canagarajah & Matsumoto, 2017, p. 391). In literacy regimes, varying literacies and texts become placed in what Blommaert (2010) describes as "orders of indexicality". Orders of indexicality build on Silverstein's (2003) indexical order, the assertion that all utterances/texts indicate (1) membership of a demographic, (2) local/immediate identities and allegiances, and (3) contemporary or historically situated macrosocial phenomena. Orders of indexicality radiate from centring institutions in the form of "indexicalities to which others have to orient in order to be 'social', i.e., to produce

meanings that 'belong' somewhere" (Blommaert, 2005, p. 75). In terms of unmarked writtenness, such centring institutions would be the elite literacy regimes of Western higher education. While orders of indexicality share some similarities with orders of discourse in that they can be a meaning potential, what distinguishes them is that as a textual property, they index a stratified social order in which such choices identify the user in a particular way. They may index "prestige versus stigma; rationality versus emotion; membership of a particular group versus non-membership, and so forth" (p. 73 - 74). In literacy regimes, orders of indexicality "attach meanings, values and statuses to" certain literacies and their semiotic resources, thereby stipulating the kinds of writing deemed appropriate and successful (Canagarajah, 2015, p. 34). Unmarked writtenness would, therefore, emblematise a higher order of indexicality within elite literacy regimes.

In some literacy regimes, however, with their own orders of indexicality, texts that do not exhibit unmarked writtenness can still be locally successful. Blommaert, Muyllaert, Huysmans, and Dyers' (2005) research in an EMI township high school in South Africa showed that while student texts often exhibited "syntactic, lexical and pragmatic peculiarities" (p. 378), they were not overly stigmatised. In this literacy regime with its own orders of indexicality, some forms of marked writtenness had acquired "peripheral normativity"; they were accepted as locally successful and even seen as "tokens of local cultural creativity" (p. 396). However, Blommaert et al. (2005; see also Blommaert 2008) argue that such literacies and texts would experience constrained mobility; they would not confer some success in other literacy regimes with their own orders of indexicality. This was echoed by Maybin (2017), who noted that "the meaning

and status of a text in one context may be significantly altered when it is relocated in a new context and interpreted in terms of a new set of indexical orders" (pp. 423-424).

Blommaert (2010) operationalises this ranking and the hierarchical ordering of literacy regimes and orders of indexicality through the concept of "spatiotemporal scales." This concept reconfigures the sociolinguistics of variation, as related to places and diffusion, to one in which languages and literacies layer in scales, not only horizontally from micro/local to intermediary/e.g. state to macro/global spaces, but also temporally, vertically, and hierarchically (Blommaert, 2010, p. 34). Within spatiotemporal scales, the languages, registers, and literacies of less powerful communities are less valued outside their local contexts and, therefore, have restricted mobility. The elite languages, registers, and literacies of powerful communities, on the other hand, occupy higher scales "and are valued at the trans-local level" (Canagarajah, 2015). Being more mobile and temporally durable across specific spaces, they become "high mobility resources" (2010, 12) that can be deployed to "jump scales" (36) (Canagarajah, 2015), both trans-locally and hierarchically. In this framework, unmarked writtenness would logically seem to be located in higher scales by being more ahistorical, durable and trans-local. As such, it has imposed its norms beyond its centres, partly through the internationalisation of higher education.

While the concept of literacy regimes is intriguing, certain characteristics of AUAF and similar contemporary EMIAUAs and the connectivity between them and other universities suggest that it is difficult to conceive of them as relatively autonomous. Most faculty have arrived from and studied in centre-oriented institutions that likely have orders of indexicality oriented to higher spatiotemporal scales. Also, in higher education, faculty have a certain degree of autonomy in the classroom (Tuck, 2017) regarding

curriculum and assessment (this is certainly true of AUAF). Therefore, although there appear to be forms of peripheral normativity at AUAF suggesting it has literacy regime-like attributes, the acceptance and accommodations of marked texts seem more due to individual faculty rescaling their writtenness-oriented practices rather than any sense of institutionalised norms. Perhaps a better way to conceive of the classrooms in this study and the lecturers' practices within them is the notion of contact zones.

2.11.2 Contact zones

Canagarajah and Matsumoto (2017) argue that sites where centre-oriented lecturers' senses of writtenness meet with multilingual students' literacy practices, can be seen as contact zones: "Social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1991, p. 34). Such power in EMIAUAs is apparent due to the role of English and the USA in the world today. EMI itself has roots in colonialism and is part of the aftermath, and the growth in EMIAUAs is being driven, in part, by the neoliberal colonialism of the US (see Phillipson, 2002; Piller & Cho, 2013).

Not only is English a language of power, but most faculty also have legitimate, coercive, reward, referent, and expert power (French & Raven, 1959). Legitimate power emanates from institutionally ascribed roles and institutionalised capitals such as qualifications (Bourdieu). Referent power emerges from rapport, immediacy behaviours, instructor warmth and openness, and instructor organisation (Freeman, Anderman & Jensen, 2007). Expert power is derived from the perceptions of the teacher as being competent and knowledgeable in their subject area (McCroskey & Richmond, 1983)

The lecturer's sense of writtenness as part of their linguistic capital and repertoire is bound up with expert power, the assumption that they have a relatively well-honed ideal text sense of writtenness and the coercive/reward power they have to require it in student work and penalise variations from it.

Although coming from the translingual paradigm and arguing for valuing variation from SWE, Canagarajah and Matsumoto (2017) acknowledge the idiosyncratic nature of contact zones and that encounters within them are shaped by the attitudes, motivations, rights, and statuses of participants. Kimura and Canagarajah (2018) also noted that global contact zone interactions generally "are not free of norms and conventions" (p. 298) and are mediated by sedimented practices such as writtenness in which "success involves gaining the desired uptake from one's intended audience" (p. 297). Despite this, the current situation at AUAF, at least, echoes Jenkins' 2011 observation that the sheer numbers of multilingual students in global Englishized education "may result in individual university lecturers unilaterally accepting, if not condoning, instances of English that diverge mildly from standard native use but are nevertheless intelligible to them" (p. 972), instances of Turner's bumpier ride through such texts.

Based on the above, while AUAF may have literacy regime-like attributes, the classes in this study could be better described perhaps as relatively autonomous contact zones. This seemed particularly apt given the lack of institutional prescriptivism regarding what counts as a successful text, the lack of institutionally required rubrics (cf. Bailey & Garner, 2010; Tuck 2012, 2013, 2017) or any sense that requirements for writtenness are standardised.

2.12 Conclusion

Within the umbrella of AL, the overall theory underpinning this research is that writtenness would have some effect on both the lecturers' and students' practices of production and the lecturer's practice of reception. To investigate this, the concept of assignment-oriented and writtenness-oriented practices seemed a useful way to focus on happenings related to writtenness and the writing in the texts as opposed to the many other practices that went into the production and reception of these texts. To facilitate this investigation, the study looked beyond Turner's emphasis on writtenness as an immaterial meta-discursive evaluative regime to consider what linguistic aspects might contribute to writtenness on a page and other linguistic elements that might detract from it. Lastly, given multilingual students' well-noted struggles with materialising writtenness, the concept of relatively autonomous contact zones seems to provide some ways to consider why texts that might draw attention to themselves through more marked writtenness and be read differently outside the classrooms of AUAF are largely accommodated and indeed successful in the classrooms in this study. Indeed, while the introduction to this thesis described the idealised sense of LAS/EMIAUAs, the concept of contact zones seemed to provide a way to consider the on-the-ground reality in one such institution.

33. Literature review

3.1 Introduction

While writtenness is a relatively new concept and has only been used as an analytical concept in a few studies (e.g., Conrad, 2018; Granell, 2022), it does seem to provide a succinct way to describe some aspects of the research on student writing in HE. In this chapter, it is used where it seems reasonable that it describes some of the objects of research being reviewed.

The review below is oriented around this study's research questions. It looks primarily at research that has provided insight into subject lecturers' and students' practices of text production and lecturers' practices of reception. Regarding subject lecturers' practices, it looks at work from various writing research and pedagogy traditions that have aimed to scaffold subject lecturers' work with multilingual students by providing support materials and collaborative interventions. The purpose of this is not to take a deficit view of student writing but to look at how some subject lecturers in these studies orient to their role regarding student writing in their classes. While this work also provides insights into lecturers' perspectives on writtenness and the labour involved in scaffolding it, other studies in this review look at lecturers' beliefs and practices in and around working with multilingual students in non-intervention settings. The review of students' writtenness-oriented production practices covers research into some of the more hidden and sometimes intentionally covert ways students try to materialise writtenness, the drivers of these practices. It also covers other aspects that may frustrate

their efforts to materialise writtenness. The final part of the review focuses on lecturers'

reception practices and reasons for assessing multilingual student writing in the ways

they do, including, of course, their feedback-giving practices.

To begin, however, this review briefly covers some of the foundational AL

research that formed the basis of this project and has been drawn on directly or indirectly

in much of the literature in the following parts of this chapter.

3.1.1 Foundational AL work

In 1998, Lea and Street established Academic-Literacies as an orientation to

academic writing, which contested, encapsulated and transcended dominant

'technicist' (Turner, 2010) approaches to teaching and researching academic writing.

Their paper foregrounded what have become axioms of AL perspectives. Lecturers know

good essays when they see them, but generally struggle to articulate tacit knowledge of

why (see also Bloxham, Boyd, & Orr, 2011; Boz, 2006). While many are generally willing

to help students with writing, they struggle to explain how to write a good paper beyond

disciplinary conventions or, indeed, provide the scaffolding that students desire. As

such, students struggle with interpreting lecturer expectations and the often-limited

transferability of previously successful writing schema and experiences. This is

compounded in many cases by variations in lecturer approaches to writing, unhelpful

departmental/course essay writing guidelines and/or a lack of helpful feedback. Such

feedback, Lea and Street (1998) noted, was often cursory, exhibited a lecturer's right to

criticise and was aimed more at justifications of grades rather than forward-looking

commentary (Lea & Street, 1998). For many non-traditional students in UKHE, academic

writing was and remains an 'institutional practice of mystery' (Lillis, 2001).

In other key AL work, Ivanic (1998) focused on how non-traditional students' social identities were subtly infused in their texts through their language choices, leaving traces of identities less aligned with those expected of writers in UK universities. Lillis (2001) highlighted the confusion non-traditional students had in negotiating these often unexplicated expectations that seemed to their teachers to be transparent and acquirable to those who made the effort. While her participants desired higher education, they sometimes struggled with perceived obligations to use somewhat pretentious 'received pronunciation' styles (Turner, 2018) in their writing. Such styles felt alien and did not reflect who they were or the identities they were comfortable projecting. Interestingly, these concerns contrast somewhat with my own 2010 research, which found that multilingual students at AUAF were less conscious of or concerned by how particular words or styles conveyed by these RP identities. Indeed, those with EMI schooling felt these styles were correct English and the kind of English they wanted to use and be identified with.

Overall, these seminal AL works did much to highlight the need for individual and institutional introspection and critique of exclusionary language-based norms, a theme that has remained in AL work in the UK (e.g., Boz, 2006; French, 2011) and abroad (Chang, 2014; Conrad, 2018; Murray & Nallaya, 2014; Paxton, 2006; Coleman & Tuck, 2020; Wahi, O'Neill & Chapman, 2012, 2013).

More recent AL work has focused on the relatively hidden labour of lecturers' work around giving feedback and assessing student grade-bearing assignments (Tuck, 2012, 2016, 2017; see also, Chang, 2014; Poverjuc, 2011; Solano, 2015). Tuck's investigations of feedback as a social practice have highlighted UK lecturers' everyday difficulties and conflicts with work "at the textface". For many faculty, working with student writing is

often seen as an unrewarding and laborious part of work in higher education (Tuck, 2015).

However, many attempt to balance being a "fair assessor" and an academic engaging in

productive dialogue with individual students, with institutionally orchestrated roles of

"academic worker" having to meet the demands of "institutional quality assurance and

assessment regimes" (Tuck, 2012, p. 18). Tuck also showed the human and

individualised nature of such work. Sometimes lecturers wrote more feedback,

attempting to 'get through' to students or as a response to institutional monitoring. At

other times, often due to time constraints, they provided less, more superficial feedback,

viewing "their feedback-giving as a process of taking students through the "academic

hoops" (Tuck, 2012, p. 19). At times, echoing a relatively autonomous contact zones

perspective they also quietly flouted growing institutional imperatives to come "down

hard on students who regularly have poor spelling or poor grammar" by ignoring these

less egregious issues (James in Tuck, 2017, p. 139).

These foundational works did much to highlight conditions of text

production/reception in the specific context of UKHE and have oriented the thinking in

my study since its outset. However, one issue for my study is that they made no

distinction between local monolingual or multilingual students and their international

counterparts (Lillis & Tuck, 2016).

One exception was Boz's (2006) investigation of international postgraduates in a

UK university. This study provided a constructive critique of how institutional conditions

impinged on these students' burgeoning writtenness-oriented practices. Boz (2006) also

recommended several ways institutions can be more supportive of multilingual

students. These include providing more language support, providing detailed written

assignment guidelines in which assessment criteria, in particular, are made clear, providing effective feedback, and providing more targeted writing instruction in the pre-sessional course the multilingual students attended. Boz's (2006) research was not the first and has certainly not been the last to highlight these and other recommendations for working with multilingual students, however.

3.1.2 Working with Multilingual Students: Practices of Production in the Disciplines

In recent years, much work has been done on ways to assist multilingual students with their writing and, indeed, to assist subject lecturers in becoming more aware of the needs of such students and how to work with them. In the US, some of this work has contributed to initiatives in national bodies such as the Statement on Second Language Writing and Writers (The Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC)   https://cccc.ncte.org/cccc/resources/positions/secondlangwriting).   This document seeks "to advocate for multilingual writers in all spaces of universities and colleges".

In 2014, WAC/WID scholars published an entire edited volume on working with second language writers in the disciplines (Zawacki & M. Cox, 2014). While acknowledging that "WAC-based multilingual-friendly instructional techniques" (p. 11) were still in the formative stages, this volume also echoed the transformative ideology of AL, arguing that working with multilingual students was not merely a "matter of adapting multilingual students to a monolingual English norm" (p. 12), more about helping faculty adapt to work flexibly with multilingual students. For example, Lavelle and Shima (2014) reported on an MA program in which faculty from different cultures and disciplines work together to focus on the scholarly contributions their students' work made and cultivate

a "let it pass" attitude to error (p. 449). These sensibilities echo the transformative ideologies of AL; indeed, in another edited volume (Lillis et al., 2015), AL scholars promoted innovative pedagogies aimed at raising multilingual students' awareness of the roles of writtenness and how it positions them and/or helping them develop ways to deal with its demands (e.g., Leedham, 2015; Paxton & Frith, 2015).

3.1.2.1 Multilingual Student Writer Writtenness-Oriented Resources for Lecturers: Assignment Prompts and Guidelines (meta-genres)

Despite the above, many writing research traditions still take a normative view of the value of writtenness in HE and have done much to encourage faculty in the disciplines to work on writing in their classes. In the US, where many universities have WAC/WID programs, WAC/WID and RGS specialists have developed many self-access materials and resources for subject lecturers working with multilingual writers. These can be found on numerous US institutional websites (for example, the Purdue Writing Lab's [2021] guide for faculty working with multilingual student writers[14]). Some of this work has emerged from fruitful collaborations with second language acquisition (SLA) and TESOL specialists (e.g. Johns, 2000; Siczek & Shapiro, 2014). Similar self-help resources exist for faculty in the UK and other Commonwealth contexts.

A key focus of the WAC/WID and RGS work has been self-help resources for writing assignment prompts, guidelines, handouts, and/or assignment descriptions in syllabi (e.g., Bean, 2011). Much of the advice commonly recommends using authentic academic or professional tasks and genres that mirror real-world texts, aligning

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[14] This document focuses on the unique challenges faced by college faculty, particularly in terms of reading, assessing and providing feedback to these writers.

assignments with course objectives, and echoing Boz's (2006) recommendation, clearly articulating expectations and assessment criteria (Bean & Walvoord, 2011). However, there seems to be very little research on how faculty use these guidelines-oriented resources or any self-access materials and how they create and use their own guidelines and/or other assignment meta-genres.

3.1.3 Written Assignment Guidelines

Hicks (2016) notes that guidelines and meta-genres have "received little attention in the literature" (p. 32). Indeed, apart from a few redesign intervention studies (see below), most of the work on guidelines seems to be critique oriented.

3.1.3.1 Critiques of Assignment Guidelines

One reason Boz (2006) called for work on guidelines seems to be that in her study, some lecturers provided only in-class spoken instructions for assignments (195), a situation she described as "clearly unsatisfactory" (p.195) as multilingual students would likely struggle to extract and retain the information necessary to complete their assignments. A study by Graves, Hyland and Samuels (2010) also echoed Boz's concern about making assessment criteria clear. Graves et al.'s (2010) analysis of assessment notes in syllabi at a small LAS college found that "70 per cent of assignments contained no reference to how they would be graded" (as cited in Graves & White, 2016, p. 304).

However, even when written guidelines are used, Barwarshi (2003) notes that regardless of whether students are multilingual or not, they are invariably seen as an "essentially transparent" way of communicating about written assignments (p. 127).

This transparency is much questioned in the literature. Giltrow (2002) argued that in some meta-genres, desired uptakes are entailed in what is assumed to be a

shared understanding of terms such as argument, logic, evidence, specifics, etc. A key tenet of AL work, however (e.g., Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis & Turner, 2000), is that the meanings of such terms vary by discipline, and shared understandings cannot be assumed (see also French, 2011; Wingate, 2018). Harris (2011) provides an example of perhaps extreme idiosyncratic and discipline-influenced language from a lecturer in literature who required "clean, tightly written, interesting prose" (p. 5). It seems that while the lecturer had an ideal version of this in mind, and it makes sense to an experienced writer of literary critique, many students, not only multilinguals, would not find this instruction particularly helpful.

Lillis and Turner (2000) also note that instructions such as 'write an introduction' (p. 58) seemed inadequate for students unsure of genre-specific ways of doing so, and instructions to write in your 'own words' did not clarify authorised practices for doing so (Lillis & Turner, 2001). In his study of guidelines in MA courses in education in the UK, Stierer (1997) found instances of writtenness-oriented instructions, particularly regarding structure and sequencing elements in texts. However, he found that such instructions were not uniform across a "remarkable range of instructions", which he suggested was "clear evidence of the taken-for-grantedness with which academic teams approach the task of preparing assignments" (p. 22).

Arkoudis and Tran's (2010) study of international students on an MA in Education program at an Australian university found that the lecturers felt their guidelines were clear enough. The students, however, indicated that while the handouts described what was required, they desired more clarification of what constituted "good writing" and "how to demonstrate it in their assignments" (p. 173). Tuck (2017), in her study of

academics at the textface, indicated that while some participants echoed straightforward transparency beliefs about guidelines, others felt they were less clear, citing examples of assignments that did not reflect the criteria. One participant recounted that despite explaining guidelines verbally, some students suggested they did not understand, a finding echoed by Arkoudis and Tran (2010). Other lecturers in Tuck's study questioned the value of guidelines, feeling that many students were driven by the "misguided belief that sticking closely to" the instructions would ensure higher grades. Another voiced a concern common in critiques of genre pedagogy that overly prescriptive guidelines may lead to students' texts being "clones", an opinion similar to a lecturer in Arkoudis and Tran's (2010) study who felt that too much help would take away students' autonomy.

3.1.3.2 Guidelines Redesign Interventions

Some research has noted positive outcomes from drawing on AL, WAC/WID and genre pedagogy to redesign guidelines handouts. Hicks (2016) drew on AL perspectives to enhance assignment guidelines in an undergraduate history class. She added information on situational context, including disciplinary orientation to what counts as good research, and the informational context, including "accepted knowledge sources and the methods of evaluating the authority of a given text vary by discipline" (p. 35). Hicks found, however, that while the redesign helped students understand the handout, many still asked for models to assist them further with producing the assignment.

Eriksson's (2018) collaborative intervention included redesigning guidelines for the written part of a project in a post-graduate engineering course at a Swedish university. The updated handout clarified disciplinary-oriented writing practices for

accounting for the lab activities that were a significant part of the project and had been something students struggled with previously. Eriksson (2018) concluded that "the students' texts improved and that the redesign helped them to better adjust to a genre partially new to them" (p. 48). These studies suggest that well-designed guidelines can have an impact on students' assignment production, particularly when genres or disciplinary conventions were new.

Eriksson's (2018) collaboration also included working with the engineering faculty to provide other forms of scaffolding. These included many techniques associated with teaching and learning cycles found in genre pedagogy (e.g. Hyland, 2004), including low-stakes in-class formative writing activities, formative feedback on high-stakes assignments and opportunities for revision (see Ferris, 2003), and modelling text types and textual features and simply discussing writing in class. These techniques have also been promoted in other pedagogical interventions designed to encourage faculty to scaffold writing in their content classes.

3.1.4 Interventions: Encouraging Writing Support in the Disciplines

3.1.4.1 WAC/WID: Writing Intensive courses

Writing-intensive (WI) courses are a relatively established way in the US to embed writing development in disciplinary classes (Farris & Smith, 1992). They often entail at least initial collaboration between WAC/WID specialists and subject teachers to design materials and teaching strategies similar to the genre pedagogy techniques listed above. Research on these programs shows not only improvements in students' writing in various disciplines (e.g., Deans, 2017; Pasmantier & Fogarty Di Liberto, 2022) but also improvements in learning (Masuku & Mupawose, 2022) and affective outcomes such as

reducing writing apprehension (Byrket, 2016). Goldschmidt (2014) noted, in particular, the effectiveness of models in such courses, which, while "not sufficient in and of themselves", along with other WI techniques, provided a foundation for later "deep participation" in the discipline (p. 36). There is, however, little research that focuses on multilingual students in WI courses. One exception is Hirsch's (2014) study, which found that multilingual students in the WI version of a particular college course had higher pass rates than peers in non-WI sections of the same course. She argued that this was primarily due to the writing pedagogy practices, particularly modelling, formative feedback, and opportunities to revise drafts.

3.1.4.2 EAP, Genre Pedagogy, and AL Writtenness-Oriented Interventions

Outside the US, there appears to be little widespread institutional implementation of such courses or programs. However, the literature details some similarly focused collaborations between EAP specialists focusing on the use of formative feedback in targeted courses in UK universities with diverse student populations (e.g., Court, 2014; Wingate, 2012, 2018; Wingate, Andon & Cogo, 2011); genre pedagogy specialists working with academic departments or individual course lecturers in EMI contexts (Dreyfus, Humphrey, Mahboob, & Martin [SLATE[15]], 2016; see also Eriksson, 2018; Pessoa, Mitchell & Miller, 2018) and in some cases, AL specialists working to embed AL sensibilities and supportive pedagogies across departments

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[15] The Scaffolding Literacy in Adult and Tertiary Environments [SLATE] project was managed by Syndey School practitioners/researchers. It aimed to implement genre-based pedagogy in two departments in the City University of Hong Kong. This large-scale project involved training tutors to implement the pedagogies as frontloading, i.e., helping students learn genres and generic features before they wrote assignments in their classes. The tutor's work ran concurrent with the classes and drew on materials created with help from the subject lecturers.

(Wingate, 2018) or multiple departments and/or institutions in Australia (e.g., Murray &

Nallaya, 2014)

While all of these interventions, as with the WI courses in the US, required work,

training, and investment, sometimes significant amounts (e.g., SLATE; Murray &

Nallaya, 2014), they all yielded positive results. Faculty felt more prepared to assist

their students and aware of their needs, and students felt supported and produced

work they and their lecturers were happier with.

Wingate et al. (2011) reported that formative feedback on an 'exploratory essay'

designed to be drawn on in a second assignment a few weeks later, along with

student/tutor conferences on the feedback, led to substantial improvements in the

writing for some, often already higher achieving, students (see also Wingate, 2010).

Court (2014) found similar effects on formative feedback on drafts with opportunities

for revision written by native speaker and multilingual trainee ESL teachers at a UK

institution contributed to improved writtenness.

The SLATE project found that deconstruction of models, or 'frontloading' along

with iterative feedback on drafts "helped the students in using and developing genre

and discipline-specific language that they needed to succeed" (Mahboob, 2014, p.

200), including "resources such as Theme, Nominalisation and Nominal Group

structure" (p. 195).

Murray and Nallaya's (2014) project aimed to raise faculty awareness of AL

sensibilities and encourage lecturers to model and scaffold the writtenness of their

disciplines, often through processes associated with genre pedagogies. In support of

this, they cited pilot studies in which "students resoundingly expressed greater

confidence in dealing with the relevant literacies of their disciplines and a more developed understanding of the types of writing characterising those disciplines" and that these students' "performance on assessed tasks also improved markedly" (p. 1302).

Despite generally positive student outcomes, each study noted drawbacks for some students and lecturers. Wingate (2010) found that some comments for lower-achieving students had a more critical tone, which she suggested may have been demotivating. She also found, however, that many of these students either did not read or could not recall using the comments, which she argued may have been due to a lack of enjoyment of the course and negative perceptions of themselves as writers carried over from school. In the SLATE project, some students complained about the extra work involved in reading and responding to feedback. This was also true for a few lower-proficiency students in Court's (2014) study. The lecturers in Wingate et al.'s (2011) study also reported that providing feedback was time-consuming. In the SLATE, project subject specialist lecturers complained of being inundated with student queries about their assignments.

In their drive to embed academic literacies in departments, Nallaya and Murray (2014) noted major differences in the amount of collaboration different departments seemed willing to provide and, overall, a need to persuade faculty, sometimes with the administration's help, of the value of the program. There was also a "tendency for academic staff to see academic literacies and study skills as one and the same thing" (p.1305) and that they should be taught outside the disciplines (p. 1305). This remains an enduring belief (e.g., Zhu, 2004; Hyland, 2013a; Leki, 2007; I. Clark & Russell, 2014).

Overall, however, these intervention studies show that writing support such as modelling and providing formative feedback and opportunities, despite being labour intensive (Becker, 2013) seems to help socialise students into the writtennesses of their disciplines.

3.1.5 Beliefs about Writtenness and Assisting International Students

Much of the literature indicates that outside of dedicated interventions, most lecturers are not insensitive to the difficulties some multilingual students have with writing in their classes (e.g., Boz, 2006; McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012; Zawacki & Habib, 2014). However, while many are willing to do some literacy sponsoring/brokering work with such students, Zawacki and Habib (2014) note that lecturers' desires to help were frustrated by a lack of training and, indeed, the vocabulary with which to do so (e.g., Arkoudis & Tran, 2010; Ives et al., 2014; Wingate, 2018; Zhu, 2004). This also echoes findings regarding language support in general (Airey, 2016), although some studies show faculty provide language support often without realising they are doing so (e.g., Block & Moncada-Comas, 2019).

Other research has noted that a lack of native-speaker status affects some lecturers' sense of rights to broker or even comment on student writing (McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012; Zenger, Mullin, & Haviland, 2014). McCambridge (2015) found that lecturers on an international master's program in a Finnish university desired to see "standardised norms" but were concerned with students' varying language use, rhetorical styles which were sometimes "difficult to understand let alone evaluate" (p. 187). However, as they were multilingual themselves, they had reservations about their

ability to help and generally referred students to the program's native-speaker (American) academic writing teacher for such support.

At the undergraduate level, Zenger, Mullin, and Haviland (2014) found that many multilingual lecturers at the AUB, despite having published prolifically in English, felt language work was the province of native speakers only. Despite this, interestingly, Tuck (2017), found that native-speaker status was no guarantee of ability or desire to do this work. One lecturer was not "completely confident of his own knowledge of English" (p. 91), while a multilingual lecturer was often willing to do language work with students, even with those of another NES colleague who believed his English was appalling.

Many lecturers, whether multilingual or not, do appear willing to do some writtenness-oriented language work with their students, often out of concern for how they would fare in the real world following graduation (Ferris, 2003). Coleman and Tuck (2020) found that lecturers in a vocational university in South Africa were concerned that students should be able to "'give a good account of themselves' 'out there' in industry" (p. 19). One lecturer projected a potential employer reaction: '"This person can't write. He's stupid, he can't write properly"' (p. 12). Another scaffolded writtenness to protect students "from the prejudice often experienced by those who lack ... written repertoires" (p. 12; see also Beason, 2001; Wu, 2014). This concern indexes these lecturers' senses of the linguistic conflation ideology (Turner, 2018) that errors in students' writing will brand them as lacking or unprofessional. Based on these concerns and likely for many just a sense of duty, it seems subject lecturers do attempt to help students develop writtenness.

3.1.6 Non-Intervention-Based Research on Lecturers' Formative Writtenness-Oriented Practices

Research on the provision of formative feedback has revealed that it is quite rare, likely due to the labour involved (Arkoudis & Tran, 2010; Boz, 2006; Walker, 2009). In other cases, faculty seemed to feel unprepared and insecure about giving feedback on language or writtenness and suggested instead that students get help from writing centres, EAP teachers, or other literacy brokers (e.g., Conrad, 2018, 2019; Tuck, 2016; Turner, 2011, 2015).

Despite this, some studies have shown that faculty are willing to provide formative support, generally through the abovementioned scaffolding techniques. In one AL-oriented study of lecturers in a Master of Education programme at an EMI institution in Hong Kong, Li and Hu (2018) found that they provided direct support and writing assignments and writtenness such as relatively detailed guidelines, "commenting on students' assignment plans, and using exemplars of previous assignment papers" (p. 5). They also provided indirect support by giving "formative feedback on group presentations, modelling expectations throughout a course, and building flexibility into the assignment requirements" (p. 7).

French (2011) also drew on AL sensibilities to investigate lecturers' attitudes towards helping first-year students, including multilingual students, develop their writing in a post-1992 UK university. Although not confident about the effectiveness of their practices, the lecturers described encouraging peer feedback, teaching conventions like referencing, providing opportunities for low-stakes writing, using formative assignments made up of short pieces of writing, modelling effective writing practices, including for

specific assignments, discussing writing, and referring students to study skills support websites. Again, highlighting the individualised and idiosyncratic nature of such contact zones, French (2011) noted that the lecturers had varying expectations regarding academic style and that, as noted in much AL research, they used various terms to describe academic writing which French argued were all rather vague (see also Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis & Turner, 2001). Coleman and Tuck (2021) found that faculty aimed to *'give'* (their emphasis) students the skills and genre knowledge they needed, often through "correction-oriented pedagogies aimed at instructing students in 'grammar, spelling and all the basics'" (p. 12) or by focusing on generic elements such as conclusions.

In what appears to be one of the only EMIAUA-based studies, You and You (2013) investigated visiting American professors' writtenness-oriented practices in an undergraduate-level summer school in China. Indicative perhaps of issues with lecturers new to EMI contexts, the visiting lecturers described being struck by students' limited language proficiency and vocabulary-related issues, which confounded their attempts to organise "thoughts into coherent passages" and scale-jump to meet the "subject-area writing expectations" (You & You, p. 119) in the "elite literacy regimes" (p. 117) that these lecturers represented. You and You (2013) found that the faculty generally 'rescaled' their practices to the school's lower literacy regime and orders of indexicality and became literacy sponsors and brokers who worked to "enable students to move between literacy regimes" (p. 111). Again, evoking a contact zones perspective, the brokering was often variable and sometimes related to individual professors' own multilingual or multicultural experiences. For example, one multilingual professor explicitly facilitated writing assignments through in-class discussions, worksheets, and detailed feedback to

develop "ideas and structure" in student papers (p. 267). Another professor "modelled scale-jumping" (p. 120) through vocabulary development, while all faculty modified the writing tasks they imported from their equivalent US courses. Around half retained term paper assignments with adjusted expectations, while others dropped exam essay questions, using short answer questions instead, allowing for displays of learning and lessening the burden of structuring essayist writtenness.

Although these kinds of adaptations and omissions have also been noted and somewhat criticised in other AUA and EMI contexts (e.g. Ronesi, 2011; Wanphet & Tantwany, 2017; see also Fishman & McCarthy, 2001), You and You (2013) found that lecturers, while initially concerned with over-adaptive 'dumbing down', were generally confident that their changes, despite deemphasising writtenness, facilitated US equivalent learning at the freshman (first-year) level of the summer-school course.

Overall, the literature on lecturers' writtenness-oriented work reveals that many see its value, particularly when collaborating with writing specialists. However, they also seem to see such work primarily from a study skills orientation, and often, working with student writing in their classes significantly adds to their workload. Beyond this, Murata and Iino (2018) suggest there seem to be few qualitative studies that explore what goes on in EMI classrooms. Tuck (2017) also notes, "practices around student writing in the disciplines are to some extent hidden in the literature and in the working lives of academics ... and can only be more fully understood if they are foregrounded through detailed qualitative enquiry" (p. 16). In fact, it was curiosity about any assignment and/or writtenness-oriented practices of text production that lecturers in content classes at AUAF engaged in that was core in developing this text-oriented ethnography.

3.2 Students Writtenness-Oriented Practices

Another central driver for this thesis from the outset is an interest in how students who had moved on from my classes wrote their assignments in other classes at AUAF, the relatively hidden worlds (Tuck, 2017) in which they were asked to write. One assumption was that based on their experiences in FYC at AUAF and/or writing in other classes or contact zones, they would arrive in the contact zones in my study with senses of writtenness and, therefore, draw on these to get the work done.

3.2.1 Multilingual Students' Senses of Writtenness

Arguably, after some time at university, most students have some sense of writtenness, i.e., that the writing in their papers, apart from the content, is done in particular, usually complex, if somewhat mysterious ways (Bharuthram & McKenna, 2012; Breeze, 2012; Lillis, 2001). For multilingual students in the US and/or in EMIAUAs, these senses may have been induced in pre-university prep courses or in FYC. My 2010 study of the literacy practices of eight second-, third-, and fourth-year students suggested that they all had a sense of writtenness, which they had either brought from EMI schooling or attained in their preparatory classes or FYC at AUAF.

Some research shows that prolonged engagement with writing in an EMI university can help some students develop practices and attitudes toward writing that make the processes of writing easier. Altınmakas and Bayyurt (2019) investigated factors influencing freshmen and seniors' academic writing practices at an EMI university in Turkey. They found that factors such as the amount of L1 and L2 writing they had undertaken previously affected all the participants' initial perceptions of academic

writing. However, the seniors had developed more honed senses of the range of genres they had to produce, had become able to deal with the varying expectations of different faculty, were more immune to critical feedback, and were able to use it productively, and to an extent, engaged more instinctively and productively with practices they had initially found difficult or tedious, such as outlining. Sasaki, Mizuoto, and Murakami (2018) also found this aspect of increasing use of global planning strategies over time in their study of students' development of self-directed learning (see also Airey, 2016).

For many students, however, concerns around writtenness and producing it remain throughout their time at university (Conrad, 2018, 2019; Bharuthram & McKenna, 2012; Evans & Morisson, 2013; Jenkins, 2014; Kamasak, Sahan & H. Rose, 2021; Knoch et al., 2015; Paxton, 2006; Turner, 2018). AL work at the postgraduate level indicates that while students' senses of writtenness are more honed, anxieties around getting it right also persist and affect practices (Boz, 2006; Conrad, 2018, 2019; McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012; Petric, 2007; Turner, 2011, 2015, 2018). Petric (2007) found that EMI MA students' focus on writtenness slowed their writing significantly due to word searches and worries that their language choices may cloud meaning or their writing sound "funny", "colloquial", and "not clear" (p. 48). McCambridge and Pitkänen-Huhta (2012) found that postgraduate multilingual students, freshly enrolled in super-diverse EMI 'educational contact zone' arrived with a sense of writtenness "explicitly oriented towards a global scale of academia" (p. 186), perceived as "typical global norm" (p. 174). They also felt this global norm superseded their local multilingual professors' senses of writtenness, which some students saw as "being variable and contestable" (p. 178) and

less valid than those of their native speaker friends and literacy brokers[16]. They were also at pains to get it right.

3.2.2 Strategies for Writtenness: From Proofreading to Self-Revision

3.2.2.1 Proofreading

Students' sense of writtenness seems implicit through the efforts that some go through to submit polished work. Conrad (2019), drawing on Turner's notion of writtenness, noted that during her time as a professional proofreader, most of her clients were international students at universities in her native Canada (p. 174). While the use of proofreading services by postgraduate international students has been well noted (Turner, 2011, 2015), Conrad found that around half of the 145 multilingual student participants in her 2018 study who sought proofreading were undergraduates. Interestingly, indicative perhaps of lecturers' reluctance to do language work (Tuck, 2016), about 20% of both the postgraduates and undergraduates in her study mentioned being asked to have their writing edited or proofread prior to submission, a finding similar to that of Boz (2006 – see also Turner, 2011).

While many students obviously do not seek proofreading services, it seems many seek more informal help through networks of editors (Phillips, 2014), socio-academic relations (Leki, 2007) or literacy brokers (see Lillis & Curry, 2010). The extent of the kinds of help they get, however, is not always clear in the literature. There seems to be a need for more research on these kinds of activities as social practices. Barrett and A. Cox's

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[16] Indeed, despite an acknowledged lack of "native ability", students felt their knowledge of global norms would afford them membership of an "imagined global community of academics within their field" (p. 184).

(2006) study at the University of Hertfordshire looked at students' and lecturers' opinions of degrees of acceptability, ranging from plagiarism to collusion. Students and lecturers were asked to opine on various scenarios, including students who were unsure how to begin assignments, acquiring examples from friends, modifying them, and submitting them as their own, and asking other students who were known to be good at the subject to be assignment/literacy brokers. Around 25% of students saw the first activity as plagiarism, while most of the rest were divided between whether such activity was acceptable or counted as collusion. For the second scenario, while a few thought it was plagiarism, close to 50% considered it collusion.

3.2.2.2 Peer Review

Much of the WAC/WID and ESL/EAP literature emphasises the value of peer-editing for multilingual writers. While this may be considered a form of literacy brokering, most investigations of its effectiveness have focused on situations where it was required (Evans & Ferris, 2019) or part of controlled research (e.g. Polio, Fleck, & Leder, 1998; Suzuki, 2008). Suzuki (2008) showed that peer revision focused on content more than meta-talk around writing issues, while self-revision resulted in many more word choice changes and grammar corrections with very few discourse-level changes. Evans and Ferris (2019) explored revisions made by three multilingual students in a composition class on drafts over four weeks based on peer review and teacher conferences. They found that while the teacher's advice was privileged, the peer-review sessions led to somewhat deeper reflection on the text before the conferences. However, there seems to be little research that has investigated informal self-instigated peer review.

3.2.2.3 Lecturer Formative Feedback

As noted above, most intervention research into teacher-provided formative feedback reported generally positive outcomes. However, these studies also note that students' use of feedback can depend on proficiency (Court, 2014), and Wingate (2010) also suggests that a critical tone in feedback can be demotivating. Regarding multilingual students specifically, Ferris (2018) found that negative feedback often led to "a lack of enjoyment of writing" (p. 24). Ferris (2018) also found that multilingual students were more likely to have "received criticism, especially regarding their idea development and their language use," although some recalled also being "praised for ideas" (p. 16). These studies show that while some students desire formative feedback, it does not always have a positive effect. Altınmakas and Bayyurt (2019) found this was particularly true for first-year EMI students. However, as noted, seniors seemed to have developed their ability to use feedback even when it was negative. Other work has shown that while multilingual students desire feedback, it is not always used as lecturers intended. Christiansen and Bloch (2016) found that while "students believed they followed the teacher's suggestions, they did not always pay attention to the paper as a whole, which resulted in problems with coherence or grammar" (p. 6).

3.2.2.4 Self-Revision

One reason that some lower proficiency multilingual students may engage in the strategies above or desire formative feedback from their lecturers may be the difficulty they have revising and editing their own work. Conrad (2019) noted that some students who received proofread assignments back without track changes highlighted questioned whether any changes had been made, indicating difficulty in noticing edits. Silva's (1993) review of research on ESL writing found that, compared to L1 students, L2 writers

generally reviewed, reread, and reflected less on their writing, with revision being more focused on the local rather than discourse or global level. Kietlinska (2006, drawing on Raimes, 2003), noted L2 writers edited and revised more as they went "assembling and disassembling language structures… studied but not necessarily mastered" (p. 69). She argued that this was due to a lack of automaticity, echoing the overallocation of resources at the clause level, reducing the focus on monitoring global cohesion posited in cognitive model research of L2 writers (see Chapter 2). Beyond this, Kietlinska (2006) suggested that the idea of drafting was new for some international students, that requests that they revise drafts were seen as criticisms of their texts or themselves, and that revision meant only weeding out surface errors rather than reorganising or developing content (see also Boz, 2006; Sommers, 1980). Boz (2006) argued that a focus on surface error only seems to result from a lack of feedback from faculty on discourse-level revisions. There appears to be little research that has focused on students' self-directed self-revision on major assignments.

3.2.3 Other Strategies

3.2.3.1 Seeking Help

Arkoudis and Tran (2010) noted in their study that some students actively asked for clarification of the guidelines, and other in-class or office-hour assistance with writing. Baruthram and McKenna (2012), however, found that their student undergraduates at a South African university, while acknowledging having difficulties with writing, "few of them undertook additional work, and many did not even complete compulsory written activities" (p. 8). Bharuthram and McKenna (2012) argued, however,

that this may be because "the uncertainties and lack of confidence ... actually demotivates them" (p. 8).

3.2.3.2 Seeking Models and Using Online Tools

One possible result of not seeking help from professors is seeking models either from friends (cf. Barrett & A. Cox, 2005) or online. McCambridge (2015) re-interviewed the new MA enrollees later in their course and found them struggling and craving both assignment-specific examples and teacher interventions to "explicitly deconstruct them" (p. 189), particularly for unfamiliar assignment types like summaries and research proposals. While appreciative of any interventions or guidelines, these students also sought model texts online or from fellow students so they could imitate generic structuring and develop their language to "mimic the voice they ... [were] expected to adopt" (p. 189).

The seeking of models has long been noted as a strategy drawn on by multilingual writers (e.g., Leki, 1995). In another study of writing at an EMI university, Hadizadeh and Kanik (2022) looked at the emotional ramifications of students resorting to using online dictionaries and, in some cases, online translators to overcome difficulties with writing. While they experienced a sense of comfort in successfully solving their problems, they also felt guilty about how they had done so. They felt a sense of competence in using such tools, whilst also feeling a sense of self-deception and inadequacy in that they felt they should be able to write without such tools.

Given the current proliferation of text editing and polishing AI (e.g., Jacob, Tate & Warschauer, 2024; Li, et al. 2024; Roa, & Halim, 2024; Strobl, Menke-Bazhutkina, Abel, & Michel, 2024; Wang, & Dang, 2024), the temptation to delegate writtenness-oriented

work to technology seems overwhelming. As covered in the conclusion of this thesis, text editing and polishing AI may fundamentally change the hidden labour of writtenness. Individual capacities with writtenness, which once took many years to hone, may at some point begin to reside outside of the individual and be called upon when needed to make sure texts appease another human reader's senses of the ideologies of writtenness.

3.2.3.3 Contextual Factors

At present, however, it seems that even concerns regarding writtenness and investing in producing it in EMI institutions also depend on contextual factors, if not individual lecturers in their contact zones. Drawing on AL sensibilities, Wahi et al. (2012, 2013) investigated engineering students' English language literacy practices in a Malaysian public university. Some students reported writing "a sentence can even be a laborious task as it requires hard thinking" (p. 116), and most felt that focusing on grammar was a waste of time as "lecturers are not concerned about our grammar, as long as our points are ok" (p. 115).

In a recent study of EMI students in an LAS college in the Netherlands, De Krom (2023) reported an interesting practice that may not be restricted to multilingual students. In cases where students felt unsure if they could address a prompt accurately, they would purposely flout the Gricean maxim of quantity, adding "a bit too much that may not be relevant, [rather] than to miss out on information" (p. 70). This practice was described as "firing a shot of hail, where much may miss the target, but some will be spot on" (p. 70). In other instances, students decided to use *mystification* (p. 71) strategies that were deliberately vague and hoped the instructor might extract some precise

meaning. This was a literacy practice that De Krom noted required "rather high linguistic competence" (p. 70). Other reasons for including too much writing were anxiety about terminology and sentence structure, often compounded by time pressures. The students were aware that this resulted in "text that is maybe too elaborate and potentially repetitious" (p. 71) but submitted anyway, citing no time to revise and edit out superfluous information or to check the overall structure.

3.2.4 Textual Practices

Some research has looked at multilingual student literacy practices in texts, particularly when completing more complex assignments such as writing from sources in new genres and subject areas. While some faculty might consider some of the strategies students use in these situations to be plagiarism, writing researchers have often considered them developmental practices that writers go through on their journeys towards greater autonomy.

3.2.4.1 Interim Literacies

Paxton (2007) reported on her research into developing literacy practices of undergraduate EAL students in an economics class at a South African university. She argued that the students developed their literacy repertoires through phases of 'interim literacies', which built on their existing non-university literacies in attempts to acquire disciplinary discourses and writtennesses. Although such practices conferred some success, the interim literacy texts did not fully match their subject lecturers' expectations. The texts often lacked "development of argument around a main idea" (p. 51) and "markers and/or semantic relations to signpost and link ideas in a logical way" (p. 52). Students also tended to avoid complex, not fully assimilated terminology and

instead wrote around it. At other times, perceived pressures to appropriate powerful disciplinary lexis resulted in instances of 'borrowing' and/or "close mimicking or open 'plagiarism' of the discourse of the textbook or the lecturer" (Paxton, 2007, p. 51). Paxton argued that rather than plagiarism, such instances should be seen more as students recognising the value of using powerful discourses of economics, but whose developing paraphrase practices enabled them to retain the discoursal impact only through minimal changes of the terms or structures. In many ways, these practices echo the notions of patchwriting as a survival technique for lower proficiency writers (e.g. Boz, 2006; Howard, 1995; Li & Casanave, 2012).

3.2.4.2 Patchwriting

Patchwriting (Howard, 1995) is the overinclusion of verbatim or minimally changed chunks of texts from source materials as part of learning a new discourse. In traditions of writing research and pedagogy, it is considered to fall short of outright plagiarism as it is seen as developmental rather than deliberate. As Pecorari (2003) puts it, "Today's patchwriter is tomorrow's competent academic writer, given the necessary support to develop" (p. 338). Echoing theories of the effects of task complexity on composing strategies (see Chapter 2), Li and Casanave (2012) argue that patchwriting can occur when learners are unfamiliar with "the language and content of their topic" (p. 166).

Li and Casanave (2012) reported instances of patchwriting with two Chinese post-graduate students writing for the same lecturer. They found that while both students' texts included patchwriting, the lecturer was concerned only about one text in which the unchanged chunks stood out as they were not integrated coherently or stylistically. In the

other student's text, appropriated chunks had been woven into the text more smoothly. The lecturer only became aware (and at that point concerned) of this student's patchwriting when Li and Casanave (2012) discussed it with him as part of their research.

This clearly suggests writtennesses at play in that, as Li and Casanave (2012) noted, the second student put considerable effort into creating a smooth read. However, as with many aspects of multilingual writing, proficiency also played a role, with the lecturer in the study suggesting the first student's issue was partly due to her less complete linguistic repertoire.

The above studies have looked at some of the practices that students are encouraged to do to help with their writing, practices they do themselves to get the work done and in particular, submit polished work, and some practices that can be found in their texts. However, Horner (2018) notes that there seem to be few "ethnographic studies of student writing in EMI contexts" (p. 421). Petric (2007) suggests the need for more exploration of EMI student perspectives on their academic literacy practices and experiences. However, there seems to be little ethnographic research that has followed students' assignment and/or writtenness-oriented practices in and around the development and lifecycle of specific assignments in their content classes over a semester.

3.3   Lecturers' Writtenness-Oriented Practices of Reception

3.3.1 The Role of Writtenness

The response to the well-engineered patchwriting in Li and Casanave's (2012) research seems to index writtenness. As the copied material seemed to blend in

smoothly with the surrounding text, the writtenness of the text obscured the transgression. The opposite was also true, suggesting that writtenness has an effect on how a text is read and a writer identified (see also Rodriguez, Melchor and Walsh, 2022). The effect of markedness on lecturers' appraisal of texts was evidenced in an experimental study by Ives et al. (2014). Faculty from various disciplines were presented with two texts on the same topic: "one by an L2 student that exhibited some depth of thought, but many surface-level errors and one constructed by the research team that was error-free but lacked depth" (p. 26). Ives et al. (2014) found that while some lecturers acknowledged the shallowness of the error-free text, most "unanimously rated ... [it] more highly, indicating that surface errors prevented faculty from appreciating content" (p. 26; see also M. Cox, 2014). This suggests the ideologies of writtenness, not least the smooth read and linguistic conflation ideologies, at play. Despite this, in follow-up interviews, Ives et al. (2014) found that most lecturers claimed they expected multilingual students' texts to "be accented" (p. 27) and that they rescaled their assessment practices accordingly.

3.1.1.1 3.3.1.1 Rescaling Practices

As noted in the literature, writtenness is increasingly scrutinised and policed the higher up the academic ladder that multilingual writers go (Heng Hartse & Kubota, 2014; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Turner, 2011). At the undergraduate level, much of the WAC/WID work on resources for faculty working with international students emphasises flexibility and accommodation. Much of this draws on scholarship from the translingual paradigm (e.g. Horner, NeCamp, & Donahue, 2011) and Critical Applied Linguistics (e.g. Canagarajah, 2002) and has advocated transition from the "difference-as-deficit"

discourses to a "difference-accommodated stance" which accepts and respects the "code-meshing" (Canagarajah, 2006) of World Englishes and/or interlanguage in student writing, and ultimately to a "difference-as-resource" stance (M. Cox, 2014). However, on the ground, M. Cox (2014), a WAC director, notes the frustration that faculty coming to her have regarding "the number of surface-level errors in the writing, [and] with writing that appears disorganised" (p. 303). She reports that during development sessions with faculty, moving "faculty toward the difference-as-resource stance" (p. 304) is quite a leap, aiming instead for a difference-accommodated stance.

3.1.1.2 3.3.1.2 Wanting to be Fair

Zawacki and Habib (2014) noted lecturers wanting "to be both fair and ethical" when grading multilingual student work but not knowing how to do so while adhering to accepted standards for writtenness in their disciplines. Faculty were also conflicted by the perceived requirements of accrediting agencies and state mandates (cf. James, in Tuck, 2017, p. 139). The faculty in the Ives et al. (2014) study sometimes characterised their assessment procedures as a no-win situation: feeling guilty if they applied the same standards to monolingual and multilingual students and guilty if they did not.

However, the concern with balance between standards and accommodations has been noted in some US-based academic writing research. Fishman and McCarthy (2001) argued that the lecturer in a writing-intensive introduction to philosophy course felt he had compromised his standards to pass an NNES student. The reality on the ground, it seems, is that, indexing a relatively autonomous contact zone perspective, many faculty already rescale their practices, accepting, if not condoning (Jenkins, 2011), a bumpier ride through a text.

3.3.2 Summative Feedback

3.3.2.1 Focus on Error

M. Cox (2014), drawing on her research with Matsuda (2009), argues that "Faculty unaccustomed to giving feedback to L2 writers tend to take either a hands-off approach, reading past all errors and responding only to content, or a heavy-handed approach, marking every syntactic, usage, and grammatical error" (p. 310).

Investigating factors that might affect the assessment of a text with errors, Roberts and Cimasko (2008) found that while there was no significant difference in terms of lecturers being native speaker or multilingual, there were statistically significant differences in terms of gender and department, with female faculty overall giving higher scores and social science faculty giving higher scores than engineering faculty. Although their study did not set out to investigate feedback on correction, they found that a range of 'semantic-gap' errors, such as "poor word choice and to verb tense or modal errors were focal points of correction by the faculty" (p. 137). Focus on this kind of error echoed earlier error gravity studies (e.g., Santos, 1988; Vann, Meyer & Lorenz, 1984; see also Zawacki & Habib, 2014). Roberts and Cimasko (2008) also found a similar variety in how lecturers responded to errors. Some were overly distracted by lexical or grammatical errors, while one took a more global stance, commenting that "an idea mentioned in an introductory paragraph is never addressed in the body of the Essay" (p. 136). For others, it seemed their idiosyncratic immaterial sense of writtenness overrode acceptance of "any text regardless of how well it is written" ... "engaging "in a ''rewrite'' style of editing that may have little to do with the composition or its writer and more to do with the teacher's preference for certain vocabulary or a particular rhetorical style" (p. 136).

Interestingly, lecturers in the US studies mentioned (Zawacki & Habib, 2014; Ives et al., 2014; Zhu, 2004), similar to those in You and You's 2013 EMIAUA study, indicated their feedback focused more on content than language. However, several large-scale textual analyses of feedback, which did not differentiate multilingual or native speaker writing, noted that most feedback was, in fact, correction of surface-level errors (Connors & Lunsford, 1988; Stern & Solomon, 2006). Also, Connors and Lunsford's (1993) study of global evaluative comments revealed that 90% were negative and aimed at grade justification. Indeed, these findings around feedback echo those in Lea and Street's (1998) study. Interestingly, in a much more recent study of feedback on postgraduate papers in a UK university, Grannell (2022), drawing on Turner's (2018) concept of writtenness, found that only 6.5% of comments were writtenness-oriented.

3.3.3 Feedback in EMI Contexts

Arguing that feedback and assessment were neglected areas of research in EMI contexts, Hyland investigated lecturers' attitudes and practices (2013a) and students' beliefs (2013b) around feedback in an EMI university in Hong Kong. He (2013a) found lecturers, despite desiring students to write in 'disciplinary approved' ways and recognising the homologous relationship between "content and its appropriate disciplinary expression" (p. 250), rarely gave feedback that helped students to realise this. Indeed, echoing Lea and Street (1998), they generally saw disciplinary discourse and writtenness, while difficult to describe, as transparent and acquirable in tandem with subject knowledge without direct intervention. This process, however, was often seen as dependent on individual students' own existing language proficiencies and self-sufficiencies in language/discourse acquisition and reproduction processes.

Following an analysis of 100 texts in the same study (2013a), Hyland found that a third of the comments focused on surface-level language features. This was more common in assignments written in humanities and social science courses, as were comments emphasising ideas, thinking and connections to course readings. Papers in hard sciences classes contained around 50% less feedback and focused more on comprehension of basic scientific concepts, methods and the use of data to support conclusions. Some papers in these classes exhibited merely ticks and symbols or no visible feedback at all. Indeed, Hyland (2013a) sensed that some had been read rather cursorily, which was also noted by students, who were often frustrated by the feedback received in these disciplines (Hyland, 2013b). Students interpreted vagueness or omission of feedback as hidden messages implying writing was unimportant in particular disciplines or to the student's learning (Hyland, 2013b). An interesting aside was that science lecturers argued that feedback had little significance because they received few requests for it. Other lecturers who did give feedback were not altogether convinced it had any effect on students' writing, which they viewed as a "complex and multi-layered aspect of disciplinary learning" (Hyland, 2013a, p. 250).

Despite this, again, there seems to be little ethnographic research that has followed lecturer practices around specific assignments in specific classes from production through to the reception and assessment stage. Indeed, Tuck (2017), citing Ivanic (1998), suggests the situation remains that "few studies focus empirically on [lecturers'] practices around *particular assignments* or *particular* student texts" (p. 49).

3.4 Conclusion

Overall, all the studies above usefully inform the thinking around this research. Collectively, they help provide some insight into how subject lecturers do or do not scaffold students' assignments in their classes, what students do to get the work done, and how faculty respond to multilingual student writing and why. However, my study aimed to address some of the calls for such ethnographic studies into these lecturer and student practices of production and lecturer practices of reception by combining a focus on all three into one study of such practices in an EMIAUA. To do so, this study drew on a method associated with AL research described in the next chapter: text-oriented ethnography.

44. Methods

4.1 Introduction

The overarching methodology for this study is 'text-oriented-ethnography' (Lillis & Curry, 2010), a methodology which combines gathering and analysis of "ethnographic data around the processes of text production and interpretation, with detailed linguistic analysis of textual data" (Tusting, 2013, p. 9). The ethnographic data collection was based on existing methods associated with AL, participant observation, talk-around-texts, and think-aloud protocols. While initial textual analysis aimed at facilitating talk around texts with students and lecturers drew on concepts from Sydney school genre and register analysis, subsequent text analysis during the data analysis phase evolved during the study largely due to the lack of an off-the-shelf technique for "contextually grounded text analytic tools" (Lillis & Curry, 2010, p. 21) and indeed tools for analysing writtenness. This later analysis then drew on further consideration of the things that might linguistically contribute to or detract from writtenness, as detailed in chapter two. This, along with a growing sense of the value of the concept of assignment and writtenness-oriented practices, as also outlined in Chapter Two, helped to narrow the focus of data analysis to meet the aims of the study: understanding what the lecturers did to introduce, scaffold the assignments and why; what the students did to get their

papers done and why they wrote in the ways they did; and how the lecturers read and oriented (Lillis, 2008) to what was on paper and why this was so.

4.1.1 A Note on the Term Writtenness in This Chapter

As noted above, writtenness only became a centring concept during the thinking and reading that followed data collection. In many ways, this period picked up where my MA had left off: The search for a way to encapsulate the object of much of my work and research interests, a way to account for the material aspect of academic literacy practices. Turner's concept of writtenness seemed to provide this. As this term was unknown during data collection, it is used in the methods section as it has been used in previous chapters, when it seems to encapsulate what I had in mind at the time.

This discussion of the evolution of thinking over the lifespan of this part-time study reflects Blommaert's (2006) assertion that "ethnography attributes (and has to attribute) great importance to the history of what is commonly seen as 'data': the whole process of gathering and moulding knowledge is part of that knowledge; knowledge construction is knowledge, the process is the product" (p. 6). Although opening ethnography to criticisms of partiality and subjectivity, these "are necessarily part of any interpretive process" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 38). As such, accounts of these processes of gathering and moulding thinking have been woven into this thesis. In fact, it is hoped that this has been evident from the introduction onwards, and particularly in the theoretical framework, which, although firmly based on AL perspectives, was also very much the result of working with and refining ways to consider the data. One aim of this methods chapter is to reflect on how the data analysis technique evolved through iterative engagement with the data, which led to a more contextually grounded text analysis

approach and the sense that some practices of production and reception seemed more assignment-oriented while others were writtenness-oriented.

4.2 Text-Oriented Ethnography

4.2.1 Ethnographic data

The ethnographic data was gathered from two main methods: participant observation and formal and informal cyclical 'talk-around-texts,' a method almost synonymous with AL research (Lillis, 2008). Participant observation involved attending four classes at AUAF for the duration of the fall semester from 26/08/2017 to 21/12/2017.

4.2.2 Class selection and sampling

The four classes I joined are described in Table 1. Each class met twice weekly for one hour and twenty minutes, and my participation included attending all lectures, completing coursework, and writing at least one of the major assignments in each class.

