Second Language Academic Literacy Socialisation Through Individual Networks of Practice: An Ethnographic Account of Learning to Write in an Academic English Programme in Japan

by

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Abstract

While theories of second language socialisation and academic literacies recognize that important socialising interactions occur in social networks, classrooms continue to be the locus for much related research (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). In this thesis, I decentre the classroom and examine the language socialization of Japanese university students into English language academic writing practices through the lens of individual networks of practice (INoP). I studied the academic literacy socialisation accounts of English for Academic Purposes students over one Japanese academic year, investigating their individual networks, literacy practices and identities. The research is aligned with transdisciplinary SLA in which language learning/socialisation is seen as a constant interaction of micro, meso and macro levels (Douglas Fir Group [DFG], 2016)

I took an ethnographic/longitudinal approach. Of seven focal participants, three were interviewed 6-9 times over one academic year and four were interviewed four times over a half academic year. Focal-participant interviews were triangulated with written assignments, interview with key people in networks and other data. Transcripts were coded using combined inductive analysis (Duff, 2008) and accounts of social interactions were represented as individual networks of practice (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). Analysis is complemented with a membership categorisation analysis (Sacks, 1992; Stokoe, 2012) of interview accounts showing categorisations produced in interviews to represent "common-sense" assumptions about culture and society.

Analysis shows that different responses to similar constraints influenced variable socialisation trajectories. Construction and identification in individual networks of practice (1) shaped and was shaped by socialisation opportunities at the micro level; (2) resulted in variable socialisation outcomes and transformation of these same networks at the meso; and (3) illustrated the pervasiveness of macro-level social and cultural structures at all levels. The research argues that attention to networks can bridge levels to demonstrate the multiple macro constraints, meso agency/identities and micro interactions that shape socialisation.

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature:

Date: 28/6/2019

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0   Background

This research began from a teacher's simple question: despite apparently similar access to opportunities for learning, why did some of my students develop their academic writing but others not? This question arose from my 10 years in Japan teaching writing to mostly Japanese students in higher education. Like many other teachers, I assigned academic writing in the form of paragraphs and longer essays as homework, and asked students to submit drafts to me for feedback. In the process of writing multiple drafts, I randomly assigned students a partner with whom they were asked to exchange drafts, annotate it with comments in English or Japanese and return for further revisions. Sometimes, this writing process led to written products that adhered to the academic writing conventions and standards set by me and the programme on which I taught. At other times, students appeared to have spent little time on their writing or had ignored written feedback, sometimes making few revisions to their assignments or sometimes revising in unexpected ways or to what seemed an unnecessary extent. As a teacher, I felt I had some understanding of the micro-level interactions between students and me during class time. However, I had little understanding of what happened after the bell had rung and students left the room with homework assignments in hand. It became clear to me that what happened outside the classroom shaped these variable outcomes.

In attempting to answer my question, I first turned to the field of contrastive rhetoric, now reframed as intercultural rhetoric (Connor, 2004). However, despite attempts by researchers to de-essentialise the field (e.g. Abasi, 2012), accounts in which difficulties in learning academic writing are attributed to differences in cultural beliefs and values did not accord with my own experience, nor were they supported by research which shows that many Japanese students have little experience of writing pre-university (e.g. H. Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2009) or that posited stable, cultural differences between Japanese and English ways of writing have been greatly exaggerated (Cahill, 2003; H. Kobayashi & Rinnert, 2002; Kubota, 1997, 1998). Furthermore, while a pragmatic English for Academic Purposes (EAP) approach (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002) addresses issues such as uptake of linguistic forms as a result of peer and teacher feedback (e.g. Berg, 1999; Connor & Asenavage, 1994;

Hyland, 2013; Macbeth, 2006; Min, 2006; Yang, Badger & Yu, 2006), this also did not answer my question. I knew that students responded in different ways to academic writing and feedback but not *why*.

To understand the development of academic writing as a social process, I turned to socially-oriented research on L2 learners in academic settings, specifically the theory of language socialisation (LS) and its sub-fields of second language socialisation and academic discourse socialisation. However, I found that socially-oriented research on L2 learners in academic settings was overwhelmingly conducted in North American universities and typically considered spoken, classroom-based English. Development of academic discourse in language classes in non-L2 dominant contexts was implicitly dismissed as a form of preparation for future participation in academic communities overseas. The skills-based, quantitative approaches prevalent in Japan and other non-L2 dominant contexts which see academic writing as varying degrees of uptake of a set of academic writing skills remained largely unchallenged. Therefore, a desire to account for the rich social worlds I believed were implied by my own students' highly contingent responses to academic writing has motivated and continues to motivate my research.

1.1   Study Purpose and Research Questions

In addressing the lack of research on (English) academic discourse socialisation in non-English dominant undergraduate contexts, the first purpose of this study is to investigate learners' development of academic writing as a form of socialisation into academic English literacy practices. To do so required long-term engagement with the research participants and site, using ethnographic methods. The second purpose is to address the lack of research into language learners' social interactions outside the classroom, which I represented through their individual networks of practice. Because the limited research conducted on social networks in language learning/socialisation suggests the makeup of networks predicted some language learning outcomes (Curry & Lillis, 2010; Dewey, Ring, Gardner & Belnap, 2013; Ferenz, 2005; Isabelli-García, 2006; Kurata, 2011; Rundle, 2011; Zappa-Hollman, 2007), I also considered the types of social ties between individuals. This included the strength of the tie and the number of ways individuals were tied to each other through social groupings and communities. Finally, I considered the factors that

could influence networks, identities and practice, shaping the students' access and taking up of access to micro-level interactions.

The following research questions guided the study:

RQ1: What English academic literacy practices do learners develop while enrolled on an English for Academic Purposes course?

RQ2: What is the place of individual networks of practice in the development of these academic literacy practices? How are interactions influenced by the types of social ties between individuals?

RQ3: What other factors such as competing identities, power or access to resources shape the networks, identities and practices that are developed?

1.2   Organisation of the Thesis

Six chapters follow this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 describes the theory of language socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) which has guided this research and situates the theory in relation to related theories and frameworks including academic language/discourse/literacy socialisation, academic literacies and literacy as a social practice. In the chapter, I argue that first and second language socialisation, particularly in academic contexts, both follow similar processes shaped by agency, power, investment and identification and index meso-level social identities and macro-level ideological constraints. In the remainder of the chapter, I discuss how existing literature has addressed the key concepts of agency, identification and choices and constraints on micro-level interaction, particularly in social networks.

In Chapter 3, I discuss my methods of data collection and analysis, situating my work within a wider field of ethnography. I describe my primary source of data, interviews with seven focal participants, triangulated with further interviews with individuals in their social networks; focal participants' academic writing and written feedback they had received from classmates and teachers; and additional data such as notes, outlines and online chat threads. To represent the focal participants' social connections and how these changed over the course of the academic year, I describe how I employed and made refinements to the individual networks of practice framework (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). I also discuss typological qualitative

analysis (Hatch, 2002) and Membership Categorisation Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Stokoe, 2012), which I used to analyse interviews and other data.

In Chapter 4 and 5, I provide an analysis of participants' interview accounts triangulated with other data. In Chapter 4, I discuss the social academic literacy practices developed by the seven focal participants over the course of the academic year. I illustrate their use of personal, textual and network resources to support their socialisation into practices related to academic English writing. I then focus on the micro-level revisions students made to their written assignments and discuss how these oriented toward their participation with others in networks. In Chapter 5, I narrow the focus to four participants from one of the EAP classes to discuss their individual networks of practice, identities and literacy practices. I focus on these four because their socialisation trajectories were contingent on their different agencies despite constraints on access which were sometimes very similar, leading to different trajectories/outcomes for their identities, networks and practices.

In Chapter 6, I revisit these four participants and with additional data make three points about academic discourse socialisation in networks. Firstly, I argue that access to micro-level opportunities in networks is shaped but not blocked by macro-level ideologies or meso-level social structures, suggesting the current focus on study abroad has obscured agency over constraints. Thus, secondly, I argue that individuals' agentive choices in response to constraints on access are perhaps the most profound influences on their socialisation trajectories. The students' choices in identifying with and investing time in network nodes also indexed their multiple identities and participation in social groups outside the English classroom. Thirdly, I demonstrate that these choices and identities were signalled by the meanings that academic writing took on for the participants. I show that those who were unwilling or unable to avail themselves of access struggled to take ownership of practices and identities related to English academic writing, while those who took up access to micro-level opportunities in their networks simultaneously re-signified academic writing in their lives to align with their desired identities as competent writers.

In Chapter 7, I recapitulate my findings, leading to a discussion of the theoretical contributions of my research. In this chapter, I pose important questions of current descriptions of language learning in relation to macro-meso-micro levels or scales (Douglas Fir Group, 2016). I argue the current descriptions of SLA do not fully

account for how structures and ideologies are open to change through the exercising of agency, and thus insufficiently address relations between multi-scalar levels. I also call into question the relative lack of attention to both written text and language as a social practice in the DFG (2016) schematic, suggesting a conflating of the relations between different meso-level social identities and practice. After addressing the limitations of my research, I call for greater research on contexts similar to mine to consider socialisation in unstable and unpredictable networks rather than relatively well-defined, stable communities. I conclude by suggesting ways to access and analyse learners' impromptu, out-of-class interactions in networks.

1.3   Significance of the Study

This study aims to make a contribution to three, nested fields. Firstly, at the most contextually-specific level, I aim to demonstrate the applicability of sociocultural theories such as language socialisation and frameworks such as individual networks of practice to language learning in so-called EFL contexts, like Japan. By treating language learning as a process of developing literacy practices within wider networks, I argue that language learning in such contexts is not fundamentally different from so-called ESL, study abroad or other experiences of immigrants and heritage-language speakers in L2-dominant countries. While the affordances and constraints of my context were certainly different, the socialisation processes and interplay of identity, agency and access were not.

Secondly, I aim to contribute to the field of academic discourse socialisation. Due to lack of access, most current research focuses on oral, classroom socialisation. While the framework of individual networks of practice is a powerful way of representing wider social-network interactions, it has not yet been taken up in many empirical studies. I aim to illustrate how choices surrounding academic literacy practices are contingent on individuals' wider social interactions in such networks and also powerfully index macro-level ideologies and values. Through my access to participants' writing, triangulated using interview accounts, I show the increasing participation in academic literacy practices that current research has struggled to document (Duff, 2019; Duff & Talmy, 2011).

Finally, my wider goal is to contribute to the transdisciplinary field of second language acquisition as conceived of by The Douglas Fir Group (2016). While

answering many of the questions raised by my research is beyond the scope of this study, it is my hope that my interrogation of the DFG's description of language learning at macro-meso-micro levels will lead to future research in evolving aspects of the framework.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

2.0   Introduction

Among the many approaches to second language learning, the theory of language socialisation (LS) most richly accounts for development of linguistic and cultural knowledge as a process contingent on individuals' interactions within social worlds that encompass rather than comprise classroom in schools or universities. In this chapter, I will first define LS and related concepts such as academic discourse socialisation and second language socialisation, discussing the scope of academic discourse socialisation in a second language including so-called "preparatory" or English for Academic Purposes programmes in non-English dominant contexts. I will then summarise and critique existing research in the field of second-language academic discourse socialisation, paying particular attention to the treatment of identity and agency which are central to my analysis. I will argue that, by focusing on L1-dominant contexts, much current research has portrayed identity and agency from a hierarchical perspective, stressing L2 learners' resistance to stigmatised identities and consequences for their access to socialisation opportunities. I will also argue that more research is needed on a) out-of-class interaction among peers and b) through writing, to demonstrate the relational, emergent and variably contingent nature of agency, identity development and academic literacy in these contexts. Existing research has struggled to demonstrate the interplay between the meso-level social context and shifts in participation in (also meso) academic literacy practices. In other words, I believe it is increasingly necessary to understand academic literacy as a social practice, as much about interacting *in* and identifying *with* one's immediate social world as about learning academic English skills. This requires frameworks which can represent learners' social relationships and interactions inside and outside the classroom. To address this gap, this review will end by introducing and critiquing the framework of individual networks of practice which has formed the basis of my representation of participants' meso-level interaction in developing social networks.

2.1   Defining the Terms: Academic Discourse Socialisation in a Second Language

In this section, I will introduce the theory of language socialisation and its subfields of second language socialisation and academic discourse socialisation. I will

first define key terms and compare language socialisation to similarly-named theoretical concepts including enculturation and academic literacies, as well as clarifying my position in regard to contested terms such as "native speaker" and "English as a foreign language". I will provide an overview of the current scope of academic discourse socialisation research, describing it as typically confined to study abroad (SA), or other L1-dominant contexts of L2 learners' socialisation such as immigrant language learning.

2.1.1 Language socialisation

Language socialisation (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) is a theory which describes development of linguistic and cultural knowledge as a process of learning *to interact* and *through interacting* with others. Language does not exist "out there" to be acquired but is both something to be learnt and something construct*ed* in the process of learning. In this section, I will discuss language socialisation (LS) in general before addressing socialisation into a second language and finally socialisation into academic discourse. I will also define key terms which I will use throughout this chapter: practices, agency, identities/identification and index/indexicality.

In its most basic sense, language socialisation considers how novices develop social and cultural knowledge or competence within a range of contexts and social experiences by interacting with experts (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), knowledge which allows them to participate more fully in the practices of communities, defined as local communities as well as wider cultures (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). The prototypical unit of expert and novice in language socialisation was a parent and a child, but research can consider any of the communicative partners with whom individuals engage in some way (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Indeed, it is perfectly possible for adults to be novices, as language socialisation is a lifelong process. It is also a "life-wide" process, as language socialisation occurs throughout our lives and across all the different communities in which we participate (Ochs and Schieffelin, 2017; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

Language socialisation refers to socialisation *into* a language and also socialisation *through* the language: alternatively, socialisation *to use* a language and *through the use of* language. As language and social structure are interdependent, we learn languages not only to interact with others but learn through interacting with

others in socialising practices. In LS, practices are defined as the participation by novices in semiotically-mediated practices which scaffold their experiences, providing cues which allow them to interpret and respond in situated interaction (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). In contrast to (situated) interaction, which describes the observable, micro-level social and cognitive behaviours of individuals interacting with others or with text, practices are not sets of behaviours but are embedded in the social context, encompassing identities, beliefs and access to communicative resources. As such, practice exists at the meso level of The Douglas Fir Group's (DFG, 2016) schematic of language learning. These meso-level socialising practices exist on spectrums from explicit to implicit or overt to diffuse; some socialising practices are explicitly/overtly codified by educational or other institutions with the expressed goals of instructing novices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Novices choose to participate in or resist these explicit practices, leading to variability of socialisation outcomes. By and large, however, socialising practices are pervasive and implicit, scaffolding and providing cues which guide rather than instruct novices' participation. Furthermore, socialising practices are sometimes engaged in despite rather than because of the intentions of institutions or those in power. By rejecting or resisting institutional practices, novices participate in alternative practices, leading to different socialisation outcomes and also reconstruct institutional practices for their own purposes. As such, practice in LS necessarily remains a fuzzy term denoting different types of socially-embedded participation through situated interaction.

The socially-embedded nature of practice is demonstrated by the treatment of agency and identity in LS research. As in other theoretical orientations, *agency* is distinguished from *structure* (e.g. Carter & Sealey, 2000); social structures, including existing and historical social relations, artefacts and the built environment promote but do not determine individuals' agency to participate in socialising practices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Agency accessing opportunities for socialisation is both afforded and constrained but never seen as controlled by structure. However, the LS treatment of multidirectionality also shows how structure can be partly transformed through the exercising of agency: practices and related identities are multidirectionally-constructed and open to change. While novices/expert positionalities are often shaped by power structures, these positions are not wholly determined by structure but are open to negotiation; novices can resist their positioning as novices and transform the

institutional practices in which they are expected to be socialised, effectively socialising those positioned as experts (Talmy, 2008). Through this co-construction of practice, individuals have agency to shape the meso-level context of interaction (DFG, 2016) and, by implication, wider macro-level structures.

Identity in LS is conceived as identification as a member of a culture and community. As children and other novices develop social and cultural knowledge through participating in socialising practices, they become increasingly competent members of their communities and develop identities as such (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012). Thus, socialisation leads to identification, and greater identification and membership is a goal of socialisation. However, LS research has not always explicated at what level of "culture" and "community" individuals are identifying. For instance, by identifying as members of a (meso) local community (such as "this university"), are individuals also identifying as members of a wider (macro) culture (such as "Japanese culture")? The concept of *indexicality* is thus intended to account for these relations between micro language, meso community and macro culture (Duff, 2019).

In LS, indexicality is intended to show how linguistic structures and cultural practices point to and can transform "structures and relationships beyond the immediate interaction" (Duff, 2019, p. 12), linking micro, meso and macro levels of society and culture. While I agree that indexicality as currently theorised demonstrates how (micro) semiotic resources and (meso) practices have meanings related to other levels of society, *transformation* of culture and society is less clear. Duff (2019) describes LS in terms of a "slice" through different layers, with attention to what is indexed at multiple scales. At the macro level, researchers can examine ideologies; at the meso, histories and identities; at the micro, social interaction patterns, all of which "contribute to the learning and performance of language and culture as indexed through focal linguistic forms and practices; these same forms and practices signal competent (or less competent) participation and membership in particular cultures and communities" (p. 11). In other words, language use and practice are afforded and constrained by different levels of society while themselves indexing individuals' identification with meso-level communities and macro-level culture. Identity can be conceived of as primarily a meso-level phenomenon, related to individuals' identification with sociocultural institutions and communities; however, identity is

both negotiated and enacted during the micro level of individuals engaging with others and shaped by individuals' orientation toward wider macro discourses (Duff, 2019). Thus, understanding meso-level identities both requires and illuminates understanding of factors shaping identity at all levels.

To account for the above complexities, researching LS requires understanding the processes of socially-situated interactions, employing discourse or ethnographic methods to closely observe individuals' interactions, typically over a long period of time. Such methods can capture novices' interpretations of the practices, semiotic forms and ideologies which influence their participation in socialising practices and illuminate social structures (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2017). Ethnography and ethnographic methods, commonly applied to LS research (Duff & Anderson, 2015), will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

To summarise, the theory of language socialisation considers learning a language as entailing participation in socialising practices through situated interaction among novices and experts. Such practices are highly contextually-situated, meaning that individuals' access to opportunities for socialisation is both constrained and afforded by meso/macro social structures. However, these practices are open to change through multidirectional socialisation, as those positioned as novices can exercise agency to enact change on the social context. In addition to practice and linguistic forms, LS is also a process of developing identities as members of communities and cultures, competent identities which allow for legitimacy and greater participation in such communities. Indexicality represents an attempt to show links between these different levels of society; by analysis of language and practice, researchers can show how different levels of society shape and are shaped by socialisation. Having defined language socialisation and the key terms, I will now discuss the LS sub-fields of second language socialisation and academic discourse/literacy socialisation, while also emphasising the compatibility of LS with academic literacies and literacy as a social practice.

2.1.2 Second language socialisation

While *second language socialisation* (L2S) shares all of the key features of first-language socialisation (Poole, 1992), it sharpens the focus to those learning a "new" language in later childhood or adulthood (often described as "non-native

speakers") or relearning a language they had once spoken but had lost proficiency in. Second language socialisation refers to socialisation beyond an individuals' dominant or "native" language, encompassing contexts described as second, foreign and multilingual. L2S considers newcomers' pursuit of membership and ability to take part in language communities through development of linguistic and cultural resources (Duff, 2012b). In contrast to first-language socialisation in which children are almost always provided access to their language community, newcomers to second-language communities face challenges in their pursuit of membership. These challenges are reflected in terms such as *second language*, *foreign language* and *native/non-native speaker* which have been problematised. I will now briefly address the terminology of second language socialisation.

Firstly, the division between native and non-native speaker is socially-constructed rather than empirical. For instance, individuals can learn one language in childhood, lose proficiency in this language, and then learn another language which becomes dominant. It is not clear which would be considered the *first* language or at what point individuals would be considered a "native" (NS) or "non-native" speaker (NNS). The rigidity of these terms strongly implies we cannot lose the ability to be identified as a native speaker. Furthermore, the term native speaker is loaded with power, while non-native speaker implies a lack of competence; this is particularly the case in my context of Japan (Kubota & McKay, 2008). Indeed, as multilingualism is increasingly being recognised as the norm (DFG, 2016), individuals are understood to often be equally proficient in several "native" languages at once. As such, I have avoided the labels of native- and non-native speaker except when reporting literature which makes use of these terms. However, following Duff (2012b), I will use the terms first and second language because a) such terms are not loaded with the same connotations as native/non-native b) distinguishing first and second language socialisation expresses the differing access to language communities described above.

A second and equally problematic distinction which appears in much research is between "foreign" and "second" language learning. Typically, a foreign language (FL) is described as a language learnt in a local context in which it is not widely used, such as the learning of French by Japanese university students in Japan. In contrast, second language (SL) learning refers to the learning of a language which *is* widely used in the local context, such as the learning of English by some immigrants to the

United States. These two examples are distinct in some ways: students of French in Japan often do not have access to as many opportunities to use and encounter the language in their daily lives, in contrast to learners of English in the United States. However, by and large the FL/SL distinction obscures rather than illuminates the reality of learners' lived experiences in several ways. For SL contexts, access to opportunities is rarely unproblematic (Barton & Potts, 2013), evinced by the marginalisation of those labelled as "ESL students" in the US (Harklau, 2000). In so-called FL contexts, the distinction does not account for the differences between contexts which exhibit great variety in degrees of multilingualism and the values ascribed to language use (Kramsch, 2014). It also does not account for increasing connectivity, globalisation and development of technology which links local contexts, affording new contexts for learning/socialisation (Barton & Potts, 2013). In short, describing some context as foreign is "othering" (Duff, 2012b) and emphasises the differences between first and second language learning while obscuring the ways in which they are the same. While terms like EFL and ESL are considered helpful shorthand, such distinctions also obscure the locally-situated and contingent processes of language learning. In my review of the literature in this field, I will use terms such as native and non-native speaker, or second and foreign language, only to reflect the authors' usage. Instead, I will aim to refer to *processes* as first or second language learning/socialisation and the *contexts* as L1(English)-dominant and non-English dominant.

There are other features which typify second language socialisation and often distinguish it from L1 socialisation. Firstly, L2S interactional partners are often "teachers, tutors, peers, relatives, or co-workers" (Duff, 2012b, p. 566) rather than parents. While socialisation occurs in a variety of contexts, when the language learnt is not a dominant community language, opportunities tend to be afforded by educational settings. Secondly, in non-L2-dominant contexts, the language proficiency[1] of such teachers or relatives can be limited. Not all of those responsible for teaching the language to novices have had the opportunity to attain a high level of proficiency in it; as a result, expert-novice roles or identities can be negotiable

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[1] Following Duff (2012b), I use *proficiency* to refer to an individuals' linguistic and cultural knowledge of a particular language community; it also indexes individuals' engagement with the desired community.

"through various kinds of power dynamics and interaction" (Duff, 2012b, p. 566; see also Bronson & Watson-Gegeo 2008; Duff 1995, 2002). Thirdly, in contrast to first language socialisation, not all learners attain the same level of proficiency. Several factors affect attainment levels, such as the age at which learning begins, duration, effectiveness or intensity of study, and learners' motivation (Ellis, 2008) and investment (Norton, 1995) in the language. Indeed, not all learners are seeking high levels of proficiency; as socialisation is about participating in language communities, some learners are satisfied with lower levels of proficiency associated with these communities (Duff, 2012b). Therefore, while first language socialisation is almost always successful, second language socialisation has more variable results, particularly in contexts such as mine in which the L2 is not a dominant language.

However, while it is important to mention these differences, fundamentally first and second language socialisation are one theory and describe the same process. Indeed, first language socialisation is also highly diverse. All languages have multiple written, oral, casual, formal, literary or academic forms preferred in academic, professional, technical or workplace communities (Duff, 2010; Roberts, 2010). Being socialised into a written, academic form of the language is very like socialisation into a second language; when young adults at universities are socialised into the academic literacy practices through interactions with peers or professors there are certainly varying degrees of attainment and investment. Indeed, it has been memorably observed that no one is a native speaker of academic English (Bourdieu, Passeron & de Saint Martin, 1994). In the following section, I will define and describe *academic discourse socialisation*, or language socialisation into the linguistic and cultural practices of academic communities.

2.1.3   Academic discourse socialisation and academic literacies

Academic discourse socialisation (ADS) refers to language socialisation which occurs in academic communities like universities, schools or the wider area of academic research and publication; in other words, how newcomers develop the resources necessary to participate in such academic communities. Where academic discourse socialisation is distinct from LS in general is the notion of *academic discourse*, defined by Duff (2010) as the "forms of oral and written language and communication – genres, registers, graphics, linguistic structures, interactional

patterns – that are privileged, expected, cultivated, conventionalized, or ritualized, and, therefore, usually evaluated by instructors, institutions, editors, and others in educational and professional contexts" (p. 175). Because academic discourse is about attaining competence in a privileged and often elitist form of language, ADS particularly considers issues of identity and the power imbalance inherent in most academic institutions.

Researchers within the tradition of New Literacy Studies (Gee, 1991; Lillis & Scott, 2007; Street, 1997) have avoided the term socialisation, claiming it "fails to address the deep language, literacy and discourse issues involved in the institutional production and representation of meaning" (Lea & Street, 1998, p. 159), preferring to describe *academic literacies*, which will be summarised in more detailed below. However, Duff (2007) argues that the research fields of academic discourse socialisation and academic literacies have converged, in that both now consider the issues of power initially foregrounded by academic literacies. Research described as (L2) academic socialisation has considered how access to socialisation opportunities is limited as well as afforded by the social context and power structures (e.g. Harklau, 2000; Séror, 2008, 2011; Morita, 2000, 2004; Nam, 2008; Nam & Beckett, 2011; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). I use the term "socialisation", as I feel it emphasises the process and the social dimension (Duff, 2010) and maintains a link to the overarching field of language socialisation within which this research is situated. I will treat as interchangeable terms such as *academic language and literacy socialization* (Duff & Anderson, 2015), *academic literacy socialization* (Seloni, 2012), *academic English socialisation* (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015).

Indeed, while I will not use the term academic literacies (Lea & Street, 1998) to refer to my research, the approach, along with literacy as a social practice (Barton & Hamilton, 1998), has been highly influential in my analysis. I will now briefly define key aspects of academic literacies. While academic literacies most often considers writing rather than reading or speaking, this approach favours practice over *text* (Lillis & Scott, 2007); for instance, rather than study student writing to understand their difficulties with learning academic writing conventions, research would investigate the social practices surrounding these texts to show literacy as socioculturally embedded. Practice shows written and spoken texts as bound up in the material, social world and links literacy activities to the social structures in which they

are embedded and shaped (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Lillis & Scott, 2007). Academic literacies can thus acknowledge the pervasiveness of power differentials (Lillis & Scott, 2007; Street, 2003). In addition, academic literacies takes a *transformative* approach. This is often contrasted to the *normative* approach of the tradition of English for Academic Purposes (EAP). EAP researchers attempt to find homogeneity and stability in student bodies and academic discourse, leading to an emphasis on how to identify and induct students into appropriate academic conventions (Lillis and Scott, 2007), synonymous with the criticisms of socialisation mentioned above. In contrast, the transformative approach of academic literacies aims to understand such conventions as related to contested academic traditions which can impinge on writers' ability to make meaning; student writers' resources can then be considered as alternative to these contested traditions. In short, academic literacies emphasises how academic discourse is not static but consists of social practices embedded in contestable and transformable power structures. I do not believe that any aspect of the above is incompatible with academic discourse socialisation, and I have often returned to the ideas of literacy as a social practice (Barton & Hamilton, 1998) during my analysis to ensure that practice is privileged above text. In the final part of my definitions, I will discuss academic discourse socialisation in second language contexts.

2.1.4   Second language academic discourse socialisation

In its most basic sense, second language academic discourse socialisation considers how individuals are socialised into academic discourse in and through a second or additional language. As such, L2 academic socialisation can include any contexts in which individuals are learning how to participate in L2 academic communities, whether this takes place when international students study abroad in the United States, when recent immigrants start high school in Canada or when Japanese students enrol in their first English academic writing class at university. In practice, however, L2 academic socialisation has usually been conceived as how individuals learn to participate in academic communities in English-dominant contexts, excluding socialisation into a second language in non-L2 dominant contexts. This is exemplified by Duff and Anderson's (2015) comprehensive review of academic discourse socialisation in and for classrooms. In this section, I will describe current conceptions

of L2 academic discourse socialisation and call for broadening of the scope of the field.

In terms of the context, most L2 academic socialisation research has taken place in L2-dominant contexts and on students positioned as second language learners; chiefly, participants have been study abroad students, (often Generation 1.5) and immigrants in secondary and post-secondary academic contexts in the US and Canada. Duff and Anderson (2015) describe L2 academic socialisation research as primarily classroom-oriented; even when research does not take place inside the classroom, it considers the learner practices which are oriented towards participation in classrooms. Duff and Anderson also describe three general methodological study types on which most research in the field draws to greater or lesser extents. Firstly, L2 academic socialisation research often consists of direct, sustained participant observation of oral and interactive learning processes framed by the ethnography of communication. Secondly, in applied linguistics and in contexts in which direct classroom observations are not ethically or practically possible, research can look indirectly by examining learners' artefacts, such as by conducting interviews in which socialisation experiences are discussed or analysing additional sources of data related to individuals' socialisation trajectories. Thirdly, some L2 academic socialisation research consists of autobiographical narratives describing researchers' experiences of socialisation. As suggested by the first and second methodological types, most L2 academic socialisation research encompasses oral interactions in the classroom, such as presentations or classroom talk (e.g. Duff, 2002; M. Kobayashi, 2016). Duff and Anderson (2015) state "little research has examined classroom socialization into… academic writing practices". The authors particularly highlight studies which describe how learners described as "non-native English speakers" are positioned through classroom discourse and interactions. They conclude by emphasising the importance of understanding intersections between in-class and out-of-class socialisation in L2 academic contexts; these intersections are often related to increased online interactions and use of social networking services but are also related to individuals' interactions in their wider social networks. In short, because of an interest in classroom power relations and positioning, and lack of access to out-of-class interaction, L2 academic socialisation research has understandably privileged oral interactions in classrooms and in English-dominant contexts. One main impetus for my research has been to

broaden this scope, and I will end this section by redefining the scope of (English) L2 academic socialisation in the 21st century.

2.1.5 Critiquing the scope of second language socialisation into English-language academic communities

While researchers have called for a broadening of the scope of research into academic English (e.g. Canagarajah, 2014), as described above, currently the majority of research on academic (English) L2S takes place in a limited national/cultural context. In this section, I will review these critiques. Firstly, there is a need to consider English socialisation outside English-dominant countries. The assumption that English academic communities exist primarily in English-dominant countries does not reflect today's globalised world. Communities cross borders through migration and electronic communication, students study abroad and make connections with others online through additional languages, and academics present and publish in second languages, primarily English. Thus, the implication that these communities exist spatially in countries like the United Kingdom, the United States or Canada is deeply problematic. English is used in academic and non-academic interactions across the world. Furthermore, in regions such as India, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Malaysia, there already exists a long tradition of English in both academic and non-academic spheres. Academic communities in these and other contexts have "well-established traditions of knowledge construction" (Canagarajah, 2014, p. 94) and academic literacy practices (Palfreyman & Van der Walt, 2017) which do not necessarily accord with those in English-dominant countries. As neither the United Kingdom, Canada nor the United States "own" the English-speaking academy, English academic discourse socialisation research may consider any context in which academic literacy practices and communities are constructed by members through participation.

Secondly, little attention has been paid to "preparatory" academic contexts as diverse sites of socialisation. By preparatory, I refer particularly to English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programmes designed to prepare students to enter secondary or postsecondary education in English-dominant contexts and/or to participate in and publish academic research. These programs exist in both English and non-English dominant countries and have a long-standing history in Asia where they are instituted to encourage international competitiveness in academic and

business fields (Liyanage & Walker, 2014). In L2 academic socialisation research, EAP programmes have largely been ignored as sites of socialisation (with some notable exceptions discussed later in this chapter). In their review of L2 academic socialisation research, Morita and M. Kobayashi (2008) focus on research into "actual disciplinary socialization" (p. 242) in L2-dominant contexts rather than programmes which "prepare L2 students academically" (p. 242). The effect of the such a focus on "actual disciplinary socialization" is that EAP can often be treated if it were a single community with agreed upon practices. As my research will demonstrate, the practices in EAP contexts are equally diverse and complex. Furthermore, considering contexts of actual disciplinary socialisation without attention to socialisation in EAP or related contexts implies academic English is owned by institutions in English-dominant countries as opposed to considering academic literacy practices to be co-constructed by members. Describing academic literacy practices as spatially situated within, for instance, American or Canadian universities is not compatible with an LS view of language and practice a socially-constructed. When students participate in preparatory EAP programmes, they are participating in an actual academic community; individuals can invest in and identify with the practices of this community just as deeply as those of an English-dominant academic community. Indeed, as mentioned above, academic communities are not spatially situated but are constructed by members through participation. The concept, implied by much current research, "preparing to participate" is itself thus deeply problematic; preparing to participate *is* participating.

To summarise, L2-English academic discourse socialisation is a subfield of both language socialisation and academic discourse socialisation and considers how individuals become members of and learn how to participate in secondary and post-secondary academic communities in a second language. English academic communities are not confined to schools and universities in English-dominant countries; whenever individuals invest in academic English, they are participating in and constructing some form of English academic community. Local English academic communities can favour their own academic traditions or can orient towards an imagined community (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) in the United States or the United Kingdom; the latter is often the case in programs described as English for Academic Purposes. Yet, all of these contexts represent English academic discourse socialisation

and involve the same negotiations of participation, constructions of identity and individuals' exercising of agency to access resources and opportunities for socialisation. The process by which individuals come to participate in these communities is language socialisation.

2.2   From Communities to Networks of Practice: Participation as Learning

If second language socialisation into academic communities is not limited to traditional learning contexts like classrooms, research must take other approaches to understanding the contexts and processes of learning. In this section, I will develop an argument for greater attention to academic literacy socialisation in wider social networks in addition to classrooms. I will summarise socially-oriented and L2S research in academic contexts which is most relevant to my project, discussing the main insights and highlighting gaps in the research. The section is organised by the most important insights from clusters of studies. When directly describing the studies, I will adhere to the authors' usage but situate their findings explicitly within academic discourse socialisation when relevant. Furthermore, while I will mostly focus on studies conducted on L2 learners in academic settings, I will mention relevant studies conducted in non-academic contexts. In the first cluster of studies, I will discuss how identities have been conceptualised in academic discourse socialisation; in the second, I will address agency and the (co)construction of academic literacy practices. I will then discuss how identity and agency have been represented in communities and networks in L2 academic settings.

2.2.1   Identities in interaction

As a meso-level theoretical concept, identity represents an interaction between the identities which are available in the social context and individuals' agency to (re)construct or resist such identities. Identities are social identities, bound up in membership of communities or social-cultural groups (Duff, 2002) and constructed through interaction with a variety of partners. Individuals take on many different identities, and these identities are not stable but dynamic and open to change (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001). The prototypical identity from an LS perspective is newcomer or novice, in which individuals take on and/or are ascribed an identity as a less proficient member of a community which allows them to be socialised by more

expert members. Through interacting *as* novices and *with* experts, individuals can develop their knowledge of the discourse practices of their communities and develop identities as more competent members. In the foundational L2S work conducted in the non-L2 dominant context of Hungary, Duff (1995, 1996, 1997) showed both that novice and expert positionalities are negotiable and that such positionalities index macro-social ideologies as well as the day-to-day interactions in classrooms. In Duff's comprehensive ethnography of communication of Hungarian English classrooms, students were able to leverage their experience of progressive teaching methods to subvert the novice-expert/student-teacher distinction. Crucially, it was the macro-level changes to Hungarian society and educational ideologies which facilitated this subversion, as the traditional methods of many teachers were actively discouraged at the school. Thus, the study demonstrated the power of LS to account for indexicalities across multiple scales, considering the micro level of classroom interaction, the meso level of the school community and its curriculum and the macro level of educational ideologies. However, since this time, the majority of LS research has focused on classroom interactions in North American schools and classrooms, among (using the terms employed by most such studies) NNES students and NES teachers and students, considering how the identities ascribed to newcomers as non-native speakers or "ESL students" lead to marginalisation and blocked access. As such, identity has often been discussed as newcomers' struggle to access identities as members of academic communities, while also attending to their resistance or subversion of positioning which limits their access (e.g. Duff, 2002; Morita, 2004; Harklau, 2000; Talmy, 2008; Yi, 2013). In this section, I will summarise how LS and related studies in L2 academic contexts have portrayed positioning and identity construction. In the following section, I will develop the discussion of agency and multidirectionality to discuss in more detail how identities are resisted and transformed.

Most studies have been conducted in English-dominant, study abroad contexts, specifically the United States and Canada and thus have considered how international students or immigrants entering North American universities are positioned as both novices and as non-native English speakers by NES classmates, professors or tutors, and whether this positioning helps or hinders their academic discourse socialisation and literacy development. Some studies characterise a process in which NNESs draw on NESs' disciplinary knowledge as a resource. For instance, Tardy (2005) described

how postgraduate SA students developed advanced academic literacy through "visible leaps in knowledge" (p. 329) in which mentoring from dissertation advisors was fundamental, allowing the students to make sense of disciplinary participation. Similarly, in Sasaki (2007, 2011), Japanese SA students initially lost confidence as they were positioned as novices by their native English-speaking classmates; however, the NES peers encouraged the Japanese students, leading to their reporting greater enjoyment of classes and greater self-esteem (Sasaki, 2007, p. 614). Anderson (2017b) takes a more nuanced stance toward novice-expert positioning. In his study, while the international PhD students felt marginalised at times, their positioning as less able and legitimate members highlighted gaps in their knowledge and encouraged self-reflection. This reflection led to more explicit awareness of the academic expectations of their community of practice. Studies like the above emphasise novice-positioning and a the taking on of novice identities as a form of legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991); newcomers' positioning as less competent members of a community allows them to access opportunities for socialisation including self-reflection.

On the other hand, other studies have taken a more critical approach, considering how newcomers can be marginalised through the same processes of positioning and their access consequently limited (Duff, 2001, 2002; Harklau, 2000; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004, 2009; Ou & Gu, 2018; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). In other words, the choices made by those with greater power constrain individuals' access opportunities for participation. In a study of newcomers ESL students in a Canadian high school social studies course, Duff (2001, 2002) described how teachers' classroom activities unintentionally positioned newcomer ESL students as peripheral or marginal "onlooker" participants in the classroom discourse community. Perhaps more than academic language and literacy skills, active participation in the class required social communication skills and an understanding of Canadian culture that newcomers had not had opportunity to develop. Such unintentional positioning of newcomers is marginal participants is also represented in Leki's (2001) study of classroom group work interactions among NES and NNES students in a North American university. NESs took on expert roles during group work, positioning NNESs as novices. While the intention of the NES students was to complete their task as efficiently as possible, the identity as novice limited the NNESs' ability to

participate and disregarded their expertise. This assumption that NNSs (international students or immigrants) lack valuable academic, cultural or linguistic expertise may also exist at an institutional level in English-dominant contexts. Harklau (2000) showed how long-term US-resident immigrants were inaccurately represented as newcomers to English academic literacy when they moved from high school to community college, seen as needing lessons in "acculturation to life in America" (p. 53). Relegated to ESOL classes in reading, vocabulary, writing and grammar outside the mainstream, the formerly highly-motivated high school students became demotivated non-participants in college. This non-participation is a form of resistance to positioning, but one which further limits the participants' access to identities as competent members of their academic communities.

Indeed, newcomers' resistance to such marginalised identities also discourages them from availing themselves of access when it does exist. This has been described as a "double-edged sword" (Yi, 2013, p. 218), as newcomers resist marginalised identities by aligning themselves with other identities which can currently discourage them from availing themselves of access to socialisation opportunities which do exist. In Yi's detailed case study, the respondent resisted being positioned in relation to a stigmatised ESL student identity, investing instead in an academic high-achiever identity. However, he did this through limiting his engagement with face-threatening English academic socialisation opportunities, selecting less demanding classes in which he would not be required to use his English and could thus achieve high grades. Riazantseva (2012) presents a similar and interesting case of resistance to a novice positioning in how her respondents, Russian Generation 1.5 immigrant university students, were able to take on identities as successful students despite "serious problems" (p. 188) with their academic writing skills. Students drew power through their self-confidence, ambition and assertiveness to earn high academic reputations despite engaging in dispreferred behaviours such as plagiarism or ignoring feedback from professors. As a result, they did not appear to improve their academic writing. However, while such studies have shown that (resistance to) positioning as a novice and/or non-native speaker can lead to limitations on access, we should avoid a deterministic view in which academic discourse is seen as statically oppressive to NNSs (Morita, 2000). As Morita's (2000) study showed, both NNSs and NSs are able to overcome the drawbacks of novice positioning when their competency and

experience outside the classroom is recognised by the class community, allowing members to reconstruct oppressive academic practices.

While these studies suggest positioning (and resistance to such) leads to constrained access, other studies have emphasised how identity construction is multidirectional, contingent upon individual agency and participation in academic communities but also shaped by macro ideologies (as shown by Duff, 1995, 1996, 1997). In Morita's (2004) study, the Japanese SA students constructed multiple identities based on their sense of competence in different classroom contexts and *in response to* the identities ascribed to them by professors. In some classes, the students felt they had been ascribed an identity as a silent member whose perspective was not valued, while in others they felt themselves to be legitimate members of the class despite their relative silence in class. Examining a single participant from the same dataset, Morita (2009) demonstrated that identity (co-)constructions/positionings also indexed macro-level ideologies and led to challenges in achieving fuller membership of academic communities. Interacting with such wider ideologies, differences in language, culture and gender were then co-constructed in the participant's (meso) local academic communities, sometimes without his knowledge. Despite his efforts to understand and adjust to his local disciplinary culture, the participant could not fully understand the macro ideologies which led his female, feminist professor to ascribe him an identity as "Asian male student" (p. 457). Anderson (2017a) focused on the intersection between study abroad PhD students' constructions of legitimate academic transnational and home identities and wider discourses of Chinese transnationalism. Such identity constructions were contingent not on novice-expert positionings in the Canadian university community by professors or classmates, but on participants' interpretations of discourses of national and transnational ideologies in China. The participants constructed identities by reinterpreting these discourses, aligning with their past and current experiences as transnationals, multilinguals, academics or "Chinese". Therefore, newcomers' agency to construct identities is relational, indexing both the meso and macro. I will return to the theme of relational agency and multidirectional construction of practices/identities later in this chapter.

While studies such as these have ably demonstrated newcomers' identity negotiations in relation to their positioning by those with greater power, identities are also *multiple* as learners identify with many different social groups at any one time

(Duff, 2012a), both inside and outside classrooms. Most recent research has considered how access to classroom or other academic community-based identities is shaped by macro-level ideologies, such as ideas of being a "native speaker", represented in micro-level interactions among classmates and their teachers. Adding to this picture, attention to multiple identities can illuminate how *meso*-level structures, specifically individuals' identifications with friends, family and others in wider social networks, shapes the possibilities open at the micro level. As only a small number of studies have addressed multiple identities in meso-level interaction in L2 academic settings, I will first discuss concepts of identity in second language learning in general.

The work of Norton (Norton, 2000, 2013; Peirce, 1995) has been influential in developing an understanding of language learner identity as multiple and ever-changing. In her seminal 1995 article, she draws on poststructuralism to argue that language learners' identities are multiple, open to change and also a site of struggle. Rather than a process of developing a single identity as target language user, language learners invest in multiple identities related to their engagement in multiple temporal and physical spaces. Through this concept of *investment*, identity is seen as learners' exercise agency in relation to their experiences and desires, mediated through the possibilities open to them in their local context (Peirce, 1995). Darvin and Norton (2015) expand on Norton's earlier work to emphasise the changing role of macro-level ideological structures and agency. They argue that, as individuals now move through increasingly fragmented (digital) spaces, the impact of agency and structure on identity has become more complex. Language learners are positioned in multiple ways through ideologies which shape their access to learning opportunities, yet digital communication facilitates agency to invest in learning, resist dominant practices and, by implication, invest in multiple identities. Particularly influenced by Peirce (1995), Darvin and Norton (2015) and Kanno and Norton (2003), studies in many different contexts have considered multiple identities of both language learners and teachers, the most notable of which are summarised by Darvin and Norton (2015). Among these, Skilton-Sylvester (2002) investigated the multiple identities of adult Cambodian women, considering not only their participation in an evening Adult ESL program but their identities in their daily lives, outside the classroom. Identities as mother, worker, wife, as well as student of English, varied considerably across time and space and

between individuals. Furthermore, some students chose to continue participating in classrooms when they were not given the opportunity by their teachers to draw on these non-class identities in the classroom, demonstrating the inextricability of family, workplace and language learner identities.

The notion of linguistic and cultural identities as inextricable from social relationships has also been evoked in work on Heritage Languages (HL); however, such studies have also demonstrated the pervasiveness of ideologies of language dominance. Lin (2014) draws on Norton's identity work to investigate how children's language performances in Truku, an endangered language indigenous to Taiwan, developed along with their multiple identity positions. The study found that identities as grandchildren and friends, established within existing social networks, mediated children's learning. Children developed an "implicit ideology of language as relationship" (p. 265), in contrast to the dominant ideology of language as transmission of knowledge. In his language socialisation studies of Spanish HL speakers in Canada, Guardado (2008, 2009; Guardado & Becker, 2014) showed the symbiotic relationship between cultural identity and social ties. Parents' explicit HL development strategies were successful in promoting Spanish development when they functioned symbiotically with children's desire to stay in contact with Spanish-speaking relatives (Guardado & Becker, 2014). The studies also demonstrated that micro-level interactions indexed both (macro) dominant language ideologies and local, HL identities. For instance, in a study of a Spanish-language Scouting group, Guardado (2009) found that children opposed English dominance by choosing to speak Spanish during group activities but also used code-mixing to resist the imposition of a local, Spanish-only language policy by the parents who ran the group. As such, the children both reinforced dominant language ideologies *and* resisted such, identifying with multiple Hispanic and Canadian identities. Also in Canada, Giampapa (2001) examined how Italian-Canadian youths negotiated multiple, complex and fluid identities through language practices which, in turn, affected how they positioned themselves in relation to these identities. The participants' language-choice and code-mixing practices across standard Italian, Italian dialects, French and English as they interacted with peers, family and colleagues both in Canada and in Italy, allow them to claim Canadian-Italian, French-Canadian, hyphenated *italianità* identities. However, these choices also indexed stereotypes of young Italian-Canadians and ideologies of

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English-French bilingual Canada. Thus, by paying explicit and critical attention to language ideology, HL studies cut across micro, meso and macro scales show identity as multiple and socially-situated.

In L2 academic contexts, a small number of studies in North American schools and universities have considered multiple identities. Research has been explicitly or implicitly concerned with relations between identifications with multiple social groups/networks and identifications as users of academic English or members of academic communities. Drawing on the concept of investment (Peirce, 1995), McKay and Wong's (1996) influential study investigated Mandarin Chinese-speaking 7th and 8th-graders in the US and their investments in multiple identities as students, ESL students, children and friends. The authors argue that, for the students, agency- and identity-enhancement focused on immediate school context was the priority over investment in identities as speakers of English. The participants did not see a contradiction in their multiple identities, their Chinese and American-student identities both "existing side-by-side" (p. 604). In contrast, Yi's (2013) participant felt an ESL-student identity was stigmatised so instead constructed a "self-destructive" (p. 219) academic achiever identity. The participant constructed this identity after having been "made fun of" (p. 218) by native NES peers *in front of* Korean-speaking peers, leading him to withdraw participation in English academic literacy practices to distance himself from being an ESL student. Thus, identification with his Korean peers was strongly implicated in his English academic literacy. In a Canadian university context, Kim and Duff's (2012) study of Generation 1.5 immigrant Koreans is the most powerful evocation of multiple identities in academic language socialisation. The authors showed how the participants' boundary-crossing in different communities through interactions with peers, parents, *sŏnbaes* [older peers] were related to their socialisation into multiple, often contradictory identities as ESL student, loyal Korean, non-native English speaker, academically-successful university student, dutiful daughter or future member of Canadian society. Often the most important socialising interactions were among peers rather than NES teachers or other figures of academic authority, but many interactions served to discourage the participants from availing themselves of access to academic socialisation opportunities and investing in identities related to English. Mossman (2018) also studied Generation 1.5 immigrant Koreans in a Canadian university, demonstrating rich contingency and apparent contradictions

between insider and outsider identities, a sense of belonging and the social context. The study demonstrated the value of in-depth qualitative methods by use of membership categorisation analysis (MCA) to ground the discussion of identities in the participants' subjective categorisations. Thus, taking on an identity as a member of an L2 academic community is not simply a case of negotiating access to that identity; rather, identification with others shapes (and can discourage) newcomers from availing themselves of this access.