These classes were selected based firstly on the fact that each class had a significant grade-bearing written assignment that contributed a significant part of the overall grade for the course. It was assumed that this high-stakes kind of writing would (a) prompt the student participants to engage in a fuller repertoire of writtenness-oriented practices and (b) prompt the professors to engage in literacy practices of production around setting and/or scaffolding the assignment, to draw on senses of writtenness when the assessed the assignments. Other more practical selection criteria were that the faculty member teaching the class was happy to have me present for the semester and the class times did not conflict with my teaching schedule.

Table 1: The Four Classes

Class	Professor	Students	Assignment(s)
HIS 399 Afghanistan and the British Empire 1809 – 1947	Dr Conlon (Henceforth DC)	Banin 3rd Year Political Science student Nazia 3rd Year Political Science student Sheba 3rd Year Political Science student Tamim 3rd Year Political Science student	Two essays Essay One was the focus of this study *Assess, in a five-page double-spaced essay, why, in your view, the emir Dost-Muhammad[17] chose the British alliance after 1842*
SOC 310, 'Social Science Research Methods' Section 001	Dr Wayne (Henceforth DW)	Geeti 3rd Year Political Science student Behsud 3rd Year Political Science student	An APA Research Paper (an IMRD)
SOC 310, 'Social Science Research Methods' Section 001	Dr Kano (Henceforth DK)	Obaid 3rd Year Political Science student Jamshid 4th Year Political Science student Roya 2nd Year Political Science student Lemar, 3rd Year Political Science student	A Research Proposal for genuine Terms of Reference (TOR) that was soliciting tenders for a consultant evaluation of a funded development project in a developing country
PAD 210 Introduction to Public Policy	Dr Zbigniew (henceforth) DZ	Lena 3rd Year Business Administration Student Parnian 3rd Year Law Student Sana 4th Year Law Student	PCAP, a Policy Constructive Action Project

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[17] Dost Mohammad Khan was the ruler of Afghanistan before and during the early part of the first Anglo-Afghan war. He returned to power in the 1843 in the aftermath of the British defeat.

Once I had gained entry to the classes, I was given opportunities in the first or second class to introduce myself to the students and describe my research. Following these brief introductions, I handed out information sheets. Over the next week or so, I recruited 13 student participants. While the initial choice of classes relied on strategic, convenience and opportunity sampling techniques common in AL research (see Tuck, 2017, p. 11), the sampling of students was also purposive. This was based on a sense that they would be able to account for their writing choices, sometimes through a shared meta-language from writing classes. Of the 13 student participants, seven had previously had classes with me.

The classes and the participants are summarised below (see Appendix 1 for descriptions of each professor and student; see Chapter 5 for detailed descriptions of each assignment). All the courses were in the social sciences and humanities, and an analysis of other courses before the semester found that there was very little writing in other classes or disciplines at AUAF.

4.2.3 Participant Observation: Thick Participation

There were several reasons for joining four classes. One aim was " thick participation" or "socialisation in order to achieve a threshold for interpretive understanding" (Sarangi, 2007, p. 573). The average course load at AUAF is four courses per semester, so by attending each class, completing the coursework and homework, and writing and submitting at least one of the major writing assignments in each course, I felt I could achieve some understanding of an average student experience at AUAF. The aim was an emic sense of real-time workload pressures that students may experience whilst also 'handling' some of the other local vagaries of AUAF/Kabul student life,

including security 'lockdowns' (campus closures) and frequent power/internet outages. While clearly, I would not be able to fully experience the life of an AUAF student or the pressures, motivations, and distractions they experienced while getting their assignments done, participation availed at least some of a shared sense of the conditions or contact zones in which they assignments were set and ultimately received. This shared sense of the immediate context was something that had been missing from my previous 2010 study at AUAF.

This sense of shared understandings was also greatly enhanced by writing the assignments myself. Writing these assignments provided ethnographic insights into the yellow and green (and pink!) practices in R. Clark and Ivanic's (1997) model of writing as a social practice (Figure 2.1). In terms of yellow practices, this included understanding what the assignments entailed and a sense of how the assignments could be written in terms of genre. This process also provided further ethnographic insights into writing assignment types which were initially ambiguous, such as the PCAP in PAD 210 and/or novel as the new genre in SOC310-002. My green practices helped to understand what was required, likely or possible, in terms of textual features. Another key aim was also to get some sense of perhaps the varying ways that lecturers viewed, scaffolded and assessed writtenness in their assignments. The idea was that this could provide some sense of the variety of practices students might have to negotiate when writing in different contact zones. The whole process enabled some understanding of what it is like to write four assignments not only in individual contact zones but also within one semester of life at AUAF. This experience greatly enhanced the textual analysis and the talk-around-texts with the students and lecturers as we could share our experiences.

Thick participation was available to me as the 'field', AUAF's classrooms, offices and campus were my workplaces and my home during regular semesters as all full-time faculty lived on campus. I knew the lecturer participants, and given my 'known' role teaching FYC, many student participants knew me or of me. Clearly, however, this level of familiarity with the field contrasts with traditional anthropological sensibilities towards ethnography as a means for making "the strange familiar" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 13). For me, student writing at AUAF is "close to home", and despite the practices around writing assignments in content classes remaining "relatively hidden" (Tuck, 2013, p. 94), AL sensibilities meant I arrived in the field with preconceived views both of what would be "interesting and relevant" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 13). I also unavoidably had conceptions of who the participants were. However, I committed to ethnographic sensibilities to consciously work at 'making the familiar strange', and to view the context "afresh, with curious eyes" (Tuck, 2013, p. 94) and observe what went with a curious rather than evaluative stance (Tuck, 2018).

This was not always easy. My "orienting ideas" (Huberman & Saldana, 2014, p. 19), conditioned by my professional experience and understanding of AL critiques of what goes on around literacy practices in HE, had been one reason for the research. However, I also tried to see what went on in the classrooms, as the day-to-day business of the lecturers, who were all experts in the fields, doing what they were paid to do: teach content. These foci and the ethnographic mindset engendered a gathering of anything interesting (Blommaert & Jie, 2010) and led to a wide assortment of data (see Appendix 2).

4.2.4 Data from Participant Observation

The data from participant observation included field notes, a research diary, recordings of several assignment/writtenness-oriented class interactions, photos of board work, and textual data, including textbooks, written teaching materials, assignment-oriented emails, guidelines (meta-genres), and/or models or any other written textual scaffolds (see Appendix 2).

4.2.4.1 Field Notes and Research Diary

The field notes aimed to capture the day-to-day 'happenings' in the classes. While key foci were anything assignment- or writtenness-oriented, I made notes on anything that seemed interesting, including teaching style and lecturer use of complex lexis and any explanation of complex terms or idiomatic language (a focus on EMI). I also noted student behaviours, such as engagement or lack thereof, and anything that may have suggested that the conditions of the class/contact zone may have had some influence on the students' practices of production, such as their perceptions of the faculty member, and, as emerged in talk-around-texts, any previous experiences they had of learning with them. The aim was to build up accounts of the pedagogical conditions of the contact zones in which assignments were located.

A further facilitative data collection tool was a research diary. This was not a single document but a collection of Word document notes that recorded observations and thoughts outside of class time, including accounts of hall meetings and conversations with the participants and brief chance observations of students engaging in literacy practices, such as waiting outside of professors' offices for assignment-related queries and discussions during office hours. This also included a chance observation of a literacy event, where Tamim collaborated with his literacy broker, Qudrat, on the stairs.

Other diary entries recorded my thoughts on the research process and some assignments, particularly the one for HIS 399. This was because, due to the professor's standing as an Ivy League faculty member, I felt a need to impress him, a need also felt by the student participants in his class.

The research diary also became a tool for reflexivity during data collection. Some entries were accounts of feelings and concerns as the data collection progressed, including processing feelings about the things I was seeing in the usually hidden worlds. For example, I wrote about how I was becoming so engaged in DC's class that I sometimes forgot I was there to collect data. Other entries recorded lecturers' apparent struggles to explain complex concepts (see DK below) and feelings of boredom in classes that were very much PowerPoint and lecture-based. Another instance was a reflection shared with my supervisor on what to do about a case of one of the participants plagiarising (see Ethical Issues below)

4.2.4.2 My Papers and Responses to Them

My writing was also received differently in each class. In HIS399, my essay was read carefully in my presence and evaluated on its content, rather positively, I might add. In SOC310-002, my paper was graded (95%) and given some feedback. DK also asked whether he could use it as an example in the following semester. As discussed in Chapter Five, using models and example texts was one of his assignment-oriented literacy practices. In SOC310-001, my paper was ignored by the professor, who seemed to assume that I had not really expected him to read it.

In PAD210, my paper was graded with an 'X', which I found out meant the professor did not know what to make of it. He did comment that my paper was of no real

use to a practitioner (see discussion of this in Chapter Five). My diary entries around this also allowed for some reflexive documenting of how I felt about DZ's seeming disapproval of my work threatened my identity and standing in the academic community of AUAF. It also documents my processes of overcoming this and, indeed, seeing this as an opportunity to gain more ethnographic data through a recorded interview in which I sought to learn from and understand the DZ's ideas about my paper. This interview allowed for a clearer understanding of how he saw his PCAP assignment.

4.2.4.3 Textual Data from the Classes

Apart from field notes, diaries and recordings, participation in the classes also meant that I could collect any textual data related to the assignments simultaneously with the students. This allowed me to get a sense of or try to make sense of the nature or aspects of assignments in real-time. The textual data I collected included content input, syllabi, and meta-genres (Giltrow, 2002), such as assignment guidelines or assignment instructional texts and models or exemplars and the use of any intermediary genre (Tachino, 2012) examples in the textbooks. The outcome of the above was a significant amount of data.

This participant observation phase was also interspersed and enhanced with a method almost synonymous with AL, cyclical talk-around-texts (Lillis, 2008).

4.2.5 Cyclical Talk-Around-Texts

4.2.5.1 Literacy History Interviews

Consistent with much literacies and AL research (e.g. Barton & Hamilton, 2012; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Lillis, 2001), this text-oriented ethnography included language and literacy history interviews with students and lecturers (see Appendix 4). These occurred

relatively early in the semester, before any work on the assignments in any class. These interviews with the students sought participants' "autobiographical accounts of language and academic literacy learning" (Lillis, 2008, p. 363) within AUAF or elsewhere. The goal was to gain a sense of the existing literacy practice repertoires, resources and senses of writtenness they brought to the contact zones (see Appendix 4).

With lecturers, the literacy history interviews sought to understand aspects of their backgrounds that might influence their assignment or writtenness-oriented pedagogical literacy practices. These included their textual ideologies (Lillis & Curry, 2010) and senses of writtenness and/or its ideologies and, importantly, the extent to which they desired to see it and their reactions to more marked forms. Another focus was to allow for consideration of any ways in which their textual ideologies or senses of writtenness spurred any assignment or writtenness-oriented work in class.

Lillis (2008), however, reminds AL scholars that linking these literacy history accounts to current literacy practices/events is not straightforward. However, she notes that they often bring up interesting issues and themes that can be pursued in the "longer conversations" of cyclical talk-around-texts (2008, p. 362).

4.2.5.2 Initial Text Analysis and Post-Grading Talk-around-texts

The post-grading talk-around-texts aimed to observe the importance AL attaches to engendering student-led discussions and openness to discussing anything brought up by participants regarding their papers and literacy practices (Lillis, 2008). However, Ivanić questioned the extent to which writers in these kinds of interviews could "provide ultimate truth about their intentions" (p. 115) regarding their linguistic choices. This may be more pronounced when talking with multilingual writers. In her research in South

Africa, Paxton (2012) felt she had to "work harder" (p. 9) as language issues limited the ability of some to interpret their writing. Therefore, the talk-around-texts in this study also had elements of 'stimulated elicitation interviewing' (Prior, 2004) and 'discourse-based interviewing' (Odell, Goswami, & Herrington, 1983), i.e., I also introduced topics into the discussion based on linguistic elements including some of the lecturer feedback back that had stood out to me during initial analysis of the student texts.

The initial text analysis followed the submission and grading of the assignments and drew on techniques I had used in my MA research, which drew loosely on Systemic Functional Linguistics perspectives of genre and register analysis. Given the "fundamentally intertextual" nature of academia (Starfield, 2007, p. 879), this included interdiscursive analysis of the texts as genres, looking for schematic structures or the regularised staging of particular genres and other interdiscursive elements, including cohesive features such as macro and hyper themes. At the sentence level, this included consideration clause themes and sentence-to-sentence thematic progression. At the sub-clause level, it also focused on lexical and phrasal complexity and other aspects such as meta-text (e.g., https://www.phrasebank.manchester.ac.uk/). There was also some consideration of an assignment and/or domain-specific lexis and lexis intertextualized from input materials. The analysis also considered instances of less academic styles and/or those proscribed in guidelines, such as the use of 'I' for the SOC310-001 assignment.

There was also consideration of error. While this was not systematic at this stage, I drew on my experience as an IELTS examiner and examiner trainer. In particular, the IELTS assessment categories (descriptors) of *Coherence and Cohesion,* the extent to which a message can be followed easily (smooth read), *Lexical Resource*, the extent to

which lexis is appropriate and precise, and lexicogrammatically well-formed, and *Grammatical Range and Accuracy* the extent to which phrases and clauses are lexicogrammatically well-formed were useful[18]. This initial analysis for variations allowed for considerations of the amount of error and the gravity of the error from treatable surface errors to untreatable surface and global errors (Bitchener & Ferris, 2012). It also allowed for considerations of more discourse-level variations such as burying or omission of macro or hyper themes, breakdowns in thematic progression or cohesion, and semantic gap errors (Roberts & Cimasko, 2008) or other lexical oddities (James, 1998).

The analysis of post-graded assignments also included exploring lecturers' feedback, including the amounts and kinds of feedback they gave. This analysis also, importantly, enabled discussion of students' reactions to feedback (or lack of it) and the meanings they attached to or inferred from it.

The goal of these initial analyses was to assist in creating interview schedules for students and lecturers for post-grading talk-around-texts. With students, to avoid sounding critical, the focus was only on elements that could be seen to contribute to writtenness. The aim was that beyond other topics for discussions, such as how the students got the work done and their assignment-oriented practices, we could also discuss these elements that could be seen as constitutive of writtenness, their writtenness-oriented practices. In the few cases where student participants had

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[18]In fact, based on my experience, the descriptors for Band 9 IELTS (educated native-speaker), in many ways provide what could be considered a description of unmarked writtenness.

drafted/redrafted assignments, this process of building an interview schedule for students was enhanced through text-history analysis (Lillis & Curry, 2010). This traced attempts to enhance writtenness and/or ameliorate error. The goal of these interview schedules was to facilitate talk-around-texts aimed at closing the gap between text and context (Lillis, 2008); to understand why the students wrote in the ways they did and their senses of how what was on the paper was orchestrated (or not) by the immediate contexts, the contact zones, and the broader context in which they were written. Discussion of lecturers' feedback practices allowed students to express their reactions to the comments. Also, comparing the comments to any feedback they had received in previous contact zones allowed consideration of how the students perceived writing in their subject classes at AUAF and the extent to which these perceptions may have affected the ways they wrote these assignments and their writtenness-oriented practices in general.

With the lecturers, the interview schedules aimed to probe their reactions or orientations to the writing in the papers apart from the content (Turner, 2023). Therefore, again, the main focus was on many of the elements that had been discussed with individual students. The aim was again to close the gap between text and context (Lillis, 2008) to understand how and why the faculty oriented to what was on paper. This inevitably included some discussion of error; however, much of this was brought up by the faculty themselves and provided insights into their senses of writtenness and, in some cases, their willingness to rescale their assessment practices to accommodate marked writtenness. In order to avoid any sense of critique, there was little discussion of feedback practices apart from when the participants brought this up. Much of what the

faculty said about the papers also enabled subsequent deeper textual analysis, which also involved shuttling between the ethnographic and textual data.

4.2.5.3 Think-Aloud Protocols

A further data source elicited from the instructors was 'think-aloud' protocols (Bloxham, Boyd, & Orr, 2011; Prior, 2004). The lecturers were provided with MP3 recorders and asked to record their thoughts and reactions to student participant assignments whilst grading them. Analytically, Tuck (2012) asserts that 'think-aloud protocols can be an extension of 'talk around texts' (Tuck, 2013). However, only two lecturers (DW and DK) provided think-aloud data. The HIS399 lecturer refused to do it but invited me to remain in his office while he graded the papers, including mine. This turned out to be a productive session, which led to much data that indexed his senses of writtenness and its role in higher education, along with what seemed to be a rather resigned rescaling of his assessment practices to the context of AUAF.

4.2.5.4 Informal Talk-Around-Texts

Informal talk-around-texts through 'informal' hall conversations (Copland & Creese, 2015) occurred through chance meetings with the participants throughout the semester. Some of these provided other rich points and were generally recorded in the research diary.

4.3 Data Analysis

The amount and richness of the data meant that it could be used, analysed and interpreted for several different purposes, including, for example, teaching and learning

in EMI contexts. However, in this study, data analysis was much enhanced by tying the ethnography down (Rampton, 2007) to a focus on assignment-oriented and writtenness-oriented practices. This facilitated a far more focused analysis of textual evidence, such as assignment-related emails, syllabi, guidelines, textbooks, other textual scaffolds including models or how-to materials; data from participant observations, including any in-class interactions around the assignments and/or any other in-class comments that indexed lecturers or students' senses of writtenness; and, of course, the rich data from talk-around-texts.

4.3.1 Talk-Around-Texts as transparent/referential, discourse/indexical, and performative/relational.

Despite the almost ritualised use of talk-around-texts in AL research (Ivanic, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Lillis & Curry, 2010; Tuck, 2013), Lillis (2008) notes that, like much interview-based writing research, there is often "a key - and un-explicated - epistemological difference in the analytic treatment of texts and talk" (Lillis, 2008, p. 361). While AL sees texts as inseparable from context (Lillis & Tuck, 2016), talk-around-texts is sometimes seen as "straightforwardly transparent, a simple reflection of a writer's perspective" (Lillis, 2008, p. 362). This dichotomy echoes much interview research in applied linguistics, which, despite claiming constructivist or social-practice orientations, construes "interviews as research instruments" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004; Mann, 2010; Talmy, 2010; see also Potter & Hepburn, 2005)

Lillis (2008; see also Lillis & Curry, 2010; Tuck 2013, 2017), however, suggests a framework for analysing talk-around-texts at three interrelated levels: transparent/referential, discourse/indexical and performative/relational. The first level,

transparent/referential, asserts ethnographic principles of accepting participant perspectives straightforwardly "as meaningful to them" (Lillis, 2008, p. 365). In this study, this included transparent/referential factual information the students gave about themselves and the/or the assignments writing and their practices around them.

Discourse/indexical analysis, however, seeks instantiations of "wordings and topics which … index particular views of writing or teaching" (Tuck, 2013, p. 119). In this study, in talk-around texts with students and lecturers, discourse/indexical analysis focused on any instances that indexed their senses of writtenness and/or its role in AUAF or the broader context.

Performative/relational aspects are those in which the researcher and researcher perform practices related to research, identity, and power at a specific moment/place in time. This construes talk as interaction, emergent around placings and perceptions of the interviewer's/interviewee's identities and status' in the immediate context and how these may be "shaped by broader socio-historical dynamics" (Lillis, 2008, p. 366). The talk-around-texts included indices of students, being students or indexing studentness. For example, I was often referred to as 'professor', and when we discussed aspects of their papers, some students wanted my feedback on correctness or my opinion of their work in general.

Instances of lecturers being lecturers and indexing lecturerness included rights to criticise the students and forward their opinions of writing at AUAF in general.

Also, with lecturers, our professional commonalities and prior relationships often seem to occasion what Garton and Copland (2010) called "acquaintance interviews". These allowed for co-construction unavailable "to researchers who do not share similar

backgrounds" with their participants (Garton & Copland, 2010, p. 548). In some cases, this included an openness to critiquing the students and the institution. My initial fears were that, as noted above, the intrusiveness of the long-term classroom observation and discussion of practices and my known professional role as a writing program teacher may prompt lecturers' stake and interest (Potter & Hepburn, 2005) in guarding their institutional reputations and/or push them to showcase their professional competence through selective revelations about their practices and orientations to student writing were unfounded. The interviews often seemed to become more like conversations in which the lecturers seemed quite open and confident about what they did and happy to share opinions and critiques.

4.4 Post Data Collection Textual Analysis

4.4.1 Analysis of Metagenres and Textual Scaffolds

As noted above, the focus on assignment and/or writtenness-oriented practices greatly assisted the analysis of the textual data collected through participant observation. Analysis of the metagenres traced, in particular, any instructions that seemed writtenness-oriented.

4.4.2 Analysis of Student Texts

At the time of the study, a comprehensive off-the-shelf methodology for conducting a text-oriented ethnography in an EMI/AUA context did not seem to exist, particularly regarding text analysis. Lillis and Curry noted in 2010 that there was much work "to be done ... to develop contextually grounded text analytic tools" (p. 21). The desire to employ a comprehensive, theoretically and linguistically grounded method

precipitated a rather extensive period of reading, thinking, and theorising that resulted in the drawing together of various ways to view the texts as described in the theoretical framework. As noted, the focus was very much on writing apart from the content. While the content was integral to how the lecturers assessed the work, there was little content analysis in this study.

The textual analysis was a more in-depth version of the initial analysis, which was greatly enhanced by the analysis of the other ethnographic data. Data from participant observation enabled looking for talk-to-text intertextuality (Prior, 2004) and any instances of assignment or writtenness-oriented practices in the texts that could be traced to in-class interactions. Talk-around-texts with students also allowed for them to recount any talk-to-text intertextuality in office hour discussions the students had/sought with their professors. Other intertextual analyses sought text-to-text or 'manifest' intertextuality, incorporating elements from class texts using conventionalised methods such as paraphrasing and quotation (Bazerman, 2004). This also allowed for the analysis of instances of patchwriting or plagiarism.

There was also time for a more in-depth analysis of the frequency and gravity of error. This is not to take an overly deficit view of literacy but to recognise the well-documented on-the-ground reality in global HE in contexts where many texts written by international or EMI students are not error-free. Although, depending on the extent of variation, error may not encroach excessively on student learning or communicative competence, it may, in Turner's (2018) sense of writtenness and its regulatory role in the academy, stigmatise some of these students as remedial. The analysis for error drew on Chuang and Nesi's (2006) refinements of Dulay, Burt, and Krashen's (1982: 150) surface

structure taxonomy in which surface errors were described as omission, overinclusion, misformation, misselection, and misordering.

This textual analysis also considered genre, including the inclusion, omission, foregrounding blurring/obscuring generic elements, breakdowns in cohesion discourse errors based on flouting of maxims, including unnecessary repetition. Some analyses were necessarily text-type specific, such as flouting essayist literacy conventions around fictionalising the writer and writing for an imaginary reader. Many of these individualised analyses were based on things that came up during talk-around-texts.

In instances where students provided drafts, there were opportunities to trace text histories. These instances, in particular, provided opportunities to probe the extent to which some students engaged in activities constitutive of the hidden labour of writtenness. This allowed consideration of how such work pointed outward from the texts toward local, institutional and broader, more abstract 'sponsors' (Brandt, 1998) of academic text production and reception.

The ethnographic data also allowed for reflection on why some students, despite having well-honed senses of the role of writtenness in HE, decided not to invest time in the hidden labour of producing it. These were often seen more as local assignment-oriented practices often based on perceptions of certain faculty and the value they ascribed to writtenness and/or task complexity

Much of the analysis and reanalysis also traced indices of writtenness based on the lecturers' responses to the writing. Much of this was based on discourse/indexical utterances during the talk-around texts, in particular aspects of writtenness above the surface-error level, including lack of organisation, burying of expected generic elements,

lack of expected development or elaboration, unnecessary repetition, and 'parasite' words.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Regarding standard ethical issues in this type of research, the study adhered to recommended protocols. For example, all participants received and signed information sheets, and all were aware that the data they provided would be used in this thesis (see Appendix 3). To safeguard anonymity, all participants are referred to using pseudonyms, and all identifying information from data, such as emails, has been removed. Throughout the study, all the collected digital data were stored on my password-protected computer, and all hard copies of the data were likewise securely stored.

Beyond this, however, given my proximity to the context and participants, there was a need for reflexivity around my presence in classrooms, my own biases, and my senses of how things should be, and an accounting of any ethical issues that arose during the study.

4.5.1 The Need for Reflexivity

4.5.1.1 Possible Observer effects

One area to consider was the extent to which my presence in the classrooms influenced what happened therein, the "participant-observer paradox" (Duranti, 1997, p. 118). Rampton et al. (2004) note, "The researcher's presence/prominence in the field setting defies standardisation and introduces a range of contingencies and partialities that need to be addressed/reported" (p. 4).

While preparing for the study, I had concerns that my known role as a teacher/gatekeeper of student academic literacy might potentiate lecturers' reactive stake and interest (Potter & Hepburn, 2005), leading them to adapt their teaching and academic literacy practices to showcase professional competence in writing within their disciplines. While there was no evidence that lecturers felt I was critically evaluating their practices, which had been a pre-research concern, my presence may have arguably prompted certain pedagogical interventions.

For example, in HIS399, before the semester began, DC, who was about to start his first semester at AUAF, asked me whether I thought the students would be capable of writing papers. To avoid prejudicing his course design decisions, I answered merely that they often wrote papers in other content classes. He did, in fact, include two papers (see Table 1), although there was no indication that this decision was based on our conversation. There were some possible effects of my presence on grading practices. In HIS399, DC graded papers in my presence, as he declined to record a think-aloud while grading. He began his grading by providing many corrections on the hard copy of the first assignment; however, the amount of feedback dwindled as he progressed. It may have been that if I had not been present, he would have provided less corrective feedback. However, none of these possible adaptations to his normal reading practices were overtly discussed as such.

Also, SOC310-001, DW indicated during the think-aloud recording while grading Geeti's paper that he did not usually spend as much time reading or as much feedback as he did on her paper. This was possibly because I had asked him to record his processes as he went. However, the think-aloud of his assessment of Behsud's paper, which occurred several days later, indicated perhaps what his more usual practices

were, a briefer read/skim through process during which he provided only four comments. These differences, however, provided valuable data regarding his reception of the texts in SOC310-002 (see Chapter 7, 7.2).

DK provided the most extensive textual scaffold and was the only lecturer who conducted a specifically designed assignment-oriented intervention in class. However, there was no indication that this was staged for my benefit, and in TaT, he discussed providing detailed, comprehensive assignment guidelines and spoken assignment explanations in all his classes. However, a possible observer effect emerged in his first class. DK told the students (mistakenly) that I was there "to study his use of language". He laughed when he said this, indicating perhaps it was a joke. However, there may also have been some indexing here of his awareness of previous student complaints and a possible perception of institutional scrutiny of his performance, based on this. DK spoke with a heavy Southeast Asian accent, exhibiting several features of his L1, such as the omission of articles and copula verbs, and pronunciation features such as the omission of final position fricatives and stops, and various mispronunciations of common and technical terms. Indeed, in one class, Obaid, who was upset by his midterm grade, rather irritatedly corrected DK's pronunciation of 'angle' [æŋdʒəl].

In talk-around-texts, DK openly discussed his own perceptions of his English and how he knew students judged him negatively for this, adding that this was the rationale for using some of his own writing in class (see Chapter 5), to show students he could write in ways superior to them. However, he did not seem unduly concerned by my presence or his self-perceived spoken English deficiencies (cf. C. Clark, 2018). In the same class, he asked students whether he 'makes sense' and invited them to tell him if

he was difficult to understand. None of the students commented on DK's first session joke about my role in the class, and Lemar was the only student who specifically complained about his spoken English. Interestingly, both Jamshid and Obaid felt that linguistic limitations were not grounds for questioning a professor's competence; however, both questioned DK's pedagogical practices (see, structuring lectures, C. Clark; Björkman, 2011; appropriate pedagogy, Inbar-Lorie & Donitsa-Schmidt, 2020; and more interaction, Suviniitty, 2012),

DZ referred to writtenness-oriented interventions he had previously conducted regarding unnecessary repetition in student texts, a feature that contravened his sense of writtenness (see Chapter 7). In PAD210, he did not do this, and in fact, he did the least in terms of in-class teaching focused on the assignment (see Chapter 5).

Overall, despite my initial concern, during the classes, there seemed to be very little showcasing or extra work designed explicitly to impress me. At all times I endeavoured not to sound critical during talk-around texts and hallway conversations with the lecturers. In one post-grading talk-around-texts, DZ appeared to become irritated by questions about his feedback-giving practices. This may have been due to his knowledge of my teaching role at AUAF, and it seemed he felt that I was perhaps criticising his work. In this instance, I moved on quickly and avoided further discussion of anything he had written on the students' papers (see Chapter 7, section 7.4).

4.5.1.2 Being drawn into the contact zones

My physical presence in the classes led to instances where I seemed to be identified or 'placed' (Crang & Cook, 2007) and drawn into the contact zones as more of a participant by both the students and lecturers.

In SOC310-001 and PAD210, I was largely ignored by the lecturers and virtually never drawn into the classes in any capacity. However, in HIS399 and SOC310-002, I was drawn in as somewhat of a pronunciation aficionado. In HIS399, DC, although an American citizen, was raised in France and was unfamiliar with the phonemic renderings of terms such as 'gunwales' and names such as Lord Aukland. In SOC310-002, I was likewise called on by DK, a native of a Southeast Asian country, to pronounce terms such as 'epistemological' and 'ontological' during a class activity based on the introduction chapter of his draft book.

While the instances above seem relatively harmless, a potentially more disruptive instance occurred later in HIS399, after the submission of assignment one. I was called upon in my role as a writing instructor to provide literacy support for four students, whom DC, based on his grading of the first paper (see Chapter 7), identified as needing significant help with their second assignment. Without my knowledge, DC had asked the registrar to request that I assist these students, two of whom were my participants, Nazia and Banin. Given my ethnographic role, I was hesitant, but, due to some institutional pressure, and, as my focus in HIS399 was only on the first essay, I agreed. Nevertheless, despite being informed of my availability to help, neither of my participants approached me, and only one of the other two came to see me. The interactions with DC and the registrar regarding these students, however, provided some valuable data that indexed DC's sense of writtenness and his attitudes towards students producing it (see Chapter 7).

Beyond these instances, in many interviews with students, I was invited beyond an to engage in more 'complete participation' (Duranti, 1997, p. 110), to act as a 'literacy

broker' (Lillis & Curry, 2010). I did, however, decline as I did not want to provide an unfair advantage to my participants or 'alter' the texts and text trajectories. My primary response to requests for feedback was that I would be able to do so only at the end of the study.

4.5.1.3 Maintaining a curious rather than evaluative gaze

Rogers Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, & Joseph (2005) note that in CDA-oriented educational research, as with researcher/practitioner studies in Academic Literacies (e.g., Tuck, 2017) researchers are often familiar with their context or educational contexts in general and bring with them "histories of participation" which shape their "beliefs, assumptions and values," (p. 382). I arrived in the contact zones not only with orienting ideas and senses of how writing or the assignments should be taught, written, and graded. These senses inevitably seeped into the data collection and analysis processes. While observing and interacting with the faculty in their classes and subsequently the data, it became important to remind myself that these faculty members were professionals, experts in their respective fields, and were unlikely to have read about academic writing or writing pedagogy to the depth that they were, in fact, there to teach content.

However, my sense of 'how things should be' extended to pedagogical practices in general, with largely unavoidable comparisons with my own teaching practices, and internal 'how I would have done that' narratives that were sometimes critical of what I was witnessing. In some cases, this extended to concerns about the accuracy of what was being taught.

In SOC310-001, DW's main approach was lecturing, usually based on PPTs he had created himself. DW always wrote brief overviews of classes and/or reminders on the board at the beginning of classes, which sometimes included typos and/or odd wording, as did some of the PPT slides. Other practices included DW's written feedback, which was minimal in Behsud's cases, written entirely in pencil, in a mixture of capitalized words and cursive, and, at times, illegible (cf. Chang, 2014). While this provided rich data and was discussed by both participants, I again made a point of avoiding any sense of criticism in my interactions with DW. DW, in fact, while not directly focusing on his feedback-giving practices, did state clearly that improving writing was not his responsibility and that, in Geeti's case at least, he had provided much more feedback than he would ordinarily.

In SOC310-002, however, my sense of how things should be and students' covert requests for clarification of concepts and in-class instructions led to some uncomfortable moments that required me to remain true to the ethnographer's need to avoid damaging influence on the context and participants. DK was the only lecturer who regularly used group learning activities in class, during which I was also assigned to a group (although I often tried to join and observe as many groups as possible). At times, some students in these groups asked me to explain the activity instructions, goals, and/or some of the content and concepts DK had taught previously. One activity involved students finding the epistemological and ontological assumptions in the draft introduction of DK's book. Beyond his difficulty in pronouncing these terms, he had provided what, in my opinion, was an unclear and even misleading explanation of both terms. While the group I was in was likely unaware of this, they immediately asked me to

clarify the terms, as well as the goals of the activity. I, of course, refrained from doing so to maintain my observer role and suggested they direct their questions to him. This rather uncomfortable episode led to discussions with my supervisor regarding the extent to which, as an employee of AUAF, I should stand by while, in my opinion, students were being misinformed. Again, I had to remind myself that DK was a professional and expert in Policy and Governance in Post-Conflict Societies, which was his primary field. Additionally, any questions regarding teaching would be addressed through the AUAF annual appraisal process, conducted by his department chair. Lastly, in terms of the specific focus of this thesis, DK probably did the most (see Chapter 5) and was a diligent and comprehensive grader. He was also the harshest grader, which did little to endear him to the students.

There were instances where students criticised the lecturers in both talk-around texts and hall conversations with students. While instances of this are covered in the subsequent chapters, in each case, contextual factors that may have nuanced or influenced these criticisms are mentioned. For example, Geeti, who had previously taken classes with DW, criticized his SOC310 course and, in particular, his feedback practices on her paper. However, regarding his feedback on her paper, in talk-around-texts, it became clear that she had not reviewed any of it prior to our meeting, and only critiqued it in the interview when she struggled to read it. Regarding DK, while all the students critiqued his teaching, Obaid and Lemar were particularly dismissive. However, it was essential to remember that Obaid was upset about his D grade on the midterm exam, and Lemar was very disappointed with the C- he received for his paper. During such interactions, it became essential for me to maintain researcher neutrality and avoid being drawn into criticism.

There were also some issues with plagiarism and collusion. All the students seemed comfortable disclosing when they had sought models or literacy brokering from peers or had indeed provided such services themselves. None of the students seemed to think this was wrong (cf. Barrett & A. Cox, 2006). However, Parnian, based on her perception of DZ's lack of focus on writing, freely admitted copying parts from another student's paper during our talk-around-texts. As an employee, I was duty-bound to report academic dishonesty; however, as an ethnographic researcher, I was also committed to maintaining confidentiality. Another instance of plagiarism, or at least significant patchwriting (Howard, 1995), occurred in a homework activity submitted by Geeti, which included several three- to four-line chunks copied from a research methods textbook. While I was able to discuss the text in a talk around texts with her, Geeti did not volunteer any information about these chunks or how she had composed the text. This, and the admitted instance from Parnian above, led to another discussion with my supervisor regarding the ethics of my role as an employee with an obligation to uphold standards regarding academic honesty, as well as an ethnographer trying to understand more about the practices of production and reception in and around these assignments. Ultimately, of course, I had to maintain my researcher's stance and commitment to confidentiality, and the instances above provided data that is discussed in the following chapters.

4.6   Conclusion

Overall, these ethical trouble spots offered numerous areas of interest to an ethnographer and nuanced ways to consider the data, particularly in terms of how students perceived the lecturers and whether these perceptions influenced their assignment and writtenness practices. However, rich descriptions of these are beyond the scope of this study. Indeed, during data analysis, it became clear that much would need to be filtered to address the specific research questions. It was this process, however, that also led to a more targeted focus on specific assignment-oriented practices, particularly writtenness-oriented practices (see Chapter 2). This meant that all the data concerning everything else that occurred during the study were only drawn into the following chapters, where it seemed to affect (1) what lecturers did in terms of scaffolding the assignments and the extent to which they tried to make clear that writtenness or aspects of it were desired in the assignments; (2) what students did to get the assignments done including amount of writtenness-oriented labour they were prepared to put in and the extent to which this was orchestrated by their perceptions of the immediate local pedagogical contact zones or broader senses of what writtenness is and desires or dispositions around producing it and why; and (3) the lecturers' reception practices, the extent to which these were specifically assignment oriented and/or writtenness-oriented practices and the extent to which they may accept a bumpier ride and why. This process of working with the data and refining the focus of analysis to address the research questions did much to help me look at all the data with curious rather than evaluative eyes (Tuck, 2017).

5. Lecturers' Practices of Production

Overview

The following three chapters of this thesis provide an account of the production and reception of the assignments and the role the senses of writtenness played in these practices. It is structured chronologically, covering first the lecturers' practices of production, which necessarily preceded the students' practices of production, which in turn preceded the professors' practices of reception. However, at points in this chronology, in keeping with Academic Literacies' ethnographic sensibilities, there are instances where data and events at other non-chronological parts of the journey are drawn in, where relevant, to help further illustrate these events and practices.

Chapter Five deals with research question one. It again tries to follow the chronology, beginning with the first classes, the distribution of syllabi, introductions to the course and their writing assignments. Pertinent parts of the syllabi, including course descriptions and assignment details, are discussed and drawn on along with other data where necessary to provide a description of the major writing assignments in each class. It then accounts for lecturer practices of production and any assignment or writtenness-oriented input that was brought into the contact zones. One aim here is to infer the professors' senses of writtenness and the extent to which they attempted, desired or otherwise tried to convey this in class. Where deemed appropriate for the discussion, any other aspects of the classes that may have affected the student participants'

practices are also discussed. These include aspects they brought up in talk-around-texts, such as perceptions of the lecturer and/or previous experiences of studying with them, professors' flexibility, immediacy behaviours, strictness, and EMI or pedagogical issues. Simply put, the first part aims to present what the professors did and why and how this and other contextual factors may have affected the students' practices of production.

5.1 HIS399: "Write like a lawyer who is building a case"

As HIS399 was a 'special topics'[19] course, there was no course description in the catalogue. The syllabus was a 14-page summary from DC's perspective of key events in Afghanistan's history (1809 – 1947). It focused, in particular, on Afghanistan's northeast, looking to add India to their own empire. The syllabus emphasised one of DC's firm beliefs: "Knowledge of British geopolitical thinking concerning Afghanistan remains absolutely essential for any serious understanding in depth of modern Afghan history and politics" (syllabus, p. 2).

A key focus was the first two of three Anglo-Afghan wars (1838-1842, & 1878-1880), with the outcomes of each forming the basis of the midterm and final papers, scheduled in the syllabus for weeks six and twelve.

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[19] The AUAF academic catalog describes a special topic class as "A course that is not regularly offered, and whose content varies with different offerings within a particular field of study."

Break : Midterm written assignment : assess, in a five page double-spaced essay, why, in your view, the emir Dost-Muhammad[20] chose the British alliance *after* 1842) (HIS 399 syllabus, 2017 [original punctuation retained])

Final paper : assess, in a 10 page double spaced, essay the pertinence of Abdur Rahman Khan's[21] warnings to subsequent twentieth century Afghan rulers.

later changed to:

Why and how does the Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1880 repeat the patterns of the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1838-1842?

These assignments were unique in my study in the following ways: (1) They formed the entire grade for the course, (2) they were essays, (3) the prompts were given, and (4) the informational content of the class formed the content of the essays. In terms of essay genre, the instructions in the prompts above to 'assess' underpinned in assignment one with 'in your view' (see also lines 48-49, Figure 5.1 below), suggested exposition (e.g., Martin & D. Rose, 2005; Nesi & Gardner, 2012). According to Coffin (2006), historical exposition, a genre common in history classes in secondary and tertiary Angloshpere education, obligates students to "forward a particular interpretation of the past and then [prove its] validity ... through a series of arguments and supporting evidence" (Coffin, 2006, p. 78).

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[20] Dost Mohammad Khan was the ruler of Afghanistan before and during the early part of the first Anglo-Afghan war. He returned to power in the 1843 in the aftermath of the British defeat.

[21] Abdur Rahman Khan was Dost Mohammad Khan's grandson and the ruler of Afghanistan following the Second Anglo-Afghan War.

5.1.1 Input

The only reference to writtenness in the early sessions occurred when DC missed several classes for personal reasons. An upper-level AUAF administrator covering one session lectured on the first Anglo-Afghan war. The administrator's wife, Cathy, who was also present, cautioned us that DC was from an elite US institution and would have high expectations regarding writing. This seemed to cause concern. Sheba remembered, "Miss Cathy made us worried (laughs)" about the assignment, while Tamim added in a hall conversation, "Maybe [DC] is not aware of our level," suggesting a concern that his work might not be good enough. Cathy's warning did, however, seem to motivate him:

> T: Because it's [the writing] for a professor who used to study at XXXXXX, and his expectations are very high … this is one of the reasons that I have worked hard on this paper.

Tamim also mentioned his deep interest in the topic and how DC taught it as a further motivating factor. Nazia also felt that for DC, "your English is important like how you deliver things he is more focusing on that," adding, "there are some professors [at AUAF] that even don't care what you write," an assertion intimated by several other participants. These concerns about DC and his presumed expectations, which I shared, suggested that the students' senses of who DC was affected their practices of production.

5.1.2 In-class Indices of DC's Sense of Writtenness

On 14/10, whilst reading aloud from official 1838 correspondence between the British and the Russians, DC mentioned several times that this was the 'discourse' of

diplomatic English and was "the English you need to know." On 11/11, he emphasised again that the language of a letter from Lord Palmerston was directly transposable into today's diplomatic discourse. These documents exhibit a distinctly RP (Turner, 2018) version of written English, and his references to them suggested that he considered facility with their writtennesses requisite for AUAF students, something he emphasised in talk-around-texts.

> DC: We are here to train the elite of Afghanistan to express itself eloquently, clearly, forcefully on grave, if not vital, problems for them to the rest of the world.

There was no direct reference to students reproducing these diplomatic discourses in their papers, and no student commented further on DC's assertions regarding diplomatic discourse. It is possible, however, that they may have contributed to students' writing for DC anxieties.

5.1.3 Reference to Essay One

The only pre-submission in-class references to assignment one occurred in late October and early November. With the fall break (21/10-26/10) approaching, the students, especially Tamim, were increasingly concerned as the due date in the syllabus was 28/10. Tamim planned to ask about the assignment on 10/10 but was unable after the class was sidetracked when DC referred to a controversial Jihadi commander. On 14/10, DC, unprompted, mid-lecture, volunteered that he expected a reasoned response based on sources provided rather than "a long list of citations" (field notes). This intertextual use of sources without conventional citation and referencing could be interpreted as a less academic style. However, DC's comment did not obviate the need for writtenness and was not understood as doing so by students. Indeed, 'reasoned

response' still suggested exposition, while permission not to cite suggested a focus on argument quality rather than academic convention.

The due dates for assignment one changed to 11/11 and then, following a petition, which included my participants, to 18/11. On 7/11, DC urged us to "write your essay *like* a lawyer building a case" or a journalist presenting "a good piece of investigative journalism." The word '*like*' suggested writtenness, a logical expository accretion of ideas inherent in these rhetorical situations, was what DC was indexing rather than the genre of a lawyer's brief or investigative article. In talk-around-texts, DC clarified:

> DC: ... I asked them to understand a problem and ... expose it as one would either in court or in ... a newspaper for an audience that could be composed of a jury or readership that is not necessarily informed of the facts of the case ... to marshal your arguments clearly and give a proper exposition."

Again, the phrase "as one would" suggested references to courtrooms or newspapers were analogies, while exposing "it [the problem]" for persons "not necessarily informed of the facts" indexed the fictionalised reader/audience associated with essayist literacies (Gee & Hayes, 2011; Lillis, 2001). The references to marshalling arguments and exposition suggest an ideal essayist-type text rather than specific professional genres.

The students did not seek to clarify these in-class exhortations. It seemed DC felt they were transparent and understood, and the students had the cultural and discoursal repertoires to manifest them. The advice was, however, interpreted varyingly. Tamim felt writing like a lawyer required pretending "there's a judge, and you're a lawyer so ... you explain everything by event date." Banin felt they meant, "You would, of course, bring

that evidence to" support your case. Nazia and Sheba could not recall hearing these in-class instructions at all.

5.1.4 Written Guidelines

On 02/11, DC sent an email titled "Saturday class and midterm" (Figure 5.1), which included the following assignment and writtenness-oriented information:

Assignment-oriented:

1. Assignment-relevant history and documents to be discussed in class on 04/11 (lines 3-16)

2. Oft-repeated in-class exhortations to use his sources (lines 20-21)

3. A slightly altered essay prompt (lines 36-37)

4. A reminder of pertinent content covered previously (lines 43-54).

Writtenness-oriented:

1. Relatively detailed instructions on how the paper should be written (lines 23-41)

2. A final reference to the writtenness of the assignment (line 49)

The instructive/prescriptive intent regarding writtenness seems construed through imperative clauses (cf. Stierer, 1997), beginning on line 21 with "**Write** your short paper as if you were producing good investigating journalism". The reference to "**good journalistic or historical writing**" (line 29) pre-empted the in-class exhortations of 07/11 and arguably suggested an "element of role-playing" (I. Clark, 2005). The reference to historical writing also suggested, to an extent, that DC was trying to embed the specific writtenness associated with historical writing in his class (cf. Deborah, in Tuck, 2017, p. 72). The following imperative clauses, however, (lines 25-30) suggest it was more the expository, smooth read and linguistic precision of good journalistic/historical writing

that DC desired. "**Expose** the facts clearly in the *limpid* narrative" indexes the smooth read and suggests the ordered, linear, accretive revelation of information constitutive of the expository ideology. This is reinforced by "**Write** simply and lucidly" in line 26 and to be "clear and cogent" in line 27, and again in lines 29-30, where DC asserts journalistic/historical writing is best materialised by focusing on your object and expressing it as clearly and simply as possible. "**Aim** for accuracy" and the warning to "**No** pretentious jargon and mysterious acronyms" (line 26) suggest the smooth read and linguistic conflation ideologies.

Figure 5.1: DC's instructions

```
1    Dear class,
2
3    This is to confirm that we meet on Saturday 4 November from 2:00 PM to 5:00 PM, for in-depth
4    discussion of the First Anglo-Afghan War :
5
6    from the international Anglo-Russian crisis of 1837 around Herât, the actual Anglo-Afghan conflict
7    beginning in 1838 with the failed British occupation of Kabul in 1839-1842, to the restoration of the emir
8    Dôst-Muhammad's rule in 1842.
9
10   Please have with you the previously distributed hand-outs, selections from which we shall read and
11   analyse carefully together in class : notably the original Anglo-Russian diplomatic correspondence of
12   1837 from the London Parliamentary Papers, and Sir William Hay Macnaghten' s "Simla Manifesto" of
13   1838 stating the official reasons for the British-Indian intervention in Afghan affairs.
14
15   I will further distribute to you this Saturday the copies of the original journals of the two main British
16   eye-witnesses of the 1838-1842 War inside Afghanistan, Lady Sale and William Brydon.
17
18   I cannot emphasize enough that nothing replaces resort to such original sources and documentation when
19   analysing seriously any historical event.
20
21   Write your short paper as if you were producing good investigating journalism of a recent event - as in a
22   newspaper -  for an intelligent but not necessarily well-informed readership. Expose the facts clearly in
23   limpid narrative, refer to your pertinent sources to support your arguments, and base your conclusions
24   solidly on the evidence that you have produced.
25
26   No pretentious jargon, no mysterious acronyms, please. Write simply and lucidly. Aim for accuracy
27   without worrying about originality. If you are clear and cogent, you will be original enough.
```

```
28
29   The key to good journalistic and good historical writing is to focus on your object and to express it as
30   clearly and simply as you possibly can.
31
32    I remind you that the mid-term paper - five pages double-spaced - is due on Saturday 11 November.
33
34   It is your argued answer to the question:
35
36   Why did the emir Dôst-Muhammad choose alliance with Britain rather than with Russia after the First
37   Anglo-Afghan War, in 1842?
38
39   You will remember that Dôst-Muhammad's grandson, the emir 'Abd-ur-Rahmân, similarly chose alliance
40   with Britain rather than with Russia after the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880), in 1880.
41
42   Unlike his grandfather, however, the emir 'Abd-ur-Rahmân clearly stated his own arguments why, in the
43   memoirs which he dictated to his Indian-Muslim secretary Sultân-Muhammad Khân (London 1900) : a
44   document which you all have, and should very carefully read.
45
46   I strongly recommend that you infer whether or not 'Abd-ur-Rahmân's arguments can apply to his
47   grandfather's policies in 1842, and perhaps reflect and coincide with, or do not reflect and coincide with,
48   the emir Dôst-Muhammad's own approach to the British and Russians. You are entitled to your own
49   opinion, just make your arguments crystal clear.
50
51   All best to all -
```

The instruction in lines 23-24 to "**refer** to your pertinent sources to support your arguments and base your conclusions solidly on the evidence that you have produced" indexes scholarly writing and expository funnelling towards logical conclusions.

Terms like **sources, arguments, conclusions,** and **evidence** would likely spur student memories of the essayist writing rather than journalistic styles and be reinforced by the phrase "... your **short paper**" (line 21), which recalls the "**five-page double-spaced essay**" description in the syllabus, reinforced again in line 32 with "**The mid-term paper - five pages double-spaced**". The statement, "*It is your argued answer to*" (line 34) and the question "*Why did*" (line 36) recall the syllabus imperative "*assess ... in your view,*" emphasised further by *"infer"* in line 46, *"your own opinion"* (line 48) while making *"arguments crystal clear"* (line 49) all suggest exposition (Coffin, 2006).

The essayist literacy fictionalisation of the reader (Gee & Hayes, 2011) is emphasised in line 22 by *"write for an intelligent but not necessarily well-informed*

readership". This also indexes reader-based prose (Flower, 1979), and suggests an intelligent reader for whom writtenness is a 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1990, 1992) and echoes tropes from the composition textbooks and classes the students would likely be familiar with. As this kind of instruction may be less common for non-composition faculty, it suggests that DC assumed AUAF students might not automatically understand they were expected to write for the know-nothing reader (Giltrow, 2002).

5.1.5 Students' Use of the Input

While the email provided a valuable data source, it did not affect how I wrote my HIS399 paper. Despite never having written a history paper before, I felt confident that I would write an exposition in which I would provide my arguments chronologically. However, while it can be assumed that DC considered the email sufficient for students to complete an ideal text assignment, the students either misinterpreted or simply ignored it (cf. Tuck, 2018). Tamim described the email as:

> T: … stressing because we we we didn't know what he's specifically expecting
>
> from us … this worried us that he's expecting something high.

He, added, however, that he "didn't rely so much on this" email, relying far more on discussions with DC in his office (this hidden labour of writtenness practice is discussed further in Chapter 6). The reference to journalistic writing alarmed Nazia:

> N: … I don't know how a journalist writes … when I read this, I got very scared … I
>
> was like, oh my god.

Banin had forgotten to read the email, so we discussed it in post-submission talk-around-texts. Having read the reference to journalistic writing, she laughed, "because I wouldn't know how they do it …" In fact, both Nazia and Banin challenged the idea of

writing like a journalist. Nazia asserted, "The way I have written shouldn't be journalist because I'm arguing [writing an argument essay], while Banin felt, "This was a history paper that would be so much different than what would be on a newspaper." In response to the journalistic writing, Sheba stated, "I did not pay attention much to that."

The instruction to "expose the facts clearly in limpid narrative" was ignored by all the participants. Sheba responded, "I don't know what is limpid professor (laughs)" (cf. word choices Harris, 2010); the same was true for Banin, and when I clarified it, she also laughed, rereading the instruction, "write … clearly in a **_clear_** narrative (laughs) … It would have been obvious that I would have to be clear."[22] Following her first reading of the entire email in talk-around-texts, Banin added:

> B: … I don't think I would have learned much from this instruction … I would [need to] go back to his office and say, professor, what do you mean by each of these lines

Nazia also critiqued the email: "The problem is that he thinks that we know what does it mean because he knows." Having initially been confused by the "focus on the journalism (laughs)", she then "ignored almost all of it". Her decision to ignore the email, as with Banin's failure to read it, however, had consequences for both, particularly regarding the instruction to write for an intelligent but not well-informed readership. In talk-around-texts, Nazia began to realise she had written for a different audience.

> N: … I wrote this for DC (laughing) … so I wrote to someone who already has the view of what was going on … (laughing) so that was I think the mistake.

---

[22] See Harris (2010).

This realisation was similar for Banin; she lamented having not gone "into details for anything and everything because prof knows it and he's my audience ... but if I had followed this instruction (sighing) I would know, ok, my audience is different people." Analysis of their papers suggested a more writer-based prose style that would be understandable to a reader with shared knowledge. For instance, in her first paragraph, Nazia introduced several key actors and events without establishing for the less knowledgeable reader who they were or why they were relevant. Also, after a brief metatext second paragraph, she began with the British retreat from Kabul, rather than any events leading up to it. As discussed in Chapter 7, along with other aspects of Nazia's introduction, this affected DC's reception of her paper. As with Banin, these consequences were likely compounded by their relatively minimal engagement in hidden labour of writtenness practices. Nazia wrote her paper the night before, added the conclusion in the morning, did one edit for 'grammar', and submitted it (cf. Sommers, 1980). Banin started the day before submission and stayed awake until 3.00 am to finish it. Despite usually editing papers before submission, for this paper, she was "fed up" with it and handed it in unedited. However, this lack of editing may have arisen from her expectation that AUAF EMI students should be cut some slack regarding language accuracy. She was expecting DC to do so also (cf. DC's rescaling of his grading practices in Chapter 7).

While Sheba felt writing for an intelligent but not well-informed readership meant that she should "make sure that ... what I'm providing is not wrong according to facts," her essay did exhibit essayist-literacy fictionalisation of the reader. Echoing the findings of my 2010 study, this practice was arguably acquired through Sheba's EMI schooling

and experiences at AUAF. Tamim also produced this style, although this was due to a sense of essayist literacy acquired in composition classes at AUAF, as this was where he felt he learned to write. Overall, regarding DC's email, Tamim provided a comment very much borne out among the majority of participants in all classes in the study:

> T: ... one of bad things that students do here [AUAF], especially ... we don't read carefully what the professor is expecting ... we only was seeing this [the essay question].

5.1.6 Student Choices

As the email had little influence, in talk-around-texts, all the participants described drawing on existing literacy practices and repertoires to get their papers done. Tamim explained straightforwardly, "Yeah (confident) I was arguing, so you know it's an argumentative essay," adding he learned argument writing in ENG115 and used it for most assignments. Analysis showed that his paper did display the generic stages of an exposition and was written in an essayist-literacy style (see Chapter 6).

Nazia, despite not writing for a fictionalised reader, also referred to ENG115 and stated quite emphatically that the kind of paper she wrote was "argumentative" because the essay question meant "you have to write the arguments or even the paper in a way that the others get convinced of what you write." She wrote two main arguments and previewed them in a thesis-type element on the second page after the "longest introduction" she had ever written. However, as discussed in Chapter 7, DC did not seem to notice the rhetorical intent of her thesis, likely due to her reader-with-shared-knowledge writer-based prose style and last-minute, one-draft-only approach to this assignment.

Sheba felt the kind of paper she should write "would be the same ... as English papers which I have written ... like a thesis and all the link back to the thesis the body paragraphs, conclusion ...," suggesting she saw it unproblematically as an ENG115 style essay. Based on the initial analysis of her paper, I thought Sheba would identify her paper as an argument as Nazia and Tamim had done. She described her paper as "descriptive", however. I asked specifically about the metatext phrase in her paper, "this paper presents arguments," she stated confidently, "these are the arguments by Abdurrahman ... its descriptive [I am] describing the arguments," adding confidently later that her paper was not an argument.

Her confidence was substantiated when later analysis of her draft suggested it was more akin to a Factorial Explanation (Coffin, 2006), another genre germane to history classes. Her paper exhibited the generic stages of this genre: *Outcome* (identifying a historical outcome), *Factors* (elaborating causes of historical outcomes), and *Reinforcement of Factors* (in a concluding paragraph). Sheba's articulation of her sense of her paper indicated awareness of her practices and countered somewhat Paxton's (2011) suggestion that EAL/NNES students struggle to discuss literacy practices. Her sense that she was merely describing also echoes Cole's (2012) study of high-achieving history students, many of whom felt they were mainly compiling facts rather than forwarding novel arguments in their papers. Sheba was also confident her paper was not exposition as she had consciously deleted a preview of arguments/overview in an earlier draft. She felt these "arguments [her words - for paragraphs 3-8] will talk about it [the reasons for Dost-Mohammad's alliance] generally." While in a later hall conversation, Sheba felt the paper was argumentative, her account of removing the overview indicated

both agency in constructing her paper and confidence in her ability to manipulate the generic stages of an ENG115-type essay, and that doing so would be acceptable/appropriate for her reader. Indeed, as shown in Chapter 6, which discusses some of Sheba's other hidden-labour-of-writtenness practices, these drafting/deleting practices did seem logical and justified.

Banin was less sure of what kind of paper she wrote. Although she had never written a history paper before, she felt she should know what to do based on ENG110/115. For this 'should know' reason, she did not approach DC for fear of being judged negatively and even felt guilty for looking for a model online (cf. Hadizadeh & Kanık, 2002). She did feel, however, that she had written logically and made things clear in an essayist way:

> B: OK, here's my introduction ... These are the points ... that I will be focusing on ... this is my first point ... and expand that and then second point, this is and then at the end conclusion ... you have to tell your professor what you want to talk about first, second, ... and expansion to it

Her paper did include an overview-type element midway through the first paragraph; however, although it was introduced with metatext, 'in this paper', it is somewhat buried or 'missable'. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 7, DC did not seem to notice it, seeming more distracted, as with Nazia's paper, by surface and discourse errors likely resulting from Banin's last-minute drafting and her DC-as-the-sole-audience writer-based prose style.

Overall, while DC's in-class exhortations were brief, his email described the writtenness he was expecting. Virtually all his input was ignored, however; the students seem to rely far more on their existing practices. This may have been due to familiarity

with the genre and previous experiences. Sheba's writing in essayist literacy styles arguably resulted from her EMI schooling, while Tamim's seemed to have come from his composition classes at AUAF, and as will be shown in Chapter 6, the considerable hidden labour of writtenness activities he engaged in. While Nazia and Banin were not concerned about the genre in general, they did seem to lack automatic recourse to the essayist fictionalisation of the reader that seemed more obvious to Sheba and Tamim. They also did not engage in the levels of hidden labour that the others did, which, in Banin's case, seemed partly due to her sense, based on her previous experiences at AUAF, that she would not be penalised for less polished work.