However, identity has been attended to less comprehensively in the context in which my research was conducted, namely writing in a non-L2 dominant (foreign language) context. FL writing researchers have considered identity as one variable among several social, linguistic and cognitive variables which impact FL writing ability (e.g. Manchón, 2009), but have not considered FL writing as a process of investing in multiple identities. For instance, Sasaki (2009) investigated 22 EFL students in Japan over 3.5 years, relating changes to their writing ability (described through L2 composition scores) to their L2 writing goals (through qualitative interviewing). The author considered how the participants developed identities as members of imagined L2 communities, finding that those who have studied abroad were more likely to develop such identities. However, as is typical of studies within FL writing, the author implicitly considered the participants' *other* identities (as members of their English classroom or as Japanese university students) to be irrelevant to their development of FL writing. One notable exception to this trend is the work of Haneda (2005, 2007) on L2 learners of Japanese writing in the US. Drawing on the concept of investment, Haneda (2005) argues that foreign language writing is intertwined with learners' past experiences, agency and changing identities. Two learners invested in multiple identities as members of both immediate (local) and imagined (future and spatially-distant) communities; these multiple identities were intricately tied to their investments in Japanese writing.

Finally, I will address Alruwaili's (2017) compelling LS study of female Saudi learners of English at a high school in Saudi Arabia. While the study focused on English language learning in general rather than on FL writing, it is a powerful evocation of agency, identity and practice in an FL context. The participants navigated multiple identities as female, Muslim, as daughters and as English language learners. Their self-positioning as female, Muslim English learners facilitated their access to

opportunities to use English, allowing them to move the boundaries placed on them by macro-level cultural and religious values. Furthermore, these English learning opportunities facilitated their resistance to these same values, such as the prohibition of male-female social interaction outside the family. This powerful study shows that self-positioning at the meso level with apparently restrictive macro-level ideologies may actually de-limit access to micro-level opportunities for L2 socialisation. I will return to this study in my discussion of agency below.

To summarise my discussion of identity thus far, research on language learners in academic settings has generally seen identity in relation to positioning and power and to different degrees of peripherality and marginalisation. Some studies have emphasised novice identities as a form of legitimate peripheral participation, as newcomers are socialised into the practices of their communities by more expert (usually "native-speaking") peers, tutors or professors. Other studies have taken a more critical approach, showing how the positioning of newcomers as less competent, non-native speakers leads to their marginalisation and limiting of opportunities for socialisation. Even when individuals exercise agency to resist such categorisations, the strategies they engage in can further limit their opportunities for socialisation. However, earlier and some recent academic LS studies, as well as research conducted in non-academic settings, have shown that identities related to academic literacy a) are multiple, indexing individuals' meso-level identifications with multiple social groups inside and outside the classroom, b) are open to change through an exercise of agency and c) individuals' exercise of agency to construct identities related to academic literacy is both facilitated and constrained by macro-level ideologies *and these same meso-level identifications*. As such, I argue that greater attention to the multi-level, relational nature of agency is warranted. In the following section, I will develop my discussion of agency, first defining the concept through recent theoretical work, then discussing how empirical studies have conceived of agency to construct both identities and literacy practices.

2.2.2 Agency: Constraints on access, resistance and multidirectionality

Although defining agency as a concept has been difficult (Miller, 2012), I follow the linguistic anthropologist Ahearn (2001), whose theorizing of agency is rooted in the work of practice theorists, in particular Anthony Giddens and Pierre

Bourdieu. Ahearn defines agency as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (p. 112). Allowing scope for many ways that agency can be defined, Ahearn calls for scholars to define agency carefully. I will introduce three aspects of Ahearn's definition and then expand on these below in light of current research. Firstly, culture, in the form of intentions, beliefs and actions, pervades agency. Agency is thus not the same as free will, as choices are always constrained by social structure (see also Block, 2014). Secondly, Ahearn (2001) emphasises that agency is not an absence or a presence. It is not the case that certain individuals "have" agency and others do not, as agency encompasses both resistance *and* accommodation. Individuals exercise agency within constraints, but constraints do not "take away" individuals' agency. Thirdly, agency must be considered along with practice[2]. Agency is the capacity to act, but practice is "the action itself" (p. 118). Following Giddens (1979), I see agency as linked to social structure in a recursive loop. Actions (practice) are shaped by social structures which are themselves reinforced and reconfigured by actions (Ahearn, 2001); agency is both constrained and enabled by these same social structures.

While Ahearn (2001) was primarily concerned with links between agency and macro-level ideological and social structures, The Douglas Fir Group (2016) and Duff (2019) situate agency in a meso level of sociocultural institutions and communities as an aspect of social identities, along with investment and power. In Duff's (2019) L2S perspective, agency at the meso level is displayed in individual, micro-level interactions and mediated or constrained by macro-level ideologies. Duff (2012a) focuses on the relationship between agency and identity, or language learners' ability to "make choices, take control, self-regulate" (p. 417) in pursuing goals of social transformation. As such, learners exercise agency to imagine, construct, resist or take on multiple identities and thus take action in relation to these goals. Furthermore, those who feel in control of their lives are more likely to have the power to achieve these goals in their social context. As such, understanding agency means understanding how the micro-level possibilities open to individuals shape and are shaped by meso and macro levels. Duff and Doherty (2014) discuss L2S through agency and access to resources. Particularly for adolescents and adult language

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[2] Here I use the term practice in the sense employed by theorists such as Bourdieu and Giddens, as opposed to practice in literacy studies which refers to "cultural ways of using literacy… that cannot wholly be contained by observable tasks" (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, p. 6.).

learners, agency can "direct, control, create and transform their own linguistic/cultural socialisation using the myriad social and cultural resources at their disposal" (pp. 55-56). They introduce the concept of *self-socialisation*, showing how individuals' exercising of agency in contexts in which they lack opportunities for interaction remains relational and oriented towards the behaviours or values of social/cultural groups. Thus, as a meso-level construct, agency is relational and linked to development of identities as members of communities or social groups.

While it is true that all individuals "have" agency, as agency is contingent upon inter- and intrapersonal interactions in the spatial and temporal context (Mercer, 2012). Agency "is not something independent from structure" (Larsen-Freeman, 2019, p. 66), but rather choices are mediated through participation in the meanings and identities of particular spaces (Miller, 2012). Moving between different spaces has the effect of legitimising and delegitimising certain linguistic acts (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; Miller, 2012) while interactional practices themselves (re)constitute these spaces (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). Agency can thus be described as *achieved*, rather than *possessed*, as individuals actively engage within their ecological context (Biesta & Tedder, 2007). Furthermore, agency is multidimensional, meaning that intrapersonal factors including emotions, self-beliefs, personality or other beliefs affect decisions that individuals make (Larsen-Freeman, 2019). Such factors are also temporally as well as spatially-situated, meaning that past experiences shape current exercise of agency (Mercer, 2012; Miller, 2012).

While it is shaped by structure, agency is not hierarchical or "top down" but heterarchical. Ideological structures and power relations constrain access language learning opportunities (DFG, 2016), but agency is *heterarchical* and "extends in both/many directions" (Larsen-Freeman, 2019, p. 68). This view sees agency as fractal, exhibiting self-similarity across scales, the boundaries between which are permeable and fuzzy (Mercer, 2018). As components of the system apply to each other, micro-level interactions may index as well as transform meso-level communities and macro-level structural ideologies. For instance, Duff (1995, 1996, 1997) showed how macro-level changes to socio-political and educational ideologies shaped (but did not wholly transform) meso-level school communities and classroom practices, played out in micro-level interactions among students and teachers. Although students were able to negotiate and shape classroom practices to a degree,

they did so within existing assessment and curriculum structures. Therefore, considering agency as heterarchical is not a form of *central conflation* (Carter & Sealey, 2000) whereby agency and social structure are seen as mutually constitutive or "two sides of the same coin", nor does it mean individual agency is pre-eminent over structure (see Block's [2014] criticism of research on agency). Rather, the ability of individuals to make "bottom-up" changes to meso and macro level structures is contingent upon the possibilities open to them in existing structures.

Perhaps the most important contribution of recent perspectives on language-learner agency (see Larsen-Freeman, 2019) is an understanding of how agency changes and is changed by structure. Drawing insights from Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST), Larsen-Freeman describes how *iteration* demonstrates that language, culture or identity change slightly each time they are enacted, making transformation possible. Related to this is *co-adaptation,* as individuals adapt to each other through interaction "over and over again" (Larsen-Freeman, 2019, p. 67). By these two processes, CDST explains "the dilemma of how social reproduction becomes social transformation" that practice theorists like Giddens and Bourdieu had struggled to account for (Ahearn, 2001, p. 118). However, Larsen-Freeman's (2019) CDST perspective on agency to does not yet address the specific relations between the macro-meso-micro levels theorised by the DFG (2016) except on this general level, a gap in current theories which I will return to in Chapter 7.

In the remainder of this section, I will discuss studies which are particularly relevant to the agency of newcomers to L2 academic settings. As described in the section on agency, much research has considered newcomers' response to constraints on access to socialisation opportunities and the identities as competent members necessary to capitalise on this access.

2.2.2.1 Exercising agency to resist and access opportunities

First, the agency of newcomers to L2 academic communities has been explicitly and implicitly described in terms of resistance to macro-level ideologies which shape the meso-level positioning of newcomers as non-native speakers, ESL students or other stigmatised identities (e.g. Harklau, 2000; Riazantseva, 2012; Talmy, 2008; Yi, 2013). Individuals have agency even in situations in which they appear powerless against institutional and cultural bias, such as Harklau's (2000) immigrant

college students whose withdrawal of participation from the class was a form of agentive resistance to their pigeonholing as "ESOL". However, the decision to resist is contextually-contingent. In Morita's (2004) study, described in the previous section, learners constructed different identities in different classroom contexts, based on their positioning (perceived and actual) as competent in relation to classmates, many of whom were "native speakers". This led to resistance to the norms of their classrooms such as keeping silent during class discussions, but the meaning of such practices was contingent on the context: resistance is socially-situated and thus socially-contingent. When learners feel their perspective is valued, they can choose to participate in their classrooms or communities (as in Morita, 2000). In Haneda's (2009) study of overseas students on MA TESOL programmes in North America, newcomers withdrew participation from classroom activities they felt marginalised them, such as by forming groups of L1-speaking peers or reconceptualising the role of their teachers as providing general guidance rather than transmitting academic knowledge. In contrast, Ho (2011), studying a similar context, found that the knowledge and experiences of both NESs and NNESs were valued by teachers and classmates and, as a result, small-group discussions provided valuable opportunities for identity construction and academic discourse socialisation. The studies illustrate how all learners "have" agency, even when they choose to withdraw their participation, but that the decision to resist is strongly related to construction of contextually-situated identities.

In addition to resistance, another important way that newcomers to L2 academic contexts exercise agency is by seeking alternative opportunities for socialisation. One of these ways is through seeking out interaction within social networks (Alruwaili, 2017; Ferenz, 2005; Nam & Becket, 2011; Seloni, 2012; Séror, 2008, 2011; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015), potentially countering an institutional power structure which would otherwise constrain access (Séror, 2011). Séror (2008, 2011) and Nam and Beckett (2011) both showed how newcomer SA undergraduates found alternative sources of feedback on their academic writing, such as by consulting friends, roommates, writing centre tutors or others rather than professors or teachers (Séror, 2011). These more informal relationships were not "embedded in a clearly established institutional power relationship which often made it difficult for students to ask or complain about the feedback they received" and often "occurred within relationships where students felt on a more equal footing with the person providing

the feedback" (Séror, 2011, p. 128). Individual agency has the power to mitigate even the most dominant religious and cultural ideologies, as shown in Alruwaili's (2017) study of female Saudi learners of English. Despite the intensely-restrictive constraints placed on them by conservative Saudi values, the participants found opportunities to use English both online and face-to-face, drawing on family connections and even remaking the school Islamic prayer room into a space for English interaction. I will return to academic socialisation within social networks in more detail later in this chapter.

Furthermore, learners shape their socialisation opportunities through what Spack (2004) describes as "active manipulation" of the academic system (p. 35). Spack's (1997, 2004) study of a Japanese SA undergraduate revealed how she selected courses and chose accessible professors who could support her learning (Spack, 2004). This included professors with a friendly and informal style who did not assign heavy reading loads, and courses and paper topics in which she could make use of her background knowledge; her focus on accessing manageable academic opportunities thus did not result in the "double-edged sword" (Yi, 2013) of lost access (see also Riazantseva, 2012). Studies like these have thus explained how individuals accessed socialisation opportunities by making choices. However, a small number of studies have shown that newcomers' can change these same institutional or classroom practices through the exercise of agency.

2.2.2.2 Agency as co-constructing practice

As well as making choices like the above which shape access but do not change academic, institutional practices, learners in academic settings also have the power to co-construct the academic practices of their context (Young & Miller, 2004). Language socialisation is bi- or multidirectional, meaning that practice is mutually co-constructed by people in interaction (Duff, 2010), although studies have shown this is contingent on power to effect change. As well as demonstrating how macro-level cultural and ideological changes impacted classroom identities, Duff (1995, 1996, 1997) showed how high school students *re-socialised* their teachers into progressive teaching methods. Due to wider macro-level changes to Hungarian education, progressive methods of teaching such as classroom discussions had become increasingly valued, methods which the students often had greater experience of than

their teacher. Thus, at the micro-level of classroom interactions, students exercised their agency to socialise their teachers into methods which themselves indexed wider macro-level ideological changes in Hungarian education. In the study mentioned above, Alruwaili's (2017) participants drew on past experiences of studying and travelling overseas and identities as religious women and student leaders to negotiate classroom practices which enhanced their opportunities for English learning. Through exercising agency in this way, the participants came to see the boundaries which delimited their lives as young women in a conservative Islamic culture as *movable*. As they successfully re-construed these boundaries, their sense of potential agentive capacity expanded in turn, leading Alruwaili to conclude that this negotiation of boundaries was *both outcome and origin* of their agency. While the participants' re-construction of classroom practices was constrained by cultural and religious values, policed by both teachers and fellow students, the women continued to exercise agency to expand their English-learning opportunities. Indeed, rather than suggesting that individuals' agency is constrained by macro-level ideologies, the study showed the immense power of ever-expanding individual agency to re-construct the contexts of learning.

Even students without cultural capital are able to shape the practices of their local context, as described by Talmy (2008) in which relative old-timer "Local ESL" students with several years of experience in high school ESL classes socialised their relative newcomer teachers. The students withdrew from "official" institutional practices and developed their own practices of passive and active resistance, practices their teachers eventually accommodated by reducing homework loads and increasing self-study sessions. In a university setting, Fujioka (2014) showed how newcomers sometimes have the power to shape professors' teaching practices and their L2 disciplinary communities" (p. 40). Her informant, a Japanese SA postgraduate student, engaged in a dialogue with one of his professors in response to what he considered the marginalisation of international students by the professor's teaching and assessment practices. The student's interactions led the professor to acknowledge these issues and make changes to his approach. Okuda and Anderson (2017) investigated international graduate students seeking support on their writing, one of whom was able to develop opportunities for socialisation by socialising a writing centre tutor to provide the grammatical and editing support she required. Potts (2005) showed that online

community spaces may encourage greater participation and scope for joint construction of knowledge. Unfettered by the positioning of some individuals as unknowing, and facilitated through the instructors' pedagogical design, the online interactions among NS and NNS students in a graduate seminar bulletin board encouraged the evolution of structures of access which facilitated NNSs' participation. Studies such as these show that agency to co-construct practices is contextually (and temporally) situated. Individuals' agency is facilitated in contexts in which power imbalances are less pernicious, such as between postgraduate students and tutors of a similar age or old-timer students and newcomer teachers, or in which pedagogy encourages mutual support and sharing (Potts, 2005; see also: Ho, 2011; Morita, 2000; Vickers, 2007).

However, few studies have considered how interaction and co-construction of practices occurs *among* newcomer, "non-native" students. In a recent review of L2 academic discourse socialisation research, M. Kobayashi, Zappa-Hollman & Duff (2017) cite two studies (M. Kobayashi, 2016; Yang, 2010) which consider socialisation among L2 learners rather than among L1 and L2 speakers. In Yang's (2010) study, Chinese ESL students in Canada developed an approach to avoid challenging class discussions in English in favour of student-led presentations; however, the failure of their presentation led the participants to conclude that they should adhere to the requirements of their instructor and conform to the expected class "rituals". Also at a Canadian university, M. Kobayashi (2003, 2016) demonstrated newcomers' agency through groupwork interaction and class presentations. The oral academic discourse practices were about attaining an "appropriate level of sophistication" (M. Kobayashi, 2016, p. 95) in class presentations but were developed through a dynamic and highly agentive interplay of opportunities afforded by the context, past experiences and through out-of-class interaction among other Japanese SA students. In other words, while the students oriented to practices they believed were preferred by the class, agency was mediated by current challenges and past experiences and through out-of-class peer interactions.

In summary, research has considered how agency is both afforded and constrained by the local meso context and wider ideological macro structures. Cultural and educational ideologies see some individuals positioned as less competent, non-native speakers or ESL students and their access limited. Yet all individuals have

agency to respond to such constraints, allowing some to resist positioning by withdrawing participation or even reshaping the practices of the classroom context and others to draw on their social networks as resources, seeking alternative opportunities for socialisation outside the classroom. Indeed, student "novices" may have greater power than teacher "experts", particularly in times of change to wider ideological structures in which new ways of participating become culturally valued (notably Duff, 1995, 1996, 1997). However, individuals' agency to shape socialisation practices or access opportunities outside classrooms does not necessarily lead to socialisation; in addition to the examples described above, as I discussed in the section on identity, individuals may be discouraged from availing themselves of access to academic English in favour of relationships with peers (Kim & Duff, 2012; Yi, 2013). Thus, both agency and identity are highly relational, spatially- and temporally-contingent. Understanding L2 academic literacy socialisation trajectories requires an understanding of how micro-level interactions are shaped not only by investment, identities and membership in classrooms but in meso-level networks of social relationships which extend inside and outside of classrooms.

2.2.3   Communities in L2 socialisation

The framework of communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998, 1999) provides many useful insights into how newcomers come to participate more fully in communities and has informed research on L2 learners in academic contexts (e.g. Anderson, 2017b; Leki, 2001; Li, 2007). Even when CoP is not referenced explicitly, studies describe learning/socialisation as coming to participate more centrally in a community. However, CoP does not (nor is intended to) account for all of the communities and networks in which newcomers interact. In this section, I will briefly discuss and critique how communities have been described in socialisation in L2 academic contexts and then segue to a description of frameworks which can account for non-CoP-like interactions, namely individual networks of practice.

According to Wenger (1998), CoP arise as people jointly address common problems together, and are defined by three dimensions. The first, joint enterprise, refers to the goal or purpose that members share. The second, mutual engagement, denotes the ties that bind these members together. Thirdly, shared repertoire consists of "communal resources (routines, sensibilities, artifacts, vocabulary, styles, etc.) that

members have developed over time" (p. 2). Lave and Wenger (1991) describe the process of newcomers joining such a community as one of legitimate peripheral participation. Newcomers/novices are socialised into the expected practices of a CoP, not necessarily through "intentional education" (p. 40) such as traditional teaching, but often through a more informal "learning by doing" (p. 31) through interactions with old-timers/experts. Newcomers move from more peripheral to fuller participation in the community. The authors stress that peripherality is a neutral rather than negative term; although peripherality can be a source of powerlessness if individuals are kept from participating more fully, peripheral newcomers are also in a position of power having gained access to a new community.

Explicitly-CoP research in L2 academic settings has considered the classroom as the community. Several important CoP-influenced studies have shown how power relations and assigned identities can limit newcomers' access to these classroom communities (e.g. Haneda, 2009; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004, 2009). However, while these studies use aspects of the CoP framework to describe socialisation processes, the authors do not make the case for their classroom contexts as *communities of* practice. Indeed, such studies highlight the ways in which NNESs' access to the community is limited by power relations, emphasising marginality rather than legitimate peripheral participation. While other aspects of Wenger's (1998) wider social theory of learning account for power relations, the CoP framework itself has difficulty accounting for other kinds of support and other power relations which are not "CoP-like" and do not accord with the three CoP constitutive dimensions (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015).

Indeed, the CoP framework does not account for social relationships outside of a CoP, nor how interactions are geographically or technologically distributed, difficult to observe or multimodal. Indeed, while many studies cited in this chapter have demonstrated power relations in classrooms, relationships and power structures outside the classroom can be very different (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). As shown by Kim and Duff (2012), existing social relationships may include hierarchies and other power dynamics which impact individuals' choices to, for instance, invest in academic English. When considering academic discourse socialisation, many important interactions can be one-way, brief and fleeting, or lacking an apparent joint enterprise, mutual engagement or a sense of communal, shared repertoire. In fact, by applying CoP to academic discourse socialisation in SA contexts, studies have

demonstrated that neither the framework nor the notion of classroom as community fully account for the affordances and constraints on socialisation into academic discourse. In the following section, I will discuss how attention to interaction in social networks through the framework of individual networks of practice can illuminate learners' identities, agency and development of academic literacy practices by considering interactions that occur outside the classroom.

2.2.4 Social networks

As evinced by the studies above, L2S research in academic settings remains perhaps understandably focused on micro-level interactions between teachers and students or among classmates, and rarely considers interactional partners who are one or more degrees removed from the classroom. However, some researchers have recognised the importance of understanding interaction in the wider social world and have turned to aspects of social network analysis to represent interaction in multiple communities and networks during language learning. Individuals have been shown to interact with a wide variety of people to access opportunities for socialisation in study abroad (Curry & Lillis, 2010; Dewey, Ring, Gardner & Belnap, 2013; Isabelli-García, 2006; Kurata, 2011, 2014; Rundle, 2011; Zappa-Hollman, 2007) and "EFL" contexts (Alruwaili, 2017; Ferenz, 2005). In this section, I will first briefly define social network analysis in the wider field of sociolinguistics and then introduce and critique the framework of individual networks of practice which marries social network analysis, communities of practice and networks of practice to study language learning and socialisation.

Social network analysis (SNA) is a quantitative method of data analysis in which data is collected about large numbers of individuals' and their ties to others, notably early applied to sociolinguistics by Milroy (1987). In SNA, individuals in networks are known as *nodes*, from which lines known as *ties* radiate, connecting to other nodes. Networks in which there are more ties between nodes denote networks with higher levels of *density*, and dense networks often include many *clusters*, or groups of nodes which are connected to each other in some way. *Uniplexity* refers to ties characterised by a single type of interaction, such as that between two classmates who only interact during class, while *multiplexity* of ties denotes nodes which interact in more than one way, such as two classmates who are also dormitory mates. Analysts

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can link the composition of social networks to, for instance, specific linguistic practices; Milroy (1987) showed how social networks correlated with dialect and class; working-class individuals had dense, multiplex networks and interacted with a small number of people in many different ways which led to greater conformity in linguistic practices, while middle-class individuals' social networks were looser, with a larger number of uniplex ties, leading to a greater diversity in linguistic practices. However, SNA has evolved in a different direction in research on second language learning and socialisation, applied to primarily qualitative studies. Rather than correlating, for instance, the number of nodes and ties to specific linguistic features, such research aims to understand how social networks provide opportunities for learning in combination with qualitative data such as journals and interviews.

Studies of L2 learners' social networks have typically been egocentric networks in which a particular individual has been "viewed as a focus from which lines radiate to… persons with whom [they are] in contact" (Isabelli-García, 2006, p. 235); often this central individual is known as the *core*. This research, thus far conducted in study abroad contexts, has considered how social networks provide opportunities for L2 learning or socialisation. It has also often discussed how availing oneself of access to such opportunities is shaped by individual differences in motivation or personality, variables I argue would be more fruitfully considered as aspects of identity. Firstly, several studies have shown how practical considerations such as living arrangements can influence opportunities to build social networks, as opportunities for interaction with target-language speakers is contingent on spatial access (Curry & Lillis, 2010; Dewey, Ring, Gardner & Belnap, 2013; Kurata, 2011, 2014; Rundle, 2011; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). Curry and Lillis (2010) found that access in academic social networks was afforded by local (rather than transnational), durable (rather than temporary) and strong (rather than weak) networks. Relatively informal ties were described as more powerful than those related to institutions or other formal associations (Curry & Lillis, 2010). However, such studies have also observed that individuals sometimes do not take up their access within networks. Isabelli-García (2006) suggests that "motivational and attitudinal deficits maintained by the learner" (p. 256) are often more important than institutional or environmental factors. Dewey et al. also suggest motivation can influence individuals' taking up of access to interactional opportunities but argue the interactions between such individual factors

and interactional positioning in social networks requires further research. Indeed, other studies have considered how factors such as identity and positioning shape interaction in networks. For example, Rundle (2011) showed how strong, multiplex ties led his respondents to develop "a strong sense of affiliation and belonging in an international professional community of practice" while studying abroad (p. 16). However, individuals' ability to use network ties to aid academic literacy development is contingent on their own sense of legitimacy as a member of that community. Ferenz (2005) demonstrated that those who identified as being less academic could access fewer academic-related ties than those who identified strongly with a wider, academic community. I would argue that what has been theorised as personality and motivation can better be understood as aspects of identity and power/access; those who appear to be shy (in Dewey et al.'s terms) or to lack appropriate motivation could be described as lacking the access an identity as a competent member of the community, access to which is shaped by the power relations described earlier in this chapter. To summarise, a small number of studies of the social networks of L2 learners have suggested that networks provide opportunities for learning/socialisation, but these opportunities are mediated by access to an identity as competent member of different communities. However, the studies described above have not applied ethnographic or other in-depth longitudinal methods, instead utilising qualitative measures of linguistic proficiency, surveys, learners' journals or pre and post-departure interviews. The studies have generally not shown 1) change to networks over time and/or 2) learners' own accounts of interactions with nodes. The exception to this is the framework of individual networks of practice (INoP), described below.

INoP is a synthesis of community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998, 1999), social network analysis (Milroy, 1987), and *networks of* practice (Brown & Duguid, 2001), the latter of which denotes a looser network than CoP in which practice, rather than community, is emphasised. INoP allows for a more detailed description of an individuals' network interactions both within and beyond formalised groupings like classrooms, encompassing the nodes and social ties relevant to the phenomenon being studied rather than the whole of an individuals' social network (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). INoPs are also egocentric networks and are composed by researchers attending to research participant's (the core) self-reports of important network interactions. Currently, the framework has been applied to

academic literacy socialisation (Zappa-Hollman 2007; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015) and linguistic development (Bernstein, 2018) but could be applied to any aspect of language learning/socialisation in which researchers seek to understand the social dimensions of learning. In addition to mapping density of networks through multiplexity of ties, INoPs represent the strength/proximity or weakness/distance of ties within a network, again based on participants' member-checked self-reports. Social ties considered can include those to classmates and teachers, but also family, friends or other acquaintances with whom individuals receive *returns*, which can be in the form of *academic* and *affective* (or *emotional*) *support* which shapes their socialisation into linguistic forms and practices. From Zappa-Hollman's (2007) reporting, it is apparent that academic and affective support are interrelated and not often easily separable. Broadly, academic support encompasses *cognitive* and *linguistic* support such as discussions of successful strategies in navigating the practices of academic communities or feedback on and other discussions of written assignments, reading or group projects. Affective support encompasses emotions related to participants in academic communities, such as sharing feelings of frustration or encouraging friends during difficulties. Thus, INoP is suited to a description of how newcomers interact across multiple contexts which also maintains a focus on the phenomenon under study.

INoP has been applied in two studies of language learning (Bernstein, 2018; Zappa-Hollman, 2007) which I will now briefly summarise. Zappa-Hollman (2007; also reported in Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015) was a longitudinal, multiple case study of Mexican study abroad students at a university in Canada. Drawing on multiple sources of data including interviews and classroom observations, Zappa-Hollman investigated how the participants responded to the academic literacy practices of the Canadian university through attention to their interactions in social networks, developing the INoP framework to account for multiple out-of-class interactions. The study demonstrated how some individuals were marginalised as a result of their perceived lack of linguistic competence (as in Leki, 2001), leading them to develop networks of strong, multiplex ties to other Mexican SA students which provided important emotional and academic support during the trials and difficulties of academic socialisation into English. However, the authors were unable to represent actual learning or development (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015, p. 29) beyond the

participants' self-reports due to lack of access to their written assignments or observations of interactions. This calls into question the authors' conclusion that strong, multiplex ties were most important for academic discourse socialisation. Rather, it is equally likely that the strong, multi-use ties to other SA students were developed out of necessity and in response to blocked access to weak ties which would have afforded additional opportunities for socialisation and development of knowledge of the academic practices of the host institution. As such, Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015) call for the INoP framework to be deployed in conjunction with other forms of data and analysis, particularly close analysis of micro-level interactions.

Bernstein's (2018) study was not conducted in an academic setting but provides valuable methodological insights in the application of INoP in conjunction with other types of data. Responding to Zappa-Hollman and Duff's (2015) call for attention to linguistic development in INoP, Bernstein took a layered approach to represent both process and product. In the first layer, Bernstein focused on a small-scale network of practice (NoP) in a kindergarten classroom populated by L1 and L2-speaking children. The second layer described the lexical variety and complexity of the language acquired by the L2-learning children. By combining these two layers, Bernstein showed the relations between network connections and linguistic development, specifically that more peripheral individuals with fewer strong ties were actually afforded a greater variety of language opportunities and thus developed more complex and varied English. Bernstein accounts for this by suggesting that individuals with larger numbers of stronger ties feel a greater obligation to maintaining a position as "competent and authoritative" (p. 36) which limits their interactions to acquire (in Bernstein's terms) varied language. The study suggested that development of language (socialisation) is variably contingent upon the makeup of one's social network, which is itself contingent upon individuals' identities. Therefore, while the study was conducted in a very different context from that of L2 academic discourse socialisation, it demonstrates the value of using the INoP/NoP framework in conjunction with other data. Bernstein's (2018) conclusion that weak ties provide access to greater opportunities than strong ties appears to contradict that of Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015), who found that strong, multiplex ties provide the most valuable support. As described above, I suggest this conclusion was influenced by the practical and ethical difficulties Zappa-Hollman (2007) faced in in accessing

participants' academic writing and face-to-face socialisation interactions. As Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015) state, it is necessary to triangulate INoP maps developed through qualitative interviewing with further data types and other methods of analysis (in Bernstein's [2018] terms, additional layers of data). These additional layers of data or analysis are necessary to understand 1) the impact of INoPs on academic literacies socialisation and 2) the function of INoP ties/lines. In Chapter 3, I will discuss my data analysis methods in more detail, including my refinements to the INoP framework and use of membership categorisation analysis. I will now provide a brief rationale for these refinements in my response to the existing literature.

Firstly, additional layers of data are necessary to indicate either a) linguistic development or b) increasing participation. Such data could include micro-level analysis of classroom interactions, as suggested by Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015), or different forms of analysis of academic literacy artefacts such as essays, papers or notes. In my analysis, I have the triangulated interview accounts with various written artefacts, including participants' essay drafts, peer and teacher written feedback, worksheets, and participants' own notes or online chats threads. However, in order to privilege practice over text, I have focused my analysis on how such artefacts support or complicate the accounts participants gave in interviews. In addition, while research from other traditions, such as English for Academic Purposes (e.g. Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002) has well-described many of the written and (to a lesser extent) oral linguistics forms acquired by L2 learners in academic settings, few studies have addressed what these practices *mean* to newcomers. As such, I have considered the participants' written artefacts in light of their academic literacy practices rather than as representations of their linguistic development.

A second additional layer of analysis is necessary to triangulate between INoP connections and academic literacy practices and understand how networks impact socialisation. Close analysis of interview accounts in conjunction with INoP maps and written artefacts can show whether strong, weak, uniplex or multiplex ties appear to provide greater access to academic literacy socialisation opportunities; it can also represent instances in which ties in networks lead to other types of (non-academic or non-English) socialisation. However, one of the drawbacks of the existing INoP framework is the reliance on research categorisations of nodes. To represent ties and clustering of nodes, Zappa-Hollman (2007) categorised nodes in terms of named roles,

including "teacher", "classmate", "groupwork member", "dormitory mate" or "Mexican friends" or "non-Mexican friends". While these categories were arrived at through close analysis of interview accounts, nevertheless they represent researcher, rather than research participants', categorisations. Researcher assumptions about such node categorisations can colour the analysis of the function of such ties. For instance, researchers could hold assumptions that close friends would provide valuable emotional support, that older friends would provide academic support to younger peers, or that newcomers to L2 academic communities would consider themselves to be newcomers. This is particularly the case when the researcher has a different cultural background to the research participants, as in my case. To avoid a researcher-led description and categorisation of nodes and the meaning of interaction with nodes in social networks, I have turned to membership categorisation analysis (Sacks, 1992; Stokoe, 2012) to understand inductively how culture and identity are represented in participants' descriptions of interaction in social networks.

2.3   Summary

I will conclude by summarising the key theoretical concepts and findings of empirical studies on L2 socialisation in academic contexts which have guided my study. What I characterise as *academic literacy socialisation* has gone by many names, including enculturation, academic literacies, academic discourse socialisation and academic literacy socialisation, and I have chosen to treat these as near synonymous. L2 academic literacy socialisation is not fundamentally different from L1 academic literacy socialisation, and the differences between L2 academic discourse socialisation in L2-dominant ("second language") and non L2-dominant ("foreign language") settings are vastly outweighed by the similarities. L2 academic discourse socialisation occurs through micro-level interaction in meso-level networks, as newcomers access and develop knowledge of academic literacy practices and develop multiple identities. However, this process is highly variable and contingent upon many factors. At the macro level of society and ideology, power is accorded to some individuals and not others, leading some newcomers to be assigned identities as "non-native speakers" and their access blocked. Despite this, newcomers are always able to exercise agency to accommodate, transform or resist such positioning, although resistance is often a double-edged sword. This understanding of academic

literacy socialisation as contingent on macro ideologies and meso agency and identity, indexed in individuals' micro-level face-to-face or textual interactions, has been fundamental to all aspects of my study.

Thus, while research has attended to the interaction between power, identity and agency in academic socialisation, nevertheless there are several important gaps in this field. Firstly, as intimated above, the vast majority of research has been conducted in English-dominant academic settings with an implication that other contexts represent "preparation" rather than socialisation into legitimate academic communities. Secondly, despite the foundations of academic discourse socialisation in a non-L2 dominant context in which classroom practices was shown as multidirectionally-constructed (Alruwaili, 2017; Duff, 1995, 1996, 1997; Talmy, 2008), in current research, academic discourse socialisation is often portrayed as a power struggle between non-native newcomers and native-speaking old-timer peers, tutors and professors in which newcomers exercise agency to access academic practices and competent identities. The current tendency to research classroom-based socialisation in North American schools and universities has meant the multidirectional (co-)construction of identity and academic literacy practices has rarely been considered, with some notable exceptions (e.g. Duff, 2002; Fujioka, 2013; Okuda & Anderson, 2017; Talmy, 2008; Young & Miller, 2004). Indeed, the complexity of representing the co-construction of both practice *and* identity has meant that studies presenting a rich, longitudinal and nuanced portrait of newcomers' identities (Alruwaili, 2017; Harklau, 2000; Kim & Duff, 2012; McKay & Wong, 1996; Morita, 2004, 2009; Mossman, 2018; Yi, 2013) have often been able to pay more limited attention to development of language or practice. Thirdly, very few studies have considered the place of multiple identities in meso-level networks in academic LS. Studies have tended to be either based in, or oriented toward, classroom oral interaction. However, socialisation and identity studies have suggested that newcomers' interaction in wider social networks has an important bearing on their language socialisation (e.g. Kim & Duff, 2012; McKay & Wong, 1996; Yi, 2013). Likewise, studies on social networks have shown that such networks are valued by newcomers and provide access to academic and emotional support (Ferenz, 2005; Rundle, 2011; Seloni, 2012; Zappa-Hollman, 2007; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015) and language learning opportunities (Bernstein, 2018; Dewey, et al., 2013; Isabelli-

García, 2006; Kurata, 2011, 2014). The framework of individual networks of practice is an important contribution to the field, although descriptions of social network interactions must be triangulated with other data to provide evidence for development of academic practices and identities (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). Methods such as membership categorisation analysis are necessary to avoid reification of categories such as "classmate" or "teacher" and thus represent participants' subjectivities. As yet, however, research in the field of academic discourse socialisation has not been able to marry these various dimensions to show how identity and practice are co-constructed by newcomers through their micro-level face-to-face and written interactions which occur in their social networks. This is the gap in the research that my study aims to fill.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0   Introduction

In this chapter I will begin by situating my work within an ethnographic tradition, explaining how interview accounts and class and participant-generated artefacts like essay drafts, notes and online chats gave me insight into individuals' out-of-class interaction in wider social networks. I will then describe my research context and participants, beginning with important background to the macro-social context of Japanese society and hierarchies encoded in the roles of senpai and kohai. I will then discuss the meso-social context of West Tokyo University (a pseudonym) and the Global Programme within the Faculty of Economics, the intensive English for Academic Purposes programme on which my participants were enrolled. I will spend some time describing how English academic writing was conceived by GP teachers and administrators, explaining the types of writing and activities students were expected to engage in inside and outside the classroom. After introducing the participants themselves, I will discuss my methods of data collection and analysis. Reflecting the multiple layers of my data, my analysis is also conceived as two layers joined by a third: 1) qualitative coding of interview accounts triangulated with other data to reveal participants' academic literacy practices 2) graphical representations of participants' individual networks of practice 3) close analysis of a small sample of interview accounts for membership categorisation work to demonstrate participants' identification with both literacy practices and individuals in their network.

3.1   Ethnography

Academic discourse socialisation considers how individuals are socialised into the practices of a community through social processes, interaction and negotiation. It involves stance-taking, investment and the transformation of identities (Duff, 2010). According to Hammersley (1994), quantitative methods are unlikely to capture the many complex variables that exist in such social, as opposed to physical, worlds. While it is possible to quantify variables such as "time spent interacting with x", "numbers of nodes in a network" or "grade received on essay", these variables do not tell us everything about the process of socialisation and, as a result, do not show causality. In real world settings like schools and universities, qualitative methods are more suited to dealing with the complexity of socialisation in a community. It is particularly important also to show longitudinal change, as socialisation occurs over

time. In describing such "real world", empirical data, ethnographic methods necessitate sustained engagement of the researcher at a research site to understand events from participants' own perspectives (Hammersley, 1994). I believe ethnographic methods are particularly suited to the study of academic discourse socialisation, in particular the approach of linguistic ethnography which is highly compatible with language socialisation. Defining ethnography across the social sciences, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state that the label does not have a standard, well-defined meaning and is often used as if near-synonymous with qualitative enquiry, fieldwork or case study methods. However, for Hammersley and Atkinson, most ethnographic work shares the following features: a) an interest in everyday or natural contexts rather than experimental setups b) data drawn from a range of sources, usually including participant observation and informal conversations c) relatively unstructured data collection which does not follow a fixed research design d) an in-depth focus on a few, small-scale cases e) qualitative rather than quantitative analysis in which analytical categories are generated from data to interpret human actions and institutional practices in terms of both local and wider contexts.

Lillis (2008) defines three levels of ethnography as applied to academic writing research. In the first, *ethnography as method*, researchers use interviews to understand the context in which writers produced texts. In the second, *ethnography as methodology*, research is characterised by lengthy, sustained engagement in participants' writing worlds, including collection of a wider range of data. In the third, *ethnography as deep theorising*, researchers draw on the notions of practice and indexicality[1] drawn from the loosely-bounded field of *linguistic ethnography* (Maybin & Tusting, 2011; Rampton, Maybin & Roberts, 2014). Through considering text as representatives of social practices, researchers are able to demonstrate how situated language use indexes social and cultural production. While I have chiefly framed my research within language socialisation, the approach of linguistic ethnography is highly compatible with the goals of LS research. In educational settings, studies based on linguistic ethnography give voice to students by showing how language in classrooms and in texts indicates (or indexes) societal patterns or beliefs about

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[1] As described in chapter 2, these terms are used largely identically within the theory of language socialisation (see also DFG, 2016) and in Duff's (1995, 1996, 1997) LS ethnography of communication.

language. By considering language as social practice, linguistic ethnographic studies are able to ground ethnography in a contextually-sensitive picture of language and learning which is informed by study of language experience in the wider social world (Maybin & Tusting, 2011). While I situate my research firmly within the tradition of (linguistic) ethnography, I have elected to refer to my use of *ethnographic methods* rather than as *an ethnography*, as I believe the latter is most often understood to denote research focusing on participant observation.

Indeed, participant observation is central to much ethnographic research, in which researchers observe and sometimes participate directly in the real-world context of participants, as in the classroom observations central to the field of ethnography of communication (Duff, 1995, 1996, 1997); however, I elected to focus on non-class interactions through the lens of participants' interview accounts for several methodological, practical and ethical reasons. In participant observation, researchers observe interactions and make notes or video/audio-record interactions for transcription and close analysis later, almost always in combination with other forms of data. As described in Chapter 2, many studies have closely-examined classroom interaction (e.g. Duff, 1995; Duff, 2002; Morita, 2004, 2009; M. Kobayashi, 2015), particularly showing how those constructed as NNES may be denied opportunities for interaction or positioned as less-competent members by NES teachers and peers. Thus, while classrooms have been shown to be rich sites of socialisation, the differing outcomes of students' out-of-class revisions to writing which I observed during my seven years teaching on the GP suggested that many important socialising interactions occurred outside the classroom. Furthermore, I wanted to avoid privileging the classroom as site of socialisation. A second impetus for my research was understanding how academic English functioned within a Japanese university context; the assumption, particularly in Japan, has been that academic English occurs *in* and *for* classrooms. I was interested in how academic English occurs *outside* classrooms and *for* a variety of sociocultural goals and indexicalities. Therefore, I decided to focus on non-class interactions but accessing these interactions was problematic, which I will describe in detail in my section on data collection.

Indeed, as I was researching a context which has not been studied before, namely out-of-class L2 academic socialisation in a non-L2 dominant context, interviews have a number of benefits they are considered as themselves social practices. Wide-ranging interviews may touch on the disparate temporal and physical

contexts in which socialisation occurs and avoid the bias in preselecting sites for participant observation, such as classrooms. However, it is important to highlight the role of the researcher in consciously or unconsciously dictating its direction and flow (De Fina & Perrino, 2011; Mann, 2011; Talmy, 2011). As such, I theorise research interviews a form of social practice (Talmy, 2011) in which data are socially constructed between interviewer and interviewee(s). Data are thus representations or *accounts* of facts, attitudes or beliefs which are co-constructed and cannot therefore be contaminated by researcher perspectives. Instead, analysis of how such meanings are produced interactionally and in the moments is likely to lead to greater insights than when data is considered to be decontextualised information. Later in this chapter, I will describe my approach to interviews and other forms of data collection. In the section on data analysis, I will discuss my use of inductive data analysis supported by membership categorisation analysis to draw out these co-constructions of meaning.

3.2   Research context

In this section I will briefly summarise some of the features of the macro-social context of the Japanese university. I will then introduce the meso-social context of the Global Programme and its goals and expected activities on the programme as presented by teachers and institutional syllabuses and programme documents.

3.2.1   The Japanese University

Before describing the specific context of my research, it is necessary to discuss some of the features of the Japanese university as an ideological phenomenon, while being sensitive to avoid essentialising Japanese culture (Kubota, 1998). I will also introduce Japanese words which I will use in my thesis when a translation to English would obscure the original meaning.

Firstly, the majority of Japanese universities organise the academic year into two semesters. The spring semester begins in early April and finishes with final exams at the end of July. The autumn semester begins in early September and finishes with final exams at the end of January. In English, spring semester is thus often translated as "First semester", and autumn semester as "Second semester". I conducted my research across one whole academic year, 2016-2017. To avoid confusion with readers more familiar with academic years beginning in autumn, I will use the terms *first* and

second semester; however, participants may refer to spring and autumn/fall during interviews.

One of the key functions of the Japanese education is to socialise young men and women into hierarchical roles in wider Japanese society (Sano, 2014), evinced by LS studies of children's classroom socialisation (Burdelski, 2013; Cook, 1996, 1997). In Japanese language and culture, individuals occupy three important positions: *kohai, dokyusei* and *senpai*. Kohai can be translated as *junior*, dokyusei as *classmate* or *colleague* and senpai as *senior*. However, these translations do not capture the meaning of these terms. The terms signal both age and experience, but age is often taken for experience (Sano, 2014). Thus, someone who is older will be assigned a senpai role and assumed to be more knowledgeable and experienced than kohai. In Japanese universities, kohai are socialised by senpai through participation in clubs, circle or other extracurricular activities such as study groups. As experts, senpai have a great deal of power and influence over their kohai; it is the job of senpai to teach kohai the rules, expectations and sociocultural competence necessary to participate in Japanese society (Nakamura, Fujii & Fudano, 2010). These include the importance of respectful behaviour and language toward senpai. Similarly, it is the role of kohai to look up to their senpai irrespective of their personal feelings and to respect, obey and emulate them. As such, when a second-year university student and a first-year university student interact, the power differentials are explicitly unequal. In addition, kohai's responsibility to their senpai is often more powerful than that felt toward their teachers (Barker, 2016).

As mentioned above, club activities (*bukatsu*) play a very important part in the university life of students in Japan (Cave, 2004; Cook, 2008; Nishino & Larson, 2003; van Ommen, 2015). Many students will have been involved in clubs and circles in junior high school and high school, such as a dance club, calligraphy club, and different levels of sports teams and circles. Clubs are usually run by senpai who take on roles such as "president" and "vice president"; kohai perform less important tasks at the behest of senpai. Through socialisation into senpai-kohai roles, clubs are seen as necessary to become "competent workers (*shakaijin*)" (Cook, 2008, p. 323). This central role of clubs within the Japanese university means that students may prioritise their clubs over their academic success (Nishino & Larson, 2003; van Ommen, 2015). In summary, the function of the university in Japanese society is to socialise

newcomers into ways of behaving in a traditional social hierarchy. Often, being a dutiful kohai is more important than being an academically successful student.

3.2.2 West Tokyo University and the Faculty of Economics

I have chosen West Tokyo University (WTU) as the pseudonym for the institution at which I both work and have conducted this study. The university is located at the very western edge of Tokyo in a leafy, out of town campus and surrounded by several dormitories for international and first-year Japanese. It was established in the early 1970s as a private (predominantly non-government funded) university by a large Buddhist organisation. The campus consists of several large, modern buildings in a combination of neoclassical and modernist styles. A substantial new building was opened in 2015 to house most lecture halls, classrooms and lecturers' offices, including my own. The building features an up-to-date Self-Access Learning Centre (SALC) which includes conversation lounges for students to practice their English and other languages, a writing centre, and non-quiet spaces for individual and group study. The main library also includes quiet and non-quiet study spaces. There are also computer laboratories in several locations in the campus. Most buildings open early in the morning and do not close until 9:30 PM.

Its intake in 2016 was approximately 8000 students, of whom around 750 were overseas students. In 2014, WTU was one of a small number of universities included in the Top Global University project (*Supa gurobaru daigaku sosei shien*) by the Japanese Ministry of Education (see https://tgu.mext.go.jp/en/index.html). The project required universities to establish English medium programs and increase the number of international students. As such, the student body of WTU is more diverse than most universities in Japan. However, it is important to point out that the majority of international students attend separate programs to their Japanese counterparts. The intake of the Faculty of Economics I investigated in my study was about 98% Japanese in 2016. Although exact figures are not available, around 60% of first-year students live in dormitories (halls of residence) run by the university, more than most universities in Tokyo. The remainder either live with their families in and around Tokyo and commute to school or rent small apartments in the nearest city. Students who commute often travel two or more hours each way by train and bus.