5.2 SOC310-001 DW: "You've taken writing classes, right?"

SOC310 was described in the 2017-2018 course catalogue thus:

Figure 5.2: SOC310 Catalogue description

1	**SOC 310 Social Research Methods –3 credit hours**
2	
3	The course introduces students to the basic concepts and procedures of social science
4	research. It includes theory and practice of basic, academic and applied research, as well
5	as qualitative and quantitative approaches. Students also develop skills to become a
6	"critical consumer" of research, able to assess the strengths and limitations of social
7	research studies. After successfully completing this course, students are prepared to
8	pursue their own research, take more advanced methodology courses, and appraise the
9	evidence and assertions of social research studies. The course consists of a combination
10	of lectures, small group discussion, and activities. Prerequisite: MTH 101, ENG 115; ANT
11	110 or POL 110 or PAD 110.

While there is little reference to writing in the description, "students are prepared to pursue their own research" (lines 7-8) implies being also able to write it up. DW did not use this course description as he was (reluctantly) teaching SOC310 for the first time. Therefore, he used another professor's (Dr Younis - DY) syllabus, which focused more on research in 'Afghanistan' (lines 4-5, Figure 5.3). While DW did not pursue this focus, he did retain DY's major assignment (see Figure 5.4), the course content, materials and textbook.

The assignment "A Research Report" (lines 1-10 figure 5.4) required students to download "Writing a Formal Research Paper in the Social Sciences" from the Germanna Community College writing centre. As this handout described basically how to write a generic IMRD-type paper, the assignment involved students showcasing social sciences research methods learning by choosing a topic, researching it and writing it up in an IMRD. SOC310-001 was the only course in the study to use a published guidelines handout as an assignment scaffold.

Figure 5.3: DY's Course description

1	This course is a comprehensive introduction to social science research enquiry and
2	methods. It will examine the philosophical and theoretical foundations of social research,
3	and their key differences with research in the natural world. Students will also learn about
4	the ethical and political issues that are involved in social research, particularly in insecure
5	contexts like Afghanistan.
6	
7	Moreover, students will study about various social research methods, particularly the
8	similarities and differences between qualitative and quantitative methods.
9	Student will also learn about sampling and research design, and will practice various
10	research methods (i.e. surveys, in---depth interviews, focus group, case study, and etc.).

Figure 5.4: The syllabus assignment description

```
 1    Research Report (25%)

 2    You should choose a research topic and submit a research report of 2,000 words via Turnitin by 25
 3    October during class. Unless a reasonable excuse is provided (medical or emergency), a penalty of 2%
 4    per day will be deducted for the late submission.

 5    You are strongly advised to start your research project early in the Semester because research is always
 6    time consuming and 'messy' process. A research diary or log book could also help you with your final
 7    report.

 8    Please consult your instructor while choosing your research topic.  The guidelines for your research
 9    paper follow: http://www.germanna.edu/documents/writing-a-formal-research-paper-with-apa.pdf.  If
10    you want a good grade follow it strictly,  don't leave anything out.  APA guidelines are listed later.
```

DW also retained a fortnightly 'workshop' from DY that involved students bringing summaries of a set article to class and working in groups to produce a master summary. While I collected some data on these, my main focus was the individual assignments.

It must be emphasised, however, that these excerpts are from DY's syllabus and were not created by DW. It must also be emphasised that there were no changes as DW had been 'given' this course only a few days before the beginning of the semester, due partly to DY's departure. In fact, DW made it clear that he was unhappy and would not have chosen to teach a methods course if he had not been 'asked' to.

5.2.1 Input

In class one, DW mentioned two things about the assignment that were often repeated until the November first assignment due date: (1) Follow the Germanna guidelines closely, (2) he had not read them himself, which suggested he was confident they were appropriate and useful. He followed by saying, "You've taken writing classes,

right?" which suggested: (1) He felt AUAF writing classes adequately prepared students to write whatever the guidelines described, (2) he would (therefore) not need to teach how to write the assignment. Regarding point one, he admitted in talk-around-texts knowing little about AUAF's writing program other than assuming APA citation/referencing were covered (this became a key grading criterion for him – see Chapter 7). Regarding point two, he also confirmed in talk-around-texts that he felt teaching writing was not his job.

In the second class (06/09) DW introduced the scientific method and advised that this should be used in the assignment. His PPT-backed lecture mentioned literature reviews being part of this scientific method, and he referred students to a description of literature reviews on p. 8 of the textbook, something the students were supposed to have read pre-class according to the syllabus. DW then asked: "What do you write in a research report [near the beginning] ... what goes in a research report?". Recalling perhaps essayist styles from composition classes, Behsud answered, 'Hook?'[23] Despite showcasing his essayist knowledge, this response also suggested unfamiliarity with IMRDs. DW left this unacknowledged, however, and answered, "a literary [sic] review."[24] There was no further discussion of literature reviews in this session.

Other brief in-class instructions, including reminders not to use 'I' in APA style papers (cf. Mary, Andy and Jack, in Boz, 2006, p. 135), but little else before 15/10. While these in-class assignment-oriented asides indicated DW's writing-in-the-social-sciences knowledge, the most common assignment-oriented remarks drawn into the

---

[23]. Beginning an essay introduction with a hook is taught and exemplified in many American composition classes and textbooks. It is covered in ENG 110, 'Writing Academic English,' which Behsud had used as a teacher.

[24] I wondered whether literary was a slip of the tongue; however, DW did use this term several times thereafter.

contact zone during the first half of the semester were to follow the guidelines, and, although he still had not read them, he would use them as his rubric, which again suggested his confidence that they described a genre familiar to him.

4.1.1 5.2.2 A writing-in-the-Social-Sciences Class

Beginning on 15/10, two weeks before the assignment due date, and concluding on 18/10, DW covered "How to write a research report? [sic]," part four of DY's syllabus. This was based on Chapter 29 of the textbook, which the students were supposed to have pre-read, although none had. DW had referred to the writing-in-the-social-sciences class in talk-around-texts after asserting that content professors should not be obliged to teach writing. He mentioned he would teach it as in the syllabus; however, he qualified this by saying, "Whether I'm going to teach it, you know, in a way that it's going to be helpful or not [for the assignment] is another matter."

During the sessions, DW spoke about topics germane to social science writing in general, such as audience awareness, writing differently for different journals, and various research paper types, such as working papers, short oral reports, Journal articles, etc. While this displayed DW's knowledge and established his expert power, very little seemed assignment—or writtenness-oriented.

While some of DW's verbal input used second-person pronouns, e.g., "In policy analysis ... *you* look at different nations and see how it works," the 'you' was clearly the generic form, and therefore, such statements remained social science writing advice. Other instances, however, such as "avoid too much repetition in *your* writing", could be interpreted as generic and/or assignment/writtenness-oriented.

Some were more explicitly assignment-oriented. When discussing paper types, DW's PPT mentioned "exploration of a topic," and he commented that this might be "what most of you will do [in your assignments]." He added that this exploration of a topic would be mainly a literature review but advised anyone doing this to follow the Germanna guidelines as closely as possible, but to add an explanatory note "to convince me... that this skipping a step [from the guidelines] was OK." DW did not, however, discuss exploratory research further or how to write it up.

There was some other explicitly assignment/writtenness-oriented advice, such as clarifying the paper's purpose near the beginning or entailing it in a research question and explaining the significance of the study. He added that this should be done without using first-person pronouns, which would contravene APA, going on to model the metatext version, "This paper will investigate ...." First-person usage did feature in his grading, although only Geeti was penalised for it (see Chapter 7)

DW cautioned that the guidelines, which he still had not read, "may focus on quantitative research," adding that any students doing qualitative studies should make "adjustments." What these adjustments were, however, was never discussed or questioned further, although Chapter 29 of the textbook did discuss differences between quantitative and qualitative research and provided some excerpted examples (cf. Tachino, 2012). The guidelines did, in fact, detail quantitative research; however, while both participants did qualitative studies, DW did not comment on or look for 'adjustments' while grading.

On 15/10, DW also advised us:

DW: ... look at some of the famous examples. That'll give you some idea how others have written up their research ... looking at other examples can show you

how to write... if you can find somebody who's written a research project, just that'll give you a brief idea how to do it.

Although 'famous examples' seemed to suggest published work, 'finding somebody' also seemed to permit students to get examples from peers. Behsud procured an example from a friend who had taken SOC310 with DY, while Geeti shared her paper with Reshad, another student in our class; neither felt this was illegitimate collusion (cf. Barrett & A. Cox, 2005). Interestingly, despite this advice, DW refused to provide examples himself, justifying this thus:

DW: [other professors] will give you an example... but then they find everyone writes in the same way as that.

Geeti interjected, "That's OK", but DW merely repeated that students "write in the same way as the example ... I don't want to see the same paper with different subjects." In talk-around-texts, DW further critiqued providing example papers as a "paint-by-numbers" approach, although he acknowledged that the Germanna guidelines were "a very paint-by-numbers type of thing too." He also added rubrics to this category despite again using the Germanna text for grading (see Chapter 7). DW's views here echoed Dan and Martin's concerns in Tuck's study (p. 81, p. 84). On 18/10, the last bullet of his PPT slide for 'kinds of research papers' reiterated the suggestion to study example papers:

Journal articles that have the steps I have ask [sic] you to have are good places to help you write your paper.

After clarifying that these articles would likely be similar to those described in the guidelines, DW's final assignment-oriented input focused on abstracts and their

components. He referred us to examples on p. 686 (there are, however, none on this page) and advised us to (re)read the chapter to learn about writing introductions.

5.2.3 Writtenness-Oriented Advice

On 18/10, DW provided more explicitly writtenness-oriented advice. A slide titled 'Writing it up', which included an image of Strunk and White's (1999) 'Elements of Style,' detailed the following:

Writing it up

- *Unless research is properly communicated, all discussed will be for nothing*

- *Requires good use of the language*

- *If use overly complex terminology reduces communication [sic]*

- *One advice to read regularly book [sic]*

Regarding the first bullet, he explained, "Write in such a way that people understand what you're saying." He critiqued overly complex styles, which he felt some professors preferred, but advised us, "Don't make it so complicated that … I have no clue what you're saying". For bullet two, he simply stated, "You need to know how to write … [and] use the language well". For bullet three, he clarified, "That doesn't mean you don't use terminology … it depends on your audience", and for the final bullet, he referred to Strunk and White (1999) and urged.

DW: … if you want to really write well this… is a book that can help you. So even if you understand part of the things that it teaches, your writing will … increase. You don't have to know everything in that book to increase your writing style.

He advised students to read Strunk and White regularly "[so] you can... do a better job in all your classes." DW's suggestions to seek models, follow the guidelines and learn from Strunk and White indicated that learning how to do the assignment and develop their writing was something they could and should do for themselves (cf. Horner, 2018).

As a slightly odd coda to DW's practices, he was the only professor to provide some explicitly writtenness-oriented instruction. This, however, happened on the due date.[25] DW began the class with a video on proposal writing from Massey University, part of which included generic composition/academic writing textbook-type advice, such as having one main idea per paragraph and following the TEE formula for paragraph writing: **T**opic sentence and controlling idea, **E**xplain the idea, and provide **E**vidence (see lines 4-7, Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Partial transcript of Massey University Video

```
1    Writing
2    10:22
3    … a well-structured proposal is a well written proposal. Remember to keep your writing clear
4    concise and to the point. At every step of your writing consider the most basic unit which is the
5    paragraph organize your paragraph by following the T E E formula. T have a topic sentence and
6    controlling idea. E explain elaborate or define that idea and the second E provide evidence
7    examples or illustrations. Avoid long paragraphs of 250 plus words. Remember another formula,
8    one main idea - one paragraph. Furthermore, keep your sentences simple one idea for every
9    sentence …
```

---

[25] It transpired, however, that Geeti and I were the only ones who submitted on time.

While other tropes in the video were *"be clear, concise, and to the point,"* the video did exemplify these by breaking an excessively long sentence into three shorter sentences. This formed the only explicit practical exemplification of advice on writing from any professor in the study in the entire semester. In talk-around-texts, however, DW explained that he did not actively look for topic sentences, etc., while grading despite having taught paragraph writing previously as an ESL instructor.

5.2.4 Students' Use of the Input.

Geeti missed the whole intervention on 18/10, and in talk-around texts, the only assignment-oriented advice she could recall from the whole semester was not to use 'I', although she did, in fact, use it extensively in her methods section. In talk-around-texts on 27/11, Behsud stated he could not recall these classes at all. However, a caveat here was that at the time of the interview, he was very upset by the 30% DW deducted from his grade for lateness.

5.2.5 The Guidelines

The guidelines were a six-page PDF, "Writing a Formal Research Paper in the Social Sciences," from the Germanna Community College writing centre. They included an overview of writing in the social sciences, general tips for writing and four pages on format and descriptions of each IMRD section.

The general tips section (Figure 5.6) comprised a bulleted list of imperative tense advice which echoed the video: The first, *"**Be concise**,"* is a common trope, as is *"**relay this information in a** ... **straightforward manner ... as clearly as possible, without excess wordiness or repetition,"*** and staying *"**focused and on-point.**"* The six further

bulleted tips: **Write** in the third person, **use** correct verb tenses, **write** accurately, **use**

APA format, **use** peer-reviewed sources, and **cite** sources, were all assignment/genre-

oriented.

Figure 5.6: SOC310-002 Guidelines - Be Concise

General Tips

❖ **Be concise.** Scientific writing often requires a lot of information, and it is important to relay this information in a detailed but straightforward manner. The research should be presented as clearly as possible, without excess wordiness or repetition. Always stay focused and on-point.

The Format section (Figure 5.7) on page two lists components of an IMRD-type paper

and other aspects, such as formatting a title page and the moves (Swales, 1990) in abstracts

(see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.7: SOC310-002 Guidelines - Format

Format

There are four main sections included in most formal social science research papers: introduction, method, results, and discussion. As APA formatting requires, subheadings are centered and bolded.

Figure 5.8: SOC310-002 Guidelines - Abstracts

Abstract

The abstract is the second page of the paper and provides a brief summary of the research. Only report the information—do not try to interpret or give any new information in this section. The paragraph should be 150-250 words and include one or two sentences about each main section of the paper. Focus on the following points:

- ○ Purpose and hypothesis
- ○ Method: participants, design, measures, and procedure
- ○ Results
- ○ Discussion/interpretation of results

Pages 4-6 describe the content and sub-components of each IMRD section. They advised that the introduction should detail the purpose, background literature, and hypothesis, i.e., the three moves of Swales' CARS introductions. The methods should detail participants, design, measures, and procedures. The results should include only what was found, with any interpretation reserved for the discussion section. Overall, the guidelines provide a textbook description of the ritualistic IMRD genre (Fairclough, 2003; Swales, 1990).

5.2.6 My Use of the Guidelines

Although I read the guidelines, I wrote a qualitative paper and indicated this in a footnote on the title page. However, as noted above DW did not read my paper.

5.2.7 Students' Use of the Guidelines.

5.2.7.1 Behsud

Behsud recalled reading the first three pages only, as it was "quite lengthy." While he felt tips for using APA format and citing sources were "a kind of reminder," he mentioned, "I didn't actually like did everything [in the list] … write in the third person. I

did my best to ... but I don't actually remember [doing this when writing]. Regarding 'Be concise' Behsud complained "it just says be concise. OK, be this and that, a lot of information. I think it's too much ... Do this. Do this. Do this and do that, you know. I think it's not much helpful." He then read aloud, "Scientific writing often requires a lot of information and is important to relate this information and detail, but it's straightforward manner," before commenting, "I don't know it like what does it mean? I just know concise." Behsud's reaction to these common academic writing self-help resource/composition textbook tropes seemed to mirror some of the findings in other academic literacies research (see Lillis, 2001; Street & Hamilton, 1998, etc.) and indeed in my study (see DC, above, and DK and DZ below). In fact, the only thing Behsud recalled taking from the guidelines was the title page. Overall, he felt the guidelines were:

> B: ...useful for the people who has written some researches before ... [but] it was my first time I didn't know what this research [is] like ... the same we are studying right now in the class ... still I don't know a lot of things about this class ...

Another issue with the guidelines for Behsud was that "it doesn't have any sample," explaining that when writing assignments, "I always look for a sample." He acquired an example paper formatted in APA from the AUAF writing centre [sic], which was actually a standalone literature review from the Bedford Handbook (Hacker & Sommers, 2008). Behsud described finding it more helpful than DW's guidelines, although he did not explain how. Also, as noted above, he engaged in another practice that emerged as quite common, particularly in DK and DZ's classes; he acquired an example from a friend who had taken the class previously.

Behsud described basing the sections of his paper, "The causes and effects of child labour [sic] in Afghanistan and its resolutions," solely on his friend's contents page (see Figure 5.9), which he described as the most helpful scaffold he found in the whole semester. He felt he could have written his paper without the guidelines or the class by solely mimicking his friend's paper. While the elements of this contents page deviate from the assignment guidelines, DW did not seem to notice while grading (see Chapter 7). Ultimately, Behsud submitted what he described as his first unpolished draft. This was because, despite requesting an extension due to a personal tragedy, DW deducted 2% for each overdue day.

Figure 5.9: Behsud's 'orienting' table of contents

		2
	CHILD LABOR IN AFGHANISTAN	
23	**Contents**	
24	Abstract:..	3
25	Introduction:...	4
26	Background:..	6
27	Methods and Challenges:...	7
28	Key Findings:..	8
29	Conclusion:	10
30	References:...	12

Overall, Behsud was quite critical of the class in general and was bemused by the mid-semester due date for the assignment, which he felt "should have been given at the end of the class."

5.2.7.2 Geeti

Regarding any assignment or writtenness-oriented input from DW, Geeti stated emphatically, "It was me who taught me how to write it [the paper], not him. He just gave us a guideline." Like Behsud, she felt she could have written her paper without attending the class, although most definitely not without the guidelines. Analysis showed that Geeti's paper, "Text messaging and its impacts on a teenager's life," did reproduce the format detailed in the guidelines, suggesting they had served their/DW's purpose despite her rather negative appraisal of the class in general. In fact, along with Obaid in DK's class (see below), she was the only student who seemed to successfully learn a new genre from a textual scaffold. There were some lapses regarding the general tips exhortation to use the third person, in-text citation, and, arguably, conciseness (see Chapter 7). Geeti, however, recalled ignoring citations as her prior experiences of writing in DW's classes suggested he was not a strict grader (this was somewhat justified, see Chapter 7). She recalled seeing the advice about 'I', but asserted, "I have to [use I] like what am I going to say if I don't use I? I have to [use it]." Despite this, her paper did include some of the metatext passive constructions DW had suggested in class, which are modelled in the guidelines (see line 102, Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Geeti's Use of Passive

101	**Research Methodology:**
102	This research was conducted using two different methods, interviews and participatory
103	observation. These methods were suitable for the research because it gave me time to
104	evaluate participants' feelings about the topic and ask them more questions. Since the
105	information shared through text messages is very sensitive and personal to the person, I
106	also asked them questions to make sure I get the information that I need without harming

As she uses passive accurately, her rather extensive use of 'I' after that could suggest, again based on her previous experience, that she felt DW perhaps would not notice, as was the case with Behsud's paper.

Overall, in SOC310-001, both participants relied far more on their own existing assignment and writtenness-oriented practices to complete the paper. They both felt they could have written the paper without attending the class, suggesting that their literacy practices from other contact zones, e.g., Geeti learning from guidelines and Behsud learning from a model, were sufficient. In fact, for both, the papers seemed to be an inconvenience that needed to be overcome, perhaps in ways they had used before.

5.3   SOC310-002: "Follow the guidelines, or you get trouble [sic]"

Like DW, DK did not use the SOC310 course description from the catalogue, preferring to write his own (Figure 5.11). The written assignments in this were implied in

lines 3-4; designing a methodology (a theoretical framework) became a group writing assignment, and designing [a] method (research technique) was the individual assignment, which was expanded on later in the syllabus (see Figure 5.12). I collected some data on the group assignment; however, my focus was on the individual assignment.

Figure 5.11: SOC310-002 Course Description

1	**Course Description**: The course is designed for undergraduates in the subjects of political science
2	and public administration, social policy, human geography and sociology. The course provides
3	students with practical advice and tools on doing research. Students learn how to design a research
4	methodology (theoretical framework) and method (research technique). The topic also offers them
5	knowledge and skills of employing qualitative and quantitative approaches to designing a research
6	project in various fields. Finally, students learn how to attend data collection, interpret data; and
7	understand and address ethical problems in a research project.

Figure 5.12: SOC310-002 individual assignment

83	**Individual assignment**: A student is assigned to write a research method based on a specific topic
84	selected by a student or provided by the instructor (about 2,500-3,000 words) 25% of total. The
85	detail of assignment instruction will be provided in due time.

In the grading section of the syllabus, the individual assignment was listed as an 'essay', echoing Johns (2008, p. 240) assertion that assignments are often "casually named" (cf. James in Tuck, 2017, p. 54; see also Graves & White, 2016). The assignment was, in fact, referred to throughout the semester interchangeably as 'assignment', 'proposal', 'essay' or 'paper'. The actual assignment type remained unclear until a dedicated assignment intervention on 05/11 (see Figure 5.13 below). As detailed in lines

1-5 of Figure 5.13, the assignment was to find and respond with a research method proposal to a terms of reference (TOR) issued by government or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that solicited consultant evaluations of completed/partially completed development projects. The assignment was based on DK's 16-year background as a consultant evaluating development projects in Southeast Asia. The assignment was unique in several ways. Firstly, it seemed to be an occluded genre (Swales, 1996), known to development consultants and experts but less so to outsiders, and as such, DK assumed some connoisseurship (Bloxham & Boyd, 2007) of this kind of text. Secondly, the assignment required a role-playing rhetorical situation (I. Clark, 2005); students were to mimic consultants bidding for the evaluation project. Lastly, the response was understandable only when read along with the TOR to which it was responding.

There was little concern early on regarding the assignment among the students, indexing perhaps some ambiguity tolerance accrued through their experience at AUAF (cf. Altınmakas & Bayyurt, 2019). Also, DK emphasised in class one that he would provide three to five pages of detailed guidelines, so everyone seemed content to wait. The eventual three-document textual scaffold (the most extensive in this study) was an Assignment Instruction [sic], a metagenre guide drafted by DK; a Research Guideline [sic], a genuine inception report DK had written as a consultant; and the TOR it was responding to.

5.3.1 Input

Before the intervention and distribution of the scaffold, DK made several in-class writtenness-oriented comments. In session two, he mentioned that the guidelines would

explicitly detail the assignment structure, an aspect that did feature heavily in his grading (see Chapter 7). He added that AUAF students do not structure writing well and critiqued other AUAF professors for letting students "do what they want" regarding structure (cf. DZ).

Other writtenness-oriented comments occurred when DK used his own texts for in-class activities. One involved students analysing the introduction of his co-authored journal article to find grand and middle-range theories (Bryman, 2000). When students complained about the complex register, DK said they would not need to mimic his "high-level" style but urged them to "Look at the way I write ... I link together logically." He referred again to linking and structuring when we looked at his inception report:

> DK: [The report] sounds like you know. What I call in English, what's it called like coherence, section by section and argument by argument, you know, connect together like very narrative.

While these instances reinforced his earlier emphasis on structuring, he did not exemplify linking or structuring from either text, seeming to expect students to notice such things for themselves (cf. DW).

5.3.2 The 05/11 Intervention

DK's 05/11 intervention was the only explicitly assignment-oriented class in my study. It was designed to address questions beginning to arise about the individual assignment and introduce the 'Assignment Instruction [sic], the guidelines.

Figure 5.13: The Assignment Intervention (Excerpt from Fieldnotes 05/11)

```
1      DK hands out the 'Assignment Instruction [sic]' and explains that the students are to write a proposal in
2    response to a genuine TOR issued by a government or a non-governmental organisation (NGO) which solicited a
3    proposal for the evaluation of a completed or partially complete development project. The students are required to
4    find a TOR, deduce the goals of the project, and detail a method for gathering and analysing the data needed to
5    complete a project evaluation.  Regarding methods, DK mentions that he would be unable "to teach the whole book
6    [textbook]" but provides them with relevant page numbers for various methods such as questionnaires and focus
7    groups. He then mentions that they do not have to do a literature review but depending on whether or not the TOR
8    requested it, they may have to do a desk review, a term that seems more oriented to professional or consultancy-type
9    research.
10      There is a Q&A session in which one student clarifies, "So we are not doing the research?" DK responds,
11    "No, you have to design methods based on the TOR." Another student asks for an example, and DK replies that they
12    already have one and refers them to the "Research Guideline [sic]" (his inception report) handout. This student
13    seems to have missed the comment about desk reviews and asks whether they needed to provide a literature review,
14    but DK replies, no. There is a related follow-up question about the word count requirement: "How can we write
15    enough words without a literature review?" DK tells them not to worry about word counts; the content of the
16    assignment is more important. Roya asks whether students need to choose a topic, to which DK repeats that he can
17    provide TOR if necessary. Jamshid asks whether students can submit a draft and is told no, but they can visit DK in
18    his office to discuss a draft or an outline.
19      DK then discusses sampling methods and explains that the TORs will likely mention what kind of
20    participants will be involved in the data collection. He emphasises that the students would be responsible for
21    describing sampling methods and refers them to the relevant pages in the textbook. In terms of methods, DK
22    discusses focus groups and explains the value of focus groups vs. individual interviews. He exemplifies these
23    differences by drawing on his own experience in project evaluation. DK then indicates that in the assignment,
24    students will need to describe data analysis procedures and again refers students to relevant parts of the book. I note
25    that DK seems to have found a way to cover many important aspects of the book with this assignment. I also note
26    that he has clearly prepared for the class by linking aspects of the assignment to various parts, pages, and chapters.
27    He suggests that if students create questionnaires, they may need to pilot them and suggests the same for interview
28    schedules (remember, Obi does this based on hearing it in class). Roya voices a concern that without a literature
29    review, she won't be able to provide a list of references, to which DK responds that referencing the book will be good
30    enough. DK then sets the homework, read the Assignment Instruction, the Research Guideline, his inception report,
31    and the TOR to which it is responding. He reassures the students, telling them to "go home and think about it and
32    come back. I still support you."
```

I found the verbal assignment instructions clear. However, this was not so for many students, which prompted several further student-initiated assignment-oriented interactions in later classes (cf. Arkoudis & Tran, 2010). Some of these interactions are discussed below; however, as DK generally responded to assignment questions by urging students to follow the guidelines, his model and their TORs, which he repeatedly said would include everything they needed, the textual scaffolds are discussed first.

5.3.3 The Research Guideline [sic]

The Research Guideline, DK's inception report, and the TOR to which it responded were genuine documents. DK wrote the report as the lead consultant for the

evaluation detailed in the TOR. As a genuine, successful document, it is considered appropriate for its context of use, the discourse community of development project implementation/evaluation professionals in Southeast Asia [26] . Therefore, both documents represent occluded genres (Swales, 1996) within a longer genre chain used within this community, with the TOR also being a form of metagenre (Giltrow, 2002). Also, as the inception report emerged from the TOR, this pair exemplifies Freadman's (2002) notion of uptake; an ideal text inception report would be written based on insight and memory of how to respond to a TOR and how it operates in the genre chain (see also Barwashi & Reiff [2010] regarding the complexities of teaching such occluded genres).

In SOC310-002, the inception report and the TOR were presented as a minimal pair (I. Clark, 2005), the TOR being the 'primary text' and the inception report being the 'uptake text.' However, it seems they were not a discrete minimal pair. Ordinarily, the development project evaluation genre chain would include an initial proposal-type response to the TOR, used to select the consultant before the inception period. All the students' TORs (and mine) requested this initial document type. The inception report would then be drafted by a successful consultant who would fine-tune the method and work plan and address questions from the commissioning body.

While the position/function of the inception report in the genre chain was not discussed in class, it did describe the data collection/analysis methods. However, there were seeming discrepancies between it and the assignment requirements. The

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[26] It did include some surface errors, suggesting, to an extent, a form of professional peripheral normativity in the context in which it operated. Consideration of this is beyond the scope of this thesis, however.

Assignment Instructions (see below) seemed to require desk review as a proposed method.[27] However, the desk review in the inception report was written in the past tense, as it had occurred between DK winning the consultancy and the inception phase. This difference was not discussed in class, although no participant mentioned it either.

The inception report was referred to as the model on 05/11 (see lines 11-12, Figure 5.13), and DK reaffirmed this on 15/11. In response to assignment-related questions, on 26/11, he stated again, "I asked you to write the inception report. It's about the individual assignment. It's called the inception report. How to do data collection based on TOR". Beyond stressing that it was the model and that students should notice its internal coherence, DK did not refer them to any specific language features in class before the due date.

DK mentioned in talk-around-texts, however, that he hoped students would notice that the registers of his inception report were "straightforward, bang, bang, bang," as opposed to his co-authored article. Overall, it was less dense at the phrasal complexity level than the publication. Despite some surface-level errors (in the narrow sense), it exemplified the coherence DK suggested it did. Some features relevant to DK's in-class and written instructions are briefly presented below.

The straightforwardness is exemplified by the opening line of the introduction (line 23, Figure 5.14) through the direct metatext reference to the purpose of the report. DK stressed in class that the introduction should be concise, which was repeated in the Assignment Instruction (line 17, Figure 5.17).

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[27] This instruction, incidentally, contradicted DK's assertion in class on 05/11 that desk reviews should only be included if requested in the ToR - see line 8-9 Figure 5.13).

Figure 5.14: The opening lines of DK's inception report (the Research Guideline)

22	**1. Introduction**
23	This inception report describes the process of governance qualitative survey. According to
24	the ToR, there are two reasons to conduct a qualitative study of governance at the end of 2016.

The rhetorical situation of an-expert-consultant-justifying-methods was indexed by 31 instances of future and present tense clauses with 'we' (31 instances) or 'our team' in the theme position (e.g., our team will obtain a permission letter ... we will explain our research aims), to refer to methods. This was reinforced with extensive use of future or present passive (e.g., Primary data will also be collected from ...).

Also, perhaps indicative that most consultants have postgraduate qualifications and what DK described as "appropriate language", the report included social science-sounding complex noun groups, as shown in Figure 5.15 below, which occurred in the methods summary paragraph under Heading 2, Research Methods Procedures.

Figure 5.15: Complex noun group in DK's inception report (the Research Guideline)

36	and speeches. The technique we use also intends to explore changes in knowledge, behaviors
37	and the relationships and deeper meanings of insights of ordinary people faced with and shaped
38	by policy design process and policy outcomes.

The only teaching of a linguistic practice from the inception report occurred on 06/12 during general in-class post-grading feedback. DK mentioned Turnitin reports were "showing a bit high", indicating some copying from the TORs. To deal with this, however,

he advised that while APA conventions would not be necessary for quoting from a TOR in the future,[28] students should introduce copied material with "According to the TOR," as he had done (see lines 23-24, Figure 5.14), a form of perhaps professionally legitimised patchwriting.

Several students had, in fact, noticed that DK had copied from the TOR. Lemar complained that DK had accused him of plagiarism, and when he discovered later that DK had copied, he was rather upset. Obaid, on the other hand, perhaps due to DK's persistent reminders to base everything on the TOR, seemed surprised that "except for two places, nothing was from the TOR." This suggests that Obaid may have understood 'everything is in the TOR' to mean it would be explicitly stated and could be coopted in the inception report rather than DK's seemingly intended meaning: that the TOR would provide adequate background and information for the students to design logically appropriate methods. Obaid was the only participant who mimicked DK's use of "according to" followed by copied material in his introduction, feeling that if DK had done it, then it was OK for him too. As he was not penalised, this appeared to be the case.

Overall, DK often stressed that this text was the model to follow; he also emphasised, perhaps even more often, that the students should follow the Assignment Instruction guidelines [sic].

5.3.4 The Assignment Instruction [sic]

DK created bespoke assignment instructions for all his classes. All examples I saw included four sections: (1) Purpose: Overall rationale and due date; (2) Instruction:

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[28] indexing perhaps his sense, this was an apprenticeship genre (see Nesi & Gardner, 2012)

The assignment type or genre (and topics – in other example instructions); (3) Essay/Assignment Format: Details of sections to be included (see Table 5.1); and (4) Conventions: Line spacing, font, citation and referencing, etc. Some examples also included Marking Criteria: Aspects of writing assessed, and grade weightings ascribed to them (Figure 5.16). These criteria were not included in the Assignment Instruction for SOC310; however, although DC did refer to them verbally in talk-around-texts, asserting he used them for all grading. They are briefly discussed below as some items indicate DK's sense of writtenness and were drawn while grading the SOC310-002 papers (see Chapter 7). Aspects of Item 3 (line 82, Figure 5.16), **'Structural Coherence'** index the smooth read and expository ideologies; **logical arguments** (line 82) suggest the expository ideology while **"precise headings & subheadings"** (line 82-83) also suggest smooth read elements such as hyper and macro themes. Both are further indexed by "**Clear and logical arrangement of ideas; unity and coherence paragraphs"** (lines 85-86). **"Readable, appropriate tone, and style for assignment"** adds in senses of the linguistic conflation ideology, which is reinforced in item 6 (Lines 95-96) **'Communication'** by **"languages [sic] used [being] clear appropriate, accessible and readable"** (cf. Gronchi, 2023). When discussing his criteria in talk-around-texts, DK indicated his sense of linguistic conflation and linked it to academicness.

> DK: the language they use should be proper... What I can say academic language not spoken language written language. [AUAF] student, they want to write like a spoken language style ... they have to use proper [language].

Figure 5.16: DK's Grading Criteria

78	**1. Relevance (10%)**: is your topic relevant to governance discipline?
79	**2. Quality of ideas (20%)**: Range and depth of analysis; logical of argument, original
80	thought; demonstrates a thorough understanding of the topic selected. Have you
81	established a "research question" and "the purpose"?
82	**3. Structural coherence (25%)**: Have you created logical arguments with precise
83	headings and subheadings? Have you created "pros-and-cons" discussions from the
84	case? Or do you stand in a position by comparing and contrasting the points of view of
85	the case? Have you got a clear and logical arrangement of ideas; unity and coherence
86	paragraphs; good development of ideas through supporting details and evidence? Is it
87	readable, appropriate tone, and style for assignment? You should carefully proofread
88	your paper to make sure that you have used appropriate citations and references. Are
89	sentences and paragraphs logical and cohesive communication
90	**4. Referencing (20%)**: 10% will be allocated for an **APA** standard, including in-text
91	references, quotes and citations? Other 10% will be given to journal and book sources
92	used in an essay.
93	**5. Conventions (10%)**: Is it consistent format, for example- fonts, dates, numbers,
94	percentages...etc?
95	**6. Communication (15%)**: Are languages used clear and appropriate, accessible and
96	readable?

The omission of these writtenness-oriented assessment criteria, however, meant that beyond listing the preferred structure (see below), the guidelines for SOC310-002 seemed to be designed to be almost exclusively assignment-oriented, i.e., what to include in the assignment rather than its writtenness.

The guidelines for the SOC310-002 included the four other sections listed above. Analysis showed they recycled several language fragments from DK's other guidelines for other classes/assignments. While this seems a common practice, some reused fragments did not quite fit linguistically, which possibly confused some students.

Section C also included large unedited chunks from the inception report, which again may have caused some confusion. Both aspects also suggested guidelines had been hastily prepared for 05/11 and were unfinished/unpolished.

5.3.4.1 Section B

Section B, which incidentally refers to the assignment as an "essay" (line 10, Figure, 5.17), includes a recycled phrase ***"[assignment type] in the following themes, but not limited"*** (line 11), which appeared in the assignment guidelines for Public Administration in Post-Conflict contexts (see Line 8, Figure 5.18). In those guidelines, the themes were retrievable as areas of focus (lines 9-11).

Figure 5.17: Purpose and Instruction

3	**A. Purpose**
4	The purpose of this assignment is aimed at helping students develop a research
5	method, not research methodology (e.g.; theory-based research). More importantly,
6	the assigned task is also intended to meet the course objectives as stated in the
7	syllabus. The deadline for individual assignment is due on 20 November.
8	
9	**B. Instruction**
10	The essay is associated with a research method design based on terms of reference
11	(ToRs) in the following themes, but not limited:
12	i. A project evaluation
13	ii. A project impact assessment
14	iii. A project mid-term review
15	iv. An end-line survey
16	v. A policy concept note
17	The paper includes a concise introduction, research method procedures, data collection,
18	data analysis, sampling strategies and report format (2,500-3,000 words, excluding
19	reference and summary) 25% of total.

In Figure 5.17, however, they seem retrievable only as the document types listed in lines 12-16. The reference to themes may have confused Roya. She had taken classes with DK previously, and on 05/11 and 26/11, she asked whether the assignment involved finding topics as she had done in his class before.

Figure 5.18: Language Recycled from Other Guidelines

6	**2. Instruction**: It is a critical analysis associated with governance related issues. It is a
7	problem-and-solution oriented essay. Students can select a specific topic, focusing on
8	post-conflict governance issues in the following themes (but not limited):
9	• Peace building process (failures and success)
10	• Legitimacy and authority
11	• Rule of law

5.3.4.2 Section B: The document types

Although DK emphasised several times that the inception report was the model, this was not included in the document types listed in lines 12-16, Figure 5.17 (or lines 23-24, Figure 5.19 below). While an understanding that all the text types listed in these lines would necessitate describing collection/analysis methods was relatively retrievable, this was never clarified in class and was something that seemed to trouble Lemar:

> L: he did not cover these ... I don't know what's project impact assessment and even the others as well ... What are they talking about like? What's the purpose of writing? I haven't seen a writing like an end-line survey.

Despite recognising some of the document types, Obaid also felt clarification of the differences in each would have been beneficial.

O: They're all different. If you are writing a proposal … for an end line, that's different from the proposal that you are writing for the baseline … for the end line is that there is something done before, so your data will be for comparing with the the data that's already available.

It should be clarified, however, that when these talk-around-texts were held, Lemar was upset with his assignment grade, and Obaid had remained upset since receiving a D for his midterm. Also, despite the lack of elaboration on the document types in lines 12-14, all participants, except Roya, who did not title her paper, derived text-type names for their papers from their TORs: Obaid wrote a Baseline Survey Proposal, Lemar wrote a Qualitative Project Evaluation Method, and Jamshid wrote an Impact Assessment Research Method. This seems to have validated, to an extent, DK's oft-repeated advice when questioned about the assignment: that everything they needed would be in the TOR.

The final lines (17-19) in Section B provided a rather prescriptive-sounding overview of the sections to include (see Table 5.1). As shown in the table, these were also the sections described in Section C, which also virtually mirrored those in the inception report (see column one below). Using decimal outline numbering in both also reinforced that the model was the preferred genre.

Table 5.1: The Sections in the Inception Report and the Assignment Instruction

Headings in the Research Guideline (Inception Report)	Headings in section C of the Assignment Instruction
1. Introduction	1. Introduction
2. Research Method Procedures	2. Research Method Procedures
2.1 Data Collection Procedures *Information Session	2.1 Data Collection Process
2.2 Sampling Selection of Research Participants	2.2 Sampling Selection of Research Participants
2.3 Procedures	2.3 Techniques of Data Collection
Focus-group Interviews.	2.3.1 Information Session
In-depth Interviews	2.3.2 Focus Group
2.4 Data Analysis	2.3.3 In-depth Interviews
Validation of Data	2.4 Data Analysis
Analyzing Focus Group and In-depth Interview Data	2.4.1 Validation of Data
3. Timeframe of the Research	2.4.2 Analyzing Focus Group and In-depth Interview Data
4. Report Format	2.5 Timeframe
Annexes	2.6 Report Format

*For the commissioning body

5.3.4.3 Section C

The instructive meta-genre intent of Section C began in subsection 1, Introduction, with the question, "According to the TOR, what is the purpose of [kind of document]" (lines 23-24, Figure 5.19).

Figure 5.19: Essay Format - Introduction

```
21    C. Essay Format
22    1. Introduction
23        According to the ToR, what is the purpose of project evaluation, governance
24    qualitative survey, end-line survey, or baseline survey? What research method
25    procedures do you employ? Do you employ qualitative or quantitative approaches or
26    both?
```

While this reinforced the role of TORs, the following two questions instructed students to outline their methods and indicate whether they would use qualitative or quantitative approaches. Incidentally, these instructions were not entirely exemplified in the inception report (see Figure 5.20).

Figure 5.20: Introduction to DK's Inception Report (the Research Guideline)

As shown in Figure 5.20, lines 24-28 (copied from the TOR) indicate a qualitative approach; however, other than a survey, there is no further outlining of methods. This difference between the report and the instructions was not discussed in class.

The next sub-section, *'Research Method Procedures,'* appeared to be an overview of the rest of the assignment's content, covering sections 2.1, 2.2, 2.2.1, etc. It also continued with instructive registers, beginning with "You need to ..." (line 28, 5.21) followed by a list of the major sections required in the students' papers (see lines 28-30 below).

Figure 5.21: Research Method Procedures

27	**2. Research Method Procedures**
28	In this section, you need to briefly describe research method procedures, including desk
29	review, data collection process, data analysis process, sampling selection of research
30	participants, questionnaire development, and timeframe of research and report format.

The stipulation to include "desk review" (lines 28-29, Figure 5.21) seemingly contradicts the instructions on 05/11 that desk reviews should be included only if requested in the TOR (see lines 8-9, Figure 5.13). In fact, only my, Roya and Jamshid's TORs required desk reviews, while Lemar's made it optional, and there was no mention in Obaid's. The same seeming prescriptiveness regarding "questionnaire development" (line 30, Figure 5.21) also conflicted with the assignment goal of choosing methods based on their TORs.

The instructive intent of Section C continued under heading 2.1, Data Collection Process, where students were informed "***it is necessary for you to***" (line 33, Figure 5.22) and "***you are required to present your***" (line 34). However, neither of these things happened and were never referred to class in class or talk-around-texts. The idea of gaining approval arguably stemmed from the inception report, in which an inception workshop was described as ***"prima facie for the [commissioning body] committee to ...*** (see lines 36-37 below). This sentence was copied verbatim from the inception report guidelines (lines 35-37), with "***the class***" (line 36) replacing the name of the commissioning body in the inception report.

Figure 5.22: Data Collection Process

32	**2.1 Data Collection Process**
33	Before conducting data collection in geographic target areas, it is necessary for you to
34	gain the approval from the instructor/supervisor. You are also required to present your
35	inception report verbally to the class in a due time. The presentation is prima facie for
36	the class to request for minor or major overhauls in sampling strategy, accessible
37	participants, questionnaires, target area and so forth.

The close following of and verbatim copying from the inception report, with only minor adaptations, increased from Section 2.2, "Sampling Selection of Research Participants," onward. Figure 5.23 shows this section. The parts highlighted in yellow are the minor changes, and those in green represent what appeared in the inception report. The use of square brackets highlighted green and italicised (e.g., *[...]*) indicates where parts of the original were omitted. These changes did not appear extensive enough to repurpose the explanatory or commissive language appropriate in the inception report to overtly instructive metagenre language. For example, the un-modalized declaration copied from the inception report (line 39, Figure 5.23) worked in that context to clarify the procedure. However, in the Assignment Instruction, this form made the sampling method sound prescriptive.

Figure 5.23: Sampling Selection of Participants

38	**2.2 Sampling Selection of Research Participants**
39	The purposive sampling for this research is representativeness approach. This means
40	the research sample must be "representative" of target population not in terms of the
41	number as a whole but in terms of saturated information, a sampling population who
42	is relevant to *[the]* your research project. This is based on *[the researcher's]* your
43	judgments and knowledge and purposes of the research (ToR). *[we]* You should
44	strove for representativeness by using a recruitment strategy that includes individual
45	representatives *[...]* as stated in the ToR. The criteria for the key informants include
46	their experiences, gender, ages and seniorities and their involvements in the *[...]*
47	research project.

While the rest of this section is arguably instructive, the first line (line 50, Figure 5.24) in section 2.3.1 was copied from the inception report and retained its commissive language. This seemed to make it sound required, which again seemed to obviate one pedagogical purpose of the assignment, the selection of appropriate methods.

Figure 5.24: Information Session

48	**2.3 Techniques of Data Collection**
49	**2.3.1 Information Session**
50	Information session with key research stakeholders will be undertaken, as it is a

The first lines and much of the content of sections 2.3.3, In-depth Interviews 2.4, Data Analysis, and 2.4.1, Validation of Data, also retained similar commissive language suitable for a proposal but not a metagenre. In fact, over two pages (lines 38-113) comprised minorly edited text from the inception report that did not seem readily retrievable as instructions. DK included "see the textbook, p. ..." at various parts of this

copied text. However, the page numbers were missing, which, as with the unedited sections from the inception report, suggested the Assignment Instruction was unfinished. DK promised to add these numbers, but to my knowledge, this was not done.

Overall, the main instructive information in the Assignment Instruction was an outline of the genre that appeared at the end of section B (lines 17-19, Figure 5.17), the outline of the content of the introduction in Section C, subsection 1 (Figure 5.19), and the overview of what to include in Section C, subsection 2 (Figure 5.20).

Overall, these materials were by far the most extensive in my study, and it seemed clear that DK had a strong desire to scaffold the students' learning of this new genre. Also, however, while he had put much work into his assignment materials, the sense was that they were not finished and polished in the way that he would have liked. This was possibly because he had rushed to get them ready for 5/11, as it was his annual evaluation observation, and he wanted to showcase his knowledge of writing in his profession and the work he was willing to do to scaffold the students into this form of writing.

5.3.5 Further In-Class Assignment-Oriented Interaction

In talk-around-texts on 13/11, Roya discussed a meeting with her group assignment team. She reported:

R: no one [in her group] actually understands how to do the individual paper [laughs] ... they're like what we should do? What we are actually supposed to do in this?

She did accurately describe what she felt the assignment entailed but claimed she was only "kinda like 70%" sure her description was correct. Roya's comments

foreshadowed several assignment-oriented in-class interactions in subsequent classes. On 15/11, Lemar asked:

> L: Yeah method, so should we follow what's in TOR or we should create from our own, but from book.

> DK: OK. This is already here, [in the TOR] everything is there so you look TOR and then you create step by step … And some TOR already explained to you how to to do the right method.

DK's comments here reiterated his mantra-like instructions that choices regarding methods should be based on needs expressed in TORs. His follow-up regarding TORs prescribing methods also indexed the meta-genre aspect of some TORs, which was indeed true for Jamshid's and Roya's TORs. In fact, Roya's 87-page TOR specified not only methods but also analytical approaches such as 'theory of change' and 'intervention logic'. DK's acknowledgement of this possible prescriptiveness did, however, seem to reduce the appropriate method selection pedagogical intent of the assignment. Despite this, Lemar, seeming to feel his question had not been addressed, repeated it. DK's second response suggested that he felt the "should we create" aspect of Lemar's question was about formatting.

> DK: [Tapping on the guidelines in his hand vigorously] … why you create your own? Everything is here right you see this step format, introduction, research method procedure, data collection process, sampling… Interpret from the TOR into this format, make sense? And the format I gave to you already from the beginning that I did [the Inception report] Look at that. Why you create your own? If you create your own you get trouble because my grading depend on this, not depend on your own format.

DK's reply above exemplified another almost mantra-like instruction – follow the guidelines! DK's response above suggested frustration that students could not/had not understood the assignment based on his previous explanations or the textual scaffold. This frustration emerged again on 26/11 when Obaid requested general assignment guidance. DK responded.

DK: you become an expert based on the TOR ... How to do data collection based on TOR. That's it. So whatever participant you want to put it in, it's up to you. Don't ask me ... Whatever you wanna put it, just put it in because you're an expert on the TOR...

Here, DK verbally clarified the rhetorical situation role-play entailed in the assignment, an expert consultant bidding for a project. However, while reliance on the TOR was repeatedly emphasised in class and heavily implied in the Assignment Instruction, [29] the rhetorical situation was not. It did not feature in the unedited Assignment Instruction, although it was retrievable, perhaps, by noticing in the inception report the extensive use of 'we/the team' as agents/themes of commissive sentences. It was only mentioned again during the in-class general feedback on 06/12 when DK explained they were supposed to have become "experts."

5.3.6 My Use of In-Class Instructions and Scaffold

As with DC and DW, I did not rely on the scaffold, feeling the verbal instructions were enough. My only concern was the instruction in line 17 (Figure 5.25) to write a

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[29] The "According to the ToR" appeared in the Assignment Instruction in lines 23, 43, 44 and 58.

concise introduction as my TOR, an evaluation of an *Empowering Marginalised Communities* project in rural Cambodia, included a meta-genre appendix that explicitly requested comprehension of the project as part of the introductory section (see Figure 5.25).

Figure 5.25: Appendix 2 in my TOR

Appendix 2: Response framework

Response to the Terms of Reference should be arranged around the following sections although this format is not a requirement (10 pages maximum):

    1. **Comprehension of the Terms of Reference**

This section will describe, among other things, the understanding that the proposed team has about:

- The Terms of Reference presented;
- The context of the project; and
- The project itself.

5.3.7 Students' Use of In-Class Instructions and Scaffold

As with the written guidelines in other classes, most participants did not read or use the scaffold in the way DK intended. Obaid was the only student who read the TOR/inception report scaffold thoroughly. However, this was due to what he felt were inadequacies with the Assignment Guideline, which he felt outlined "what to write" in terms of basic components (e.g. lines 17-19, 23-26 & 27-30, Figures 5.17, 5.19, & 5.20), "but we needed to learn how to write."

> O: So, I took his TOR and his inception report and read it completely just to clarify for myself that what he has expectations is because ... the guide[lines] ... that's not like expectations.

His paper did, in fact, indicate that he learned from the model. His TOR sought a baseline (and future end-line survey) of the *Labour-Based Road Construction (LBRC) project* in a district in rural Afghanistan, a Terre Des Hommes project aimed at improving local livelihoods by employing local labour to construct roads. His response closely resembled DK's inception report structurally, with a concise introduction beginning with the same metatext as DK. He also designed and elaborated methods, etc., based on the TOR and was also the only participant who wrote in the role of an expert. Much of this seemed to be due to his proficiency in English, which enabled him to understand the TOR requirements and appropriate genre elements from DK's model.

Regarding the instructions and textual scaffold, Jamshid recounted:

J: ... that day when we got out of the class [05/11], I had the TOR, I had the inception report, his example in the guideline, and then I had no idea what to do with it.

He avoided seeking clarification from DK, as having done so in previous classes with him had not helped. He knew the centrality of guidelines in DK's classes and had previously advised other students to follow them carefully. Jamshid was relatively proficient in English and was sought after in other classes as a literacy broker. In SOC310-002, however, he sought out a literacy broker, Munib, a student Lemar identified as a go-to person for help with DK's assignments. After acquiring and reading Munib's paper, Jamshid "kind of got an idea of what to do, and then when I got this TOR, then I got a better idea of what to do." He completely ignored the scaffold, explaining, "I actually copied and pasted [Munib's]assignment. I removed all the details. I put, kept all the bullet points ... and then modified the bullet points based on my TOR."

His TOR solicited an impact assessment of the *Enhancement of Literacy in Afghanistan* (ELA) program, and it prescribed four data collection methods. His response, however, was largely a paraphrase of the TOR with minimal focus on describing or justifying methods.

Lemar also did not read the entire textual scaffold carefully or initially realise the relationship between the texts in it.

> L: like the inception report. I read it. I did not read it in depth right. The the TOR I did not do it at all ... I just I was sticking with the the ... guideline ... I did not knew that like ... that this one [the inception report] is ... written from that from the TOR.

Lemar's TOR sought an evaluation of the collaboration between the *United Nations Volunteer Program* (UNV) and the *National Volunteer Movement* (NVM) in Pakistan, known as the "Support to Volunteerism Initiatives in Pakistan" program. This program emerged initially after an earthquake in Pakistan in 2005 but morphed into an ongoing community volunteer program. As with Jamshid, Lemar largely paraphrased sections of his TOR, and his paper was built around the headings therein rather than following DK's model. Also, Lemar, who struggled with the whole concept of the assignment, appeared to have relatively low English proficiency (see Schoonen et al., 2009), which seemed to affect both his understanding of the assignment and his TOR and the writtenness of his paper. He misinterpreted the purpose of the evaluation sought, believing it focused on volunteers to help with the 2005 earthquake. His paper also included substantial, varyingly accurate paraphrases of his TOR. Furthermore, indicative perhaps of Skehan's (2009) trade-off hypothesis, arguably most of his writing resources were drawn into local clause-by-clause level production, leaving fewer available to monitor and create the global text organisation (Kormos, 2011) that might attend to the

expository ideology. As discussed in Chapter 7, Lemar's paper was very negatively appraised by DK.

Both Jamshid and Lemar appeared to misunderstand the rhetorical situation. Although DK had clarified the writing-as-an-expert role the students were to assume in class on 26/11, Jamshid reported:

J: ... My understanding was totally different. Yeah, my understanding was that the people who have who had developed the TOR ... were the people who had promised that they would provide the research method.

This authorial role can be seen in the excerpt below (Figure 5.26).

Figure 5.26: Excerpt from Jamshid's paper

88	Team Composition
89	The team of evaluation will be composed of three individuals. The ToR suggests that we hire an
90	international consultant as a team leader along with two nationals as assistants. However, this must

Lemar, likewise, recalled thinking, "It's like, uh, I'm only assigned. To write this. Like the the team ... are the ones that are going to work." This can be seen in the following excerpt.

Line 115 refers to the review team and what they are assigned to do, while lines 117 and 119 refer to what the team 'should' do. Incidentally, this excerpt also exemplifies the non-elaboration of methods that DK referred to as a discriminator while grading (see Chapter 7). Also, as the same brief glosses of methods mentioned are repeated in his paper in lines 143 and 145 under the heading, Data Collection, Figures 5.27 and 5.28

together illustrate Lemar's apparent over-focus on repetitive non-accretive ideas at the clause/sentence level rather than a larger whole-text organisation.

Figure 5.27: Lemar's Advice to the Research Team

112	**2: Research Method Procedures**
113	In the following research, we are required to do an in-depth interview with UNV; the analysis
114	should cover the project effectiveness and provide whether the project should be extended or not?
115	Also, the review team is responsible for providing an inception report to the UNDP. The team is
116	assigned to do the following research methods.
117	➢ They should go for desk review; the team assigned to do research and find the associated
118	published documents about the project.
119	➢ Also, the team should go for the detailed interview as well, with stakeholders, primary
120	funders, the implementing groups of the project and members who are related to the UNDP.

Figure 5.28: Lemar's Non-accretive Repetition of Methods

142	We would go for the following strategies to collect data:
143	➢ A team was doing the in-depth interview. Their primary job is consultative and advisees in
144	the review process.
145	➢ Desk research; the team must find out the relevant printed documents before conducting
146	the evaluation.

In talk-around-texts, Lemar was visibly unhappy with his grade; he seemed to accept, however, that this was because he had stuck too closely to the TOR. In fact, he recounted visiting DK to question his grade and being told:

L: ... you should have not stick to the TOR only. You should have had your own

ideas as well ... I think one one of my mistake was to sticking to the TOR, argghh!

Roya's 87-page TOR was for a comprehensive end-line evaluation of the *H4 JPCS*[30]

program, a large-scale initiative focused on reproductive, maternal, newborn, and child

health (RMNCH) involving six organisations (*UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO, World Bank, UN*

Women, UNAIDS). The TOR was very prescriptive regarding methods, theoretical

approaches and analysis techniques. Regarding the rhetorical situation, Roya

understood she was to take the role of an expert consultant but was reluctant to do so

because:

R: ... it's like and I didn't have the job so I didn't feel I didn't. I can put myself in the

place of a consultant to write ... I was like, like it looks weird, like being in a play ...

I ur couldn't do that (laughs).

Roya did not use the textual scaffold much either, although she recalled, "He's

[DK] like everything is in the guideline." Like Jamshid, having studied with DK before, she

was fully aware of his insistence on following guidelines, noting, "He wants you to write

the way he wants you to write," going on to state, "He doesn't care if the way you do is

like like maybe better or maybe worse." Post-grading talk-around-texts revealed she had

not read the inception report or TOR. Despite understanding that it was a model, she

focused far more on the oft-repeated in-class instruction to follow the TOR; "I put that

[her TOR] in front of me and wrote it down." Her paper was, like Lemar's, structured

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[30] H4+ Joint Programme Canada Sweden (Sida)

around the headings/sections in her TOR rather than DK's model and, like Lemar and Jamshid, contained a lot of attempted paraphrases. Ultimately, she recalled giving up on the assignment. She wrote in one night, described it as paraphrase practice, did not review it, and submitted it a day early because she was sick of it. As with Nazia and Banin, this lack of review meant she did not edit her paper for writtenness. In some ways, her paper is an example of patchwriting. However, given the lack of editing, the language chunks taken from the TOR were not seamlessly engineered into the text in a way that might disguise the patchwriting (cf. Li and Casanave 2008).

5.3.8 Summary

Overall, while DK provided more verbal and textual assignment input than any other lecturer in the study, the students struggled with his assignment. This was arguably due to the novelty of the genre, the learning of which was not eased by the apparently rushed guidelines. Both factors suggested that the students had to devote considerable resources to understanding the genre, which was compounded by also having to understand a TOR and its rhetorical role. Ultimately, Jamshid, Roya, and Lemar seemed to go into survival mode and submit whatever they could. However, while Roya and Lemar's papers were relatively marked, Jamshid's proficiency did contribute to the relatively smooth read of his paraphrased response. Only Obaid seemed to do what DK desired. He drew on his proficiency to learn the genre from DK's model. However, even Obaid was frustrated by the whole process and submitted his final draft after only a brief check for surface error.

5.4 PAD210: "Maybe it's the first research project you have done."

PAD210: Introduction to Public Policy is a sophomore (2nd year) course. The 2017/2018 catalogue course description was as follows.

Figure 5.29: PAD210 Catalogue Course Description

```
 1   PAD210 Public Policy Making - 3 credit hours
 2
 3   This course provides an introduction to the study of the public policy making process. It examines
 4   the analytical approaches used to frame and understand public policy problems. Specifically, the
 5   purpose of the course is to introduce the student to the concepts within public policy; to develop an
 6   understanding of public policy and the way governments make policy decisions; to consider
 7   implications associated with policy decision making for various groups and individuals; to foster
 8   critical thinking about public policy and policy alternatives; and to improve writing, research, oral
 9   presentation and teamwork skills (emphasis added). It further analyzes how public administrators and
10   other actors fit into the policy making process.
```

The version in DZ's syllabus was slightly different; notably, some of the course purposes, ***"to improve writing, research, oral presentation, ... skills"*** (lines 8-9, Figure 5.29), had been removed (see line 8, Figure 5.30). He had added his own extra purposes ***"to introduce ... various concepts and theories embedded within the public policy as well as to demonstrate them a number of existing ways of policy analysis"*** (lines 3-6, Figure 5.30). These additions implied writing and seemed to tally with an aspect required in his assignment, a theoretical framework (see line 13, Figure 5.34).

As Figure 5.31 below shows, DZ's assignment was a PCAP, a Policy Constructive Action Project (renamed Policy Constructive Action Paper in emailed guidelines on 20/10). The word critique in line 70 suggested a genre, but an internet search for PCAP revealed no examples suggesting this was DZ's own nomenclature. The PCAP was

initially very mysterious; however, talk-around-texts with DZ on 17/10 revealed that the outcome, PCAP II (78-79), was essentially an IMRD. PCAP I (Lines 73-76) was akin to a research proposal with a CARS-type introduction, a theoretical framework and a methods section. DZ would then review PCAP I and provide feedback. For PCAP II, students would add their results/findings, interpretation, and conclusions and submit this with a revised PCAP I to form a complete IMRD-type paper. One key difference was that the PCAP did not require an abstract (see also Figure 5.34 for a more in-depth description of the PCAP).