At WTU, there are many campus clubs, circles and other associations. These are informally ranked in a hierarchy based on how difficult they are to enter, and the

responsibility and time commitment required. At the top of this hierarchy are the sports clubs, such as the baseball team and soccer team. The Hip-hop Dance Club and the WTU Marching Band (both pseudonyms) are also at the top of this hierarchy; such club activities usually require upwards of 18 hours practice every week both during and outside term time. Students who are members of such clubs are also given special dispensation to attend matches or official events. In contrast, membership of circles is less formal, and students participate if and when they want to.

The Honours Club is for *seiseki yushusha* ("those with superior grades"). It is not an extracurricular activity like other clubs, but rather a way for the university to recognise the highest-achieving students. 100 students from each year of enrolment are selected as *seiseki yushusha*. To be selected, students must be recommended by professors, maintain a high GPA (4.2) and take at least 16 credits per semester (WTU website, accessed September 6, 2018). Honours Club members are able to attend special dinners, events and seminars. In addition, the students receive a bursary of 150,000 yen (around £1,040) each semester they are eligible. Being a *seiseki yushusha* denotes high status in the university, as well as increasing competitiveness and academic pressure. In the academic year when I conducted my study, 14 2016-entry Economics Faculty students were members of the club, including participants Tomomi and Yoko.

3.2.3   The Global Programme

The focal participants in my study were enrolled in the Global Programme (GP), a pseudonym for an elective programme within the WTU Faculty of Economics. I will give an overview of the programme and its entrance requirements, faculty, and then describe in more detail the programme goals and concept of English academic writing.

The programme is well known within the university and recognised as challenging and motivating, attracting many students with an interest in English. It was first established in 2001, at which time it was the only English medium programme in the university. While the university's current Top Global University status has meant that a number of English medium programs have since been established, the relative longevity of the GP is one of the reasons for its high status. Students usually enter the programme in the first year of their degree. To enter, they must have scored at least 360 on a paper-based ITP TOEFL examination conducted

before the start of the first semester. In the second semester, students must increase this TOEFL score to continue on the programme and maintain a GPA of 3.0. In 2016-2017, 223 students entered the Faculty of Economics of which 197 joined the Global Programme. The programme is separated into three levels based on TOEFL scores (Table 3.1), each containing two or more classes. In the second semester of this first year, students in the Advanced classes also take International Economy Lecture, a lecture on economics delivered in English. In Year 2, all students participate in English lectures; in Year 3, classes consist of English lectures and seminars. As such, the programme is a form of gradual sheltered instruction (Krashen, 1982, 1991), the goal of which is for student to participate in English-medium classes with minimal support from language instructors.

Table 3.1

Levels of the Global Programme

Programme level	TOEFL score*	Class level	First semester		TOEFL score	Second semester		
Year 1	360-420	Pre-GP	English for Academic Purposes I	Academic Foundations I	420-447	English for Academic Purposes II	Academic Foundations II	
	423-450	Intermediate	English for Academic Purposes I	Academic Foundations I	450-487	English for Academic Purposes II	Academic Foundations II	
	453+	Advanced	English for Academic Purposes I	Academic Foundations I	490+	English for Academic Purposes II	Academic Foundations II	International Economy Lecture
Year 2	490-517	Advanced A	Economy Laboratory A	Economy Lecture A	520+	Economy Laboratory B	Economy Lecture B	
	520+	Advanced B	Economy Laboratory B	Economy Lecture B		Not offered		
Year 3	n/a	Japan and Asian Economics Courses			n/a	Japan and Asian Economics Courses		

* *Note:* In the institutional test paper (ITP) TOEFL, points are given in groups of 3, hence a score of 421 or 422 is impossible.

The goals of the Global Programme were to enable students to participate in two academic communities: the GP itself and in future study abroad. The syllabus descriptions of GP classes were written by programme administrators, exemplified by this description of English for Academic Purposes I:

> English for Academic Purposes I is designed to prepare Global Programme students in the Faculty of Economics to better participate in their English-medium Economics courses. The course helps students develop their reading, writing, basic study skills, and logical reasoning used in the study of economics. It also gives students strategies to better manage their time and deal with the demands of Western university-style English-medium courses. The course runs in conjunction with Academic Foundations I, and is only open to Economics students in the Global Programme.
>
> <div align="right">(WTU website, course description, 2016)</div>

Indeed, because many GP students do not have the opportunity to study abroad, the GP is thus designed to be "study abroad in Japan" and emulate the experience of studying at a university in an English-dominant country such as the United States. This is reflected in the programme structure described above: students move from classes in which they are given a large amount of support for their English, toward "English-medium" classes in which they are expected to participate without significant language support.

My study included participants from the Intermediate and Advanced English for Academic Purposes I & II (EAP) classes. The main assignments of these classes included paragraphs, essays, fluency writing activities, academic presentations and outlines of textbook chapters. In addition to the EAP class, participants took Academic Foundations I & II (AF), which consisted of preparation for the TOEFL ITP, vocabulary and grammar study, and activities to increase fluency in listening and reading. Both classes were held for 90 minutes twice each week, a total of 30 sessions each semester. Students were expected to complete around five to six hours of homework each week for both EAP and AF. In second semester, participants from the Advanced level class also took International Economy Lecture, a once-weekly lecture and discussion class in English on introductory economics. Thus, all students were expected to spend between 16 and 19.5 hours a week on English classes and assignments, in addition to their regular class load of economics classes and academic writing delivered in Japanese, typically around 24 hours of classes and assignment. Of

the 14 Honours Club students in the Faculty of Economics in 2016-2017 academic year, 7 took Jim's (pseudonym) Advanced EAP class.

In terms of the faculty, the majority of GP classes are taught by part-time teachers employed by the Faculty of Economics. Four part-time teachers were responsible for a total of 24 *koma* (one koma is equal to a 90-minute class); all GP classes consisted of two koma per week. Six full-time teachers from another university department, the International Language Centre, including me, were responsible for a further 14 koma in total. The remaining six koma were taught by full-time professors within the Faculty of Economics. While it may seem that teachers not employed on full-time contracts or not directly employed by the Faculty of Economics would be less invested in the programme, in my experience this is not the case. All GP teachers and professors identified strongly with the goals, teaching methods and preferred academic practices of the programme and were motivated and enthusiastic. Teachers in the GP shared a great deal of materials and participated in twice-semester meetings to share ideas and ensure coherence in teaching goals, objectives and content. As such, academic practices were generally shared across levels and teachers, although teaching styles did differ. In the following section, I will discuss these shared academic writing practices in more detail.

3.2.3.1 The English academic writing practices of the Global Programme

In the GP, English academic writing was conceived of as a journey from personal to objective writing, through a process of drafting and peer review of assignments, with the end goal of developing competence in key organisational features of academic writing. I will illustrate these three aspects with excerpts from class materials and my interviews with teachers on the programme.

In first semester, students wrote about their personal experiences and opinions, on topics including "High School Memories". By second semester, students were expected to write longer essays on less personal topics, such as "How to improve the profits of a business in [nearby city]". Students were expected to research the topic by browsing online sources such as company websites or newspaper articles for facts or expert opinion to support statements. Particularly in Jim's Advanced class, research was expected from the earliest outlines and drafts of assignments; in his written feedback on this students' third draft, he often asked for more detail from research.

The GP writing process was supported by different levels of support from peers and teachers in the in POWER-S writing process. A POWER system has been recommended by a number of researchers and teachers of writing and was further refined by E. K. W. Aloiau (personal communication, March 28, 2015), who added the final "Share" stage in which writing is shared with peers. POWER-S assumes that writing should begin with less structured or free-writing, either by discussing ideas or by producing relatively unstructured written texts (see Appendix C for a description of the complete process). These ideas are then organised into a plan, such as an outline, which is then used to write the first draft. The writer then revises this first draft alone and shares the second draft with a classmate or the teacher who gives feedback based on predefined criteria. The third draft is then written, which may be the end of the process, or the process may return to the rewriting stage. Mike, teacher of the first-semester Intermediate EAP class, described the writing process in the GP as allowing students to "become more autonomous, and … hopefully, they can learn to find where they can correct themselves" (Mike, interview, 20.01.17).

In the GP writing process, teachers first presented a writing pattern, sometimes using model essays from past students. The students then completed a number of drafts of each assignment (Appendix C). Typically, the first draft was revised by the student alone, the second through collaboration with a classmate (known as "peer editing") and the third and final drafts received feedback from the class teacher.

One feature of the Advanced class which greatly influenced participants' non-class interactions was Jim's requirement that students complete peer editing outside the classroom. Students exchanged their printed assignment drafts and annotated these in English or in Japanese (neither was preferred) with comments about the linguistic or organisational features or the content of the writing. The Advanced class students were encouraged but not required to meet their peer editor if they had questions about the feedback they had received. While peer-editing partners were ostensibly random, the teacher usually assigned partners based on seating arrangements chosen by the students themselves. In contrast, Intermediate-class teachers who participated in the study conducted peer editing activities during class time, and students were required to communicate and annotate in English at all times. In addition to the presumed value of peer feedback, peer editing played a role in developing the GP identity, as described by Jim:

I think it's important to see other students' work. How other students have used information that they found on the Internet to support their statements, how other students are organising their arguments for information, structuring their essay (.) even things related to effort, how much another student has written, or how polished another students' draft is … Number one, it can be motivational, in a positive sense, and in a negative but positive sense, a shaming process. To see how much time other students are spending, that is important as well.

(Jim, interview, 16.01.17)

As the extract illustrates, for Jim, being a GP student meant comparing oneself to other classmates and feeling a sense of "shame" when one did not meet the expected standards. The importance of comparing to others is one of the themes I will discuss in Chapter 5. In addition, students were expected to seek support from their teachers when they did not understand peer or teacher feedback. Teachers encouraged the students to ask them questions at the class or during office hours: Jim told students his office door was "always open" for his GP students (Jim, interview, 16.1.17).

Success in academic writing in the GP was described as mastery of several organisational features of writing: different *rhetorical patterns*, *support* in the form of *detail* and *examples*, and the related terms *unity* and *coherence*. At the most basic level, rhetorical patterns in academic writing followed an inductive organisation in which the writer stated the main point of the piece of writing at the start, which is then elaborated on in supporting sentences. Students were almost always provided with a model essay which adhered to these patterns. Rhetorical patterns included "opinion essay" and "chronological essay" but always consisted of at least five paragraphs, beginning with an introduction paragraph and ending with a conclusion paragraph.

Students in the GP were also expected to support their statements with *detail* and *examples*. Of the two concepts, examples are more concrete; in the first assignments of the academic year, students include examples from their own experience, such as their experience of having participated in club activities in high school or their experiences of studying at university. These types of examples are described as "personal" and are contrasted to "objective" examples. Objective examples are said to apply not only to the writer, but to others in different contexts. For instance, the statement "I often catch a cold at university" would be more personal than the statement "Students often catch colds at university". However writers must be

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careful that examples are neither "too specific" nor "too general"; the statement "Students often catch colds at university" could be considered too specific because if refers only to one type of illness, while "Students often suffer from ill-health at university" might be preferred. Students were also expected to support their statements with *detail*. In their written feedback, teachers often asked for "more detail". For instance, in his annotations on the final draft of Kokoro's second essay, Jim comments "So? Explanation?" and "Why?" (Figure 3.1):
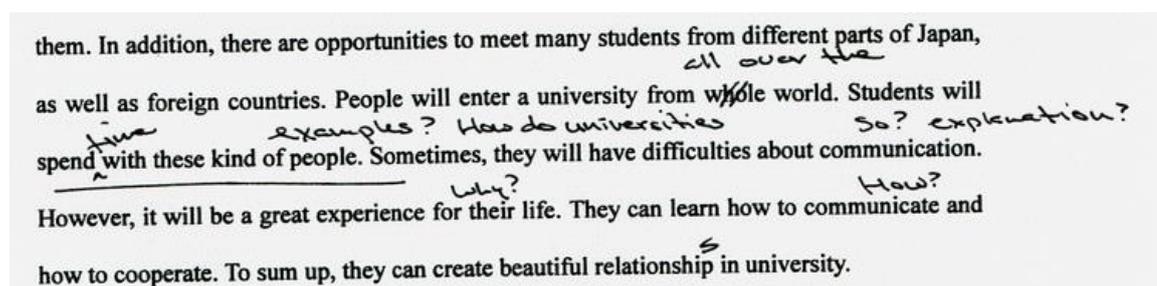
Figure 3.1. Kokoro, university essay final draft. Handwritten annotations are comments from the teacher (Jim).

Unity and coherence are two related concepts which frequently appeared in classroom materials in the GP. As illustrated by classroom materials (Appendix D) unity meant that all sentences support the main topic; when sentences were judged not to support the topic they were described as "off topic". In contrast, coherence expressed the flow of sentences throughout piece of writing through consistent use of key nouns and pronouns, transition signals and logical organisation. As with the concepts of examples and details described above, teachers frequently commented that students' written assignments "lacked unity", were "off topic" or "lacked coherence".

In summary, the Global Programme was represented by teachers and programme documents as having a set of clearly-defined academic writing practices. Participating in the GP was seen as demanding, specifically in terms of the ability to manage one's time and maintain motivation. Through peer interaction, teachers in the GP attempted to build a sense of community and competitiveness among classmates. From the teachers' perspective, the academic writing done in the GP represented stable, well-defined and universally-understood linguistic features relevant to both current and future participation in academic communities.

3.3   Research participants

Participants in the study (Table 3.2 below) fell into three groups: 1) focal participants who I followed closely throughout the academic year, 2) friends or classmates within these focal participants' individual networks of practice who I interviewed once to triangulate aspects of the focal participants' accounts and 3) teachers of the EAP classes in which the focal participants were enrolled. In addition to the above, two participants (Masahiro and Reiko) completed one interview before deciding not to continue. Although neither had been specifically chosen by my focal participants as an individual within their network, because they were friends of focal participants whose accounts they triangulated, they gave consent for their data to remain in the study.

Initially, my goal was to complete the year-long study with at least four focal participants remaining to allow me to interview each participant several times. To account for attrition, I aimed to have at least six participants at the beginning of the study. I had decided to recruit participants from one of the EAP classes in the Global Program, which will be described in detail below. However, I later expanded my recruiting to another class within the same programme to ensure sufficient participants.

Recruitment of participants had three main steps. Firstly, I approached the teacher of the EAP Advanced class, Jim (pseudonym) to ask for his cooperation. Secondly, at the start of the 2016-2017 academic year in April 2016, I visited the EAP Advanced class twice to recruit participants. During the visit, I briefly explained the study and its purpose, providing a handout for potential participants listing the benefits to themselves, the university, and to furthering understanding of Japanese students' learning of academic English (see Appendix A). From the initial recruitment, seven individuals expressed interest, of whom three signed up to the study (Table 3.2). To ensure a more comfortable number of participants, I decided to also recruit from the EAP Intermediate class taught by Mike. Two further participants (Yuri and Chihiro) joined the study. The third step was recruitment of individuals within the focal participants' social network. During our second interview, I asked the focal participants to think about those individuals with whom they interacted the most related to learning English. I asked the participants' permission to include these individuals in the study. I also asked the participants to put me in touch with these individuals, rather than approaching them directly myself.

At the start of the second semester in September 2016, two focal participants left my study. Kokoro had decided to leave the English programme due to pressure from his club activities. I contacted Kokoro to ask if he would like to continue discussing his academic English development, but he was not interested. In addition, Chihiro had increased her TOEFL score and moved into a GP class that I was teaching. While she initially expressed interest in continuing the study, she was reluctant to schedule interviews and I also became uncomfortable with conflict between my roles as researcher and classroom teacher; this will be described in more detail in ethical considerations below. On mutual agreement, Chihiro left the study, leaving me with three focal participants. I revisited the Advanced class taught by Jim to recruit further participants in April 2016. Two focal participants joined from the Advanced class. Therefore, three focal participants continued in the study throughout the whole academic year, while three participated for one semester. All participants who left explicitly consented for their data to remain in the study.

Table 3.2

Participants

| | | | Number of formal interviews | |
| | | | April-July 2016 | September 2016 – January 2017 |
Pseudonym	Role	Class		
Tomomi	Focal participant	Advanced	4	5
Yoko	Focal participant	Advanced	3	3
Yuri	Focal participant	Intermediate	4	4
Chihiro	Focal participant	Intermediate	4	0*
Kokoro	Focal participant	Advanced	4	0*
Aiko	Focal participant	Advanced	0	4
Usami	Focal participant	Advanced	0	3
Masahiro	Additional participant**	Advanced	0	1
Reiko	Additional participant**	Intermediate	0	1
Taishi	Individual within Kokoro's INoP	Advanced	1	0
Kai	Individual within Yoko's INoP	Advanced	0	1
Shinichi	Individual within Yoko's INoP	Advanced	0	1
Hitomi (Hikarin)	Individual within Tomomi's INoP	Intermediate	0	1
Asako	Individual within Yuri's INoP	Intermediate	0	1
Jim	EAP teacher: Advanced class		0***	1
Mike	EAP teacher: Intermediate class		0***	1
Makiko	EAP teacher: Intermediate class		0***	1

In addition to the focal participants, I also spoke to one or two individuals within their networks of practice. Rather than selecting these individuals myself, I asked the focal participants to suggest someone to me who they felt had been important to their development of academic English. Although I had expected some of these individuals to be club members or seniors, in fact all were (sometimes former) EAP classmates. Usami and Aiko, who joined in second semester, both selected other focal participants (Usami selected Tomomi, and Aiko selected Usami) as important individuals in their networks. Due to time constraints, I decided to honour their decision and did not ask them to find another individual who was not already in the study.

Finally, I approached the three teachers responsible for the Advanced (Jim in First and Second Semester) and Intermediate (Mike in First Semester and Makiko in Second Semester). Due to difficulty scheduling interviews during semester, I spoke to the teachers informally several times during the academic year about overall progress and impressions of their classes, then conducted one lengthy interview with each teacher at the end of the academic year, January 2017. To maintain anonymity, I did not discuss the specific participants at any stage.

Although I was not able to meet my goal of four focal participants for the entire academic year, I believe that the richness of the data collected from the seven focal participants compensates for this. In particular, the experiences of Aiko and Usami provide a valuable contrast to those of Tomomi and Yoko.

3.4   Data Collection

Ethnographic research necessitates collecting different types of data over an extended period of time. I collected data for my study for a total of nine months, or one Japanese academic year (April 2016 - February 2017). As shown in Table 3.3 below, interviews were my primary source of data followed by the participants' assignments and other documents from their English class. These documents also included handwritten and typed feedback from their teacher, classmates or others. The third source of data was the maps of the participants' social networks which we collaboratively drew during interviews. I also collected other supporting data including screengrabs of online chats, participants' personal notes and an audio recording of two interactions between classmates. As described in 3.1 above, ethnographic methods frequently necessitate participant observation, but I was not

able to access these interactions for several reasons. Most importantly, the non-class interactions in which I was interested were typically fleeting and unplanned, such as the brief conversations in school corridors described by my participant Yoko as "on the road to class". Even when these peer interactions were planned, such as two friends meeting to work on their essay assignment together, participants appeared uncomfortable with the idea of researcher presence. On the occasions when I asked participants if I could attend such meetings, they politely refused or assented but never got back to me to arrange a time. My alternative strategies, such as providing participants with digital audio recorders, were unsuccessful for similar reasons, as the participants felt uncomfortable asking friends to participate. However, two participants provided audio recordings of peer editing interactions they had made for their own learning purposes. The participants played these recordings for me during our interviews, and I transcribed both the recordings and our discussions about them. However, as with the participants' writing assignments, I did not analyse the content of the recordings in detail. While I did not have direct access to most out-of-class interactions, semi-structured interviews (Edwards & Holland, 2013) and artefacts generated by participants and teachers provided a detailed, longitudinal and ethnographic dataset.

Table 3.3

Data Collection Methods and Timeline

Date	Method	Participants	Data	Length	Frequency
4/16 - 6/16 & 9/16 - 2/17	Semi-structured interviews	Focal participants	Audio-recorded interviews with focal participants Transcripts (translated when necessary)	30-90 minutes	6-8 times
4/16 - 6/16 & 9/16 - 1/17	Semi-structured interviews	Individuals within focal participants' INoP	Audio-recorded interviews with one or two individuals connected to each focal participant Transcripts (translated when necessary)	20-40 minutes	1-2 times per participant
1/17 - 2/17	Semi-structured interviews	Class teachers	Audio-recorded interviews with EAP teachers; face-to-face (Jim, Makiko) and over Skype (Mike, Makiko) Transcripts	45-60 minutes	Once
4/16 - 6/16 & 9/16 - 1/17	Documents	Focal participants	Samples, copies or photographs of: 1. Student-generated materials (such as essays, journals, outlines, notes, emails, online conversation threads) 2. Relevant EAP class materials	-	Collected at each interview
4/16 - 6/16 & 9/16 - 1/17	Network maps	Focal participants	Handwritten map of the focal participants' Individual Network of Practice, member-checked in conversation with participants and by email	-	During each interview; after end of each semester

I conducted all interviews myself in a combination of English and Japanese, depending on interviewee preference. While most participants chose to conduct the interview primarily in English, I frequently asked participants to repeat themselves in Japanese. Sometimes this was because the meaning they had expressed in English was unclear, but often it was necessary for me to understand the pragmatics of what they had said in their first language. Interviews were audio-recorded. I transcribed interviews myself with assistance from L1 Japanese-speaking colleagues (transcription conventions are described in Appendix D). I transcribed interviews within a few days of the recording; this enabled me to find areas for future discussion and improve my interview technique. When it was necessary to present data to non-Japanese speakers, I translated Japanese portions into English with the assistance of Japanese colleagues.

In addition, when interview data is to be analysed through membership categorisation analysis, it is important that interviewers avoid introducing categories through questions and their own responses to participant talk (G. Myers, personal communication, Jan 26, 2016). Thus, although I was interested in how the participants used categories, I avoided questions such as "How have you developed as an academic writer?" Do you feel you are a good GP student?" or in favour of those such as "How have you developed this semester?". As my analysis in Chapter 5 illustrates, it was inevitable that participants and I did negotiate categories and category-resonant descriptions (see MCA section below). However, an understanding of the research interview as social practice (Talmy, 2011) enabled me to see these instances of identity-an-action as a further layer of analysis.

During my interviews, I incorporated elements of hearsay ethnography, defined as ways to "document empirically the practices by which meaning is actually composed and revised in the course of mundane, everyday life" (Watkins & Swidler, 2009, p. 162). To help participants document interactions related to academic English, I asked them to take a nonidentifying photograph with their smart phone (as suggested by D. Potts, personal communication, Dec 1, 2015). In addition, participants and I discussed the notes they had made inside and outside class on their written assignments, the feedback they had received from their peers and teacher and the assignments themselves. I also interviewed one or two individuals in the participants' social networks who they judged were important to their learning of English. I also asked participants to provide screengrabs of the online interactions they had with

friends and/or classmates through a social networking application, Line (developed by Line Corporation). Finally, the written assignments and other work the participants had composed provided a physical record of their socialisation over the course of the year; because I was considering social literacy practices rather than participants' development of academic language, I did not analyse their written English. Rather, the written assignments provided the focus for cyclical dialogue around texts (Lillis, 2008) in interviews, as the participants and I discussed their revisions, reaction to feedback and support-seeking practices on multiple occasions during their drafting processes. This allowed us to orient interviews away from a temporally-situated discussion of specific textual features, facilitating development of shared points of reference and providing multiple opportunities for the participants to "to offer up what they consider to be important at a number of levels" (Lillis, 2008, p. 365).

For initial interviews, I developed a list of set questions (see Appendix B). I revisited these questions in the participants' exit interview. However, the interviews that I conducted throughout the semester were less structured. The interviews followed this pattern:

1. Discussion of photographs participant had taken.
2. The question "What are you doing in your EAP class now?"
3. Discussion of latest drafts of assignments or of new assignments.
4. The question "Have you interacted with anyone else in your network related to English?"

Firstly, because I was interested in interactions individuals had outside their class which may have been brief and fleeting, I had asked the participants to take a non-identifying photograph using their smartphone to remind themselves of the interaction, a free discussion of which began the interviews. I provided some examples of photographs, such as a picture of a cup of coffee to remember a conversation in a cafe, or a picture of a restaurant kitchen stovetop to remember a conversation during one's part-time job. These photos were not data but focus for dialogue around texts (Lillis, 2008). Often, discussion of an interaction from a photo would lead onto discussion of one of the participants' assignments. As much as possible, I tried to let the interviews proceed organically from what the interviewees wanted to talk about.

In the second main step, I invited participants to give an account their recent EAP-related studies. In this step, interviewees could mention their academic writing

or other activities which were important to them. If we had not already begun discussing their writing, in the third step I would bring up a writing assignment. Often, the discussion followed on from a previous interview, such as by asking how they revised their essay based on previously-discussed peer feedback. As mentioned above, teachers required multiple drafts of most assignments which were kept in a class portfolio and which participants brought to interviews. At the beginning of each interview, I made colour copies of all the related documents that were new since we last spoke. Participants almost never forgot to bring assignments. If the participants had not mentioned their writing during the photo discussion, I used a prompt such as "Tell me about this essay you've been writing". Depending on the point in the process, these discussions could concern participants' process in organising their ideas for the assignment, their reaction to the comments they had received from a peer editor, or their response to the teacher feedback or a final grade. Whenever we discussed specific parts of assignments, I would annotate my copy and refer to the annotation on the tape. Thus, I created a cross-reference between documents and our discussions. During all focal-participant interviews, I drew a map of the interviewees individual network of practice; I will describe these procedures below in the INoP section.

The interviews I conducted with people within the focal participants' social networks followed a different format. I prepared questions for these individuals to triangulate the focal participants' accounts. Nevertheless, I felt it was necessary from an ethical point of view to construct these interviews as "talking about learning academic English" as opposed to "talking about your friend". For instance, in one interview I was interested in triangulating Yoko's account of peer support with that of the two male students she had sought support from; however, in the interview I focused on two males' overall opinions and experiences of peer support. Finally, I interviewed the focal participants' EAP teachers to understand their goals and concept of English academic writing.

In terms of member checking, I judged that showing transcripts to the already-busy participants during semester would be seen a "homework" and discourage their continuing participation, so I waited until the end of semester to solicit participants' comments on the transcripts by email. However, as a result, few participants responded except to state they had enjoyed the study.

In summary, interviews began with discussions of nonidentifying photos and written documents provided participants. By discussing how they developed their

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writing and other assignments over the course of semester, I was able to understand how they interacted with different individuals in their INoP and how these interactions were implicated in their academic discourse socialisation in the GP.

3.5   Data analysis

My data analysis has consisted of three layers (Bernstein, 2018): analysis of participants' developing of academic literacy practices, construction and member-checking of individual networks of practice, and a membership category analysis of selected interview accounts. These three layers addressed my three research questions, allowing me to investigate focal participants' academic literacy practices, show how individuals were socialised into such practices through and by constructing networks of practice, and finally demonstrate how categorisations and identities were achieved through interaction in interviews. In this section, I will describe these three layers of analysis in turn, beginning with my coding of academic literacy practices in interview accounts.

3.5.1   Coding for Academic Literacy Practices

My analytical process accorded with descriptions in published academic discourse socialisation research articles of *inductive analysis* (Morita, 2004; Ou & Gu, 2018; Yi, 2013), *thematic analysis* (Anderson, 2017; Okuda & Anderson, 2017). Duff's (2008) description of interrelated *iterative, cyclical* and *inductive* methods of qualitative data guided my overall approach. Following other researchers (e.g. Morita, 2004), I have elected to refer to this umbrella approach as inductive analysis. My data analysis began from the earliest stages, as I took note of themes which emerged both during interviews, transcription and initial reading of transcripts and other data. In addition, while I designed my interviews to allow scope for participants to discuss what they felt was relevant to their academic English, as our interviews were focused on their academic writing development and social interactions some pre-established general themes were present in the data, such as accounts of revisions to writing or seeking out support. By using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo (NVivo Pro 11, version 11.4.1.1064) I was able to develop more specific categories which were then grouped into clusters and sub-clusters; note that NVivo refers to both instances of coded data and clusters of coded data as "nodes", distinct from the usage in Social Network Analysis and INoP. Once my initial codes can be generated, I

looked for *pattern codes* (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013), or patterns and associations among coded extracts. I used visualisations of data at multiple stages to suggest these patterns and relationships which I then manually checked to see if they were warranted in the data. I will briefly describe this process before discussing the next step in analysis, the looking for patterns and relationships within typologies and among clusters. Through clustering and relationships among clusters I was able to identify academic literacy practices.

I first imported the 47 interview transcripts and 320 PDF and Bitmap image files, including screen grabs of online chats threads, scanned worksheets, outlines and notes and several hundred pages of written assignment drafts. I made a link in the software between the interview transcripts and the relevant assignment or other artefacts discussed, enabling me to quickly triangulate the participants' accounts with their actual writing. In my initial round of coding of interview transcripts, I looked for and coded accounts of similar activities including "unplanned or incidental meetings", "studying together regularly", "face-to-face interaction" or "online interaction". These codes were similar to *process coding* (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013) in that they represented accounts of actions intertwined with time, space and other emerging features of data. However, my coding also included aspects of *in vivo coding*, as many codes used participants' own words rather my descriptions of their actions; for instance, the codes "making effort" or "adding detail" came from phrases used by many interviewees. Codes did not only refer to accounts of actions but participants' beliefs and evaluations of the actions of themselves and their judgements of other people; as such, codes were a type of participant-generated *evaluation coding* (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013), including codes like "close friends" and "not useful (feedback)".

When I had generated these initial codes, I grouped them into clusters. Although I often followed the linear process of separating larger clusters into smaller sub-clusters described below, my coding also often proceeded organically as new clusters emerged at later stages of analysis. To give an example of my general process, "unplanned or incidental meetings", "studying together regularly", "face-to-face interaction" or "online interaction" were clustered as "Negotiating Support". Broad clusters were divided into sub-clusters which represented more specific instances; in this case, "unplanned or incidental meetings" and "studying together regularly" were coded in the sub-cluster "Arrangements", describing how participants arrange to meet

people for non-class interactions. However, the Vivo software facilitated frequent, organic changes to my clustering and coding of data. I was able to combine clusters when I decided the accounts referred to the same phenomenon, separate clusters, or move/subordinate main clusters as sub-clusters when I judged them to refer to a more specific aspect of the broader theme. Conversely, some sub-clusters could also become main clusters. At the same time as I adjusted the clustering of my data, I looked through data to determine if I missed any instances related to the groupings and categories, both manually and by using NVivo's Text Search query function to search for terms related to the clusters. I recorded memos to remind me of my coding and clustering decisions, linked by the NVivo software to the relevant codes and clusters. I also recorded memos of my initial "folk theories" or ideas about how instances of coding and clusters appeared related. These theories formed the basis of the second stage, relationships among data.

In the second stage, I looked for *pattern codes* (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013), the patterns, relationships and themes among clusters, groupings and instances of coded data. To do this, I used a combination of software tools and manual coding. Firstly, I looked through the data again and examined my folk-theory memos for potential pattern codes among data. I then used the NVivo Matrix Coding query to create a table with the number of instances at which codes and clusters co-occurred in the data, defined as appearing within or nearby the same data extract. For instance, the Matrix Coding query showed 20 instances in which "face-to-face interaction" co-occurred with an account in which feedback was described as "useful", suggesting that there was a relationship between interacting face-to-face and considering feedback to be useful. The Matrix Coding query results included the instances in which my codes co-occurred. I manually examined each of these co-occurrences to assess whether a relationship was warranted in the data or whether the co-occurrence did not appear to signify a relationship. When a relationship among to nodes or clusters appeared warranted, I used the NVivo Relationships Coding function to code this relationship (the pattern code). In addition to the standard coding functions, the Relationships Coding function allows for a description of the relationship between two nodes or clusters, such as "face-to-face interaction *tends to be* useful". I established 75 relationships among nodes I had earlier coded. I then used the Explore Diagram visualisation function to investigate how particular nodes were linked to the relationships I had now theorised. This visualisation function generates a map to show

how a selected node is related to all other nodes, memos, relationships or other data. For instance, the code "face-to-face" was related to the relationship code "face-to-face interaction *tends to be* useful" and also "face-to-face interaction *is rarely* not useful". I then examined the data extracts to analyse whether the relationship was warranted. Coding these co-occurring relationships facilitated visualisations of academic literacy practices. Each single code represented a particular activity, such as interacting face-to-face, adding detail to writing or evaluating a peer's contribution in an interview, but the relationships among these codes showed how these micro-level activities were instances of multi-dimensional, meso-level academic literacy practices.

During these coding stages, I also made memos and lists of emerging membership categories, category-resonant devices and potential category features, representing the first step in Stokoe's (2012) MCA procedure quoted at length below. However, my coding for social practices in the data was not a form of membership categorisation analysis. Rather, I used the initial round of coding to reveal instances of category work for later analysis.

3.5.2   Individual Networks of Practice

While, INoP is not strictly a form of data analysis but a way to represent data, nevertheless the process of recording and graphically-representing these networks was part of my ethnographic understanding of participants' accounts. Indeed, the visualisation of data can be seen as one step in qualitative data analysis (Verdinelli & Scagnoli, 2013). As I intimated in Chapter 2, however, some refinements to the framework were necessary. In this section I will discuss my refinements to the INoP framework and how I constructed network maps.

Firstly, in Zappa-Hollman and Duff's (2015) original INoPs, lines lead from *nodes* to *clusters* which are then tied to the *core*. Note that these terms are used differently than thus described, following the usage in social network analysis rather than qualitative research or NVivo software. In social network analysis and the INoP framework, nodes refer to individuals while clusters refers to individuals connected to each other in one or more ways. The core refers to the research participant from whose accounts the INoP map is generated. However, while the INoP maps provided a great deal of information, the difficulty in mapping large numbers of ties was evident in the complexity of the maps.

Thus, I have attempted to improve visual clarity in INoP maps by representing social groupings by overlapping circles/ovals. I have used transparent ovals to represent nodes in the network and continued to use lines represent the strength of the tie to these individuals. I have then used larger, overlapping coloured ovals represent groupings/clustering of nodes based on their relationship to the core.
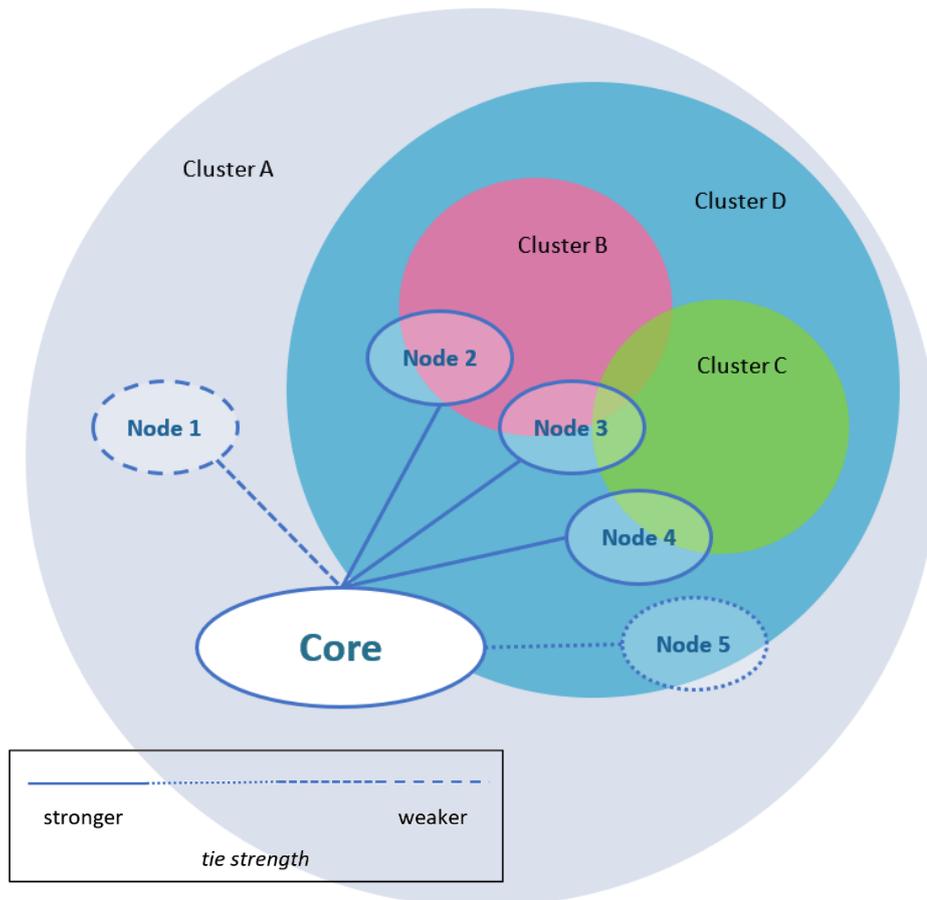
Figure 3.2: An illustrative individual network of practice showing predominantly strong, multiplex ties.

For instance, Figure 3.2 above represents an individual network of practice including strongly-tied nodes, many of which are related to multiple clusters. In Milroy's (1987) terms, this is a dense or closed network of multiplex ties. For instance, Node 2 and 3 are strongly-tied to the core and connected to each other through participation in Cluster A, B and D. The use of overlapping ovals shows how clusters are related to each other. For instance, all of the core's nodes are related to Cluster A and, with the exception of Node 1, Cluster D also.
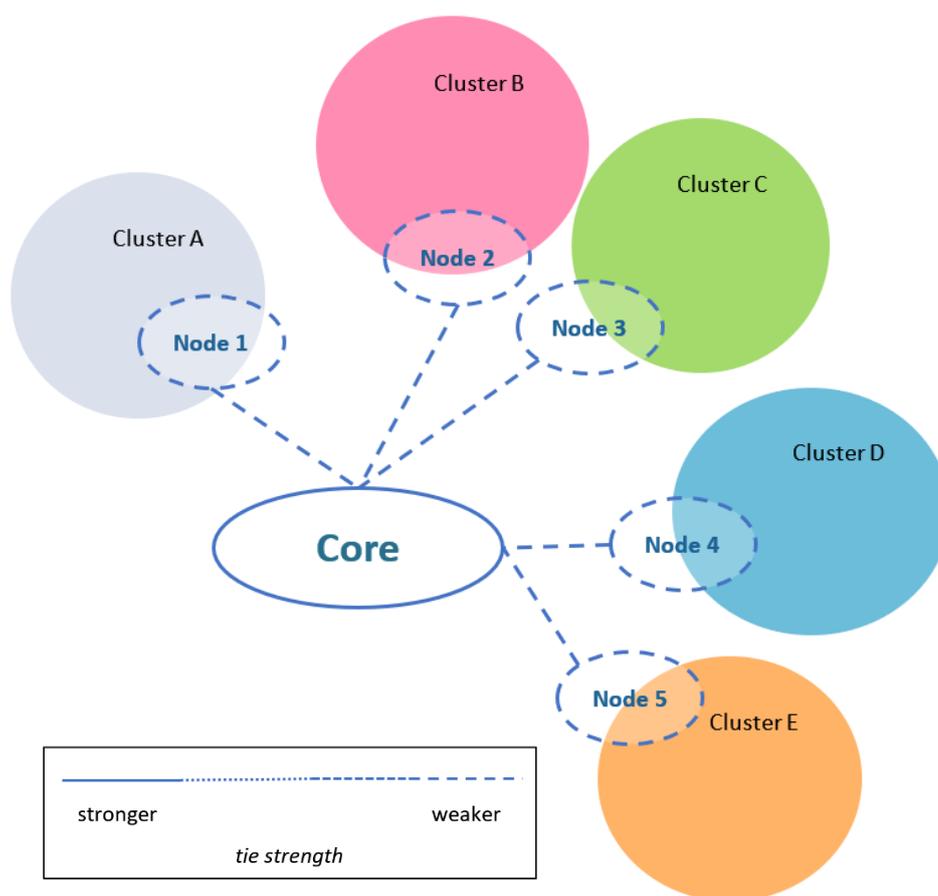
Figure 3.3: An illustrative individual network of practice showing weak, uniplex ties.

Figure 3.3 represents an individual network of practice with the same number of nodes. However, these nodes are weakly-tied to the core. Each node is related to different cluster. In Milroy's (1987) terms, this represents an open network of weak, uniplex ties.

 I will now describe the process I went through to construct individual network maps (Table 3.4). As mentioned above, while the INoP framework is not strictly a method of data analysis, constructing these network maps during and after interviews contributed to my understanding of academic literacy practices and networks. The visualisations provided an overview of each participants' social ties, at a glance suggesting which participants were developing dense networks of many, multiplex ties and which participants appeared to be interacting with fewer ties. The necessity of constructing these visualisations during interviews ensured the interviews were focused at the level of social practice rather than text. Furthermore, access to the INoP maps during interviews also contributed to my and participants' recall of earlier

conversations and ensured we discussed social interactions which were important to the participants' academic socialisation.

Table 3.4

Procedures for Individual Network of Practice Maps

Stage	Time	Procedures and aims
Initial rough INoP maps	During interviews	Ad hoc pencil and paper drawing of new nodes and ties as they emerged
Member-checking of rough maps	End of each interview	Checking for any missing nodes or ties: "Is there anyone missing who you discussed your English with recently?"/ "Are there any missing connections here?"
Member-checking of whole semester maps	Final interview of each semester	Checking for any missing nodes or ties
Digital graphic of INoPs	End of each semester	Analysis of transcripts for tie strength/proximity; triangulation with other participants for missing ties
Member checking of digital graphic of INoPs	After end of the semester by email (Aiko, Chihiro, Kokoro, Usami) or interview (Tomomi, Yoko, Yuri)	Checking for any missing nodes or ties; checking my evaluation of tie strength/proximity

Constructing the participants' network maps had several stages and included both member-checking and triangulation (Table 3.4 above). Firstly, during interviews, I began with pencil and paper, starting with the interviewee at the centre of the map (the core). As unobtrusively as possible, I added nodes (people) to the map as they

were mentioned in interviews. I was careful to allow the participants to give their account as they wanted before asking any follow-up questions. My follow-up questions included asking how often and in what contexts they interacted, or to ask the name of a node for triangulation with other accounts. In early interviews, I asked questions such as "Are you good friends?" to determine the strength/proximity of the tie; however, I realised participants generally answered such direct questions with stock answers, such as "Of course", so I used other indirect methods of determining strength of tie. Network maps were added to and altered over the semester. At end of each interview, I showed the participants the handwritten map to ensure I had not missed any important nodes or ties; because I was producing a network of practice rather than social network, I was careful to ask questions such as "Is there anyone missing who you discussed your English with recently?"; "Are there any missing connections here?". At the end of each interview, I scanned in the developing network maps to record what we had talked about.

At the end of semester, I produced a digital graphic version of the INoP maps using Microsoft Word using the framework presented by Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015). To do this, I examined the interview transcripts for the account(s) of interaction with each node (person) to judge strength/proximity of the tie between node and core. In addition to direct statements, I looked for markers of closeness, such as participants referring to nodes by name or nickname rather than roles like "my peer editor" or "the teacher". I also triangulated between participants to add any ties that participants had omitted. I judged these omissions to be interviewees' oversight, or an artefact of the busy interview process, rather than to carry any particular meaning. For instance, Tomomi did not mention that she and Yoko attended the same Italian Class, but I included this tie by triangulating with Yoko's account. While I triangulated to add ties, I did not triangulate to add *nodes*. I judged the omission of a person to carry meaning, considering the many hours of interviews and the numerous opportunities participants had to relate important interactions. For instance, Aiko mentioned spending time with Tomomi and Yoko, but neither of the women mentioned Aiko at any stage. Thus, Tomomi and Yoko appear on Aiko's network, but Aiko does not appear on their networks. Finally, I member-checked the digital graphic INoP with each focal participant. For Tomomi, Yoko and Masami, I was able to do this in the initial second-semester interview, and for the remaining participants, I sent the graphic

by email. By and large, they responded to agree with my assessment, although I did adjust strength and add some ties to Tomomi and Yoko's maps.

Having completed the INoPs, I presented my initial findings in poster and slideshow form at several academic conferences. Based on the feedback I received, I adjusted the maps each time, producing the final design described above.

3.5.3   Membership Categorisation Analysis

Through inductive analysis (Duff, 2008) of interviews, triangulation with other interviewees' accounts and examination of written artefacts, I demonstrate the ways in which participants achieve their goals of developing English academic writing by remaking academic literacy practices and identities. As such, I consider interviews as a window into INoPs and academic literacy development. However, it is necessary to warrant my descriptions of identity construction/socialisation and deepen the concept of INoP *beyond* a phenomenon-specific social network, investigating meanings of ties between individuals which are sequentially-produced in interviews. I used MCA to understand how identities were constructed moment by moment by employing categories and category-resonant devices in the semi-structured interviews. The insights gained from analysis of interviews and the contribution of MCA's methodological mindset have been fundamental to my analysis of all data. Although I present an in-depth membership categorisation analysis of only two extended extracts in Chapter 5, these extracts are key to my understanding of practices, identities and the participants' individual networks.

As an ethnomethodological, inductive approach, MCA is designed to describe how individuals understand and produce the social order around them (Garfinkle, 1975) without filtering accounts through the preconceptions of the researcher. In contrast to Conversation Analysis (CA), MCA considers categorical rather than sequential concerns related macro levels of society such as gender, sexuality or identity (Fitzgerald & Housley, 2015; Stokoe, 2012) which are represented in how people categorise and are categorised by others at the level of talk and text (Myers & Lampropoulou, 2013). As the third layer of data, a membership categorisation analysis of interview accounts thus bridges the gap not only between talk and text (Lillis, 2008) but between talk, text and the social context. In this section, I will define the approach to MCA I used to analyse selected interview accounts.

Individuals do their categorisation work through *membership categorisation devices* (MCD), a collection of interactionally-produced categories and rules for the application of these categories. MCDs store large amounts of knowledge about society which members often think of as "common sense" and thus categories are often implied rather than directly invoked (Fitzgerald, Housley & Butler, 2009). However, while categories and rules are treated by members as if they have an *a priori* existence, they are produced in the moment, by members interacting through talk or text (Watson, 2015). Whenever people describe individuals, they use categories from *collections*; for instance, the category "family" could include mother, father or children, while the category "people in the classroom" could include teacher and student or classmate. Each collection contains at least one category applicable to a population of at least one member (Sacks, 1992). Individuals use rules of application to pair a category member to at least one population member (Kelly, 2003). Therefore, an MCD consists of a collection of categories and rules of application. In MCDs, particular features come to be associated with categories in different ways, representing what people expect members of a category to do, think or know. For Sacks (1974), such features were the activities typical of a member of the category, but features encompass rights, knowledge, beliefs, obligations, entitlements as well (Wowk & Carlin, 2004), encompassing what Stokoe (2012) refers to as *activities* and *predicates*. Features come to be associated with categories and are described as *tied*, *bound* or *implied* to MCDs (Reynolds & Fitzgerald, 2015). When features are tied to categories, the relationship is not taken for granted but is made explicit through sequential talk. Because of the work necessary, *category-tied* features are the weakest relationship, both locally-established and thus locally-contestable. On the other hand, *category-bound* features are viewed as natural, explicit but common-sense or taken-for-granted. As such, they are stronger and non-contestable. Finally, *category-predicated* features are not explicit but are implied through the operation of an MCD or category. Reynolds and Fitzgerald (2015) also point out that some features or norms are not bound to any particular MCD but can be "held-in-common features of society that 'anybody' orients to" (p. 120).