Figure 5.30: PAD210 description in DZ's syllabus

1	This course provides an introduction to the study of the public policy making process. It examines
2	analytical approaches used to frame and understand public policy problems and policy cycle.
3	Specifically, the purpose of this course is to introduce *students to various concepts and theories*
4	*embedded within public policy as well as to demonstrate them a number of existing ways of policy*
5	*analysis along with a number of examples.*
6	*It is also intended* to develop understandings of public policy and the way governments make
7	policy decisions; to consider implications associated with policy outcomes on various groups and
8	individuals and to foster critical thinking about public policy and policy alternatives *[...].* It
9	further analyzes how public administrators and other actors fit into the policy making process.

Figure 5.31: Assignment description in the syllabus

70	Individual assignment- critique: Students are required to write Policy Constructive Action Project
71	(PCAP) – Paper #1 (20%), Paper #2 (20%). Students will be required to present these two parts of
72	the project in the middle of the semester.
73	**Paper (PCAP # 1)**: Write a 4-page paper that addresses the following: identify one policy problem
74	in or affecting Afghanistan that you believe needs an immediate action by the national or regional
75	government. You may choose a problem that is already being tackled. The format or instruction of
76	PCAP #1 will be provided.
77	
78	**Paper (PCAP # 2):** Write a 6-page paper that is combined with a revised version of Paper #1 (for
79	a total of 10 pages, excluding references). The format or instruction of Paper #2 will be provided.

This aspect of instructor feedback and student revision meant that the PAD210 PCAP was unique in this study in several ways. It offered the only opportunities in my study to (1) trace formalised text trajectories (Lillis & Curry, 2010), i.e., how or if formal formative feedback was used to revise and polish a text, (2) to consider how a professor might use formative feedback to help students with the content, focus and writtenness of their texts, and (3) observe how a professor responded summatively to work he had already reviewed and commented on. However, as discussed below, this potential was somewhat muted, as Sana was the only student who followed the instructions to submit a revised PCAP I with her PCAP II,

5.4.1 Input

DZ referred to the assignment in the first class. Although I was absent, Parnian took notes (Figure 5.32), which suggested DZ discussed the two-part aspect of PCAP (see lines 7-14). The mention in lines 18-19 of *'data being reliable the topic being researchable'* suggests formal research. Mentions of research questions, justification and relevance of the research, and possible solutions to policy issues (lines 25-30, Figure 5.31) suggest DZ outlined the structure. Parnian indicated that this assignment-oriented episode was brief. No other participant mentioned it, which suggested ambiguity tolerance acquired from previous classes or confidence that the instructions promised in the syllabus would suffice (cf. Altınmakas & Bayyurt, 2019).

Figure 5.32: Parnian's First Session Notes
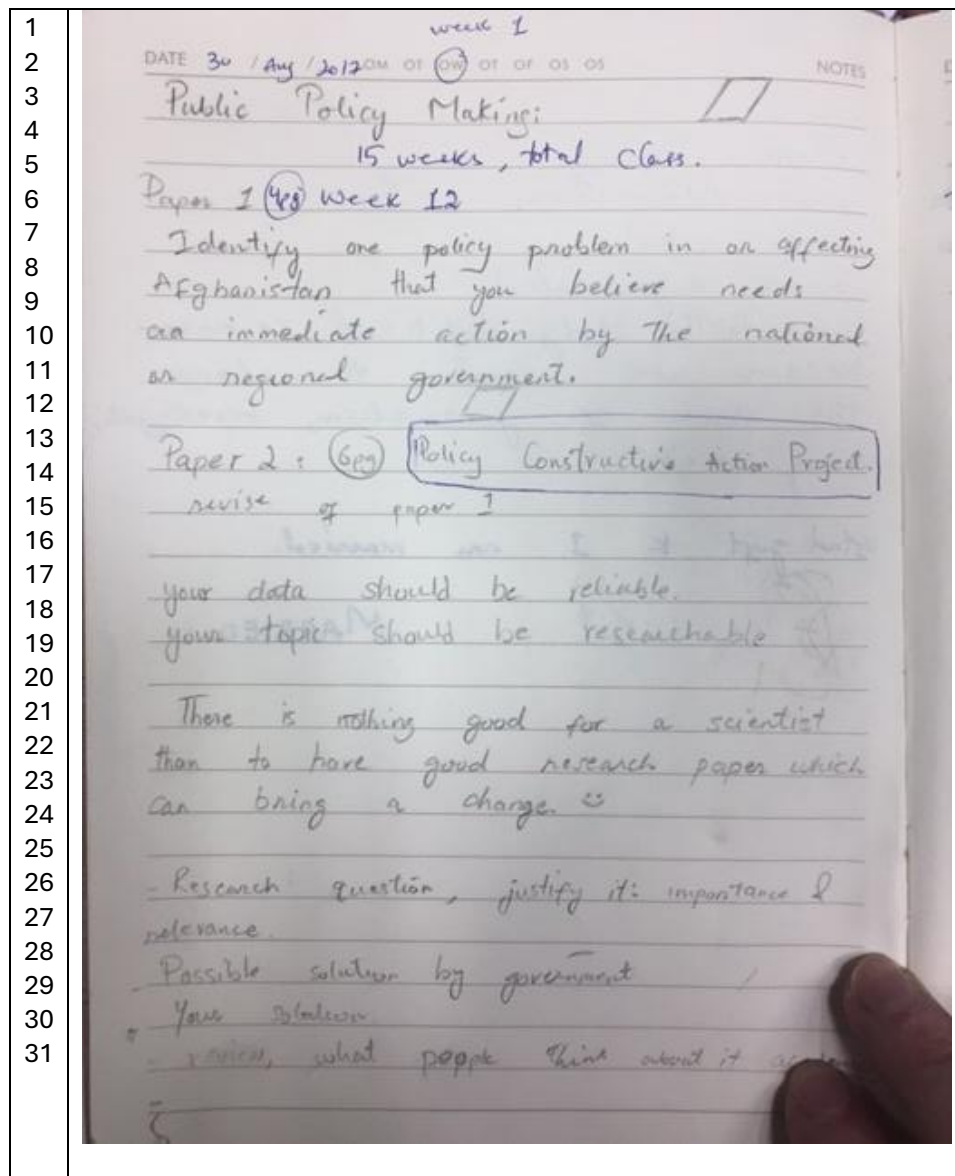
In talk-around-texts on 05/10, however, over a month into the course, Lena was surprised to discover there even was a written assignment.

L: ... He gave an assignment?

C: It's in the syllabus ...

L: I didn't check this ... And when it's due.

C: 11th of November.

Incidentally, my missing DZ's valorisation of research leading to change (lines 20-23, Figure 5.32) possibly affected my PCAP. I focused on the issue of the proposed "EMIzation" of Afghan higher education. I suggested a CDA analysis of neoliberal EMI-oriented discourse that appeared in successive strategic plans of the Afghan Ministry of Higher Education. DZ's appraisal was that he could not see how policymakers could use this information. While this suggests interesting disciplinary differences regarding the role of research, discussion of this is beyond the scope of this thesis

5.4.2 A How-to-Write-a-Research-Paper Handout

There was no further assignment-oriented input until DZ sent an email on 28/09 with the subject line "Useful article for your PCAPs." This article, titled "Writing the Empirical Social Science Research Paper," was a 10-page how-to-write-a-research-paper text that described IMRDs in the form of an IMRD. The document provided advice on the structure of IMRDs and some on writtenness.

Beginning papers with ***'Bold statements'*** (line 1) is advice found in many composition/academic writing textbooks. The continuation of this in lines 63-67 regarding ***"large-scale statements about the phenomenon of interest"*** suggests the claiming centrality aspect of a CARs Move 1a. Lines 67-72 repeat other composition/writtenness tropes regarding ***'clear and well-structured writing,'*** while lines 73-74 suggest an expository accretive refinement of Move 1a to clarify the focus.

Figure 5.33: Excerpt from the How-to-write-a-research-paper text

63	Broad bold statements interest readers. Hence, the empirical paper is best
64	initiated with a large-scale statement about the phenomenon of interest, making a clear
65	case for why the general topic of the paper is worthy of examination.[1] Papers always
66	have some reference to the real world, and it is important to make it evident that there is a
67	real-world relevance for the topic of the paper near the beginning of a manuscript. In the
68	current case, our concern focuses on how ideas are written and expressed. Clear and
69	well-structured writing (even if somewhat formulaic) makes it possible for others to
70	comprehend your ideas and your research. A straightforward first paragraph, like a well-
71	written paper, ensures that readers are aware of your thesis and gives them a reason to
72	care.
73	At some point by at least the second paragraph, the writer of an empirical paper
74	should make it clear what kinds of things you will be studying. The first series of

Sana was the only participant who used this resource, however, and did so after submitting PCAP I. As PCAP II required writing up results, she focused on "the parts [in the paper] about empirical data" and how to present it, which she recalled influenced her decision to include visual data in PCAP II. Sana also recounted some insightful considerations of how the how-to scaffold may have fit into DZ's assignment thinking. She surmised he had based his written guidelines (Figure 5.34) on this model as she noticed the ordering of the (IMRD) stages was the same. Like Obaid in SOC310-002, Sana was the only participant in PAD210 who engaged with the textual scaffold to the extent that this kind of noticing was possible. Also, as shown in Chapter 6, Sana was also one of the few participants who discussed and provided evidence for engagement in multiple practices constituting the hidden labour of writtenness (Turner, 2018).

Regarding the how-to paper, Parnian felt it was unreasonable to "push students to read" such self-help texts "... [it] will not work ..." She suggested instead he should

have taught [the document]" and "work[ed] some examples in class." Parnian

mentioned having similar self-help resources at home, "even in Persian," but never using

them. Lena paid no attention to this document at all.

5.4.3 The Instructions/Guidelines

Figure 5.34: The PCAP Guidelines

1	**PAD 210: Instructions for Policy Constructive Action Paper (PCAPs 1 and 2)**
2	**PCAP # 1**: Write a 4 - 5 pages paper that addresses the following: identify one policy problem
3	in or affecting Afghanistan that you believe needs an immediate action by the national or
4	regional government. You may choose a problem that is already being tackled. Or, you can
5	formulate a public policy problem that you believe exists and might not have been addressed
6	by the national and or regional government for various reasons. In this case, you would need
7	to specify the reasons for why you believe this particular problem might not have received the
8	necessary attention from the government.
9	Your **PCAP # 1** should consist of the following parts:
10	1. The policy problem that you believe exists.
11	2. Existing evidence (literature) that supports your claim about the existence of a problem.
12	3. Formulation of your research question based on points 1 and 2.
13	4. Theoretical framework that your paper will be based on.
14	5. Methodology (research design) that you will use to research and analyze the research
15	question.
16	
17	**PCAP # 2**: Write a 5 - 6 pages paper that includes the actual research, discussion or the results
18	and implications that could be drawn from your research.
19	Your **PCAP # 2** should consist of the following parts:
20	1. Evidence of collection of empirical data.
21	2. Presentation and discussion of research findings.
22	3. Conclusions.
23	4. Implications for future research: what have you learned and how this knowledge could
24	be used or applied in the future by both academics and government practitioners.
25	5. Literature and consulted sources.
26	6. Relevant tables and graphs (if applicable).
27	Both PCAPs should be submitted in soft and hard copies. PCAP #2 should include both parts
28	as a **complete research project.**
29	
30	**GOOD LUCK!**

In response to assignment-oriented questions in class on 18/10, DZ emailed guidelines on 20/10 (Figure 5.34). Lines 2-8 of the guidelines repeated and elaborated the syllabus description of PCAP. The meta-genre instructional intent begins with imperatives, e.g., *'Write'* and *'Identify'* in line 2. DZ then offered choices regarding policy types. Instructive registers return in line 9; PCAP I *"should consist of".* The imperative to PCAP II - *'write'* (line 17) begins instructions for PCAP 2 with the anaphoric *'the actual research ...'* referring to the research proposed in PCAP I.

The listing of elements for PCAP I (lines 10-15) and PCAP 2 (lines 20-26) suggested generic staging, with items 1-3 resembling moves 1-3 in Swales' CARS-type introductions for IMRDs/research proposals, and items 4 and 5 being generic academic research proposal stages. Elements in lines 1-2 for PCAP II (lines 20-21) suggested Results and Discussion. Point 3, a conclusion, is a common IMRD element (Swales & Feak, 1996), as is the first part of point 4, implications for future research. The addition of how "government practitioners" might use the research is, however, a possibly less common move in IMRDs. Despite the congruity between PCAP and an IMRD, neither the guidelines nor the syllabus described it as a research paper, although DZ did so consistently in talk-around-texts.

The PAD210 guidelines differed from others in the study through its listing of generic elements using noun groups with brief qualifying relative clauses without further elaboration of what each section might contain (cf. SOC310-001 but see also the "boiled down input" in SOC310-002). Although the how-to paper elaborated on some elements, DZ did not specifically mention this in class or the written guidelines. Lastly, other than through implication, the guidelines did not explicitly refer to writtenness (cf. DC) and, like all guidelines in this study, there were no grading criteria.

5.5.5 In-Class References to PCAP

Unlike the other professors in the study, DZ did not mention writtenness in any noticeable way in class. The only assignment-oriented verbal interaction before the PCAP I was due took place on May 11. This was a seven-minute sequence in response to a question from Lena about the due date (see Figure 5.35).

Figure 5.35: DZ's in-class description of PCAP

```
1    DP: So your final due date for both part of your Policy Constructive Action Project is December 13th... The first
2    part only [unclear]... because what I'm looking for is similar to a complete project ... however, don't
3    procrastinate over [this]. I think the original deadline for this is uh November 25.
4    ...
5    B: regarding the papers we have 2 papers and dates, right?
6    DP: yes
7    B: What kind of papers what... structure I don't know, maybe ...
8    DP: (overlapping) I think I sent you instructions ... email (unintelligible) ... first of all, I guess uh uh what is
9    conceived is a research project a whole one. Maybe for some of you it's the first research project project you
10   have done... what I'm looking for is for you to formulate... your research question about any kind of policy here
11   in Afghanistan.
12   ...
13   So you formulate your research question ... then you try to place it in a body of existing research. Who else
14   have has done something in this on this area? What kind of research you can build on? Any kind of science,
15   including social science is used it will contribute to the existing knowledge ...  that's cold minded science
16   contributing to what already exists. OK so you place it in a body of research then you know you're relying on
17   not your own approach – so you formulate your research question, you rely on discussion of literature in the
18   field um where you place your research question. Next section is, and by doing this [relating your research to
19   existing research] you're also justifying the importance of your research, next issue, how are you going to
20   actually research what kind of data are you going to rely on are this governmental transcripts are this
21   newspaper columns are this TV interviews or maybe your own personal interviews with government officials or
22   relevant actors or maybe some kind of financial databases or budget reviews and analysis by international
23   actors UNDP of world bank IMF. Then, and that's pretty much it for the first part, so the question, what is your
24   research, then methodology for doing your research how are you going to research, that's pretty much the first
25   paper. The second paper is the actual research, conclusions, and implications ... implications meaning why do
26   they care reading your research, how is it relevant, how can it help to other academics or other government or
27   internationals or NGOs, what have you learned how is it helpful in the current situation.
28   ...
29   B: Professor can we choose topics and you approve them, for example to not to waste time
30   DP: Yes thank you it's not that I will approve what I would like to do is have a safety check here, that you are
31   going in the right direction and when (L: yeah) I say right direction then I mean basically that you will not run
32   into trouble. The first trouble is the reliability of data the second trouble is it might be the problem is way too
33   complicated that you will not be able to ... or research it in such short time-span ... I will try to help you specify
34   your research questions as far as possible so I can. So the first part is research questions, literature review
35   theoretical foundations and your methodology, how you're going to research at this point you will have to
36   make sure that you have the data for your research, second part include solutions, Question?
```

DZ provided due dates for PCAP II (line 1) and PCAP I (line 3). This reemphasised the assignment's two-part nature, and the mention of "a complete project" (line 2)

similarly reemphasised the relatedness of each part. For the first time since class one, the IMRD nature of PCAP was expressed in lines 10-27. This included "***Formulate your research question***" (lines 10 & 14), "***Place it in a body of research***" (lines 13 &16), followed by clarification of the socially agreed function of this: to establish how your research fits and contributes to existing knowledge (lines 13-19). Lines 19 – 23 cover the method, "***how you're going to actually research***," and lines 23-25 summarise PCAP I. PCAP II, "the actual research" (line 25), is summarised in lines 25-27.

DZ's response (lines 30-34) to Lena's question (line 29) about topics echoes Parnian class one notes (Figure 5.32) regarding the reliability of data and the topic being researchable with the notion of a "safety check" (line 30), seemingly aimed at these points rather than perhaps writtenness. DZ's summary of the PCAP (lines 34-36) renames the discussion of literature (line 17) as a literature review (line 34) before mentioning another stage, the theoretical foundations. This point 4 in PCAP I in the guidelines (Line 13, Figure 5.34) was not clarified further in the classroom before the due date. However, he was very clear about his goal for this stage in talk-around-texts. Students should "be able to demonstrate using a particular case [a policy] that they study, that they've mastered theoretical concepts or theoretical frameworks[31] [in the textbook]." DZ had covered chapter three on 25/09; however, there was no mention in the notes provided for that class that these theories should be drawn on the PCAP. The only reference to using one of the theories from the book occurred on 29/11, which was the due date. As discussed below, the theoretical framework caused much confusion.

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[31] These were Elite Theory, Group Theory, Institutional Theory, and Rational Choice Theory (see Kraft & Furlong, 2009)

Two more supplemental texts

On 14/11, in an email titled 'Useful article for your policy research paper (suppemental [sic])', DZ sent a 15-page article "Policy Analysis and Policy Politics." On 15/11, an email titled "Good example of economic policy analysis on Afghanistan" included a report from USIP (United States Institute of Peace). Neither were read by my participants. This disinclination to read beyond the textbook was voiced on 19/11 when DZ solicited questions regarding these supplemental texts. Lena asked if they were required reading. When DZ replied, "No," Lena responded audibly, "Then we won't read them".

5.5.6 My Response

In PAD210, mainly due to time constraints and work commitments, I wrote PCAP I only. As with all the students (see below), a concern for me was the theoretical framework. I therefore asked him after class on May 11, and he explained that we were to use a theory from Chapter Three of the textbook. Analysis of PCAP I revealed I was the only participant who did so, having chosen elite theory (see Kraft & Furlong, 2009), as this seemed suited to my CDA critique of EMI policies in Afghanistan.

5.5.7 Student Responses

As with the participants in other classes, the PAD210 students did not find the guidelines or in-class input particularly helpful.

5.5.7.1 Sana

Sana engaged in perhaps more assignment- and writtenness-oriented practices than any other student in the study, some of which are discussed further in Chapter 6.

She was also the only student to respond to any of DZ's formative-type feedback on PCAP I. Her topic for her PCAP was 'Youth Unemployment in Afghanistan.' In an email on 29/11, she mentioned that she did not understand the guidelines/in-class instructions and had sought examples from her friends. She attached these examples (with permission from her friends) along with evidence of her PCAP I writtenness-oriented labour: brainstorming, a first draft, a draft reviewed by a friend (a language literacy broker), and her final draft of PCAP I. While her drafting was considered a writtenness-oriented practice (see Chapter 6), her soliciting of models was seen as assignment-oriented, which, as with students in DK and DW's classes, seemed to be a practice aimed at dealing with an unfamiliar genre. Both examples (one of which was Roya's) were PCAP Is that followed DK's guidelines for the spring 2017 iteration of PAD210 (see Figure 5.36). The examples were also remarkably similar to each other structurally, indexing perhaps kinds of possibly less authorised collusion among Roya and her friend (see Barrett & A. Cox, 2005)

Unlike other participants' more covert model acquisition and possible collusion practices, Sana informed DZ about the models. Interestingly, while DZ, like DW, declined to provide models, Sana recounted that he did not disapprove of her solicitation practice. Incidentally, Lena solicited models privately from DZ and was provided with Roya's PCAP I and a PCPA II from another student. However, Lena's paper did not indicate any of the initial reliance on the models apparent in Sana's. This reliance became apparent through Sana's (like Jamshid's use of Munib's headings) retention of Roya's subheadings, which themselves seemed to be generated from the spring guidelines (Figure 5.36).

Figure 5.36: DK's PCAP instructions for spring 2017[32]

1	Dear Students,
2	Below are the guidelines for the Policy Constructive
3	Action Project (PCAP):
4	For PCAP #1
5	1. Formulate the research question and define
6	the scope of research;
7	2. Provide theoretical/policy relevance and
8	importance of addressing particular issue/problem;
9	3. Develop your the research design which would
10	include the following:
11	a. How does your question fit in with the body of
12	the existing literature (i.e. where does this problem
13	come from, where, how, and who addressed it in the
14	past).
15	b. How are you going to pursue your research (try
16	to be as specific as you can) and what sources you
17	are going to consult and rely upon. Are these survey
18	research data, academic articles, governmental
19	publications, and/or media sources?
20	c. What method(s) will you rely on?
21	For PCAP #2
22	Based on the revisions and additions made after
23	receiving the feedback for PCAP#1, you will:
24	1. Undertake the actual research based on your
25	research design;
26	2. State your findings and discuss the results;
27	3. Write a short conclusion which will include the
28	implications for the selected policy issue/problem.
29	4. Include bibliography/consulted sources.

Figure 5.37: Headings in Sana and Roya's PCAP Is

Sana	Roya

1. RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH
2. POLICY RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE
   a. Migration:
   b. Narcotics:
   c. Rise in Crimes:
3. **Theoretical Framework;**
4. **Methodology:**
	1. RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH
	2. POLICY RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE
	3. RESEARCH DESIGN
	4. METHODOLOGY

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[32] This is a mobile phone screenshot provided by Sheba, who had also been in DZ's spring 2017 PAD210.

Regarding the troublesome theoretical framework, Sana included a heading for this in PCAP I. However, what followed was based on something she found online, which she felt indicated that theoretical frameworks were synonymous with hypotheses. She had surmised (correctly) that the spring 2017 guidelines had not explicitly required a theoretical framework (although see line 7, Figure 5.36) as Roya had not included it. A puzzled Sana asked DZ about this during one of several PCAP confusion-inspired visits to his office (another hidden labour of writtenness practice). She recalled being told it was unnecessary, but to include it if she felt it was helpful. As it was in the guidelines, and she felt, "he's going to grade that," she went ahead. Indicating perhaps faith in the safety check aspect of PCAP I, she stated it was "OK if my theoretical framework is not correct there," feeling she would receive credit for it and formative feedback she could use for PCAP II. Only Sana used her PCAP I in this way, testing the waters and looking for formative feedback that would help with her PCAP II. As shown in Figure 5.38, DZ's comment on Sana's interpretation of a theoretical framework based on her internet search was "very unclear."

Figure 5.38: Feedback on Sana's theoretical framework
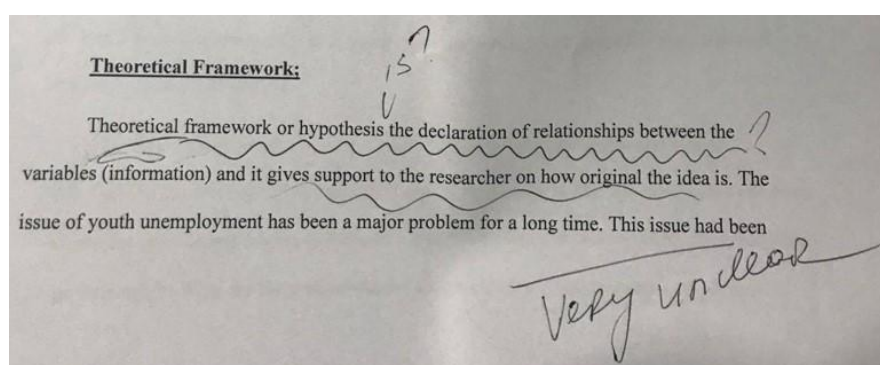
We discussed this in talk-around-texts, and it seems DZ had not helped her understand theoretical frameworks or clarified that she was to use one from Chapter 3. Based on our talk-around-texts for PCAP I, in which I described my use of Elite Theory from the textbook, Sana did make an assignment-oriented change by including another theory from Chapter 3 in her PCAP II, becoming the only participant to do so.

Another assignment-oriented change Sana made based on DZ's feedback was the deletion of her hypotheses, which DZ advised were not hypotheses (see handwritten text in black ink in Figure 5.39). Figure 5.39 also shows (in blue ink) some of Sana's notes on her graded PCAP I. Her comment in the top right, 'the logic did not jump out,' was verbal feedback from DZ in his office. As discussed in Chapter 6, it seems Sana tried to make the logic of her thinking here jump out more by using much of what she said in her hypothesis 1 below to form descriptive headings in the implications part of her PCAP II.

Figure 5.39: Feedback on Sana's 'Hypotheses'
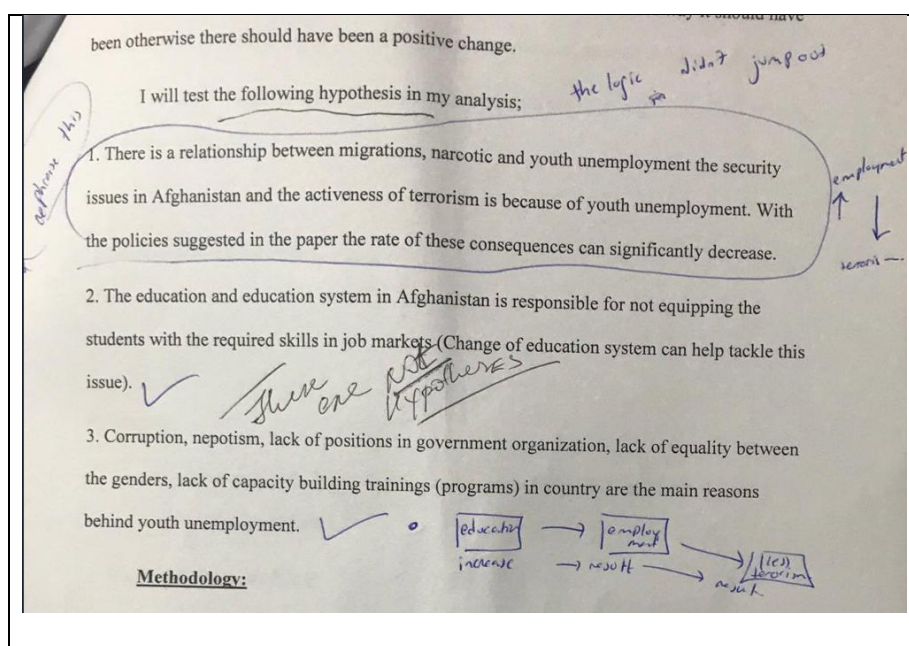
Sana's PCAP I then, in terms of sections, was an amalgamation of sections in her friend's paper and the components listed in DZ's guidelines. However, as discussed more fully in Chapter 6, it was also the outcome of much writtenness-oriented labour. Sana was very disappointed, however, with the 84% [33]she received for it. She continued to labour on PCAP II, however, which was evident in the changes she made to PCAP I (discussed further in Chapter 6), but due to this grade, she did not put in the same effort as for PCAP I.

5.5.7.2 Parnian

Parnian's PCAP focused on Educational Opportunities for Women in Afghanistan. For both parts, she virtually ignored the guidelines and in-class instructions, something she reported doing for most classes. Her PCAP I was what she described as an outline, as she had "forgotten" it was supposed to be four pages, and it did not appear to follow the structure outlined in the guidelines. Regarding the theoretical framework, Parnian mentioned simply, "I don't know what that means." She made no effort to find out more about it and did not include it. Analysis of PCAP I showed it was very similar to a PCAP I written by Jeena, [34] another PAD210 student. The two papers were visually virtually identical and included the same sections: Introduction, Problem and Research Question, Scope, Methodology and Conclusion. Parnian's paper also included chunks of identical metatext and one completely identical 23-word sentence in her methodology sentence. Although I avoided any confrontational references to this in talk-around-texts,

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[33] In the US system, this is a B grade, and based on the US grade point average system, it is worth 3.0 out of a possible 4.0. This is in sharp contrast to the UK system, where 70+ usually indicates a First.

[34] Jeena provided permission for her text to be used in this study.

Parnian volunteered quite openly: "I just copied it. I'm so sorry. Yeah, but I took this from Jeena's paper … it just it's a copy-paste…". She revealed this was due to last-minute drafting and spending around one hour writing PCAP I. She was not penalised for copying as it seems DZ did not notice or considered it minor. Like Lena, Parnian did not revise or combine her PCAP I with PCAP II I the way DZ intended. For PCAP II, she deleted the Problem and Research Question, Scope, and Methodology sections and added six paragraphs between her retained and unchanged introduction and conclusion (see Figures 5.43 & 5.44 below), each detailing the reasons for and problems caused by limited education for girls. She added one paragraph of solutions to form what was essentially a problem/solution essay. While this evidenced writtenness-oriented essayist literacy practices imported into this contact zone, Parnian really did not seem to draw on her full repertoire.

Her PAD210 practices were rooted, it seems, in prior study experiences with DZ in which he "didn't insist much on [following the guidelines]. Like he didn't just really push us for this paper. He just told us. you have this paper, that's it." She also had become accustomed at AUAF to applying minimal effort to assignments unless she liked the subject, yet still achieving good grades for papers, adding, "I don't know what's the magic behind [this]." She reported even feeling some of her grades were "dishonest" (her word) and that she was cheating the system. She did feel, however, that AUAF professors did not take writing seriously.

5.5.7.3 Lena

Lena appeared to have missed the mentions in the syllabus, the guidelines and in class regarding the two-stage nature of the PCAP. While she could see the link between

PCAP I and II, she submitted the two parts as separate, standalone documents. She only became aware of the instructions to submit the revised version of PCAP I with her PCAP II during talk-around-texts, a realisation she found quite amusing. While the PCAP II model DZ provided may have alerted her to the completeness of what a PCAP was supposed to be, she had not read it, arguing that it would not make "sense to" her as it would not show the continuation from Roya's PCAP I (DZ had declined to provide her with Roya's PCAP II). Analysis of her papers suggested her sense that they were related but were to be written as discrete, standalone texts. Both included a conclusion, creating a beginning, middle, and end essayist structure, which indexed this was perhaps an internalised writtenness practice for her.

Lena described the guidelines as:

L: a stone on a heart. It's like a burden ... It's like formulate like find a policy problem, theoretical framework, methodology. All of them is like. It's like all question marks.

However, after starting her PCAP I two days before submission due to her self-admitted procrastination, she added:

L: when actually I'm starting to answering one question, two questions [points from the guidelines], ... it's become easier for me ... you enjoy when you answer 2 questions from these guidelines and then they oh I have three left.

This suggested guidelines became more helpful and acted as a kind of barometer of achievement, adding what is possibly a feeling for many writers:

L: when I studied and start solving it [writing her PCAP I], It becomes interesting and I say wow, I I should have started earlier.

Lena described the theoretical framework as "a scary word." She recalled asking DZ about it after class but did not seem to get a clear explanation. The privately solicited models did not help. Like Sana, she noticed Roya's paper had no theoretical framework and eventually decided a theoretical framework was akin to a method, which is how it appeared in her PCAP I. DZ did not comment on this. Lena did not resubmit PCAP I as part of PCAP II, so her theoretical framework was not revised further.

5.5.8 Formative feedback

DZ provided some assignment-oriented in-class verbal feedback on PCAP I on 03/12. His main comment was that he could not "see what is second part," which suggested that the research proposed in PCAP I was unclear. However, as with the lack of feedback on variations from the expected genre, no written feedback on my participants' PCAP I papers indicated this in-class observation. Also, as no feedback seemed to question the researchablilty of topics, they all passed the 'safety check' (see line 30, Figure 5.35).

Figures 5.37 and 5.39 above illustrate what appears to be successful formative or safety check feedback aimed at helping the students (Sana) with PCAP II. Figure 5.38 also includes a writtenness-oriented correction/insertion of 'is' in the first line. However, Sana's deletion/rewriting of her theoretical framework obviated this correction.

DZ provided some other assignment and writtenness-oriented feedback on all the drafts. The kind of squiggly-line-and-question-mark comment, with or without extra written feedback, shown (see Figures 5.38 above and Figures 5.40 and 5.41 below) was relatively common. Also, as shown in Figures 5.42 and 5.43, below, another form was a straight-line, commented, and uncommented underlining (see Lazar & Barnaby, 2015).

The students recognised the writtenness-oriented intent of the squiggly-line comments. Parnian knew they meant, "What are you talking about? What is this for?" There were two instances of this in the Scope and Methodology in her PCAP I. However, as neither section appeared in PCAP II, there was no data on how she responded to these.

Sana understood the squiggly-line-plus-question-mark comment in Figure 5.40 (see the sentence in parentheses) as meaning, "It [this sentence] was not clear because he has the question marks as well." However, while she felt the comment was helpful, she made no changes to this part in her PCAP II (NB: the squiggly-line-plus-question-mark comment underlining is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7).

Figure 5.40: Underlining in Sana's PCAP I Third Paragraph
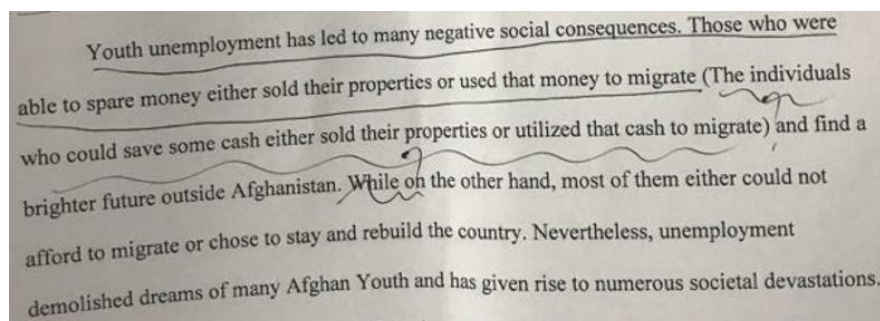
Sana found other instances of squiggly line feedback less clear (see "25,000?" after the underlined part in Figure 5.41). She knew it was an issue: "Maybe he wanted the reference. But it's from the same [source as the previous sentence]." She had planned to enquire about this, but added in talk-around-texts, "he should write what is the problem." Again, this instance remained unchanged in PCAP II.

The uncommented straight-line underlining seen in both figures above (see also the first underlining sequence in Parnian's introduction below, Figure 5.42) seemed to be misinterpreted. While DK clarified in talk-around-texts that straight-line, uncommented

underlining was writtenness-oriented,[35] Sana felt it indicated something positive. This was based on DZ's feedback on short paragraph answers in her mid-term exam; problems were straight-line underlined with the "unclear." Whereas she felt straight-line underlined with no comment meant no problem.

Figure 5.41: Squiggly Line Underlining
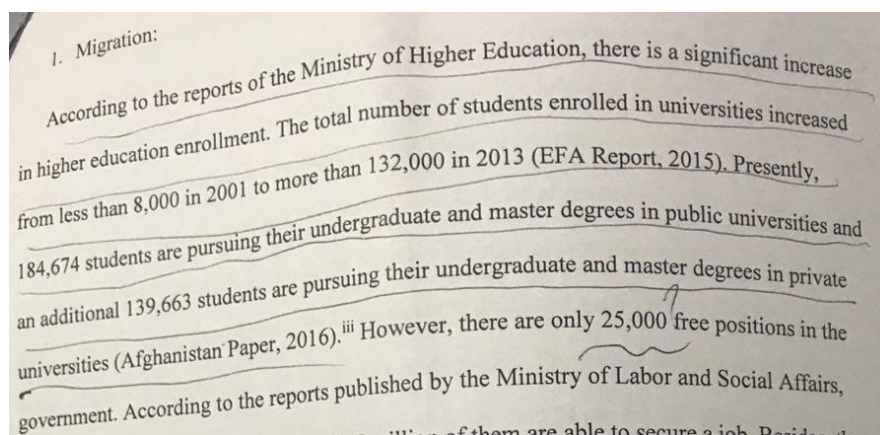
Figure 5.42: Parnian's Introduction is 'not clear'

---

[35] During this talk-around-texts, I did not press DZ too much on his feedback practices as, at times, he appeared irritated by questions that focused on specific comments.

Parnian had a related but slightly different understanding of uncommented straight underlining, feeling DZ was "telling me that these are the main arguments, I should ... you should think about it more [but] OK that's good." Again, there was only an issue if there was a comment present. She felt the comment "not clear" that followed straight underlining at the end of her introduction (see Figure 5.42) was helpful: "I think that I should have explained how really the the in rural areas, women and girls. Are having difficulties with education system ..." However, as noted above, she made no changes to any part of the introduction in her PCAP II (see Figure 5.42). This was also true of some uncommented underlining in the conclusion paragraph (see Figure 5.43), and the striking through of the preposition 'on' in the final line.

Figure 5.43: Parnian's conclusion

Conclusion:

To Sum up the education system in Afghanistan, coming out from a very frustrating era of civil war, brought many changes towards making the population educated and literate but still many women and girls around the country are deprived from getting the basic education due to lack of attention of government for women's education, untrained and unprofessional teachers, cultural and social barriers and lack of educational infrastructures. The lack of educational opportunities have brought up many problems for women and girls, including but not limited to force marriages, domestic violence, financial instabilities and an undeveloped society on the long run.

The feedback in Lena's PCAP I was digital and primarily aimed at helping her think more about her topic. One comment was on the use of more hedging or tentative verbs to describe the purpose of her research (line 87, Figure 5.43).

Figure 5.44: 'To Demonstrate' as a Hedging Verb

> 86   **Conclusion**
>
> 87   Finally, the purpose of this research paper is to prove [MAY BE, TO DEMONSTRATE] that
>
> 88   unhealthy eating habits is a public policy problem in Afghanistan that requires serious attention.

Lena did not resubmit PCAP I as part of PCAP II, and the verb above was not changed based on his digital comments. Her second submission did include several chunks from PCAP I, but none of these were reworked to fit under the PCAP II elements mentioned in the guidelines, and none were commented on in PCAP I.

While it seemed then that DZ had provided formative feedback aimed at helping students write their PCAP IIs, all the writtenness-oriented feedback was ignored. As discussed in Chapter 7, this did not seem to affect DZ's grading or reception practices.

Overall, the students responded to the limited assignment and writtenness-oriented input in various ways. Sana seemed driven by an intrinsic desire to do well and devoted many resources to extensive assignment and writtenness-oriented practices, at least for PCAP I. This diminished somewhat for PCAP II due partly, it seems, to the demotivating grade she received for the first part. Lena cobbled together a response drawing on her existing practices and indexed senses of writtenness through her aims of creating beginning, middle, and end-structured texts. She also displayed some dexterity in manipulating chunks of PCAP I relatively coherently into PCAP II, along with instances of relatively complex language use. These practices indexed writtenness-producing resources, although she was hampered somewhat by procrastination and work commitments. Even Parnian engaged in perhaps the familiar writtenness-oriented

practices of creating beginning, middle, and end-structured texts and displayed other resources for materialising writtenness. She did not seem to engage these fully, however, mainly, it seems, based on previous experiences with DZ and her sense that he would not be overly strict with his grading. As will be seen in Chapter 7, this was somewhat justified.

5.5   Conclusion

Overall, this chapter's exploration of Research Objective One supports the assumption in Chapter 2 that at least some of what each lecturer did in class regarding scaffolding the written assignment was influenced by their senses of writtenness. However, the practices they drew into their individual contact zones varied widely in terms of the amount and explicitness of references to writtenness. In most cases, however, there was a mix of general references to the value of writtenness and developing capacities in this area, as well as some spoken assignment-specific writtenness-oriented advice, and the provision of assignment guidelines and other textual scaffolds.

5.5.1 General writtenness-oriented advice

DC, DK, and DW all provided general writtenness-oriented advice that indexed their senses of the value of students becoming more proficient in reading and producing it. DC's advice generally occurred more extensively and forcefully after he had graded the assignment. His rationale for exhortations to "read read read", broadsheets, and Orwell in some ways, echoed the sentiments in the Yale Report (1828) and more recent treatises on the goals of LAS (e.g., Becker, 2014; Botstein, 2017), that students should

develop sophistication in the spoken and written English. DK was very clear in his talk-around-texts about the benefits of learning to write well, something he felt he had achieved through his graduate studies in Australia (cf. You & You, 2013). In class, he also urged students to notice coherence and structure in his written work.   DW was happy to advise self-improvement by reading Strunk and White regularly, although he did not stress the general enduring value of this in the same way as either DC or DK did. His advice that students could learn the genre/writtennesses of IMRDs from reading examples also suggested the process by which facility with writtenness evolves. Although DZ made no verbal in-class reference to the value of writtenness in his assignment or in general, in talk-around-texts, he mentioned several times that AUAF students needed to learn how to write research papers. As with DK, this seemed to be due to his experiences of learning to do so during his postgraduate studies, in his case, in the US.

Some of this general writtenness-oriented advice echoes studies noted by Turner (2018), in which students were advised to read Jane Austen to improve their writtenness, and Zawacki and Habib (2014), who noted a similar rationale behind advice given to business students to read Dickens (see also Poverjuc, 2011). Indeed, this advice aligns with prevailing beliefs and tropes regarding the value of extensive reading in education. Despite this, no student made any reference to this advice in talk-around-texts. However, several acknowledged that the reading they did at work (e.g., Obaid) or in their free time (e.g., Roya reading Harry Potter) had likely influenced their literacy practices of production.

5.5.2 Assignment-specific in-class writtenness advice

Some spoken advice was specific to the assignments at hand. DC's assignment-specific references to writing like an investigative journalist or a lawyer building a case indexed the expository ideology, as did DK's emphasis on coherence and structuring (although this was also generic writtenness advice). DW's references to include the goal of the research in the form of a statement or research questions near the beginning also include expository writtenness/generic aspects of IMRDs. His advice to read some examples to 'learn how they are written' could also be seen as assignment-specific advice. However, as with the general advice above, none of the students attributed anything they did in their papers to actually acting on the advice (cf. Arkoudis & Tran, 2010; Boz, 2006), and some could not recall hearing it. In some ways, these findings echo Boz's (2006, pp. 181-183) account of how EMI students found such spoken instructions unhelpful and struggled to remember what they were supposed to do (see also Deborah in Tuck, 2018, p. 81; Arkoudis & Tran, 2010).

5.5.3 Assignment-specific writtenness advice in written guidelines

Most of the input regarding the writtenness appeared in the guidelines and other textual support. However, the extent and directness of this support varied greatly. DC provided perhaps the most direct references to writtenness in his guidelines (see Figure 5.1 and Section 5.1.4) with the ideologies of writtenness embedded in them. However, the lack of any further explication of these in class meant that these references remained unrecognized and, in fact, unused by the students (cf. Arkoudis & Tran, 2010). DW's published guidelines included some tropes of writtenness, such as conciseness, and genre-specific input, such as the moves within an abstract. However, only Geeti seemed

to make any use of the guidelines, although more for reproducing the overall genre rather than observing any conventions of IMRD-specific writtenness, such as constructions to avoid the first person, which she ignored and, indeed, disputed. DK provided a genre set that included a 'primary text' and an 'uptake text' that could be mimicked, along with a meta-genre designed to help students do so. However, the seemingly unfinished nature and minimally edited reproduction of material from his Inception Report (Guidelines) seem to reduce the pedagogic value of this meta-genre. Additionally, as the assignment was an occluded genre, students arguably needed more description of the primary and uptake texts to explore how one genre arose from the other. Lastly, the omission of the grading criteria that he usually attached to his assignment guidelines (see Figure 5.16) meant that there was no written reference to aspects of writtenness or how the papers would be assessed (cf. Boz, 2006). However, as with Geeti, Obaid was able to use the scaffold to mimic DK's report successfully, although this seemed to be due to his English proficiency and resulting ability to focus his attentional resources as needed (Johnson, 2023; Kormos, 2011; Revesz, Kourtali, & Mazgutova, 2017; see also Schoonen, Snellings, Stevenson, and van Gelderen, 2009). DZ's how-to article included some embedded writtenness-oriented tropes, although, again, it remained unread by all but Sana, who only reviewed it for advice on how to present results.

Arguably, the provision of each of these scaffolds was orchestrated, at least to an extent, by each lecturer's sense of writtenness or aspects of it (e.g., the overall genre in DW, DK, and DZ's cases), and its role in their assignments, in HE in general, and in DC's case, in LAS education. Additionally, all were presented in a manner that suggested any writtenness-oriented support was transparent and that the students could/would notice

the support, as well as the linguistic and writtenness repertoires, to enact and materialize the advice in their papers. In this way, the sense was that each lecturer felt they had provided the right kind of support for students to use if needed. However, none of the guidelines seem to observe the best practices, such as including assessment criteria recommended by Boz (2006; see also Arkoudis & Tran, 2010; Bean & Walvoord, 2011; Graves, Hyland & Samuels, 2010)

Also, and important for the goals of this study, apart from Geeti and Obaid, the guidelines made very little contact with or further influenced the students' writtenness-oriented practices of production (see Chapter 6). It is worth noting that both Geeti and Obaid had a relatively high proficiency in English, and Geeti had extensive experience with English-medium secondary schooling. Despite this, she, like Obaid, did not engage fully in the writtenness practice repertoire they appeared to have, particularly in terms of editing and polishing (see Chapter 6).

The findings regarding written scaffolding also align with much of the foundational AL research on the ineffectiveness and variability of such written support and students' difficulties with using it (e.g., Boz, 2006; Eriksson, 2018; Graves, Hyland & Samuels, 2010; Harris, 2010; Hicks, 2016; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Tuck, 2017; Stierer, 1997).

5.5.4 Discussion

This chapter's account of the goings-on regarding pre-submission assignment- and writtenness-oriented support in the relatively hidden worlds (Tuck, 2017; see also Horner's, 2018, calls for ethnographic studies of student writing in EMI contexts; Murata

& Iino, 2018, regarding EMI classrooms in general) of lecturers' classrooms aims to add to the existing AL canon. Although many of the practices described in Chapter 5 have been alluded to in talk-around-texts AL research, it is hoped that the concrete illustrations will provide a more nuanced understanding of lecturers' assignment- and/or writtenness-oriented practices, why they did what they did, as well as the extent to which they made contact with students, particularly in EMI and EMIAUA contexts.

It is also hoped that Chapter 5 has begun to show the usefulness of text-oriented ethnography as an overall methodology; the value of distinguishing between assignment- and writtenness-oriented practices for studies that focus on how writtenness operates in various contexts; and, for such research in educational contexts, the value of viewing each class as a relatively autonomous contact zone. The ethnographic observations revealed here were sometimes striking differences in the ways each lecturer referred to the value of writtenness in general (e.g., DC), the amount of work they seemed prepared to put into supporting it (e.g., DK), their role in supporting it (e.g., DW), and any direct reference to it whatsoever (e.g., DZ). The meta-genre analysis also revealed differences in the way such texts presented aspects of writtenness as requisite (or not).

The lecturers' specific assignment-oriented practices seemed well-intentioned and, at the very least, allowed them to demonstrate the provision of support. However, the varied nature of the support and guidelines, along with the lack of targeted explanations of any aspects of writtenness therein, meant they did not appear particularly helpful or to make meaningful contact with the students' existing practices (Tuck, 2017).

This finding indicates that, despite years of critique in AL scholarship and the production and circulation of evidence-based resources and guides on university websites from the US traditions of WAC/WID best practices for presenting and supporting assignments, and indeed on how to support NNES students specifically, there was very little evidence-based support in these classes. This is not meant as criticism, and as a caveat, no lecturer mentioned any specific training in preparing writing assignment guidelines and/or teaching writing or aspects of writtenness prior to working at AUAF, and to the best of my knowledge, no such training was provided at AUAF.

These findings, then, seem to complicate the normative ideals and goals of an LAS education outlined in the introduction (e.g., Becker, 2014; Botstein, 2017; Stewart, 1982). It appears that a requisite for such outcomes in EMIAUAs is a shift in how writing is presented in content classes. This is not to adopt a deficit perspective, but to acknowledge that, as Becker (2014; see also Boz, 2006) notes, promoting writing and writtenness across the curriculum will require increased training and work for lecturers, including work "at the textface" (Tuck, 2016 – see also Chapter 7). From an AL perspective, the local departmental model suggested by Wingate (2018) or the broader model discussed by Murray and Nallaya (2014) may be good starting points.

Most of these intervention studies argue the relative effectiveness of such work. However, as discussed in the next Chapter, in the absence of a perhaps more homogenized approach to written assignments at AUAF, it seems many factors beyond input and teacher work influence students' practices of production, their assignments, and/or writtenness-oriented practices, and importantly, the amount of time and effort they are willing to put into the hidden labor of writtenness and assignment production (see the Green and Yellow practices in Figure 2.1).

6. Students' Practices of Production

6.1 Introduction: Overview of Students' Practices

4.1.2 6.1.1 Practices in the Assignments

As with the lecturers, the students' senses of writtenness seemed to very much orchestrate the practices that they brought into the contact zones; each student drew on some of their ingrained senses of how texts should be. Despite this, apart from intrinsic desires to write well and/or writtenness habits, the extent to which the students drew on their senses was also affected by contact zone-specific factors such as perceptions of how much the institution and, in particular, individual lecturers valued writing in their class. In DK's class, task complexity was also a factor, which, combined with more limited language proficiencies, also taxed some students' writtenness-oriented practices. All of these influenced the amount of time they were willing and able to devote to the labour of the green writtenness-oriented practices in R. Clark and Ivanic's model (see Table 2.1).

For example, Geeti's perception of the value DW ascribed to writing influenced the amount of labour she was willing to put in, although her proficiency helped her to use the guidelines to put in the labour of teaching herself how to write a research paper. Her proficiency also seemed to help her submit a one-draft-only assignment, albeit done in

stages, that exhibited some treatable surface errors but was generally smooth at the whole text level. Behsud likewise drew on his resources to mimic a previously successful paper but did not invest time in the labour of revision (see Chapter 7 for DW's response to these papers).

This use of single-draft, virtually unrevised drafts was common. Nazia and Banin submitted single draft assignments, although both felt they had drawn on senses of writtenness in terms of the overall organisation. However, arguably, their lack of investment in the hidden labour of writtenness was evidenced by the amount of surface-level treatable and untreatable error, and in some cases, more global issues in their papers. Also, in both cases, their sense that they were writing for DC only had some effect on the way their essays unfolded, which also affected DC's response (see Chapter 7). In Banin's case, based on previous experiences at AUAF, she felt she would be cut some slack for less polished work.

Parnian's decision not to engage her full writtenness-oriented literacy repertoire was also influenced by her senses that, based on previous experiences, DZ did not pay much attention to writing in his class (this was somewhat justified; see Chapter 7 for DZ's assessment practices). By her own estimation, she spent three hours writing PCAP I and II; however, her paper showed that she did draw on her sense of essayist writtenness to create beginning, middle, and end structure. Lena also drew on this essayist sense of structure and seemed to invest some time into fitting this into DZ's PCAP container. She also displayed some dexterity in coherently repurposing chunks of language from PCAP I into PCAP II and through the creation of relatively complex noun-group type academic writing (see Chapter 7 for DZ's response to this). The labour she was able or willing to put in was, however, limited due to procrastination and work commitments. In some ways,

Parnian's perception of DZ and her decisions virtually ignore the instructions, and Lena's procrastination and misreading of the PCAP as a two-part project mitigated what could have been a possible taxing of their writtenness-oriented practices due to task complexity, i.e., learning how to do a PCAP.

In DK's class, the complexity of responding to an unfamiliar genre with another unfamiliar genre seemed to affect each student's writtenness-oriented practices. While Obaid, largely based on his proficiency, was able to learn from his fishing draft and from time spent studying the model to then submit a one-draft assignment that was positively appraised (see Chapter 7). Roya, however, became bogged down by the length and complexity of her TOR and drew on her resources to submit a patchwriting assignment that she seemed uninterested in editing or revising, ultimately giving up and submitting a seemingly unfinished first draft only. Jamshid procrastinated and eventually devoted his resources to a one-draft paraphrase of his TOR. Based again on his English proficiency, his paper did, however, display some dexterity with paraphrasing, manipulating word forms, and syntactic reordering to create some smooth-read chunks of text. Although indicative of a case where proficiency was not enough, DK felt these paraphrased chunks were not coherently arranged in an accretive and expository order (see Chapter 7). Lemar also focused on paraphrasing and produced some relatively well-formed examples of this. Arguably, however, his English proficiency level meant that as his paper progressed, most of his resources seemed aimed at achieving accuracy at local sentence/clause levels rather than monitoring the progression of points at the discourse level (see Chapter 7).

6.1.2 Practices in Other Written Work

Some of the students drew differently on their writtenness-oriented practices in other forms of writing in the study. For example, in the motivation section of the group project in DK's class, Roya put some labour into manipulating a written recount of her personal history to create a better flow (her words) or thematic progression. Geeti also displayed some textual dexterity with some patchwriting in one of the reading workshop summaries in DW's class. She manipulated the copied parts into her work relatively seamlessly, and DW did not seem to notice anything he considered untoward (cf. Li & Casanave, 2012; see also 4.5.1.3, Maintaining a curious rather than evaluative gaze). Behsud also displayed similar senses in several of his summaries, which were well put together. Drafts of Obaid's work on his group project also showed more global-level revision, including moving paragraphs and larger chunks around and reengineering them so that they fit together and flowed, an activity he described as "playing with the language". All of these writtenness-oriented practices suggested that the students had repertoires that they did not necessarily draw on in the main assignments for the reasons described above and in Chapter 5.

However, while these practices were interesting, what follows is an account of the writtenness-oriented practices of three students who engaged in more of the hidden labour that is often associated with writtenness, and indeed indicative of one of the goals of LAS. Each provided extensive evidence of their work and was able to elaborate extensively on these practices in talk-around-texts.

6.2 Three Case Studies

4.1.3 6.2.1 Sana

Of all the students in this study, Sana provided the most evidence of writtenness-oriented work. As mentioned above, she provided several drafts of PCAP I, including 'PCAP brainstorm', a first draft, a language literacy broker edited second draft (cf. proofreading in Turner, 2011, 2018, 2023), her PCAP I final draft, and the examples she drew on. She also engaged DZ somewhat as a literacy broker, as seen above, and used some of his feedback on her PCAP I. She also edited her own work for "stylistics" (her term). Sana's orientation to writtenness and the labour involved in producing it emerged early in our post-PCAP I talk-around-texts. When discussing which aspects of writing she felt were important in particular, she replied, "All of them," "That's why I use my friends." Her practices, however, unlike other participants, seemed to be motivated by an intrinsic desire to write well rather than orienting to perceived lecturer characteristics.

Many of Sana's writtenness-oriented practices can be seen in the evolution of a metatextual element common in IMRD-type texts, an overview (e.g., Swales & Feak, 1996). Sana recalled learning the importance of structuring texts and making the structure clear in her Law classes, where she wrote genres such as legal briefs. She added, "... I've had the experience that a lot of professors require us to have this [overview]," and that, "Even I saw it a lot," which attests again to her noticing aspects of writtenness in others' work and being able to appropriate or interdiscursivise them into her own work.

For PAD210, she had tried to glean the structure of PCAP I from her friends' examples. However, based on her close reading and genre appropriation practices (cf. Obaid in DK's class), she sensed insightfully that her friends' papers had followed different instructions (see Figure 5.35). She, therefore, asked DZ about the structure in Roya's paper and recalled him being somewhat surprised that a student was asking about structure rather than "arguments" (her word); he did, however, confirm that the overall structure in the samples, including the overview, was appropriate.

Analysis showed that Sana had initially interdiscursivised significantly from Roya's overview. In her first draft (Figure 6.2), Sana seems to have generated two versions of the first metatext sentence in Roya's overview (lines 19-21, Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Roya's Overview

19	the Afghanistan election ground. This research will explain those obstacles standing on the
20	way of free and fair election in Afghanistan as it will suggest policy actions that should be
21	taken by the government to overcome these challenges. The organization and the institution
22	that are involved in this action project are government of Afghanistan, independent election
23	commission, and the donors of Afghanistan election.

Both of these versions can be seen in Figure 6.2 (version one is lines 22-24, and version two is lines 24-26). In version one (lines 22-24), Sana retained Roya's (line 19) word 'obstacles,' [36] although it seems semantically odd in the noun group that forms the subject of the misformed question (line 23). In this version, Roya's second clause (lines

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[36] This also appeared in the same place with the same function in Roya's friend's paper.

20-21, Figure 6.1) is reused as a coordinate clause (Lines 23-24, figure 6.2). Version two (lines 24-26, Figure 6.2) retains virtually all of Roya's text, substituting only the topic of the PCAP after the slightly miss-formed noun group, "those obstacles standing on the way of …" (see lines 19-20, Figure 6.1, and 25, Figure 6.2). Sana also retained the metatext of Roya's final sentence: "The organization and the institution that are involved in this action project are…" going on, as Roya did, to list the sources she had used.

Figure 6.2: Sana's First-Draft Overview

22	unemployment which has led to countless consequences. This research will describe what are the
23	obstacles for Afghanistan for having such a high rate of youth unemployment? And what policy
24	action must be done to remove these obstacles from the Afghanistan. This research will explain
25	those obstacles standing on the way of youth to find the job as it will suggest policy actions that
26	should be taken by the government to overcome these challenges. The organization and the
27	institution that are involved in this action project are government of Afghanistan, Ministry of
28	Labor and Social Affairs and the donors.

6.2.2.1   The Second Draft and Literacy Broker Work

As the struck-through text in lines 25-28 in Figure 6.3 below reveals, Sana worked on her overview before sending it to Hasan, her language literacy broker (NB: Hasan's edits appear in green in Figure 6.3, with the original work he changed shown as struck through, see lines 25 - 28).

Figure 6.3: Sana's Second Draft Overview with Hasan's Edits

24	biggest challenges is the unemployment which has led to countless consequences. This research
25	will effectively demonstrate~~describe~~ the reasons to why Afghanistan is having such a high rate of
26	youth unemployment.~~what are the reasons Afghanistan is having such a high rate of youth~~
27	~~unemployment?~~ And what policy, if developed, can significantly overcome or minimize the
28	challenge of youth unemployment.~~y action must be done to overcome these challenges.~~ The
29	organization and the institution that are involved in this action project are; the government of
30	Afghanistan, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, t~~T~~he International Labor Organization in
31	Afghanistan (ILO) and the donors.

She substituted 'reasons' for 'obstacles,' creating a more accurately formed question (Lines 26-27, Figure 6.3 stuck through by Hasan). Hasan, however, changed this question to a statement beginning with **"the reasons to [sic] why"** (line 25 below). He also stuck through *[what policy action] must be done to remove these obstacles from the Afghanistan* (line 28, Figure 6.3), suggesting instead *what policy, if developed, can significantly overcome or minimize the challenge of youth unemployment* (lines 27-28). Finally, he addressed a few omitted article and capitalisation issues in the list of organisations in Lines 29-30.

Figure 6.4 below shows the overview in her final draft. As can be seen, before submitting Sana made further changes herself. In sentences two and three (lines 26-28) below, the final redrafted version of the Roya-inspired metatext sentence, Sana retained only the first of Hasan's major suggestions, the change from a question to a statement, but changed his **"will effectively demonstrate"** (line 25, Figure 6.3) suggestion to **"will address"** (line 26, Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Overview in Sana's Final Draft PCAP I (Retained in PCAP II)

25	has led to countless consequences. This research will depict the consequences of youth
26	unemployment. Then it will address reasons of such a high rate of youth unemployment in the
27	country. Finally it will suggests policy actions that must be taken in order to percolate these
28	challenges. The organization and the institution that are involved in this action project are; the
29	Government of Afghanistan, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, The International Labor
30	Organization in Afghanistan (ILO) and the international donors.

She ignored his suggested conditional clause, *'if developed,'* (line 27, Figure 6.3), and the lexical suggestions in his hedged result clause, "***can significantly*** overcome ***and minimise***", and instead, she reformulated her original coordinating clause (lines 23-24, Figure 6.2) into an independent clause, (lines 27-28). She then substituted ***"percolate"*** for ***"overcome"*** (see below for a discussion of this and some of Sana's other vocabulary choices). Sana was quite confident in disregarding some of Hasan's edits/suggestions and reformulations, although his labour did prompt reflection (cf. Evans & Ferris, 2018). While she felt he was much better at English than her, she commented:

> S: he is not, Uh, political science, or he was not in this class ... [his] comments were mainly revolving around the language, and I made sure what I had already in the paper does not change.

The additional first sentence in Figure 6.4 (lines 25-26) announces that the first part of her paper will cover the consequences of youth unemployment, resulting from much assignment-oriented thinking and labour. While in PCAP I, she had retained Roya's guidelines-generated second heading, '**Policy Relevance and Importance of the**

Issue,' she added three subheadings for the 'consequences' of unemployment (see pp.234.- 235). There were several reasons for this. Firstly, most of the literature she could find focused on consequences. Therefore, she felt this should constitute most of her literature review (point two in the instructions for PCAP I, Figure 5.33). She also considered that demonstrating consequences early in her paper would underpin the need for policy action. This was an idea retained from her PCAP Brainstorm. Her contention that she should add the consequences to PCAP I to justify the relevance or need for the policy suggested that she was already considering PCAP II.

Another reason, supported by my analysis, was her critique of her friends' PCAPs for not discussing much research.

> S: ... I didn't think that they had researched a lot. I don't know how you found them because they were kind of repeating the same thing in all of the parts ... So I thought that they might have included the consequences in the PCAP II, but that would not make sense for me at that stage if I included that [in PCAP II] ... because I wouldn't have anything else to add [to PCAP II].

Sana's contention that Roya's paper was repetitive was also borne out during analysis. This suggests that Sana could recognise aspects of the paper and critique things such as repetition, an issue often mentioned in academic writing textbooks and instructional materials (and indeed by DZ, see Chapter 7).

As with her dilemma of whether to include a theoretical framework and/or hypotheses (see Chapter 5 above), she talked with DZ about the lack of a 'consequences' section in her friends' papers.

S: ... I said can I include them as well? Or should I keep it for the PCAP 2? He said if if you think it's important to be there. I said [for] the literature part if I don't include them, I have nothing else to include.

Although Sana was again left to choose (as with the theoretical framework, see above), her comment about the 'literature part' suggests consideration of point two of the guidelines, to include 'literature that supports your claim about the existence of a problem.' Regarding DZ's up-to-you verbal feedback, she also recalled him saying that including these stages would be "really helpful." Based on this and, as she emphasised, "because they [her friends] didn't have it," she decided to include the consequences as a kind of literature review, feeling that it would contribute to her grade.

6.2.2.2   Sana's Sub-Overview

Further indicative of Sana's sense of the writtenness value of overviewing writing, she included a metatext 'sub' overview of the purpose of the subsequent part of her paper at the end of the section '**Policy Relevance and Importance of the Issue**, (see lines 41-43, Figure 6.5) which previewed the subsections of the consequences of youth unemployment she would cover (see Figure 5.36).

Figure 6.5: Sana's Sub-Overview

41	that needs immediate action from the government. This part of the paper aims to demonstrate on
42	the negative consequences of youth unemployment as well as the importance of (tackling) this
43	issue. Unemployment it has leaded the youth to migrate, work for narcotics; also, it has given
44	rise to social crimes and terrorist groups.

Another reason for this second sub-overview was that DZ had written 'unclear' beside some of her short-answer responses in her midterm exam, so she wanted "to make sure" her PCAP was as clear as possible.

6.2.2.3   Sana: Stylistic changes

Sana referred to other changes at the word or phrase level as stylistic changes, a term and process "To make the paper more academic," she learned from a Law professor. She engaged in this writtenness-oriented practice because "professors would say that you're senior level students, so I expect to have a senior level, make [writing] better, like academic," which she felt impressed professors (cf. Ivanic, 1998, playing the game, p. 157). She felt she was good at this because she did not receive many comments on her work in other classes, which suggested endorsement of her writing (cf. Sheba's response to DC's feedback, Chapter 7).

While some of these edits were suggestions accepted from Hasan, many were her own. In line one (Line 4, Figure 6.6) of her first draft, she wrote, **"Youth are the future of the country's economy"**. In her PCAP I final draft, she changed this to "**Youth are the future and pedigree of a country"** and retained it in PCAP II (see line 4, Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.6: Opening Lines from Sana's First Draft

3	RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH
4	Youth are the future of the country's economy, not only as consumers but also as
5	providers and workers, without them it is difficult to build and develop the economy. Present

Figure 6.7: Opening lines from Sana's PCAP I (retained in PCAP II)

3	**RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH**
4	Youth are the future and pedigree of a country's economy, not only as consumers but also
5	as providers and workers, without them it is arduous to mold and develop the economy. Present

Sana stated simply, "That [pedigree] looks ... better ... It looks more Academic ... It looks really good, I think." In this excerpt, indicating how her drafting and editing practices were bound up with other writtenness-oriented labour, she also accepted Hasan's suggestion in Line 4, replacing '***the*** country's economy' with '***a*** country's economy.' Sana valued the change, recognising it provided a reference to countries in general rather than only Afghanistan, which was her previous meaning.

Sana made another stylistic change in line 12 (see Figure 6.8), changing the repetitive and common term (her words) 'according to' to '***in the words of***' (line 12, Figure 6.10) in her final draft to vary her language and sound more academic.

Figure 6.8: Second Paragraph First Draft

9	World Population Prospects study provides that Afghanistan is a young country with 31
10	million youth, 40 percent of which is between the ages of 15 – 24 years old[i]. This generation ha
11	the capability to build a brighter future for Afghanistan. However, the youth unemployment rat
12	has raised to its highest 20.80%. According to the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Nasrin
13	Oryakhil, the unemployment rate for the youth is above the national unemployment rate – 10%.
14	18 % is the unemployment rate for young men and 19 % for young women.[ii]

Figure 6.9: Second Paragraph Hasan's Suggestions

9	World Population Prospects study provides that Afghanistan is a young country with 31
10	million youth, 40 percent of which is between the ages of 15 – 24 years old.[i]. This generation has
11	the capability to build a brighter future for Afghanistan. However, the youth unemployment rate
12	has raised to its highest 20.80%. According to the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Nasrin
13	Oryakhil, the unemployment rate for the youth is above the national unemployment rate which is
14	– 10%. The current unemployment rate is 18% and 19% for the young men and women of
15	Afghanistan, respectively18 % is the unemployment rate for young men and 19 % for young
16	women.[ii].

Figures 6.9 and 6.10 show the evolution of this paragraph, including some of Hasan's smooth read suggestions, e.g., *'which is'* instead of a dash (line 13) and a topical theme in line 14 (Figure 6.9) that she chose to ignore; deciding to (see lines 14-15, Figure 6.10) add *'to be specific'* in line 14 to her original final sentence as her own smooth read/cohesive addition instead.

Figure 6.10: Second Paragraph Final draft

9	The World Population Prospects study provides that Afghanistan is a young country with
10	31 million youth, 40 percent of which is between the ages of 15 – 24 years old (United Nation ,
11	2017). This generation has the capability to engender a brighter future for Afghanistan. However,
12	the youth unemployment rate has risen to its zenith. In the words of the Minister of Labor and
13	Social Affairs, Nasrin Oryakhil, the unemployment rate for the youth is above the national
14	unemployment rate – 10%. To be specific, 18 % is the unemployment rate for young men and 19
15	% for young women (Afghanistan Times, 2016)

Sana accepted other suggestions from Hasan that seemed oriented to the smooth read. For example, she accepted *'during the years of'* rather than *'in',* and the topical theme, '*Also another sources [sic] indicates'* (lines 38 & 41, Figure 6.11) as a way to link to her next idea. Sana also spotted the subject-verb agreement error (*sources*) that the broker included in line 41, as in her PCAP final drafts, where the phrase *"another source indicates"* is used.

Figure 6.11: More Changes Accepted

38	major problems for youth. The latest World Bank rReports provides that during the years ofin
39	2013 and– 2014, one in three youth aged between 14 – 24 were unemployed (World
40	Bank,2017)[1]. The youth unemployment rate has now reached to 40% (Youth Employment
41	Project, 2016)[2]. Also, another sources indicates that T there has been a 15% increase in the

Sana seemed to accept many of Hasan's lexical/syntactical changes. As shown in Figure 6.13, Hasan changed Sana's original clause, *'youth join terrorist groups,'* which does not follow style-guide suggestions for parallel structure on either side of a conjunction like 'or' to a noun group, *'youth's allegiance to …'*.

Figure 6.12: Sana's Non-parallel Construction

80	for the youth to turn to criminal undertakings (Daily outlook Afghanistan, 2015) and thus, give
81	rise to the social crimes or youth join terrorist groups.

Figure 6.13: Hasan's Suggestion

84	is more prospective for the youth to turn to criminal undertakings (Daily outlook Afghanistan,
85	2015) and thus, give rise to the social crimes ~~and~~or youth's allegiance to~~join~~ terrorist groups.

She also accepted Hasan's lexical substitution, *'pursuing'* for *'taking'* (line 49) and *'studying'* (line 50), which Sana felt, "it's [pursuing] more, yes, high level." She also felt Hasan's '*reports published by the ministry'*, "would be better," than her original *'report of the ministry'*. For his suggestion of *'unemployment'* rather than *joblessness* in line 56, where Hasan also commented in a text box (one of the few that were in English) that unemployment would be better, Sana seemed to agree.

Also, while Sana's own work on stylistics indexed her senses of writtenness and the hidden labour through which it comes about, some of this work did lead to what might be considered odder linguistic choices. For example, line 5 of Figure 6.6. shows a change of from the economy being "difficult to build," without youth input, to it being "arduous to mold," (line 5, Figure 6.7) which Sana felt was "more academic, more good." She also felt the same about the change from youth unemployment being "raised to its highest (line 12 in Figures 6.8 & 6.9) to "risen to its zenith" in line 12, Figure 6.10.

Figure 6.14: Some of Hasan's Lexis Suggestions

49   Presently, 184,674 students are ~~taking~~ pursuing their undergraduate and master degrees in public

50   universities and an additional 139,663 students are ~~studying~~ pursuing their undergraduate and

51   master degrees in private universities (Afghanistan Paper, 2016).[iii] However, there are only

52   25,000 free positions in the government. According to the reports published by ~~of the~~ Ministry

53   of Labor and Social Affairs, among 12 million eligible workers only 7 million of them are able to

54   secure a job. Besides, ~~t~~There are hundreds of young workers who wait in the streets of Kabul

55   ~~alone~~ for days and weeks to be able to get a jobs ~~from~~ for which they get paid ~~not~~ more than 5,000

56   AFN. This growing ~~joblessness~~ of unemployment has resulted in the nonstop waves of

57   migration. Afghanistan got the third position in the world (Afghanistan Outlook, 2016). The

These examples might be considered less successful stylistic changes. Drawing on Richard's (1976) categorisation of a person's knowledge words, arguably Sana's choice, ***"arduous to mold"*** is perhaps an odd collocation, while 'zenith' indicates a conceptual meaning of the highest point something will ever reach, rather than a variable highest point which it seems Sana intended. This is also similar to the use of percolate in her overview, although this instance was not discussed in talk-around-texts.

Lastly, while Sana accepted many of Hasan's writtenness-oriented suggestions, she ignored those provided by DZ on her PCAP I. In Figure 6.15, the squiggly-line-plus-question-mark comment followed by "Connection? Unclear", indexed what seems to be a smooth read issue for DZ. During talk-around-texts, Sana recalled talking to DZ about this comment, adding that she should have put "because ... and make it more clear." However, this was not corrected in her final draft, and DZ did not re-comment on it (see Chapter 7 for more on DZ's different foci in different drafts).

Figure 6.15: "Connection? Unclear"
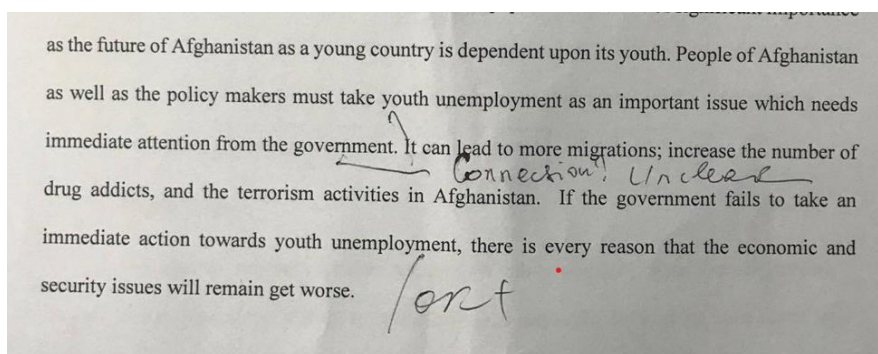
She also ignored the two corrections made on her sub-overview.
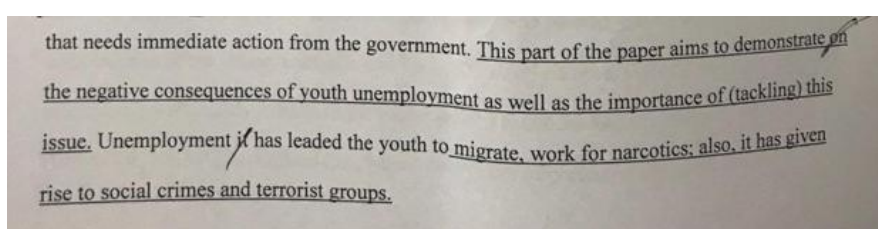
As noted, Sana was somewhat deflated by the B grade she received despite the amount of work she had put into PCAP I. This seemed to affect the amount of work she was prepared to do for PCAP II.

6.2.2.4   Work on PCAP II

Sana did put in some work, both content and writtenness-wise. She completely rewrote the theoretical framework using 'institutional theory' from chapter three of Kraft and Furlong (2013) and deleted the hypotheses. These changes resulted in functional/structuring additions that arguably added to the expositoriness and smooth read. For example, reworking the theoretical framework seemed to enable Sana to end it with a metatext thesis or 'move three-type' assertion (see Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.16: Sana's Move Three-type Element Following her New Theoretical

Framework

99	consequences over the decision making, while hurting some and helping the other. <mark>Using the</mark>
100	<mark>institutional theory this paper will focus on the institutional authority of the Ministry of labour and</mark>
101	<mark>social affairs and suggest rules and policies that will help tackle the youth unemployment</mark>
102	<mark>challenges.</mark>

This element meant that everything Sana included before her method section resembled and seemed to perform the function of a CARS-type introduction. While this was not explicitly discussed in talk-around-texts, Sana's work on creating and recreating the introductory elements of her paper indexed her relatively well-honed senses of writtenness and her practices around trying to produce it independent of feedback from DZ.

Other non-DZ feedback-inspired changes that seemed to index her own sense of writtenness included rewriting the PCAP I headings and subheadings. In PCAP II, she replaced Roya's generic, guidelines-generated headings with more descriptive ones, thereby taking on more macro and/or hyper-theme-like functions. For example:

3	**RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE SCOPE OF RESEARCH**
4	Youth are the future and pedigree of a country's economy, not only as consumers but also
5	as providers and workers, without them it is arduous to mold and develop the economy. Present

Became

3   UNEMPLOYMENT; A POLICY PROBLEM FACING YOUTH

4   Youth are the future and pedigree of a country's economy, not only as consumers but also

5   as providers and workers, without them it is arduous to mold and develop the economy. Present

And

32   POLICY RELEVANCE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE

33   Work is the central part of most aspects of our lives. It not only enables us to endure but also

Became

31   *CONSEQUENCES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT – LITERATURE (EVIDENCE) REVIEW*

32   Work is the central part of most aspects of our lives. It not only enables us to endure but also

This second new heading emphasised in PCAP II not only that this part was her literature review but also the centrality of the consequences of youth unemployment to her argument that this was an issue that needed to be addressed. This idea was, in fact, picked up later in her PCAP II under the heading *"**II. Policy Actions reconsidering the unemployment consequences and the empirical data**"* (line 15, Figure 6.17), which also included the sub-sections "1. Education and Training,' in line 15 and 'Challenge 3' in line 19 that picked up ideas alluded to in the (deleted) hypotheses in her PCAP I (see Figure 5.38). Although this was not discussed in talk-around-texts, Sana arguably tried to make the logic of the relationship between the consequences and logical action 'jump out' in a way that her hypothesis in PCAP I (see Figure 5.38) did not.

Figure 6.17: Sana's PCAP II Headings

```
1    A.  Empirical Data and Presentation
2
3         Youth Unemployment in Afghanistan since 2000;
4         Youth Unemployment rate by gender;
5         Youth Unemployment in comparison with adult unemployment
6         Youth Unemployment rate of Afghanistan in Asia and World;
7    Conclusion of first part:
8
9    II. Policy Actions reconsidering the unemployment consequences and the empirical data.
10
11   A.  Reasons behind youth unemployment
12
13   B.  Possible Areas of Action
14
15        1.  Education and training;
16
17                  Challenge 2: Foreigners in public and private sectors
18
19                  Challenge 3:  Corruption and Nepotism in recruitment process.
20
21                  Challenge 4: Lack of positions (jobs) in the market.
```

Figure 6.17 above shows the other headings Sana added to PCAP II to accommodate the elements in the guidelines (see 20-26, Figure 5.33). While the headings in lines 1 and 7 are guidelines generated, those that follow are more descriptive, with subheadings, including those in the recommended policy actions from line 9 onward.

6.2.3 Tamim

In HIS399, Tamim also engaged in practices constitutive of the hidden labour of writtenness, including drafting and editing and seeking language literacy brokering from

DC and Qudrat, a friend, who he explained was often engaged in this role in his friend group due to his language and writing proficiency. In talk-around-texts, Tamim mentioned that while he ordinarily would spend three to four days writing a paper, in HIS399, he worked for around three weeks. This was due firstly to his perception that DC would have high expectations and, secondly, his interest in the topic inspired by DC's representation of Afghan history. This amount of work was one reason he sought out Qudrat, explaining.

> T: But it's [the paper] important because ... If it was for other professor, I would do it [editing] myself in Two to three days, I will write the paper and submit it [and not] worry about that [but] since it was for DC, I know he was a good professor.

This clearly suggests Tamim upscaled his practices based on his understanding of who DC was.

6.2.3.1 From Writer-Based to Reader-Based Prose

Tamim shared four drafts with me, beginning with an initial draft sent on 7/11 in an email with the following message.

> I have attached some of the points I have written for my paper that I am only able to understand and read. I don't know if you are able to read. I hope it helps you.

This initial draft (Figure 6.18) began with (lines 1-17, omitted here) a cut-and-paste of lines 36-49 of DC's emailed instructions (see Figure 5.1), which Tamim seemed to use as a reminder to, 'infer' whether Abdurhaman Khan's reasons for preferring alliance with the British could also apply to Dost Mohammad Khan. What followed (lines 19-43, Figure 6.18) reads as a writer-based 'think-aloud' text of ideas and points to include in an essay without any consideration of writtenness.

The subsequent drafts included a first draft introduction, a fuller yet incomplete second draft, and his final draft. Analyses of these drafts revealed the trajectories of some ideas in the initial draft (highlighted in yellow) and other writer-based 'reminders' (highlighted in blue) towards becoming part of Tamim's final draft, more reader-based or writtenness-infused prose. The examples of these trajectories below are largely limited to Tamim's first two introductory paragraphs, firstly due to space constraints, and secondly, as Tamim seemed to attach importance to these paragraphs, referring several times to his writtenness-oriented work on them with both DC and Qudrat and thirdly, as discussed in Chapter 7 the introductory parts in all the participants' essays seemed to affect DC's reception practices.

Figure 6.18: Tamim's Initial Draft

19	Our common enemy and our common intreserst (it both benefit abdurahaman khan and
20	the British India , our people don't like you and we don't like each other, the better
21	understanding of he spent time in india and acess to sea problem, internal problem,
22	Russia was the elphent example, the treaty is made to be broken and geoplotics,
23	access to sea chose between a bear and loin. Geopolitics interest, better understanding
24	from Russia. What an afghan leader be like, domestically he has had no other choice
25	but to chose, Russia desire was always conquer great Britain and Russia but afghans
26	had an understanding from Russia, as history is always about surviving evidence about
27	past not the past itself. The smartness of both abdurahman khan and dost mohammad
28	khan to chose alliance with the loin rather than bear could be a complleing reason I
29	would say to chose alliance with Russia. Treatry is made to be broken the story of
30	elephant….. squeeze and what abdurhaman states that he is not like his ancestor he
31	used their experice and make its move and the fact that he used their help and fooled
32	the Russians say something that the Russians were very abusive and
33	Although emir dost mohammd didn't left any heritage to its son and people.
34	Afghanistan a country located in the heart of Asia and strategically important …… has
35	always been victim of two of its powerful neignobor or in the other words great super
36	powers of the region the up north Russia and the down south british India, victim of
37	these two rivals and in middle has been always used as buffer state between these two
38	rivals, throught this the country could not reamin nueteral it had to take side or alliance
39	with one of the super powers in the region, this paper is in response to essay question
40	of???????? As history is not about past but the surviving evidence about past, there is
41	no such a clear text or evidence to why did emir dost mohammad khan chose alliance
42	british not with Russia. However his grandson amir abdurahaman khan chose alliance
43	as he is a every move he makes but the..
44	Domestic
45	
46	The great game

6.2.3.2   First Paragraph

Lines 34-38 in the initial draft (Figure 6.18) regarding Afghanistan's location and strategic importance are reused and successively modified in the opening paragraphs (orientation) of all Tamim's subsequent drafts, including the final (see lines 1-3, Figure 6.19, lines 1-2, Figure 6.20, & lines 9-10, Figure 6.21)

Figure 6.19: Introduction Draft, First Paragraph

1	Afghanistan a land lock country located in the heart of Asia, historically, has always been a
2	strategically important place but at the same time, one of the most dangerous geopolitics sights in
3	the world with furious neighbors surrounding it. The country was invaded by many empires and
4	super powers throughout the history…... Moreover, in the 19th century, it was used as buffer state
5	between its up north Russia and down south British India super power and expansionist
6	neighbors where it became a major victim of this great game. A reinter state until today

Figure 6.20: Second draft, First Paragraph

1	Afghanistan has been historically an important strategic place but at the same time, one of the
2	most dangerous geopolitical sites in the world with dangerous neighbors surrounding it. The
3	country was invaded by many empires and super powers throughout history. It is both its
4	geography, that gives the country the strategic importance but also most of its troubles (P. 214,
5	Poullada)... Moreover, in the 19th century, it was used as buffer state between Russia, to its north,
6	and British India, to its south. Between these superpower and expansionist neighbors,
7	Afghanistan became a major victim of the Great Game.

In the introduction draft (Figure 6.19), lines 1-3 reuse the ideas of Afghanistan's location and strategic importance mentioned in line 34 of the initial draft, adding also the idea of it being a "***dangerous geopolitics sight [sic] with furious neighbours.***" This idea seems to have picked up the reminders (in blue in lines 23 and 24) ***'geoplotics [sic]'*** and

'geopolitics interest,' which seemed to reference ideas DC repeatedly stressed this in class and highlighted in his syllabus (cf Prior, 2006).

Figure 6.21: Final Draft, First Paragraph

9	Afghanistan has been historically an important strategic place while also serving as one
10	of the most dangerous geopolitical sites in the world with hostile neighbors surrounding it. The
11	country was invaded by many empires and super powers throughout history. It is its geography
12	that gives the country a strategic importance and most of its troubles (P. 214, Poullada).
13	Moreover, in the 19th century, it was used as a buffer state between Russia, to its north, and
14	British India, to its south. Between these super power and expansionist neighbors, Afghanistan
15	became a major victim of the Great Game.

In the next two drafts (Figures 6.20 & 6.21), Tamim omitted the idea of Afghanistan being … *in the heart of Asia* (line 1 Figure 6.19, line 34, Figure 6.18) and redrafted as *'a strategically important place'* (Figure 6.20) as *'an important strategic place'* (Figure 6.21) and changed a *''dangerous geopolitics sight'* (6.20) to the grammatically more accurate phrase *"dangerous geopolitical site"* (6.21) also correcting the lexical confusible (James, 1998) sight/site. The following sentence in Figure 6.19 (lines 3-4) takes the idea of Afghanistan being a victim (lines 35-36, Figure 6.18), clarifying that it has been invaded many times. This idea is retained in subsequent drafts (line 3, Figure 6.20 and line 11, Figure 6.21), although an extra sentence follows this (lines 4-5, Figure 6.20), regarding the effects Afghanistan's geography (slightly polished in the final draft – see lines 11-12, Figure 6.21). There is little change in the following sentence (lines 4-6) in the first draft, which picks up and adds to the idea of Afghanistan being a *'buffer state'*

between Russia and British India from line 37 of the initial draft (6.18). The word victim (lines 35-36, Figure 6.18), also appears in the noun group, **'... *victim of the great game,'*** line 4, Figure, 6.19, line 5, Figure 6.20, & line 15, Figure 6.21), which also seems to pick up the blue reminder**, *"the great game,"*** in line 46 of the initial draft (Figure 6.18).

These changes clearly seem to transform writer-based ideas into a more reader-based introductory paragraph, attending to the expository and smooth-read ideologies. A few other changes seem orchestrated by linguistic conflation ideology sensibilities. For example, ***"furious neighbours"*** (line 3, Figure 6.19), became ***"dangerous neighbours"*** (line 2, Figure 6.20) and finally the seemingly more collocative ***hostile neighbours*** (line 10, Figure 6.21).

6.2.3.3   The Second Paragraph

The second paragraphs in all subsequent drafts develop ideas 'mixed' into the initial draft (Figure 6.18) in lines 26-28, 31-32, and 39-42, all of which referred to two points DC referred to often. Firstly, despite the lack of surviving evidence from Dost-Mohammad, his decisions can be inferred based on Abdurahman's actions and the similarity of their situations. Secondly, history is best analysed based on original accounts, such as Abdurahman's memoir. The metatext ***"This paper will ..."*** in lines 39-40 of the initial draft is reformed into ***"This paper is in response to,"*** and opens the second paragraph in all drafts and is followed by a paraphrase of the essay question (lines 9-10, Figure 6.22, 8-9, Figure 6.23 & lines 16-17, Figure 6.24). The following lines in each draft then refer to the lack of evidence from Dost-Mohammad's ideas (lines 26-27 & 40-41 Figure 6.18) and the use of surviving evidence ideas (lines 26 & 40 Figure 6.18) in

the initial draft (see lines 10-15, Figure 6.22, lines 9-16, Figure 6.23, & lines 17-22, Figure

6.24).

Figure 6.22: Second Paragraph in the Introduction Draft

9	This paper is in response to the question, why did the emir Dôst-Muhammad choose alliance
10	with Britain rather than with Russia after the First Anglo-Afghan War, in 1842? However,
11	history is not about the past but the surviving evidence from the past. Although emir Dost
12	Muhammad did not left any writing heritage to its sons and successors but in this essay I am
13	assessing the policy of its grandson emir Abdurrahman khan who also chose alliance with the
14	british but not Russia, however he received aid and ammunition from Russian to get into thrown
15	but still chose to alliance with British. As he is known the iron emir of Afghanistan who was a
16	very experienced, brave and canny politician, he clearly states in his book that he used from the
17	experience of its predeccors and has always made a calculated move basesd on his predecessors
18	experience. So It is believed that emir Abdurrahman khan's policies and thinking's resembles to
19	his grandfather emir dost Mohammad where both of them alliance with the Russian .

Figure 6.23: Third Draft Second Paragraph

8	This paper is in response to the question, why did the emir Dôst-Muhammad choose alliance
9	with Britain rather than with Russia after the First Anglo-Afghan War, in 1842? However,
10	history is not only about the past but about the surviving evidence from the past and its effects
11	upon the present. Although the emir Dost Muhammad did not leave any written heritage to his
12	sons and successors, unlike his grandson, nevertheless, in this essay, I will critically assess Dost
13	Mohammad's policy through the lens of the writings of his grandson Emir Abdurrahman Khan.
14	In uncannily similar situation, Abdurrahman also chose alliance with the British but not the
15	Russians in 1880, even though he had received aid and ammunition from the Russians to push
16	the British out of Afghanistan. Known the iron Emir of Afghanistan, he was a very experienced,
17	brave, cruel and canny statesman. He, unlike other rulers of this country used from the
18	experience of his predecessors and had always made a calculated decisions based on his in-depth
19	understanding of the Afghan political paradigm where the supreme interest of Afghanistan lied
20	between the two great powers.

Figure 6.24: Final Draft, Second Paragraph

16	This paper is in response to the question, why did the emir Dôst-Muhammad choose
17	alliance with Britain rather than with Russia after the First Anglo-Afghan War, in 1842? It is
18	critical to understand that history is not only about the past, but also about the surviving evidence
19	from the past and its effects upon the present. Although, Emir Dost Muhammad did not leave
20	any written heritage to his sons and successors, unlike his grandson, nevertheless, in this essay, I
21	will critically assess Dost Mohammad Khan's policy through the lens of the writings of his
22	grandson, Emir Abdurrahman Khan. In an uncannily similar situation, Abdurrahman also chose
23	alliance with the British, but not with the Russians in 1880 despite the fact that he had received
24	aid and ammunition from the Russians to push the British out of Afghanistan. Known the Iron

25	Emir of Afghanistan, he was a very experienced, brave, cruel and a canny statesman. He, unlike
26	other rulers of this country, used from the experience of his predecessors and made calculated
27	decisions based on his in-depth understanding of the Afghan political paradigm where the
28	supreme interest of Afghanistan lied between the two great powers. However, in this paper, I
29	discussed three compelling reasons as to why Emir Dost Mohammad formed an alliance with the
30	British. First, Afghanistan and the British had a common interest and enemy: Russia. Second,
31	both were for the unification of Afghanistan as an independent state with clear boundaries. And
32	third, British's friendly policy and Russia's hostile policy toward Islamic countries.
33	Afghanistan and British India had a common interest and a common enemy during the
34	Great Game of the Anglo-Russian rivalries in the 19th century in the Central Asia. India was one

The idea in lines 30-32 in the initial draft (Figure 6.18) about Abdurrahman Khan fooling the Russians seems reused in the subsequent drafts where Tamim describes him as a *'canny politician'* (line 16, Figure 6.22), which is changed to *'canny statesman'* in the second and final drafts (lines 17 and 25, respectively). The following sentence (lines

15-18, Figure 6.22, lines 16-20, Figure 6.23, and lines 25-28, Figure 6.24) develops the idea in lines 30-31 in the initial draft (6.18), which mentions Abdurahman using the experiences of predecessors to inform his decisions.

An addition to the final draft was Tamim's thesis/macro-theme in lines 28-32 (Figure 6.24). This also previewed arguments comprised of several ideas from the initial draft, which became initial assertions in his argument paragraphs in the final draft. The first argument in line 30, Figure 6.24 (see also the initial assertion in lines 33-34), seems formed from lines 19-20 of the initial draft (6.18). His third argument in line 32 (6.24) seems to have emerged from the 'blue' reminder to *"say something that the Russians were very abusive,"* in line 32 of the initial draft (6.18). The second argument about the common desire for a unified Afghanistan does not seem to appear in the initial work other than perhaps the mutual benefit referred to in lines 19-20, or the blue reminder *'domestic'* in line 44 (Figure 6.18).

Beyond this weaving of ideas into reader-based text, Tamim's writtenness work on the second paragraph also involved language literacy brokering with DC and Qudrat. Tamim recalled DC's input in his line, *'in this essay I am assessing the policy of its grandson emir Abdurrahman Khan'* (lines 12-13, Figure 6.22)

T: ... he helped me that ... I will write this through the lens of his son's writing ... So, he somehow changed it like a paraphrasing, you know, these things through the lens of his sons. He [DC] helped me.

This language help appeared in the second and final drafts where Tamim writes he *'will critically assess Dost Mohammad Khan's policy through the lens of the*

writings of his grandson, Emir Abdurrahman Khan,' (lines 12-13, Figure 6.23, and lines 20-22, Figure 6.24).

Tamim was also happy to discuss several other examples of language literacy brokering or "polishing" (Tamim's word) with Qudrat. One example was the word *'paradigm'* and the clause complex in which it appeared, "... *based on his in-depth understanding of the Afghan political paradigm where the supreme interest of Afghanistan lied between the two great powers,"* (lines 27-28, Figure 6.24).

This was an addition to the sentence ending in line 18 of the first draft, which itself seemed to have developed from lines 30-31 in the initial draft (Figure 6.18). Tamim explained this work:

> T: Qudrat ... did [paradigm] I was saying political affairs and stuff. Then he changed it was a sentence, a wrong sentence. But he said paradigm is a good word but I don't know if it if it has the same. Meaning or ... [but] I trust Qudrat

Here, Tamim expressed his faith in Qudrat, using the word even though he was not sure whether it retained the same meaning and discussed how the whole sentence evolved during his work with Qudrat.

> T: he also mentioned that unlike his predecessor ... he wrote it ... he helped me [with] in-depth understanding ... I found ... supreme interest ... but the language was polished [by Qudrat]".

Another example was work on an idea not in the initial writer-based draft, but which appeared in the fuller draft in lines 61-63 below.

61 strong and independent Afghanistan. ==Third, as they gain conrol of more teratory they could tax==
62 ==more subject and territories and that would lead Afghanistan's self sufficiency and better==
63 ==economic development, as during the reign of Emir Dost Mohammad he almost gain control of==
64 ==all Afghnistan and had raised the revenue from 2.5 to 7 million rupees(barfeild).==

In the final draft this sentence had been divided into three sentences and appeared in the following way:

71 regional powers from invading Afghan territories. ==Third, exercising effective internal control==
72 ==and influence over territory would translate into imposing taxes over subjects and territories==
73 ==which would lead to higher domestic revenue. These factors would ultimately lead to having a==
74 ==self-sufficient and economically independent Afghanistan. It was during the time of Emir Dost==
75 ==Mohammad when he almost gained control of all of Afghanistan and had boosted the revenue==
76 ==from 2.5 to 7 million rupees (Barfield, P. 127).==

Tamim explained it was, "Polished by Qudrat. It was my idea, everything. You know more gaining more taxes. It was in the Barfield … He polished it we polished together, but we went through this together, you know, in terms of understanding the clarity of language."

During our discussion of his work with Qudrat, Tamim took pains to emphasise that, as with 'supreme interest' above, he had done some polishing himself. The change from 'canny politician' in the first draft of his introduction to 'canny statesman' in the subsequent draft was an intertextual change based on his reading.

T: … I changed it to statesman because he was not a politician because someone who was heading a state I did myself, yes (laughs a lot)

His laughing here was connected to his comment just prior to this that, due to his work with Qudrat, it seemed "everything was Qudrat."

6.2.4 Sheba

As seen in Chapter 5, Sheba conveyed a relatively well-honed sense of writtenness in talk-around-texts and could describe her paper and its trajectory well. While Tamim suggested the labour invested in the HIS399 paper was uncommon for him, Sheba recounted a more regular, systematic set of practices for the kind of essay-based-on-course content that DC set. This involved reading up a few weeks before the due date, note-taking, drafting, and editing. Her initial "focus is always on ideas ... what the professor wants," although she would limit ideas to those she could understand and develop based on her reading. She added that at this stage "my vocabulary, it's not important for me at all," which seemed to suggest perhaps the kinds of writer-based work Sana and Tamim had done. While Sheba did not share any writer-based artefacts from her early work, she sent me a relatively well-developed first draft on 16/11 and her final draft on 22/11. As discussed below, the analysis of her drafts revealed changes that seemed aimed at creating essayist expositoriness by reordering ideas and adding macro/hyper theme elements, as well as reformulating some phrases and clauses into more complex noun groups.

6.2.4.1   Expositoriness and Reordering: Writer-Based to Reader-Based

As with Tamim, Sheba changed her introductory paragraphs in ways that seemed aimed at increasing the expositoriness of her paper. Sheba's first draft began by referring to the importance of India to the British, an idea DC emphasised in class (line 7, Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.25: First Paragraph, First Draft

5	Why did Dost Muhammad Khan choose alliance with the British rather than Russia after the
6	First Anglo-Afghan war, in 1842?
7	India was an important trade center for the British. Therefore, the British would want to
8	protect India from the influence of other states especially Russia. Russia was expanding into
9	Central Asian states to take control of their rich oases. India therefore felt a threat of Russian's
10	expansion to India. British was a strong naval power, indeed it was the first to enter India
11	through sea. Russian expansion into Central Asian states was through land. Therefore, any
12	military confrontation between Russia and India would be through land.

In the final draft, however, Sheba began with a rhetorical question regarding Dost-Mohammad's choice, which is directly receivable from the macro theme title (and essay prompt). She then directly addressed this question by introducing and defining the Great Game (lines 19-20, Figure 6.26). She then reused the idea of 'the importance of India to the British' (lines 21-22, Figure 6.26) as a cause for Britain's involvement in this game, explaining:

S: I thought it would be important to first write the uuh the central Asian uhh the a

rive .. rivalry on central Asia first that's why .. I moved it [the sentence about India].

Sheba then added that she felt the "background information" regarding the Great Game would help the reader understand "the arguments in this paper would be about Russia and British." Her rationale for moving the sentence on India (line 7, Figure 6.25) to (lines 21-22, Figure 6.26) and preceding it with some contextualising background does seem valid. Using India as the opening theme, as in her first draft, arguably would require

a reader to retrieve some geographical and historical knowledge to connect this theme with the macro theme in the essay's title. However, clarifying first that Britain and Russia were the protagonists of the Great Game seems to index Sheba's sense of the essayist literacy practices of engineering reader-based prose by providing what a reader who is unfamiliar with the topic might need to know to be able to understand the arguments (her word) that she would make in the paper.

Figure 6.26: First Paragraph, Final Draft

16	Why did Dost Muhammad Khan choose alliance with the British rather than Russia after the
17	First Anglo-Afghan war, in 1842?
18	Why Amir Dost Muhammad Khan would have to choose alliance with British or Russia?
19	This was because of the Great Game, the power competition between two emerging powers,
20	Russia and Great Britain over the future of Central Asia in the 19th century. Russia was
21	expanding into Central Asian states to take control of their rich oases. India then was an
22	important trade center of the British. The British in India perceived the expansion of Russia into
23	Central Asia as threat to its influence over the region especially India. One of the reasons of this
24	Russophobe of the British was as a result of Turkmanchai Treaty between Russia and Iran, under
25	which the northwest territories of Iran went to Russian control, and Iran was compelled to break
26	alliance with the British. According to this alliance of the British with Iran, the British had
27	guaranteed to protect its territorial integrity. The Turkmanchai treaty would allow Russia become
28	closer to Afghanistan which was a route to India. British certainly would not allow Russian
29	penetration to Afghanistan. Afghanistan was therefore turned to Buffer State between Russia and
30	British on its two sides.

Sheba also developed and reordered ideas in the second paragraph of her first draft. The metatext sentence in lines 16-18 (Figure 6.27), which seemed to operate as a

thesis in the first draft, was moved, in a slightly modified form, to the beginning of the second paragraph in the final draft (lines 30-31, Figure 6.28).

Figure 6.27: Second Paragraph, First Draft

13   The courses of events, described below, as a result of the 'Great Game' between Russia

14   and the British before 1842 led Dost Muhammad Khan choose British alliance when he started

15   his second reign. Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had observed British were then a regional

16   hegemon and he could not resist it. This paper also present arguments presented by Amir Abdur

17   Rahman, the grandson of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan which reflect the reasons of Dost

18   Muhammad's choice of alliance with the British.

Figure 6.28: Second Paragraph, Final Draft

31   This paper presents arguments by Amir Abdur Rahman, the grandson of Amir Dost Muhammad

32   Khan which reflects the reasons of Dost Muhammad's choice of alliance with the British. The

33   arguments of Amir Abdur Rahman are important to analyze as he had also chosen alliance with

34   the British after the second Anglo-Afghan War. The courses of events, described in this paper, as

35   a result of the 'Great Game' between Russia and the British before 1842 led Amir Dost

36   Muhammad realize the British were then emerging a regional hegemon and he could not resist it.

In the final draft, this sentence is followed by another sentence (lines 32-33, Figure 6.28) emphasising the importance of Abdurrahman's memoirs (cf Tamim and Prior, 2006). Sheba accounted for this:

S: (long pause as she reads) … yeah so I thought here it would be important … the professor that he had emphasized again on Abdurrahman, so I thought it would be important first here in the introduction … the first line that this paper would present argument by Abdurrahman so I think the first line it uhh it is vvery important to be very clear on it … the focus [of the paper]

Sheba's use of 'important' three times here suggests that perhaps, her rationale for reordering was, like Tamim's, down to DC's emphasis on using Abdurrahman's memoir (cf. Prior, 2006). However, her comment suggests her own sense that making this idea prominent would establish its macro theme effect.

A further edit to the second paragraph linked the ideas in the first two sentences in the first draft (lines 7-16 Figure 6.27) and placed them after the emphasised 'Abdurahman's arguments' focus of the paper. Moving her claim that Dost-Mohammad chose the British because he sensed they were stronger (which also previewed some of her support) to the end of this paragraph indexes her sense of essayist ways of promoting ideas the writer wants a reader to notice, i.e., at the beginnings or endings of textual elements like sentences and paragraphs.

6.2.4.2 Expositoriness: Iterative Hyper Themes

Sheba's work on promoting elements such as hyper-themes also extended to her supporting paragraphs.

Figure 6.29: Supporting Paragraph 1, First Draft

19	Amir Abdur Rahman believed the British had no intentions of invading Persia. The
20	British only wanted to keep its influence over India. But Russia intended to invade India and
21	therefore, wanted a route to India through Afghanistan. Hence, Russia made an attempt to help
22	Persia retake Herat. When Amir Dost Muhammad Khan was in power, British felt a threat of
23	Russia coming closer to India. Russia had then become a paramount power in Iran. She had
24	started making agreements with the Shah of Iran to help him retake Herat which had been a true

Figure 6.30: Supporting Paragraph 1, Final Draft

44	Amir Abdur Rahman believed the British had no intentions of invading Persia. The British only
45	wanted to keep its influence over India. But Russia intended to invade India and therefore,
46	wanted a route to India through Afghanistan. Likewise, Amir Dost Muhammad had similar
47	perceptions on Russian and the British intentions. This was because of Amir Dost Muhammad's
48	observation of Russia's attempt of helping Persia retake Herat. Russia had then become a

While the opening sentence in each draft (lines 19-21, Figure 6.29 and lines 44-26, Figure 6.30) remained the same, in the second draft, the sentence beginning "likewise" (line 46) was added and seemed to pivot the text to the supporting evidence. This style of establishing one of Abdurrahman's reasons for siding with the British, pivoting to a contention that Dost-Mohammad did the same for a similar reason, and supporting this with evidence from the events during his reign, was repeated in every supporting paragraph.

In some instances, this also involved manipulating the theme/rheme positions of original hyper-themes in her first draft. As shown in line 44 (Figure 6.31) in her first draft, the focus is on Britain's naval pre-eminence situation. In the final submission, this was changed to the iterative focus on an argument from Abdurrahman (see Figure 6.32), again followed by a pivot to a similar situation for Dost-Mohammad.

Figure 6.31: Hyper Theme, Body Paragraph 2, First Draft

28	Secondly, as the British had command over water Amir Abdur Rahman believed the
29	British wanted to stop the influence of Iran over Herat as result to hinder the influence of Russi

Figure 6.32: Hyper Theme, Body Paragraph 2, First Draft

56	Amir Abdur Rahman had observed the British had emerged as a strong regional power because
57	of its command over water. Similarly, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had witnessed British as a
58	strong naval power in the case of Herat. As explained in the preceding paragraph, the British

Sheba was clear about her rationale for beginning each argument paragraph in this way.

S: I thought it would be very important first to give ... the ideas of Abdurrahman and then link it to Dost-Mohammad ... I think it was mostly the emphasis of the paper and what professor said in class ... and that's how I would structure my arguments ...

Overall, Sheba included five body paragraphs (factors – Coffin, 2006) that were structured in this way. While this iterative structuring may be considered a little

simplistic or repetitive, it does attend to elements of the expository and smooth-read ideologies. While she attributed this focus to DC's emphasis in class, her drafting displayed her labour and sense of writtenness and linguistic resources for materialising this emphasis on paper. In fact, she felt that the clarity and focus she created through these iterative first hyper-themes was one of the reasons she had removed her thesis.

S: because I thought when I'm saying arguments here of course they will be an argument in paragraph (laughs) no need to write a thesis.

In fact, she felt line 31 in the final draft (Figure 6.28) was "enough [of a thesis]."

6.2.4.3   Polishing

Sheba's drafting and editing also extended to developing linguistic complexity in her paper, creating relatively complex noun groups in some cases. For example, the rheme in the highlighted sentence below includes a seven-word noun group in with the head noun 'threat.'

7   India was an important trade center for the British. Therefore, the British would want to

8   protect India from the influence of other states especially Russia. Russia was expanding into

9   Central Asian states to take control of their rich oases. India therefore felt **a threat of Russian's**

10   **expansion to India**. British was a strong naval power, indeed it was the first to enter India

In her final draft, this was rewritten as a generally well-formed (there is an article omission before 'threat') 17-word nominal group with the nominalization expansion (which seems to create lexical cohesion to the verb 'was expanding' in the Rheme of the previous sentence – see line 20-21 below) as the head noun followed by a series of post-modifiers.

18   Why Amir Dost Muhammad Khan would have to choose alliance with British or Russia?

19   This was because of the Great Game, the power competition between two emerging powers,

20   Russia and Great Britain over the future of Central Asia in the 19th century. Russia was

21   expanding into Central Asian states to take control of their rich oases. India then was an

22   important trade center of the British. The British in India perceived **the expansion of Russia**

23   **into Central Asia as threat to its influence over the region especially India.** One of the

Regarding this change, Sheba initially reported feeling the focus on 'India' (line 9 first draft Figure 6.25) as the perceiver of the threat was wrong, and so she changed it to the British in India (line 22 second draft, 6.26). She added

> S: I think perceived would be more … proper here … [and] I just thought 'felt' would not be a proper word to use here … it would would sound better … I use the word perceived very much (laughs).

Interestingly, she did not feel that the revised noun group was particularly academic, stating, in fact, that one reason for the more extended noun group was "to complete the word limit (laughs) … here I uh one of the most famous most focus of the students is to complete the uh words limit." However, her seeming ease with manipulating language into well-formed noun groups without necessarily realising the rhetorical 'upgrade' effect echoed several findings from my 2010 study. Firstly, some students like Sheba, Sana, and Geeti, who had significant EMI schooling, tended to have more automaticity when producing and playing with schooled literacies (McKinney, 2003). Secondly, as these kinds of literacies were their primary literacy in English, they appeared to be the norm rather than sounding overly academic or conveying an academic identity (cf Ivanic, 1998; Lillis, 2001).

Sheba's manipulation of language was not, however, faultless. In line 24 (Figure 6.26), she included the misformation 'Russophobe.' This word, as with several other ideas, had been taken from DC's timeline (Figure 6.33). It seems, though, that despite her proficiency in English, Sheba appropriated this word without noting that in the timeline, it appears as a noun modifier in the 'note-form' nominal group 'rise of "Russophobe" sentiments' (Figure 6.33).

Figure 6.33: Russophobe Sentiment in DC's Timeline

> **1834 :** In London, rise of "Russophobe" sentiment; David Urquhart publishes *England, France, Russia and Turkey*, warning against Russian moves against India through

During the talk-around-texts, she articulated this as "Russophobia" and explained her familiarity with 'phobia', as a suffix. She recalled, however, when writing she could not "figure out I should write Russophobia or Russophobe." She planned to check with a friend before submitting her paper but ran out of time. Overall, Sheba's drafting and editing practices index the hidden labour of writtenness, and in her estimation, the work paid off.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter's exploration of Research Objective Two generally supports the assumption in Chapter 2 that all the students drew on at least some writtenness-oriented practices. However, many did not draw on the full range of practices they seemed to have in their repertoires.

Observing students' literacy events, as with lecturers in class (see Chapter 5) was not possible. However, the text-oriented ethnographic approach meant that the appearance of linguistic practices in the texts that can be seen to contribute to, or detract from, writtenness, based on the analytical techniques discussed in Chapters Two and Four, could be more insightfully considered in light of other ethnographic data and explored in talk-around-texts. Talk-around texts sought to trace decisions made regarding not only how and why these aspects were incorporated in the texts, but also some of the assignment-oriented yellow practices (see Figure 2.1), around the text production. What also emerged in these sessions, however, with many students, was illuminating data regarding the decisions around the amount of time and effort some students were willing to invest in both the yellow and green writtenness-oriented practices (see Figure 2.1). These data allowed for more nuanced consideration of how the texts were shaped by and indexical of (cf. Lillis, 2008) at least the local contact zones in which they appeared, and to some extent the culture of AUAF itself. The data presented contribute to understandings of the relatively hidden worlds of text production and the practices students engage in, or are willing and able to engage in, to complete their assignments in this kind of context.

6.3.1 Aspects of writtenness in the texts

The text analysis showed that several texts exhibited aspects of writtenness that appeared to be already inculcated, such as beginning, middle, and end generic structures (e.g., Sheba, Tamim, Parnian, Lena, Sana). In HIS399, this use of generic essay structuring was predictable given the assignment type, and Sheba and Tamim's papers

mimicked well-documented schematic structures. Nazia and Banin felt they had also used these structures, but due, perhaps, to less engagement in some of the yellow and green writtenness-oriented practices, the structure was less visible. With Parnian and Lena, the use of essayist structures stemmed from a lack of engagement in the yellow practices of understanding or even attempting to understand how to do the PCAP (cf. Tuck, 2017). Indeed, the PCAP and the assignments in SOC310-001 and 002 were new genres for the students in those classes. However, some of their papers demonstrated attempts to mimic what was perceived as expected in terms of genre, based on their own practices of working with models and/or metagenres. However, only Geeti and Obaid seemed to be able to engage more fully in the literacy practice of genre appropriation in this way. However, neither Geeti nor Obaid engaged as fully as green writtenness-oriented practices.

Many texts included expected generic elements, such as hyper-themes (Sheba, Tamim, Parnian, Lena, Sana, Obaid, Nazia, Banin). However, in the cases of Nazia and Banin, such elements were somewhat buried. Many papers exhibited generally well-handled thematic progression and relatively complex noun group structures. All papers, however, included some surface errors, although in many cases these were treatable errors (Sheba, Tamim, Parnian, Lena, Sana, Obaid, Geeti, Behsud, Jamshid). In some cases, the surface error was more untreatable (Nazia, Banin, Roya, and Lemar), and papers with more untreatable error also seemed to have discourse-level issues with relational coherence, sequential coherence, redundancy, and/or the Gricean Maxims or manner and relation.

Simple text analysis might suggest that these textualized elements of less/more marked writtenness were the result of differences in language proficiency. However, the ethnographic and talk-around-texts data provided much more nuanced understandings of ranges in markedness.

6.3.2 Contextual influences on the writtenness of the papers

While proficiency was a factor to some extent, for Roya and, in particular, Lemar the complexity of the task, working with an unfamiliar occluded genre, that was part of an occluded genre chain, including an unfamiliar type of primary text (a TOR), and unfamiliar subject matter (the project to be evaluated), seemed to place additional strain on their attentional resources for text production. This arguably led them to devote more available resources to formulation (planning/translation) at the expense of resources for monitoring (see Revesz, Kourtali, & Mazgutova, 2017; Johnson, 2023; Manchon, Roca de Larios, & Murphy, 2009; Kormos, 2011; Schoonen, Snellings, Stevenson, & van Gelderen, 2009). As noted in Chapter Five, providing the students with more scaffolding to learn how to produce such a complex occluded text may have freed up more attentional resources.

Additionally, in the cases of Nazia and Banin, the amount of local and more global error appeared to be a combination of last-minute, essentially first-draft submissions. Arguably, their lack of automatic recourse to the essayist literacy practice of writing for the know-nothing reader was compounded by a lack of editing, and it seems, a failure to work towards understanding the guidelines. While this supports previous findings around NNES students not engaging in the kinds of editing and revision NES seem to (see Kietlinska, 2006; Silva, 1993; Sommers, 1980), this study suggests it was not a lack of

capacity, but perhaps more so some of the practices associated with the affective aspects of writtenness, such as procrastination and feelings in the pink boxes in Figure 2.1. In Banin's case, a broader sense of perhaps peripheral normativity (Blommaert, 2007) at AUAF, meaning she did not have to try too hard to create less marked writtenness.

Many of these aspects regarding the amount of time and effort some participants devoted to their assignments and writing came to light in the talk-around-texts. Despite perhaps a naïve belief, in a normative sense, that students generally engage extensively in the hidden labour of writtenness and struggle to produce the least marked writtenness possible in any high-stakes writing situation, several factors affected the students' willingness and sometimes their capacity to engage in this work. Beyond task complexity, many students based their choices on perceived lecturer characteristics and previous experiences with writing and investing time in writtenness either in previous classes with specific lecturers (Geeti, Parnian, Roya, Jamshid); previous experiences of being cut some slack (Banin); or other affective aspects such as diminished respect for the lecturer (Obaid); and perceptions of the value attached to writing in individual contact zones (see also Chapter 7).

For many, rather than an opportunity to develop capacities with aspects of writtenness, the assignments were a task to be completed with sometimes the least amount of effort possible. In the case of complex or novel genre assignment types (DK, DW, and DZ) a relatively common assignment-oriented coping strategy practice was seeking, and in some cases sharing (e.g., Geeti), models of either previous similar assignments or copies of the assignment at hand, written by more proficient peers (cf.

Leki, 1995; McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012). None of the participants viewed this seeking of models as untoward collusion (cf. Barrett & Cox, 2005; see also Hadizadeh & Kanik regarding guilt). Indeed, in Parnian's case, she freely admitted doing so and actually copying from the model she acquired. However, this decision again seemed based on her belief (apparently born out) that DZ would not invest too much time in reading what she wrote. Also, indexing perhaps a sense of the importance of writtenness, if not a desire to engage in the hidden labour of producing it themselves, virtually all the students asked me to review and comment on their work before submission. Some students did engage in more of the hidden labour of their own accord, including seeking and using verbal or written feedback and input from lecturers (Obaid, Tamim, Sana, Lena). Sana and Tamim also engaged in writtenness-oriented literacy brokering with selected peers. These students' papers indexed some of this hidden labour, and as discussed in Chapter 7, they tended to receive higher grades.

Based on both the textual and ethnographic data, however, as shown in Chapter 6, only Sana, Tamim, and Sheba seemed to exemplify the ideal of a student devoting significant time and energy to the hidden labour of writtenness entailed in the green practices that might be expected of all students writing for assessment in their degree programs.

These findings contribute some more concrete substance and exemplification of the findings in previous AL research, which has focused on students' practices of production (e.g., Boz, 2006; Ivanic, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Petric, 2007; Tuck, 2018). It is also hoped that Chapter 6 will again reinforce the value of text-oriented ethnography as an AL research method, as well as the value of distinguishing between assignment- and

writtenness-oriented practices to explore students' academic literacy practices in relatively autonomous education contact zones in EMIAUA contexts.

The findings, again, seem to complicate the normative ideals of LAS in an EMIAUA. The development of sophisticated control of writtenness, arguably, would rely on students readily embracing opportunities to engage extensively in using and developing their writtenness-oriented literacy practices. In this study, at times, decisions to do so were based on a cost-benefit analysis and were deployed more pragmatically in response to perceived conditions within relatively autonomous contact zones (cf. Altınmakas & Bayyurt, 2019; Sasaki, Mizuoto, & Murakami, 2018). Indeed, as Chapter 7 illustrates, some of these gambles on avoiding the hidden labour of writtenness paid off in terms of grades, if not in terms of extending practice repertoires.

7. Lecturers' Practices of Reception

This chapter addresses the third research question, the practices the lecturers drew on to read and assess these student assignments. While all the lecturers were asked to record think-aloud recordings while grading to provide insight into their practices, only one did, although DC did allow me to record him while he was grading. As with the previous two chapters, the reception practices were varied and often idiosyncratic. Also, while only DC explicitly and repeatedly referred to writtenness during his grading, as shown below, both DK and DZ were influenced by aspects of writtenness.

7.1 DC: "I've done my job as a history teacher, but …"

DC refused to do a think-aloud recording. He was, however, happy for me to record his comments while reading/grading my participants' papers. Much of what he said during this 80-minute session concerned the marked writtenness he saw in the papers. DC began with my paper. Perhaps indicative of what was to come, his first comment, 29 seconds into my paper, regarded an error (line 38, below).

36   extending their control over the Punjab since the early 19th century. They eventually took Peshawar,

37   considered "indisputably part of the Pashtun homeland" (Wahab & Youngerman, 2007, p. 81) in 1834

38   whilst Dôst-Muhammad's was busied with Shah Shuja's attempt to reclaim his throne in the same year.

DC: You don't mean this apostrophe 's', do you?

After I responded "typos," he referred positively to the content before another comment at 00:01:44 on the text highlighted below, which seemed to indicate his sense of correctness and the smooth read.

DC: ... I'm just quibbling, the southeast, the British, initially by, probably better French and increasingly by Russian expansionism...

44   imperial power in Persia by the 1830s. To the south east the British, long concerned about invasion of

45   India through Afghan lands, initially by France and increasingly by Russia's expansionism into Persia,

His next two comments, "I think it's excellent" (at 00:02:27) and "... you really mastered all this [content]" (at 00:03:35), referred to the overall paper. However, he returned to formal grammar at 00:04:09, referring to line 80 below.