I turned to MCA rather than other methods of discourse analysis because of the method's ability to warrant inferences about the meso level of practice, community/networks and identity in close analysis of micro-level sequential interaction. MCA also allowed me to ensure that these inferences were not coloured

by my own expectations about categories of people but represented those of the participants. In my initial analysis described above, I inferred relationships between academic literacy practices and participants' ties in social networks. These social ties included many potential categories and MCDs, and as teacher and research I held assumptions about the academic literacy socialisation role of such ties, such as expectations about how English teachers and students would usually behave or think. Through close analysis of categories in sequential interaction, my use of MCA ensured I represented the participants' common-sense assumptions about these categories rather than my own. The strength of MCA was such that, even when my interview questions inadvertently invoked prior category assumptions, the interviewees' sequential responses to resist, accommodate or re-make these categories could be analysed as instances of negotiation of categories and identities.

I followed the process set out by Stokoe (2012) for conducting a membership categorisation analysis in five steps. Researchers should:

1. Collect data across different sorts of domestic and institutional settings…
2. Build collections of explicit mentions of categories … and category-resonant descriptions…
3. Locate the sequential position of each categorial instance with the ongoing interaction, or within the text.
4. Analyse the design and action orientation of the turn or text in which the category, device or resonant description appears.
5. Look for evidence that, and of how, recipients orient to the category, device or resonant description; for the interactional consequences of a category's use; for co-occurring component features of categorial formulations; and for the way speakers within and between turns build and resist categorizations.

(Stokoe, 2012, p. 280)

In my analysis, I began by finding the instances of categories during my coding of academic literacy practices. In searching for categories, however, I was not only looking for "explicit mentions", but the other, implied ways that individuals invoked categories through "category-resonant descriptions". Because MCA is not only concerned with categories but with how categories are used, I looked at the sequential position of the category in interactions or texts. One criticism of MCA has been that categories can come from the researcher rather than the participant (Schegloff, 2007).

Thus, it is vital for researchers to not simply "look for" categories but provide evidence that speakers orient toward these categories in interaction (Bushnell, 2014). In my membership categorisation analysis, I have aimed to represent the participants' subjective understanding of their changing identities, tying academic literacy practices in the form of category-tied, -bound or -predicated features to their understanding of their position within individual networks of practice by the categorisation of themselves and others through these devices.

3.5.4 Transcription conventions

In my transcription conventions, I made two key decisions. Firstly, I elected to use Romanised Japanese with an English translation rather than the original orthography. To a greater and lesser degree, all interviews were translingual: the participants and I freely switched between Japanese and English in both questions and answers. Choice of language and switching between languages sometimes was a result of linguistic difficulties, but often signalled the participants' categorisation work. As such, I wanted my transcripts to reflect our actual usage. However, I also wanted to make the transcripts accessible to non-Japanese literate readership. As such, I elected to follow Bushnell's (2014) approach to Japanese in transcripts, Romanising the Japanese and providing a translation either below or in square brackets. While I am sensitive that removing its original orthography reduces the visibility of the Japanese language, using Japanese orthography would render many readers unable to parse the original sentences even phonetically. Romanisation allows non-Japanese literate readers to "hear" the translingual voices of the participants. Of course, the ideal solution would have been to provide the original Japanese, Romanisation and an English translation; I avoided this because it would have substantially increased the length and thus reduced the readability of the transcripts.

Secondly, I have followed two different transcription conventions in earlier and later chapters. In this chapter and Chapter 4, I have provided simplified transcript extracts. At this stage of the analysis, my focus was not on close analysis of the interview talk but how accounts exemplify the academic literacy practices mentioned. For readability, I have not indicated the features such as overlapping speech, volume or intonation which I did not analyse in these early chapters. In contrast, in Chapters 5 and 6, I have followed a slightly simplified version of Fitzgerald and Housley's (2015) MCA transcription conventions (see Appendix D). Besides the practical reason that I

was analysing many sequential features of the interviews, I felt it was necessary to align myself with the MCA tradition by following commonly-held transcription conventions. As such, my transcripts in later chapters are much more detailed.

3.6   Ethical considerations

As described above, I recruited participants from the same EAP programme on which I work as a full-time teacher. While the participants were not recruited from my classes nor would I be likely to teach them in the future, my position as a teacher and the power it entailed was problematic in three main ways. Firstly, participants may have been less willing to take part in the research, viewing it as another aspect of their already intensive English programme. Secondly, participants may have been less willing to be critical of the programme or other students teachers. Participants may have worried I would disclose negative comments to their teacher or programme administrators, or they may have simply been politely unwilling to criticise a programme I was obviously heavily invested in myself. Thirdly, participants may have felt less able to leave the study for the above reasons.

To address these concerns, I was careful in how I positioned myself during recruitment and interviews. During recruitment, I introduced myself as a PhD student from Lancaster University in the UK who "also works here as a teacher", positioning myself as "overseas student" before teacher. My recruitment flyer included the logo of Lancaster University prominently and the names of my co-supervisors, and I mentioned that both were in the UK. In my recruitment talk to the classes, I spoke in Japanese, further distancing myself from the "English only" policy of many GP teachers. I described the benefits of the study to participants as a chance for English practice and practice with interview technique, both instrumental goals. Based on past experience of conducting research at the institution, I was careful not to mention any connection to the GP itself, such as "This could make the GP better". Rather, I emphasised how the research would improve global understanding of Japanese university students learning English, an under-researched area. As such, I positioned myself as overseas research and outsider.

During interviews, I gave participants the choice of visiting my private research office at WTU or conducting interviews elsewhere including outside the university. With the exception of one interview conducted in a park area and another in a café, most participants chose to conduct interviews in my office. During

interviews, I avoided mentioning my own GP classes as much as possible both to de-emphasise my role as teacher and to prevent ethical conflicts in which information disclosed during interviews might negatively affect my perception of my own students. However, because of the classes I was teaching, there was only one instance in which a student enrolled in my class was mentioned (in passing) in an interview. As mentioned above, however, conflict between my role as researcher and teacher did occur when a focal participant, Chihiro, was unexpectedly transferred into my EAP class in second semester. While Chihiro and I did discuss ways for her to continue in the study without creating conflict with my teaching practices, I agreed to discontinue participation when it became evident that she was uncomfortable. This instance aside, I believe I was successful in positioning myself as an outsider with insider knowledge, and as a postgraduate student more than a teacher. However, in my analysis of interview data, aided by aspects of membership categorisation analysis, I have been careful to bear in mind the ways in which criticisms of peers, teachers and the programme may have been inhibited by power relations.

Chapter 4: Learning to Write in the Global Programme

4.0   Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the shared English academic literacy practices that participants developed in the Global Programme. The terms participants used to describe these practices had specific, local meanings; often, participants used English terms like "research", "evidence" and "logic", even when speaking in Japanese. Indeed, they were often reluctant or unable to translate these terms into their L1 when asked. Terms enclosed in quotation marks in this chapter represent the words participants used in interviews; when Japanese was used, I will italicise and provide a translation. In addition, when I refer to a literacy practice, such as *thinking deeply*, I will italicise it throughout. I will structure this chapter based on clusters of related practices that emerged in analysis of interview data. These were related to the choices participants made in identifying textual and personal resources, adopting stances as writers, arranging discussions for the purposes of support and responding to the support they received.

4.1   Identifying and Using Resources for Writing

Participants drew on a variety of textual resources inside and outside the classroom. These resources had two broad functions. Firstly, resources assisted understanding of the expectations in the GP and of their teachers. Secondly, resources provided content for writing, as participants wrote about their personal experiences or used information from textual resources to support their arguments. I have described this as a process of adopting a stance, as the participants were asked to imagine what information would be relevant to the imagined reader of their academic writing.

4.1.1   Understanding how to write through textual resources

I define texts as any written, textual resources available to individuals, distinct from oral communication or audio; these texts can thus include books, newspaper articles, websites, online databases, worksheets and essays. In this section, I will focus on *textual resources*, those resources participants did not produce but used to understand how to write academic English. Participants themselves produced many texts, such as notes, completed worksheets, outlines and written assignments, and I will discuss these later in the chapter. Broadly speaking, these can be separated into

texts from peers, texts given by their teachers, and texts participants found online or in the university library.

Texts from peers could be accessed in three ways. Firstly, participants were required by their teachers to exchange their essays during peer editing, so for each substantial written assignment they had an opportunity to compare their own writing with classmates'. Secondly, participants could actively seek out peers' texts, for instance by asking to see their classmates' written assignments. Thirdly, teachers also distributed essays from current or past students on the programme as samples. However participants accessed texts from peers, they interacted with these texts in similar ways. The first was to ensure they were meeting the expectations of their teacher. Participants wanted to understand, for instance, what constituted a good essay and often compared the length and organisation of the text, as Yoko described: "What is [essay] body, and how long the body" (interview, 8.6.16). The essays that teachers distributed were useful for this, as they had already been highly evaluated by the teacher. Particularly for participants in the Advanced class, highly-evaluated essays were a window into understanding "good effort":

> The person who can get the good effort comments from Jim, yeah, so when I looked her assignment it is so good, so I think the effort is not the amount of time people spend, but effort is (1.0) Effort is (.) So, how to research or how to mention the essay.

(Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17)

As the extract illustrates, the students looked in their classmates' essays for examples of the academic writing practices put forth by their teachers, above including the meaning of making "effort" or doing "research" for an essay (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of GP academic writing practices). Texts from peers also functioned as examples of the next stage in participants' writing, allowing them to notice "*mo chotto yoku dekiru tokoro* [the things that I could do a bit better]" (Yuri, interview, 19.1.17). Thus, classmates' texts made the academic writing practices set forth by GP teachers more concrete.

The EAP class teachers also provided worksheets and textbook extracts, although these were not often referenced in participants' accounts. The materials provided by teachers were intended to socialise students into particular academic writing practices through presenting "rules" about what was (in)appropriate in

academic writing. Participants described their response to the materials as the "learning" of such rules: "I read this, so I can get some knowledge of writing, so I could improve my writing (1.0) I learned from using of time signal words, so [she points out three instances in her text]. So I learned 'SOBA', so, or, but, and (.) I can't put in front of the sentence" (Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16).

Participants' personally-sourced texts, such as books, articles or online resources, were the third type of text mentioned in interviews. Here, the Advanced and Intermediate class participants differed significantly, as Intermediate class participants never mentioned these types of resources and did not feel the need to seek them out. The texts the Advanced class participants mentioned were all written in Japanese, and they described practices of finding these texts as "research", using the English word and never its Japanese translation. Indeed, the word "research" did not mean the same as its direct translation, *kenkyuu*, which implies a scientific method and testing of hypotheses. Rather, it referred to (usually web-) searches for factual information including demographic data and statistics such as the population of a town, the results of a marketing survey or the average cost of a product. Participants found texts by visiting the campus library, reading books they had at home or browsing search engines, databases and websites. They also shared resources amongst their close friends, and occasionally consulted *senpai* for advice about what books to read.

Most research was carried out at two particular stages in their writing process: planning to write and responding to teacher feedback, following the process required by Jim (see Chapter 3.2.3.1). Firstly, from looking at the worksheets and sample essays provided by Jim, and listening to his comments in class, the participants were keenly aware of the need to include factual information to support their statements. To do their research, participants often met up informally in the university and worked on neighbouring computers. As they worked together, participants found novel solutions to the challenge of finding information in English; Tomomi described working with her close friend and classmate, Ai, visiting websites in Japanese and then changing the language to English: "We search in Japanese first, and how to access the history, we remember in Japanese, and change the language and same [laughter] same place we pushed to find that!" (Tomomi, interview, 16.11.16). In the second stage, Jim's feedback often directed them to include "more detail" or "more evidence" from textual resources. In contrast to the first stage, when responding to Jim's feedback,

participants more often worked alone. However, among all the academic literacy practices that participants developed, social connections outside the EAP class were most used when doing research. Both Usami and Tomomi asked a senpai for advice on finding appropriate books and websites, while Aiko and Yoko thought back to what they had learnt in their Japanese *Gakujutsubunshosahou* [Academic writing methods] class and applied it to research in English. Aiko used databases to find information, and Yoko made sure to always use at least one book for "credibility" (interview, 31.1.17).

Thus, participants drew on a wide variety of textual resources throughout the academic year but researched a narrow range of information. Worksheets, sample essays and essays from classmates mediated their understanding of teacher expectations, while online searches yielded information that could bolster their written arguments. In selecting textual resources, the participants conformed to the concept of "research" as put forth by their teacher, often searching out textual resources in response to the teacher's written feedback.

In the following section, I will discuss how participants described themselves as resources and also how personal experience came into conflict with textual resources as the teacher directed them to take a different kind of stance in their writing.

4.1.2   Deciding the content for writing and adopting a stance to the reader

At the beginning of the academic year, participants were not required to use resources beyond sample paragraphs and essays, textbooks or worksheets. In their writing assignments, participants responded to prompts such as "Describe an important experience in junior high school" or "What are the characteristics of a good student?" In choosing how to respond, participants discussed the prompt during and sometimes after class, selecting supporting statements which they found "easy" to write at length. In their first essays, they described writing about "my opinion"; however, this was rarely a strongly held belief, but rather a position for which it was easiest to brainstorm many supporting points. As Tomomi explained, "I have to explain my opinion, but I did not have strong opinion about this" (interview, 25.7.16). To support "My opinion", participants used their past experiences in high school or present experiences in the Global Programme as examples to illustrate their claims.

For example, Kokoro described using his current experience at WTU as an example in his essay on the benefits of studying abroad:

Interview: Okay, so you got Jim's comments. [He said] some parts are vague, what did you do in the conversation with Kenichi?

Kokoro: My second reason is, it is easy to study abroad in university. And supporting sentence is, a university, especially this university, there are lots of facilities, SALC, Language Centre, and a lot of videos related to other languages, so I think there are a lot of good sources to study abroad, I think these will connect directly to study abroad. But this is maybe weak. So I asked him, how can I revise it.

(Kokoro, interview, 8.6.16)

Although Kokoro judged the example to be "maybe weak" after reading Jim's written feedback, his difficulty was in connecting this "supporting sentence" to the topic of studying abroad, leading him to seek support from his friend, Kenichi.

As the semester progressed, however, participants began to feel certain aspects of their personal experience could also be "too specific" (Yoko, interview, 27.7.16) or "minor" (Usami, interview, 2.11.16) and not appropriate for "the reader" (Tomomi, interview, 15.6.16). In contrast, academic writing should be "general" (Kokoro, interview, 18.5.16) or understandable to people more socially distant. It was difficult for participants to articulate the reason for this change, as illustrated by the vagueness of this quote from Kokoro:

Kokoro: Event paragraph is (1.0) but this is academic writing, so I have to write more general, *ippantekina* [generally].

Interviewer: Why do you think so?

Kokoro: Because (.) academic writing.

(Kokoro, interview, 18.5.16)

From analysis of participants' reactions to various instances of Jim's feedback, it appeared his attempts to teach students to attend to the audience and purpose of their writing were misinterpreted as a devaluing of personal experience. For instance, in revising her Opinion Essay in second semester, Usami paraphrased an example from

her own experience to appeal to an imagined reader. Figure 4.1a below shows her original draft two with the phrase "in my case" to introduce her own experience. Figure 4.1b is her revised draft three, in which her experience has been reframed as "In this situation":
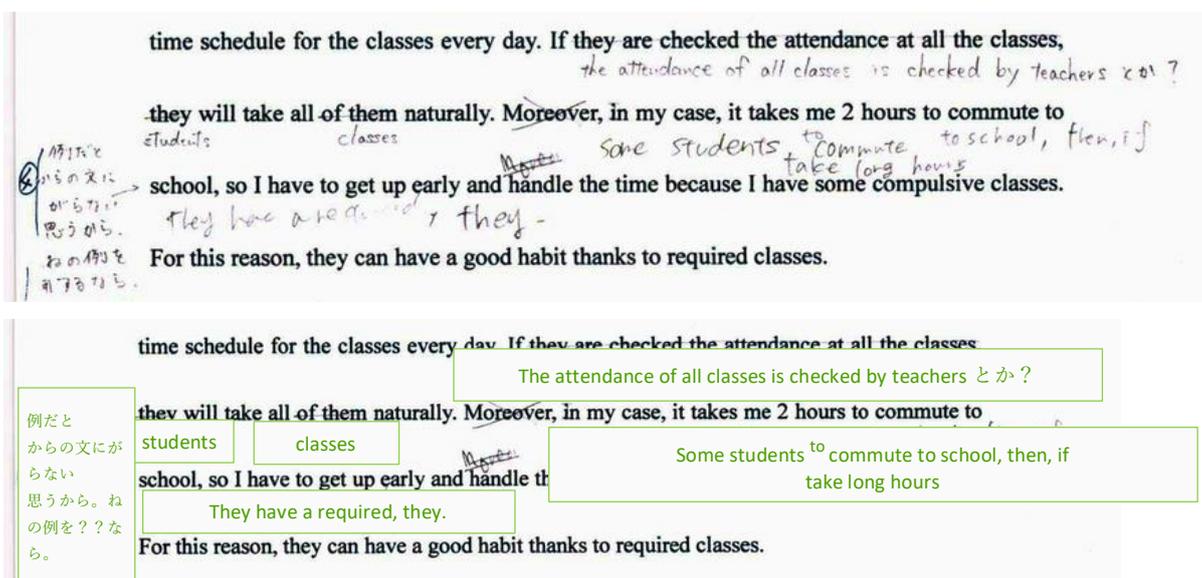
Figure 4.1a. Usami's second draft of the "Opinion Essay" in second semester. Handwritten comments are from her peer editor, Kai. The original version is above and transcribed version is below.
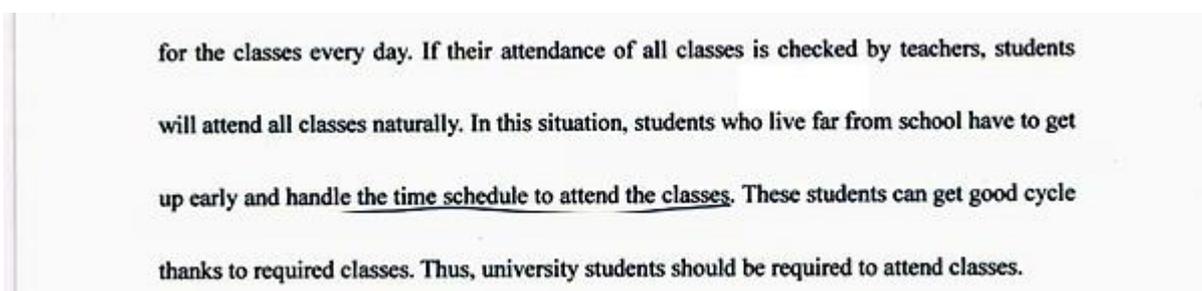
Figure 4.1b. Usami's third draft of the "Opinion Essay" in second semester showing revisions after Kai's feedback.

Usami explained that her own personal experience was too "minor": "I wrote in my case situation, so, yeah, it is not necessary, doesn't need my situation (1.0) *sugoi* minor opinion *ni nacchau kara* [it will become a very minor opinion] (1.0) *takusan tooiku ni iru hito kara*, *kochi demo ii kana* [this might be good even for many people who are distant]" (Usami, interview, 2.11.16). While Usami's revisions are appropriate based on what Jim had taught, her inference is that "my case situation" is

no longer valid. Indeed, her phrase "*takusan tooiku ni iru hito* [many people who are distant]" is analogous to "the reader", referred to by other participants. Participants oriented toward this imagined reader and included support and examples they believed appropriate. However, the imagined reader had not been defined by their teacher. Unable to imagine a reader more socially distant from themselves, participants actually oriented towards a reader who was "teacher or students who is similar to my age" (Tomomi, interview, 15.6.16); "Jim (1.5) or my friend" (Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17); "GP students *toka* [and so on]" (Yoko, interview, 27.7.16). Because the participants could not imagine this distant reader, they were also unable to imagine what supporting sentences would be appropriate. The participants followed their teacher's advice to remove personal experience from their writing without understanding its purpose. Therefore, the participants had re-interpreted Jim's attempts to socialise them into academic writing practices, re-situating their academic writing in their local, social network interactions rather than in an imagined academic community of distant "readers".

The Intermediate class teachers who participated in my study encouraged students to use their personal experience in all writing assignments. The Intermediate class participants were not asked to imagine a distant reader for whom personal experience would be inappropriate. Therefore, their understanding of the reader as teacher or classmate was not problematised by teachers' comments. For instance, Yuri felt adding personal experience to essay would make it easier to understand for "*yondahito* [the reader]":

Yuri: *Rei ga sonnani gutai teki janakatta node sore o nakushite* mmm (1.0) *jibun no keiken ga kakikaeta hō ga motto tsutaeyasui* essay … *yondahitoga*(.) *reitoka haitteruhouga souzoushiyasui* (.) *wakariyasui.*

The example isn't very specific, instead of this, it's better to replace it with my own experience, which would be an easier to understand essay … the reader (.) *examples would be easy to imagine* (.) *Easy to understand.*

(Yuri, interview, 26.10.16)

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As the extract illustrates, Yuri replaced a "*sonnani gutai teki* [not very specific]" example with her own experience. Thus, because the Intermediate class participants were not asked to orient toward an imagined reader or remove personal experience from their writing, they developed different practices to the Advanced class participants. The practices developed by the Intermediate class participants did not contradict the socialisation goals of their teacher because there was no contradiction between the inclusion of personal experience and orienting toward this local reader.

The Advanced class participants did not understand the reason for this change from specific, personal experience to general "evidence from research" and accounted for it in different ways. Firstly, Yoko described this as a move away from *shukan* [subjectivity], but she was unable to articulate what it was a move *toward*. Secondly, Tomomi explained it simply in terms of choosing pronouns which match the contents of the writing: "So in the Business Essay, or Company History Essay, the subject is Shiseido [a Japanese cosmetic company], so I cannot use I my me in this essay" (Tomomi, interview, 14.12.16). Thirdly, it was simply a different type of essay, as Tomomi described: "In my opinions essay, it's important to (.) include many logical explain, but business essay's reasons and explanation is based on information, so (1.0) If I include many information and correct and sure information, the logic is sure" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). Here, Tomomi's definition of "logic" was to include "many information" which was appropriate for the type of essay she was writing. As such, she relied on her teacher to tell her what kind of information to include. As a result, the meaning of "logic" itself changed for the Advanced class participants; if personal experience was not appropriate in writing any longer, then personal experience was not logical. Usami contrasted the writing she did later in the academic year to that she did earlier:

Usami:	The hardest essay (.) I think, because, as I said I don't like to talk logically [laughter] I'm not good at supporting.
Interviewer:	And was the logical (.) being logical and supporting, was that very important in this essay?
Usami:	Yeah, yeah, yeah (.) I think two business essays not my opinion, so data and evidence is so important.
Interviewer:	And you said you don't like researching too much?

Usami: [Laughter] I like to say, or talk, my opinion.

In the extract, Usami described her preference for giving "my opinion" in which evidence for research was less important. In contrast, in the business essays, she was required to support her statements with "data and evidence". For Usami, giving her opinion did not require her to be "logical", whereas writing which was "not my opinion" was logical, harder and less enjoyable.

While EAP Advanced class participants began to feel their opinions were not relevant to their academic writing, their experiences still supported the socialisation in other ways. For instance, Tomomi thought back to her experiences of learning English as a child to negotiate the pressure of academic English writing. When confronted with a new assignment, an essay written under timed conditions, she drew on experience to re-frame the challenging assignment as "not so difficult": "I didn't feel the pressure of time because I have practised English since I was three years old (1.0) it was not so difficult" (interview, 25.7.16). The participants' first-hand business knowledge could be used as content in their writing and could also build their confidence. For example, when Usami's peer reviewer advised her to substantially rewrite part of her essay on improving the sales of a local restaurant, Usami feels "confident" to ignore this advice because of the "real, actual reference" she had found through visiting the restaurant in question, and her family connections to its owner.

Furthermore, self-reflection remained important, in participants' responses to peer and teacher feedback on their writing. Referred to as *thinking deeply,* participants believed self-reflection allowed them to use their time more freely and become more autonomous. Rather than merely "following" peer and teacher feedback, *thinking deeply* meant reflecting on comments, both understanding them and evaluating their usefulness. Yoko described her progress over the course of the academic year in these terms:

Last semester, when I get some comments from peer editor and Jim, I just read, and I changed *kota kota*, I just follow the comments (2.0) But I (1.0) *subete kangaeru yo shi hajimeta* [started thinking about everything] I started to do (.) think about all comments, and I (.) before I *kacha kacha* [onomatopoeic sound of keyboard], I type, I think, and I write, then I ask *de no hajimata* [has started].

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In the extract, Yoko situated "*subete kangaeru yo* [thinking about everything]" at her keyboard rather than in a face-to-face interaction with her teacher or peer. Notably, however, successful self-reflection included the stage of "I ask", returning to the peer or teacher to ask about feedback she did not understand. For Yoko, thinking deeply was also necessary to avoid overreliance on textual resources. Textual resources could be seen as writing what "the book said, the internet said. There is no imagination" (Yoko, interview, 31.1.17). However, when referred to as "thinking by myself", self-reflection suggested a failed social network interaction which forced participants to work alone. When Tomomi's peer editor did not provide sufficient feedback she mentioned, "I have to think by myself, but I couldn't, I didn't, come up with idea" (Tomomi, interview, 15.6.16). Thus, successful self-reflection was considered to making a *choice* to reflect individually on peer or teacher feedback.

To summarise, the participants attempted to understand their teachers' expectations and revise their writing in response to peer and teacher feedback through textual resources, drawing on their personal experience and self-reflection. The participants constructed their own meanings for GP concepts such as "effort", "research" and "logic" through materials including worksheets and sample essays from past students. Participants also used their classmates' writing in this way, examining essays which had been highly evaluated by the teacher to understand, for instance, how long their writing should be and what type of research constituted "good effort". In responding to Jim's insistence that they remove personal experience from their writing, the Advanced class participants developed new meanings for "logic" and "my opinion" in which personal experience was no longer logical or appropriate for "the reader" of their academic writing. However, because the students were unable to imagine this reader, they did not develop understanding of audience and purpose in academic writing into which Jim had attempted to socialise them. Despite this, students in both classes were able to draw on their personal experiences both as content in their writing and to build their confidence as writers. Finally, self-reflection in the form of working alone was necessary to respond appropriately to peer and teacher feedback, but students required appropriate support from their peers and teachers to successfully self-reflect. In the following section, I will describe how

students arranged discussions outside the classroom to support their participation in the Global Programme.

4.2 Arranging Discussions

While all participants described interacting and receiving academic and affective support from classmates and teachers during class time, it is the *non-class interactions* that I have focused on in my study. I define non-class interactions as those which occurred outside the official class hours, including times when individuals interacted in the classroom immediately before and after class hours. These non-class interactions illustrate how English academic literacy was related to participants' social network connections and wider social lives rather than solely participation in a formal, classroom space (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this). Participants described the length, medium and arrangement of non-class interactions. They also described the function or returns of these interactions, specifically the academic and affective support (see Chapter 2) they received or did not receive. Larger social relations between individuals were strongly implicated in the decisions participants made about how and with whom to interact and affected by the decisions that others made to interact with them. I will mention these choices briefly and expand on the discussion in Chapter 5. In this section, I will summarise how participants negotiated support within their social networks, and also the times in which they chose *not* to seek support from individuals despite having access.

4.2.1 Short discussions

Having a short discussion or asking a quick question were the most common ways participants sought support. These short discussions were always incidental and occurred during chance meetings in corridors, while commuting to school, before and after class or during non-English classes, during regular study sessions convened for other purposes, or took place online. Short discussions often had affective as much as academic goals, functioning as a quick way for participants to compare their progress and increase confidence in their writing before they submitted it to the teacher or peer editor. I will first describe interactions among peers, face-to-face and online, followed by interactions with the class teachers.

Short interactions were often impromptu. Yoko described her face-to-face interactions with classmates after they finished class:

Yoko:	After my EAP class, on Thursday, we have Honours, so we move to the classroom, and the road of, we talk, 'I have one more class, but if we finished this class we can go back home and sleep, so we do our best, do my best, do your best.'
Interviewer:	Do you talk about the homework? More specifically?
Yoko:	Sometimes I hear, listen how to do the homework. Like, if I finish the homework, but I don't have confidence about this, so I listened how to finish, 'Please show me.'
Interviewer:	When do you ask them?
Yoko:	After class. EAP or AF. We don't leave the classroom immediately, we remained classroom, we have EAP class tomorrow, 'You did the homework? Oh yes', like. She say, 'Yes, oh, me too, please show me.' And share.

(Yoko, interview, 8.6.16)

At the extract illustrates, short interactions were often place-based rather than determined by social relations. Participants did not make important choices about with whom they interacted but took advantage of opportunities as they arose, in this case on the way between classes.

Kokoro and other male students from the EAP Advanced class who lived in campus dormitories often engaged in short discussions in the Self-Access Learning Centre (SALC), but he and other male interviewees were keen to emphasise the interactions were not arranged. Kokoro responded to a question about why he met certain people: "[it's] a coincidence (.) They are often in SALC. And I'm also in SALC" (Kokoro, interview, 8.6.16). Not only did male students appear to rely on shorter, coincidental interactions with other males, but arranging to meet classmates was considered a practice of female GP students. Largely unprompted in a discussion of seeking support from GP classmates, Masahiro, an additional participant and friend of Kokoro, stated, "I think, male students (.) there are no borders among male students, but female students divide the group" (Masahiro, interview, 4.12.16). From Masahiro's perspective, male students engaged in shorter discussions, while female

students divided into "groups", implicitly to engage in longer, arranged interactions. In one account of such a short discussion, Kokoro described asking for advice from a male classmate. Kokoro had been assigned Yoko as his peer editor but he "couldn't understand about why this part is so wrong?" (Kokoro, interview, 18.5.16). Kokoro approached Kenichi because he "didn't have enough time to discuss outside class" with Yoko and "When I wanted to type the essay, [Kenichi was] just next to me" (Kokoro, interview, 18.5.16). Their discussion was brief, as Kenichi agreed with Yoko's comment that Kokoro's writing lacked *"konkyo* [relevance]" to the essay topic. Except for this, Kokoro stated that Kenichi provided "no advice" (interview, 8.6.16). Thus, male students living in dormitories frequently met in the SALC but were resistant to the idea of arranging longer discussions with peers. I will discuss the ramifications of these choices and the gender relations they indexed in Chapters 5 and 6.

In terms of the purpose, students most often had short discussions while in the process of writing the first draft during which they compared the draft's topics, organisation, or length and level of detail. Discussions often occurred in response to anxiety about a new assignment and as a way to discuss its requirements. For example, Tomomi described feeling "a little scary" about the first draft of business essay:

Interviewer:	Did you have the opportunity to take any photos?
Tomomi:	One photo. [She shows me a selfie with two other friends]. This is the GP members, my close friend, and this is in the school festival's photo. But during our lunchtime, we talked about the business essay. Jim said after the school festival, we have to do the business essay, so we feel a little scary. Is it difficult? How can we write specific explain? So we chat.
Interviewer:	What did Jim tell you about the business essay before the school festival?
Tomomi:	Jim said, 'If you choose the store, shop, you can write the essay, start writing the essay fluency.' So (1.0) But I do not have an idea in this time, so I asked my friends, 'Do you decide any shops or stores to the business essay?'

In the quote, Tomomi used the opportunity to allay her anxiety and compare ideas with her friends.

Similarly, Yoko described how she and a small group of friends moved from empathy about the difficulties in the GP to a short discussion of their academic writing. These discussions started with an exclamation, "*Yabai!*". This colloquial phrase among young people in Japan can have many meanings depending on the context or intonation, analogous to the exclamation "Dude!" in English (Gould, 2013; Kiesling, 2004), but Yoko and her friends used it to express feelings of difficulty or hardship. Yoko described a typical interaction, beginning with "*Yabai!*":

Interviewer:	Did you talk to anybody, for example, about the outline, about draft two before you wrote draft two?
Yoko:	Hmm (1.0) hmm (1.0) (1.0). *nandaro* [what] we always say '*Yabai*!' [(It's) tough!]
Interviewer:	In the library?
Yoko:	Not only the library, we eat some food, we say '*Yabai*!' about essay [laughter]
Interviewer:	Is that good? Does that help you? Like support?
Yoko:	No [laughing] it's not helpful! It is, *yabai,* is the beginning to talking. '*Yabai yo ne*?' [Tough, isn't it?], and then someone say '*Yabai*!"
Interviewer:	And what's next? What's after that?
Yoko:	What (.) what kind of '*Yabai*!' 'I don't have evidence' 'Oh, me too.' What (1.0) and (1.0) "What did you do on your essay", draft two *toka* or outline. 'I just', not copy paste, but, 'someone (article or website) said history, and I choose some words and then I wrote', someone said, other person said, 'I just write the time order only' and then I get some information that is useful for me.

In Yoko's description, the exclamation "*Yabai*!" was "the beginning to talking", followed by a discussion of "what kind of '*Yabai!*'"; in this example, Yoko and her friends discussed their use of research and organisation of their essay.

Short discussions with classmates were not always successful. For instance, when Yoko was unable to revise her essay based on Hiroto's limited feedback, she attempted to engage him in a discussion after class:

> And I saw (.) only one, there is only about (1.0) grammar (1.0) so I asked him "What about my coherence, or logical?" I asked him in class, after class, but in class. He said there is no problem. But I don't have confidence of my draft two, so I asked another person.

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 24.10.16)</div>

As the extract illustrates, Hiroto had failed to consider other aspects of writing, "coherence, or logical", which Yoko considers to be part of the peer review process. As a result, Yoko decided to invest her time in "another person". Short discussions among friends also were less useful. In first semester, Tomomi gave three accounts in which the advice she received in a short discussion with Usami was largely unhelpful. For instance, in the last of these, Tomomi sought her friend's advice about changing one of the topics of her body paragraph:

Interviewer:	Did you talk to your friends about this, do you remember?
Tomomi:	Maybe Usami (1.0). But her opinion is (.) *nandaro* not helpful *ga iisugi dakedo* [is saying too much, but]
Interviewer:	[laughter]
Tomomi:	*Nandaro* (1.0) *sonnani [not so]*
Interviewer:	How do you say in Japanese? Her opinion is?
Tomomi:	Her opinion *soko made (.) ko- kyoukan ga dekiru* ((inaudible due to whispering)) *nakatta.*[I couldn't agree with that]

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 25.7.16)</div>

Tomomi initially characterised Usami's support as "not helpful". She quickly backtracked with the phrase "*ga ii sugi*". I have translated this above as "saying too much" but this could also be understood as the less emphatic "going too far". However, participants rarely gave accounts in which they disagreed with support. Tomomi's description of Usami's support as "not helpful" prefigures the more negative way she came to evaluate her friend, described in detail in Chapter 5.

Some participants reported short discussions with senpai who worked as teaching assistants (TAs) or organised club activities. With the exception of Usami,

who arranged to meet a TA she knew for an extended discussion about her essay, interactions with senpai were rare. Tomomi, Yoko and Kokoro each mentioned one interaction during our interviews. These interactions were initiated by the senpai. For instance, during his interview to join the Economics Theory Club, one senpai and former GP student gave him advice about balancing English and economics study: "English to economics *no kurabete, douchi ni fokasu shitai* [compare English and economics (then think about) which (you) want to focus on]" (Kokoro, interview, 8.6.16).

While most participants preferred face-to-face discussions, some shorter, online interactions did happen through Line, a popular mobile phone messaging application similar to WhatsApp. Because of the nature of the medium, participants asked short questions, usually sending private messages to small groups of classmates who were also their friends. Participants sometimes attached a photograph of a comment or a sentence in an essay they had revised, seeking confirmation from their peers that their revisions have been correct. They also empathised with the difficulties of the GP, as illustrated by Chihiro's description of her messaging group:

> My GP member four girls, include me. We make Line group. We exchange the thinking, homework. Outline, paragraph. *Kyo no shukudai muzukashikute wakaranaikatta* [today's homework was difficult, I didn't get it] [laughter]. *Shukadai wo doko made yarebaii kana* more detail *doko made* more detail *ga ii kana?* [what's the best way of doing the homework, up to where is more detail, might more detail be good?].

(Chihiro, interview, 6.6.16)

In the extract, as well as discussing the meaning of concepts like "more detail", the group also allowed the members to admit when they had not understood homework. However, online interactions were generally not related to affective support or the strengthening of network ties. Tomomi explained why she rarely used Line to communicate with classmates: "I feel difficulty and anxiety about GP, so I want to talk *chokusetsu* [directly] but in the Line it's only sentence, it's only words, but I think only sentence is not good to explain my feelings" (interview, 25.7.16). For students, interacting face-to-face was necessary for affective support.

Participants also sometimes engaged in short discussions with the EAP class teacher in response to written peer or teacher feedback. Most participants approached

in the classroom immediately before or after class hours once or twice a semester, in comparison to the several times they consulted peers. Very often, these discussions had a specific purpose: to bolster participants' confidence in their choices. When participants wanted to ignore a comment from their peer editor, they checked with the teacher. Participants also checked with the teacher when they were uncertain in their revisions, or to see if they had understood teacher feedback. However, unlike peer feedback, participants always approached teachers with a specific question in mind. When participants did not understand how to revise their writing more broadly, they preferred arranged, extended discussions with friends or worked alone.

4.2.2 Extended discussions

At times, all participants felt it necessary to have an extended, face-to-face discussions about their writing. While certainly there was no exact line between the number of minutes spent on a "short" compared to "extended" discussion, the two types of interaction were qualitatively different. Extended discussions were almost always arranged beforehand face-to-face or through Line between two individuals. The one notable exception was a two-hour discussion among Yoko and her friends Kai and Shinichiro at the start of second semester which she arranged "on-the-fly" in the classroom at the end of the period. This important interaction will be discussed in detail later in this and the following chapter. Extended discussions also occasionally occurred as part of regular study sessions for the paper-based TOEFL examination. In this section, I will describe the extended discussions participants arranged to talk about their English academic writing.

The most common type of extended discussion was with one's peer editor to discuss the feedback on their drafts. They met on campus, usually in the SALC or study rooms in the library and exchanged assignments already extensively annotated with feedback, then discussed the feedback predominantly in Japanese. The participants' purpose for arranging the meeting was usually practical, as Aiko described, "We want to ask about pair's (.) their own (.) peer's essay. Because (.) only (.) only reading pair's essay I couldn't understand, so I want to ask" (interview, 13.12.16). Written feedback by itself was often insufficient. Face-to-face discussions were preferred for the "relaxed atmosphere" in comparison to discussing online (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). During these meetings, students would often

paraphrase a partner's feedback to check their understanding, and Tomomi and Yoko recorded this part of the interaction.

Participants also discussed their writing with classmates who were not their peer editor, as in the example of Yoko meeting Kai and Shinichi. Critical teacher feedback or low scores also encourage participants to arrange these longer discussions. For instance, Chihiro described how the low score she had received on her essay draft led her to arrange an extended discussion with her classmates: "Our essay's score is low, so we have to change some parts. So in the self-access centre, we, four girls, talking what part" (Chihiro, interview, 27.06.16). In the discussion, they shared some sympathy about the common situation: "First, we shocked [laughter] about low score, we talked about the low score" (Chihiro, interview, 27.06.16) and then shared ideas for how to respond to their teachers' comments. However, such interactions tended to be shorter, as students were concerned with taking up friends' time. As Yoko explained, "They were trying hard, so I don't want to use their time. If I ask some question, always I have some questions, so I use much time" (interview, 31.1.17). Thus, participants relied on shorter interactions and quick questions for support related to their academic writing.

Participants sometimes had extended discussions about academic English with people who were not members of their EAP class. For example, early in the semester, Tomomi arranged to meet friends, one from high school studying at a different university and another in a different department in the same university. However, she was not able to relate support she received in these interactions to academic English class. For instance, when one friend from outside the university advised her to "*te wo nuku*" [cut corners] in her homework assignments, she ignored the advice: "She doesn't have homework, and maybe she couldn't imagine my situation" (Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16). In interviews during the rest of the academic year, Tomomi reported she had not found time to meet these friends. Usami was the only participant who arranged an extended discussion with a person outside the EAP class. She met a *senpai* to get advice when revising final essay in response to Jim's feedback; she felt this senpai was approachable as she worked as a teaching assistant in one of Usami's seminars. Usami valued the "one and a half hour" her busy senpai spent "for me" (interview, 3.2.17) to advise her about her essay face-to-face.

Finally, participants in the Advanced class occasionally arranged to meet their teacher in his office to discuss feedback he had given on their assignment, usually to confirm the decisions they had made. Two participants also sought out Jim's recognition of their efforts in extended discussions, using his evaluation as a yardstick to judge their progress on the programme. Yoko described her meeting in Jim's office: "I'm not good at *mitomeru* [assessing] my *seika mitomeru no ha* [assessing my achievement] I'm not good at, but he said, like, 'You are growing', so *nandarou nan no hanshi shita* [what, what did we talk about?] so (1.0) I want to make effort more, and I want to get high score, I want to admit (.) I want to be (1.0) admitted by someone" (Yoko, interview, 21.11.16). By "admit", Yoko means being recognised as a high achiever with a "high score". Similarly, Usami described her teachers' evaluation of her efforts and potential during their discussion in his office: "He said, 'You have, like ability, ability to write great essay, but you sometimes don't your ability on your assignment, so please keep your efforts, every assignments', like before he said to me when I asked about the business essay" (Usami, interview, 3.2.17).

4.2.3 Not seeking support

There were many instances in which participants had access to support opportunities but decided not to discuss their writing with anybody regardless of difficulties with revision. Since participants considered asking for support to be an integral academic literacy practice of the Global Programme, the decision not to seek support was a marked and usually disfavoured practice. They gave several, sometimes contradictory, reasons to explain the instances in which they did not, and I often had to ask the same question several times. Indeed, asking participants why they had not sought support sometimes led to interviews stalling. However, in many instances it was clear that social relations strongly influenced the decision not to seek support.

Initially, participants either avoided my question or mentioned practical factors such as lack of time or differing schedules to account for their decision. For instance, Tomomi acknowledged that asking for support was a preferred practice that "other people do" but avoided giving a reason for why *she* did not:

Interviewer:	So you thought other people really wanted to focus on their own essay (.) you didn't think maybe I can help my friend, my friend can help me, this is better?
Tomomi:	Yes [nervous laughter] but (1.0) Yeah, I also was busy with this draft, and if someone asked me to some improvement points, I will take a little time for the person, but (1.0) *nandarou* (1.0) *nani* (.) Other people do, and my action is different from my feeling.

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17)</div>

In the extract, Tomomi appears to respond to my position as a teacher on the programme, agreeing with my characterisation of support as a way to "help my friend". Although she mentions being "busy", her final statement "my action is different from my feeling" avoids my question. Participants also expressed concern for inconveniencing their peers. They usually switched to Japanese, using terms such as *meiwaku* [inconvenience] or *moushiwakenai* [inexcusable], a phrase expressing regret at having asked for help. For instance, even when Tomomi felt anxiety about revising her essay alone, she was more worried about how others would feel:

Interviewer:	By yourself?
Tomomi:	Yeah, so I a little scary about this.
Interviewer:	So you took a risk? Why didn't you talk to your friends or consult with somebody about this?
Tomomi:	Because all members also was busy, with final draft, so to spend time for me is *moushiwakenai* [inexcusable].

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview,18.1.17)</div>

Despite her close relationship to many of her classmates, Tomomi was keen to avoid "*moushiwakenai*" behaviour. As the extract shows, time was a factor in these decisions. Indeed, participants also mentioned the difficulty in making arrangements due to the differences in timetables, elective classes, extracurricular activities, part-time work, or commuting from different towns. In other words, participants emphasised the different times and spaces in which they and their peers existed.

However, it was often apparent that accounts of timetables or peer feedback camouflaged decisions which were based on social distance. In the INoP framework, social distance is represented as the strength of a tie between individuals. Tie strength

is a combination of time spent together, emotional intensity, intimacy or mutual confiding and reciprocal services (returns) between individuals (Granovetter, 1974). It is distinct from multiplexity, as individuals could be connected in several different ways but remain weakly-tied. Participants often accounted for not seeking support by mentioning the number of social ties but, on further questioning, referred to social distance. For instance, Tomomi compared the support she received from two classmates (referred to as "draft two's pair" and "this pair") during peer editing ostensibly in terms of different schedules but actually in terms of social distance and investment in the GP:

Interviewer:	What was your process with your peer editing for draft two?
Tomomi:	Draft two's pair always study at library, and she is living in the dormitory, and (1.0) We do not have the same class (1.0) Only GP we have, we met. So, but this pair [she points to the introduction and conclusion draft] and me, and I, have some same class, so we, this pair and I can have opportunity to meet, but draft two's pair and I do not have much opportunity to meet.
Interviewer:	Which class is it that you have the same?
Tomomi:	Economics class is same, and math class is same, but draft two's pair only GP class.
Interviewer:	What was your process with the draft two pair?
Tomomi:	We write comments, different place, and in the class, we exchanged the print.
Interviewer:	Did you talk in class?
Tomomi:	[embarrassed laughter]
Interviewer:	And after class?
Tomomi:	I said to her, if you have some points of not understand, then you contact me. But she did not email me. Her comments was fewer than me, but I couldn't say more comments please. I think the relation will be a little bad, or she also very busy, so this is *meiwaku* [inconvenience].

Tomomi accounted for her decision not to interact with "this pair" in a several ways. First, she mentioned place and timetables, emphasising different living arrangements and classes. At the end of the extract, she then absolved herself of responsibility for making contact. Finally, Tomomi then characterised the amount of her partner's feedback as "fewer than me", suggesting she was less invested in the class, which had discouraged Tomomi from asking for "more comments please". Tomomi's partner has not fully reciprocated in the peer editing process, leading Tomomi to conclude that further interaction would be *meikaku* [inconvenience] or make their relationship "a little bad".

In the second example, Tomomi again initially avoids mentioning social distance, camouflaging it with a discussion of timetables and peer feedback. Tomomi and Yoko separately describe a peer editor, Hiroto, as a "new person": he had moved up from the Intermediate to Advanced class between first and second semester. Tomomi mentioned the differences in school activities and class timetable between herself and Hiroto, but again this did not seem the real reason why she did not interact further with him. Indeed, the written feedback Hiroto gave was evaluated poorly by both Tomomi and Yoko as "so simple", "only in English" and "only about grammar". The root of the problem, however, appeared to be what Tomomi described as his "character":

Interviewer:	Did you discuss the comments with Hiroto?
Tomomi:	No! [emphatically, laughing] He belongs to the Italian-Spain club, he also belongs to Honours activity in Economics faculty, so he is so busy person, and I also live in my home and worked part-time job, so we did not have enough time to meet, so we only exchanged the paper.
Interviewer:	But with Ai you did have that time. Why was it different? Of course, she lives near you, but when you did your peer editing with her that was on campus.
Tomomi:	My (.) time schedule, my schedule and Ai's one is same, for example the Career Class (.) Hiroto maybe have the Monday or Wednesday class, but I and Ai have the

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	Tuesday class, so the empty class is the same with Ai, so it's easy to meet her
Interviewer:	Did you meet Kotomi when you did your peer editing for the opinion essay? I can't remember.
Tomomi:	Maybe yes.
Interviewer:	Did you want to talk to Hiroto more?
Tomomi:	Yes (.) but to be honest I couldn't catch Hiroto's character now. Hiroto is a new member from this semester, and (1.0) *nandaro* (1.0) I (1.0) Have never met the person like Hiroto [laughter] of course it does not mean I do not like him, he is *nandaro nanteiundaro?* [what, what should I say?] he is
Interviewer:	Say it in Japanese.
Tomomi:	[Laughter]
Interviewer:	It's difficult in Japanese?!
Tomomi:	On *to* off *ga hageshi* [he's really on or off] and *kyuni shaberidasutoki ni are ha kihonshizuka mitaini* [suddenly talkative and suddenly totally quiet] [laughter] so I cannot understand when he have energy to speak.

(Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17)

As this extract illustrates, the decision not to seek support from an individual was also a decision about social relations and social distance. As well as being a "new member", Hiroto was not someone Tomomi could talk to easily; the difficulty in understanding "when he have energy to speak" did not justify the potential returns of more detailed feedback. As such, the choice not to seek support indexed other choices about who to interact with socially, although also partly camouflaged by accounts of timetables and classes and quality of peer feedback. These evaluations of others were also represented in the participants' frequent evaluations of the support they received, related in turn to participants' response to peer feedback when revising writing. Below, I will describe how participants responded to the support they received from peers.

4.3   Responding to Feedback

As described in Chapter 3, participants were required to make revisions to their written assignments and produce three or four drafts, the final two of which were usually submitted to their teachers, commented upon and graded. An earlier draft of the assignment would also usually be exchanged with a random or semi-random partner to receive peer feedback, described as "peer editing". As such, a great deal of participants' coursework -related time outside class was spent revising and thinking about how to revise their papers. As mentioned above, I decided to focus on revisions to writing because revision practices required participants to make choices which were strongly related to their interactions and development as academic writers. Participants described choices about whether to add, remove, change, or not change elements of their writing, and beliefs about these decisions. In this section, I will italicise the terms I have used to describe these practices, such as *adding detail* or *not changing*. As much as possible, I have chosen terms based on participants' own words, so the decision to describe practices as related to *grammar,* for instance, comes from participants' accounts rather than my own categorisation.

4.3.1   Adding detail

Across the revision practices participants developed, the most commonly mentioned was *adding detail* to writing, also described as adding evidence and supporting information, or simply just as making the writing longer. Sometimes originating from their personal reflections or interaction with textual resources and often formulated as a direct response to (usually written) feedback from peers and teachers, *adding detail* was mentioned less often during the early stages of the drafting process where participants were not required to seek support. In some assignments, they included more examples from their own personal experience to support their opinion. At other times, detail could refer to evidence from textual resources like databases, company websites and books. Participants looked at the sample essays they had been given and compared to their classmates' writing to assess if they have added sufficient detail. In addition, participants considered what would be enough for a reader who had access to their writing but not the opportunity to discuss it: "For me, I am the writer, sometimes when I feel it is enough, but for other people, they do not know my idea, so only they read my assignments, so if they cannot understand my idea, it is not enough" (Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17). Participants were also very

aware of the teachers' written feedback. Tomomi again summarised this view most clearly: "This is my opinion, but Jim said 'Really?', 'Why?', so I have to set the explanation of my opinion (.) so if I said enough of my explanation of my opinion, Jim might not write this comment" (interview, 16.11.16). In other words, *adding detail* meant avoiding certain types of written feedback. Indeed, Tomomi later described being "hurt" by these kinds of comments: "I often *kizutsuku* [hurt] from his comments 'So?'. This word is very short, but it means I did not (.) could not explain about that, and reader cannot understand" (interview, 18.1.17). In this sense, *kizutsuku* is very similar to the English expression "to have hurt feelings". Thus, *adding detail* was about conforming to the expectations of others: writing an essay which was as long as one's peers and met the expectations of the teacher.

4.3.2   Not changing

Another commonly mentioned practice was *not changing*, in which participants did not make changes to their writing between drafts. Early in the drafting process, drafts did not receive comments, so participants sometimes found it difficult to revise their writing. At other times, participants ignored feedback from peers or the teacher. In interviews, participants almost never highlighted instances in which they had not revised their writing, suggesting it was a practice to avoid. However, certain types of *not changing* were viewed as unimportant. Tomomi described not paying careful attention to grammar mistakes because they are "*tamatama* [by chance]" which she could easily revise next time (interview, 25.7.16). However, *not changing* had few consequences in the early stages of writing, as Aiko explained:

> Aiko: [Laughter] I know it is bad for me, but in draft one or (.)
>   draft one of essay, or outline, is not so important because
>   (.) not so important, Jim don't check my performance,
>   and after draft one student (.) we check each other in,
>   among students only.
>
> Interviewer: This is draft one?
>
> Aiko: Yes, so I can improve my essay or outline in draft two
>   [laughter].
>
> (Aiko, interview, 6.12.16)

While Aiko acknowledged that *not changing* after draft one is "bad for me", it is also "not so important", as she would receive peer and teacher support later.

However, choosing *not changing* after feedback was a dis-preferred practice, as it could involve ignoring contribution of their peers or teacher. Participants justified the choice to ignore peer feedback by negative evaluations of the written comments, suggesting their peers were less invested in the GP had not worked hard on the peer editing. For instance, Tomomi accounts for her inability to revise her grammar because a peer editor had not "[looked] serious about grammar" (interview, 25.7.16). Similarly, Yuri implied her peer reviewer was ill-equipped to give feedback of any kind: "pair *no ko wa kono* draft two *no* essay *ga mottenakatta node eto* (1. 0) *so desu* mmm (.) QType5 *no kaki kata wa wakaranakatta nan de (1.0) kono, watashi no* essay *wo mise nagara eto (1.0)* mmm (1.0) *konna fuu ni kaku o setsumei shimashita* [The pair didn't have a draft two of the essay, so they didn't know the way of writing this essay, so while looking at my essay, I gave an explanation about how to write it like this] (interview, 26.10.16). Yuri described herself as the one giving the "*setsumei* [explanation]". As mentioned above, when participants wanted to ignore peer feedback, they sometimes first consulted their teacher for a second opinion. For example, Usami confirmed it was acceptable to ignore her peer editor's recommendation to substantially rewrite a paragraph: "I tried to change the suggestion, but I cannot come up with another solution, so I went to ask Jim" (interview, 7.12.16).

4.3.3   Changing the topic

Changing the topic was the decision to start a paragraph or several paragraphs again with a new or "fresh" piece of writing. The participants used the word "topic" to refer to the main idea of a paragraph, as used in EAP-based research on academic writing (e.g. Hyland, 2009). The extent of the topic change did vary. In Yoko's essay on the benefits of studying abroad, she changed the topic from how SA students could develop a "sense of accomplishment" to "*nintairyoku* [strength of endurance]" (interview, 21.11.16). Yoko was able to *change topic* by revising the first and last sentences and some key phrases but was able to keep some of her supporting sentences. At the other extreme, *changing the topic* could mean rewriting several paragraphs or almost the whole essay. Usami's final draft of her Company History

Essay contained none of the topics and few supporting details from her third draft. *Changing the topic* was not as favoured a practice as *adding detail*; it required participants to remove too much of their hard-earned writing and operate without peer or teacher feedback on the draft. However, the practice itself did not quite have the negative associations of *not changing*. As Tomomi described, "Sometimes I choose the new [topic], so the comments from other people's go away, [laughter] but the most important thing is to make a good essay" (interview, 18.1.17).

Usually, students *changed the topic* in response to teacher feedback. Occasionally, that feedback was very direct: "Jim gave me a serious comments [laughter] (1.0) 'You may want to change your main reason'" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). However, as her description of this as a "serious comment" implied, participants usually decided to *change the topic* as a response to teacher feedback they found harsh or judgemental. Describing herself and her friends as "shocked" by receiving a poor grade on a paper, Chihiro arranged to meet her close friends and classmates who advised her to "change all sentence, topic sentence (1.0) so I changed all things" (interview, 27.6.16). Usami also described her revisions from teacher feedback as "all changes", and explained why she decided to meet her senpai to get advice:

Interviewer:	Why did you talk to her?
Usami:	Because I got Jim's comments, but so many [laughter] I didn't want to go to Jim's office because [laughter] because [laughter] I feel my essay was terrible, so (1.0)
Interviewer:	Why do you think it was terrible?
Usami:	Because Jim's comment was so much.

(Usami, interview, 3.2.16)

Although she did not mention this to me during the interview, Usami had been accused by her teacher of plagiarising part of her essay, and she had violated the policies of the programme. Her decision to *change topics*, completely removing the plagiarised section, was a response to this. Similarly, Tomomi's account of starting with a "fresh" and "new" topic allowed her to recover "motivation" to continue revising:

The new idea is fresh, I think, I have some motivation to research about that, when I research more about (1.0) the thing I mentioned

before, and there's some comment (.) and I take some comments from
Jim or friend, I (.) I do not have motivation to research more (1.0) And
when I (.) *chigau*, *chotto matte* [that's not right, just a minute] (1.0) I
think (1.0) I like to research, but (.) I like to research, so.

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17)</div>

As such, *changing the topic* was a response to teacher (and occasionally peer)
feedback in which writing was evaluated poorly.

However, the decision to *change the topic* was also seen as risky. Because
students received teacher feedback on the third draft of the assignment, they were only
able to revise the draft one more time before submission. The teacher did not accept
further revisions after the final draft deadline. During this time, all students were busy
revising their essays, making it more difficult to seek support in networks. For
instance, having taken the risk to change topics, Tomomi described asking for peer
support during the busy end-of-semester period as "*moushiwakenai* [not excusable]".
As a result, a desire to *change the topics* occasionally led them to seek additional
support, as when Usami arranged to meet her senpai. Similarly, *changing the topic*
necessitated drawing on textual rather than human resources. Yoko, for instance,
rereads a book her friend to find new topic ideas. Thus, while participants did not
necessarily want to change their topics, it strategically removed the need to respond to
critical teacher feedback and was deemed worthwhile despite the risks that
accompanied the choice.

Not changing, adding detail and *changing the topic* were the most commonly-
mentioned revision choices. These choices led to large changes in their writing,
necessitated shifts in the participation and encouraged or discouraged interactions in
their social networks. The remaining revision practices participants described referred
to relatively small-scale, low-stakes changes in their writing which were nevertheless
involved in important social, literacy practices.

4.3.4   Changing supporting details

When c*hanging supporting details*, students maintained paragraphs topics and
the overall organisation of their assignments but changed some of the supporting
sentences. In the practice, participants deleted sentences from their drafts and replaced
them with new information from their personal experience or "research". Although the

practice was similar to *adding detail*, I have included it in a separate section because it was referred to differently by many participants. Participants often saw revisions in terms of two choices: to *change supporting details* or to *change topics.* In contrast, *adding detail* was always the preferred choice. As Yoko described, "After I read Jim's comments, I have two ways to write essay (.) first is changing topic and the second is (1.0) change *nagare* [flow, support]" (interview, 21.11.16).

Changing supporting details was a less drastic choice and generally a response to less drastic feedback. It was preferred to *changing the topic* because it required less time, as Usami explained: "Changing support, my explanation, is better because it is easy to fix, like, the <u>all</u>, all the topic changes (1.0) take so much time [laughter]" (interview, 3.2.17). *Changing supporting details* rather than *changing the topic* also allowed the participants acknowledge the contribution of their peers and teacher and make more effective use of their feedback. Participants tried to avoid *changing the topic*. For instance, on two rare occasions in which Yoko consults her teacher outside class, both are seeking support to "get more evidence" and to "change support" (Yoko, interview, 21.11.16) for her existing topics. For the busy GP students, *changing supporting details* and *adding supporting details* were preferred over *changing the topic* and *cutting*, described below.

4.3.5   Cutting

Participants described *cutting* as removing elements or sentences from a draft. Distinct from practices involving change, *cutting* could reduce a paper's length and ran against most students' goals of longer and more detailed writing.

Perhaps for this reason, cutting was most common in first drafts, when students had invested less time in developing their ideas. For instance, Tomomi *cuts* one topic from her outline of the Company History Essay: "I think globalisation is more important … so I cut this entering to product markets" (interview, 14.12.16). However, *cutting* in later drafts was problematic, as illustrated by Yoko's conflict about *cutting* a problematic sentence, described in more detail in Chapter 5. Yoko's peer editor, Kai, suggested she change the wording of one sentence. She responds by making the change Kai advised; on the revised draft, however, Jim commented that the sentence has "strange wording":

Yoko:	*Saigo no yatsu ga naosareta* [the last one had been fixed]. (2.0) Strange wording? (3.0)
Interviewer:	What happened here?
Yoko:	(3.0) *Yoku wakarani* [I don't really know] (3.0)
Interviewer:	Did you understand Kai's comment?
Yoko:	*Kiitatoki* [at the time I heard it] (5.0)
Interviewer:	So you changed it based on Kai's feedback, but Jim's comment was strange wording. What does Jim mean by strange wording here?
Yoko:	Here, I should put students. But (1.0) *Sore wakatta kedo* [I understood that, but] (4.0) *[she trails off, unable to explain the meaning of the comment]*

(Yoko, interview 27.7.16)

Although Yoko stated that she "*ii kaeta*" [paraphrased], actually she had removed the problematic sentence from her essay. Yoko was unable to account for this decision without suggesting Kai had been incorrect; for politeness, she trailed off and left a long silence. Indeed, Yoko described her typical first-semester practice as "*ippai* cut *wo shiteru* [cut a lot]" in response to problematic feedback: "When I (.) last semester (.) B *ni kakareta tokoro* [when I received a B grade] I cut and *wa*! [onomatopoeic sound meaning a large amount] (Yoko, interview, 21.11.16). In short, participants referred to *change* rather than *cut* during revisions to later drafts.

As is apparent from the revision practices described so far, changes to what participants described as *support* or *detail* were choices which had "salient social meanings and resonances" (Duff, 2019, p. 12). *Not changing, cutting* and *changing the topic* were to be avoided when possible because they risked a poor teacher evaluation; conversely, *changing supporting details* and *adding supporting details* could result in the longer and more detailed writing which was the goal of the GP.

4.3.6   Correcting words and grammar

From a purely quantitative perspective, the majority of revisions to writing were to *grammar* and *words*. Indeed, as illustrated by their evaluations of support above, participants considered *grammar* and *words* to be less important aspects of

writing; feedback on writing which only considered *grammar*, for instance, was valued less highly.

      Correcting words the participants used in their writing was most often the result of peer and teacher feedback which provided an alternative word or was more indirect, describing a word choice as "wrong" or "incorrect" or "banned" without providing an alternative. Jim (but not other teachers) had banned his students from using certain words for reasons of academic register (for example, *get, take, my* or *I*). In response to feedback, participants usually performed corrections as directed, replacing one word with the recommended word or finding another from a dictionary. When participants were unsure how to change words, they sought brief interactions with teachers or peers like Misako who "had many words" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). Indeed, questions about words were one of the few ways participants interacted online. Figure 4.2 shows a chat thread between Yuri and three other friends, including Nami and すずき [Suzuki] (pseudonyms), in which Nami asks for advice on whether "we" is appropriate to use in "*rei* [an example]":
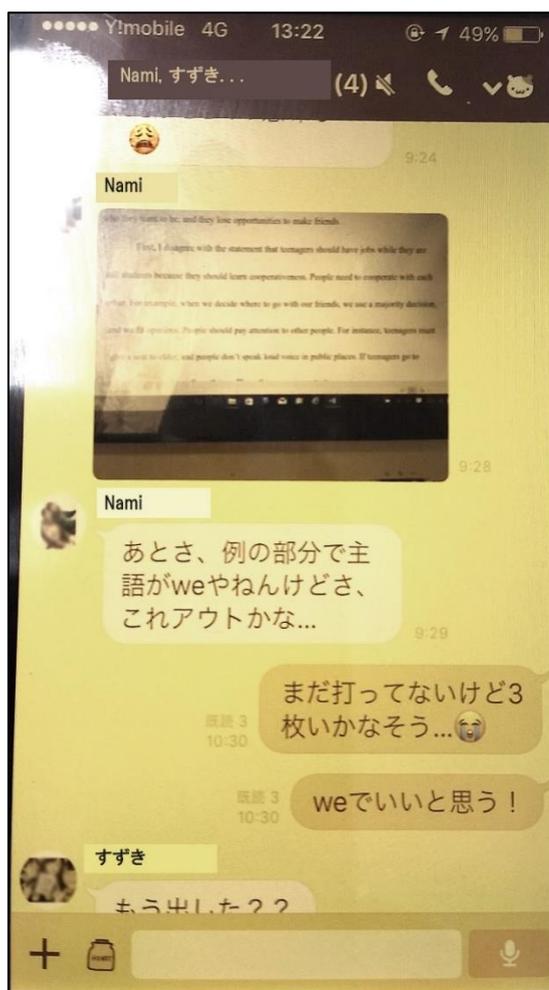
Nami: *Ato sa, rei no bubun de shugo ga* we *ya nenkedo sa, kore auto ka na...*

Yuri: *Mada uttenaikedo 3 mai ikana sou...* ((crying emoji))

Yuri: we *de ii toomou!*

Suzuki: *Mou dashita??*

Nami: Hey, (I used) "we" as the sentence subject in an example, I guess this is "out"...

Yuri: (I) haven't hit it yet, but it looks like (I'm only going to make) 3 (pages)… ((crying emoji))

Yuri: I think "we" is good!

Suzuki: (Did you) already submit??

Figure 4.2. Yuri's online chat through the SNS application Line. Romanisation and translation is provided on the right.

Nami's used the English loan word "*auto* [out]" meaning of "no good" or "out of line" in Japanese. Yuri first responded by seeking empathy for her difficulties in writing a three-page essay. She then addressed Nami's question with "we *de ii toomou!* [I think "we" is good!]". In contrast to in-depth discussions about *support* or *topics*, asking for advice about *words* took less time and could be conducted online.

Participants never gave accounts of evaluating or ignoring feedback about words. For instance, Tomomi described making the wording changes recommended by two peer editors, Kanako and Hiroto, even though her evaluation of their support was very different; Kanako "has many words" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16) while Hiroto wrote comments which are "so simple" (interview, 19.1.17). Hiroto's comments, mostly about grammar and vocabulary, might have been "simple" but were assumed to be correct. Typical of other participants' approach to teacher feedback,

Yuri described changing the phrase in her essay, "I agree with the statement that" from teacher revision:

> Interviewer: Where did you get this [replacement] phrase 'I think this is a good idea?'
>
> Yuri: Maybe I looked at this: 'Do you think this is a good idea?' [written teacher comment on Timed Essay 1 draft 3]
>
> (Yuri, interview, 22.6.16)

As such, *words* came from peers or they came from teachers; in general, the participants used them uncritically, assuming that they were correct.

The participants used the English word *grammar,* even during Japanese turns, to refer to changes to syntax. In interviews, participants responded positively to feedback which did not consider "only" grammar. For example, Aiko positively evaluated the support she received from a peer editor: "She checks my essay logically. She gave me a (.) good, good logical advice (1.0) not only grammar mistake" (interview, 13.12.16). However, the participants generally followed their peers' advice to change grammar. Participants occasionally had short discussions with the teacher or peers like Kai who were "good at grammar" to check or correct *grammar*. However, the place of *grammar* in comparison to other revision practices was somewhat contradictory. On one hand, *grammar* was seen as a competency students either had or did not, so inability to correctly revise *grammar* was unavoidable. Furthermore, revising *grammar* was seen as less important than other types of revision because it did not affect the length or detail of the writing. On the other hand, *grammar* was also easier to revise than other elements of writing, so failure to do so signalled lack of effort. As Tomomi described:

> Interviewer: So it seems like the small grammar problems are throughout the semester (.) did you talk to your friends about the problem?
>
> Tomomi: No (1.0) Because I thought (1.0) grammar mistakes is *tamatama* [by chance] so I thought I will be able to complete the essay on the next essay, 'I will be okay,' I thought. And my mistakes is very small, so I did not mind, or it's natural, I thought.

| Interviewer: | But you changed your mind? |
| Tomomi: | Hmm (2.0) Maybe Jim thinks I am often mistaking about grammar point *kurikaesu* [repeating] about the same grammar points is not good, so I will change. |

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 25.7.16)</div>

Thus, *grammar* was a "small" aspect of writing and mistakes "natural"; however, failure to attend to *grammar* could lead to a poor evaluation from the teacher.

4.4   Leaving the Global Program

Up to this point, I have described how participants learnt to write in the GP through engaging in academic literacy practices, some of which included *not seeking support* or *not making changes* to their writing. Perhaps a more extreme version of such choices was the decision to officially withdraw from the time-intensive Global Programme and (usually) English academic writing. Focal participant Kokoro, Tomomi's friend Hikarin and Yuri's friend Asako withdrew from the GP at different times to focus on their club activities. These students felt social obligations to participate more fully in their clubs which trumped their investment in the academic literacy practices described above.

For instance, Tomomi's friend Hikarin described her inability to continue in the EAP Advanced class as "*shikatanai* [inevitable] is natural, it is natural" (interview, 23.1.17) when she had also joined the demanding Brass Band club. Yuri's friend Asako explained that she left the GP to prepare for a Debate Club competition with her partner, Momo, despite describing her as "*son nani dibeito ni ha isshoukenmei jyanakatta* [not (working) so conscientiously on the debate]" (interview, 19.1.17), a harsh evaluation by the standards of my data. When preparation for the debate became "busy", Asako said of quitting the GP, "*atashi ga erande ikenaina* [I can't choose]". In other words, despite not identifying strongly with Momo as clubmate, Asako felt she had no choice but to withdraw from the GP to fulfil her club responsibilities.

Because of the enrolment system at WTU, when students withdrew from the GP, they could not transfer to another academic writing class but had to wait until the next semester to either re-join the GP or enter a general "English Communication" class. In Chapter 6, I will discuss how these choices indexed wider macro-level Japanese cultural values.

4.5 Summary

All participants developed social practices related to their learning of academic English writing in the Global Programme, represented in Table 4.1 below. Personal, textual and human resources provided content for their writing, support and reflection during planning and revisions, and facilitated their goals of understanding the teachers' expectations to achieve a high evaluation. Not only was academic writing developed through interacting with texts and people, but practices were about interacting in networks; the decisions participants made in revising their writing were supported by networks but also signalled their investment in people in these networks. For some students, however, fulfilling obligations as members of extracurricular clubs necessitated withdrawal from the GP and decreased participation in such practices.

In this chapter, I have summarised academic literacy practices which were often consistent across multiple participants and classes. Learning academic writing in the GP involved drawing on resources, discussing assignments outside the classroom and responding to feedback, but participants' individual choices to access these opportunities varied. These choices were reflected in the revolution of their networks. In the following chapter, I will describe longitudinal changes to four participants' individual social networks, academic literacy practices and identities, illustrating how their exercise of agency shaped their socialisation and network development.

Table 4.1

Summary of Academic Literacy Practices in the Global Programme

Practice	General description	Examples
4.1 Identifying and Using Resources for Writing	This cluster of practices involved drawing on textual resources	
4.1.1 Understanding how to write through textual resources	Practices involved drawing on texts from peers, texts given by teachers and texts participants found online to understand the expectations of the GP and provide content for writing	• Participants compared the length and organisation of their essay to that of classmates' and samples from past students • Texts functioned as examples to make the academic writing practices set forth by GP teachers more concrete • Advanced class participants did "research" to find factual information in databases, company websites or books to support their statements in essays, often in response to teacher feedback
4.1.2 Deciding the content for writing and adopting a stance to the reader	Practices involved participants negotiating subjective and objective stances to appeal to an imagined reader	• Participants initially drew on their own personal experience to support their "opinion" in the form of personal examples • Advance class participants responded to their teacher's feedback by avoiding personal examples in their writing in favour of orienting to an imagined, distant reader for whom such personal examples would be "too specific"
4.2 Arranging Discussions	This cluster of practices involved non-class interactions arranged for academic and affective support	
4.2.1 Short discussions	Practices involved short, usually incidental discussions	• Participants took part in short, face-to-face discussions to compare draft topics, organisation, length or level of detail • Short discussions often occurred in response to anxiety about a new assignment • Participants also engaged in some online interactions to ask shorter and specific questions about language use or details of assignments
4.2.2 Extended discussions	Practices involved arranging longer, face-to-face discussions, usually with close friends	• Participants arranged to meet their peer editor to discuss the feedback they had given

		• Participants arranged to meet friends when they had difficulty responding to peer or teacher feedback on their writing
		• Participants occasionally met their teacher in his office to discuss his feedback
4.2.3 Not seeking support	Participants chose not to seek support despite difficulties with revision to their writing	• Participants often did not seek support from socially-distant individuals
		• participants often did not seek support from individuals with a judged lacked investment in the GP or who did not provide sufficient feedback on their writing
4.3 Responding to Feedback	This cluster of practices involved choices and beliefs surrounding the revisions participants chose to make to their writing	
4.3.1 Adding detail	Practices involved adding evidence or supporting information	• Participants responded to peer and teacher feedback to include examples and detail from the personal experience
		• Advanced class participants later included detail from textual resources such as databases, company websites and books
		• Participants sought to make their writing longer to meet the expectations of their teacher and appeal to an imagined reader who required sufficient "detail" to understand
4.3.2 Not changing	Practices involved participants not making changes to their writing between drafts	• Participants avoided not changing when possible
		• Participants also chose not to revise drafts which were not "checked" by their teachers
		• Participants ignored feedback from peers who they judged were less invested the GP

4.3.3 Changing the topic	Practices involved starting a paragraph or several paragraphs again from the beginning by changing the "topic" or main idea of a paragraph	• Participants deleted paragraphs and changed topic in response to critical feedback from their teacher • Participants change the topic to avoid responding to peer or teacher feedback and to begin again "fresh" • Changing the topic was seen as risky, as it could lead to a poor evaluation of their final draft • Changing topic was seen as time-consuming and risked a poor evaluation from the teacher so was often avoided in favour of changing supporting details, described below
4.3.4 Changing supporting details	Practices involved maintaining the topic of paragraphs but changing some supporting sentences	• Participants deleted sentences from their drafts and replace them with new information from their personal experience or "research" • Participants preferred to change supporting details rather than change topic
4.3.5 Cutting	Practices involved removing elements or sentences from an assignment draft	• Participants cut elements from early drafts which they judged less important • Participants avoided cutting in later drafts because it could reduce a paper's length • Participants occasionally cut problematic elements which they were unable to revise in response to peer or teacher feedback
4.3.6 Correcting words and grammar	Practices involved making changes to the lexis and syntax, typically a response to peer and teacher feedback	• Participants typically made changes to words and grammar in response to peer feedback as recommended, irrespective of their evaluation of the quality of the feedback • Participants occasionally sought out advice from expert peers who were seen as being "good at grammar" or having large vocabularies • Grammar was seen as a "small" aspect of writing so was not always paid close attention to
4.4 Leaving the Global Program	Practices involved withdrawing from the Global Programme and "usually" participation in English academic writing	• Participants chose to leave the time-intensive programme to concentrate on their participation in extracurricular clubs • Leaving the programme allowed participants to fulfil their responsibilities to clubmates

Chapter 5: The Networks of Practice of Academic Writers

5.0   Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the academic literacy practices engaged in by the seven focal participants in this study as they were socialised into academic writing in English. As described in Chapter 1 and 2, one aim of my research is to investigate how socialisation into and to use academic English occurs not only in classrooms but in wider social networks; indeed, to investigate how academic discourse socialisation occurs *through* interaction in networks and *in order to* interact with others and build social networks. As such, academic literacy is as much about identification with others as it is about the activity of academic writing. In this chapter, I will discuss the longitudinal development of the individual networks of practice of four participants from the EAP Advanced class: Tomomi, Yoko, Usami and Aiko. I have chosen these four participants because, despite many similarities in their practical constraints of access, their developmental paths, identities and practices were different in ways which illuminate the interplay of agency, access and identity. I will first present ethnographic and chronological narratives of each participants' developing individual networks of practice, analysing representative extracts from interviews triangulated with other data to highlight the inextricability of their development of networks, identities and practices. Extracts will follow the transcription conventions described in Appendix E. I will then provide a detailed membership categorisation analysis of selected accounts to show how identities were constructed in the moment and produced by our interview interactions. MCA will ensure my claims about networks were warranted by a close, ethnomethodological analysis which demonstrates how categories and category-resonant descriptions represented our assumptions about identity, culture and society which were treated as non-contestable, *a priori* and common-sense. I will conclude by emphasising how participants' agency to evaluate and make choices about networks shaped/was shaped by their access to opportunities and identification with people in their INoPs.

5.1   Developing Identities in the Global Programme

Before introducing the four narratives, I will briefly recap the GP identity described in Chapter 3. In addition to participants' multiple identities as friends, students, peer editors, club members and part-time workers, many of their accounts related to the meaning of their participation in the GP. However, the GP was a

schooled identity (Talmy, 2008), an identity into which GP students were expected to be socialised by those in power, specifically teachers and the institutional administration. Based on participants' accounts, my interviews and interaction with Jim and reading of EAP Advanced course documents, the GP schooled identity was built up through intra- and extra-classroom teacher talk, emails, learning materials and syllabuses. Students were expected to make an effort and manage their time. This meant putting English study before part-time jobs or club activities. In particular, it meant spending as much time as necessary to revise their writing, as judged by their teacher against expected programme standards and sample essays written by teachers or past students. Making an effort also meant paying attention to the detailed requirements of these assignments and asking for support from peers and the teacher. Indeed, classmates were expected to interact and support each other inside the class and, by implication, outside the class through peer editing. They were expected to make time to give detailed comments on their peers' writing and respond to peer and teacher feedback through revising drafts. Finally, while the goals of the GP were articulated in instrumental terms of developing academic English skills, it was also implied that building a relationship among classmates was important for success. As such, the GP identity required a strong orientation to interaction with teachers and classmates. However, while the EAP Advanced class participants rarely referred to the EAP Advanced class by name, instead using terms like "GP member", "GP student" or "on the GP", they were almost always referring to activities, beliefs, obligations or knowledge relevant to the class rather than the programme as a whole. Thus, being "GP member" was related most closely to being a student in Jim's class.

5.2   Tomomi: Investing her Scarce Resources Most Efficiently

As she described in our first interview, Tomomi's dream is "to live in Italy and set up my fashion brand and to make some friends in foreign countries" (Tomomi, interview, 11.5.16). During the academic year, she works part-time several hours a week in a pub/restaurant. Like many students, Tomomi would prefer to live on campus, but financial constraints mean she must live with her family, commuting for nearly two hours each way. As a result, Tomomi had little time for extracurricular activities during semester. Indeed, the defining feature of account of learning English is her exercising of agency to make best use of her limited resources of time. Throughout the year, Tomomi was very invested in learning English, in the Global

Programme and in relationships she formed with some classmates. Yet, because of constraints, she became increasingly selective about who she interacted with and thus the network she developed. Over the academic year, she decided to limit interaction with those who she did not believe shared her investment in academic English. At the same time, writing practices she developed to access the GP identity actually decreased her access to socialisation opportunities.

5.2.1 Tomomi's first semester network

Figure 5.1 is a map of Tomomi's individual network of practice across first semester. Transparent ovals represent nodes in her network, while lines represent the strength of her tie to these individuals. Overlapping coloured ovals represent groupings of nodes based on their relationship to the core (Tomomi). Key changes to this map across time will be highlighted and analysed.
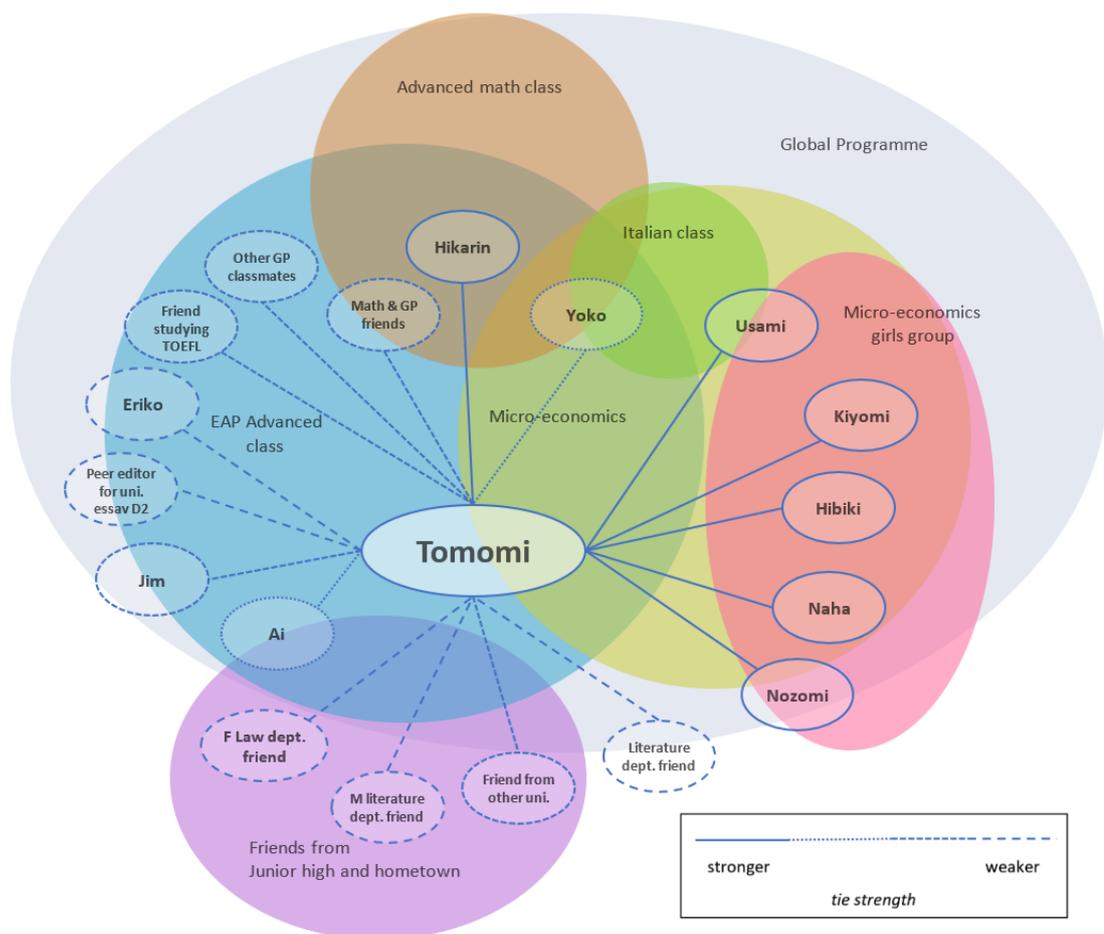
Figure 5.1. Tomomi's individual network of practice in first semester, April 2016 – July 2016.

Compared to other focal participants, Tomomi mentioned many people (nodes) in interviews with respect to her GP class or academic English writing. In describing these people, I will use Tomomi's own words to describe people as "friends", "girls" or "members". Tomomi discussed her GP course-work with four "girls" from micro-economics class, Kiyomi, Hibiki, Naha and Nozomi, who were also studying in the GP but in lower-level EAP classes. A group of four relatively weakly-tied people were connected to Tomomi through junior high school; a female friend in the Law department, a male friend in the Literature department, and another Literature department friend who had been introduced by the male friend. Tomomi also kept in touch with a junior high school friend who had enrolled at another university. In addition, one of her EAP Advanced classmates, Ai, lives in the same hometown as Tomomi, and is strongly-tied to her.

As well as Ai, in the EAP Advanced class Tomomi was closest to Usami and Yoko, with whom she took an elective Italian class, and Hikarin, with whom she took the very selective Advanced maths class in which Yoko was also enrolled. Six other people ("Math & GP friends") were also in both Advanced maths and EAP Advanced and were important nodes in her network for the contributions to brief, impromptu interactions. Her other nodes relevant to academic English were two peer editors, Eriko and one unnamed individual. Thus, in first semester, Tomomi had a large number of nodes in her network. Many of her most closely-tied nodes were from outside the EAP Advanced class, and her stronger ties were also multiplex ties. However, in first semester, she began to interact with these people more and more selectively.

5.2.1.1 "She is the *daisansha* [third party]": Seeking support across networks

In the first two months of the semester, Tomomi interacted with a wide variety of individuals in her social network, maintaining existing connections and developing new ones, as she worked to overcome her anxiety about joining the high-stakes Global Programme. These interactions were both short and extended discussions. From Tomomi's accounts, most of these discussions began as an exchange of affective support. Tomomi spent time with her "Micro-economics girls group", having short discussions during economics classes in Japanese and at break times and meeting for extended study sessions. During these times, they compared their coursework and

shared emotional support. Referring to herself and these non-Advanced friends as "us", she described how she empathised with them: "Each of us has work to do, and all of us are very busy and so not only me. All have the difficulties of studying. Ah! I try my best again, I feel" (Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16). However, she did not seek *academic* support from most micro-economics friends. For instance, Tomomi described how Hibiki also had "many homeworks, but the level of homework between my homework and her homework is very different. And the gap is very large" (interview, 23.5.16). Usami was the exception in this group, as she was also an EAP Advanced student. Tomomi described how she would "often eat lunch with Usami… We talked about homework" (Tomomi, interview,15.6.16), such as comparing their ideas when writing early essay drafts. Comparing shared "difficulties" allowed Tomomi to feel part of the wider Global Programme and that she was making appropriate effort, but Tomomi also felt that individuals outside the EAP Advanced class were not capable of providing academic support.

Early in the semester, Tomomi also arranged several extended discussions with people in her network, and again chose not to seek academic support from people outside the Advanced class. For instance, she arranged meetings to maintain her "nice relationship" (Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16) with friends from her high school, one who attended another university and others in different WTU Faculties (see the "Friends from junior high and hometown" cluster above). Similar to her above account, during the discussions they compared how much homework they had and empathised over their difficulties in studying: "I talked that I have some difficulty of studying, and I don't have enough time to sleep, and so my friend's say 'Oh! It's too bad, but I also have many homework in Law Department, and so fight together'" (Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16). Later, Tomomi explains the phrase "fight together" reported from her female Law Department "friend" as "*ishoni ganbarou* [try (our) best together]".

Individuals outside the GP could provide a different type of affective support to her GP friends, but Tomomi did not value academic support from these people. For example, in her account of an interaction with her friend from Stanley University (analysed in detail in the MCA section at the end of this chapter), Tomomi described her friend as a "*daisansha* [third party" with whom she could share "*waruguchi* [negative statements]" about the GP. Providing affective support to GP peers implicitly meant avoiding "*waruguchi*" and maintaining a positive front. As Tomomi

explained later, "All my friends in EAP class are very hard to work, and all of them try their best, so I have to manage my time and complete my homework". Indeed, Tomomi saw her relationship with her EAP classmates as competitive: "I feel I am *makezugirai* [unwilling to lose/be beaten], I don't like losing, so if my friend tried her best, I also tried my best" (interview, 23.5.16). However, Tomomi's friend advised her to *"te wo nuku* [cut corners]" by spending less time on some writing assignments. Tomomi judged this advice as incompatible with her GP participation. Indeed, Tomomi described her friend as someone who "don't have homework". Therefore, the friend was not able to provide valid academic advice to Tomomi.

In contrast, Tomomi decided to seek academic support from Ai, her hometown friend who was also a fellow EAP Advanced student. Tomomi arranged to meet Ai in a café for dessert and to talk about "what we can't talk in EAP" (interview, 23.5.16), specifically the difficulty of homework and their lack of sleep. However, Tomomi decided to seek support from Ai when she heard that her friend had completed her essay homework: "I didn't complete my homework, so I want some advice. When I know her finishing homework, I surprised" (interview, 23.5.16). Ai is a hometown friend, EAP Advanced class student, and also implicitly ahead of Tomomi, as she had already completed the assignment. At the same time, *makezugirai* Tomomi did not want to be beaten in "trying her best" by her friend.

Thus, in the first part of first semester, Tomomi's choices were to seek out interactions with a wide variety of people in her network. Individuals outside the EAP Advanced class could provide helpful affective support, but the "gap" between Tomomi and these people discouraged her from seeking academic support from them. In contrast, people from within the EAP Advanced class could provide valuable academic support. Additionally, Tomomi compared herself to others in her network to position herself as a hard-working GP student studying high-level English. In particular, it was important for Tomomi to compete with other EAP Advanced students to work hard and make an effort.

5.2.1.2 "Some students have much effort": Re-evaluating peer support

As the semester progressed, Tomomi began to re-evaluate her ties to EAP Advanced class members and become increasingly selective about from whom she sought support. Working part-time and commuting long-distance meant that Tomomi lacked the time to continue arranging meetings with people which were less likely to

lead to returns. These choices are exemplified by Tomomi's decision to seek online and face-to-face short discussions with one peer editor but not another. However, Tomomi's retrospective account of this choice was also influenced by her later positioning by Jim as a student who was not making effort.

At the midway point of the first semester, the assignment was the first full-length, five-paragraph academic essay (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of written assignments in the Global Programme). Jim split the assignment into two parts with two different randomly-assigned peer editors: firstly the introduction and conclusion, and secondly the three body paragraphs. As such, Tomomi had two opportunities for support through peer editing. While she valued the support from the first peer editor (Eriko), she evaluated that of the second ("draft two's pair") more negatively and chose not to interact with her further.

Eriko gave Tomomi a variety of written feedback on both the grammar, vocabulary and ideas in the writing. These kinds of comments encouraged Tomomi to seek further discussion with Eriko both face-to-face and online, despite their lack of time. In contrast, the second peer editor provided fewer comments, as Tomomi described:

Extract 1

```
 1   T:    My pair wrote some comments, but (1.5) ah (.)
 2         tashika I wrote many comments for her,
             Right
 3         in English, but her comments is in Japanese,
 4         and I think her little, than me. So I have to
 5         think by myself, but I couldn't, I didn't,
 6         come up with idea.
 7   I:    What was your process with your peer editing?
 8   T:    Draft two's pair always study at library, and
 9         she is living in the dormitory, and (1.0) We
10         do not have the same class (.) Only GP we
11         have, we met. So, but this pair ((she points
12         to the introduction and conclusion draft))
13         and me, and I, have some same class, so we,
14         this pair and I can have opportunity to meet,
15
```

```
16          but draft two's pair and I do not have much
            opportunity to meet.
17  I:      Which class is it that you have the same?
18  T:      Economics class is same, and math class is
19          same, but draft two's pair only GP class.
20  I:      What was your process with the draft two
21          pair?
22  T:      We write comments, different place, and in
23          the class we exchanged the print.
24  I:      Did you talk in class?
25  T:      Hhh heh hhh ((embarrassed laughter))
26  I:      And after [class?]
27  T:                [I said] to her, if you have some
28          points of not understand, then you contact
29          me. But she did not email me. Her comments
30          was fewer than me, but I couldn't say more
31          comments please. I think the relation will be
32          a little bad, or she also very busy, so this
33          is meiwaku.

               troublesome

34  I:      Before this friend (.) you don't feel like it
35          was meiwaku?
36  T:      We wrote (.) same quantity.
37  I:      Of comments? You feel like you can ask her
38          because she wrote a lot of [comments?]
39  T:                                 [Yes, yes.]
40  I       Why do you think your peer editor for this
41          draft didn't write so many comments? Just
42          your feeling.
43  T:      Hhh heh the topic is very difficult for
44          thinking, and ah (3.00).
```

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 15.6.16)</div>

In line 22-33, Tomomi describes the process of peer editing with "draft two's pair". After having exchanged printed copies during class, they annotated these and exchange them in a subsequent class. Tomomi's embarrassed laughter in line 25

suggests that her peer had been uninterested in talking about the assignment at this time. Therefore, Tomomi invited her to "email me" with questions. In contrast to Eriko, with whom Tomomi had engaged in short discussions and online chats about the writing, "draft two's pair" did not make contact. Initially, Tomomi avoided accounting for this difference between the peer editor's by mentioning practical constraints on their interaction: her peer editor lives in a dormitory and took different classes (line 9-10), limiting their opportunities to meet (line 15-16). However, she later contrasts her own feedback with that of the peer, whose annotations were "fewer than me" (line 30). In line 33, "*meiwaku* [troublesome]" is a word which implies social distance in Japanese. I check this interpretation in line 37-38, and Tomomi agrees. In other words, quality of peer comments is about making an effort to do the "same" as each other. Those who do not do the same are judged by Tomomi to be weaker social ties. While Tomomi avoids *waruguchi* [badmouthing] her classmate by commenting "the topic is very difficult" (line 43), from her account it is clear that Tomomi has judged "draft two's pair" as someone not capable of providing appropriate academic support.

However, Tomomi's increasingly harsh judgement of her classmates was influenced by Jim's positioning of her as someone who is not making effort. Our interview was conducted after she had received Jim's feedback on the third assignment draft (Figure 5.2):
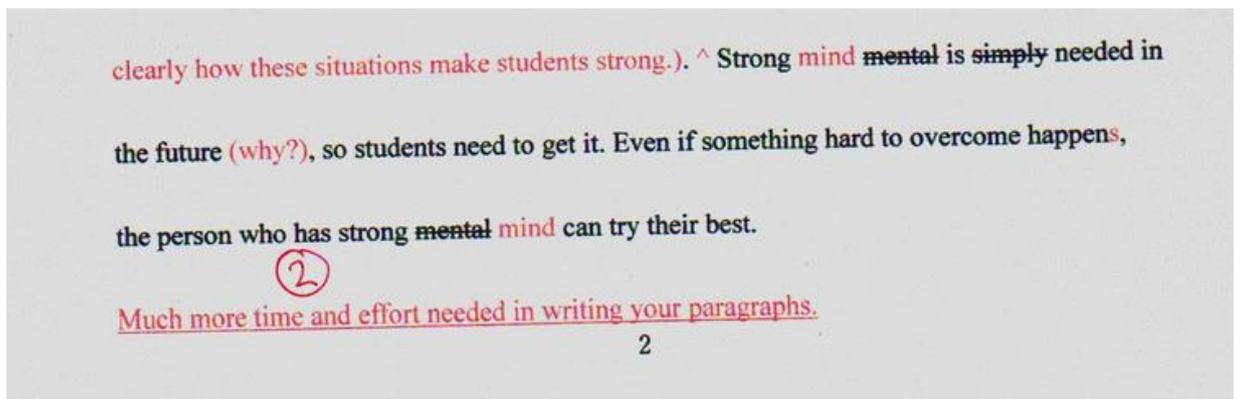
Figure 5.2. Jim's comments (in red and strikethrough) on Tomomi's third draft of the university essay.

Accompanying Jim's comments on the draft was an email he sent to the whole class (Figure 5.3). Tomomi summarised this as: "Some students have much effort, but

other students do not take efforts, so all students have to take much efforts." In the interview, Tomomi then drew my attention to the similar phrasing in the above comment (Figure 2). She then referred to "draft two's pair", stating "I don't know whether she gets this comment. Maybe I wrote her draft two, more example or explanation, but she did not write for me, and so I thought I do not need to." Tomomi believed she had spent time commenting on with suggestions about "more example explanation", whereas her partner "did not write for me". As such, Tomomi has been positioned as one of the "Other students" who need to "spend much more time and effort". As a result, Tomomi "[had] to think by myself, but I couldn't, I didn't, come up with idea". Therefore, Tomomi's account of the peer editing is as much about her response to Jim's positioning of her as to her choices in seeking support. By comparing the support of "draft two's pair" unfavourably to Eriko and her own written comments, Tomomi positions herself as someone whose ability to take time and make effort had been constrained by one of the "Other students".

```
From: [          ] <[                    ]>
Date: 2016-05-25 11:16 GMT+09:00
Subject: D3 feedback
To: [      ] [               ]>


Dear class,

Please take a look at my comments and corrections for your 3 benefits D3.

 Some of you put in a lot of effort in improving your drafts, thank you. Other students need to spend much more time
and effort on your written assignments.

Some key points:
```
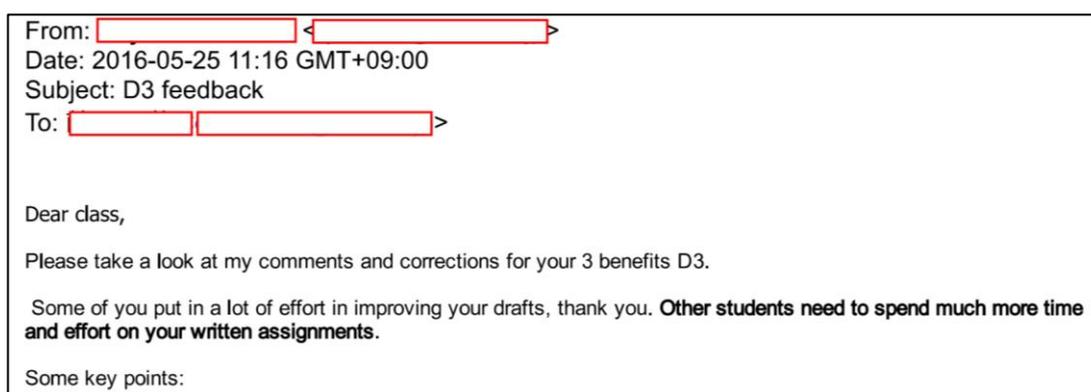
Figure 5.3. Extract from Jim's email to the EAP Advanced class, 5.25.16.

Tomomi's choices were also influenced by her lack of time, primarily caused by the increasing GP workload and her part-time job. Describing her time spent with the Micro-economics girls group, Tomomi mentioned, "studying with friends make encourage, but sometimes we, we do speaking and chatting and eating snacks, it's very *mottainai, muda* [wasted, useless] time" (interview, 15.6.16). The regular study sessions with these people Tomomi had earlier valued had now become "chatting", and a waste of her time. As a result, Tomomi stated, "if I study alone, I concentrate on the study, and at the silent place, so I think study alone is better for me" (interview, 15.6.16).