77   Muhammad continued to hedge, linking any formal agreement to the question of Peshawar. By November

78   1837, however, the Persians, goaded by the Russian ambassador, Count Simonich, had laid siege to

79   Herat. To further excite mounting British distress, a Russian agent, Witkiwicz, arrived in Kabul in

80   December 1837. Although initially poorly received, he was able to intimate Russian willingness to assist

DC: So, you're not a stickler for ah split infinitives.

We discussed the extent to which this rule is based on Latin grammar and is routinely broken, but his next comment highlighted a spelling mistake. This meant four of his comments on my paper focused (embarrassingly) on surface-level interruptions to his smooth read. His reading of my paper, which included several discussions of the content and sources I used, including my embarrassed defence of the errors being due to lack of final proofreading, took just over 14 minutes. His final comment was, "OK, ... It's excellent ... the typos [are] what you would have seen yourself ... after a night's rest." While this seemed a diplomatic way to assuage my embarrassment, it also indexed

perhaps his expectations of the amount of work students should put into materialising writtenness.

7.1.2 Sheba

His focus on writtenness continued when he began reading/assessing/and grading Sheba's paper at 00:15:43 on the recording. His comments included:

00:16:32: OK, there's mistakes in usage, but she seems to be getting the point.
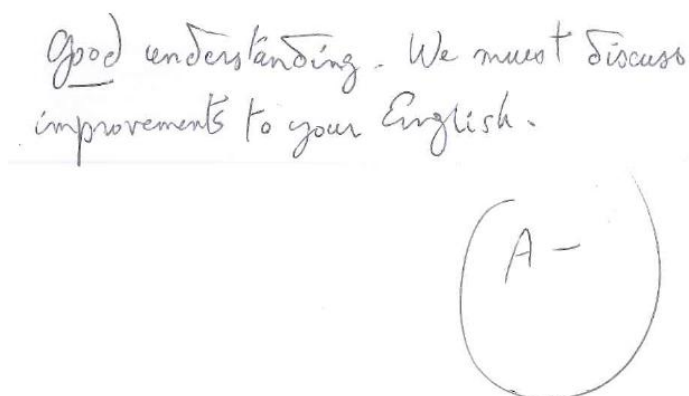
00:17:54: she's getting the point [but] there's a lot to retrieve from the bad English."

00:18:24: There's a famous line by some American senator and to another American senator bumbling in his rhetoric and the first senator said, allow me to extricate the senator from his thoughts … That's [what] I'm reminded of this here."

00:20:23 (just over six minutes into her paper): All together good. So, how do we grade these people? If this were an English-speaking student, I would give a B. But considering that this is somebody bumbling their way through … English as a second language, I'll give it an A- minus. Does that seem fair enough?

At this point, I re-stressed my researcher stance and declined to opine. Also, to encourage him to record think-aloud data, which he flat refused to do, I left the room. After returning a few minutes later, I found him writing feedback and correcting surface-level treatable errors in Sheba's paper. Without looking up, he stated, "Once you get into the English correction…" before commenting further on the difficulties of learning English. Following an interruption at 00:36:41, he returned to correcting Sheba's paper at 00:39:13, adding, "It takes a long time to correct English, doesn't it." He continued

correcting up to 00:41:15, providing 69 corrections/comments in total. These included inserting missing articles or other minor additions, striking through erroneous forms, providing correct forms, and a few larger reformulations and corrections or additions to content. He finished with the overall comment (cf. Stern & Solomon, 2002) below.

Good understanding. We must discuss improvements to your English.

(A –)

Sheba, however, in contrast to DC's rather negative appraisal of her writing, was pleased with the corrective feedback seeing it as supportive.

S: … like he has has written he said the we must discuss improvements to your English I I was very happy when he give me such a a comment … it would be the first time a native speaker would want me to would focus on improving my English.

Although, as far as I'm aware, this discussion did not take place, Sheba clearly appreciated the proposed support. She explained further that previously she had felt very "proud" of her writing largely due to the lack of comments of feedback on her work. While DC's comments made her feel she "needed a lot of improvement," she felt she could learn from the comments and would be happy to receive similar supportive feedback in the future.

7.1.3 Nazia

At 00:41:50, DC moved on to Nazia's paper; his first comment occurred at 00:43:13.

DC: Nazia is really messed up in her English.

I asked whether this prevented meaning from coming through; DC replied, "Oh, I can understand it because I know the subject. If I didn't know the subject, I wouldn't be able to understand it." At this point, DC had been making minor corrections to Nazia's paper (see the first line in Nazia's third paragraph in Figure 7.1). He then noticed Nazia's use of what appears to be the historical present tense. Later, in talk-around-texts with Nazia, it became apparent that this was due to her use of DC's timeline, which presented all events in the historical present, often using 'headlinese' (see, for example, Figure 6.33).

N: [the verbs] I'm writing myself is in past, but the ones I've chosen from the … readings because they were in present (laughs). I have written it in present (laughs). I wrote it without thinking about it

Figure 7.1: Some Corrections in Nazia's Third Paragraph

Muhammad Khan's decision to get allied with the British Empire.
To Begin, on 6 January 1842 Akbar Khan, son of Dost Muhammad Khan, allows the British army to evacuate Kabul. However, the evacuation of Kabul was a plan against the British army of 16000 soldiers that resulted into encountering of the withering of fire on their way in Jalalabad that was arranged by the tribesmen on the hills. In response to the action of the tribesmen, on April 1842 the British force in Jalalabad and Kandahar, under the two generals, General Sale and General Nott respectively, stood against these Afghan insurgents. In the same year, in August General Nott and General Pollock both marches towards Kabul, where Akbar Khan, fails to stop the British force and they occupy Kabul in October of 1842 and brings a chaos in the city then, withdraw to India. In April of 1843, the British releases

Arguably, Nazia's lack of editing caused her to overlook these things. DC did not seem to recognise that the historical present was appropriated from his timelines, and after correcting only the first instance, he wrote "observe harmony of tenses in English" in the margin.

As DC proceeded through the paragraph, he stopped to narrate the second sentence, emphasising "resulted into the encountering of the withering of fire" (line 19), before emitting a long sigh.

18   British army to evacuate Kabul. However, the evacuation of Kabul was a plan against the

19   British army of 16000 soldiers that resulted into encountering of the withering of fire on their

20   way in Jalalabad that was arranged by the tribesmen on the hills. In response to the action of

00:44:02: [the content is] accurate, but the English, somebody who didn't know [the content], that would prevent the meaning coming through.

00:44:14: (exasperatedly) I'm just. Oh, just every sentence

00:44:22: Ohhhh!

At 00:44:57, he narrates lines 47-49, adding, "All that is true, but that is very clumsily expressed."

47   interest. If the Russian's plan of vanishing these three states failed, then Russia will try its best

48   to create misunderstanding between Islamic Governments and the British in order to take up

49   arms against the Great Britain (Khan, 1900, p. 466). Moreover, Emir Dost Muhammad was

We then discussed how he felt about such issues, he explained

DC: I'm happy that she understands, grasps the fundamentals of modern Afghan history. What I'm unhappy about is that this paper would never pass muster anywhere.

This comment suggested he felt the bumpier ride (Turner, 2018) he experienced with Nazia's paper might not be tolerated in the contexts he was used to, adding:

DC: I'm going to have to give her B plus. I'm going to slog on to the end, but I'm not going to correct every sentence because it would be just rewriting the paper.
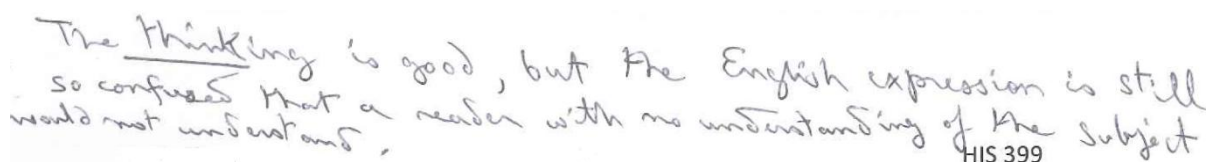
He did not make any corrections beyond the first page, largely because, as indicated by the rewriting comment above, he saw the variations in Nazia's paper as more 'untreatable' (Ferris, 2003) than in Sheba's. He echoed this again when he finished the paper at 00:49:28.

DC: There you go. I just gave up [providing feedback]. There's just too many; the whole paper would have to be rewritten … she understands the class clearly. The problem is the English expression ….

I ask how Nazia's paper compares to Sheba's:

DC: [she] expresses herself better … someone with no knowledge of the historical case [can] make out what she's trying to say, whereas in Nazia's is just case. … a normal English reader would just be put off by the 1st sentence and just drop it.

This comment revealed that, despite the errors in Sheba's paper, DC felt it was reader-based (Flower, 1979) enough to achieve its purpose. His reference to an uninformed reader became part of his overall comment on Nazia's paper.

> The thinking is good, but the English expression is still
> so confused that a reader with no understanding of the subject
> would not understand. HIS 399

Interestingly, Nazia, who had seen multiple corrections on her friends' papers, felt the lack of comments beyond page one of her assignment meant DC had not read the whole paper.

7.1.4 Banin

DC's experience with Nazia's paper seemed to negatively influence his reading of HIS399 student writing; picking up Banin's paper at 00:52:14, he commented:

OK, let's see what this looks like, but I'm I'm bracing myself for this, Banin

00:52:54: Here we go again. Excellent understanding and terrible expression … the worst of the of the three I've seen so far.

00:53.33: (a long loud groan) ummmmmmmmmmmmm.

At 00:53:55, he narrated the following fragment at the end of the second paragraph (lines 22-23), which he marks in the margin with the comment 'Meaning?'

22   Fearfully that Kabul's ruler, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, was falling under the control of the

23   British East India Company's army against Russia.

While he commented that he could understand the idea, it was clear that he found the errors distracting. This narrating comment happened around 20 seconds after his long groan, which suggests the long, loud groan occurred during his reading of the introductory material in which Banin had felt she had made the points she would cover clear.

Figure 7.2: Banin's Introduction

5   Afghanistan as many scholars refers to as the heart of Asia has been victim of many great powers

6   continuing until today. Its strategic location importance has made the country prone to the proxy

7   wars and staging route of different players including Russia, Britain and United States. However,

8   the rebellious people of Afghanistan, 'Ghairat' meaning bravery, being their main character have

9   enabled them to defend their country against the great powers especially leaders such as Dost

10 Muhammad khan, Abdul Rahman Khan and Amanullah Khan known as the great defenders and

11 protectors of their soil. Given that, this paper will discuss briefly the Great Game; the events

12 before 1842 and Dost Mohammad's selections of side and then another particularly answering

13 the important question of why Dost Mohammad Choose the British alliance after 1842. I believe

14 that in this political game where Afghanistan was squeezed among the two superpowers Dost

15 Mohammad was quite clever playing the two powers against each other by securing its own

16 interests. With the great game in place, Afghanistan had the chance to play its cards by directly

17 or indirectly seeking its advantages from the two great powers as it would once ally with one

18 against the other and then vice versa.

The groan suggested otherwise, and the marked writtenness had distracted him from Banin's intended metatext overview (see lines 11-13 in Figure 7.2)

At 00:55:28, DC narrated the following sentence and added:

DC: At this point, you don't even know who is them, who is. I suppose it means that, like most Afghan kings used expanding powers for securing their own interests and defending their land against the great powers.

26 and then Russia to Britain. Amir Dost Mohammad Khan (1793 – 1863) was known as a

27 prominent ruler of Afghanistan during the First Anglo-Afghan War as well as the founder of the

28 Barakzai dynasty who like most Afghan Kings used expanding powers for securing their

29 interests and defending their land against them. He made great efforts in strengthening its

270

Having to suppose, however, seemed to trigger his smooth read and linguistic conflation sensibilities. Repeating comments about uninformed readers again, he stated the sentence "[is] absolutely unclear" for someone without prior knowledge, adding Banin's paper "just falls apart." Arguably, this sentence could be seen as writer-based prose in which the pronoun references were clear to Banin.

At 00:58:10, referring to line 68, he comments, "How do you like that title?" which, in this case, seems both a reference to the language and inaccuracy of 'British Czarism.'

68   **Reasons Dost Muhammad Khan allying back with British czarist**

At 00:59:20, DC emitted another long, low groan. At 01:01:03, he finished and commented, "This is the worst so far in terms of written expression," and went on to narrate the comment below as he wrote it, emphasising the words '**incapable**' and 'careful' (see Figure 7.3)

Figure 7.3: DC's overall comment on Banin's Paper
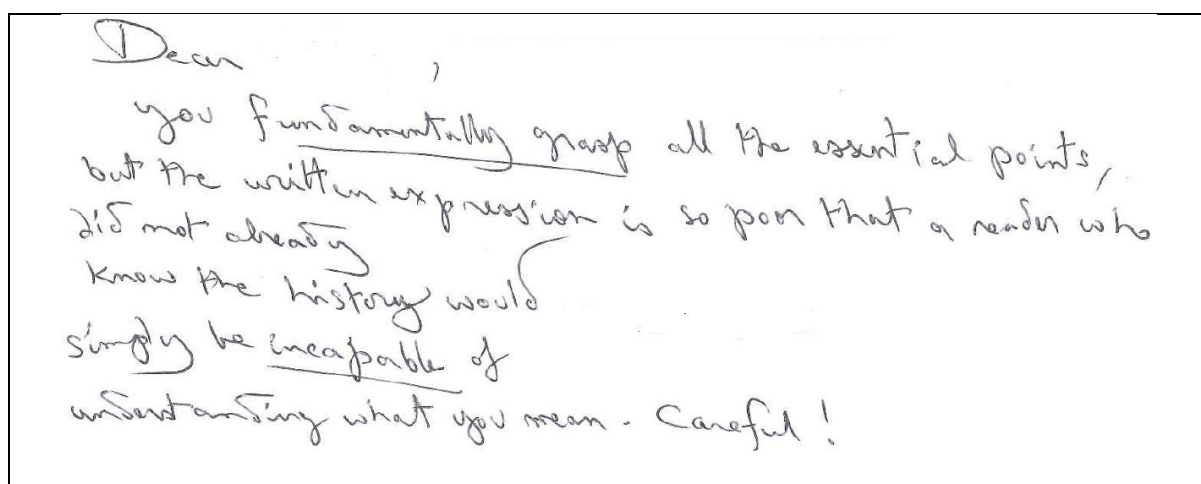
As with Nazia's paper, DC did not provide the amount or kind of corrective feedback to Banin's paper as he did with Sheba's, providing only three minor corrections.

The four other comments he made on a lack of clarity or meaning, such as the "Afghanistan's? His?" comment on her pronoun use in Figure 7.4 (see second yellow highlight in Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.4: "Afghanistan's? His?" Comments on Banin's pronoun use.

the important question of why Dost Mohammad Choose the British alliance after 1842. I believe that in this political game where Afghanistan was squeezed among the two superpowers Dost Mohammad was quite clever playing the two powers against each other by securing its own interests. With the great game in place, Afghanistan had the chance to play its cards by directly

[handwritten annotation: Afghanistan's? or his?]

Regarding his comments, in talk-around-texts, Banin did not seem to find them helpful.

B: What does he mean by the like this feedback that he has given? I'm still confused. What does he really mean until I have to sit with him and ask for like what do you mean by those expressions and which what are the parts that you really emphasize on.

This suggested she understood DC's use of expression in the overall comment in her overall comment in the countable sense to mean individual instances of language use.

B: ... I thought if he could maybe underline to me which expressions ... because I don't know what are those what does he mean first by uh poor expressions (questioning tone) and uh which are those expressions in here uhm

After I suggested that I think he is referring to the expression overall, Banin still argued she would need more clarification of specific issues.

After awarding Banin a 'B' grade, DC gave his appraisal of the three papers he had read so far.

DC: I'm being very nice. These would all be failures if they were in … [a] native English-speaking university.

I enquired why he was being nice.

DC: Because I don't want to discourage them … they've made a tremendous effort in terms of content … I've done my job as a history teacher. They're getting the main points … I'm glad I'm very happy they've done that … they have learned their 19th century Afghan history … they're keenly engaged they're interested but the written expression is terrible

Although, 'being nice' indicates his willingness to re-scale his practices to the context of AUAF, his overall reactions seem to index the well-documented ways some lecturers react to marked writtenness, surface error and writer-based prose in essayist type writing.

7.1.5 Tamim

At 01:09:25, DC starts reading Tamim's paper.

01:09:50: Much better

01:15:35: (after reading the paper through without further comment) Um, this is the best so far [in terms of content and language]

This appraisal seems reflected in DC's overall comment for Tamim's paper.

Figure 7.5: DC's Overall Comment on Tamim's Paper
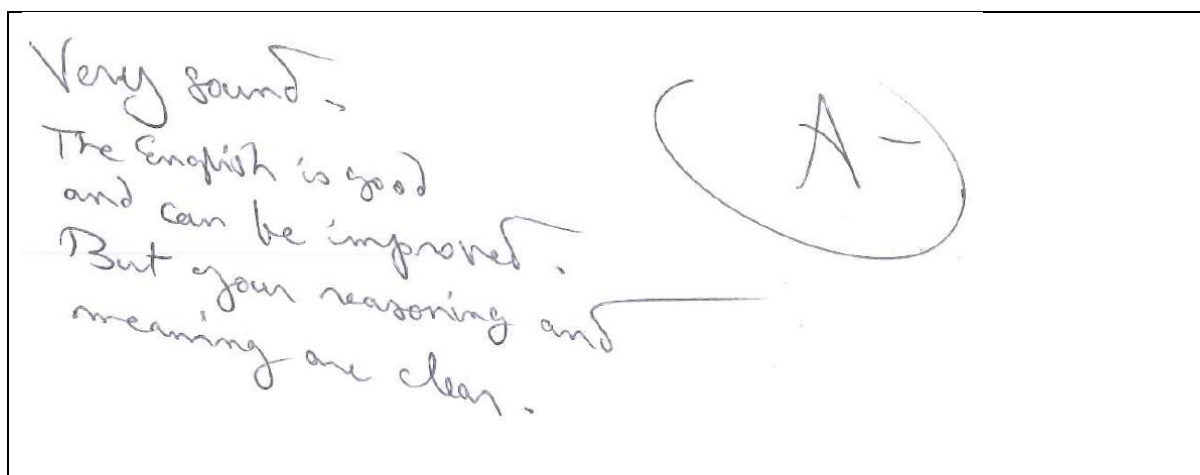
The absence of spoken commentary and the 'reasoning and meaning' being clear comment arguably exemplifies Turner's claim that the ideologies of writtenness are less triggered when material writtenness is present. A caveat here may be that DC had read and literacy-brokered aspects of Tamim's paper previously, which meant, possibly, at times, he was reading some of his own suggestions/edits.

Tamim's paper was not, however, error-free, as is clear from the clause in the overall comment about the English being good but could be improved. Also, despite not verbalising them, DC added some corrections as he read, focusing, as with Sheba's paper, and in contrast to Nazia and Banin's papers, on treatable errors. In a later talk-around-texts, DC commented, "[Tamim has] a good brain, and I wish him very well, and I hope he progresses, and he deserves to be sandpapered." By 'sandpapered', DC meant developing his written English. I added that Tamim was due to graduate, to which DC suggested Tamim had "just about reached the level where he would qualify for a preparatory year," a judgment that seemed based largely on his writing.

7.1.6 The Effect of Less Marked Writtenness

Arguably, the genre conventions, Factorial Explanation in Sheba's case, and Exposition in Tamim's and the creation essayist literacy reader-based prose (Flower, 1979) positively influenced the way DC read their papers. DC described reading Banin's paper as "wading around in molasses ... I'd really like to reach firm ground ... it's exhausting." Regarding a sense of organisation in Tamim and Sheba's work, DC reused the swamp metaphor:

DC: as you walk through the swamp, you feel as though there's some solid ground under the swamp ... you're up to your knees, but at least you can walk on something, whereas with poor [Nazia]

He then clarified this solid ground was "why [Tamim] got an A- despite the awful English."

Indexing the writer-based prose style of Nazia's work, DC added:

DC: There's no logical connection between one statement and another. ... In other words, she writes the way she probably speaks. It's clear that she doesn't understand the [contextual] difference between the spoken word and the written word.

He then seemed to refer lamentingly to the whole class. "I suppose we'll have to teach them ...The written word has to carry the burden of your meaning alone."

In this talk-around-texts, we did agree that Nazia had a thesis on the second page (cf her comment on it being the longest introduction she had written). DC commented, however, at that stage: "You're not interested anymore. The reader [writer] has not invited you into his or her paper," which again indexed his sense of Nazia's lack

of writtenness or reader-based prose. I mentioned Nazia had missed his instruction to write for "an intelligent but uninformed readership" and, therefore, written primarily for him. DC responded, "The poor girl is not literate. There are certain things that we take [for granted]," which for him seemed to mean the essayist literacy practices of creating reader-based prose in an essay-type assignment.

7.1.7 Students needing help

Further indices of the centrality of writtenness for DC emerged a week after grading assignment 1. He had, without my knowledge, asked the registrar to ask me to assist four of his students, including Nazia and Banin, in preparing their submissions for assignment two. This was initially communicated in the email below, which identified Banin and one other student.
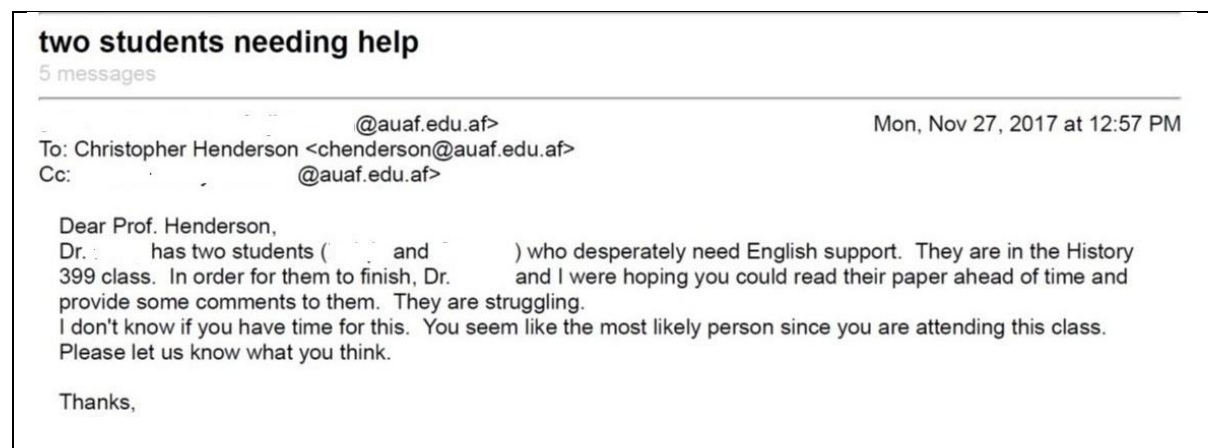
Given my concern about maintaining my ethnographic role, I was hesitant to agree, but I felt some institutional pressure, so I did. Within an hour of my emailed reply, DC had added another student to the original two (see below).

> @auaf.edu.af>   Mon, Nov 27, 2017 at 1:57 PM
> To: Christopher Henderson <chenderson@auaf.edu.af>
> Cc: @auaf.edu.af>
>
> Dear both,
>
> Wonderful that Chris can help
>
> Please add   and make that three rescue operations!
>
> I'm holed up for the rest of today writing labels like mad for the Herât show, but feel free to call or email.
>
> Fondly to both

At 4.28 pm, he added Nazia.

> @auaf.edu.af>   Mon, Nov 27, 2017 at 4:28 PM
> To: @auaf.edu.af>
> Cc: Christopher Henderson <chenderson@auaf.edu.af>
>
> Further basket case :   '. Four in all.
> [Quoted text hidden]

The Registrar's email had described these students as 'desperately needing English support.' DC, however, referred to them subsequently as "rescue operations" and "basket case[s]." These clearly negative, if not derogatory terms, indexed, perhaps frustration he expressed above with the untreatable and discoursal errors (James, 1998) which were beyond the simple corrections he could provide on Sheba and Tamim's papers. Prior to meeting any of the students mentioned above, I asked DC what he wanted me to focus on.

> DC: Oh, focus on everything. Basically, order their thoughts ... maybe teach them the good old thesis antitheses synthesis on the one hand, on the other hand.
>
> C: So, kind of a whole essay level down to parts of the essay down words, grammar, everything.
>
> DC: Everything because ... it's just a jumble of words tumbling out

DC's reference to 'ordering their thoughts' clearly indexes the expository ideology, a logical, accretive, ordered exposition of thought instead of the 'jumble of words tumbling out'. This was also indexed by the "good old thesis-antithesis-synthesis" structure, which was part of how DC had learned the "rules of composition" at a university in France.

Incidentally, only two students identified as needing help visited me, neither of whom was my research participant. The late timing of the offer possibly influenced their decision not to use this service; final exams began on 14/12, and the exact topic of the second paper was not formally established until 12/12.

Overall, DC's comments revealed his deep-seated orientation towards writtenness and its current exclusionary role in higher education (see Turner, 2018).

7.2 DW: "She's probably getting more comments than most of my papers"

DW was the only professor who recorded think-alouds while grading (cf. Tuck, 2017, 2024). The first (08/11) focused on Geeti's paper, as she was the only participant to submit it on time (01/11). The second (22/11) focused on Behsud and Reshad's work, both of whom had submitted late (15 days in Behsud's case). The recordings varied in length and depth of focus. Geeti's think-aloud totalled 00:33:53, with the combined Behsud/Reshad recording totalling 00:22:57. The verbal think-aloud comments included DW's thinking around aspects of the papers, narrations of his written as added, and some metatextual descriptions of his usual grading practices. However, in contrast to DC's writtenness-oriented verbal and written comments, most of DW's were

assignment-oriented. He focused on social science IMRD-oriented elements such as citation and referencing, personal pronoun usage (cf. Andy in Boz, 2006, p. 135), and social science critique of methods, uncited assertions, and unexplicated/unsupported assumptions, all of which seem to be instances of flouting Maxims of quality and quantity related to social science discourse in the Fairclough sense. The few loosely writtenness-oriented comments focused on conciseness, the apparent (to DW) lack of expected elements in expected places, and a few verbalised comments on poor grammar, which translated into a few corrections on Geeti's paper only.

7.2.2 Grading practices

In the think-aloud, Geeti DW described the grading process he used for this assignment.

DW: I'm going to probably do this [grading] in two phases. I'm doing just the preliminary section [first] where I'm looking to whether how well she did in terms of following the directions so I have my my Germanna Community College writing a formal research paper before me and also the the the instructions [from the syllabus] ... Using correct verb tenses, those are things I'm not looking at right now.

Despite having asserted in talk-around-texts that he was anti-rubric (see paint-by-numbers in Chapter 5), as indicated above, he used the Germanna guidelines to check off recommended IMRD sections in Geeti's paper. Later (see below), he also used the guidelines to check for recommended moves/stages within larger sections. DW's approach here suggested an assignment-oriented form of criterion-referenced grading based on the presence/lack of elements. While the comment that he would look at

"correct verb tenses," etc., at a later stage also suggested perhaps an aspect of a writtenness-oriented form of criterion-referenced grading, this did not happen to a significant degree.

During the think-aloud for Behsud/Reshad, DC mentioned that ordinarily, he would look at "the papers all together to kind of get an idea of who does best," which suggests a kind of localised norm-referenced oriented grading practice, also (see Bloxham et al. (2011; Bloxham, 2009). Although 'the best' could be in terms of writtenness in comparison with the broader HE community, the discussion below suggests the best was the one within the class who followed the guidelines and surface conventions of IMRD writing most closely, rather than the one who perhaps combined these elements with less marked writtenness.

7.2.3 DW's Phase 1

7.2.3.1   Geeti

DW's first phase with Geeti's paper, ticking off elements in the guidelines and checking her word count, took 8'30". During this, he commented on aspects of these generic elements, beginning with the title page. He noted her abstract appeared to "be a little bit too long," mentioning that he would check it later. He noted it was not on a separate page, stating, "I expect it doesn't show this in this guide[37], but that's the type of thing I would look for, So I'm noting that down," and added the following comment (**Same**

---

[37] The guidelines, although not explicit about separate pages, did say, "The abstract is the second page of the paper" and "The introduction begins on the third page" (Germanna, 2015, p. 3 & 4).

page As abstract – see Figure 7.6) between the end of the abstract and the beginning of

the introduction.

Figure 7.6: DW's Comment Regarding Geeti's Introduction
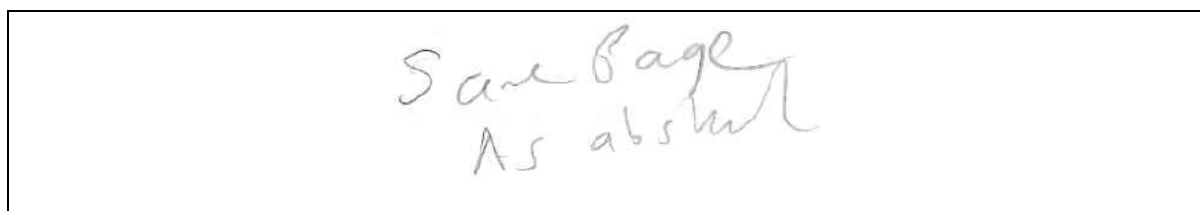
His comment that this would be something he would look for indicated such

aspects would figure in his grading and seemed to index his assignment-oriented

criterion-referenced approach, as did his next written comment at the top of the next

page, *"Should Number pages"* (see top left Figure 7.9 below)

He ticked the introduction and found Geeti's "Research methodology" section.

Noting that her wording differed from the guidelines, he checked for the guidelines'

recommended method sub-sections: Participants, Design, Measures, and Procedures.

He found her 'Results' and Discussion, noting she also had a Conclusion, a section not

detailed in the guidelines. He commented, '*Not Need if the abstract is good'* (see figure

7.7).

Figure 7.7: Feedback on Geeti's Conclusion
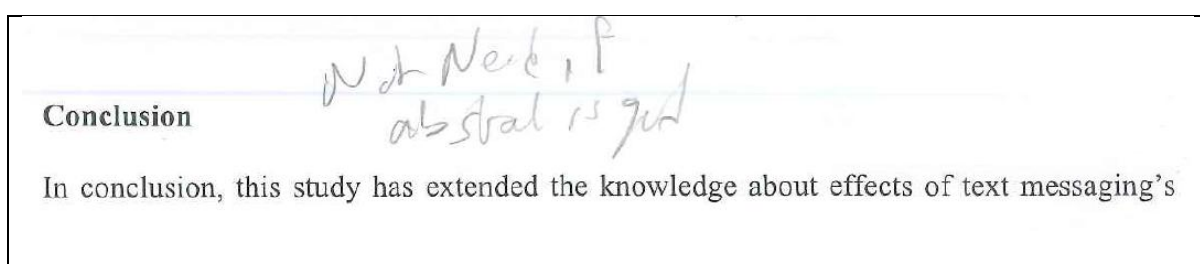
Both comments could be seen as feed-forward, although the first seems a little ambiguous. He then checked the references, noting they were all internet references and adding that although they were likely formatted incorrectly, he would check and added a reminder to himself, ***"Check to see if APA format,"*** a comment that remained on the draft returned to Geeti (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: DW's Reminder to Himself
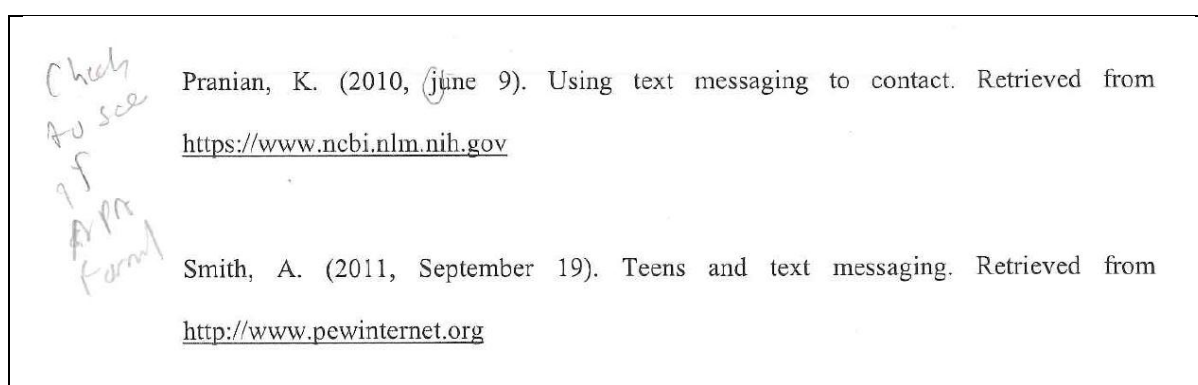
Following this ticking off of elements, he checked Geeti's word count against the 2000-word criterion in the syllabus,[38] commenting, "1670, so it is short, and that's one of the things I'm going to have to consider when I'm giving her grade." Following this, DW paused the recording for an hour.

7.2.3.2   Behsud

DW employed this same first phase process with Behsud's paper but combined it with a norm-referenced-like paper comparison approach, grading his text along with Rashad's. He followed the same guidelines-oriented criterion-checking and word count procedures as before. However, he spent significantly less time on Behsud's paper than

---

[38] DW was the only faculty participant who focused on word lengths or page requirements.

Geeti's and did not seem to notice that his paper's sections varied from the guidelines. Also, he did not comment on variations in subheading terminology as he had with Geeti, nor did he mention that Behsud did not include the guidelines-recommended methods subsections. Despite this, reaffirming his criterion-referenced-type approach, he did comment:

> DW: A lot of the grade is just based on whether they do that [include the elements in the guidelines].

> This focus was reinforced when he moved to Reshad's paper. DW noted the lack

of in-text citations or references, stating, "[this is] a major thing for me ... that means he's going to be lower than Geeti just for that." Comparing this with Behsud's paper, he added, "It looked like Behsud did better on both of those [citation and referencing]," indexing too, a norm-referenced style ranking/grading of the papers that he used later to justify giving Behsud the highest grade.

7.2.4 DW: Phase 2

7.2.4.1   Geeti

DW restarted the recording for Geeti's think-aloud at 00:10:33 and, alluding to his local norm-referenced-type grading practices, noted the difficulty of grading it without recourse to other papers for comparison. Using the Germanna guidelines criteria, he skimmed her abstract, acknowledging she included the detailed purpose and hypothesis indicated on the handout. Then, recalling his "[this] may be a little bit too long" comment above, he states, "... much too long ... about 300 words." He added a written comment (see Figure 7.9) in the right-hand bottom corner of the page: ***"TOO LONG THIS ABOUT 300 Words said [unclear] 100 – 150 words,"*** (this comment,

incidentally, contradicts the guideline indication that the abstracts should be 150-250 words).

Going back to reading, he narrates for the first line in her abstract: "OK, this study …", acknowledging her use of metatext, "… so she remembered not to put I," referring to his in-class instructions. At 00:11:52, he commented, "Some small grammar errors," without elaborating further, although he makes one correction in the fifth sentence of the abstract, striking through 'with' and writing 'of' above it (see yellow highlight below in Figure 7.9).

At 00:12:02, he stated: "So, she spent a long time just talking about text messaging … a whole page talking about text message … Before she gets, it gets to a point where she says this research paper" (see second green highlight in Figure 7.9). This suggested that DW felt the topic focus before the expected metatextual reference to the purpose was excessive and perhaps a genre-specific writtenness issue or a contravention of the Maxim of Quantity.

Reflecting this, he commented in the margin '**NEED TO SHORTEN**." However, while this indexed DW's sense of IMRD abstracts, it did not seem to provide Geeti with any useful feed-forward information regarding how or what to shorten or that it was the excessive information about text messages that was unnecessary.

Figure 7.9: Geeti's Abstract.

Abstract:

This study examined the effects of text messaging on a teenager's life. Communications is necessity in people's daily lives; the progress of technology has eased communications among people. With the raise of technology new methods of communication, such as, phone calls, text messages, social media networks and many other facilities, were introduced. The use of mobile phones has been the most trending one in last decades and from older generations to the younger set; most people admit that life without a mobile phone is difficult. More specifically, most of the younger people are very fond with the text messaging services of mobile phones and the different text messaging packages offered by their service providers. Text messaging is one of the means of communication that most youth use to exchange ideas between one another on a daily basis. The exchange of ideas may happen through exchange of words, symbols, gestures or signs. Text messaging has become a popular yet so controversial form of communication. This research presents findings from a small-scale interview on text messaging from 30 teenagers. Many people rely on cellphones and text messaging services to accomplish their day-to-day life activities. Wherever we go we see that people around us are so engaged with their phones and text at a very rapid speed. For some people with poor social connections and relationships, cellphones and in particular text messaging is extremely beneficial; it creates instant membership in community but along with its advantages there are certain disadvantages of text messaging and it affects a teen's social life. This research paper aims to explore usage of text messaging services and, to find

NEED TO SHOW

of

TUU LONG THIS ABOUT 3'U words Said wel 100-150 wod

At 00:12:02, he stated: "So, she spent a long time just talking about text messaging ... a whole page talking about text message ... Before she gets, it gets to a point."

During talk-around-texts with DW, we discussed what appeared in Geeti's abstract to be three separate purpose statements (see the green-highlighted sentences in Figures 7.9 & 7.10). DW responded to the first of these with, "That's too broad." For the second, he added, "Yeah, it's … much better if she just kept to that," emphasising perhaps it was more focused than the first. For the third, he referred back to the "small-scale interview[s]" method mentioned in the second statement, adding, "Right, yeah, … but it's not a method that would get that [the purpose in the third statement]." These talk-around-text comments seemed to steer the discussion away from a focus on aspects of writtenness, such as repetitiveness or interruptions to the move progression in an abstract, towards a more 'social science critique' of the methods and content. In fact, these kinds of comments were by far the most common in the think-aloud for Geeti and in the written feedback.

At 00:12:30, DW narrated the third of Geeti's purpose-like statements, "[the] impact of text messaging in **teenagers'** lives (first line in Figure 7.10 below) and narrated the comment "too broad …" that he added above it (top centre comment below). He followed this with a critique, "I can't imagine that she's she can do a study on teenagers' lives," which echoed his comments in later talk-around-texts. In the think-aloud, he then narrated his comment, ***"Should Specify what type of study Exploratory"*** (see centre left comment below), which was a reference to his advice in the writing-in-the-social-sciences class.

Figure 7.10: Social Scientist Critique
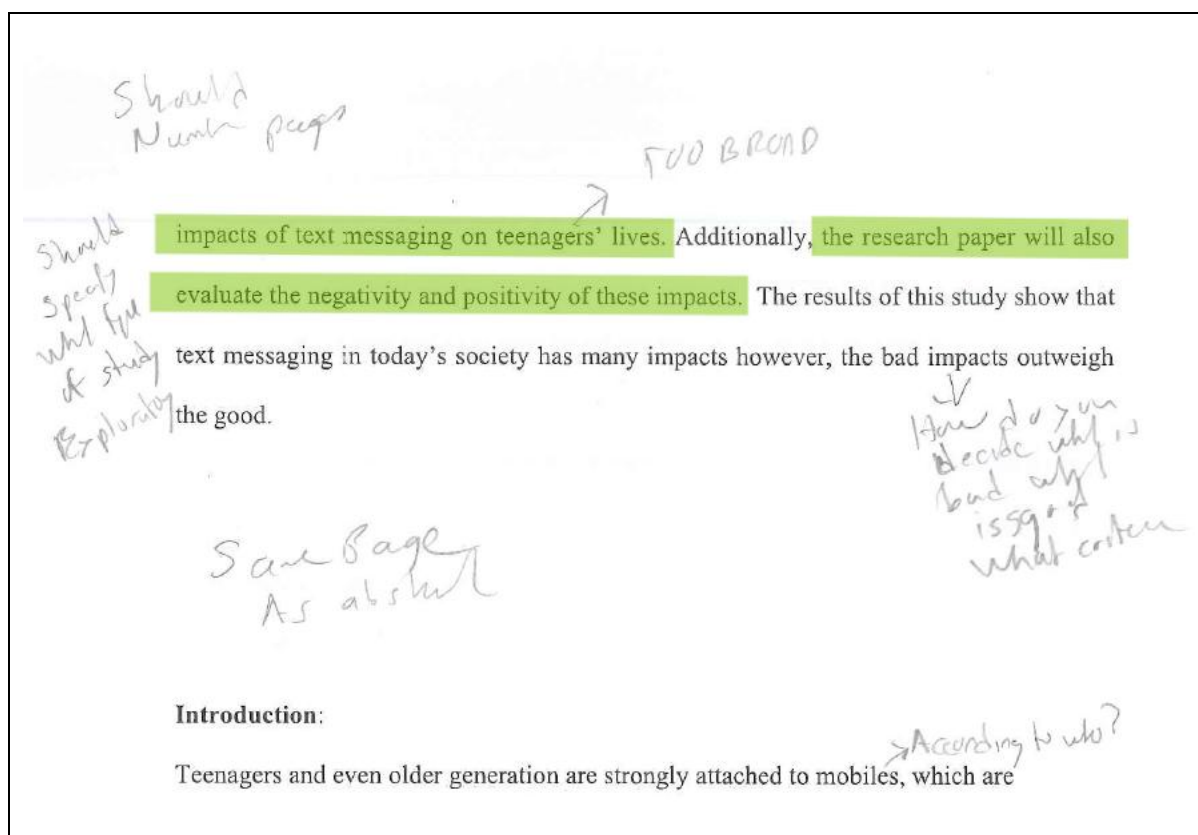
The 'social science critique continued with the narrated comment, "***How do you decide what is bad, what is good, what criteria***?" below, Geeti's assertion that she will demonstrate that the bad impacts of text messaging "***outweigh the good***". Another critique-oriented comment, "***According to who?***" was added above line one of the introduction. This comment is arguably a common way professors indicate that some student assertions must be cited, especially those made in passive clauses and there are several more of these throughout the paper. Overall, in this part of the think-aloud, which took just under four minutes, he assessed Geeti's abstract as "not great," referring back to his 'NEED TO SHORTEN" comment, "... it should be summarising everything ... she doesn't really summarise everything, I can see that."

DW provided several more 'social scientist critique' comments through Geeti's paper, although he did correct a wrong verb tense (see Figure 7.11) while narrating the sentence in which it appears (see below).

Figure 7.11: A verb tense correction

how does text messaging has an impact on a teenager's life and whether those impacts are positive or negative?
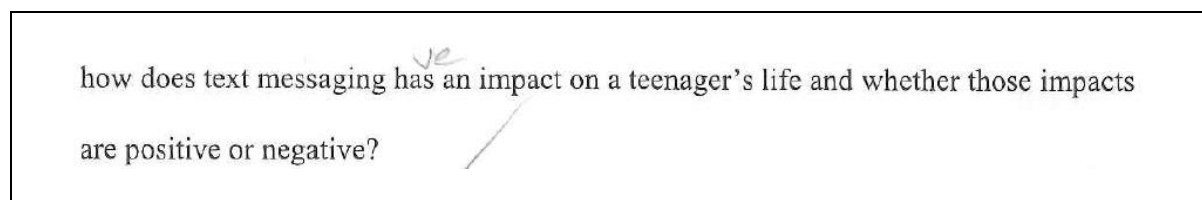
Regarding comments, however, at 00:18:51, DC clarified, "She's probably getting more comments than most of my papers," an observation that was borne out in the analysis of Behsud's think-aloud feedback (see below). At 00:19:09, he continued with his feedback, narrating "***And showed full consent to be part of this research*** ... I'm not sure what showed full consent means." Indicating perhaps an interruption to his smooth read or linguistic conflation sensibilities, he circled the word 'showed' and added a "?" above it (see Figure 7.12).

Reading further, however, he found that consent referred to consent forms and added "OK" as a comment, indicating that he now understood. However, he did not erase the question mark and added a further comment at the end of the paragraph: "Best have blank consent form at the end (00:20:04)." This sequence may index a relatively common reading/grading practice, noting and stopping on odd-sounding ideas/expressions before seeing subsequent clarifying information. Whether this is a writtenness-oriented or critical reader-oriented issue, however, is beyond the scope of the analysis here.

Figure 7.12: A Question Mark

Participants:

Participants of this research included 30 teenagers, aging 16-19 year old. To keep the gender balance and to assure myself of the impacts on all teenagers regardless of their gender, I decided to interview 15 male and 15 female teenagers. All of the participants took part in the research voluntarily and showed full consent to be part of the research. Besides, participants of the research are mainly individuals who use text messaging as their primary means of communications. All the participants were provided with the information sheet about the research and they signed the consent form. They were also assured of their privacy being safe and that the information will only be used for this specific research.

Design:

DW continued the critique of Geeti's results and discussion, noting unclear links between the data and her assertions, the obviousness of some of her results, and her lack of clearly ascribing claims to respondents. DW then finished Geeti's think-aloud with a rather long meta-discursive explanation: "So her paper is now full of things which I've written", clarifying again that it not normal for him "Now it's over 30 minutes of going into this one paper, which is I usually don't take so long on." He decided the paper would be a B+, although adding he might review this when he graded the other papers, which he did, in fact, do.

7.2.4.2   Behsud

In contrast to the four minutes DC spent on Geeti's abstract, as seen in the transcript below, reading Behsud's abstract (Figure 7.14) took just under thirty seconds (see Figure 7.13).

Figure 7.13: Behsud's Abstract - Extract from DW's Think-Aloud

1	[00:00:02-00:00:15 - Meta-discourse]
2	[00:00:16 - Behsud's] Abstract let me read through that …
3	[00:00:20] And not the best grammar in the world …
4	[00:00:29] … So said used qualitative method of finding data … oh methods [seems to refer to guidelines]
5	…OK … Child labor prevention in Afghanistan OK
6	[00:00:43 moves onto introduction, skims and narrates chunks as he goes] … So, looks like according to the
7	Ministry of Labor, 2007 … working street, carpet weaving … state parties … rampant …

He added no written comments to Behsud's abstract and, in fact, made only four comments in total on Behsud's paper. He made no corrections, despite his comment about grammar in line 3 of the transcript above.

In talk-around-texts, DW did critique Behsud's abstract for not telling "me what type of paper you're doing. You know you know, that would have been the better thing." While he felt Behsud's abstract was also not great, he added, "but it's much better than [Geeti's] in terms of just getting to the nuts and bolts of things … At least … he understood more clearly what what was desired … it's so much better [than Geeti's] in terms of just getting the the main main points of what he's doing."

Figure 7.14: Behsud's Abstract

43	Abstract

43   Abstract

44   Despite "child labor" is barred by any human rights law in the world, it is immensely difficult to

45   overcome this concern in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, there are children young as 5 years old

46   and older involved in labor work such as brick kilns, bakeries, weaving carpet, selling toilet

47   tissues, selling gums and plastic bags, mining factories, washing vehicles, farming, collecting

48   litters, begging and so on. In this report, I have used the qualitative methods of finding data.

49   Also, for more information I referred to the research projects conducted by the Afghanistan

50   Independent Human Rights Commission and International Labor Organization researches on

51   child labor. This research paper mainly discusses the situation of child labor in general, the

52   reasons behind their working and its impacts on their situation as a child, and finally suggests

53   possible resolutions and recommendations of the child labor prevention in Afghanistan.

54   *Keywords: Child labor, effects, child works.*

The limited time he spent on Behsud's entire paper (just over five minutes in total – see Figure 7.16) seemed, as DW admitted, far more reflective of DW's usual grading practices. As indicated in the remaining phase 2 think-aloud transcript below, after spending 30 seconds on the abstract, DW, referring occasionally to the guidelines, skim-read/graded the next nine pages in just over five minutes, providing only four comments as he went. The first of these focused on the lack of a hypothesis at the bottom of page one of the introduction, which suggested DW was looking for something detailed in the guidelines (see lines 10-12, Figure 7.16, and the comment below in Figure 7.15).

Figure 7.15: 'So Why No Hypothesis?'

...anistan where these residents severely lack the capacity and knowledge to ...he appropriate requirements for schooling and work. ...so it is widely prevalent in many

So why no hypothesis?
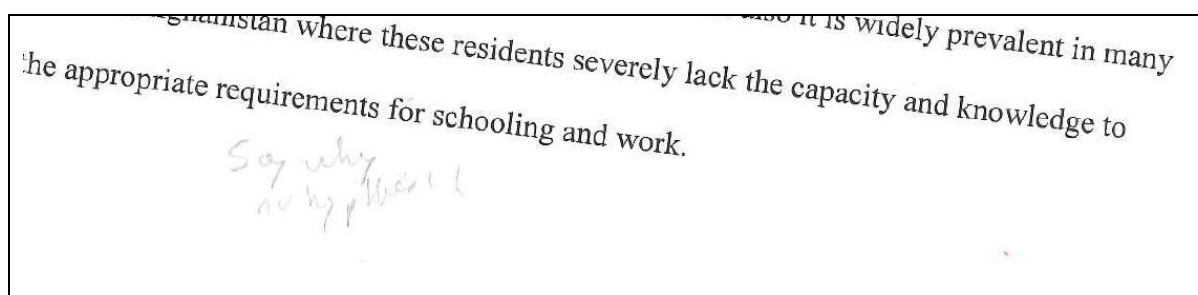
(NB: The skewed orientation is due to a scanning issue)

The other two comments alluded to missed citations, although DW called them references in his comments (see lines 23-24, Figure 7.16)

DW seemed to miss aspects of Behsud's paper that he had commented on in Geeti's. For example, both used personal pronouns in their methods sections, but in Geeti's paper, he commented (00:18:20), "Oh dear, lots of 'I's," and wrote "NOT APA Style" in the margin. He missed the use of 'I' while grading Behsud's paper.

However, he did acknowledge this during talk-around-texts when we discussed Behsud's inclusion of findings in his methods section (see Figure 7.16 below). While he again had not commented on this while grading, in talk-around-texts, he suggested this was

"Not necessarily that bad." He did index, however, his sense of the exposition and smooth read ideologies, adding:

DW: [separating into sections] ... makes it's easier for the reader, so it's so there is an advantage to the reader if you have separated out that way ... you want your reader to understand, you know you want to. It's it might be better the way that [Geeti] did it.

His reference to Geeti's paper here suggested not only his localised norm-referencing grading approach but also that her paper exhibited recognisable generic structuring.

Figure 7.16: Transcript of DW's Think-Aloud for Behsud

6 7	[00:00:43 moves onto introduction, skims and narrates chunks as he goes] ... So, looks like according to the Ministry of Labor, 2007 ... working street, carpet weaving ... state parties ... rampant ...
8 9	[00:01:04] I'm just checking to see if my guide gives me ... It looks like he's followed the guide pretty well so far. Doesn't look too bad
10 11 12	[00:01:12 narrates from the guidelines] ... Purpose of the study ... OKay ...OKay ... OK so now background literature, a little bit not a lot, but let's see if he has a hypothesis. Probably not [adds comment 'why no hypothesis at the bottom of the first page]. I would have preferred him actually say, though I understand why
13 14	[00:01:49 referring to the guidelines] OK background literature. Method where's method? [turns to second page] ... Child labor oh still this more introduction I think.
15 16 17 18	[00:02:05] Just mentioned qualitative methods [unclear what he is referring to as this is noun group not mentioned in the abstract – goes back to skim narrating the second page from list of reasons for child labor provided by Behsud] OK. In most cases ... work is a shame [comments on organization of Behsud's list of reasons for child labour] OK, organized into something, ABCDE ... [turns to page 3] Child labor in Afghanistan again, OK?
19 20	[00:02:25] Current situation [comments on one of Behsud's lexical choices] Yeah, just I wonder about this *"to children's Chagrin."*
21 22	[00:02:45] But still it didn't have much much [plagiarism] on it, so chagrin, and I'm not sure if he understood but it's, you know, I already checked the [Turnitin.com report] background ... background literature ... huhumhum ...
23	[00:03:08] ... should have had a reference here for this the ILO
24	[00:03:14 – adds a comment PUT reference] so we missed one reference ... methods and challenges, OK?
25 26	[3'38] ... let's see background ... OK method OK Participants and design [referring to guidelines] is one of the things ... [goes back to skim narrating] 'I paid 15 street child laborers OK to answer my questions
27	[3'49"] ... car washing ... they do not have oh parents dead ... hmm oh, kind of a sad story ... OK, so
28 29	[4'16" – goes back to skim narrating] Interviews ... types of children ... [comments on Behsud's presentation of information from ILO and refers to issues with reference] ... He doesn't tell this ILO stuff very well
30	[4'39"] ... Yeah, so he did he did references
31	[4'44"] ... But not as well as he should have done
32	[00:04:51 - goes back to narrating] Hmm ... three segments light, heavyweight
33	[00:04:56 - evaluative comment on the subject matter] OK, so kind of a sad study.
34	[00:05:08 goes back to guidelines] Let me see, method, design ... could have been more explicit on the design
35	[00:05:20] ... He's got conclusion ... rather than discussion, but not too bad let's see ...
36	[00:05:34] His citation should have been a little bit better so that's another thing [to grade on] but pretty good paper
37 38	[00:05:47] so I'm writing more citations would have improved ... Well, actually not more citation, citations listed would have improved.

Figure 7.17: Findings in the Methods Section

134	**Methods and Challenges**
135	In this research paper, the data was collected through interview, sample reports and
136	researches. To satisfy my curiosity, I paid 15 street child laborers a small amount of money (50
137	Afghanis each) to sit with me and answer my questions. I interviewed each of them for 20- 25
138	minutes in a corner of the street in the downtown. I chose these 15 children from different
139	districts and from different labor backgrounds. Their labor backgrounds included as car washing
140	labor, carpet weaving, which I also did this job for four years consecutively when I was just eight
141	years old, garbage collectors, vehicle repair workshops, vendors, blacksmiths, child beggars,
142	restaurant workers and bicycle repairer. ==The main findings from my interview were that all of==
143	==these kids had so many things in common such as their parents are dead; they do not have==

After reading/grading Reshad's paper, which again took around six minutes, DW engaged in his norm-referenced comparative grading methods:

DW: I'm going to have to look at all three of these papers for the next stage. So far, at this point, Behsud's looks like it's the best ... Geeti's looks like the second best ... but she handed it in on time, which means that she'll probably get the best grade and Reshad's looks like the worst ... But since Reshad followed the example very, very well, I'm going to have to reconsider and see if he can get a grade at least similar to [hers] ... I'll give Behsud the the highest grade I already know, but I'll lower it considerably because of how many days it was late.

If writtenness played a role in DW's assessment other than the extent to which the papers resembled APA research papers or IMRDs, this was not explicitly mentioned in the think-alouds or talk-around-texts.

7.2.5 Student reactions

Geeti did not try to use or even read DW's feedback. Her lack of interest became apparent on the day the papers were returned. When I asked if I could scan the paper and return it to her, she said I could keep it. I did return it, but in talk-around-texts, it became clear she had not reviewed her paper at all, doing so for the first time in this session. Her initial reaction was, "These are not even readable (Laughs) ..." (cf. Chang, 2014), going on to be quite critical, "Come on, who does that? He uses pencil, not a red pen. I mean, yeah." We tried reading a few comments together, but she could only decipher "TOO LONG" on the first page of her abstract unaided (see figure 7.9), adding several more times the comments were unreadable/unusable. When asked if she would seek clarification from DW, she mentioned her previous class with him and stated that he did not explain grades or feedback well. Overall, Geeti seemed content with her A-minus and happy to just put the whole thing behind her.

Prior to talk-around-texts, Behsud found only one comment (so why no hypothesis – see Figure above 7.15), but "couldn't read it." We looked again together, and he agreed with my estimation that it said, "so why no hypothesis." He indicated, however, he "wouldn't have put in hypothesis in this [part]," which made sense as this was not the end of his introduction. As with Geeti, he was quite critical of DW's handwriting, feeling it was like "scribbling something, like you don't care, you just want to write something," adding too that writing in pencil was "not reliable (laughs)" (cf. Chang, 2014). We discussed the lack of comments and why DW had not commented on Behsud's inclusion of findings in his methods section which Behsud acknowledged "should never be discussed in this subsection." Based on this, Behsud felt DW had not

read his paper carefully (cf. Nazia). He conceded his paper was essentially a first draft and added, "even I know there's there are some other things that I have to change, you know? there are a lot of things [in the paper] that he could have, you know, said to me," indicating a desire for more feedback in his written work. He added that most students at AUAF felt a lack of feedback meant the professors had not read papers closely (see Hyland, 2013b). Overall, Behsud, who was still upset at being severely graded down for lateness, felt his friends could have given him better feedback. Incidentally, this is something DW, who mentioned when using peer feedback students gave better feedback than him, would likely have agreed with.

7.3 DK: "When I get mad … the low grade can be applied."

Based on the amount of in-class assignment work, his confidence in his textual scaffolds, and his experience and connoisseurship (Bloxham & Boyd, 2007) as a consultant, it seemed DK already had a well-formed 'ideal text' in mind before grading. This was very much reinforced by the post-grading data. Although he did not provide synchronous think-aloud data while grading, he did record post-grading summaries of his opinions on each student's work. As with post-grading talk-around-texts, these summaries and his written feedback on the papers revealed very assignment-oriented reception practices based on the two criteria he had hammered in class: Strict following of the guidelines and development, explanation and justification of data collection/analysis methods, sampling procedures, etc., based on TORs and the project to be evaluated. However, while these were the explicit foci used to justify his grades, the relative writtennesses of the papers also seemed to trigger DK's senses of the smooth

read and linguistic conflation ideologies and contributed to the grade and his opinion of each student's learning.

7.3.2 DK's Overviews of the Papers

This focus on developing rather than repeating ideas from the TORs was pre-empted in the in-class general feedback session on 06/12 (see Chapter 5). DK announced, "Some of you use much information from the TOR", reiterating that a TOR provides only basic information, "But you [need to] expand it based on what we learn … explain the way how to collect data … [you need to] become an expert, not a real expert, but … explain to me in detail this is what I want to do to do."

This factor, along with following the guidelines, was reinforced in further summaries of each student's performance DK provided at the beginning of our post-grading talk-around-texts. He identified Obaid's paper as the best based primarily on two reasons. Firstly

> DK: … he followed the guideline that I gave to him. And he provided me with clear purpose of the research based on the TOR. And research method, I can see, he explained detail. That's good. And he has the, you know, complete … element that I mentioned … He put everything in there. It's not really 100% correct, but everything is there.

Secondly, Obaid was able to "articulate his idea into the paper" rather than copy or paraphrase large parts of the TOR.

> DK: … This is what I want to see rather than just look at the TOR and and copy everything back to the paper.

Going beyond the TOR also featured in his opinion of my paper.

DK: you ... explain beyond the guidelines ... you look at the textbook and bring other resources or references to the the your paper. This is what I want to see. You know not only based on what I said. You can expand expand your knowledge based on author author. That's the beyond my expectation.

The lack of explanation/justification of methods and overreliance on the TOR became a key discriminator in the rest of the papers. While DK began his review of Jamshid's paper with "In general ... [he] followed the guideline," he continued with a long recount of the lack of depth in his paper:

DK: I can see [he] use field visit, case study, interview ... But in each technique, he did not mention the specific target group ... In the desk review, he did not make a list of relevant document that he's going to study ... he gave the challenge of his study, but he did not give me how to overcome ... And the sampling selections uh, for the study is ... brief ... Data analysts are not convince[ing]. He just give the general, not the in detail ... he did not give any questionnaire format regarding his field visit study.