Also part of the Micro-economics girls group was Usami, who had formerly been one of Tomomi's most strongly-tied EAP Advanced classmates. However, Tomomi also began to draw away from Usami. In the final interview of the semester, Tomomi discussed how she "did not have enough time to GP" (interview, 25.7.16) partly because of the increasing demands of her economics and "top" mathematics classes in Japanese. Unbidden, Tomomi explained that Usami was in a lower level mathematics class and thus Tomomi's "homework is difficult than her class". In contrast, the "friends in the same maths class" who were also in the EAP Advanced class, which included Hikarin, Yoko and unnamed "Maths and GP friends", were people who "studied hard all the class". Tomomi stated that she had to "*minarau* [follow the example of]" these individuals. By implication, Usami was not someone who studied hard in all classes. Indeed, in the same interview, Tomomi described Usami's support on her writing as "not helpful" for the first time. As Tomomi had not mentioned these "friends in the same maths class" were new to her network, so I asked her about this. She replied, "At first, we did not very close, but recently we got very close and on Wednesday this week, we will meet (.) in (.) together" (interview, 25.7.16). Tomomi also mentioned she had recently begun to meet Hikarin every Monday to study for the TOEFL examination necessary to continue in the GP. Thus, while Tomomi began to "study alone" more often, she also continued to make arrangements for extended discussions with high-achieving peers.

In short, Tomomi began first semester by seeking support from many different individuals, including friends from high school and those inside and outside the EAP Advanced class. However, she was selective in seeking and responding to academic support, comparing her coursework to that of her friends and classmates. As the semester progressed, she compared her and her classmates' investment in the programme, specifically in practices relevant to peer support. To avoid positioning as a student who was not making effort, Tomomi blamed her difficulties in revising an essay on her peer editor's insufficient written feedback. However, these choices had implications for her network. Through these comparisons, shaped by her perceived position in the EAP class, Tomomi began to be increasingly selective about whom she approached for academic support. Rather than casting a wide net and leveraging a variety of social ties for different purposes, Tomomi began to focus on a small group of high-achieving peers.

5.2.2 Tomomi's second semester network
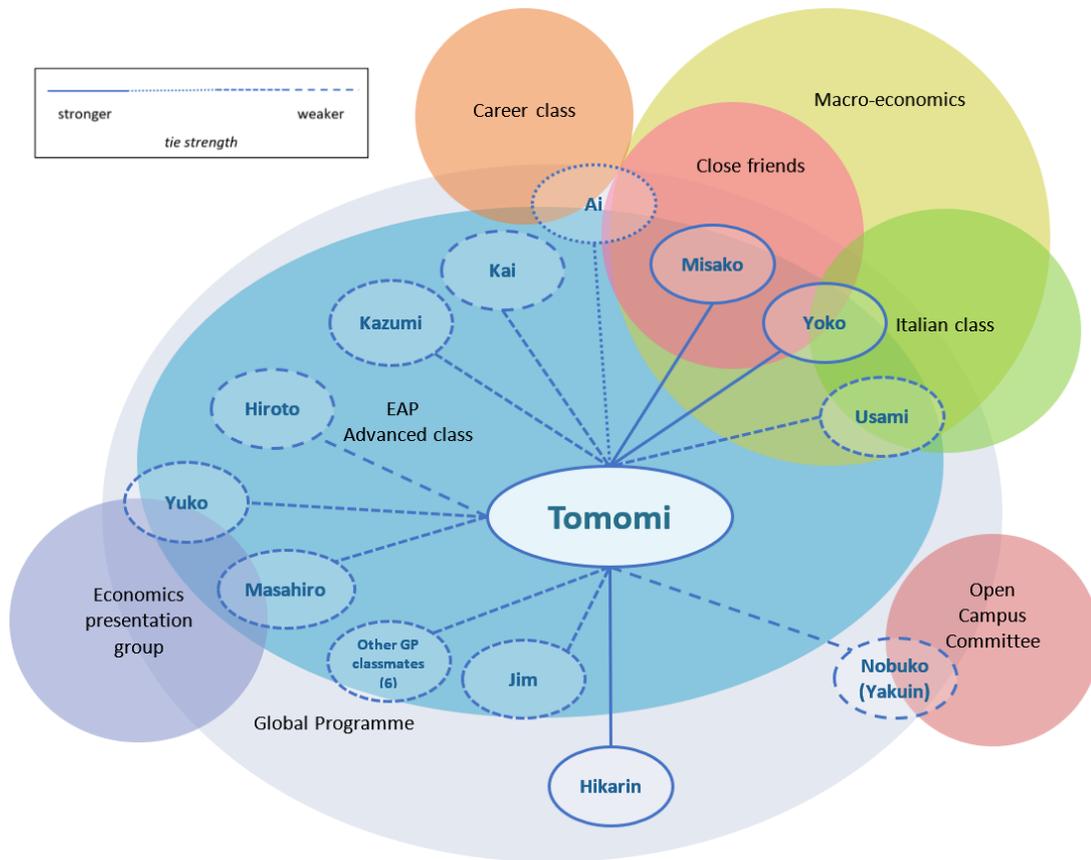
Figure 5.4. Tomomi's individual network of practice in second semester, September 2016 – February 2017.

In second semester, Tomomi's individual network of practice is transformed as some connections were weakened, others were strengthened, and some nodes disappeared entirely. Notably, four nodes in her cluster of five girls from Micro-economics class, Kiyomi, Hibiki, Naha and Nozomi, were no longer represented on the network, and the fifth node, Usami, is much more weakly-tied to Tomomi. In second semester, Tomomi felt these individuals were less invested in academic English than her, and that her interaction with them limited her opportunities to try hard in the GP. Similarly, Tomomi says she had become too busy to interact with other individuals from her junior high school and hometown. When I asked about them as part of member-checking of her network map, she commented, "Yeah, sometimes I see these people, but I did not talk about the study" (Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17). Most of Tomomi's strongest connections in relation to the GP were to EAP Advanced classmates, specifically three "friends in GP class": Ai, Misako and Yoko.

Misako is a new member of Tomomi's network, but in second semester she strengthens ties to Ai and Yoko. She describes these individuals as "closed friends" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). However, from Yoko's account, Tomomi spent less time interacting with these individuals than they did with each other. Yoko described most of her important interactions is taking place in the library, at time "fixed" (i.e. usual) for Tomomi to "go back home" (Yoko, interview, 31.1.17). Tomomi did not mention spending time in the library.

Hikarin continued to be tied to Tomomi, but now was somewhat of an outlier on the network. Despite their regular study sessions, Hikarin had not attained high TOEFL exam scores due to her participation in club activities (Hikarin, interview, 23.1.17). Hikarin was assigned to an EAP Intermediate class. As such, Tomomi and Hikarin no longer had the same assignments nor shared any English classes, and so Hikarin was rarely mentioned by Tomomi in second-semester interviews. Yet, when I asked Tomomi to choose the one person who had been influential in her development of academic English, she chose Hikarin. Because Tomomi did not mention Hikarin during our interviews, their tie appeared to be affective more than academic.

Another new person on the network was Nobuko, a senpai and the *yakunin* [official], of the Open Campus Committee. Tomomi first met her at the party for Honours Club members in April, first semester. In summer vacation, between first and second semester, Tomomi joined the Open Campus Committee, a club of students who help organise the open campus events which occur in the summer and spring, which she could do because most of the activities occurred during vacations. Tomomi developed her connection to Nobuko though a few unplanned discussions about GP; as a senpai with past experience in the Global Programme and experience writing English essays, she was "very good in this university, she likes to research" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). Tomomi asked Nobuko about her experiences on GP in second semester, specifically and "How did you do?" in researching for assignments and doing group work.

5.2.2.1 "To be honest, some members of this group is lazy": Narrowing the network

The biggest change to Tomomi's INoP was the removal of five people from Micro-economics (including Usami; see Figure 5.4 above) and the strengthening of ties to a smaller group consisting of Yoko, Misako and Ai. In our second interview in

the semester, I asked her about whether she spends time with these five "friends" (my term) from first semester. After an embarrassed laugh, she replied, "To be honest, some members of this group is lazy, sometimes. I want to study hard in every class, but some people chat during the class, so I decided to keep comfortable distance with them" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16). Tomomi's prefacing of her account with "To be honest" suggested she was about to reveal an uncomfortable opinion. It is also notable that Tomomi responded to my question about "friends" by referring to these individuals as "members". While she hedged her description with "some members" and "sometimes", the decision to keep a "comfortable distance" from these members led to the removal of nodes and weakening of ties in her network. Note also that "the class" refers not to EAP Advanced but classes in Japanese such as Macro-economics, illustrating Tomomi's withdrawal from these individuals extended into her wider social network. In our final interview, Tomomi described this "keeping distance" as a choice to identify with *other* people:

Extract 2

```
 1  T:    In the first semester, I cannot (.) I could
 2        not study in the empty class time, but if (.)
 3        ah, so, in the summer vacation, I think if I
 4        can use time effectively in the empty class
 5        time, I will be able to finish the
 6        assignments more earlier, I think, and (.)
 7        ah, yeah, I (.) I got the strong relationship
 8        with Usami or Naha in the first semester, but
 9        in this semester sometimes I keep some (2.0)
10  I:    Distance, comfortable distance you said.
11  T:    Yeah, so I can concentrate on studying.
```
<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17)</div>

Tomomi began by describing her practices in first semester in which building a "strong relationship" (line 7) took priority over studying "in the empty class time" (line 2), or during her free periods. This account mirrors her early description of "chatting" with these people, as Tomomi interacted less discriminately and with a wide variety of people. Although I supplied her earlier phrase "comfortable distance" (line 10), Tomomi confirmed it. Busy with her part-time job and living with her

parents rather than on campus, Tomomi needed to make best use of her time and "concentrate on studying" (line 11).

However, an overview of Tomomi's accounts during second semester and triangulation with other participants shows that, while she emphasised the importance of ties to Ai, Yoko and Misako, she interacted with these individuals much less often than they did with each other. While Yoko frequently met people in the library, Tomomi's ability to make such arrangements was contingent on time. In our interviews in second semester, Tomomi mentioned only two extended discussions, both with peer editors were who are also relatively strongly-tied to her (Kazumi and Ai). For instance, Tomomi met her hometown friend, Ai, to discuss their written feedback at length and provided me with an audio recording of the interaction which she had made to listen back to while editing the essay. However, Tomomi had been able to arrange the meeting because "my schedule and Ai's one is same" (interview, 18.1.17). Rather than extended discussions, Tomomi relied on shorter interactions with her "closed friends". She mentioned, "I often finish my assignment by the *giri giri* [at the last minute] so I could not research enough, and I often talk with my friend, how many pages do you have" (Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17). Tomomi brought up only three of these shorter interactions during our interviews in second semester. In contrast to Yoko, described below, Tomomi's opportunities to interact with these friends were brief and ad hoc rather than extended and arranged. This is exemplified by her account of seeking support while planning the Business Essay from Misako and Ai during the school festival. Tomomi described the essay assignment as "scary" because it required them to use "economic thinking… logical thinking". As mentioned in Chapter 4, Jim focused extensively on avoiding "opinion", emphasising the importance of "logic". Tomomi thus experienced pressure to conform to these expectations. As Tomomi described, "If I write my opinion in this business essay, it is my subjective view about the topic, so it is not sure". Therefore, even though she "[did] not want to talk about studying" during the festival, the time with her friends became a "nice opportunity" to share ideas about the essay.

To summarise, Tomomi's choice to keep a "comfortable distance" from people like Usami was pragmatic, as it facilitated her studying during free periods. However, her lack of time on campus limited interactions with other individuals in a network. While Tomomi described strengthening her ties to classmates like Ai, Misako and Yoko, her interactions with these people were limited to shorter, impromptu

discussions, often prompted by Jim's new expectations about academic writing in the Advanced class. Tomomi appeared increasingly conscious of the constraints on participation resulting from her part-time job and living off-campus. As such, her renegotiation of the GP identity of the hard-working student, making effort and taking time, was potentially blocked by her inability to engage in preferred practices. In the following section, I will describe how Tomomi renegotiated the GP identity and practices in response to her practical constraints.

5.2.2.2 "The fresh and new idea": Maintaining identity by limiting opportunities

At the end of the academic year, Tomomi was particularly busy in her part-time job at the bar-restaurant; it was the end-of-year and New Year party season in Japan, so "the shop is so crowded, so I was so busy… my job starts at the 4 PM" (Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17), and she had even less time to spend on campus and working on her assignments. During her final essay assignment, Tomomi was unable to respond to Jim's feedback on the third draft in which he asked for more detail. As a result, she decided to *change the topic* of all three body paragraphs, effectively beginning the essay again from scratch. Despite feeling this choice was "a little scary" (interview, 18.1.17), Tomomi did not seek support from friends or her teacher and worked alone. While this choice to work alone and without the support of her network was a pragmatic response to lack of time, it also required Tomomi to renegotiate the meaning of the GP identity.

When I asked her why she did not seek support from her friends, she mentioned, "I also was busy with this draft, and if someone asked me to some improvement points, I will take a little time for the person, but (1.0) *nadarou* (1.0) *nani* (1.0) Other people do, and my action is different for my feeling" (interview, 18.1.17). Tomomi recognised that asking for support was the preferred practice that "other people do" and affiliated with the practice by mentioning her "feeling". Tomomi is aware that *not seeking support* and *changing the topic* are both dis-preferred practices in the GP (see Chapter 4) because they do not connate taking time and making effort to engage with feedback. Indeed, the practices are reminiscent of the "*te wo nuku* [cutting corners]" that Tomomi rejected in first semester. As her account continued, Tomomi renegotiated the meaning of these practices:

Extract 3

```
1   I:      But you do (.) are you happy taking a risk to
2           make the big change?
3   T:      When I did big change (1.0) fresh, the new
4           idea is fresh, I think, I have some
5           motivation to research about that, when I
6           research more about the thing before thing,
7           the thing I mentioned before, and there's
8           some comment (.) and I take some comments
9           from Jim or friend, I (.) I do not have
10          motivation to research more (1.0) and when I
11          chigau, chotto matte (1.5) I think (1.0) I
            that's not right, just a minute
12          like to research, but (.) I like to research,
13          so (1.0) when I write the draft two or three
14          it is my best efforts to do that, yeah of
15          course I sometimes cut my energy, but when I
16          cut my energy I have some reasons, example I
17          have homework or I have lack of sleep, so
18          (1.0) so the research in the draft two or
19          three is my best, so to write the final draft
20          and when I have to do more research, I do not
21          have motivation to do that, but on the other
22          hand the fresh and new idea, I have the
23          possibility to find out some good data, so I
24          have motivation to do that.
```
<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 18.1.17)</div>

In line 3-5, changing the topic is "fresh" with a "new idea" which gives Tomomi "motivation to research". Based on this and other accounts, Tomomi's use of the word "motivation" can best be understood in relation to the Japanese word *"yaruki"*, most accurately translated as "the physical and mental energy necessary to act". In line 8-10, Tomomi begins to suggest that comments from Jim or her friends may reduce her "motivation to research more". Tomomi emphatically backtracks by switching to Japanese with "*chigau, chotto matte* [that's not right, just a minute]" (line 11); the idea that feedback could reduce her *yaruki* to revise writing conflicts with Tomomi's

<div align="center">138</div>

consistent valuing of peer and teacher support. Tomomi makes her first explicit mention of "efforts" (line 14) in contrast to "cut my energy" (line 15). However, Tomomi then mentions her "homework or… lack of sleep" (line 17) and emphasises doing her "best" (line 19) to research her topic under these constraints. In describing the practice of starting fresh, Tomomi renegotiated the meaning of the GP identity she had put forward in earlier accounts, emphasising how her practices were aimed at producing a better essay rather than cutting corners. *Te wo nuku* has become "the fresh and new idea" (line 22).

"[T]he fresh and new idea" enabled Tomomi to identify as a hard-working member of the GP and potentially produce a better final draft in a shorter time, in comparison to her earlier practices of responding to almost all peer and teacher feedback. However, in the same interview, Tomomi's renegotiation of GP practices also limited the support she received from a network, leading to "anxiety" about whether she could produce a draft that Jim would evaluate highly, as rewriting whole paragraphs from the beginning introduced many new grammatical errors. Tomomi tended to "rely on comments from other people", but when she did "the big change, and I often mistake to the grammars".

At the end of the interview, I asked Tomomi what "effort" now meant to her at the end of the academic year. Tomomi's reply was ambivalent. First, she demonstrated increasing scepticism about Jim's evaluations of her effort, emphasising her understanding of her own constraints: "Sometimes I spent a lot of time, and I feel it is my best efforts, but for Jim, my attitude is not good effort, so sometimes I dislike him hah hh hh" (interview 18.1.1.7). However, Tomomi also judged effort relationally, drawing on the textual resources of her (female) classmates' essays: "but the person who can get the good effort comments from Jim, yeah, so when I looked her assignment it is so good." On one hand, Tomomi was aware that her choices had been shaped by her constraints and that she had done "my best efforts", constraints which limited her renegotiation of the aspirational GP identity of which Jim was a gatekeeper. On the other hand, she could negotiate this GP identity in her networks by comparing her effort to her classmates'. As such, Tomomi had renegotiated the GP identity realised through network ties. In this renegotiated identity, taking time was no longer the key aspect of effort: "Of course time is one of the factor of effort, but mainly, main is quality I think *kouritsu yoku* [efficiency]" (interview, 18.1.17). In describing herself as working *kouritsu yoku*, Tomomi had redefined her participation

from taking time to seek support and respond to feedback, to making more selective use of her networks, working alone when it best suited her and disregarding feedback when "fresh" ideas could lead to a better piece of writing. Therefore, Tomomi's choices had an ambivalent effect on her network. Her renegotiation of an identity as a member of the EAP Advanced class and the GP was mediated through her network identifications, but at a cost of reduced engagement with some practices.

5.2.3   From time to efficiency: Tomomi's network and identities at the end of the academic year

At the end of the academic year, although very aware of the constraints she has faced, Tomomi feels largely positive about how she has developed as a speaker and writer of English. In first semester, by and large Tomomi was concerned with an impossible task: conforming to her teachers' expectations of what an academic writer should be and do. She identified with her teacher's understanding that "making an effort" meant taking time to write longer and more detailed essays, seeking support whenever necessary and never cutting corners, constructing an identity as legitimate GP participant by comparing herself to others who were outside the class or programme and competing with her classmates. Initially, Tomomi used many different network connections to individuals who could support her in different ways, concerned with academic and affective support while maintaining social ties to her hometown. As the semester progressed, Tomomi came to increasingly emphasise how those outside the EAP Advanced class did not understand the meaning of "making an effort" and "taking time". She also became more critical of the support she received from EAP classmates like Usami. In second semester, Tomomi interacted selectively with individuals like Yoko and Misako rather than those who were "lazy" or were outside the programme. Notably, these choices were not only about Tomomi's INoP but appeared to extend to her whole social network.

However, Tomomi's ability to seek support from friends like Yoko and Misako was limited by working her part-time job and living off-campus. When responding to peer and teacher feedback, Tomomi thus engaged in the practice of *changing the topic* which she described as "the fresh and new idea" and working "*kouritsu yoku* [efficiently]". This choice obviated the pressure she felt to respond to peer and friends' feedback or seek help, as Tomomi renegotiated academic writing from a social activity to a solitary process of "research". By exercising her agency in

this way, Tomomi could renegotiate meanings for "time" and "effort"; instead of constantly comparing herself to her classmates or how she stood in relation to Jim's idea of a GP student, Tomomi could now judge for herself what constituted legitimate participation in the EAP Advanced class and the GP in general. However, these choices also indexed her constraints: Tomomi's renegotiation of the EAP Advanced/GP identity as put forth by Jim was a response to her lack of access to that identity, and the choices Tomomi made narrowed her network and resulted in a more limited understanding of academic writing.

5.3 Yoko: From "Not Active" to "Thinking Deeply"

Yoko represents a contrastive case to Tomomi, as she deepened rather than narrowed her network and increased her opportunities for socialisation through accessing her personal resources. Like Tomomi, Yoko also lived with her family rather than on campus and had to commute to school each day for up to two hours. However, Yoko did not have a part-time job and could stay late to study on campus and join a club, the *Jichikai* [Student Council]. In the first semester, Yoko was also a member of the Honours Club for students with high grades in the Faculty of Economics. Prior to attending WTU, Yoko attended its sister school, West Tokyo Junior and Senior High School and many of Yoko's acquaintances from junior and senior high school had also entered West Tokyo University. Thus, Yoko entered university with many ready-made connections, including to senpai. Despite these greater opportunities, Yoko initially struggled to leverage these connections to aid development of her academic writing, feeling conflicted between her identity as someone who prefers to study alone and the need to be "active" and seek support about her English writing. However, during the academic year, Yoko leveraged resources to redefine the meaning of participating in the GP.

5.3.1 Yoko's first semester network: A novice amongst many experts
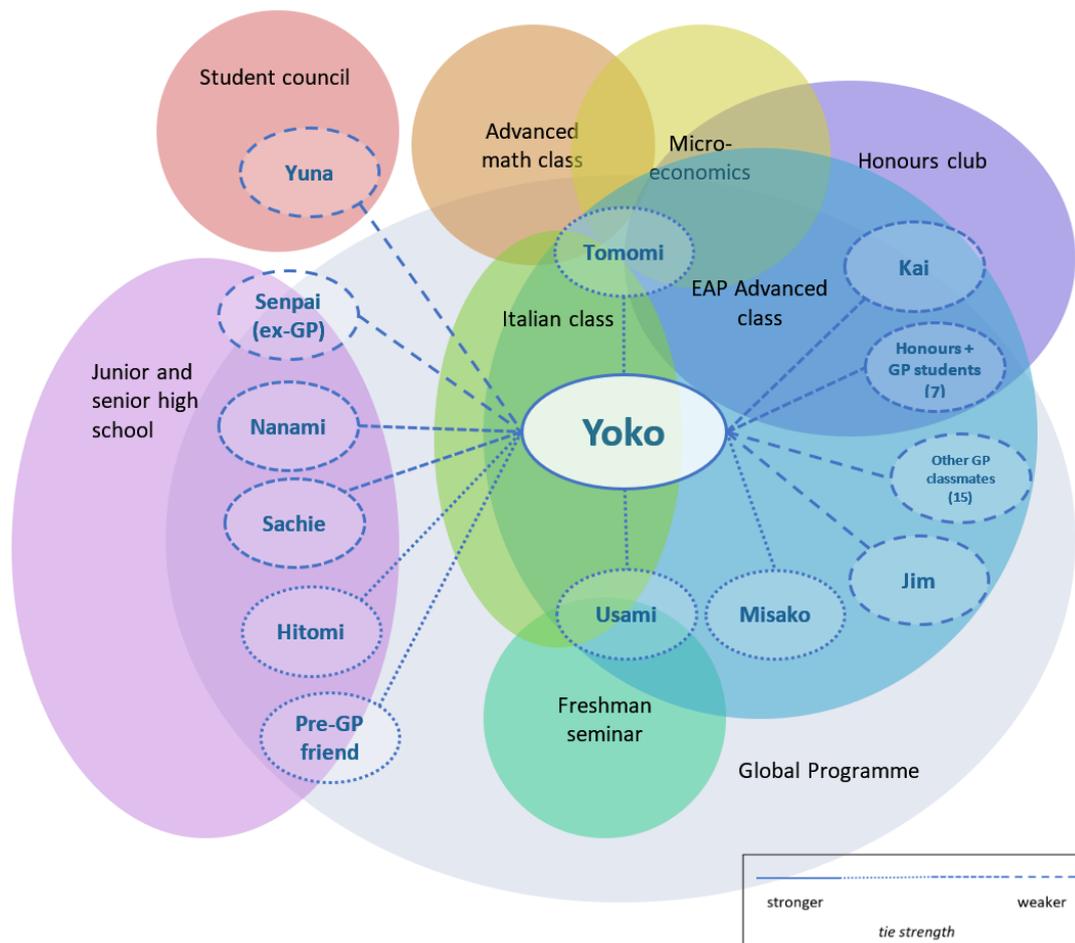
Figure 5.5. Yoko's individual network of practice in first semester, April 2016 – July 2016.

As mentioned above, Yoko had connections to people from junior and senior high school, among whom Nanami, Sachie, Hitomi and an unnamed person entered the GP. Yoko saw these people rarely as they did not share classes and they briefly compared how "busy with GP" (interview, 8.6.16) they were. Yoko was tied to one unnamed (female) high school senpai who had been Jim's student who gave some general advice: "She said 'Oooh! Jim! You have to make effort, he is a very strict person, and you have to make effort' (Yoko, interview, 8.6.16). Another senpai was Yuna, a non-GP student Yoko met through participating in the extracurricular Student Council. Again, she provided Yoko with some unsolicited advice to "end your homework till three days before the events" which Yoko found impossible due to her

GP workload. Yoko concluded that her Student Council senpai could not give her advice about balancing clubs and the GP, as "there isn't senior in GP class, so they can't tell me about balance" (interview, 8.6.16).

She also knew Tomomi, Kai and seven other unnamed EAP Advanced classmates through participating in the Honours Club (see Chapter 3 for discussion of the Honours system at WTU). However, most of these ties were weak. Yoko also participated in the Student Council, through which she met Yuna, a senpai from the Law Department. Yoko's strongest ties relevant to the GP were Misako, Tomomi and Usami. Yoko shared several classes with Tomomi, participated in both the Italian class and the Freshman seminar with Usami, although Yoko only studied with Misako in the Advanced GP class. Yoko mentioned meeting Misako a few times during the semester to study together in the library but never described arranging to meet anybody to discuss her academic writing. Rather, Yoko discussed her GP coursework in short non-class discussions which were unplanned and not initiated by Yoko.

5.3.1.1 "I am not active": A novice among experts

While Yoko engaged in shorter discussions in first semester, unlike Tomomi, she never described arranging to meet people. Furthermore, during these interactions she describes herself as someone who receives rather than reciprocates support, answering my questions "Who do you talk to outside class, usually?" with "I don't talk" (interview, 18.5.16). She mentioned not having "ability" with English before university, which I reformulate as "confidence" and she takes up:

Extract 4

```
 1   I:    So how did you feel about your confidence
 2         with English, before university?
 3   Y:    In English conversation class, I can talk and
 4         understand what the teacher said, but other
 5         two classes I cannot read fluency, and I
 6         spend a lot of time to make essay, so I don't
 7         have confidence.
 8   I:    How about now?
 9   Y:    I don't have confidence! Not yet!
10   I:    Mou chotto shitara ne.
```

In a short while, right

```
11   Y:      Ganbatte oitsuite
```

I'll do my best to catch up (with others)

Yoko positioned herself as a novice in both high school and in the GP. In line 10 above, my switching to Japanese appears designed to affiliate with her as Japanese-speaking student rather than English-speaking teacher but is also somewhat patronising; she continues in Japanese and takes up this positioning of herself as somebody who needs to *"Ganbatte oitsuite"* (line 12) and "catch up". Unlike the English phrase "catch up", which is used in general senses such as "catching up with your homework", the Japanese word "*oitsuite*" has the more specific meaning of catching up to someone who is ahead of you, both literally and figuratively. By describing herself as somebody who lacks "confidence" and needs to "*oitsuite*", Yoko is implying that she is behind some or all of her classmates. Yoko returned to the phrase "I don't have confidence about [X]" several times in our interviews to introduce an account of peer support in which she is a listener. For instance, she described unplanned short discussions "on the road" with her Honours Club classmates, as Yoko, Tomomi, Kai and seven other classmates walked the hallways between classes:

Extract 5

```
1    Y:      After my EAP class, on Thursday, we have
2            Honours, so we move to the classroom, on the
3            road of, we talk
               ●
4    I:      Do you talk about the homework? More
5            specifically?
6    Y:      Sometimes I hear, listen how to do the
7            homework. Like, if I finish the homework, but
8            I don't have confidence about this, so I
9            listened how to finish, ((reported speech))
10           "Please show me."
```

Later in the interview, Yoko clarifies that the "homework" (line 7 above) is "especially about outline, introduction, body, outline" of her English essays. In my question in line 4, "talk" implies both asking and giving help, but Yoko reformulates it as "hear, listen" to position herself as receiver of support, lacking confidence (line 8) in contrast to her Honours Club peers. Yoko is not always comfortable as listener, however. In a later interview, we discussed her response to peer feedback, and why she chose not to seek support from either her peer editors or from people like Tomomi and Misako. Yoko described herself as "passive" (line 26 below), linked both to seeking support on her writing and strengthening her network ties:

Extract 6

```
1   I:    If you have a comment from your friends that
2         you don't understand later, what do you do in
3         that situation? Do you talk to your friends
4         again?
5   Y:    No (1.5)
6   I:    Why?
7   Y:    (1.0) ah demo kiku kedo, anmari kikanai
                   but I ask, but I don't often ask
8         I am not active.
9   I:    Tell me more.
10  Y:    I always study alone. So (1.0) I'm not active
11        about say nandaro help.
```
                                        (Yoko, interview, 27.7.16)

In the first part of the extract, Yoko described herself with the term "active", defined as someone who would "always study alone" and who is "not active about say *nandaro* help" (line 10-11 above). Yoko made the negative connotations of studying alone and not being active more explicit in the next part of the account, describing being "silent" in conversations as "not good" (line 14 below):

Extract 6 (continued)

```
12  Y:    When I meet someone, I can start conversation
13        from me, but (.) in this situation, I should
14        te iu kangaekatta silent is not good, but
          like, way of thinking
15        (1.0) in summer vacation, I don't need (.) I
16        should keep touch, keep in touch with someone
17        tatoeba nandaro I have dinner with Honours
           for example, what
18        Programme, so it is must, should, I should
19        renraku wo toru, but I don't have a plan,
            make contact
20        I don't (1.5) suggest plan.
21  I:    And this is the same with your essay? In this
22        example with Hitomi and your Pre-GP friend,
23        did they suggest the plan?
24  Y:    Yes.
25  I:    You were asked?
26  Y:    Yes. So ukemi (.) passive.
                passive
```

(Yoko, interview, 27.7.16)

My question about Yoko's response to feedback on her writing led to a broader identification of herself as "passive". Yoko felt that she "should *renraku wo toru* [make contact]" (line 19) with "someone", such as the people in the Honours Club, but she was unable to "suggest plan" (line 20). At the end of the extract, I mentioned an earlier account of a discussion with Hitomi and her other friends in the lower level Pre-GP class in which Yoko was asked for advice; even in a situation in which Yoko was *asked* for help, she described herself as "*ukemi* [passive]" (line 26). In contrast to the English meaning of "passive" to mean "not responding to the actions of others", *ukemi* suggests a partner in an interaction who does not initiate but responds to another's actions. By describing herself as passive, Yoko suggests she can only act when prompted by others. For Yoko, being *ukemi* means being the silent listener in conversations, someone who rarely asks for help or reaches out to her network when she "should", and merely goes along with the plans of others.

Unlike Tomomi, whose comparisons to others bolstered her identity as a GP member, Yoko's comparisons emphasised her outsider status. By comparing herself to others, Yoko felt she lacked confidence in her English homework, was passive rather than active in initiating interactions in her network, and thus could not seek support when she needed it. Yoko evinced a strong desire to interact and strengthen her ties to people in her network but was constrained by her self-identification. In the following section, I will describe how Yoko's positioning of herself in relation to her peers had consequences for her academic writing choices.

5.3.1.2 "He has confidence about grammar": Conflicts about peer feedback

Kai was randomly assigned as Yoko's peer editor for her first substantial essay, the Opinion Essay. In her interaction with Kai, Yoko was conflicted between her desire to acknowledge his support and the desire to follow her teacher's advice. Unable to find a way to reconcile these two desires, Yoko decided to ignore conflicting peer and teacher feedback and cut a problematic but important sentence entirely. The interaction showed how Yoko's identity as not confident and passive was situated in her network. Yoko introduced Kai as her peer editor by mentioning his "confidence about grammar":

Extract 7

```
1  Y:    I did a peer edit with Kai. He is same GP and
2        Honours. He has confidence about grammar, and
3        I don't have confidence about grammar, so I
4        asked about (.) I ask many questions about
5        grammar.
```

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 27.7.16)</div>

Yoko contrasted her lack of confidence about grammar (line 3) to Kai's "confidence about grammar" (line 2), linking this to the activity of asking questions (line 4). In addition to grammar, Kai had "a lot of idea" including words she "didn't know" (Yoko, interview, 27.7.16), which he explained when they met face-to-face to exchange their annotated essays. Yoko positioned herself within the GP as the less competent member, receiving but implicitly not giving support. Yoko saw revising her

<div align="center">147</div>

academic writing as a process of finding better ways to express herself from her peer's advice. Therefore, her INoP ties functioned largely one-way.

Below, Yoko described Kai's feedback and how she follows his advice to revise her essay. In particular, she pointed out the final sentence of her conclusion. I will separate the relevant interview extract into several sections, providing an explanation and examples from Yoko's assignments at each break. In the first extract, Yoko described her intentions for the final sentence of the essay and paraphrased Kai's written and oral feedback. Figure 5.6 reproduces Kai's feedback on the final sentences of the essay. Green rectangles have been added to highlight key features.

Extract 8

```
1   Y:      I want to say this sentence is like a
2           conclusion paragraph no conclusion mitaina.
                        like a conclusion to the paragraph
3           If you want to say, you should change. Make.
4           If you want to make, you should (.) Make?
5           bunkei de nante iu? make S V, make S V
            how do you say sentence pattern?
6           O C. Dakara ko kaeta ho ga ii.
            make is Subject Verb Object Complement. So, you should change it
            like this
```

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 27.7.16)</div>

high grade. In addition, by knowing their weakness and strength, they can study specifically. *efficiently*

Actually, there are many people who say that grades are not important and necessary for

students. Although, it is also truth that grades make students' study growth. *their studying*
However

V O C

make O C: 形動詞 形容詞

Although S V SV 接続詞

2

Figure 5.6. Kai's handwritten feedback on Yoko's concluding paragraph, in the second draft of an assignment titled "Grades encourage students to study." The original is above, and the transcription is below.

In line 3 and 4, Yoko reported Kai's advice as what she "should change". She mentioned his direct correction, erasing "students' study growth" and replacing it with "their studying grow" (Figure 5.6). Kai also provides an explanation of how to use *make*: "make O C 形動詞 形容詞 [make (O)bject (C)omplement adjectival participle adjective]" (Figure 5.6). These metalinguistic terms were part of why Yoko described Kai as someone with "confidence about grammar". In her third draft of the assignment, Yoko followed Kai's advice and edited the sentence as he suggested. However, when she submitted the draft to Jim, her teacher's response was to describe a change as "strange wording", in Figure 5.7 below. A green rectangle has been added

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to highlight a key feature. Numerals in circles (2, 1) are my own handwritten annotations during interviews. Other handwritten comments are Yoko's:
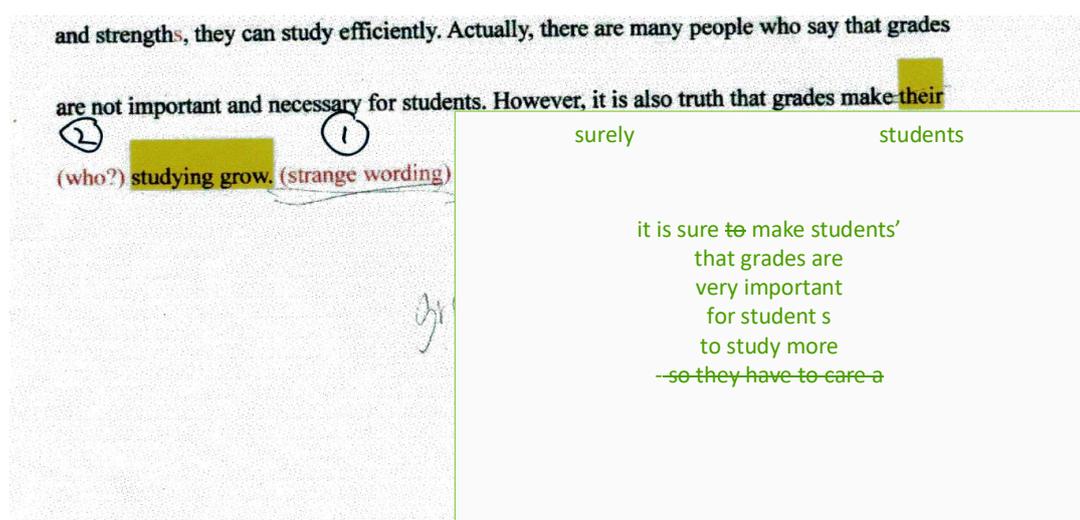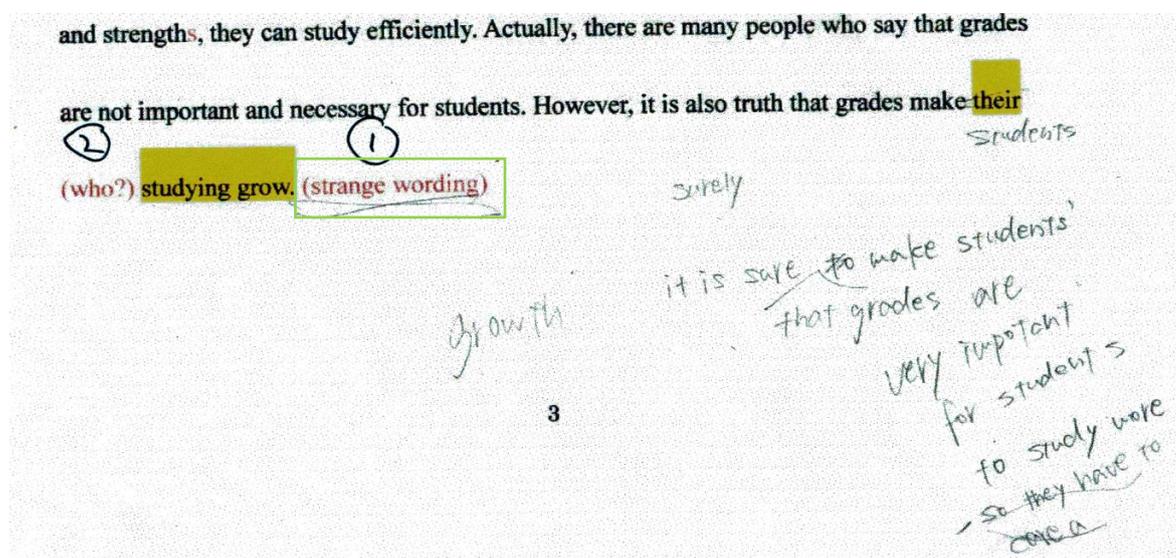
Figure 5.7. Printed copy of Jim's electronic feedback on Yoko's concluding paragraph, in the third draft of an assignment titled "Grades encourage students to study". The original is above, and the transcription is below.

Yoko had to revise her third draft to produce a final draft which would be again submitted to Jim. However, she was conflicted about how to proceed given the contradiction between Kai and Jim's feedback, referring back to the final sentence and Kai's feedback as "*saigo no yatsu* [the last one]" (line 8 below):

Extract 8 (continued)

```
7   I:    So this is about the grammar?
8   Y:    Yes, but saigo no yatsu ga naosareta. Strange
                  the last one had been fixed
9         wording.
10  I:    What happened here?
12  Y:    Yoku wakaranai
          I don't really know
13  I:    Did you understand Kai's comment?
14  Y:    Kiita toki na.
          at the time I heard it
15  I:    So you changed it based on Kai's feedback,
16        but Jim's comment was strange wording. What
17        does Jim mean by strange wording here?
18  Y:    Here, I should put students. But sore wakatta
                                      I understood that
19        kedo.
          but
20  I:    What did you do for the final draft?
21  Y:    Tabun I cut.
          maybe
22  I:    Why did you cut it from the final draft?
23  Y:    (1.0) I cut, I changed. I can't understand
24        why their studying grow is strange wording,
25        so nandaro, ko, ii kaeta.
             what's that, like, I paraphrased
26  I:    You changed quite a lot.
27  Y:    ((reading from her third draft)) It is also
28        true so (1.0) no disadvantage.
29  I:    But this seems to be okay.
30  Y:    Nanka nantonaku naiyo I changed
          for some reason, the contents
```

(Yoko, interview, 27.7.16)

Because Yoko viewed herself as less knowledgeable in these interactions, she described her response to feedback in terms of what she understands or understood

(line 12, 14 and 18); in other words, responding to comments about her writing meant *following* rather than *evaluating* the advice of others. Jim's comment "who?" (Figure 5.7) was not problematic, because Yoko understood that she needed to change this to "students" (line 18). In contrast, the "strange wording" comment was problematic; during her face-to-face discussion with Kai, Yoko understood his advice to change "make students' study growth" through his metalinguistic description of how to use the verb *make*. From Yoko's point of view, because Kai had confidence about grammar, and because she understood his advice, her grammatical errors had been "*naosareta* [fixed]" (line 8) by the time she submitted the draft three to Jim. Based on her understanding of Kai as a confident about grammar, Jim's comment "strange wording" does not make sense. Faced with contradictory feedback, Yoko's decision was to cut (line 23) the problematic sentence from her draft; although she does later imply that she had paraphrased the sentence (line 30), she actually removed it from the final draft. Yoko did not ask either Jim or Kai for clarification about their comments but instead engaged in the dis-preferred practice of not changing (see Chapter 4). Yoko's INoP tie to Kai functioned unidirectionally, with Yoko as the recipient of support.

At the extract continues, I asked Yoko why she did not ask Jim or Kai for additional support in dealing with the problematic sentence.

Extract 8 (continued)

```
31  I:    You got these comments (.) you understood
32        Kai's comments, you didn't understand Jim's
33        comment, so you decided to change the
34        meaning. Why didn't you ask Jim or ask a
          friend? Why did you just cut it?
35  Y:    (4.0)
36  I:    Do you remember?
37  Y:    Sono mon made shichatta
          that's just how I did it
38  I:    Is it lack of time? What do you think?
39  Y:    (2.0) Lack of time jyanai to (2.0)
                            it's not
40  I:
41
```

```
42            Let me ask you a general situation in this
              kind of situation, when you got a comment you
              don't understand, what do you usually do?
43   Y:       (3.0)
44   I:       If you have a comment from your friend that
45            you don't understand, what do you usually do?
46   Y:       I ask.
47   I:       If you have a comment from your friends that
48            you don't understand later, what do you do in
49            that situation? Do you talk to your friends
50            again?
51   Y:       No (1.0)
52   I:       Why?
53   Y:       (1.0) ah demo kiku kedo anmari kikanai I am
                      but I ask, but I don't often ask
54            not active.
```

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 27.7.16)</div>

During this point in the interview, Yoko displayed discomfort. Her answers became shorter and vaguer, as illustrated by "*Sono mon made shichatta* [that's just how I did it]" (line 37). She responded to my leading question in line 38, "Is it lack of time?", by emphatically code-mixing English with Japanese, "*jyanai to* [it's not] (line 39). Both Yoko and I as interviewer were aware of the preferred practices of the Global Programme which my question had invoked: when students had difficulty in revising their writing, they should seek further support to avoid making no changes to the writing. Yoko was conflicted: she valued Kai's contribution, but his contribution was contested by her teacher. If Yoko were to talk to Kai again, as my question in line 49 implies, she would have had to acknowledge that Kai's feedback had been incorrect in some way.

Yoko's choice not to approach Kai also indexed macro-level Japanese social relations, specifically the concept of *mentsu,* or a positive social image of oneself in relation to others (Haugh, 2007 cited in Tao, 2014, p. 115). In Japanese society, individuals have a responsibility to maintain others' *mentsu* and avoid behaviours which might threaten this social image. In the GP, Kai was recognised by several interviewees (Tomomi, Yoko and Shinichi) as being "good at grammar". Mentioning

to Kai that his grammar corrections had been marked by Jim as "strange" would have threatened Kai's *mentsu* as represented by the "confidence about grammar" Yoko mentioned. This suggests a further dimension to Yoko's self-identification as "not active" (line 54 above) and, later in the same interview, *ukemi*. Being "active" and seeking additional support from Kai would require Yoko to navigate the threat to his *mentsu* as confident GP member. Yet, because Yoko had difficulty strengthening her network ties, navigating this social relationship was less difficult than simply avoiding the interaction altogether.

Thus, Yoko's self-identification as *ukemi*, or someone who has difficulty reaching out to others both socially and for academic support, made it more difficult for her to seek support in her network and respond to peer and teacher feedback. Her network interactions are infrequent and unidirectional. In second semester, however, Yoko began to develop new, self-reflective practices which mediated her renegotiation of an identity as competent and legitimate member and increased multidirectionality of her INoP.

5.3.1   Second semester: Self-reflection as participation

In second semester, Yoko resolved to change her practices as writer and student. Our interviews became an opportunity for Yoko to reflect and she accounted for these changes explicitly. First, she resolved to actively ask for support and also strengthen her relationship with certain people in a network. At the same time, she described reflecting more "deeply" on her writing and evaluating the support she receives. Second, by the end of semester, Yoko described drawing on her knowledge of academic writing in Japanese and in English to claim an identity as a legitimate GP member and confident writer of academic English.

5.3.1.1 Yoko's second semester network
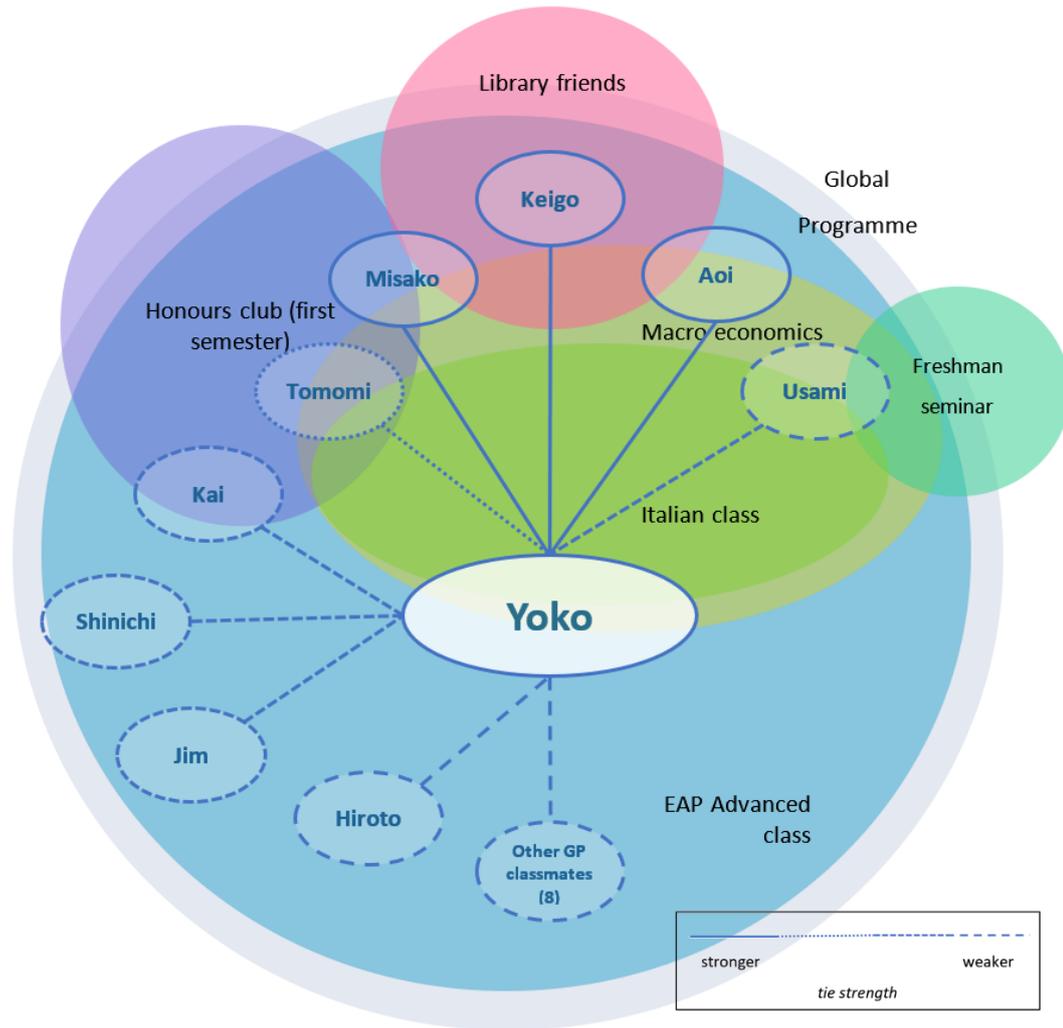
Figure 5.8. Yoko's individual network of practice in second semester, September 2016 – February 2017.

While Yoko's individual network of practice appears more limited with only eight named nodes, the connections were stronger than in first semester. While Yoko certainly did spend time with people from other classes and friends from West Tokyo Junior and Senior High School, these interactions were no longer part of her INoP; like Tomomi, all people in Yoko's INoP were individuals in the EAP Advanced class. From the class, Yoko selected a small number of individuals with whom she could develop stronger connections. Yoko, Misako, Keigo and Ai form a group, "Library friends" who arranged to meet semi-regularly in the library after classes to study together, usually working their GP assignments. These individuals also took the same

bus and train home and interacted on the way to and from school. Notably, although Yoko was a strong tie on Tomomi's INoP, Tomomi was slightly more weakly-tied to Yoko's network; because she has a part-time job, Tomomi was rarely able to stay late in the library or visit the campus on weekends. Usami appears on the INoP as a much weaker tie than in the previous semester. Like Tomomi, Yoko described Usami as spending time with friends outside the Advanced class: "She has (.) friends (.) who are not in GP Advanced class, she always go to go… I met her only Italian and GP class" (Yoko, interview, 31.7.17). In addition, Yoko leveraged her weak ties to Kai and Shinichi, two male students who often studied together, to learn more about grammar and supporting sentences in academic writing. I will now describe Yoko's interactions with this small number of individuals and how these interactions shaped her network.

5.3.1.2 "Before I *kacha kacha,* I think, and I write, then I ask": Exercising agency to evaluate support in networks

For the first time, Yoko described herself early in second semester as actively seeking support within her network for the first time. When Yoko could not revise an essay draft after her peer editor's (Hiroto) feedback, Yoko sought out an interaction with Kai and Shinichi. In addition, Yoko used our research interviews and a Microsoft Word document to reflect on the feedback and evaluate the peer contributions, rather than feeling she should follow all comments.

Like Tomomi, Yoko struggled to interact with Hiroto as her peer editor, stating: "He take his draft two and I take my draft two, and ((reported speech)) 'Bye bye.'" (Yoko, interview, 24.10.16). Hiroto's feedback was brief and limited to surface "grammar" issues, leaving Yoko unsure whether her essay was acceptably coherent and detailed. While Tomomi chose to revise her essay alone and only minimally, Yoko turned to her INoP weak ties, Kai and Shinichi, two "GP member[s]" who she described as "good at" grammar and support. When she, Kai and Shinichi were "*nokoteta* [left over]" in the classroom after EAP class, Yoko asked them to look at her essay. They spent "about two hours" discussing the essay late into the evening. I will discuss Yoko's account of the interaction with Kai and Shinichi and subsequent revisions.

Yoko provided me with the second draft of her Opinion Essay which was extensively annotated with three differently-coloured pens or pencils and in at least

two different hands. I characterised the amount of feedback as "quite a lot" (line 1 below) and alluded to our earlier discussion about changing paragraph topics:

Extract 9

```
1   I:    This quite a lot of things. In your Business
2         Essay, you mentioned that some topics you're
3         not sure if you have to change the topic or
4         change the support. Did you have the
5         situation in this essay?
6   Y:    Yes, first body paragraph. When I wrote this
7         body one, I think I am (.) I think this is
8         logical, but (.) hmm (.) reading and reading,
9         and reading, I cannot, I could not understand
10        my logic, so, and Kai is good at grammar,
11        Shinichi is good at support, so (1.0) hmm (.)
12        By reading this body paragraph, Shinichi said
13        you should, not you SHOULD, he suggested some
14        way to write.
```

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 21.11.16)</div>

In contrast to earlier accounts, Yoko gave herself agency. Instead of passively responding to feedback, Yoko chooses to actively seek support. After "reading and reading, and reading" *she* was the person who could not understand "my logic" (line 9-11), leading her to recognise the need for additional support. In addition, Yoko described peer support in terms of a resource and advice or suggestions. As in first semester, Yoko sought out Kai because he was "good at grammar" and Shinichi as "good at support". Linking the statements with "so" (line 10) she implies it was common-sense to seek support from such individuals when she could not understand her own writing. However, in the above account, Yoko emphasised the support as suggestions. In line 12-14, she reformulates mid-sentence to emphasise Shinichi's comments as suggestions rather than what she should do: "Shinichi said you should, not you SHOULD, he suggested some way to write".

Indeed, although characteristically modest about her achievements, Yoko conceded that she was "a little" (interview, 25.11.16) happy with her final draft of the Opinion Essay mentioned above. When I asked her why, she explained this in terms of

her new, evaluative and reflective revision practices. Yoko reflects on her changing practices by comparing how she responded to feedback in first and second semester:

Extract 10

```
1   I:    Is it because, do you think the reason you
2         improved was because you talked to Kai and
3         Shinichi?
4   Y:    Hmm (1.0)
5   I:    Is that part of it? You mentioned thinking
6         about it deeply.
7   Y:    I spend much time than last semester.
8   I:    On this essay? Much time means your
9         conversation Kai and Shinichi or by yourself?
10  Y:    Both. Last semester, when I get (1.0) some
11        comments from peer editor and Jim, I just
12        read, and I changed kacha kacha
13        ((onomatopoeic sound of keyboard)) (1.5) "Ah,
14        okay, okay," I just follow the comments, and
15        tokiniwa I didn't follow hhh hh because it
          sometimes
16        is not tabun machigaeteru I [think]
                  maybe mistaken
```
<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 21.11.16)</div>

Despite my implication that her interaction with Kai and Shinichi was responsible for her success (line 9), Yoko was more interested in discussing her own reflective practices. Like Tomomi, Yoko was focused on the amount of time she spends (line 7). In the GP, amount of time spent signalled "effort" and investment in the preferred practices of the EAP Advanced class. In her account in line 10-16, Yoko describes her practice of "just follow the comments" without taking time to reflect, choosing either to make corrections as suggested or ignore feedback when it is "*tabun machigaeteru* [maybe mistaken]". Yoko's embarrassed laughter in line 15 signals that this was not a preferred practice. In short, in first semester Yoko did not take time to reflect on feedback or seek additional support. At the extract continues, Yoko described how she "didn't change" (line 18) parts of the essay:

Extract 10 (continued)

```
17  I:                                      [From the] peer

18       editor you [mean?]

18  Y:              [Yeah], I didn't change but I (.)

19       subete kangaeru you shi hajimeta I started to
         (I) started thinking about everything

20       do (.) think about all comments, and I (.)

21       before I kacha kacha, I type, I think, and I

22       write, then I ask de no hajimata.
                         has started

23  I:   I understand, it's a different process. Did

24       you do (.) You've got writing here, on the

25       essay, and on the essay. Did you do any

26       writing on another paper?

27  Y:   Ah, no.

28  I:   Just here and on the PC?

29  Y:   When I (.) last semester B ni kakareta tokoro

30                          when (I) received a B grade

31       I cut and wa::! ((onomatopoeic sound

32       signifying a large amount)) When I cut this

33       sentence, I put bottom of the essay, and I

34       keep.

35  I:   This is new?=

36  Y:   =And finally, I think this sentence is not, I

37       don't need to use, then I cut.
                  ●

38  I:   What did you do in the past, just delete?

39  Y:   Hmm (1.0) case by case. If I come up with,

40       some other expression, I cut and change, but

41       I DIDN'T understand the meaning or new way

42       hhh hhh I keep it.
```

(Yoko, interview, 21.11.16)

In line 19, Yoko describes her second semester practices of "*subete kangaeru you shi hajimeta* [started thinking about everything]". In a process, first she thought about "all comments" (line 20), attempted to revise the essay and then "ask" for additional

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support (line 22). By thinking about "everything", Yoko strongly implies that she is now taking time and is invested in the feedback and revision process. However, in contrast to first semester, Yoko does not describe relying on support. In lines 33-37, she contrasts her new approach to that of "last semester". In first semester, Yoko's response to critical teacher feedback was to "cut and *wa*::! ((onomatopoeic sound signifying a large amount))", deleting sentences from her Microsoft Word document. Now, Yoko has begun to keep these sentences "bottom of the essay" (line 33) in the document, evaluating each and only cutting them when she feels she "don't need to use" (line 37), instead of cutting sentences when she "DIDN'T understand the meaning" (line 41).

Yoko's account of her practices has changed. While she still described herself as asking for support from people in her networks, she emphasised her own agency in responding to advice. Her self-identifications linked her practices of self-reflection to preferred GP practices like "taking time". Studying alone, the attribute she had early described as counter to GP participation, now became a key aspect of her participation. By identifying her preferred practices with the GP, Yoko established a process of "*subete kangaeru yo* [thinking about everything]" through which she could seek support from her networks with feeling compelled to follow all advice she received. In the final interview of the academic year, Yoko presented herself as an increasingly legitimate GP member by an account of interacting with the "library friends".

5.3.1.3 "We always say *yabai*!": Participating among equals

The final written assignment for the EAP Advanced class was the Company History Essay (CHE) in which students research and write the history of a company of their choice. Yoko used a book she had already read and knowledge of academic writing in general to claim herself a legitimate member in her group of friends, including Tomomi and the "library friends" group of Misako, Ai and Keigo.

Firstly, Yoko drew on her existing knowledge by selecting a book on a Japanese company she had read "in summer vacation" (interview, 31.1.17). Her decision to use books in the essay, however, came from her existing knowledge of academic writing in Japanese rather than network support:

Extract 11

```
1   I:    And you used books here in your essay.
2   Y:    I used books, three books I think.
3   I:    Why books in particular, not websites?
4   Y:    Hmm (2.0) Diversify nandake, shinpyousei it
                           what was that, credibility
5         is (1.0) believable.
6   I:    Diversify doesn't mean believable.
7   Y:    Nanda, chotto matte ((she looks up the word
              what,  just a minute
8         shinpyousei on her phone)) credibility,
9         what's diversify? ah, zenzen chigau imi.
                                totally different meaning
10  I:    Okay, so a book has credibility you think.
11        Why do you think that, did Jim talk about
12        books, books are good?
13  Y:    Ah, no.
14  I:    Did you get that from your friend, or another
15        class?
16  Y:    Another class, Gakujutsu, academic writing
                           Academic
17        class. If I write some report, I should use
18        at least one book. It's credibility.
```

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 31.1.17)</div>

Yoko accounted for her decision to rely on books with the word "credibility" (line 14), which she translated from a word she knew in Japanese. Despite my mention of Jim (line 11) and "your friend" (line 14), Yoko oriented to her experiences in her Japanese academic writing class (line 16), confidently stating that using books lead to "credibility" (line 18).

In the same interview, Yoko mentioned asking her friends for help with the CHE, first Misako and then others: "How to organise the essay was so difficult, so I listened her (.) I asked her, her way to make the essay, not only Misako, but also Tomomi and Ai" (interview, 31.1.17). Note how Yoko reformulated the passive "listened" to the more active "asked". Later in the interview, I returned to the discussion of this interaction. In response to my question, Yoko broadened the account

to describe her interactions with her closest friends from class, Misako, Ai, Keigo, and Tomomi[1]:

Extract 12

```
 1  I:    You said you talked to many people about this
 2        essay. Tell me about that. You talked to your
 3        partner in class, did you talk to anybody,
 4        for example, about the outline, about draft
 5        two before you wrote draft two?
 6  Y:    Hmm (1.0) hmm (3.0) nandaro we always say
 7        "Yabai!"
          "(It's) tough!"
 8  I:    In the library?
 9  Y:    Not only the library, we eat some food, we
10        say "Yabai!" about essay hah hhh
11  I:    Is that good? Does that help you? Like
12        support?=
13  Y:    =No hhh hhh is not helpful! It is, yabai is
14        the beginning to talking. "Yabai yo ne", and
15                                  "Tough, isn't it?"
16        then someone say "Yabai!"
```
                                        (Yoko, interview, 31.1.17)

In the account, Yoko described a process in which emotional support became academic support. Firstly, the exclamation "*Yabai*" or the phrase *"Yabai yo ne*!" was a way of verbalising the difficulties with GP writing assignments and inviting empathy. As mentioned in Chapter 4, *yabai* is a colloquialism among young people in Japan; analogous to the exclamation "Dude!" in English (Gould, 2013; Kiesling, 2004), *yabai* can signal many meanings and emotional states depending on intonation and context. In Yoko's account, "*Yabai*!" was a way to show group membership and share in the difficulties of academic writing, and a "beginning to talking" (line 14) about their writing. Yoko's

---

[1] Although Yoko was unable to remember exactly who said what in these interactions, later in the interview I confirmed that "someone" referred to Misako, Ai, Keigo and Tomomi as they studied in the library, had lunch together or met in between classes.

account can be linked to Tomomi's description in first semester of wanting to avoid "*waruguchi* [negative statements]" among certain people; *"yabai"* was a kind of *"waruguchi"* and involved admitting to practices which ran counter to those put forth by Jim:

Extract 12 (continued)

```
17  I:    And what's next? What's after that?
18  Y:    What, what kind of yabai ((reported speech))
19        "I don't have evidence", "Oh, me too." What
20        (1.5) and (.) "What did you do on your
21        essay", draft two toka or outline. "I
22        just", not copy paste, but, "someone article
23        or website said history", and "I choose some
24        words and then I wrote", someone said, other
25        person said, "I just write the time order
26        only" and then I get some information that is
27        useful for me.
28  I:    What kind of information did you get?
29  Y:    Someone said (1.0) Who said? I can't
30        remember, but someone said, the book, and in
31        the book there are many histories, and the
32        company was big, and has many history, so
33        it's was very useful, so I think I can use
34        the book.
```

<div align="right">(Yoko, interview, 31.1.17)</div>

Once a member has begun the interaction, all members have the opportunity to mention "what of kind *yabai*" and state their specific difficulty, including problems with academic writing such as with lack of evidence, poor integration of sources. The friends were able to admit to having just written "time order only" (line 25-26), alluding to Jim's imprecation to avoid writing "just list of history" (Usami, interview, 3.2.17). In other words, these specific network ties to Misako, Ai, Keigo and Tomomi allowed the members to admit to practices which were implicitly not "making an effort" or "taking time".

The way Yoko positions herself in the account was also significant. Instead of describing her own lack of confidence, all the reported speech in the account relates to her friends' difficulties. By listening to her friends' difficulties, Yoko could "get some information that is useful for me" (line 26-27). Indeed, not distinguishing between her reported speech and that of her peers, Yoko's blending of the voices of herself and her friends as "someone said" (line 29) was a powerful example of her feeling of membership and equal participation in this group high-achieving friends. Membership of this group mediated Yoko's renegotiation of the GP identity put forth by Jim. Yoko mentioned that "Last semester… the style of studying alone suited me", while now "this semester I feel that GP members are family, so Jim always said GP is family, so I feel strongly that GP member is family, so I can enjoy the study if I study with someone, other members" (Yoko, interview, 31.1.17). At the same time, studying alone was now a choice rather than an imperative for Yoko:

Extract 13

```
1   Y:    Mmm (1.0) To write this essay, I have to
2         think deeply about the order, and I have to,
3         I have many things to think, I have many
4         things to think (1.0) All things at the same
5         time, so hhh hhh I should focus on the
6         writing, so. I thought it is good to write
7         this essay, and to study alone, to focus.
```
                                        (Yoko, interview, 31.1.17)

To summarise, Yoko was now able to make choices about her network, seeking support from her "GP family" or choosing to "think deeply" (line 2 above) and work alone when appropriate. By drawing on these network ties and personal resources including her knowledge of academic writing in Japanese, Yoko was able to claim legitimacy in the GP. This identity construction increased Yoko's choices in her network: she could seek support when necessary but also evaluate the usefulness of peer advice. Seeing herself as a legitimate member of her "GP family" in the Advanced class, Yoko could both empathise with her hard-working friends and draw on them as a resource. In short, Yoko's identities were constructed through interaction

in networks, and identities mediated her choices about network interactions and academic writing.

5.3.2   Three steps to use her networks: Yoko's network and identities at the end of the academic year

Initially, Yoko had the most social network connections among the participants in my study, including participants not discussed in this chapter. In first semester, however, she described herself as not active or confident enough to draw on these resources; she saw herself as unable to engage in expected GP practices like asking for support in shorter or extended discussions. However, as she described in our final interview, she later viewed this as the first step in a process of building confidence in the GP; or, in my terms, developing an identity as a legitimate member of the EAP Advanced class.

In second semester, Yoko's participation shifted. In her second step, she began to leverage network connections strategically, asking for help from Honours Club "GP members" like Kai and Shinichi. Yoko still saw herself as the *recipient* of support in these interactions, but her self-reflective process of "I think, I write, then I ask" facilitated her reflections on writing before and after seeking support. In the third step, Yoko drew on her other resources to construct an identity as someone with knowledge of her essay topic and academic writing conventions. Increasingly equal participation with friends like Misako was now attainable, as her close friends also felt the GP to be "*yabai"* and shared similar difficulties. As her identity as an academic writer developed, now Yoko could evaluate the contribution of her peers and value her own preferred mode of studying alone. By the end of the academic year, Yoko had redefined what it meant to be an academic writer in the GP. By doing so, her identity as an academic writer was no longer defined by what she lacked but by the varied personal and network resources on which she could draw, reflected by the deepened ties to selected people in her INoP.

5.4   Aiko: Writing Academic English for the Hip-hop Dance Club

In the two cases presented so far, the participants appeared satisfied with their progress as academic writers and members of the Global Programme. They presented narratives in which their choices surrounding English writing were supported by their social connections to friends and others, and they demonstrated an increasing

legitimacy as "GP members". I will now present contrasting accounts in the cases of Aiko and Usami. While both succeed academically on the GP, their accounts are more ambivalent and demonstrate difficulties in taking part in academic literacy practices and reconstructing academic writer or GP student identities. Although both joined the study at the start of second semester, differences in their responses to constraints not unlike those faced by Tomomi and Yoko's provide a valuable contrast and develop the picture of socialisation as contingent on access and agency. I will first discuss the case of Aiko.

Despite differences in access, both Tomomi and Yoko felt that they had overcome their difficulties in the GP and developed as writers of academic English. Indeed, although I have argued that Tomomi's desire to identify as a successful member of the programme led her to limit her opportunities for socialisation, nevertheless her agency enabled her to construct a powerful support network, even if she did not always use this network to the full. In contrast, the demands placed on Aiko by the Hip-hop Dance Club severely limited her network participation. In response, she developed an identity as "pioneer" which enabled her to redefine her constraints as positive attributes. However, she did this by reducing the significance of GP participation to academic writing itself to a way of achieving high grades and test scores.

5.4.1 Aiko's second semester network
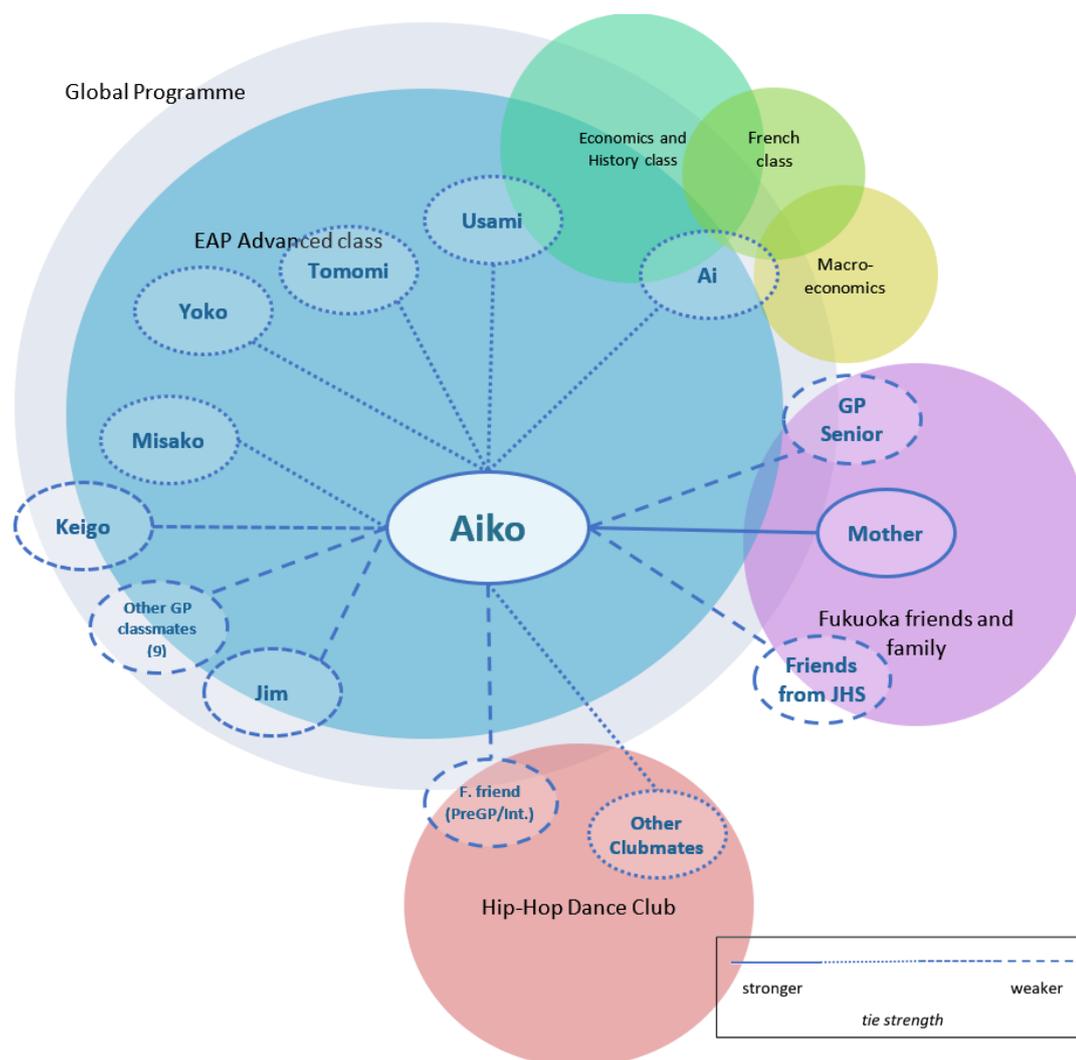
Figure 5.9. Aiko's individual network of practice in second semester, September 2016 – February 2017.

Aiko's second semester network resembles Yoko or Tomomi's network in first in that she described interacting with several, relatively weakly-tied individuals. While Tomomi and Yoko both engaged in extended discussions and important, shorter interactions about their academic English writing, Aiko mentioned interacting in a network for the purposes of general, affective rather than academic support. Aiko's friends and family in her hometown of Fukuoka appeared in our interviews and thus on her INoP. The contribution of these interactions to Aiko's English socialisation is limited. For instance, Aiko described how her mother sometimes encouraged her and "told me to study English" (Aiko, interview, 29.11.16). Aiko met one senior (senpai)

from her hometown who had studied in the GP at the start of semester. The senpai advised Aiko to join to GP: "[she said] GP is so good to study English, improve English skill for study abroad" (Aiko, interview, 29.11.16).

Even Aiko's strongest ties did not provide a great deal of support about academic English. Misako, Yoko, Tomomi, Ai and Usami were described as "friends in GP class… In my GP class especially I stay with them" (Aiko, interview, 3.2.17). Consistent with this quote, Aiko rarely saw these friends outside the classroom. Notably, despite mentioning Tomomi, Usami and Yoko as people she discusses her English with most often, Aiko was never mentioned by these other participants and thus did not appear on their INoPs (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of my choice not to triangulate networks in this way). Aiko spent a great deal of time with her Hip-hop Dance Club members, practising for performances after school for around two hours each night. As a result, she often had to "finish all of my homework at three [AM]" (Aiko, interview, 3.2.17). Although her Hip-Hop Dance Club members appear on the network, their connection to academic English was limited to providing general emotional support. As will be seen, while Aiko mentioned a number of different people in interviews, even those she described as most strongly-tied to her provided limited support for her academic English.

5.4.1.1 "I promised my mother and I'm trying this": Participation as responsibility

More than the other participants, Aiko's choices to develop and interact (or not) in her network were shaped by the obligations she felt outside the GP. These obligations are best understood within the Japanese concept of *giri*, or the importance of fulfilling obligations to others to maintain a positive social image. *Giri* can be translated as "obligation" or "duty" (Yabuuchi, 2004) and has been described as necessary for the maintenance of *mentsu,* positive social image (Haugh, 2007 cited in Tao, 2014, p. 115). It is distinguished from more neutral terms such as *gimu* and *sekinin* which refer to tasks or duties with which we are charged, failure to fulfil which is not necessarily seen as a threat to one's *mentsu* (B. Suzuki, personal communication, March 5, 2019). I will expand on the discussion of *giri* in Chapter 6.

In an early interview, Aiko emphasised the difficulty of balancing the GP or studying English with the Hip-Hop Dance Club. Aiko accounted for her choice to join the GP: "I want to thank to my mother using English in the future" (interview,

29.11.16). Aiko then elaborated on her decision to join both the GP and the Hip-Hop Dance Club:

Extract 14

```
1   I:    So now you're studying on the GP, which is a
2         very intensive English and economics
3         programme (.) how does your mother feel now?
4   A:    She know GP is hard and difficult for me, and
5         I want to enter the club activity, so (.) I
6         wanted to, so my mother worried about my
7         capacity hhh hah but I promised my mother and
8         I'm trying this, so my mother always supports
9         me, encourage.
```
<div align="right">(Aiko, interview, 29.11.16)</div>

Aiko introduces the term "capacity" (line 7) to refer to taking on more than one "hard and difficult" (line 4) activity, in this case both the GP and dance club.

Linking having "promised my mother" to the support and encouragement her mother provides, Aiko was implying that succeeding on both GP and in dance club would fulfil this promise to her mother.

Extract 14 (continued)

```
10  I:    So you didn't join a club activity? You're
11        focusing only on GP?
12  A:    I did (.) dance club. Hip-hop Dance club is
13        so hard.
14  I:    Other (.) any other economics majors or GP
15        members in the dance club?
16  A:    Recently, one (.) only one friend quit this
17        club. Economics. And she is taking GP. Pre-
18        or Inter.
19  I:    Why did she quit?
20  A:    She wants to concentrate on studying English
21        for study abroad, exchange.
```
<div align="right">(Aiko, interview, 29.11.16)</div>

In line 10, I assumed that she had not joined a club activity, signalling a belief that GP and clubs were incompatible. Aiko took up the idea of doing both GP and dance club as "so hard", giving an account of a "friend" who had "quit" (line 16) the club to focus on studying English. In another interview, Aiko responded to my question about what she talked about with her dance clubmates: "I always describe GP, but (.) they can't (1.0) understand" (Aiko, interview, 29.11.16). I then asked, "Do you talk about your homework [with dance clubmates]?" to which she responded "Sometimes. When I tired, they worry about". Her dance clubmates could not provide academic support; by implication, the club members did not "understand" enough about GP to empathise with her struggles and provide affective support either.

Aiko usually did not seek support from her GP classmates because most of her non-class time was spent practising with her club, commuting or completing assignments at the last minute, often late at night. Aiko stated, "I can't finish my all assignment in (.) during free period" (interview, 3.2.17), suggesting she lacked the time to engage in shorter and extended discussions while planning, writing and revising drafts. With the exception of one longer discussion she arranged with Ai as peer editor, Aiko did not mention any specific interactions with "friends in GP class". Twice, though she became emotional while discussing Misako, Tomomi, Yoko and Ai and how she wanted to "help each other and spend more time together, but every time I (.) I make trouble" (Aiko, interview, 3.2.17). For Aiko "trouble" meant support that she could not reciprocate: "They always help me very much. To help my homework or (.) study for some exam, but … I can't help them" (interview, 3.2.17). Thus, Aiko's account of her choice to join the GP and the dance club had a specific function within our ongoing interaction as interviewer and interviewee, allowing her to claim an identity as a hard-working student despite her constraints. Because her participation in the club prevented Aiko from engaging in non-class discussions about her writing, Aiko emphasised the work she was doing to fulfil her responsibility to her mother. However, Aiko's attempts to claim the GP identity were constrained by difficulty in engaging in reciprocal peer support. I will describe Aiko's account of reciprocating peer support in more detail in the MCA section at the end of this chapter.

In summary, Aiko interacted with many individuals through network ties to access affective support in the form of sympathy or encouragement, from club members, EAP Advanced classmates and her mother. Nevertheless, Aiko found it

difficult to engage in preferred GP practices such as peer support and non-class interactions. Because of this lack of access of academic discussion, Aiko focused on building affective ties to her classmates. In the following section, I will describe how Aiko reciprocated academic support only when her affective tie to a classmate, Keigo, was threatened.

5.4.1.2 "I wanted to apologise": Academic support to maintain social ties

During the peer editing phase of the final EAP Advanced essay assignment, Aiko developed a fever of 39 degrees Celsius and was unable to finish editing her partner Keigo's essay. She said, "We couldn't bring our essay, so I make a big trouble (.) I made, to him" (interview, 3.2.17). Although she later revealed her illness only delayed the peer editing by "one or two days", nevertheless she felt obliged to "check his essay more, more carefully" (line 6 below) to "apologise":

Extract 15

```
 1  I:    So you didn't have the time to do the peer
 2        editing on the schedule you wanted (.) did
 3        you have a chance to do the peer editing
 4        later?
 5  A:    Yes. So after the class, I did (.) I checked
 6        his essay more, more carefully! I did my
 7        best, and to take long time to (.) because I
 8        wanted to (.) to (.) to apologise, and I
 9        wanted to help his (.) help to improve his
10        essay. Next day, we exchanged our essay, and
11        talked about our essay.
12  I:    I understand. So you feel if you do more peer
13        editing, that's like an apology. Why is that
14        an apology for him?
15  A:    Hah hh hh because he (1.0) due to my (1.5)
16  I:    Your illness?=
17  A:    =Yes, he couldn't use his time efficiently,
18        and he couldn't improve his essay quickly, so
19        I thought I made his time to improve his
20        essay shorter than others.
```

```
21 I:     So::?
22 A:     So:: hhh hh I wanted to apologise!
```

<div align="right">(Aiko, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

Aiko's account of checking Keigo's essay "more, more carefully", doing "my best", taking a "long time" (line 6-7) and meeting to talk about the essays suggests that Aiko was not usually able to engage in these activities. In line 16, I reformulate what she had described as a "fever" to an "illness", implying that delaying peer editing for a short time as a result of ill health was reasonable. However, Aiko's assumptions about peer support (see the MCA analysis at the end of the chapter) were that support must be reciprocated, necessitating the apology (line 22). Keigo accepted her "apology" graciously, leading to Aiko's gendered description of him as a "gentleman" (interview, 3.2.17).

While Aiko's account appears similar to that of other participants', peer editing served a different purpose for Aiko. Like other participants, Aiko arranged to meet Keigo to discuss their peer editing. However, unlike Tomomi and Yoko, Aiko was not proactively seeking opportunities for support and network building. Rather, her choice to meet Keigo was *retro*active. Aiko only took time and arranged to discuss the essay in reaction to the perceived difficulty she had caused. While other participants' accounts of peer editing began with on the changes they had made to drafts, Aiko did not mention her own writing except them prompted.

Thus, while Tomomi and Yoko sought to develop ties to classmates both *through* academic support and *in order to receive* academic support, Aiko's peer editing with Keigo stemmed from a desire to repair potential damage to social relations. Maintaining her social network relations was important to Aiko, but her choices signalled her sense of social obligation, *giri*, more than a desire to develop network for academic support.

5.4.1.3 "I want to be a pioneer": Redefining challenges as positive attributes

Despite being invested in her relationships with classmates like Tomomi, Usami and Ai, Aiko was unable to strengthen her ties to these people by reciprocating their support. However, Aiko was largely successful in the GP, achieving good marks in most assignments and improving her TOEFL score. In our final interview, Aiko redefined her difficulties in participating in the GP as the positive challenges of a

"pioneer", emphasising her personal growth and shifting her feeling of responsibility from current GP friends to future club *kohai*.

After Aiko told me her goal next year was to return to the GP and achieve a high score in the paper-based TOEFL exam, we discussed why she wanted to continue in the programme and dance club:

Extract 16

```
 1  I:    So why do you want to continue on GP?
 2  A:    Because there are no one to do GP Advanced
 3        club and Dance Club.
 4  I:    This is your challenge?
 5  A:    I want to be a pioneer. I want to be (.) I
 6        want to help students who enrol in this
 7        university from April. When (.) if there are
 8        new student who wants to enter Hip-hop Dance
 9        Club, but they (.) but he or she wants to
10        take GP, I want to advise.
11  I:    And if somebody asks you (.) if your junior
12        asks you, "I want to do GP, and I want to do
13        dance club" (.) what would you say?=
14  A:    =Hah hh hh to tell the truth, I don't want to
15        recommend (.) to this life! heavy life. but
16        it was so hard for me, but (.) but I think
17        this challenge (.) this challenge make me (.)
18        made me more strong.
```

<div align="right">(Aiko, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

This the extract, Aiko identified herself with an aspirational identity as "pioneer". She defined this as someone who does something "no one" (line 2) has done before, in this case choosing to continue on both the GP and the dance club. Being a pioneer would allow Aiko to help her future kohai by advising them (line 7-8), even though her advice may not be to recommend this "heavy life" (line 16). Having risen to her "challenge" (line 17), Aiko saw herself as a pioneer who could helping her future kohai. In contrast to her difficulties in fulfilling *giri* to her GP friends, Aiko could imagine fulfilling obligations as future senpai by drawing on her challenges.

While Aiko was characteristically modest about her achievements, her account of becoming "more strong" (line 18) shows her sense of personal growth and self-belief. Aiko's identity as pioneer was thus rooted in her current and future network ties. As the interview continued, Aiko returned to her term "capacity" to ground this aspirational identity in her achievements in the GP:

Extract 16 (continued)

```
19  I:    Do you think you changed as a person?
20  A:    A little bit.
21  I:    What do you mean by more strong?
22  A:    My capacity, nanteiundaro?
                     how should I say it?
23  I:    How would you say it in Japanese?
24  A:    Hmm (1.5) ah, demo in Japanese demo
                      also              also
25        Kyapashiti. my capacity was broadened.
26         capacity
    I:    What does capacity mean?
27  A:    To do many things at the same time.
28  I:    Is it like time management?=
29  A:    =Yes! so even (.) even if I faced challenging
30        things, hard things, I did my best, I managed
31        to achieve (.) overcome many things, so I (.)
32        so these experience gave me more courage.
33  I:    How do you say courage in Japanese?
34  A:    Courage? Jishin?
                  self-confidence
```
<div align="right">(Aiko, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

Also using the Japanese loan word "*kyapashiti* [capacity]" (line 25), Aiko defined capacity as "to do many things at the same time" (line 27). It also included "courage"; in line 34, her translation *jishin* was closer to in meaning to self-confidence or self-belief, developed through the experience of having done "my best" (line 30) to "overcome many things" (line 31) in relation to the challenges she had set herself in joining both GP and her club.

In short, Aiko redefined her participation in the GP and in academic English writing, drawing confidence from her success as judged by having juggled both the first year of the programme and the dance club. However, Aiko described goals which were not relevant to academic writing and only tangentially to English. Achieving high test scores and being an example to her clubmates showed she used her network to support her identities negotiations very differently to Tomomi and Yoko. While Aiko's accounts demonstrates her agency to redefine constraints, in comparison to Tomomi and Yoko, Aiko does not appear to develop an identity as an academic writer. The pioneer identity represents a reduction of academic writing to a challenge to be overcome, demonstrated through grades and test scores rather than participation in socialising practices. In addition, the identity impacted and was shaped by her choices. Unable to fulfil *giri* to classmates by supporting their academic English, Aiko invested in ties to clubmates, meaning her INoP remained limited and relatively static.

5.4.2 Being a pioneer: Aiko's network and identities at the end of the academic year

For all participants, the image of the GP as a high-stakes and intensive course meant that GP participation was a way of proving themselves motivated and mentally-strong people in comparison to their classmates. For Tomomi and Yoko, however, the ultimate goal of the EAP Advanced class was development of their academic English, achieved in part by seeking support from their networks. Aiko initially shares this belief, leading to her emotional accounts of when she could not reciprocate friends' support and fulfil her *giri* to them. However, at the end of semester, Aiko invoked an aspirational identity as dance club and GP "pioneer", identifying more strongly with her clubmates. She redefined her challenges as experiences which would facilitate her in providing support for future kohai. In addition, by having completed one year of the GP, received good grades on most assignments and improved her TOEFL exam score, Aiko had demonstrated "capacity" and fulfilled her promise to her mother that she could participate in both GP and the Hip-hop Dance Club.

However, Aiko's choices must also be seen in light of her constraints, specifically her difficulty in identifying with expected GP practices of seeking and reciprocating support. From her accounts, Aiko's INoP did not change during semester. Aiko may have strengthened her ties to clubmates, but these Aiko judged to be largely irrelevant to her academic English. Aiko's identity as "pioneer" thus

indexed her limited engagement in academic literacy practices and identities relevant to academic English writing. While Aiko ended the academic year with an increased sense of *jishin* [self-confidence], this was achieved by shifting her identification away from her friends and the GP. Unlike Tomomi and Yoko, Aiko did not strengthen network ties which could aid her academic English or provide the affective support valued by Tomomi and Yoko.

5.5 Usami: Negotiating Access to "Jim's Way"

Usami represents a contrasting case to the three previous participants. Like all the students, her ability to engage in the preferred GP practices of responding to peer and teacher feedback and engaging in non-class discussions was constrained in some ways. Unlike other participants, Usami used her network to justify her non-engagement with some GP practices. At the end of the academic year, when Usami expressed a desire to invest more strongly in the GP, she struggled to take ownership of academic English and saw her teacher as gatekeeper of academic writing.

Usami lived with her family in a town close to Tomomi and commuted to school for up to two hours each day. Usami was not a member of any club activities and has a part-time job most weekends. Before university, she had been enrolled in a Super Global High School focusing on English education (Usami, interview, 2.11.16), a type of school which has received special funding from the Japanese government to introduce additional globally-oriented English classes. Usami's other interest was marketing which she connects to the Faculty of Economics. For Usami, it was thus a logical step to enrol in the GP when she entered WTU: she states, "marketing, economics and English equal GP" (interview, 2.11.16).

5.5.1 Usami's second semester network
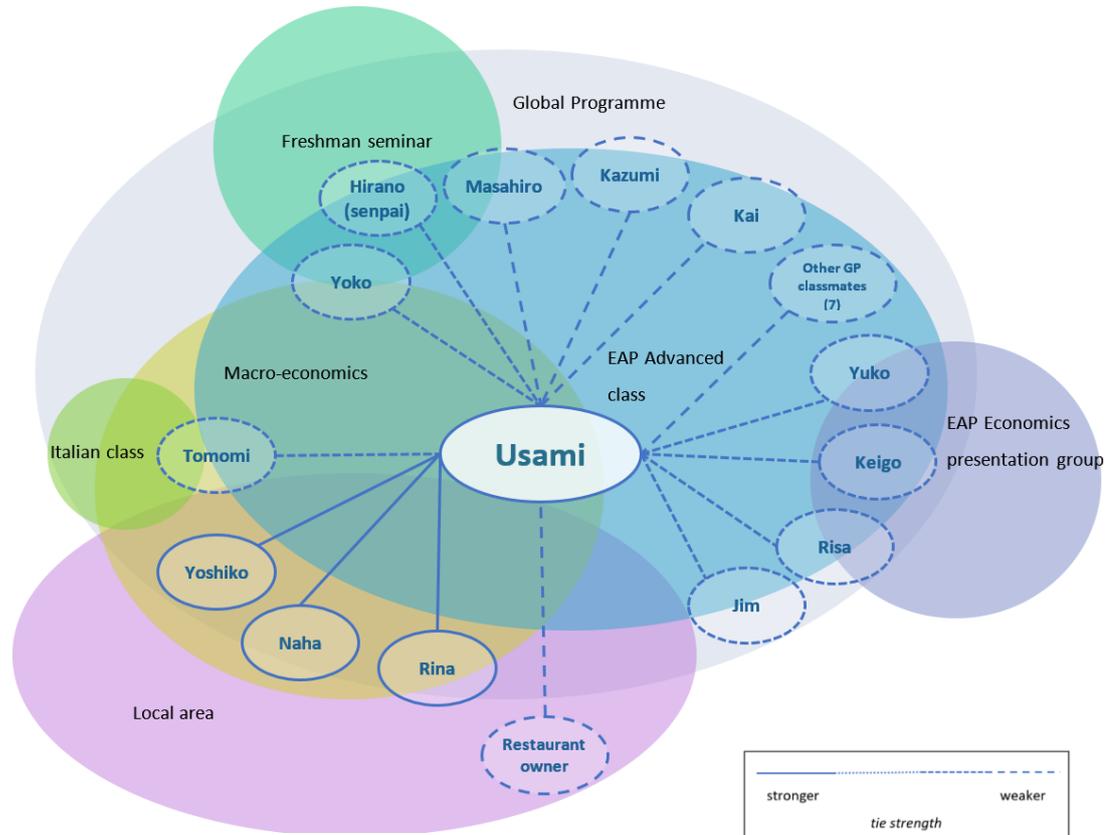
Figure 5.10. Usami's individual network of practice in second semester, September 2016 – February 2017.

Usami's INoP in second semester includes a large number of people, most of whom are weakly-tied. She never mentioned seeking support from her EAP Advanced classmates during the semester, with the exception of a meeting that was arranged with Yuko, Keigo and Risa to work on their GP class presentation. Although Usami mentioned Tomomi and Yoko as "friends" in the GP class, she described them as "studying friend" who she saw only during class rather than at lunchtime (Usami, interview, 2.11.16). Outside class, Usami spent most of her time with Yoshiko, Naha and Rina. These three female students took part in a lower-level GP class and were from the same local area. These were the "sometimes lazy" people who Tomomi had described keeping a "comfortable distance" from. While Usami described these individuals as her most important ties in the GP, she did not mention discussing her writing with them, instead spending time "chatting" about "different topic[s]" (Usami,

interview, 2.11.16). Thus, Usami's connection to these people appeared affective more than academic.

However, Usami had some ties who could provide academic support. One was the owner of an Indian restaurant in her hometown who Usami consulted about an essay. Another was Hirano, a GP senpai and teaching assistant who Usami asked for help on an essay at the end of the semester. With these exceptions, in comparison to other participants, there is no evidence that Usami sought academic writing support from her network.

5.5.1.1 "They are studying friend": Choosing not to strengthen network ties

As mentioned above, Usami described her EAP Advanced classmates as "studying friend", demonstrating her unwillingness to strengthen affective ties and leveraging such ties for academic support. In her first interview, I asked if she saw her classmates outside class. Referring to her EAP classmates as "them", Usami responded, "I think almost classmates spend time with them … but I think it's far" (this and subsequent quotes from Usami, interview, 2.11.16). She elaborated that "far" meant she "didn't spend, like lunchtime with them (.) only class with them." Usami was aware that seeing her classmates as only "studying friend[s]" this was contrary what "almost [all] classmates" did and, by implication, the expectations of the EAP Advanced class that classmates would spend time outside class. In contrast, Usami experienced social distance from her classmates, implied in her statement "I think it's far" (line 3-4); when describing personal relationships, the Japanese word for far, *tooi*, can also be translated as "distant". In addition, Usami was not interested in chatting with her classmates because she had a "different topic" she wanted to talk about. In our discussion of her interactions relevant to English, Usami described interacting with individuals from other (non-Advanced) GP classes:

Extract 17

```
1   I:    Who do you usually see outside class?
2   U:    Another GP class.
3   I:    Why those people?
4   U:    Hmm.
5   I:    Most of your friends are on GP?=
6   U:    =Yeah. Because they have some backgrounds,
```

```
7           like hometown.
8    I:     They're from ((your hometown))?
9    U:     (1.0) Yeah, before we enter the university we
10          are already with each other.
```

<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 2.11.16)</div>

Usami preferred to interact through existing, pre-university ties to individuals "already with each other" (line 10), suggesting a relationship that was closer as well as longer. These individuals may have been close to Usami, but they were not centrally important to her INoP in the way that Tomomi and Yoko's GP friends often were. Although this extract occurred during an exchange about Usami's English-related ties, her affirmation that these people were "most of your friends" (line 5) suggests they were more tangentially relevant to academic English. Usami did not provide accounts of discussing her academic writing with these individuals.

This account is characteristic of Usami: she presented her network as determined by her choices, in this case choosing to maintain distance from classmates by avoiding what "almost [all] classmate" do to spend time outside class and (by based on other participants' accounts) compare homework or engage in affective support. However, what Usami presented as choices were also the result of her limited access. Not only did her long commute and part-time job mean Usami had little time on campus to interact with her "studying friend[s]", but Tomomi and Yoko had chosen to limit their interaction with Usami and her "sometimes lazy" (Tomomi, interview, 19.10.16) "friends who are not in GP Advanced class" (Yoko, interview, 31.7.17). Therefore, Usami's representation of network ties as "far" can also be considered in light of others' choices to distance themselves from her.

5.5.1.2 "I had confidence in my essay": Discounting peer feedback

In our second interview, Usami expressed some resistance to expected GP practices of valuing peer feedback, discounting feedback from her partner and submitting her essay to Jim without substantial revisions. However, when I drew attention to Jim's feedback on the following draft and invoked these same GP practices, Usami attempted to align herself with Jim's expectations. The account illustrates Usami's choice to identify more strongly with GP practices, with consequences for her network.

The Business Essay (BE) required students to choose a real business and describe two or three ideas for how it could increase its profits. Usami chose an Indian restaurant near her home because she had direct personal knowledge of the business and a personal connection to the owner, an Indian man and a family friend. Usami visited the restaurant to talk to the owner in English and find information which she could use in the essay.

Usami was assigned Masahiro, who she knew from her Freshman Seminar, as her peer editor for the second draft of the essay. Initially, she described his feedback positively, stating "he gave me a lot of information" (Usami, interview, 7.12.16). In particular, Masahiro questioned the feasibility of her ideas to increase the restaurant's profits, which Usami recounted as "He said, 'Is this realistic?' How much cost, it will be so high cost" (interview, 7.12.16). However, it quickly emerged that they "just exchanged" (interview, 7.12.16) the drafts without discussing the feedback. In addition, Usami ignored much of the feedback from Masahiro, stating "draft two and draft three didn't have many differences" (Usami, interview, 3.2.17). As described in Chapter 4, it was expected that students in the GP would use peer feedback on their writing and arrange to meet the peer editor if they did not understand the comments. It is notable that, apart from Yoko's comment that some peer feedback was "*tabun machigaeteru* [maybe mistaken]" (Yoko, interview, 21.11.16), no interviewee except Usami mentioned discounting or ignoring peer feedback. Usami justifies her decision to discount the peer feedback by describing Masahiro as having taken on an imitative, (male) teacher-voice despite his lack of knowledge of the topic. In addition, triangulation with my interview with Masahiro suggests his positioning was gendered.

Firstly, Usami characterised Masahiro as an imperfect imitation of Jim, calling into question the value of peer feedback. With laughter, Usami drew my attention to how Masahiro has tried to "imitate Jim" (interview, 7.12.16). I have reproduced an extract from the feedback in Figure 5.11.