The analysis of Roya's paper was similar, although with her, he started to comment a little more on the effects of marked writtenness.

DK: I think she follow the guideline ... But the problem that I can see ... is the scope and evaluation objective **unclear**. And she did not give detail the scope of her study or research.

Regarding methods, DK felt that "she described [these] in general based on TOR." Her desk review section was "described in general only [and] *she is unable to provide with or what kind of relevant documents is going to study* (italics added, see Figure 7.23 below)." He critiqued her sections on field studies for not detailing "target areas or target

population." There was some indication, however, that DK had not had time to read Roya's 86-page TOR in-depth, something he also critiqued her for. Roya included the TOR-prescribed method, an online survey of staff members from H4+ agencies, government counterparts and other stakeholders. However, DK was "suspicious how she can do online survey in specific area because that area is community how those participants can help access to Internet with them," which suggested he had missed the information about the intended respondents. He also critiqued her for not providing "*the framework analysis … just described in general only* (italics added, see Figure 7.23 below)*,"* and the time frame for being too short, with "no clear activity completion date, and you know who is responsible. Finally, I cannot see the questionnaire, team composition…"

> For Lemar, the lack of in-depth description and explanations of methods was:
>
> DK: big big issues because he didn't know how to put, you know. His idea … He just make a copy from the TOR and put it in right? So what I comment that. Please tell me what are you going to do with the your research project.
>
> Regarding the scope,
>
> DK: He give me uh nothing. He just give me two sentences about the evaluation. And the he gave me too much information on team composition that's already mentioned in the TOR. This mean I don't need this information at all.
>
> Regarding the method,
>
> DK: He is not able to explain to me how to, you know, design research methods step by step. Mostly he look at the TOR and then repeat it again … [the] data collection is not clear and he said conduct interview but. I don't know who his

participants. uh Where is it? And you know how many participant he target and then go detail in the interviews and focus ... There's no, you know, procedure how to do it."

7.3.3 Written Feedback

This focus on adequate explanations of methods was very much reflected in DK's written feedback on the students' papers, virtually all of which focused on missing or unclear explanations of methods. Many of these comments appeared as one-word or extended questions, imperative instructions, or even demands. For example, the following one-word comments/questions in Roya's paper seem to ask about 'indicators' or 'objectives' DK felt were missing or unexplicated (Figure 7.18).

Figure 7.18: One Word Questions
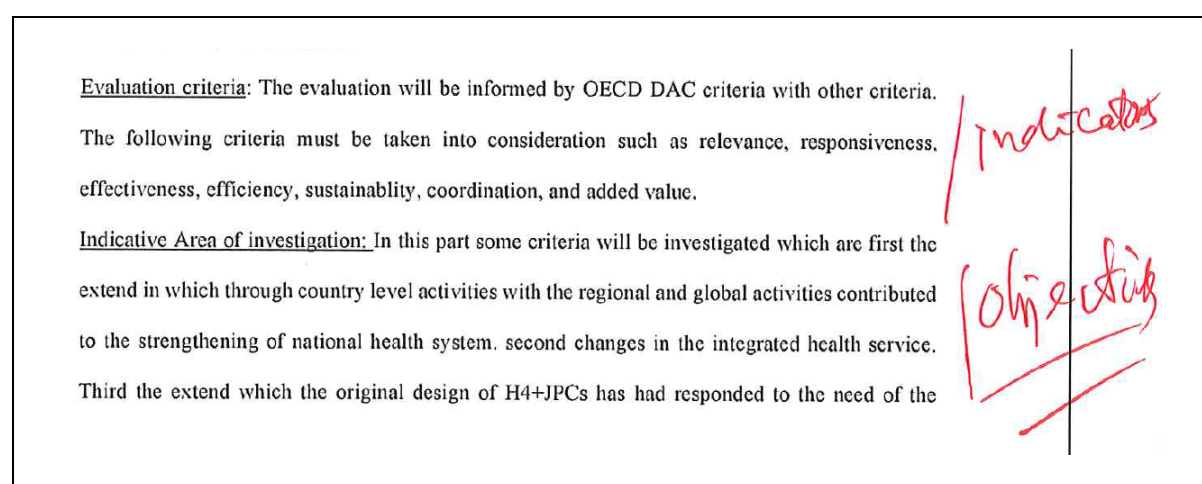
The fuller questions below from Jamshid's paper also indicated that DK felt that more detailed explanations of the timescale and geographical extent were needed (Figure 7.19).

Figure 7.19: Longer Questions
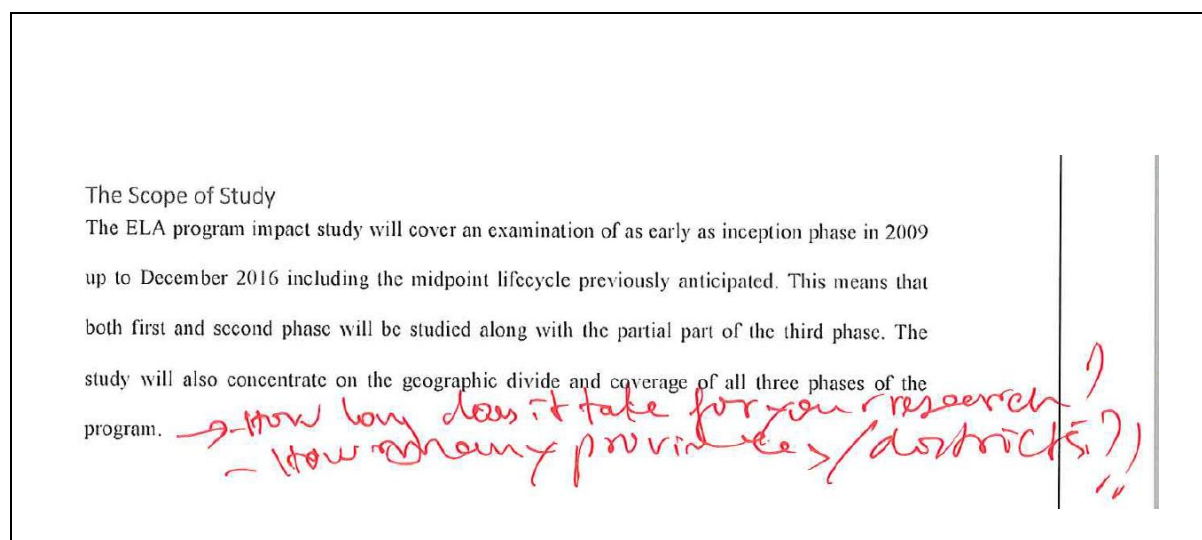
DK also indicated missing information using imperatives, as shown in this extract from Obaid's paper, which also includes two one-word questions (Figure 7.20).

Figure 7.20: Imperatives
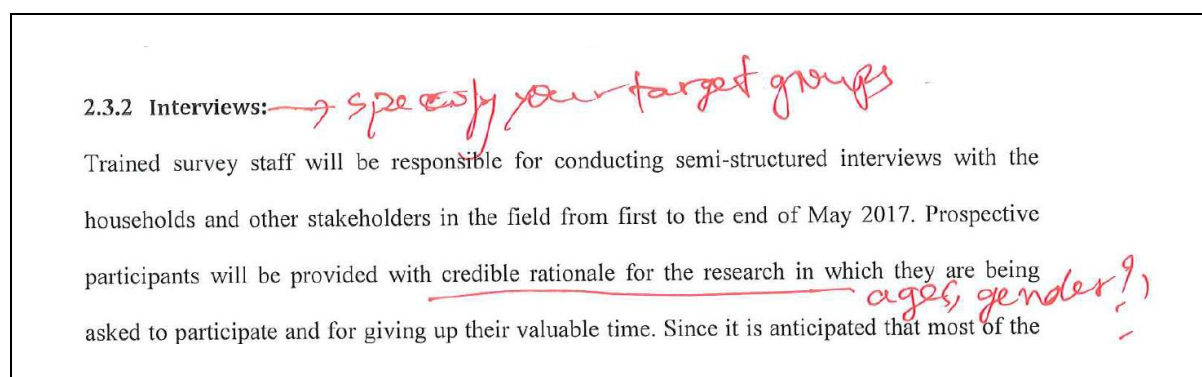
However, in Lemar's paper, some of the imperatives seemed to be demands, suggesting some irritation (Figure 7.21, cf. Wingate, 2010; Ferris, 2018).

Figure 7.21: Annoyed Imperatives?

Information Session

The information session is the critical stage for data collection. The team should be equipped with professional and expert persons for evaluation of data and process too. Also, taking into consideration the how many participants and targeted areas which are affected by the earthquake. The team is responsible for the meeting with UNDP, UNV, and EAD to propose and implement their plan for the information session.

→ *tell me how you do it?*
— *Do not repeat information from TOR.*

DK repeated the instruction/demand **'tell me how'** at two other stages where Lemar had bulleted non-elaborated mentions of in-depth/detailed interviews in a repetitive, non-accretive way in his paper (see, for example, Figure 5.28).

DK did provide some feed-forward in some papers, indicating perhaps his belief that this bidding for an evaluation kind of writing would be useful in the students' futures (Figure 7.22). For example, he advised Obaid:

Figure 7.22: Feedforward

2.2.2 Survey Pre-test → *the test should be outside your target district!)*

Before conducting the survey, a test of the questionnaire will be conducted in order to find out if it has any mistake or problem. After the questionnaire is drafted, a focus group discussion with 8-10 individuals will be conducted in order to find out problems concerning formulation of questions, duplication of certain questions, and to determine the timing of the survey.

However, the value of this and all of DK's written comments seemed severely curtailed by one of his idiosyncratic reception practices, not returning graded papers to students. Instead, he met students individually in his office to read through their papers and discuss their performance and grade. Not all students did this, however. During post-grading talk-around-texts with Obaid, Roya, and Jamshid, it became apparent they had not reviewed any of the feedback, although they did know their grades! While for the students, this suggests their lack of interest in feedback (Bailey & Garner, 2010), DK's retention of the papers suggested that he gave feedback primarily to justify a grade, should any student question it. It was also perhaps a practice related to controlling artefacts of his grading practices based on his experiences with complaints and challenges during his early days at AUAF.

Incidentally, some of the foci of DK's feedback were on criteria that he had not discussed in class or included in the guidelines. As indicated above, in talk-around-texts, he had criticised Jamshid and Roya for not listing the documents they would include in their desk reviews and had further criticised Roya for not detailing her analytical framework (see italicised parts of the quotes above), neither of which was previously indicated as a criterion (Figures 7.23 and 7.24).

Figure 7.23: Listing Relevant Desk Review Documents
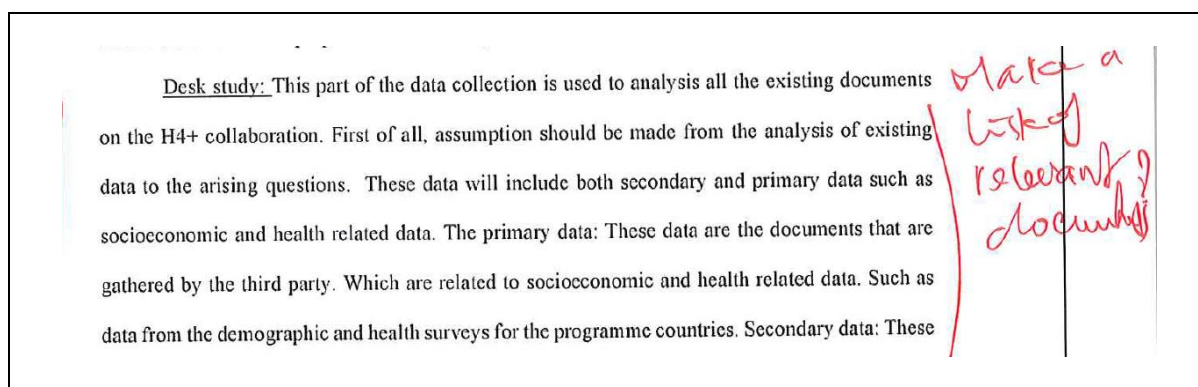
Figure 7.24: 7.23: Explain the Analytical Framework
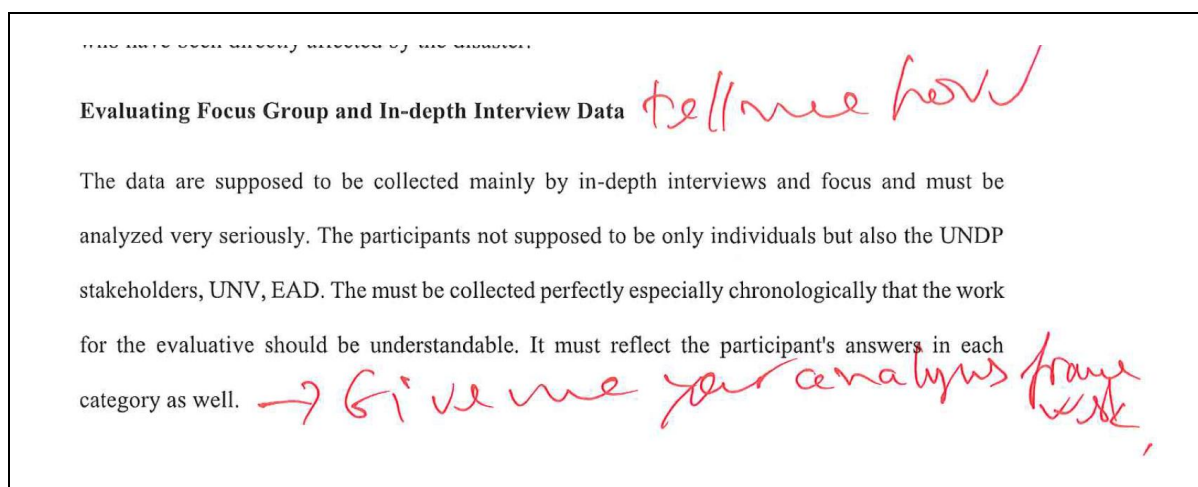
He included the same direct instruction comment in Jamshid's paper and a similar direct instruction comment regarding the inclusion of an analytical framework in Lemar and Roya's papers.

DK also commented on these missing criteria in my paper. However, as can be seen, he appeared to be a little more polite in my paper (Figures 7.25 and 7.26). This offers an interesting insight into how the perception of the writer can affect how a paper is read or assessed (see, for example, Williams, 1981).

Figure 7.25: Politeness example 1

Given the focus on the relevance, effectiveness and efficiency of the Project, the three
main sources of data will be:

- ADHOC itself, with data collected from:
  - existing Project documents; and
  - managers and implementing staff members, both at the Central Office and
    provincial level.

(Make a list of relevant document, if possible)

Figure 7.26: Politeness example 2

Overall, data analysis will center on triangulation which "entails using more than one
method or source of data in the study of social phenomena" (Bryman, 2013, p. 392) to enhance
the credibility of the findings. In this study this will mainly involve, cross-referencing themes from
the qualitative content analysis desk review and those emerging form the interview and focus
group data. *It would be great if you give a data analysis framework*
It is envisaged this kind of analysis in the given timeframe will allow the Project
evaluation to assess "the extent to which the Project has empowered vulnerable citizens to

Deep analysis of this reader/writer relationship is beyond the scope of this thesis, however.

I reviewed some of the feedback with students in talk-around-texts, as I had copies of their graded assignments. As with DW, the students found some of the comments challenging to read and were generally not particularly interested in them.

7.3.4 Writtenness and DK's Mood

The effect of writtenness on DK's temperament and grading became clear during talk-around-texts. In terms of the expository (and smooth-read) ideologies. DK referred to my paper and Obaid's thus:

> DK: your language is easy to understand. OK, you're native speaker, so your idea you put in your paper is very clean.

> DK: If you look at [Obaid's paper], you can see similar, it's it's easy to understand … Obaid, it's easy and you know, just for example, Obaid took me take me 10 minutes [to read and grade].
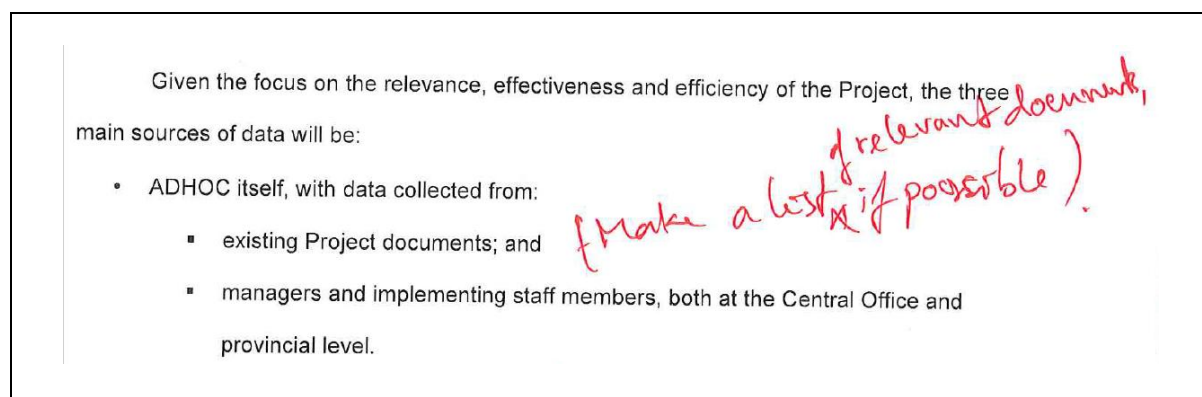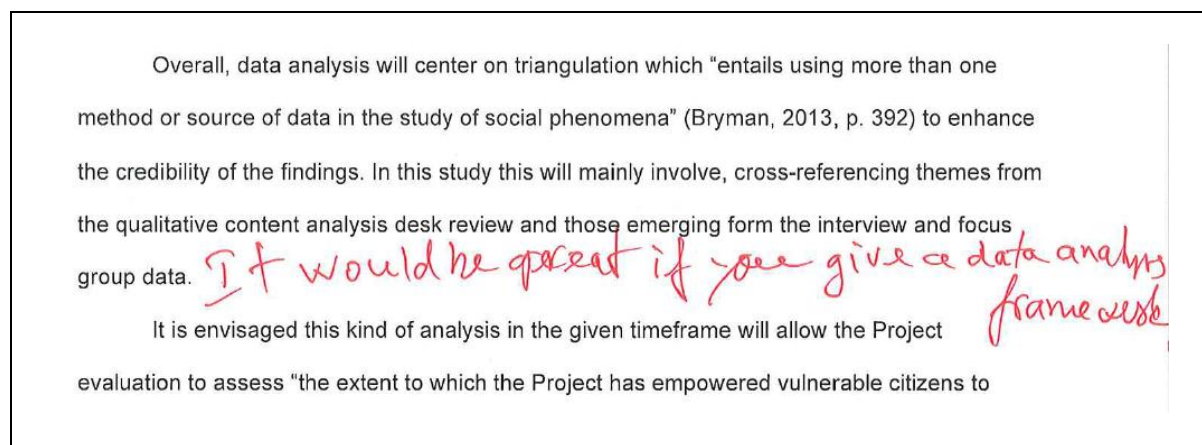
As with Tamim's paper in DC's class, it seems the writtenness of Obaid's paper provided a smooth read. For Roya, however, his reading and grading "took around 30 minutes." He explained this was because he had to "try to understand what she means." With both Roya and Jamshid's papers, DK described a shuttling process where he had to:

> DK: Look at the guideline to go back to the the sample, go back to the guideline again and each section that they gave to me. I have to compare to the guideline the criterion … back and forth. Back and forth. Fixed to the guideline. No, I cannot see that fixed to the to TOR. Where's the information from fixed to the sample, I cannot see that …

While this suggested a scanning for sections and based on the TOR and guidelines in a process similar to that of DW, DK's practice did seem to involve some closer reading at the local writtenness level.

> DK: [I tried to] understand by words, understand by section section … I go back and forth, back and forth, where this section fit to the guideline where this word fit

to the TOR or where this sentence fit to the sample where this sentence fit to the guideline again and again back and forth, back and forth.

This comment seems to provide a clear image of DK's reading and assessing practices. DK went on to describe frustration when he could not find expected, perhaps ideal text, elements: "When I don't see it I get mad, right." Clearly indexing the ideologies of writtenness at play, he mentioned that if he had to shuttle back and forth two or three times and still could not understand as with Roya or Jamshid's paper, this would "Make me mad. When I get mad … the low grade can be applied because I don't understand."

As for Lemar, DK's assessment was that his paper was "completely out of the guideline,"; he "Mess[ed] up." As noted above, his annoyance with Lemar's paper seemed to be indicated by the tone of his feedback in the extracts above and in his final overall comment and grade (Figure 7.27).

Figure 7.27: Overall Comment on Lemar's Paper
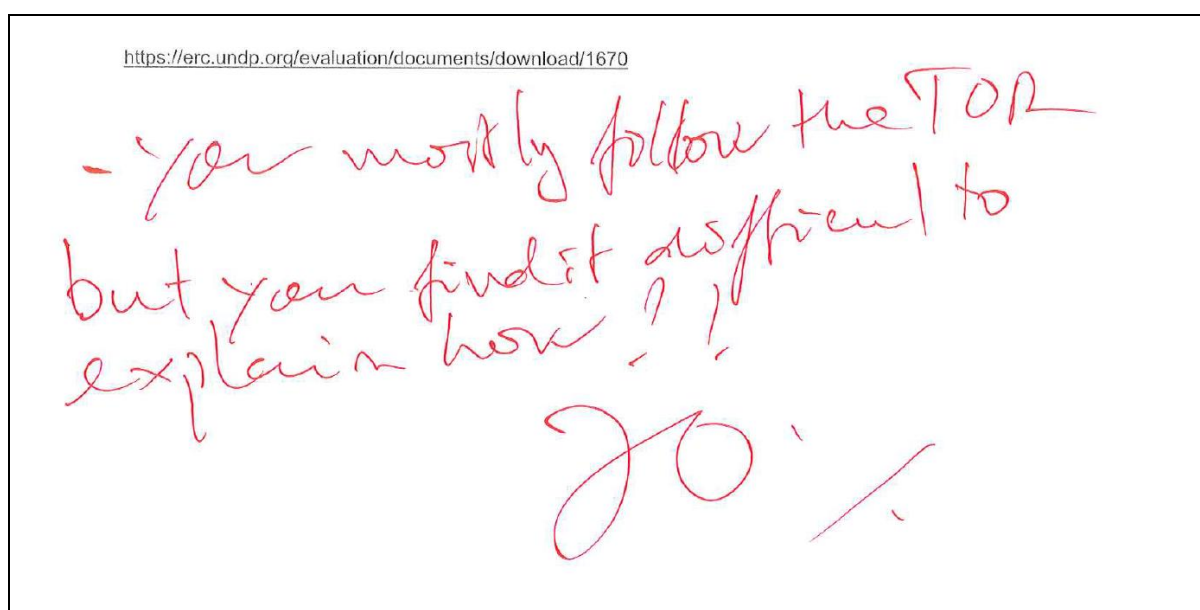
The above provides insight into DK's reading/thinking/assessing processes that were not available from his think-aloud summaries. His difficulty in seeing/finding the expected ideal text schematic structuring seemed to pique his senses of the expository and smooth-read ideologies. This was, of course, also related to the selection of logical data collection and analysis methods that would, in his opinion, meet the needs of the TORs. However, writtenness did also seem to be at play. DK's assertion that Obaid was the closest to doing both is supported by my text analysis. His paper was the only one to begin in the way that DK's model did, directly mentioning the purpose of the research. His was also the least marked in terms of all the ideologies of writtenness. Jamshid's paper awarded 85%, was generally cohesive/coherent and displayed relatively unmarked writtenness at the clause sentence level but lacked, perhaps, the overall discoursal expositoriness of Obaid's paper. DK felt Jamshid's paper exhibited "mix-up ideas," suggesting he noticed discourse errors or disruptions in thematic progressions that were indeed apparent in the text. Roya's paper, a first draft she had given up on, was relatively marked in all aspects of writtenness and was awarded 80%. Lemar's paper was the most marked. It seemed that he had devoted most of his resources to understanding what to do and rewriting parts of the TOR at the sentence/clause level. Therefore, while very little of the DK's feedback was writtenness-oriented, the markedness of the writtenness, particularly in the genre discourse level grading and ease of reading, very much affected his grading.

7.3.5 Linguistic Conflation and Student Learning

The overall markedness of a text also seemed to trigger DK's sense of what might be considered aspects of the linguistic conflation ideology. As noted in Chapter 5, DK

appreciated 'proper language'. In talk-around-texts, we discussed his own use of complex lexis in his inception report, which he described as "high professional [language]" used "to attract the donor." When discussing the students' papers, it seemed that DK's appraisal of the text and the writer was more positive if the language was embedded in a paper with less overall markedness. Obaid had used some relatively complex and context-specific lexis and interdiscursivised some lexis from DK's sample report seemingly for the same aesthetic purposes as DK. DK commented:

> DK: He can articulate You know his idea ... you know some of the word there is already my words I can see, but it's OK because this is what I want to see ... [and] if you can use like you from textbook information from textbook and put it in articulate this idea and my idea put together that's good, excellent.

DK attributed other language in Obaid's paper to his experience and work. For example, Obaid asserted that piloting his questionnaire would enable ascertaining ***"problems concerning [the] formulation of questions, duplication of certain questions"*** and that the data collected in his study "***will be used to measure the degree and quality of change in the project indicators."*** DK felt this language was well used and it was "clear that he knows what it means."

In contrast, he added, "Roya and Jamshid cannot do this kind of work," i.e., use this kind of language, adding that Jamshid's paper "doesn't show any attractive terminology." My analysis of Jamshid's paper, however, did suggest in my opinion, some accurate and reasonably complex language, particularly in the introductory parts, which were paraphrased from the TOR introduction and background. I asked DK about

Jamshid's use of the phrase **"encompasses skill sets",** which appeared in line 26 of the paraphrase.

> 25   This program provides technical support to those who want to continue their education is specific
>
> 26   skill sets. This encompasses skill sets like Bee keeping, fish and poultry farming and tailoring,

DK felt, however, that this term was copied from the TOR[39], adding, "He cannot use the, you know, technical term appropriately." However, arguably, it seems that DK's overall negative appraisal of Jamshid's assignment, his overuse of unnecessary information from the TOR, and the "mix[ed] up ideas", which meant he had to shuttle back and forth between the paper, the TOR and the guidelines, affected his sense of Jamshid's ability to use complex language. For example, while Jamshid's phrase in lines

> 52   provinces. In order to ensure that MoE departments working for youth and adult literacy becomes
>
> 53   capable of running the decentralized model on their own, UNESCO promises to lead this role until
>
> 54   institutional development becomes a reality. Hence, what we find out of this impact assessment is

53-54, "***Until institutional development becomes a reality***" seems to be an example of relatively academic-sounding language, DK was "not particularly" impressed. I followed this up.

> C: ... with Obaid then, so when you see him using this kind of language, that to you is positive, you evaluate that that's good
>
> DK: Yes, correct.
>
> C: And with Jamshid was kind of just like that language he'd used ... you just think is kind of like

---

[39] This term did not actually appear in the ToR.

DK: From the TOR ... [Jamshid] is not able to articulate his idea like Obaid, OK. Obaid well, understand, well understood. And then he can explain to me I can see the term use kind of the set the level you know the language, then it can give the grade. But these people [Jamshid and Roya], when I look at TOR, when I come back to this, is exactly the same, for example. So maybe the grade is also less.

He finished with "Yeah. And also, format," which also seemed to index his sense that they had not created the overall expositoriness that Obaid had. The sense was that DK was less willing to favour Jamshid's generally accurate use of relatively complex language as he did Obaid's due in part at least to the less overall writtenness of his paper.

This aspect of the linguistic conflation ideology, that precise use of complex lexis in texts that exhibited overall writtenness conferred more prestige than that similar language in texts with less expository or smooth read completeness, was reinforced by the way DK referred to Roya and Lemar's papers. Regarding some of Roya's less accurate lexicogrammar, DK stated that it does "not attract me to read" and that he did not "pay more attention to" sections that contain lexical and other language issues:

DK: Sometime I highlight, underline and then I put question, what does it mean, OK and so you see her paper, I just put one line from the top to the bottom and I put unclear [see Figure 7.28] ... Yeah, I put this. And what did you mean by that? So yeah, I don't want to spend much time on that because I don't understand what you mean.

Figure 7.28: ?? Unclear

> Evaluation objective and scope:
>
> The H4+ partnership, actions must be support its consolation and actions. The secretary general's Global Strategy for Women's and Children's Health and its association with EWEC is serving as strategic framework for the H4+ partnership. The strategic context context of the H4+JPCS includes things such as a brief overview of the H4+ partnership, the secretary general's Global Strategy for Women's and Children's Health, the Canada and Sweden H4+ Joint programee, the structure of the H4+JPCS

This comment was one of three across all the papers that explicitly focused on writtenness. The others were one correction and one question mark above a lexicogrammatical item in Lemar's paper. DK commented on Lemar.

> DK: [Lemar] could not you know, articulate his idea into his paper. Probably he didn't understand ... from the guideline. Uh, probably he pay no attention, what I explain how to do step by step right? And and his paper is also, you know. Issues related to. And you know his knowledge about research, he's knowledge about. You know specific topic that he selected based on TOR, so he finally he didn't know how to develop a research proposal Based on TOR."

This comment suggests the linguistic conflation ideology, that, based on the overall markedness of his assignment, DK concluded that Lemar had not learned enough to produce an adequate proposal.

The following comprehensive rationale for assessing Obaid's in terms of writtenness seems to sum up the effect of writtenness on DK's reception practices

> DK: [Obaid] can articulate well using his own word, using his own idea and explain to me not in detail but acceptable language ... OK, good and I can give the credit,

but look at Roya and Jamshid. They cannot articulate their idea, the way they write - make it simple! OK, rather than use complicated term from the TOR put it back and make no sense at all that I don't understand what they mean. OK, Obaid ... can put his own idea explaining not ... in detail, but simple ... and understandable enough. Then I can give the grade right

The comment here, "explaining ideas simply and understandable enough," suggests writtenness. DK had also been impressed by Obaid's submission of a first draft and, in his opinion, responses to in his feedback on it (this was not entirely accurate – see below).

Obaid had sent a draft as a fishing exercise "to get his idea ... to know what was his expectations." It was after submitting this draft, however, that Obaid read DK's inception report and its TOR. Obaid, clarified, "So I pretty much tried to copy from his inception report," rather than responding to any feedback from DK. This use of the model is evident in Obaid's final submission. He had omitted virtually all the project background information included in the first:

O: because when I looked at the inception report ... He had written directly the objective of the inception, but without giving a background information. So I thought that maybe this is not necessary. So the the people who gave you the terms of reference they already know the background. So what's the need for that? So that's why I removed.

Obaid added that he ignored most of DK's comments on his first draft and, based on his use of the scaffold, wrote what he described as a second paper, not a second draft: "I wrote it down; I sent it," with only a cursory check for surface grammar errors.

Despite this, DK seemed happy about the perceived hidden labour of Obaid's writtenness and was equally dismissive of work that, based on his experience and reading, had not emerged from similar labour. For example, He recalled how Jamshid submitted his paper after the in-class announcement that papers submitted after 06/12 would not be graded, surmising (accurately)

DK; He tried to finish by the one night you can see a lot of missing and mix-up idea. You know why? No much time to edit it."

Regarding Roya's paper, he felt (accurately) "she didn't edit ... she did not read, read or edit this paper." DK recounted the editing advice he had given in class that was based on his experience in Australia and writing his book, how he edited his chapters "6 to 10 times" for mistakes and reorganisation, making sure that logical coherent arguments, but they [the students] did not [listen]" (cf. Sommers, 1980).

7.3.6 Peripheral Normativity? Rescaling

DK was the strictest grader in the study and was the only professor to award a grade lower than B-. Despite this, as with DC, he discussed rescaling his practices based on his perception of the realities of AUAF.

DK: ... we cannot expect too much from them [Afghan students] making sure that they follow the guideline ... my guideline is already, you know, is high level of expectation ... but to some extent, we have to be. I have to compromise.

This compromise was exemplified in the way he referred to the grade he awarded for Roya's paper, which he felt should have been "maybe lower than C" and Lemar's "mess[ed] up" paper on which he commented:

DK: If I look at his paper, he cannot get that high like C minus he's only that D minus, but you know to encourage him to study more ... Then I just give him C minus.

Overall, while much of DK's grading and feedback on the surface focused on content and following guidelines, it became apparent in talk-around-texts that writtenness played a significant role in his reception practices.

7.4 DZ: "Instead of, uh, raising a red flag, it sort of comforts me."

Despite taking a recorder, DZ did not provide any think-aloud data for his reception work on PCAP I or II. The following account of this work is based on post-grading talk-around-texts and written feedback. As the feedback on PCAP I was considered to have a formative aspect, it was discussed in Chapter 5. Also, as noted, Sana was the only student who revised her PCAP I and submitted it with PCAP II, although she ignored much of DZ's feedback, including all the writtenness-oriented comments. This did, however, provide the only opportunity in this study to observe how a professor responded to unchanged writing he had already assessed and commented on.

7.4.2 Overview of DZ's Reception Practices

A significant difference between DZ's reception practices and those of DC, DW and DK was tolerance of variation from the genre implied by his guidelines. In talk-around-texts, he had been explicit: PCAP I would resemble a proposal, and PCAP II would be the complete IMRD, which suggested he had an ideal text in mind. However, only

Sana's texts resembled these. Yet, none of DZ's PCAP I or II written feedback focused on variations, and in contrast to DK, no student seemed to be overly penalised for not following the guidelines. Indeed, despite her labour and adherence to the guidelines, Sana received the lowest grade for PCAP I, 85. Parnian's outline received 87 (much to Sana's dismay), and Lena received 90. Interestingly, this was reversed for PCAP II. Sana received the highest at 94, Lena at 92, and Parnian at 90. These grades for the final papers reflected what emerged in talk-around-texts be a fairly standard grade range for DZ, A to A-. While adherence to an expected genre did not seem to be a significant discriminator, it also emerged that distinguishing an A from an A- did, in fact, depend on aspects of writtenness at the sub-genre level. In talk-around-texts, DZ sometimes illustrated these aspects by relating them to his own experiences as an international post-graduate student in the US in the early 1990s.

Some of these aspects were also indexed by the feedback he gave on PCAP I and, more so, on PCAP II. I did not press too much on specific instances of feedback or feedback variations, as it seemed that while DZ was happy to talk about grading student papers in general, he became irritated at times by my focus on specific feedback in the PCAPs. However, Sana's revised PCAP I offered opportunities to consider how DZ re-responded summatively to work he had already reviewed formatively. Analysis showed that apart from one repeated surface error correction and one instance of uncommented straight-line underlining, DZ's second round of feedback on Sana's PCAP I focused on different aspects and parts of the text. Arguably, these varying feedback foci may have been due to a more summative review of PCAP II. Some of the examples below do illustrate aspects of writtenness that DZ identified in talk-around-texts as grading discriminators.

7.4.3 Writtenness Discriminators: Sub-genre

DZ, like DW had a clear position on surface error (cf. Gronchi, 2023):

DZ: ... I don't care, ... I will not take any points for the grammar. ... if I think I understand what they're trying to say, no, no ... points will be taken

Indeed, he felt AUAF students should be cut some slack, relating his own postgraduate experiences in the US, where he felt he was not "treated as strictly as everybody else," largely because he was not only "the only foreigner [in the class but also] the only ... student from the [1991] Soviet Union program." This suggested a geopolitical/historical aspect to the leniency he felt he experienced, a desire in US universities to not overly demoralise the increasing number of students coming from post-Soviet eastern Europe to seek American education. In many ways, this seems similar to the grade-rescaling leniency towards Afghan student writing described by DC and DK.

DZ did indicate some treatable surface-level errors in Sana's PCAP I and II. The first was a correction on her PCAP II on her overview that had not appeared in PCAP I, which DZ had merely ticked. As shown in Figure 7.29, in PCAP II, DZ provided one surface-level correction and a squiggly-line-question-mark comment on the word 'action'. Here, the assumption is that DZ was unsure what she meant by 'action project', although these are the last two words in the acronym PCAP in the syllabus (action paper in the Guidelines).

Figure 7.29: A Correction

> unemployment. Then it will address reasons of such a high rate of youth unemployment in the country. Finally it will suggests policy actions that must be taken in order to percolate these challenges. The organization and the institution that are involved in this action project are; the Government of Afghanistan, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, The International Labor Organization in Afghanistan (ILO) and the international donors.

He also provided one repeated correction on her sub-overview (see Figure 7.32 below). Overall, though, grammar was not an issue for DZ "unless I just can't figure out what the heck they're trying to say." While there did not appear to be any examples of this due to surface-level issues, DZ did refer to an instance of having to 'figure out' meaning at the discourse level in Jeena's paper. Although he felt she was a good, active student who does homework, "she still got A-, 90 for her paper [and] the whole course ... simply because ... [her] writing needs improvement." He recounted telling her in his office,

> DZ: Sometimes I don't understand what you're trying to say. Even if you start with one, one sentence, please make sure that the 2nd that follows the sentence that follows has some resemblance of what you're talking about before, because there's like no connection whatsoever.

Jeena's introduction to PCAP I (the text that Parnian copied from) did seem to illustrate DZ's contentions (see Figure 7.30). The sentence beginning on line 13 includes what might be considered a marked theme. ***"The issues related to the PR system"*** seems to introduce new information unretrievable from the previous sentence. The next sentence seems to have a double rheme, "***Change the ... law ... it will not be easy***" (lines 14 – 15). There is a semantic shift in the third sentence from ***"it will not be easy"***

to ***"the effectiveness ..."*** (line 16). This excerpt then seems to exemplify some of what

DZ was referring to as reasons for limiting her grade to the A- end of his grading scale.

Figure 7.30: Jeena's Introduction

8	What will be the challanges of Political Parties in Afghanistan?
9	
10	**Introduction**:
11	
12	It's obvious that political parties are effective vehicles for having a democratic
13	government. The issues related to PR system have been discussed since the Bonn
14	argument in Afghanistan. However, some argue it is necessary to change the electoral
15	law to proportional representation in Afghanistan it will be not easy. This paper will
16	discuss the effectiveness of PR system in Afghanistan. Moreover, it will discuss the
17	challenges of political parties and proportional representation in Afghanistan. The paper
18	will also, give some background of emerge of political parties in this country;
19	furthermore, it will also provide some recommendation for having strong and effective
20	political parties.

Interestingly, here however, was his commentthat Jeena's issues with writing (see

"[her] writing needs improvement" above) limited her to an A- for *the course*. It seems

that the summative assessment of the PCAP IIs was linked to the overall assessment of

each student, in contrast to perhaps the formative grade given for PCAP I.

Grading down due to lack of clarity or interruptions to cohesion in PCAP II was also

another of DZ's writtenness-oriented discriminators, and the reason why DZ limited

Parnian's grade to A-.

DZ: ... [Parnian] seems to be not A and she openly admitted that not very well

organized and and and and that shows in her writing as well. She might get excited

about about something. Just keep going off the track.

DZ did mention in talk-around-texts, however, that he felt responsible for some of

the issues in Parnian's paper. He described her rewriting of PCAP II as an expanded

version of PCAP I as "opposite of what I was trying [to teach them]." He was happy that she included some sources, but overall felt, "I didn't do a good job in this case, so in the light bulb did not go on."

None of this was mentioned on Parnian's paper, however; in fact, she received only two comments, both of which were spelling errors. She recounted a visit to DZ's office, in which:

> P: he said that I cut your mark because of this structure ... he said that I liked your ideas but I didn't like the way you sorted it because I had to go back and forth to know what you are actually writing.

Displaying some of her senses of writtenness further, she added that based on DZ's verbal feedback, she checked her paper and found "like I talked about security. And then I started talking about it again ... That's like I don't have this paragraph structure. I didn't get it correctly." She even accounted for this unnecessary repetition. During the two hours she devoted to her PCAP II she recalled: "I read some, write my ideas and then read the other, write my ideas and read the other write my ideas." She felt this reading sources and writing as-she-went approach, combined with the lack of editing, prevented her from synthesising sources in a less repetitive way. She did emphasise, however, that these were not usual practices for her; rather, they were orchestrated more by time constraints and her previous experiences with DZ not being a tough grader.

DZ highlighted that unnecessary repetition (see also Turner, 2018, p. 79) and circular arguments (his term) were discourse-level discriminators for him, particularly at AUAF.

> DZ: ... it happens a lot, [AUAF students] just keep reiterating the same stuff over and over again.

He felt that one cause of this was students trying to reach a specified word/page count. Due to this, he described avoiding being overly prescriptive or strict with text length requirements to reduce the likelihood that students would pad out their work (although the PCAP guidelines did mention page counts). He speculated that another reason could be that students were "uncomfortable with one definition or one way of explaining, and they try another one just to make sure that I understand." DZ again referred to his own experiences of this as a grad student, stating:

> DZ: that's what I've done myself. You know, you write a paragraph trying to explain your idea of like. It doesn't. It might not come clear across as clear as you would want it to be, professors simply might not understand, so let's write another paragraph to make it even more clear, yeah, I've done it myself.

He recounted that in other classes, he exemplified repetitiveness using excerpts from student work but did not do so PAD210. DZ highlighted and commented on three instances of repetition in the participants' PCAP IIs. Two of these were on Sana's third paragraph and her second overview in her PCAP I (see Figures 5.39 & 5.40). As seen in Figure 5.39 in her PCAP I, DZ had straight-line underlined the first sentence and squiggly-line-plus-question-mark comment on the sentence in parentheses. In PCAP II, however (see Figure 7.31), he straight-line underlined the final three sentences and commented "repetitive," seeming to feel she had unnecessarily repeated the idea of unemployment having many negative consequences. In PCAP II, DZ also felt the first part of Sana's second overview was unnecessary (Figure 7.32). This excerpt also shows the one repeated correction: The striking through of 'it' in the final sentence.

Figure 7.31: Underlining in Sana's PCAP II Third Paragraph

Youth unemployment has led to many negative social consequences. Those who were able to spare money either sold their properties or used that money to migrate (The individuals who could save some cash either sold their properties or utilized that cash to migrate) and find a brighter future outside Afghanistan. While on the other hand, most of them either could not afford to migrate or chose to stay and rebuild the country. Nevertheless, unemployment demolished dreams of many Afghan Youth and has given rise to numerous societal devastations. Furthermore, there is an increase in social crimes such as robbery, illegitimate drug trade, terrorism, murder and kidnapping. Even worse, some have hanged themselves for not being able to find a job. Overall in Afghanistan, one of the biggest challenges is the unemployment which has led to countless consequences. This research will depict the consequences of youth

Repetative

Figure 7.32: Sub-Overview in Sana's PCAP II

that needs immediate action from the government. This part of the paper aims to demonstrate on the negative consequences of youth unemployment as well as the importance of (tackling) this issue. Unemployment it has leaded the youth to migrate work for narcotics; also, it has given rise to social crimes and terrorist groups.

Redund

The varying foci of comments on the excerpts above were not pursued in talk-around-texts due to DZ's apparent sensitivity to my questions about the feedback given in the PCAPs. However, it is possible that the stricter focus on repetitiveness in PCAP II was due to the summative nature of this work, based on how he described it above as an

issue. Another interesting aspect of these comments was Sana's critique of Roya's paper for being overly repetitive. However, we did not discuss this in the talk-around-texts.

Figure 7.33: Repetitiveness in Lena's PCAP II
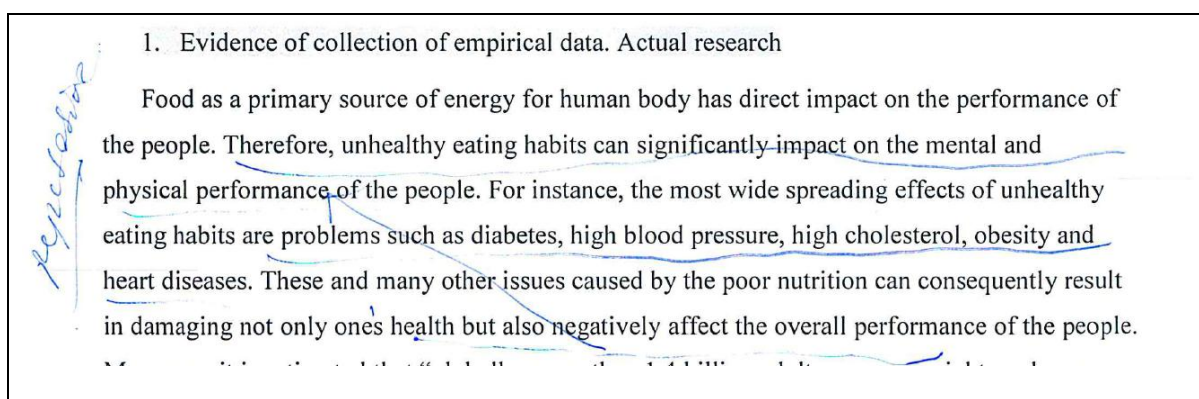
The third comment on repetitiveness appeared in Lena's PCAP II. Lena's big concern had been that DZ would comment on how much she had reused chunks from PCAP I in PCAP II. While DZ's comment (see Figure 7.33) could have been interpreted as indicative of DZ noticing this reuse, the diagonal arrow suggests his focus was on repeated ideas within the chunk. DZ made no comments about Lena's recycling to her, on her paper, or in talk-around-texts with me.

7.4.4 Parasite Words

Another writtenness issue for DZ was what he described as "parasite words," a term translated from one of his home languages. DZ described these as unnecessary or overuse of words such as 'another' or 'however' at the beginning of a sentence:

DZ: I think they just use those words without there's a connection, … without understanding. Basically, say without understanding. Maybe for some, it sounds to be more scientific or much more serious, however, nevertheless [etc.]."

This seemed to explain several of the squiggly-line-plus-question-mark comments in the excerpts above (see, for example, **"while"** in Figure 5.40, and **"Nevertheless"** in Figure 7.31). While it seems Sana's use of these words was not overly egregious, this was something that irked DZ's sense of writtenness.

He also initially described Sana's metatext elements such as "this paper will" (see in her overview and sub-overview) also as instances as sort of "parasite words," or "cliché," used, he felt because she did not have "a better way of introducing a new idea or a new part of the paper." He referred to himself, however: "I know I've I've done that myself." What followed was a verbal reflection on metatext. He first felt Sana's use of metatext in her overview was due a lack of proofreading, and she had not noticed she was "becoming repetitive" (see Figure 7.31 above). He described metatext as a little irritating but not something that would affect his grading, adding "honestly I can't remember if this was helpful in this particular situation." His musing continued, however:

> DZ: That's [using metatext] what we tend to do. You know, when you look at a Western type social science research, especially for non-political philosophy stuff. I mean, people are trying to be as explicit as possible and that's part of doing that."

And he finished with: "When you see this [metatext it] sort of alerts you a little bit more OK? Now you're gonna get the serious stuff." This provided an interesting reflective sequence in which DZ seemed to warm to Sana's use of metatext.

7.4.5 Writtenness as Hidden

Beyond the grading discriminators DZ described, we also discussed language use and styles, such as well-formed complex noun groups. Initially, DZ focused on erroneous usage, saying, "I check because sometimes it [a word or phrase] just come would come out as being very unusual, strange … not being a you know a mistake, but they don't belong there …" This seemed to be the focus of another piece of straight-line uncommented feedback in Sana's PCAP II (Figure 7.34).

Figure 7.34: Uncommented Underlining in Sana's PCAP II

UNEMPLOYMENT; A POLICY PROBLEM FACING YOUTH

Youth are the future and pedigree of a country's economy, not only as consumers but also as providers and workers, without them it is arduous to mold and develop the economy. Present evidences from all over the country reveals that young workforces are facing significant challenges in gaining access to the labor market. Youth has been well-defined by the international labor organization as those aged between 15 – 24 years (UNESCO, 2017).

We discuss several of what seemed less conventional uses of some words in Sana's PCAP (see Figure 7.34), such as **_pedigree_** and **_arduous to mold_**. Referring to these words and, in this instance to his feedback, DZ responded:

DZ: Yeah, I, I think I would underlined it saying that its absolutely unclear clear or something like that.

We then discussed might be considered a more accurate and perhaps academic-sounding language, noun groups in particular, e.g., the following chunk from Lena's paper:

14   blood pressure, high cholesterol, obesity and heart diseases. Moreover, ==excessive work and==

15   ==multitasking encourages people to consume more food==. Fast food (junk food) is more accessible

DZ commented, "She's trying to make it look like more academic and. Maybe maybe [it's impressive] ... [but] It doesn't, doesn't, you know bother me though ... it's pretty concise and it's no problem." We then discussed:

18   ==Education about what constitutes a healthy diet is necessary for a healthy society because such==

19   ==education provides consumers with alternative choices of food. While eating is a personal==

20   ==choice, firms or producers offering unhealthy products can be a public policy problem.==

DZ responded "You know it sounds good to me," and then referred back to my question about whether such language affected the way he read a paper.

D: I'm sure on some unconscious level it I feel more comfortable with this kind of language than somebody saying in in their papers that eating shit is not good for you, yes [Laughs] ... I'll be more impressed because it's not their native language. That means that work they work harder using this language rather than using the language that they use in the corridor.

DZ's comment about AUAF EMI students working harder seems to acknowledge this aspect of the hidden labour of (academic) writtenness. Also, his mention of subconsciously being more comfortable with such language seemed to point in some ways to Turner's assertion that unmarked writtenness is hidden. This was very much reinforced by our discussion of the last sentence of Lena's overview from PCAP I (see Figure 7.35)

Figure 7.35: Hidden Writtenness in Lena's Overview

> 54   the citizens. <mark>Moreover, it will identify the main vulnerable stakeholders that are more likely to get</mark>
>
> 55   <mark>affected, and propose a policy alternative that if adopted would help minimize the problem under</mark>
>
> 56   <mark>analysis.</mark>

While DZ felt this sentence was a little ambiguous, language-wise:

DZ: instead of, uh, raising a red flag, it sort of comforts me, yes it's inappropriate language. Which means if if it's an appropriate language, it doesn't even register.

C: Right, so it's things that don't fit that stand out?

DZ: yeah

DZ's mention of this kind of language use 'not even registering' clearly indexed Turner's concept of structural homology, that writtenness is hidden when it is unmarked and only seems to become apparent when it is not.

7.5 Conclusion

This exploration of Research Objective Three generally supports the assumptions in Chapter 2, that lecturers' assessment practices would be orchestrated to some extent by their sense of writtenness. Additionally, and again indicative of the classes as relatively autonomous contact zones, the data indicate that, similar to the findings on lecturers' practices of production presented in Chapter 5, there was a wide variation in lecturers' practices of reception. This included the extent to which they policed writtenness and/or used the extent of its markedness to guide their grading practices.

DC was by far the most focused on 'deficits' (Lillis & Scott, 2007) around the writtenness in his papers, particularly at the surface error level (cf. Roberts & Cimasko, 2008). His very vocal and sometimes strong opinions regarding writtenness and its desirability as an AUAF student outcome very much echoed the tenets of LAS education discussed in the introduction (see Becker, 2013; Botstein, 2018). His concern was such that he asked me to enter the contact zone to help students with the writtenness of their second assignments. Also, in contrast to some of the studies that indicated faculty's concerns regarding how marked writtenness may affect perceptions of individual students (e.g., Coleman & Tuck, 2020; Zawacki & M. Cox, 2014), DC also raised concerns about the consequences of such marked writing in terms of AUAF's institutional image. Despite this, it seems that while DC had the power to impose his norms and was very vocal about them, he refrained from exercising his power in this contact zone. His struggles with this, however, echoed those discussed in Fishman and McCarthy (2001; see also Ives et al., 2014), where the lecturer felt he was compromising his principles (see also Jenkins, 2011, regarding lecturers accepting, if not condoning, a bumpier ride through a text).

This was also true of DK, who, despite being the strictest grader, felt that he had compromised and awarded grades he believed were not particularly warranted. Like DC, DK expressed strong opinions about the desirability of students graduating more proficient in writing. However, his apparent focus on overall structure and cohesion as a key aspect of writtenness contrasts with DC's frustration with more local surface-level error (although DC seemed to subliminally recognize and reward well-structured papers). In fact, for DK, the overall expositoriness of the text seemed to affect his assessment of local language use. For him, good local language use in texts that lacked

overall coherence and expositoriness was not valued as much as in texts that were also well structured. This was also true for DZ; good local use of language, as aspects of writtenness were hidden (Turner, 2018) in texts that did not overly disrupt his smooth reading and expository ideologies. Additionally, like DK, he was more concerned with intrusions on his sense of the expository ideology, such as flouting of the maxims of quantity and manner and breakdowns in cohesion and thematic progression, than with surface error. However, unlike DC and DK, for him, more/less marked writtenness was distinguished by a grade range of A to A-, with this also somewhat connected to an overall assessment of each student's performance in the class in general, a grading practice not explicitly shared with students. For DW, a focus on following the guidelines seemed to be his grading criterion. He did not seem to focus overtly on any aspects of writtenness at all. While it can be argued that his norm-referenced ranking of the papers from Behsud to Geeti could also be justified linguistically based on degrees of markedness in writtenness, DW made absolutely no claim to this, basing his judgment on an overall reading and his beliefs about how closely they followed the guidelines.

Arguably, the overall acceptance by all the lecturers of what Turner (2018) called the bumpier ride through the texts suggests a sense of peripheral normativity (Blommaert, 2007) at AUAF. However, the range of practices and attitudes to assessment suggests again that each class was better understood as a relatively autonomous contact zone (Kimura & Canagarajah, 2018). While the grade ranges seem exemplify of this autonomy most clearly, with only DC and DK seeming to noticeably penalize more marked writtenness (DC's range was from A- to B-, and DK's range was from A- to C-), another variance was written feedback, including the amount and purpose

(see Chang, 2014; Hyland, 2013a, 2013b). DC was the only lecturer to provide extensive error correction feedback, albeit mainly on treatable errors[40]. He was also the only one to provide an extensive overall comment at the top of each (cf. Connors & Lunsford, 1993), and the only one to refer, in these comments, to issues with English proficiency to advise students to work on English proficiency. DW and DZ provided some corrections and comments from DZ, such as 'repetitive' and 'unclear', a comment also used by DK, which could be interpreted as feed forward on writtenness (cf. Altınmakas & Bayyurt, 2019). Some of DW's comments were genre-specific, such as those on Geeti's abstract, and DK's comments on missing elements in the project proposals could also be seen as feed forward to any future production of these genres. However, most of the feedforward, like all the feedback, remained unread, and whether it was ever of any use is beyond the scope of this study. In general, most comments seemed to be aimed at justifying the grade; the amount varied greatly, and some were illegible (cf. Chang, 2014). Ultimately, no student reported seeing anything in the feedback that they would draw on in future written work.

Again, the findings here complicate the rhetoric of EMI around students' linguistic repertoires (cf. Henderson, 2018) and the normative goals of LAS. Regarding LAS, Becker (2014) notes, it "places a premium on substantive and timely feedback ... This reflects one of the great challenges of LAS education: it is time-intensive for the faculty". It appears that in this study, while DC and DK invested some time in reading the

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[40] His response to untreatable error in Nazia and Banin's papers was that it was impossible to provide simple corrections with significantly rewrite large chunks of the text (cf. Roberts & Cimasko, 2008)

assignments, there did not seem to be the kinds of substantive feedback that Becker may have envisaged. Although Altınmakas and Bayyurt (2019) suggest more seasoned in non-intervention settings. students appear more pragmatic with, and able to use, even negative comments, there appeared to be little in terms of forward-looking help or encouragement for students to develop their writtenness repertoires. As mentioned, the students (apart from Sheba) generally did not seem to want to use any feedback for future writing situations. Also, the apparent lack of focus on writtenness in some contact zones suggested that, beyond any intrinsic desire to write as well as they could, students felt that it was not worth the effort to engage fully in the hidden labour of writtenness.

Despite this, the data did indicate that students who engaged in more of the hidden labor of writtenness reaped the benefits. However, decisions not to do so had varied consequences. Nazia and Banin were marked down in DC's class, but Lena's and, in particular, Parnian's decisions not to follow the guidelines were not overly penalized. Arguably, however, the beginning, middle, and end coherence of their papers may also have been a factor.

8. Summing Up

The study reported on in this thesis investigated the literacy practices that students and professors drew on in and around the production and reception of grade-bearing written assignments in content classes at The American University of Afghanistan (AUAF). The study focused specifically on the exploration of:

1. Any assignment or writtenness-oriented teaching or literacy practices of production lecturers at AUAF drew on to set writing assignments and explain and/or scaffold (or not) them in their classes.

2. Any assignment or writtenness-oriented literacy practices of production that multilingual students at AUAF drew on to produce these assignments.

3. Any assignment or writtenness-oriented literacy practices that lecturers drew on when reading and assessing these assignments.

The theoretical underpinnings of the study drew on epistemological and methodological precepts within the UK and Commonwealth practitioner/researcher tradition of Academic Literacies (AL). These precepts themselves draw on the New Literacies Studies notions that (1) literacy is best understood as a set of practices; (2) that people engage in such practices to get things done in their lives; (3) that practices vary based on context; (4) that some practices, such as those drawn on to write grade

bearing assignments in universities, are more valued and therefore regulated than others; and (5) that such literacy practices can be best investigated and understood through ethnographic methods.

AUAF identifies as an English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) American University Abroad (AUA) with a curriculum modelled on the Liberal Arts and Sciences (LAS) model. Therefore, the study assumed that with regard to high-stakes assignments, both lecturers and students would have at least some concern with the form of the writing in their texts apart from the content, i.e., writtenness. Therefore, the study drew heavily on Turner's (2018) notion of writtenness. Although this term, as used by Turner, had not yet been coined at the outset of this study, it seems it has always been an object of central interest to AL.

EMIAUAs, however, are an institution type that is under-researched in AL, despite having characteristics (see Chapter 1) that would seem of interest to AL scholars. Therefore, it seemed that the study also required deeper theorizing about the role of writtenness-oriented and other academic literacy practices in such contexts, and indeed, how to investigate and frame them. This led to a process that drew together ideas from various traditions, including third-generation literacy studies concepts such as literacy regimes, peripheral normativity, spatiotemporal scales (Blommaert, 2008, 2010; Blommaert et al., 2005), and, following Canagarajah (2015), contact zones to consider how writtenness might feature in the classrooms in the study. Part of this process also seemed to necessitate analytical ways to think about or account for things that might contribute to or detract from the material writtenness, i.e., linguistic aspects of the texts, that might cater to or arouse an evaluative reader's expository, smooth reading, or

linguistic conflation ideologies.   Much of this occurred concurrently with the development of data analysis methods.

The overarching method employed was text-oriented ethnography. This involved joining and participating in four sophomore and junior classes, in which a significant portion of the grade was earned through written assignments. The participation involved writing at least one assignment in each class to experience the demands of the assignments, understand how each was presented and scaffolded (or not) in each class, and what writtennesses might play a role in each (e.g., genre) as clearly (or not) articulated requirements, or aspects of assessment. The rationale for joining four classes was that doing so would allow each class to be seen as an example of the range of sites of assignment production that students may have to negotiate during their studies.

As the data analysis progressed, it became clearer that it made sense to treat each of these classes as a relatively autonomous literacy practice contact zone. This was because not only did the lecturers' practices of production and reception, and the rationale behind them, vary widely, but also because of the inherent power they had, whether exercised or not, to require writtenness and/or police its presence in their students' texts.

Additionally, during this time, and in response to the amount of data emerging, there was a growing sense of the value of distinguishing between assignment-oriented practices and writtenness-oriented practices (Figure 2.1 and Section 2.3, Chapter 2). This enabled more focused data analyses by tying the ethnography down, to an extent (Rampton et al., 2004), to a specific examination of what both lecturers and students did that was oriented towards the writtenness of the texts. This process further entailed

developing an analytical framework for identifying aspects of the texts that could be seen to contribute to or detract from the material writtenness, aspects which could then be considered in light of other ethnographic data (see Chapter 2, Sections 2.7 & 2.8).

This Chapter will now detail the contributions that have emerged from this study, beginning with the overarching contributions to AL, followed by a discussion of other insights and contributions that resulted from the individual research questions and objectives. It then discusses findings of value to EMI, AUA, and, to some extent, LAS scholarship, before briefly examining how the text-oriented ethnographic methods and analytical tools developed during the lifespan of this study may contribute to the AL toolkit for those interested in similar research. It then presents some implications of the study, before concluding with limitations and suggestions for future research.

8.1 Contributions

The study has sought to contribute to the AL canon in several ways. One overarching contribution is as an exposition of the value of the concept of 'writtenness', in both its material and immaterial forms (see Chapter 2, Sections 2.5 and 2.6), in the defuzzification of an object that has been central to AL research since its inception. Surely it was writtenness, or at least aspects of it, that was being referred to in the deficit discourses around student writing, which inspired AL (see Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Lillis & Scott, 2007). For this study, this concept contributed significantly to the articulation of the primary assumption and subsequent argument of the thesis that attention to writing in the students' texts (the writtenness), apart from the content, would orchestrate at least some of the practices that both the lecturers and students brought

to the production and the reception of these assignments. Additionally, the study has also shown that the text-oriented ethnographic methods that evolved over the lifespan of this project allowed for a more nuanced tracing of writtenness-oriented practices throughout the lifespan of the assignments. In doing so, this thesis has demonstrated that while writtenness did feature in the students' and lecturers' practices of production and reception, it did so in ways that may call into question some of the marketed goals and assumptions of EMI and possibly AUA education.

8.1.1 Regarding Lecturers' Production Practices

The exploration of Research Objective One revealed that lecturers drew on their sense of writtenness in presenting their assignments in class. However, the amount, kind, and rationale for such practices varied greatly. The observation of this range of practices enabled the study to add concrete illustrations of some of the lecturer practices previously discussed in talk-around-texts AL research and indeed exemplify the sometimes limited or sometimes inconsequential extent of such practices mentioned in these studies (e.g., Boz, Lea, & Street; Lillis, Paxton, & Tuck).

DC and DK did the most in terms of the provision of self-designed, writtenness-oriented support. They also most explicitly indexed the LAS graduate outcome of improved facility with writtenness, although only DC explicitly referred in talk-around-texts and in class to students *needing* to know and be able to use forms associated with it. In this way, they both seemed to be prepared to take on some of the scaffolding work that might contribute to the EMI, AUA, and LAS outcomes of developing a facility with writtenness. DW implied the value of certain types of writing and advised students to self-develop by reading examples and consulting style guides. The guidelines selected by DY

that were used in DW's class included some focus on writtenness. However, his self-admitted lack of review of these guidelines also exemplified his contention that he felt no obligation to help students develop their writtenness repertoires. Although DZ emphasised the value of being able to do and write up research in our talk-around-texts, this did not translate into any real teaching practices in the classroom. He provided a textual how-to scaffold that referred to some tropes of writtenness and illustrated the genre of the research paper; however, as with DW, this seemed to be the extent to which DZ felt he needed or was willing to help the students with their assignments in this contact zone.

These findings showed, then, that at AUAF at least, despite years of constructive critique in EMI scholarship (e.g., Airey, 2016; Belhiah & Elhami, 2015; Evans & Morrison, 2011; Gronchi, 2023; Hu, Li & Lei, 2014; Kamasak, Sahan & H. Rose, 2021; Knoch, et al. 2015; Rogier, 2012), and in writing-oriented work in traditions such as AL (e.g., Boz, 20006; R. Clark & Ivanic, 1997; Ivanic, 1998; Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Tuck, 2012, 2017) and WAC/WID (see the volume edited by Zawacki & M. Cox, 2014); including recommendations for some forms of scaffolding, e.g., how to write assignment guidelines (e.g., Boz, 2006; Zawacki & M. Cox, 2014; Bean & Walvoord, 2011) and the use of models with multilingual students (e.g., Dreyfus, Humphrey, Mahboob, & Martin, 2016; Eriksson, 2018; Goldschmidt, 2010; Pessoa, Mitchell, & Miller, 2018; Wingate, 2018), there has been little change in the way writing and writing assignments are presented in contexts in which multilingual students are required to produce academic texts. Few of the lecturer's practices could be described as evidence-based in terms of recommendations and faculty support in the literature mentioned above.

This is not to criticize the lecturers or to take a deficit view of their practices; they are experts in their respective fields, and their primary purpose was to teach content. Indeed, all seemed to feel that whatever input or insight they provided was sufficient to make the writtenness requirements for the assignments transparent. Additionally, their work was generally well-intentioned, and they appeared to be satisfied with their efforts. Despite this, very few of their literacy practices, writtenness-oriented or otherwise, made significant contact with the students' existing practices. This point, and the tracing of what the students actually did and why, was a key aspect in the exploration of Research Objective Two.

8.1.2 Regarding Students' Production Practices

The exploration of Research Objective Two contributes to AL by providing more nuanced understandings of how, in light of lecturers' practices generally having little impact, the students drew on existing assignment and writtenness-oriented practices to get their work done. A key revelation was that several factors influenced the amount of time and effort they invested in the hidden labour of the assignment (see the yellow practices in Figure 2.1), particularly the hidden labour of writtenness (see the green practices in Figure 2.1).

For Parnian and Geeti, the amount of work that went into the hidden labour of writtenness and indeed the whole assignment was, in part, based on their perceptions of the value their lecturers ascribed to writtenness. In DZ's class, Parnian, despite appearing to have a relatively broad writtenness repertoire, did the bare minimum based almost entirely on her previous experiences of DZ not taking writing seriously. This was also true of Geeti in DW's class. Although she actually learned the genre from the

guidelines, she did not engage in the hidden labor of revision and polishing, due to her perception that DW did not care much about writing (writtenness). Lena, Nazia, Banin, Jamshid, Roya, Lemar, and Obaid engaged minimally in the labour of polishing, although for different reasons. Obaid mentioned this was largely due to his attitude toward the class and DK. Lena, Nazia, Banin, and Jamshid all admitted to procrastination and last-minute drafting, leaving little time for polishing. For Lena, Nazia, and Banin, it seemed that perhaps these practices had become habitual due to not being overly penalized in previous AUAF contact zones. Indeed, Banin felt she would be/should have been cut some slack regarding writtenness, suggesting a sense of a peripheral normativity (Blommaert et al., 2005) around writing for some students at AUAF.

For Jamshid, Roya, and Lemar, however, task complexity was also an issue. Although Jamshid and Roya knew that writtenness and following guidelines would be a grading issue based on previous experiences with DK, the labour around learning not only an occluded genre, but also understanding the content of their selected TORs seemed to drain their interest and capacity to engage their full repertoire of writtenness-oriented practices. Roya ultimately gave up, and language proficiency issues complicated Lemar's overall rather unhappy experience with the assignment. This suggests that, despite DK's rather extensive scaffold, more preparatory support should be provided when requiring EMI or AUA students to complete such novel assignments.

Indeed, many of these students in DK, DW, and DZ's contact zones sought their own support, likely due to the novelty of the genres in these classes. This included local assignment-oriented practices centred on securing and mimicking assignments from peers in the same class (e.g., Jamshid, Parnian, Lemar – see also Geeti sharing her paper

with a peer) or others who had taken the class previously (e.g., Sana, Lena, Behsud) (cf. Goldschmidt, 2010; Leki, 1995; McCambridge, 2015; McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012). None seemed to feel such practices were untoward (cf. Barrett & A. Cox, 2005), and in some ways, this practice can be seen as a form of self-initiated genre study. Arguably, however, the time needed to invest in these practices outside of class diverted resources away from other writtenness-oriented labour. For some, this depletion of resources may also have been further affected by more limited linguistic and literacy repertoires. Students with broader ranges seemed to have resources available not only for learning/mimicking the genre, but also some other aspects that can be seen to contribute to writtenness (e.g., Jamshid's paraphrasing, Obaid's overall writtenness).

Work on Research Objective Two, however, did show that few students seemed to engage with a fuller range of writtenness-oriented practices, particularly the hidden labour of revising, editing, and polishing (cf. Kietlinska, 2006; Silva, 1993). Only Sana seemed to epitomize a perhaps idealized student, taking the opportunity offered by an assignment to develop not only facility with a new genre but also investing time in honing her practices of polishing for 'stylistics' (her own term). Her engagement in this hidden labour also included a different form of collusion, working with a literacy broker. Although other students reported having done this previously, she and Tamim were the only students who discussed doing so in this study. However, while Sana seemed to engage with literacy brokers as a regular practice, Tamim also did so due to his (accurate) perception of DC as a lecturer who would take writtenness more seriously. Sheba also engaged in what seemed to be a routinized range of assignments and writing-oriented routines, including the hidden labour of polishing. These investments paid off; indeed, a possibly unsurprising finding was that students who engaged in this labor and had the

capacity to do so generally reaped the benefits in terms of grades. The data collected for Research Objective Three, however, also revealed that responses to more marked writtenness, which was sometimes likely due to less engagement in the hidden labour activities, also varied greatly. In some cases, students' decisions to avoid the labour of writtenness seemed to be minimally penalized and somewhat defensible.

8.1.3 Regarding Reception Practices

The focus on Research Objective Three contributed to AL in terms of how lecturers responded to "particular assignments or particular student texts" (Ivanic, as cited in Tuck 2018, p. 49) in specific literacy practice contact zones. While the focus was obviously on the lecturers' reception practices, the backstory of the assignments from their initial introduction, discussion, and scaffolding (or lack thereof) in the classes and the students' accounts of what they did to get the work done, provided by the study, allowed for a much more nuanced consideration of each lecturer's assessment practices.

One assumption early in the study was that assessment would be the point of most proximal contact between lecturers' and students' academic and writtenness-oriented literacy practices. It would be here in the contact zones that the lecturers would ultimately be able to enact their evaluative power (or not) based on any stirring of the ideologies of writtenness while reading. Indeed, the data did generally support the assumption that lecturers' reception practices were influenced, at least to some extent, by these senses. However, each lecturer's decision regarding the extent to which they would enact their power to require writtenness seemed a clear indicator of the value of considering each class as a relatively autonomous contact zone.

The analysis showed that all lecturers rescaled their grading practices to the local context of AUAF (cf. Fishman & McCarthy, 2001; Jenkins, 2014; You & You, 2013). DC's and DK's accounts and critiques of the student writing they saw indexed more elite literacy regimes that they saw as befitting an LAS/AUA. For DC, surface-level distractions and frustration with untreatable or more discourse-level errors seemed to trigger his senses of the ideologies of writtenness. For DK, the same was true, but more based on how the overall expositoriness of a text affected his assessment of language use at the local level. They were both willing to act on these triggers; DC marked Banin and Nazia down based on surface-level and expository writtenness, and DK did the same with Jamshid, Roya, and Lemar regarding overall expositoriness in particular. However, despite both suggesting the papers should have been penalized more severely, they clearly mentioned being lenient due to the EMI nature of the context.

DW and DZ both emphasised that they did not focus on surface-level issues with writtenness. DW, however, did not seem to spend much time reading the papers or their writtennesses in particular. In some ways, this was indicative of his overall practices around the writing assignment in this class; it was included in the (DY's) syllabus, so he included it, but he did not invest much time in teaching it or using it beyond a mere artifact linked to overall course assessment. DZ did generally ignore surface-level errors at the clause level; however, it became clear that he was somewhat bothered by smooth read issues between clauses. In both DW and DZ's contact zones, material writtenness issues in the texts were not really penalised in a massively consequential way. For Parnian, Lena, Behsud, and Geeti, the lack of labour seemed to mean only an acceptable difference between an A and an A-. In some ways, this suggests that their decision not to engage in such labour was somewhat validated.

In DC's class, Nazia and Banin's last-minute drafting with minimal editing decisions seemed to be miscalculations. This may have been because it was DC's first semester at AUAF, and there was no information on the student grapevine about his grading practices. Indeed, anecdotally, it seems that in a small institution such as AUAF, students share experiences with certain professors' grading practices, and some students tailor the amount of time and effort they are willing to devote to the hidden labour of writtenness accordingly.

Overall, an interesting contribution from this part of the study was insight into the lecturers' rescaling of their assessment practices, which ranged from a kind of grade inflation (DC and DK) to a 'let it pass' attitude (DW and DZ). While this may suggest peripheral normativity at play, such decisions seemed more a result of individual practical time/resource decisions rather than a sense of institutional culture (cf. Blommaert et al., 2005). Indeed, while decisions to overlook error (DW and DZ) or not apply the full penalty for perceived transgressions (DC and DK) suggest that all the lecturers in this study accept, if not condone, the bumpier ride through a text (Jenkins, 2011), the data also suggest that this was not due to any overly enlightened thinking based on thoughtful reading from translingual perspectives (e.g., Canagarajah, 2002; Horner, NeCamp, & Donahue, 2011) or alignment with the transformative ideologies of AL (Lillis & Scott, 2007). It seemed more like a pragmatic compromise due to the senses of the labour involved at the textface (Tuck, 2017) in 'fixing' the student papers, and providing formative, forward-looking, writtenness-development-oriented feedback.

8.1.4 Regarding EMI, AUAs, and LAS

Beyond contributions to AL, the study's findings will also be of interest to researchers interested in EMI, AUAs, and LAS. The study reinforces the challenges to the widely touted assumptions that such forms of higher education will kill two birds with one stone, combining content learning with language development (e.g, Breeze, 2012; Dearden, 2014; Galloway, 2017). The findings showed limited development of either linguistic or writtenness repertoires (although see Sana, Tamim, and Sheba), despite opportunities for both through more direct teaching of the assignment types and the provision of formative feedback. While the students used English and drew on their sense of writtenness to get their work done, the study echoes the findings of previous work that has that critiqued the taken for granted assumption that merely using English is the same as developing linguistic repertoires (e.g, Breeze, 2012; Dearden, 2014; Galloway, 2017; Belhiah & Elhami, 2015; Henderson, 2018; Hu, Li & Lei, 2014; Knoch et al., 2015; Rogier, 2012).

The findings also challenge some of the rationale for LAS, particularly its goal to develop increased sophistication in both spoken and written English. In this way, it also raises some questions about some of the implicit rationale for AUAs, such as AUAF, which were founded in the wake of the Bush Doctrine (Long, 2020), that such institutions would not only spread American values but also produce an American-educated elite who could communicate articulately in both writing and speaking (Jackson, 2009).

8.1.5 Regarding Text-oriented ethnography

A final contribution of this thesis is as a case for the value of text-oriented ethnography as an overall method, along with some of the methodological concepts and

text analytical methods developed within this study. It is hoped that the concept of writtenness-oriented practices will go some way toward addressing some of the work to develop contextually grounded tools for text analysis called for by Lillis and Curry in 2010. The text analytical techniques provided ways for teasing out the linguistics of what might contribute to, or detract from, writtenness, or textualized linguistic forms that index the contexts (or aspects of it) in which they emerged. This seems to allow for some closing of the gap between text and contexts (see Lillis, 2008), at least in this study. Other ethnographic methods around the text analysis, including observation and the AL staple of talk-around texts, allow for a reciprocal look from context to text by providing data on the ways the participants orient to the texts and literacy practices around them (see Lillis, 2008). Lastly, for those interested in how these practices and texts operate in contexts where there are unequal power relations around writtenness, the concept of relatively autonomous literacy practice contact zones may also prove a useful way to consider what goes on in the range of sites in which people have to write.

8.2   Implications

The study suggests that, in contexts such as AUAF, if there is any desire to raise consciousness, at least, about the role of writtenness in the world and how this may disadvantage multilingual students and others, there is a need for more institutional or departmental directives (e.g., Murray & Nallaya, 2014; Wingate, 2018). This is not to take a deficit view of student writing, but to echo AL researcher/practitioners' acknowledgment of the value of helping multilingual students produce writing that does not draw attention to itself through error (Lillis & Tuck, 2016), and to at least make such

students aware of the role of writtenness in university and beyond and the consequences of not being able to play the game as it were (Lillis & Horner in Lillis et al. 2015). This may be particularly relevant at an LAS EMIAUA, where, at least for the present, it seems developing sophistication with writtenness presumably remains a desired outcome.

Despite this, advocates for more focus on helping students develop their facility with or knowledge of writtenness acknowledge that it entails more labor for faculty (e.g., Becker, 2013; Botstein, 2017; Zawacki & M. Cox, 2014) and that such labor is often perhaps the less rewarding kind (e.g., Tuck, 2017). Indeed, while the faculty above, particularly DK, were prepared to do some work, the study revealed that the belief persists that teaching or scaffolding writing is something that should be addressed outside the disciplines (M. Rose, 1985; see also Williams, 2020). This suggests that any institutional pressure to invest more time in this, beyond the 'real' work of teaching content, might be resisted (see Murray & Nallaya, 2014).

This situation also links to some of the findings around student practices in this study. Arguably, the unproblematized ideals of the implicit outcomes of LAS around writtenness would seem to depend somewhat on a perhaps naïve belief that students in such institutions would embrace writing assignments as an opportunity not only to learn the content but also to engage in and seek to hone their full range of writtenness-oriented practices repertoires. Again, though, it could also be argued that more institutional investment in promoting writing and awareness of the role of writtenness in the world across the curriculum may encourage more student investment, understanding, and working with it. Lastly, however, it must also be noted that this study has concluded at a time when AI polishing tools can be used to significantly reduce the labor involved in producing unmarked writtenness. If such AI-polished texts appease lecturers' senses of

writtenness and make for easier times at the textface, those who advocate for more widespread work on writtenness may face even more resistance. This suggests there are interesting times ahead for writtenness (see also 8.4 Future Research below)

8.3   Limitations

Clearly, the limited number of participants and its one-semester scope mean that the study cannot and does not suggest that it has captured the lecturers' or students' full range of literacy and/or writtenness-oriented practices. In talk-around texts, students referred to other literacy practices in other contexts, and all lecturers provided anecdotal accounts of providing writtenness-oriented intervention in other classes.

Additionally, as with all qualitative research, this study is open to suggestions of bias and subjectivity, and its findings are limited in terms of actionable insights. Regarding bias, it is hoped that this has been partially addressed by accounting for the evolution of thinking in and around this ethnographic study, particularly in Chapters Two and Four (see also Blommaert, 2006). Additionally, it is believed that the amount of data in Chapters Five to Seven, along with the triangulation between the data types above, will help support the claims made. Regarding the lack of actionability, the study can still be of interest to other AL scholars and anyone involved with multilingual writers in higher education. The glimpses it provides into the way senses of writtenness play out in both lecturers' and students' practices may allow for reflection at the individual, departmental, and institutional levels.

8.4   Future Research

This study recognises that writtenness is in flux (Turner, 2018) and, echoing the transformative perspectives of AL, the sheer numbers of multilingual students in internationalised HE (Jenkins, 2011) suggest the inevitability that more lecturers for whom unmarked writtenness is a desirable quality may have to accept, if not condone, a bumpier ride through a text. Clearly, there is scope for other research to investigate the extent of this and possibly what Brandt and Clinton (2002) referred to as globalising connects: The ways that mobile literacies that have travelled out of centring institutions and are subject to localising moves can return to and have an effect on the original literacies in those institutions. One focus here could be the extent to which writtenness is affected by the sheer numbers of multilingual students writing in EMI and/or AUAs, and whether/why readers may/may not reorient their practices around the evaluative ideologies of writtenness.

Additionally, some data in this study suggest that there may be differences in how native English-speaking faculty and multilingual faculty scaffold and respond to student writing. Specifically, while DC was more distracted by surface-level errors, DK and DZ tended to overlook surface error issues. However, they were more concerned with clause-to-clause coherence (DZ) or overall expositoriness (DK). Therefore, another line of research could be on any differences between NES and multilingual lecturers' writtenness-oriented literacy practices.

Lastly, however, while writtenness is in flux, this study took place at a time when AI text editing and polishing tools appeared to have the capacity to eliminate much of the hidden labor of producing it. As such, AI seems a tempting tool for students who would

like to avoid the hidden labour of writtenness, and even for those who did engage in the work themselves, sought literacy brokers or even paid proofreaders to ensure that high-stakes written work was polished and would attend to the evaluative ideologies of writtenness. AI seems to do much of this work with a few clicks. Also, given that many faculty may not enjoy the bumpier ride at the textface, arguably, some may not overly mind reading texts that have been polished by AI. This raises many interesting questions and areas of research, not so much around the role of writtenness, but rather the role of the hidden labour that goes into it and the benefits this is presumed to provide, not least in LAS systems from the time of the Yale report onwards (e.g., Becker, 2013; Botstein, 2017). Indeed, the nature of AI suggests that many professionals who are required to produce documents comprised of unmarked writtenness may begin to rely more on an internet connection rather than honed senses of written expression. Considerations such as these suggest some interesting research directions in the near future.

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10. Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Profiles

HIS399

DC

DC is a recognised expert on Afghanistan and has published several books on the region. He has PhD in History from a French university and worked previously at an elite university in the US. He held very firm views about LAS education and its outcomes. At the time of his studies, he was in his first semester at AUAF. He was very positive about AUAF and believed in what he saw as its mission: to train an Afghan elite who could interact with business and political leaders on the world stage. He speaks several languages and, in class, could effortlessly switch to lecturing in Dari (Afghan Persian). He felt it was necessary to make a point. He was, however, very surprised and somewhat disheartened at what he felt was the students limited English proficiency.

Banin

Banin was a third-year political science student. She had grown up in the south of Afghanistan, where her father owned a language school. She learned English there and recalled exercises where the students would write paragraphs and then read them. She also felt that AUAF should not be strict on accuracy in writing and had become used to leaving writing assignments to the last minute, a habit she was hoping to break.

Nazia

Nazia was a third-year political science student. She grew up in Pakistan and was schooled in Urdu until her family returned to Afghanistan when she was around 14. Although she could speak Dari, as it was a home language for her, she could not read or write and so struggled a lot at school in Kabul. Nazia felt she was not fully literate in any language and, during the semester, asked me several times whether she makes sense when she writes in English.

Tamim

Tamim was a third-year political science student. He grew up in Pakistan, and although he learned English in school there, he also attended courses to help develop his proficiency. He learned all of his writing at AUAF in FYC, and he tried to apply what he learned to all the assignments he wrote in other classes. He admitted not always applying himself to assignments unless he was interested in the topic or writing about a topic he could choose for himself.

Sheba

Sheba was a third-year Political Science student. She spent much of her early life in Saudi Arabia and attended EMI schools. She had a systematic approach to writing and approached all of her writing tasks in the same way regardless of who she was writing for. She felt confident in her writing, as she said she rarely received written comments on her work, which she felt meant it was good.

SOC310-001

DW

DW has a PhD in Anthropology and, prior to teaching at AUAF, had worked as a social worker. He also taught social work in various countries, as well as sociology and anthropology. He had also taught ESL for a period in Asia. At AUAF, he had previously taught Anthropology and Gender Studies, two courses he enjoyed teaching. He was asked to teach SOC310 at the last minute due to the abrupt departure of the professor who had been scheduled to teach it. He was unhappy about this and felt unprepared to teach the course. He, therefore, followed the previous professor's syllabus, including the major writing assignment. Regarding writing in his class, he was perhaps the most adamant that developing writing was not his responsibility and that students should arrive in his classes to be able to write well already.

Geeti

Geeti was a third-year Political Science student. She had lived abroad for most of her life, mainly in Saudi Arabia, where she attended EMI primary and high schools. She recalled writing essays at school and felt that by doing so, she had developed writing habits that served her well at AUAF. She found writing at AUAF relatively easy but, as with some of the other students, would often scale the amount of work she was prepared to do based on her perceptions of the lecturer she was writing for.

Behsud

Behsud was a third-year political science student. He grew up in Kabul and attended school in Dari. He recalled that writing at school consisted of being asked to write a paragraph on a given topic and then standing up and reading it aloud, after which everyone would clap. He had learned all his English in courses and also became a teacher. He recalled that when he took FYC at AUAF, the teacher used a writing book he had taught in his language school.

SOC310-002

DK

DK is a native of a Southeast Asian country who received an MA and a PhD in Social Science from an Australian university. He has expertise in policy development and analysis, project management, impact assessment and monitoring and evaluation, and had spent many years working in the development sector. AUAF was his first teaching position after he was awarded his degree. He described his first year at AUAF as very difficult due to what he felt were issues with his proficiency in spoken English. He felt, however, much more with his writing ability, and a key strategy to overcome what he felt was his speaking deficiency was to set relatively demanding writing assignments but also provide detailed guidelines. In terms of assignments, he was very influenced by his postgraduate studies in Australia, particularly in terms of overall structure and coherence in writing. These became key criteria for him in all the assignments he set at AUAF.

Obaid

Obaid was a third-year political science student. He first started learning English during the previous Taliban regime, and his mother, who had been a teacher, strongly encouraged him to do so. He continued to learn English from then on, usually by taking courses. By the time he started at AUAF, he had been working as a document translator for an American government agency for several years. Obaid had high proficiency in English and generally enjoyed writing assignments at AUAF.

Roya

Roya was a second-year Political Science student. She had spent much of her early life in Pakistan, where she learned English in school but also attended 'courses' (a commonly used term for private classes in private language schools) because the quality of teaching in school was low. After graduating, she briefly attended a medical college in Pakistan but struggled because although it was advertised as an English medium, most of the faculty lectured in Urdu, which was not a home language for her. She recounted enjoying writing at AUAF, particularly genres such as literary responses, as she felt freer to write in ways she wanted, and she received positive feedback and grades. She was happy to write more structured essays if they were on topics she was interested in, such as those related to medicine. She recalled having written a paper for a friend in a New Zealand university and was very happy that she received a B for her efforts.

Jamshid

Jamshid was a fourth-year political science. He had grown up in Pakistan, where he had learned English from an early age, eventually becoming an English teacher before opening his own language school. He had started at AUAF quite enthused about writing

and willing to put effort into composing his assignments. Since his second year onwards, however, due to work commitments and slight disillusionment with AUAF, he had started to make less effort. He was content to rely on his generally high proficiency to get B grades. He was looking forward to graduating.

Lemar

Lemar was a third-year political science student. He had grown up in a rural area of Afghanistan where his father was very well respected because he was literate. When Lemar arrived at AUAF, he did not know what an essay was and was only introduced to the idea when he was required to learn how to write for an IELTS exam. It was then in FYC that he felt he developed an ability to write. Whenever he had to write an assignment since then, one of his main strategies was to find a model.

PAD210

DZ

DZ has a PhD in Political Science and Public Policy from a US university and has been teaching in Political Science departments in various countries since 2004. He was among some of the first cohorts of Eastern European scholars to be invited to undertake postgraduate studies in the US following the fall of the Soviet Union. One of his abiding memories from that time was having to write empirical research papers for virtually every class, something he struggled with. He felt he received very varied support with this, with some lecturers willing to take drafts while others just left him and his fellow students to get on with it. Based on his experiences, he felt that being able to conduct and write up research was an essential skill for his students. He, therefore, set research-type papers

in all his classes. He was aware that most AUAF students were generally unprepared for this and felt that AUAF should introduce a research methods course for all first-year students.

Parnian

Parnian came from a remote northern province of Afghanistan. She recalled learning English from an early age and became very engaged with it because it enabled her to read articles and stories about things that seemed so remote to her. She became almost obsessed with reading anything and everything she could find. When her father travelled to Kabul on business, she would demand that he bring back as many English language magazines and other reading materials as he could. Regarding writing, at AUAF she claimed to find it relatively easy and always seemed to do well without really trying. The amount of work she was willing to put into an assignment often depended on how engaging the task was or how much she enjoyed the course or respected the lecturer.

Sana

Sana was a fourth-year law student. She had grown up and gone to school in Kabul, initially in Drai-medium schools but transferred to an English-medium school when she was 14. She had excelled in FYC but also felt that being a law student had helped her develop as a writer. This was because, unlike other departments at AUAF, the law department taught writing in the courses. It was in one law course that she'd learned the term stylistics.

Lena

Lena was a third-year Business administration student. She had grown up in a Russian-speaking country and did her early schooling in Russian. When her family returned to Afghanistan, she initially struggled to study in Dari. She eventually attended a teacher training university in Kabul, where she admits her supervisor wrote her monograph for her. She tended to procrastinate with writing assignments, often writing them in her office a few days before they were due.

Appendix 2: The Data Collected

This appendix contains brief summaries of the four courses attended as part of the study and the data collected in each.

The four classes attended were HIS 399, 'Afghanistan and the British Empire 1809 – 1947'; two sections (classes) of SOC 310, 'Social Science Research Methods'; and PAD 210, 'Introduction to Public Policy'. Each class met twice weekly for one hour and twenty minutes in the 2017 fall semester at AUAF, which ran from the **26th of August to the 21st of December 2017.**

HIS 399

HIS 399, 'Afghanistan and the British Empire 1809 – 1947', is an upper division (3rd/4th year) course, which focused the geopolitical role of Afghanistan as situated on the Northwest Frontier of the Indian sub-continent during the 19th and 20th centuries. The class was held on Saturdays and Tuesdays from 3.30 pm to 4.50 pm.

In HIS 399 the students were assessed through 2 papers. The first was the midterm paper:

Assess, in a five-page double-spaced essay, why, in your view, the emir Dost-Muhammad [the ruler of Afghanistan] chose the British alliance *after* 1842.

The second, which was to be submitted at the end of the semester, was originally detailed in the syllabus as:

Assess, in a 10-page double spaced, essay the pertinence of ABDK's warnings to subsequent twentieth century Afghan rulers"

However, this was later change to a five-page paper addressing the following question:

Why and how does the Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1880 repeat the patterns of the First Anglo-Afghan War of 1838-1842?

The participants were the lecturer and three students. A summary of the data collected in HIS 399 is shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4.

Data collected from individual participants			Data collected from participant observation
Participant	*Literacy History (LH) and talk-around texts (TaT) interviews*	*Class assignments and other textual data*	• Field notes • Syllabus • Class reading materials • My written assignment • Reflections on my assignment • Reflective Diaries • Photos of information written on whiteboard • LH & TaT schedules for each participant • Emails from lecturer to class • Notes from 'hallway' conversations with student participants and lecturer.
Dr Conlon	• TaT 1: live grading of students first assignment – 20/11/17 • TaT 2: general discussion of student papers – 17/12/17		
Banin	• LH interview 07/10/17	• Papers for other classes including a	

	• TaT on assignment 1 – 30/11/17	PCAP paper from PAD 210 • Assignment 1 • Assignment 1 with Dr. Sheen's comments	
Nazia	• LH interview 19/10/2017 • TaT on assignment 1 - 29/11/17	• Assignment 1 • Assignment 1 with Dr. Sheen's comments	
Sheba	• LH interview 07/10/2017 • TaT on assignment 1 - 04/12/17	• Papers for other classes including a PCAP paper from PAD 210 • Drafts of assignment 1 • Assignment 1 • Assignment 1 with Dr. Sheen's comments	
Tamim	• LH interview 09/10/2017 • TaT on assignment 1 - 28/11/17	• Papers for other classes • Drafts of assignment 1 • Assignment 1 • Assignment 1 with Dr. Sheen's comments	

SOC 310

SOC 310, Social Science Research Methods, is a junior (3rd year) level course, aimed at providing a comprehensive introduction to social science research, its goals

and methods. The two sections (classes) I attended, SOC 310 001 and SOC 310 002, were delivered by different lecturers, neither of whom had taught this course at AUAF before. Although the both courses used the same textbook, each course was delivered entirely differently in terms of content, and the writing assignments were also very different.

SOC 310 001 was held on Sundays and Wednesdays from 2.00 to 3.20 pm. The main writing assignment was an individually written 2000-word APA research paper on a social science topic self-selected by the students, which was worth 25% of the overall grade.

Another assessed writing component, also weighted at 25%, involved the students writing summaries of assigned readings. These summaries were submitted for grading, but students also brought hardcopies to class to facilitate discussion of the assigned readings in in-class workshops. In each workshop, the students would discuss their summaries and ideas in groups and then each group would use their summaries/discussions to produce a handwritten master summary that was to be handed in at the end of the workshop. These master summaries would then be used by the lecturer to develop final exam questions. There were 9 of these workshops throughout out the semester and individual grades were based on the five best summaries submitted by each student.

The participants were the lecturer and two students (there were only 4 students in the class, one of whom did not complete). A summary of the data collected in SOC 310 001 is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1.

Data collected from individual participants			Data collected from participant observation
Participant	*Literacy History (LH) and talk-around texts (TaT) interviews*	*Class assignments and other textual data*	• Field notes • Syllabus • Textbook • APA paper writing guidelines PDF – URL detailed in the syllabus • Audio recordings of summary workshops • Audio recordings of some classes on writing and short sections of classes regarding the assignment
Dr Wayne	• LH interview 25/09/17 • Think aloud whilst grading participant 1's paper 08/11/17 • Think aloud whilst grading participant 2's paper 22/11/17 • TaT on students' papers – 11/12/17		
Geeti	• LH interview 25/09/17 • TaT on summary for workshop 4 – 16/10/2017 • TaT on individual APA paper 07/12/17 & 11/12/17	• Summaries for workshops • Individual APA paper assignment final draft • individual APA paper assignment with lecturer's comments	• My summaries for workshops • My written APA paper • Reflections on my assignment • Reflective Diaries • Photos of information written on whiteboard • Some photos of PowerPoint slides (the lecturer was reluctant to share the originals with me) • LH & TaT schedules for each participant • Emails from lecturer to class • Notes from 'hallway' conversations with student participants and lecturer.
Behsud	• LH interview 15/10/2017 • Think aloud – participant's thoughts on their summary for workshop 4 - 15/10/2017 • TaT on summary for workshop 4 – 19/10/17 • TaT on individual APA paper	• Summaries for workshops • individual APA paper assignment drafts and final draft • individual APA paper assignment with lecturer's comments	

	assignment 27/11/17		

SOC 310 002 was held on Sundays and Wednesdays from 6:30 pm to 7:50 pm. The main individual writing assignment was a professional research proposal designed to address an actual research need detailed in a published Terms of Reference (TOR) issued by a funding agency or non-governmental organization (NGO). The main focus was to develop a research method which would adequately meet the needs of the project detailed in the Terms of Reference. This assignment was to be 2,500-3,000 words, excluding the references and summary, and would amount to 25% of the total grade.

There was also a group writing project which involved developing a 2000-word research proposal aimed at investigating a social issue in Afghanistan. The proposal was described by the lecturer as being a real proposal that should be detailed enough to be developed into an implementable research project. This document was to include an introduction of the issue, a literature review, a theoretical framework and a proposed data collection method. This team project also included several short presentations in which team members would detail their topic and progress. The project was weighted at 20% of the overall grade.

The participants were the lecturer and four students. A summary of the data collected in SOC 310 002 is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2.

Data collected from individual participants			Data collected from participant observation
Participant	***Literacy History (LH) and talk-around texts (TaT) interviews***	***Class Assignments and other textual data***	• Field notes • Syllabus • Written guidelines for the individual assignment • Example (genuine) TOR from an NGO • Example professional research proposal: a genuine inception report addressing the TOR above written by lecturer • Example academic research proposal (lecturer's PhD research proposal) • Course readings • Textbook • Audio recordings of some classes on writing and short sections of classes regarding the assignment • Audio recordings of group presentations and other classes and parts of classes dedicated to assignment writing • A TOR I found for the professional research proposal assignment • My professional research proposal assignment
Dr Kano	• LH interview • TaT on conceiving and creating writing assignments 17/10/17 • Think aloud recordings on group projects 03/11/17 • Think aloud recordings on individual participants' papers 3, 4 & 6/11/17 • TaT on students' papers – 27/12/17		
Jamshid	• LH interview 03/10?17 • TaT on main assignment 20/12/17	• Drafts of group research proposal • Participant's TOR for individual professional research proposal • Individual professional research proposal final draft • Individual professional	

		research proposal with lecturer's comments	• Reflections on my writing my assignment • Reflective Diaries • Photos of information written on whiteboard
Lemar	• LH interview 07/10/2017 • Tat on main assignment 18/12/17	• Drafts of group research proposal • Participant's TOR for individual professional research proposal • Individual professional research proposal final draft • Individual professional research proposal with lecturer's comments	• LH & TaT schedules for each participant • Emails from lecturer to class • Notes from 'hallway' conversations with student participants and lecturer.
Roya	• LH interview 05/10/2017 • TaT on paper written for friend in New Zealand 13/11/17 • TaT on main assignment 18/12/17	• Various papers written in other classes & 1 paper written for a friend at a New Zealand university • Drafts of group research proposal • Participant's TOR for individual professional research proposal • Individual professional research proposal final draft • Individual professional research proposal with lecturer's comments	

| Obaid | • LH interview 03/10/2017
• TaT on group assignment 19/10/17, 16/11/17 & 18/11/17
• TaT on main assignment 18/12/17 | • Various papers written in other classes
• Drafts of group research proposal
• Participant's TOR found for individual professional research proposal assignment
• Draft of Individual professional research proposal
• Individual professional research proposal assignment final draft
• Individual professional research proposal assignment with lecturer's comments | |

PAD 210

PAD 210 Introduction to Public Policy is a sophomore (2nd year) course aimed at providing an introduction to the study of the public policy making process. The class was held on Sundays and Wednesdays from 5.00 pm to 6.20 pm.

The main writing assignment in PAD 210 was described as a 'critique' in which the students were required to write a 'Policy Constructive Action Project' (PCAP). This was to be done in 2 parts, each worth 20% of the overall grade. The first, **PCAP 1**, was a 4-page paper that identified one policy problem in or affecting Afghanistan that the student

believed needed immediate action by the national or regional government. PCAP 1 was to include:

1. The policy problem that you believe exists.

2. Existing evidence (literature) that supports your claim about the existence of a problem.

3. Formulation of your research question based on points 1 and 2.

4. Theoretical framework that your paper will be based on.

5. Methodology (research design) that you will use to research and analyze the research question.

This part was submitted to and reviewed by the instructor before the students proceeded with the second part, PCAP 2.

PCAP 2 was a 6-page paper which was combined with the revised version of for a total of 10 pages, excluding references.

PCAP 2 was to include the actual research, discussion or the results and implications that could be drawn from the student's research. It was to include the following:

1. Evidence of collection of empirical data.

2. Presentation and discussion of research findings.

3. Conclusions.

4. Implications for future research: what have you learned and how this knowledge could be used or applied in the future by both academics and government practitioners.

5. Literature and consulted sources.

6. Relevant tables and graphs (if applicable).

The participants were the lecturer and three students. A summary of the data collected in PAD 210 is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3.

Data collected from individual participants			Data collected from participant observation
Participants	*Literacy History (LH) and talk-around texts (TaT) interviews*	*Class assignments and other textual data*	• Field notes • Syllabus • Textbook • Copies over PowerPoints used • Guidelines for PCAP (including a screenshot of guidelines emailed in the previous semester) • Audio recordings of references to PCAP in class • My written assignment (PCAP 1 only) • Reflections on my assignment • Reflective Diaries • Photos of information written on whiteboard • LH & TaT schedules for each participant • Emails from lecturer to class • Notes from 'hallway' conversations with
Dr Zbigniew	• LH interview 12/10/17 • TaT on conceiving and creating writing assignments 17/10/17 • TaT on my paper 04/12/17 • TaT on students' papers – 11/12/17		
Lena	• LH interview 05/10/17 • TaT on PCAP 1 & 2 - 20/12/17	• Main assignment PCAP 1 & 2 • PCAP 1 & 2 with lecturer comments (photocopies) • PCAP sample (provided to individually to participant 1 by lecturer)	

Parnian	• LH interview 02/10/2017 • Tat on PCAP 1 - 10/12/17 • Tat on PCAP 2 - 20/12/17	• Papers from other classes • Main assignment PCAP 1 & 2 • PCAP 1 & 2 with lecturer comments	student participants and lecturer.
Sana	• LH interview 10/10/2017 • Tat on PCAP 1 - 09/12/17 • Tat on PCAP 2 - 18/12/17	• Papers from other classes • Main assignment PCAP 1 & 2 • PCAP 1 & 2 with lecturer comments • PCAP 1 reviewed by friend (literacy broker)	

Appendix 3: Information Sheets

Participant information sheet (students)

Title: The production and reception of multilingual student written assignments in disciplinary classes in the American University of Afghanistan

Researcher: Christopher Henderson, email: chenderson@auaf.edu.af or c.henderson1@lancaster.ac.uk

You are invited to take part in this research study. Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of this study?

I am carrying out this study as part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University in the UK.

I am interested in how you, as a multilingual student for whom English is not a first language, cope with both learning through 'English as a medium of instruction' (EMI), and also having your learning assessed through writing in English. The study will centre on analysis of your assignments written for taught classes in either Business or Political Science at the American University of Afghanistan. The specific aim of the research is to investigate why students in classes in these disciplines at AUAF write the way they do in their assignments.
What does the study entail?

During the study, I will be joining your undergraduate courses as a participant observer. This means that as a participant, I will enrol in the course, attend all the classes and complete all of the assignments. However, I will also be an observer, and as an observer, I will try to understand how the classes/lectures, the materials and the professors influence what you as a multilingual student write, and the styles of writing you use in your written assignments. Another aim is to try to understand your experiences of both studying in English and being assessed through writing in English.

To understand more fully both why and how multilingual students like you make different choices to write in particular ways, I would also like to interview you during the course. The first interview will focus on your experiences with writing prior to your enrolment in the course being investigated. After this, I would like to interview you as you are writing your assignments. Before this interview, I would like to read and analyse your drafts as you are developing your written assignments. Finally, I would like to interview you again after your professor has graded your final draft. Again before this, I would like to read and analyse your final draft. In this last interview I may compare your final draft with previous drafts to discuss why you made certain changes (or not!).

I would like to make it very clear that anything you say in these interviews will be kept strictly confidential. I will not share any of your comments with either your professors

or any other professor at AUAF, or any student in your class or any student at AUAF. Also, when I write about my research project I will not use your name.

I will also be interviewing your professors, which will start with interviews which will focus their writing histories and on their views on writng in their disciplines. These interviews will focus on how and why lecturers may like or dislike particular aspects of some of the students' papers.

However, I must emphasize that in the same way that I promise to keep your comments confidential; I will not share anything the lecturers say regarding your papers or the way they were evaluated. It will be up to the lecturers themselves to share with you why you receive a particular grade.

I also would also like to clarify that my research will in no way affect or influence the grading of your assignments. Lastly, as this is research, I will not be able to give you any of my personal opinions on the value of your work in terms of assessment. In this sense, my role will be strictly that of a researcher.
Why have I been invited?

I have approached you because you are a student in the course I am interested in studying

I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in my study.
What will happen if I take part?

If you decided to take part, this would involve the following:
- allowing me to read and analyse your written assignments
- taking part in some recorded interviews about these assignments

 What are the possible benefits from taking part?

There will hopefully be several benefits of taking part in this study. On a personal level, taking part in this study may help you to become more aware of how and why you write the way you do in AUAF. It may also help you to reflect on aspects of your writing you are happy with and things which you would possibly want to change.

On a broader level, you are a member of a growing global population of multilingual students for whom English is an additional language studying at English medium universities in countries where English is not the first language. Your participation may help contribute to the current understanding of the experiences of students in these environments, particularly in terms of writing assignments.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages of taking part in the study. The only commitment required from you is to provide some time for interviews. However, these will take place at your convenience and refreshments will be provided.

What will happen if I decide not to take part or if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide not to take part in this study, this will not affect your studies or the way you are assessed on your course.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and you do not have to give a reason. If you withdraw while the study takes place or up to 2 weeks after it finishes, I will not use any of the information that you provided. If you withdraw later, I will use the information you shared with me for my study.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. As I said earlier, I will not share anything you say to me with either your professors or any other professor at AUAF, or any student in your class or any student at AUAF. Also, when I write about my research project I will not use any identifying information, such as names and personal characteristics, you will be anonymised in the PhD thesis or any other publications of this research.

Also, the data I will collect will be kept securely. Any paper-based data will be kept in a locked cupboard in my office at AUAF. Electronic data such as drafts of papers will be stored on a password protected computer and files containing personal data will be encrypted. Interviews will be recorded using the same password protected computer and the audio files encrypted also.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be used for academic purposes only. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications, for example journal articles. I am also planning to present the results of my study at academic conferences and practitioner conferences.

What if there is a problem?

If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact myself or my supervisor:

Dr. Karin Tusting: Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and English Language, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Lancaster University

Telephone: +44 1524 510825

Email: k.tusting@lancaster.ac.uk

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This study has been approved by Lancaster University's ethics committee (UREC).

Thank you for considering participation in this project.

Participant information sheet (lecturers)

Title: The production and reception of multilingual student written assignments in disciplinary classes in the American-University-of-Afghanistan

Researcher: Christopher Henderson, email: chenderson@auaf.edu.af or c.henderson1@lancaster.ac.uk

You are invited to take part in this research study. Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of this study?

I am carrying out this study as part of my Doctoral studies in the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University in the UK.

A broad aim of this study is to contribute to the research on the current global phenomenon of 'English as a medium of instruction' (EMI), at universities in countries where English is not the first language. The specific focus is the use of writing for assessment purposes in different disciplines in EMI universities. The study will centre on and around analysis of assignments written by multilingual students (non-native speakers of English) for taught classes in two disciplines – Business and Political Science at the American University of Afghanistan. The specific aim of the research is to investigate why multilingual students in classes in these disciplines at AUAF write the way they do in their assignments.
What does the study entail?

My study will involve me joining your undergraduate course as a participant observer. One goal of this is to understand how the input classes and materials influence what multilingual students write and the styles of writing they use in their written assignments. Another aim is to try to understand the experiences of these students of both studying in English and being assessed through writing in English.

To understand more fully both why and how multilingual students make different choices to write in particular ways, there will also be interviews with the students on your course. These will begin with interviews which will focus on the students' experiences with writing prior to and up to the writing of their assignments in your course. Further interviews will follow analysis of particular assignments. These will focus on how these assignments were put together and also on why particular features in the papers were used.

Beyond this, I would also like to interview you as the lecturer on the course. The initial interview would begin with a discussion of your own literacy/writing history and also seek to understand your views on writng in your discipline. Later interviews will follow analysis of selected student papers. These interviews will focus on how and why you may like or dislike particular aspects of the student papers, and which aspects influenced you when you were grading the papers. At a later stage, I would also really appreciate it if you could provide a digital recording of your 'thoughts' as you go through and grade some selected students papers. This would involve providing a

'live' commentary on which aspects of the student papers are shaping your opinions of these papers and why.

At this point I would like to assure you that I will not share any of your comments on students' work with the students themselves. The information you provide will be strictly for my research purposes only. Also, given my position as a teacher of composition at AUAF, within the courses themselves both during and after the study, I undertake to not provide any evaluative comments, either summative or otherwise, on student written assignments which could be used by students to challenge the grade you have given.

I would also like to assure you that my role will be purely as a neutral observer/researcher. Any observations I make will never be used for any kind of evaluation of your performance as a lecturer at AUAF. This means both in terms of your professional reputation amongst our peers and for performance evaluation by AUAF administration.

Why have I been invited?

I have approached you because you are a lecturer in the course in which I am interested in studying the students writing and writing practices.

I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in my study.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part, this would involve the following: Firstly, you would allow me to join one of your classes as a participant observer. I would also request that you allow me to read and analyse some selected written student assignments both before and after you have graded them. Beyond this, I would ask you to give up some time to take part in the interviews, and to provide the 'think aloud' recordings mentioned above in which detail your thinking as you go through selected student papers.

What are the possible benefits from taking part?

By taking part in the research you will be involved in a process which will hopefully contribute to a climate of research at AUAF. Also, as both you and I are members of a growing global population, lecturers teaching multilingual students for whom English is an additional language at EMI universities, your participation will hopefully contribute to current understandings of the experiences of both lecturers and students in these universities particularly in terms of writing assignments in different disciplines.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages of taking part in the study. However, I do understand the inconvenience of having an observer join your classes. With this in mind, I undertake to make my presence as unobtrusive as possible.

The only other commitment required from you is some of your time and patience for the interviews and recording you thoughts whilst reviewing some of the student papers.

However, all these sessions will take place at your convenience and refreshments will be provided during the interviews.

What will happen if I decide not to take part or if I don't want to carry on with the study?

If you decide not to take part in this study, this will not affect your position in the university or your relationship with AUAF or me.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and you do not have to give a reason. If you withdraw while the study takes place or up to 2 weeks after the data collection finishes, I will not use any of the information that you provided. If you withdraw later, I will use the information you shared with me for my study.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?
All the information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any identifying information, such as names and personal characteristics, will be anonymised in the PhD thesis or any other publications of this research. The data I will collect will be kept securely. Any paper-based data will be kept in a locked cupboard in my office at AUAF. Electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer and files containing personal data will be encrypted. Interviews will be recorded using the same password protected computer and the audio files encrypted also.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be used for academic purposes only. This will include my PhD thesis and other publications, for example journal articles. I am also planning to present the results of my study at academic conferences.

What if there is a problem?

If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact myself or my supervisor:

Dr. Karin Tusting: Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and English Language, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Lancaster University

Telephone: +44 1524 510825

Email: k.tusting@lancaster.ac.uk

Further information and contact details

Christopher Henderson: Assistant Professor of English, Department of English and Humanities, the American University of Afghanistan
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Email: chenderson@auaf.edu.af

This study has been approved by Lancaster University's ethics committee (UREC).

Thank you for considering participation in this project.

Appendix 4: Literacy History Interview Schedules

Language and Literacy History Interview question schedule (Students)

The following is a draft outline of questions that will be used to construct a narrative of the prospective participants' language and literacy histories, their experiences with reading and writing up to the time of the study. As the interviews will be semi-structured, it is possible not all questions will be asked and any points deemed of interest to the study may be followed up with unscripted questions.

Let's begin with your early experiences with language and reading and writing.

In this interview, I want you to tell me about some of the experiences you have had with reading and writing, the kinds of reading and writing you have done, from your earliest memories until now.

1. Can you tell me a little about where you grew up and about schools you went to, from your first school up to the last school you attended before AUAF?
   a. What was the language(s) you used at home? Was it different to the language that was used in your school(s)?
   b. How many languages do you speak or can read and write in?

2. What are your earliest memories of reading and writing in your home/school language(s) both before you started school and after you were in school?
   a. What kinds of reading materials were available to you either at home or in school? Did any of your relatives read or write? What kinds of things?
   b. If you didn't have anything (or much) to read, why do you think that was?

3. Were there any particular kinds of reading or writing that you seemed to like more than other kinds?

4. Do you think reading and writing were valued during your education? Can you tell me about any times you wrote something at school that was valued? Did you have to be able to read and write at a high level to be successful in your school/schools?

5. Is/was there a significant person who was influential on your reading and/or writing development? Can you tell me about the kind of impact they had?

6. In your own language/languages, do you think you are able to choose the right kinds of language for most situations in your life? For example, describing an experience to a friend either in an e-mail or speaking face to face, and describing a similar experience in an email to your professor, or an essay or presentation
   a. Can you tell me about any experiences you have had with speaking/writing that went really well and had the effect you wanted?
   b. Can you tell me about any experiences you have had with speaking/writing that didn't go well or even upset people?

Now I'd like to discuss your experiences with reading and writing in English

7. How did you learn English?

8. Did/do you enjoy learning English? When did you start to learn to read write in English? Tell me about some of your early experiences with reading or writng in English? Do you enjoy reading or writing in English now? How does reading and writing in English compare to reading and writing in your other language(s)?

9. In English, do you think you are able to choose the right kinds of language for most situations in your life? For example, describing an experience to a friend either in an e-mail or speaking face to face, and describing a similar experience in an email to your professor, or an essay or presentation
    a. Can you tell me about any experiences you have had with speaking/writing in English that went really well and had the effect you wanted?
    b. Can you tell me about any experiences you have had with speaking/writing in English that didn't go well or even upset people?

Let's move onto you experience with reading and writing at AUAF

10. Did you always expect that you would go to university?
    a. Did you expect to go to an English medium university such as AUAF where all your classes are in English?

11. Do you feel your previous experiences with reading or writing at school or elsewhere prepared you for the kinds reading and writing that you have to do in your classes at AUAF? Do you find it easy to cope with the kinds of reading and writing you do at AUAF?

12. Do you think there are certain kinds of reading and writing expected at AUAF which are different to some of the other kinds of reading and writing that you do/have done outside of AUAF?
    a. If yes, how do you feel about the kinds of reading and writing you do at AUAF?

13. Why do you think lecturers ask students to write long assignments in university? Can you tell me about a time this was made clear in class? Would you prefer them to give multiple choice or short answer tests? Why?

14. Do you think there different kinds of writing and different kinds of written assignments in different classes in AUAF? Tell me about them.

    a. Have there been any classes at AUAF where you found the writing either easier or more difficult than other classes? Can you give me any examples?
    b. Can you tell me about any classes here at AUAF where you had to do particular or special kinds of writing that were new or clearly different to what you were used to or had done before?
    c. What about writing for different professors? Do different professors seem to expect you to write in ways that are different from your other classes or different experiences?

     d. Do you feel your professors make their expectations about the kinds of writing they want you to do clear? Can you give me any examples?

     e. Have you ever handed in a piece of writing you thought was good that was given a lower grade than you expected? Did the professor explain the grade clearly?

     f. Do you feel professors help you to write the way they expect and are very clear about what they expect? Can you give me any examples?

     g. Do you feel your writing classes (ENG 110, 115) prepared you to write in all/most of your classes?

15. Can you tell me about any ways in which you think your life story and previous experiences with reading and writing have affected the way you think about and write assignments or the tings you do to get your written assignments done in classes at AUAF?

Subsequent interviews will follow analysis of student texts both during and after their production and submission. The questions for these will be tailored to each particular text/student based on this analysis, and, therefore, can only be created following this analysis.

Literacy History Interview guide (Lecturers)

The following is a draft outline of questions that will be used to construct a narrative of the prospective participant lecturers' language and literacy histories, their experiences with reading and writing up to the time of the study and their views on writing in their disciplines at AUAF. As the interviews will be semi-structured, it is possible not all

questions will be asked and any points deemed of interest to the study may be followed up with unscripted questions.

I'd like to begin with your early experiences with language and literacy

In this interview, I want you to tell me about some of the experiences you have had with reading and writing, the kinds of read and writing you have done, from your earliest memories until now.

1. Can you tell me a little about where you grew up and about schools, from your first school onwards?
   a. What was the language(s) you used at home? Was it different to the language that was used in your school(s)?
   b. How many languages do you speak or can read and write in?

2. What are your some of earliest memories of reading and writing in your home/school language(s) both before you started school and after you were in school?

3. Can you tell me about your time as a school student, what kinds of reading materials were available to you either at home or in school?
   a. What kinds of things?
   b. If you didn't have anything (or much) to read, why do you think that was?

4. Is/was there a significant person who was influential on your reading and/or writing development? What kind of impact did they have?
   a. Did any of your relatives read or write?

5. Is there or has there been any particular kind of reading or writing that you seemed to like more than other kinds, either during your time as a school student or since then. Can you tell me about any times you engaged with these.

Now I'd like to move onto your experience with literacy in English (for lecturers whose first language was not English)

6. Tell me about your experiences with learning English, from the beginning up to now?

7. Did/do you enjoy learning English? When did you start to learn to read write in English? Tell me about some of your early experiences with reading or writng in English? Do you enjoy reading or writing in English now? How does reading and writing in English compare to reading and writing in your other language(s)?

8. In English, is it quite easy to choose the right things to either say or write for most situations in life – for example, asking discussing work with a non-academic friend or discussing research at a conference? Or telling or writing email to friend about an experience or writing that experience in written form or in a presentation? Can you tell me about any times you felt very successful speaking or writing in English?

Let's move onto your experience with literacy at university level

9. Did you always expect you would go to university? Did plan to become a university lecturer? How did that happen?

10. Did you attend an English medium university? (for lecturers whose first language(s) is not English)

11. Did you feel prepared for the reading and writing that you had to do at university? Did you find it easy to cope with the kinds of reading and writing you did at that time?

12. Did/do you feel writing helps (or helped with your) with learning? Can you give me any examples of this?

13. Did you feel you were expected to write in different ways in different disciplines at university? Can you give me any examples of this?

14. Do you think any of your life/previous experiences with reading and writing have affected the way you think about academic writing or disciplinary writing and the way you may expect your students to write in your classes?

Let's finish with your ideas around student writing at AUAF

15. How important is writing in your courses, program, and field?

16. Can you tell me about the some of writing assignments you use/have used in your courses? Are these common in your discipline?
    a. Do you think writing for [interviewee's discipline] is similar to or different from writing in other disciplines?

17. Do you like your students to sound academic in their writing assignments?
    a. Do you like to see language and writing styles you recognize as quite typical of your discipline?
    b. Is it important for your students to sound like 'members of your discipline? E.g. discussing concepts, you had explicitly covered in class in an academic way?
    c. Are any kinds of writing found in your discipline commonly taught during disciplinary courses of majors?

18. Do you think writers for whom English is not a first language should be 'cut some slack'?
    a. Is it ethical to do this?

19. Do you have any pet hates regarding student writing at AUAF, particular features you see often that you dislike?

20. Do you think writing courses, for example ENG 110 and ENG 115 (these are compulsory writing courses at AUAF based on the first year composition ubiquitous in American universities) do prepare students for writing tasks in content courses?

21. Do you think the writing center here at AUAF is useful for helping students with written assignments in disciplinary content classes?

22. Do you give feedback on students' writing? How do you feel students respond to feedback? Do you feel they are more interested in the grade rather than any comments on their work? Can you tell me about any experiences with this?

23. Is there anything else you would like to say about your students' writing at AUAF?

Subsequent interviews will follow analysis of student texts after submission and grading. The questions for these will be tailored to each particular text/student based on this analysis, and analysis of lecturer feedback and comments, and, therefore, can only be created following this analysis.