Extract 18

```
1   I:      =Can you show me anything in particular which
2           is similar to Jim?=
3   U:      =Hmm eh heh heh (2.0)
4   I:      This here (.) using your [name is] that=
5   U:                               [ah, yes]
```

```
6   I:    =something Jim does? It's something I didn't
7         notice [on ano]ther peer editor's=
8   U:          [hh heh]
9   I:    =comments.
                •
10  U:    =And his (.) Jim said that very important is
11        industry, so hhh hah he mention.
12  I:    So you got this from Jim's class (.) you
13        mentioned that, he's put that on there, I
14        see.=
15  U:    =Mmm (1.0) hah "Good lu::ck!" ((as if
16        patronising))
17  I:    "Good luck!" Is this like Jim's style?=
18  U:    =Mmm, I think so heh heh
```

<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 7.12.16)</div>

Usami laughed continually throughout this part of the interview, which I interpreted both to signal the incongruity of a student taking on a teacher voice and to cover the potential embarrassment of criticising a peer. In interviews with all participants, critical evaluations or accounts which went against expected GP practices in some way were usually accompanied by laughter. In line 3, Usami responded only with laughter to my question. In line 10-11, she mentioned Masahiro's comment about "industry", shown in Figure 5.11 below (Green rectangles have been added to anonymise identifying details. Numerals in circles (1, 3, 2) are my own handwritten comments during interviews):
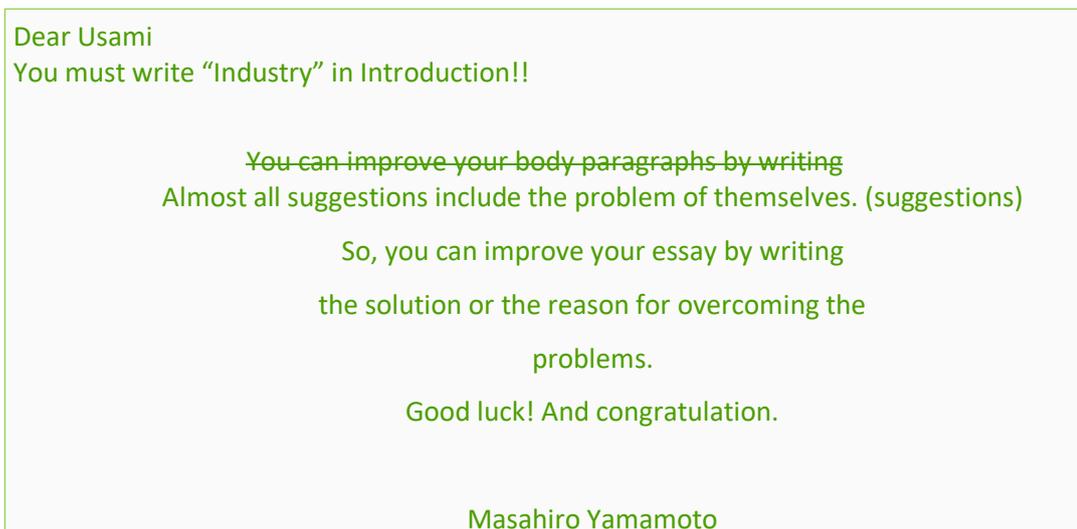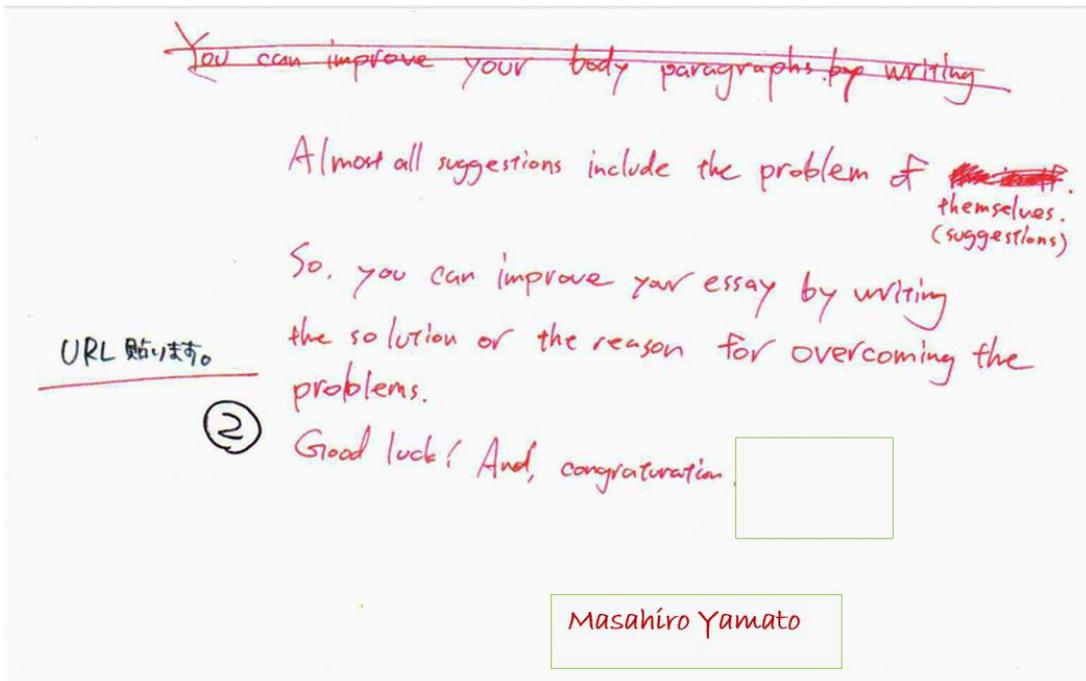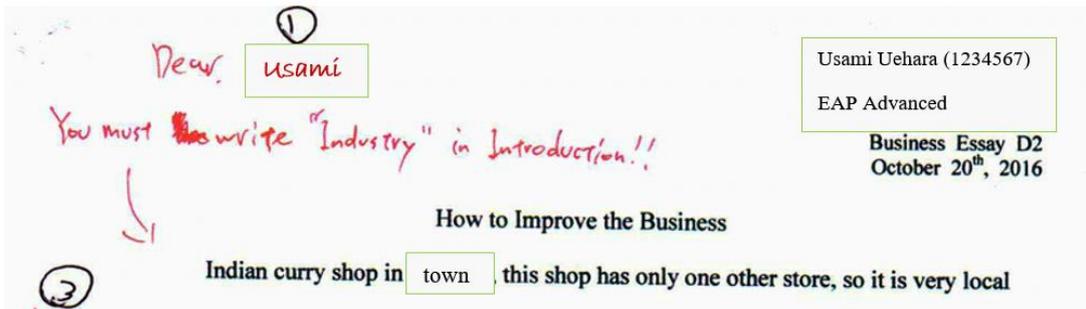
Figure 5.11. Two extracts from Masahiro's handwritten feedback on Usami's second draft of an assignment titled "How to Improve the Business". Transcription is below.

Jim had told the students it was important to include information about their chosen business' industry in the essay introduction (also listed in Jim's essay requirements).

Usami implied that, by emphasising this, Masahiro was both imitating Jim and providing unnecessary information she already knew. In line 15, Usami reported the comment "Good luck!" in a raised tone that makes clear she finds it patronising; Masahiro is a student, not a teacher and was thus not legitimate in making these teacherly comments. In contrast to other participants, Usami did not see Masahiro as a source of academic support; rather, he was an imperfect facsimile of the teachers. By taking on a teacher voice, Masahiro was implicitly positioning Usami as the novice and himself as expert. Yet, perhaps because of social distance she felt to Masahiro, Usami was not happy to accept this positioning.

Instead, Usami felt that the research she had done in contacting the Indian restaurant owner meant she had greater knowledge of the topic than Masahiro. She described this as having "confidence" in her writing:

Extract 19

```
1   I:    Did you talk to Masahiro about the essay or
2         just exchange?
3   U:    Just [exchange]
4   I:          [and] why was that?
5   U:    Because I had some hhh confidence to the
6         essay heh [heh heh]
7   I:              [You felt] confidence. Why did you
8         feel confidence?
9   U:    Because the restaurant is easy to (1.0)
10        connect, so I could get some information from
11        real, actual reference.
```

<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

Usami's laughter in line 5-6 suggests again that having confidence in one's writing, and thus ignoring feedback and "just exchange", were not preferred GP practices. In line 11, she supports her confidence by mentioning the "real, actual reference" she had gathered. Usami's network ties to the restaurant owner gave weight and confidence to the research she had done, in contrast to Masahiro's surface knowledge of the topic. Thus, Usami positioned herself as expert with "real, actual reference" and Masahiro as imitator of Jim.

While Usami did not explicitly invoke gender in her characterisation of Masahiro, much of the social distance she appeared to feel can be attributed to her male classmate's taking on the voice of her male teacher to cast her as the student. Furthermore, the decision of the students to "just exchange" is also relevant to Masahiro's account of peer support, in which he described forming strong ties and arranging discussions as a female practice:

Extract 20

```
1   I:    So maybe last semester you had this group of
2         friends?
3   M:    Hmm? ((uncertainly))
4   I:    Not a group?
5   M:    I think, male students (.) there are no
6         borders among male students, but female
7         students divide the group.
              •
8   I:    Last semester, where did you see these
9         friends?
10  M:    Ah, almost the self-access centre (.) because
11        they are dormitory student they can a long
12        time at university, so we can have a time to
13        talk, but they do not (.) are (.) divide the
14        rank friends, so just occasion we have a time
15        to meet, in the self-access centre
```
<div align="right">(Masahiro, interview, 4.12.16)</div>

In line 1, Masahiro resisted my characterisation of his having a "group of friends". Instead, he viewed "divide the group" (line 7) as a female practice; in line 13-14, Masahiro's phrase "divide the rank friends" alludes to Japanese video game talk in which players use ranks to form groups for participation in gaming competitions. In other words, the female students were dividing up into "ranks" for a purpose, in contrast to the "just occasion we have time" (line 14) of the male students. Thus, I argue that Usami's choices also indexed gender relations, and her choice not to interact with a male peer who inaccurately positioned her as a novice.

However, when the largely-unrevised assignment was returned with Jim's feedback, Usami believed Jim's comments to be similar to Masahiro's. For instance, she drew my attention to the place in the essay in which Masahiro had commented "Is this realistic", noting that Jim had written a very similar "'Is this possible?' or hhh hh or evidence" (interview, 3.2.17) on the same place in the third draft. Usami then chose to visit Jim's office hour, the first time she had done in the academic year. Usami described visiting Jim's office hour for a short discussion of his comments. I asked her why she did not approach Jim earlier, implicitly to avoid discounting Masahiro's feedback:

Extract 21

```
 1   I:    Why, you talked to Jim after draft three, why
 2         didn't you talk to Jim after draft two?
 3   U:    Because (1.0) hhh hhh hh I (1.0) I could
 4         (1.5) hmm? (1.0) [I]
 5   I:                     [Busy?] Or because you felt
 6         confidence?
 7   U:    Yeah, I think so, I get good with [this]
 8   I:                                       [That's]
 9         interesting, I [understand.]
10   U:                   [BU::T I] should have some
11         contact with Masahiro.
12   I:    Did you think that (.) or do you think that
13         [now?]
14   U:    [Now!] heh hhh because he, Masahiro and Jim
15         had the same comments.=
16   I:    =But that's something you're thinking now,
17         maybe at the time you didn't [think?]
18   U:                                 [No], I
19         didn't.
```
<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

Usami largely avoided taking up my account of her as "busy" and "confident" (line 5-6). Her reaction to my implication that she should have sought support earlier is significant, however. In line 10-11, with "[BU::T I] should have some contact with

Masahiro", Usami was reformulating what I had implied earlier; she does this again in line 14-15 by mentioning the "same comments". In other words, when I drew attention to expected GP practices, Usami recast her earlier account in light of what she "should" have done and what she would do "now", despite Masahiro's gendered positioning of her. As such, Usami demonstrated a desire to identify with GP practices. However, this desire was retrospective and did not yet affect her network. During her peer interactions for most of the semester, Usami's interpersonal relations and distance from male classmates like Masahiro discouraged her from seeking support from peers.

5.5.1.3 "I didn't know that I didn't know": Identifying with academic writing as "Jim's way"

At the end of the semester, Usami tried to improve a written assignment by seeking support from *senpai*. She described a lack of confidence in her essay and gave an account of seeking support from a GP *senpai*. Although it was not made clear in the interview, she sought support after Jim accused her of plagiarising part of her essay in his written comments (Figure 5.12 below). However, while Usami was successful in leveraging her weak ties to support her writing, her concept of academic writing was oriented toward her teacher.

During our interview, I noticed that the final page of her CHE draft three was missing. It was not clear whether or Usami chose not to provide me with the third page (Figure 5.12) of her draft or whether she had simply misplaced it, but she did not mention the plagiarism accusation in interviews nor in our follow-up email exchanges. From Jim's point of view, she has "copy-pasted" a section and was potentially guilty of "academic dishonesty". In the extract below, Jim's comments are in red and yellow highlight:

(some of this is copy-pasted. Do not copy – it is academic dishonesty and the pentalies are severe. Please use your own words and create your own original paragraph.). The bottling partners range from large, international, publicly traded businesses to small, family-owned operations. The huge majority of the bottling partners are not owned or controlled by Coca-Cola company. With using this system, the company is still trying to spread the products more. The Coca-Cola company could be successful business with the great advertising strategy and the <mark>original bottling system</mark> (Details of this were not explained.). Re-write this paragraph – key information lacking and certain sections are copied.

Figure 5.12. Extract from Jim's digital written corrective feedback on Usami's third draft of an assignment titled "Business History of Coca-Cola company".

Usami told me that she approached a senpai to ask for advice about the essay after reading Jim's comments. As mentioned above, I did not have access to Jim's comments during the interview, and Usami did not allude to the plagiarism accusation. Instead, Usami accounted for her choice to interact with the senpai based on the amount of his feedback: "I got Jim's comments, but so many hhh hhh hhh I didn't want to go to Jim's office because heh hhh because hhh hhh I feel my essay was terrible, so (1.0)" (interview, 3.2.17). The final "so" and relatively long pause suggested a clear connection in her mind between "so many" comments and the essay as "terrible". As in other accounts, her constant stream of laughter suggests embarrassment; this may be because she was describing the dis-preferred practice of not seeking support, but also because she risked characterising Jim's feedback in a negative light. She then elaborated that Jim had commented on "all parts" of the essay, suggesting that "if I go to Jim's office it is too much time" (interview, 3.2.17). Like other participants, Usami also gave practical reasons for not seeking support. However, I argue that it is Jim's positioning of her as plagiarist and Usami's interpretation that she had written a "terrible" essay that discouraged her from seeking his support.

In response to Jim's comments, Usami drew on her network ties for the first time in the semester, arranging an extended discussion with a "friendly" senpai, Hirano. Usami chose not to seek support from her classmates because "everyone confused about this essay" (interview, 3.2.17), but instead approached Hirano, first sending her a message using Line (a mobile phone application). As the teaching assistant in Usami's seminar, Hirano was "friendly for every students"; arguably, approachable in a way that Jim was not after the plagiarism accusation. Hirano could also provide valuable support because of her experience as a Writing Centre tutor and, prompted by me, as a "four semester" (i.e. two-year) GP student. However, the most important attribute of Hirano was her knowledge of Jim's EAP Advanced class. I asked Usami why she approached Hirano:

Extract 22

```
1   I:    Because she is a student not a teacher, and
2         she is your senpai and not a teacher?
3   U:    Oh, she is also Jim's student, Jim's class,
4         she also had Jim's class, so she could give
5         me to exact example, or advice (.) for Jim's
6         class.
7   I:    Tell me more about that.
8   U:    I think Jim's way, I think he has the way to
9         the class, so I think she knows to get points
10        from Jim's comments, so, yeah.
11  I:    Do you feel like you understand Jim's way?
12  U:    Yeah, anyway she said to me logically, so I
13        tried to find logic system, like logic way.
```
<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

For Usami, the most relevant category for Hirano was "Jim's student" (line 11). Usami sought support from Hirano not only because she was friendly, approachable and already tied to Usami through the seminar, but because of the support Hirano could provide: "exact example, or advice (.) for Jim's class" (line 13). Hirano has knowledge of "Jim's way, I think he has the way to the class" (line 16-17) and she knows how to "get points from Jim's comments" (line 17-18). For Usami, success in the EAP Advanced class means understanding Jim's expectations as represented in his

written feedback, and Hirano is best placed among Usami's network to decode these expectations. As Hirano is also friendly and approachable, she is an ideal person to support Usami' academic writing.

Usami met Hirano for an extended face-to-face discussion in preparation for which Hirano had "researched many things about Coke", Usami's chosen essay company. During their discussion, Hirano "suggested topic, and I took memos. Yeah. And then we picked up the nice one". In addition, "she advised me to find about the Coke company's book, and she (.) her experience (.) she wrote (.) like similar essay before" (Usami, interview, 3.2.17). Based on the new topics and information she found in a book on Coca-Cola, Usami rewrote most of the essay from scratch, completely cutting the plagiarised paragraph. She then submitted the final draft to Jim, and she had received the draft with Jim's comments and her grade immediately before our interview.

I asked her opinion of the final draft. Despite her high score on the assignment, Usami expressed regret about the earlier stages of the writing:

Extract 23

```
1  I:    Are you happy with this final draft?
2  U:    I think nattoku. OK, standards. Hmm. Hajimete
                acceptable                      (It's the) first time
3        mita. So I very regret that I didn't think
         (I've) seen (it)
4        deeply in the outline of the essay, so if I
5        ask (.) if I find the books before, or in the
6        draft two or draft three, I could write hhh
7        hh better.
8  I:    You still got 90%.
9  U:    Hajimete mita.
         (It's the) first time (I've) seen (it)
```

<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

Continuing her theme of looking back on her earlier practices, Usami expressed "regret" that she did not "think deeply", "ask" or "find the books" in earlier stages of the essay. Although she only alluded to network interaction once ("if I ask", line 4-5),

the practices of thinking deeply and finding books echo the advice given by Hirano, suggesting Usami regretted not approaching someone for support earlier.

As the account continued, Usami linked Jim's written comments on the final draft (Figure 5.13 below) to statements he had earlier made to her when she visited his office to discuss the previous essay:

Extract 22 (continued)
```
10  I:    Tell me about this comment.
11  U:    Yeah, he said "You have, like ability,
12        ability to write great essay, but you
13        sometimes don't your ability on your
14        assignment, so please keep your efforts,
15        every assignments", like before he said to me
16        when I asked about the Business Essay.
            ●
17  I:    What was your motivation for improving this
18        essay?
19  U:    I think I couldn't get, like, high scores of
20        essay before heh hhh hhh so I wanted to get.
```
<div align="right">(Usami, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

In her account, Usami paraphrased Jim's written comments (Figure 5.13 below). Jim's comment that she was a "talented writer" (Figure 5.13 below) became that she had "ability to write great essay" (line 12). Although the meaning is similar, it is notable that Jim's category of "great writer" appears wider than Usami's category of "someone writing a great essay". Usami understood his comment that she should "spend a little more time" (Figure 5.13) to mean that she should "keep your efforts" (line 14). Success as a writer meant taking time and making effort. Usami's goal in writing was also achieving a "high score" (line 19) from Jim. Thus, unlike Tomomi and Yoko who redefined "effort" as more than "taking time", Usami's desire to identify more strongly with the GP meant she oriented toward her teacher's expectations. Success was judged through essay grades and Jim's characterising of her as someone who was (or was not) making effort.

> Nicely organized and good selection
>
> of key events. Be careful of grammar
>
> errors though -> there were many careless
>
> mistakes.
>
> You are a very <u>talented</u> writer. Do not be
>
> careless, spend a little more time on
>
> your assignments next year.
>
> 17.5/20

Figure 5.13. Extract from Jim's comments on Usami's final draft of an assignment titled "Business History of Coca-Cola company". Transcription is below.

Usami rejected access to opportunities to seek support from her classmates and teacher because of the social distance she felt and her implicit positioning as student who was making less effort. However, Usami drew on ties outside the EAP Advanced class to a friendly senpai with knowledge of Jim's class, facilitating Usami's goal of a favourable evaluation from Jim. However, because she had not formed many academic English-relevant network ties, Usami had not engaged in the same

negotiations of GP and academic writer identities as other participants. Thus, the meanings Usami gave to academic writing were the meanings of her teacher, summarised as fulfilling her potential as "talented writer" by understanding "Jim's way".

5.5.2 From resistance to negotiating access to "Jim's way": Usami's network and identities at the end of the academic year

Usami was aware that fuller participation on the programme was seen by Jim and her "studying friend[s]" as going hand-in-hand with social relationships, strengthening connections particularly to classmates through participating in academic and emotional support practices like non-class discussions and responding to peer feedback. Living off campus and working part-time, she lacked time to interact in this way; furthermore, triangulation with other participants suggested they may have limited their interactions with Usami, effectively limiting her access to support further. Usami's decision not to engage in some GP practices must partly be seen as a reaction to lack of access to these practices and to meaningful network opportunities. However, Usami was also resisting her novice positioning by a socially-distant male peer, as her peer editor took on an expert-teacher voice despite his surface knowledge of the topic, in contrast to Usami's research accomplished through hometown network ties.

Later in the semester, Usami expressed a desire to identify more strongly with the GP, expressing regret that she had not sought peer interaction or reflected more deeply on written feedback. Her attempt to do so was partly successful, as she leveraged a weak tie to a *senpai* who could clarify Jim's expectations and help Usami achieve a high score. However, her final account illustrated that Usami's limited network interactions had also limited her from renegotiating academic writing and academic writer/GP identities in the way that Tomomi, Yoko and even Aiko had. For the other participants, academic literacy was understood in relation to their social network interactions with closely-tied friends. For Usami, academic writing meant understanding "Jim's way" and her renegotiation of an identity as a "talented writer" was contingent on Jim's evaluation of her time and effort. Thus, I argue that Usami's relatively limited understanding of academic writing occurred because of her earlier choices not to interact in her network.

5.6   A Membership Categorisation Analysis of Interview Accounts

In this chapter, I have discussed the choices made by Tomomi, Yoko, Usami and Aiko. The students engaged in common academic literacy practices but developed and maintained different INoPs and constructed different identities. Through analysis of interviews, triangulation with others' accounts and attention to revisions to written assignments, I have demonstrated the importance of their evaluations of themselves and others in the choices they made to build and interact in INoPs. While I have attended to how these accounts were produced in our interviews, highlighting the participants' agreements or contradictions of my assumptions about their literacy practices, social relationships or aims, I have chiefly considered interviews as a window into their INoP and academic literacy development. However, ethnomethodological approaches like MCA emphasise that identity and culture is not reified "out there" but produced moment by moment in interaction (Watson, 2015), in this case through the research interviews. Using MCA, I will show how identities and categories were constructed moment by moment in interviews with me, demonstrating the common-sense knowledge encoded in participants' account of academic discourse socialisation. To do this, I present a close membership analysis of three interview extracts, fully-transcribed following MCA conventions (Appendix D), chosen because they typify the category work done in interviews. I will begin with a longer extract which situates category work in accounts of network ties, as Tomomi and I negotiate the meaning of being a good student in the GP. I will then provide a shorter extracts to illustrate shared assumptions about peer support in networks. This analysis serves to both warrant my claims above and to complicate the networks, demonstrating how assumptions about the social context moulded and were shaped by the interview interaction.

5.6.1   "I can't *te wo nuku*": Negotiating identities through comparative category work

As shown earlier in this chapter, the focal participants evaluated people in their networks to choose who to interact with and how, building ties to those who they believed could aid language development and/or academic success, sometimes oriented toward the GP identity and sometimes in resistance to it. However, the meaning of being a good student in the GP was produced by our interactive category work in interviews. This was exemplified by the below account, in which Tomomi

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and I produce the meaning of being a good student in the GP through her categorisation of a friend as outsider, negotiating our different assumptions about the category-bound features of a good student. As such, Tomomi demonstrates how her identities were mediated by comparisons with others.

As described in Chapter 2, I began each interview with a discussion of the photographs the participants had taken to remind themselves of non-class interactions about English; for Tomomi, this usually meant pictures of food taken while meeting friends in cafés, hence my question in line 1:

Extract 24

```
 1  I:    Any more food?
 2  T:    I ate with my friend who is Stanley
 3        [University]. And she did not have many
 3  I:    [Mmm mmm?]
 4  T:    homeworks, but I had many homeworks, so when
 5        I talk with my friend who is [not] in this
 6  I:                                            [Mmm↓]
 7  T:    university, I can talk every[thing hhh] heh
 8  I:                                     [heh hh]
 9  T:    hh. My anxiety and my enjoynable subject, and
10        my waru[guchi?], something [not good](1.0) I
              negative statements
11  I:          [a::h]                  [interesting]
12  T:    I can talk everything=
13  I:    =Why?
14  T:    Mmm? (.) She is [not in] this university, and
15  I:                     [Mmm]
16  T:    she is the third person daisansha. (1.0). So,
                                    third party
17        So she, she, I receive some advice for her,
18        and her advice is very obvious, kyakkanteki.
                                             objective
19  I:    Clear?
20  T:    Yeah, and her advice is very nice [for me]
21  I:                                       [Mmm mmm mmm]
```

```
22  T:    because I can't notice that the view. Her
23        [view So] I'm very happy to hear her advice.
24  I:    [Mmm mmm mm]
```

Tomomi begins[2] the extract with an explicit categorisation of her friend as "Stanley University" (line 2-3) and immediately ties this to not having "many homeworks" (line 4). Tomomi links the category of "not in this university" to an activity, being able to "talk everything… My anxiety…and my *waruguchi* [negative statements]" (line 6-10). My continuer in line 11 shows my understanding, and Tomomi does not elaborate the meaning of *waruguchi*. Indeed, our shared laughter (line 7 & 8) signals our shared assumption that someone outside the university would be able to provide this kind of support. In line 13, however, I return to my interviewer role and Tomomi responds with an explicit categorical formulation: "*daisansha* [third party]" (line 10-11). She glosses this as "third person", but this word can also be translated as "outsider". This outsider perspective was tied to having another view or perspective that Tomomi otherwise "can't notice" (line 22). As such, she was capable of providing "*kyakkanteki* [objective]" advice. The extract thus illustrates our shared assumptions about categories of people who give advice and support: it was appropriate to share negative feelings with outsiders, so by implication it was important to keep up a positive front among fellow-WTU or GP members.

As the interview continues, Tomomi described the advice her friend gave her. In this extract, however, our shared assumptions were different; Tomomi rejects my identifying her with the activity of *te wo nuku* [cutting corners], instead tying this to her friend as "outsider":

Extract 25
```
1  I:    Can you tell me some advice she gave you?=
2  T:    =Ah, yeah, when I said that I have many
3        homeworks, and I don't have enough time to
4        sleep, she said, she gave me advice what is
5        (1.0) ((reported speech)) "If you can
```

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[2] In this section, I will adhere to the MCA convention of using present tense to emphasise turns in-the-moment

```
6              te [wo nuku,] if you have some points of te
                   cut corners
7    I:        [Mmm  mmm]
8    T:        wo nuku you should do that."
                   ●
               ((interviewer checks meaning of te wo nuku
               using an online dictionary))
9    T:        Do something with a little looser.
10   I:        Yeah. Ease up? Cut [corners?] I think cut
11   T:                          [Mmm mm?]
12   I:        corners is what you mean. You mean like,
13             maybe? murishinaide mitai?=
                   don't work too hard, like?
14   T:        =Yeah, yeah, yeah.
15   I:        What kind of things can you te wo nuku?
16   T:        I can't↓ te wo nuku. Hhh [hhh hhh]
17   I:                               [HAH HAH HAH HH]
18   T:        But ah (2.0) I (1.0) In essay draft one is
19             not (.) looked (.) by Jim, so a little cut
20             corner is okay! heh [heh]
21   I:                           [I un]derstand.
22   T:        Hh hh so I do my best for something which is
23             most important and I (.)should cut my (1.0)
24             pow[er]
25   I:           [Mmm] mmm mm
26   T:        For something not (.) looked (.) by teacher.
27             Hhh hhh hh
```

<div style="text-align:right">(Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16)</div>

In line 5-6, Tomomi reports her Stanley University friend's speech and her advice to "*te wo nuku* [cut corners]" on GP homework assignments. I check the meaning of the phrase, but Tomomi supplies with her own gloss "Do something with a little looser" (line 9). I appear to ignore this and provide my own translation, "cut corners"; when Tomomi appears to question this with her questioning intonation in line 11, I provide a less negatively-charged paraphrase (line 13). In line 15, my question shows I assume *te wo nuku* to be an acceptable, category-bound activity for busy students.

However, Tomomi rejects this: "I can't↓ te wo nuku. Hhh [hhh hhh]" (line 16). In fact, *te wo nuku* was morally-charged and not something Tomomi will claim for herself. Having unwittingly implied Tomomi to be someone who might cut corners, my loud laughter in line 17 signals my affiliation (see Holt, 2013) with her line 16 account. My continuer "[I un]derstand" in line 21 serves a similar purpose, showing my agreement that while Tomomi might "a little cut corner" (line 19-20) on the first draft of an essay, generally Tomomi is someone who will "do my best for something which is most important" (line 22-23). Thus, my assumption (that *te wo nuku* is a category-bound feature of the kind of student Tomomi sees herself as) is corrected by Tomomi.

As the extract continues, Tomomi explicitly ties *te wo nuku* to the outsider category:

Extract 24 (continued)

```
28  I:    I understand. Did your friend say the example
29        of the essay, or is that your idea?
30  T:    Mmm mmm (2.0) She doesn't have homework, and
31        (.) maybe she couldn't imagine my situation,
32        so she said such these advice.
33  I:    The (.) she gave you the advice, but you
34        thought [hh hh]
35  T:            [Heh hh hh]
36  I:    maybe that's okay for you, but I can't do
37        that so such, it's difficult (.) because?
38  T:    Ah (.) Mmm nandaro hhh hh My mind (.) can't
39        (.) allow this.
40  I:    Why can't you allow it? (.) because you're a
41        GP student?
42  T:    All my friends in EAP class are very hard to
43        work, and all of them try their [best,] so I
44  I:                                    [Mmm mmm]
45  T:    have to ((reported speech)) "manage my time↑"
46        and "complete my homework", and I feel I am
47        makezugirai (.) I don't like losing, [heh hh
48        unwilling to lose
```

```
49  I:                                      [hhh yeah
50         hhh]
51  T:     hhh] so if my friend try her best, I also
52         tried my best, [I think.
53  I:                    [Yeah, I] understand.
54  T:     So doing all homework with my best is very
55         difficult, but it is important for me, and I
56         think I can grow up. And so, I think. Heh hh
56         hh
```

<div align="right">(Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16)</div>

In line 30, Tomomi described her Stanley University friend as someone who "doesn't have homework", an outsider who could not imagine Tomomi's "situation", tying this to the activity of giving "this advice" to *te wo nuku*. I develop the categorising of the Stanley University friend as outsider and affiliate with Tomomi by taking on her voice with "you thought" (line 33-34), providing my account of Tomomi's supposed thoughts: "Maybe that's okay for you" and "I can't do that" (line 36-37). Once we have tied *te wo nuku* to the outsider category, my "because?" (line 37) invites Tomomi to define the category of those who "can't *te wo nuku*". In line 38-39, Tomomi introduces the concept of "My mind" which "(.) can't (.) allow this" behaviour. Although the word "mind" implies an internal process, Tomomi's account suggests she is translating *mentsu*, the positive social image mentioned above. *Mentsu* refers to an ability to fulfil a social role and conform to socially-desirable values (Lin & Yamaguchi, 2011). In line 40-41, I attempt to tie "My mind" to the identity of being a "GP student", but Tomomi only partly takes this up, instead introducing "friends in EAP class" as people who work "hard" and "try their best" (line 42-43).

In line 45 and 46, attention to Tomomi's other interview accounts and triangulation with other participants suggests she was reporting Jim's commonly-used phrases like "manage my time", suggesting the category-resonant device "friends in EAP class" was about being a good student in the GP in general. However, while the activities she ties to "friends" are relevant to the EAP Advanced class, her use of a female-gendered "friend" suggests the category relates to her close, female friends within the class. In other interviews, Tomomi was careful to use "he or she" when speaking about her classmates in general, sometimes self-correcting to do so. This gendering and use of "friends" over "students" implies Tomomi's close female

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friends on the programme (see Figure 5.1). Tomomi defines herself by comparing with these "friends", stating: "I am *makezugirai* (.) I don't like losing" (line 46-47). "Friend" (line 51) was defined as one who will "try her best" (line 51), an activity Tomomi claims for herself with "I also".

Thus, Tomomi developed the meaning of being a student in the GP through comparisons with others inside and outside the EAP Advanced class. Rejecting my assumption that *te wo nuku* was a category-bound feature of a good student in the GP, Tomomi ties this activity to her categorising of her Stanley University friend as an outsider who "doesn't have homework". Tomomi reformulated my "GP student" device to "friends in EAP class", and the features she describe show her concern with competing and comparing herself to others in terms of making an effort and spending sufficient time. Although these are features that had been defined by the teacher, Tomomi's identities are situated not in the classroom but in her network ties to her group of female "friend in EAP class". Her comparisons to others are not aspirational, in the sense of outworking her peers, but rather she is concerned with maintaining a positive social image*, mentsu*, between herself and this implied group of female friends.

In addition to showing how categories and identity-in-action were negotiated through interviews, Tomomi's identities-in-interaction above support the picture of her network development and socialisation described earlier in this chapter. Individuals in her network have specific functions, relevant to their status as good student, friend or outsider. Outsiders may provide some emotional support, but an orientation outside the programme risks developing "lazy" behaviour such as cutting corners. On the other hand, "friends" from the EAP class make an effort on their assignments, providing a yardstick for Tomomi to gauge her progress and maintain a positive social image, *mentsu*. The analysis shows how Tomomi was careful to affiliate with this category and correct my assumptions about her. However, as the extract suggests, competing with EAP friends requires resources of time and the ability to make an "effort"; Tomomi's limiting of network interactions and engagement with peer and teacher feedback on her writing maintains her self-beliefs and facilitates her renegotiation of an identity as a good student and friend in the GP.

5.6.2 "Every time I make some trouble": Different assumptions about support from friends

All participants' INoP were constructed to seek support, usually from those described as peers, partners or friends. However, this support was a system with rules which signalled not only identification with the GP identity but also with the Japanese university and wider Japanese culture. Interacting in networks was bound up in ideas of responsibility and obligation: *giri* in Japanese. I will expand on the relationship of *giri* and agency in Chapter 6. Here, I will show participants' assumptions about the rules for support were produced through interview interaction. In this account, Aiko and I demonstrate our different assumptions: mine, that ability to give support was contingent on access and thus not a moral choice; Aiko's, that support must always be reciprocated and to fail to do so was a failure of responsibility to "friends in GP class" (Aiko, interview, 3.2.17).

As we discuss Aiko's non-class interaction with her GP friends including Ai and Usami, she says, "We can help each other in class and out of class, so I want to do my best to (.) to (.) to help others" (interview, 3.2.17). I ask her to elaborate on helping others. Although Aiko's pronoun use ("them") is ambiguous, I understand her to be continuing of discussion of the "friends in GP class" she had mentioned immediately prior to this extract:

Extract 26

```
 1  I:    Did you always [feel] that we should help

 2  A:                   [mmm]

 3  I:    each other all the time?

 4  A:    Hmm (.) hmm (2.0) always I (.) I (1.0) always

 5        I feel appreciation to [them] and I like them

 6  I:                           [mmm mmm]

 7  A:    so (.) so I want to (.) I want to help each

 8        other and spend more time together, but every

 9        time I (.) I make trouble?, take (.) some (.)

10        trouble to them.

11  I:    Do you mean like meiwaku?=
                           trouble

12  A:    =Yes! about assignment or another study or

13        [class], because (.) I have (.) I have less

14  I:    [mmm mmm]

15  A:    (.) time to study.
```

```
16   I:      Tell me more about that. why do you think
17           it's trouble for them? maybe they want to
18           help you, but you feel like it's still some
19           kind of meiwaku. why do you think that?
20   A:      (1.0) They k(h)now ((tears start)) I'm so
21           busy to do club activity and GP class [hh hh]
22   I:                                              [It's]
23           okay
24   A:      So they always h↑elp me↑ very much. (.) to
25           help my homework or [(1.0)]
26   I:                          [mmm mmm]
27   A:      study for some exam
28   I:      You said-
29   A:      -but hhh hah I could (.) uh? I can't (.) help
30           them (.) uh? I can't become their (.) huh? I
31           can't help them.
```
<div align="right">(Aiko, interview, 3.2.17)</div>

In my question (line 1 and 3), the words "always" and "all the time" imply my assumption that Aiko should not be expected to help "each other all the time". In her turn, Aiko explained why she would help her friends in affective terms of "appreciation" and because "I like them" (line 5); she links this to the activities of helping and spending time together. Her term "appreciation" appears related to the Japanese concept of *kansha* (thanks, gratitude). In other words, we were expected to show gratitude and liking for others who have helped us. This accounts for her term "trouble" (line 9) which I gloss as "*meiwaku*" (line 11) and she enthusiastically takes up with a turn almost overlapping mine (line 12). In explaining "trouble", at this stage in the interaction it was not clear whether "assignment or another study or class" refers to support Aiko gives or receives; in my next turn, I treat having "less time to study" as most relevant and as supportive of my earlier implication that she need not help her friends "all the time". I do this by minimising the meaning of "trouble"; it becomes merely "still some kind of *meiwaku*" (line 18-19): "still" in particular implies that she should no longer "still" feel this way. Indeed, I imply, because her friends "want to help" her, she should not feel she was inconveniencing them. Aiko's emotional response (line 20-31) shows how different our assumptions are: regardless

of how "busy to do club activity and GP class" she is, because they help her, she was obliged to "help them" (line 29-30).

Aiko's account can thus be understood through the cultural value of *giri*, social obligation. Because her friends have provided support to her, she is obligated to show "appreciation" for them by reciprocated, irrespective of how busy she is. To do otherwise represents "*meiwaku*" and would damage the harmony in the social relations and, in turn, Aiko's own social image, *mentsu.* In line 30, Aiko emphasises her inability to help her friends.

Thus, membership categorisation analysis shows Aiko treats as common-sense assumptions about support: she is obliged to reciprocate support regardless of her own constraints. Failure to do so leads to "trouble" and failure to fulfil *giri* and, as a result, damage to one's social image among "friends in GP class". Such assumptions were treated by Aiko as *a priori* and non-contestable (Reynolds & Fitzgerald, 2015); despite my repeated attempts to cast her inability to reciprocate support as a result of unavoidable time constraints, Aiko's account shows that support in networks adheres to a system of obligation to others. As such, this account ratifies the picture of her socialisation in networks described earlier in this chapter: unable to form strong ties to those who might support her socialisation into academic English, Aiko constructs a confident "pioneer" identity in which learning English was oriented toward her identification with the dance club.

5.7   Summary

From an institutional perspective, the four participants described in this chapter were successful learners. Jim graded many of their assignments above 90%, and they rarely received scores below 80. They were rarely absent, submitted their written assignments on time and, from their triangulated accounts, participated actively during EAP class time. Indeed, all four decided to continue in the Global Programme in their second year and enrolled in Jim's class again. In terms of their networks, all participants had access to strongly- and weakly-tied nodes who had the potential to provide them with different types of emotional and academic support. In addition, all participants considered social networks to be important to becoming successful academic writers in the Global Programme, even when unable or unwilling to use their networks in this way. However, despite these similarities, the four participants' learning trajectories were very different. Sometimes choices were made

in response to constraints on their access to support opportunities, but often they chose not to take up existing access. As such, social network ties were used in many ways depending on the participants' goals, investments, identifications and exercise of agency within constraints. My membership categorisation analysis showed how these meanings were produced interactionally and represented implicit and non-contestable assumptions which often indexed wider Japanese society and culture. I will describe these themes in greater detail in the following chapter. Here, I will summarise some of the meanings of social network ties, conceived as how and why the participants interacted with their nodes.

Firstly, strong, multiplex ties gave the participants access to emotional support. Although Yoko, Tomomi and Usami sought emotional support for different purposes, they all turned to individuals who could understand their difficulties. Indeed, mutual understanding was central to participants' evaluation; Tomomi valued the emotional support from her non-WTU friend less than that received from some GP classmates. Many of Aiko's difficulties stemmed from her inability to access this kind of emotional support from classmates or from clubmates who "can't understand" her challenges.

Secondly, strongly-tied, knowledgeable or confident EAP Advanced classmates provided a combination of academic and emotional support. Tomomi and Yoko both valued ties to people like Misako, and to each other, because of their shared identification in academic literacy practices. When those individuals were also their peer editors, they valued the interaction as a chance to negotiate meanings of academic writing, highly-evaluating the revisions and insights they were able to achieve. Even though Usami resisted developing this type of tie, she later began to identify more strongly with the GP and began to develop such multiplex ties.

Thirdly, weaker ties to knowledgeable senpai or EAP Advanced classmates provided specific academic support. When Usami and Yoko found it difficult to respond to written feedback, they turned to weakly-tied individuals they evaluated highly because of their knowledge of English or academic writing. However, as will be developed in the following chapter, participants rarely sought out these kinds of people, preferring to interact ties more directly relevant to the EAP Advanced class. A similar type of tie could be called "weakened ties". Participants were required to interact with classmates through out-of-class peer editing. However, when feedback came from a weakly-tied individual, the participants rarely sought a face-to-face

interaction and sometimes discounted the feedback. Furthermore, some individuals in the GP were regarded as "lazy" and their academic *and affective* support was not sought and the tie progressively weakened. In other words, there were many potential weakly-tied nodes with whom the participants rarely chose to interact.

In the following chapter, returning to the concepts of networks, practices and identities described in this chapter and the previous, I will discuss how the trajectories of these four participants and others reveal L2-English academic literacy socialisation to be contingent on different micro-level choices which shape and are shaped by meso-level agency, identities and networks and the macro-level Japanese ideologies which permeated this L1-dominant context.

<h1 align="center">Chapter 6: What English Academic Writing Means</h1>

6.0   Introduction

The trajectories of the four students described in the previous chapter demonstrated variability in socialisation into and through academic language. Despite studying together at the same university, on the same programme and in the same English class, academic English came to mean very different things to Yoko, Tomomi, Usami and Aiko. In Chapter 2, I argued that much L2 academic discourse socialisation research has had difficulty in accounting for socialisation which occurs outside the classroom and in wider meso-level social networks. Studies have shown how learners develop academic English through social interaction (e.g. M. Kobayashi, 2015) or how social identities and relationships are constructed (e.g. Morita, 2004, 2009; Kim & Duff, 2012; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015) but has struggled to demonstrate what Duff (2019) describes as "increasing *participation* in cultural activities over time" (p. 13, emphasis in original). In other words, research has traced development of discourse practices and identities within specific academic communities but has rarely shown how meso-level constructs of practice, identity and agency intersect at the micro level of interaction in networks. As such, greater attention is needed to *indexicality* (Ochs & Shieffelin, 2017) to demonstrate how agentive choices "may reproduce or transform structures and relationships beyond the immediate interaction" (Duff, 2019, p. 12). In Chapter 4, I presented the practices the participants in this study engaged in to develop their academic English writing. In Chapter 5, I focused on the learning trajectories of four focal participants and how they exercised agency to construct individual networks of practice, participate in English academic literacy practices and negotiate identities while negotiating perceptions of the possibilities open to them.

In this chapter, I will return to the theoretical (meso-level) constructs of networks, identity, agency and access, firstly extending my analysis of participants' INoPs, then demonstrating how socialisation was contingent on identification with people and practices in/through these networks. Finally, I will consider the indexicalities of some of the academic literacy practices mentioned in Chapter 4, also represented in participants' micro-level choices. Responding to the existing literature on L2 academic socialisation, this chapter will illustrate how 1) networks provided access to a variety of socialisation opportunities which individuals often chose not to take up 2) individuals' choices to identify with multiple social groups shaped their

negotiation of identities relevant to academic writing and 3) the micro-level choices individuals made as aspects of their academic literacy practices indexed both their meso-level identifications and macro-level ideologies and values. Thus, I will demonstrate how EAP programmes in non-English-dominant contexts are rich and complex sites of socialisation into academic literacy in a second language.

6.1   Access and Action

Language socialisation approaches consider how individuals develop knowledge of language and culture, but to do so they require access to opportunities for meaningful interaction with experts or old-timers. According to the Douglas Fir Group (2016), such access at the micro level of social interaction is situated within and shaped by a meso level of sociocultural institutions and communities. Individuals' social identities at this meso level of the in terms of their investment, agency and power. Macro level ideologies pervade these meso institutions and communities, affecting the possibilities for individuals to create such social identities. Each of the levels exists by constantly interacting with others, shaping the conditions which enable and constrain language learning opportunities and outcomes.

Although looser than communities, individual networks of practice are theorised at the meso level and provide access to the meaningful micro-level interaction necessary for socialisation into academic literacy practices; such interactions also facilitate construction of these networks, strengthening ties to nodes or seeking out opportunities through social ties (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). In this section, I will respond to literature on the social networks of newcomers to L2 academic communities, complicating a picture of access to networks as primarily shaped by top-down, hierarchical power relations and practical/spatial constraints. Instead, I will emphasise how the taking up of potential access is mediated by an inter-level interplay of constraints, agency, identity and micro-level choices.

My research is consistent with research demonstrating that practical constraints such as living arrangements influence individuals' ability to develop their social networks (Dewey, Ring & Gardner, 2013; Rundle, 2011; Zappa-Hollman, 2007; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015), but the students in this study were impacted to a lesser extent than described in research on study abroad (SA). Living in campus dormitories or in a private apartment in the nearby city certainly afforded some participants more potential opportunities for interaction than those who commuted from family homes

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further away. Those living on/near campus were able to more frequently engage in unplanned interactions outside the classroom, staying late into the evening to study together in the Self-Access Learning Centre (SALC) or university library. Most participants who lived with their families had to plan their time more carefully, and Tomomi and Usami's long commutes limited their time on campus. While they interacted frequently with individuals in their INoPs, these interactions occurred during lunchtimes or in non-English classes, and it was more difficult to leverage these into discussions of academic English. However, students like Yoko who did not work part-time found time to stay late and study with friends despite living off-campus, regularly meeting her group of friends who studied in the library.

In contrast, the financial necessity to work part-time was a powerful practical constraint. Students had to take part-time jobs to contribute to living expenses or course fees. Usami and Tomomi both worked near their homes, sometimes during weekday evenings but almost always at weekends, and thus found it difficult to come to campus during those weekends. This meant that they could rarely join regular study sessions and arranging to meet people to seek support was difficult.

Although all students had access to opportunities to interact online, these interactions were less important than meeting face-to-face. While all participants were members of online social-networking groups set up by students in each EAP class, online interactions did not shape the participants' INoPs as face-to-face discussions did. Digital tools did not "mediate new relationships" (Barton & Potts, 2013, p. 818) in the form of network ties. As Tomomi described (see Chapter 4), "I want to talk *chokusetsu* [directly] but in the Line it's only sentence, it's only words, but I think only sentence is not good to explain my feelings" (interview, 25.7.16). Talking "*chokusetsu*" was necessary for deeper interactions. By and large, online groups were used to check deadlines or ask very brief questions about what participants described as *grammar* and *words* (see Chapter 4). In short, greater financial resources allowed students to live on campus which mediated the development of some participants' INoPs.

However, even the busiest participants had opportunities to interact with peers, senpai and teachers both face-to-face and online to seek support relevant to their English academic writing. Unlike study abroad contexts in which newcomers enter academic communities with few or no social ties, some participants in my study began the academic year with "ready-made" ties to people they knew from pre-university

schooling, or neighbourhood and familial connections. Students also joined extracurricular clubs (*bukatsu*) and formal study groups. They could also interact with teachers who responded to email enquiries and invited students to visit their offices. In addition, students also met senpai who were seminar teaching assistants (TAs) or fellow extracurricular club members, and the university offered an English Writing Centre partly staffed by GP senpai tutors. Before conducting the study, I had expected peers and senpai to play a similar role to Séror's (2011) "friends, roommates and writing centre tutors", and provide "alternative sources of feedback" (p. 118) through relationships which were "less power-governed" than those with teachers or professors (p. 129). However, while the participants sought support from some classmates, they seldom sought academic English-related support from classmates they did not know well or from their senpai. Indeed, unlike research conducted in study abroad contexts, I found that individuals had access to numerous socialisation opportunities through network ties, but that they did not always *recognise* the value of these ties.

At the meso level, the structure of the university classes and club activities afforded many opportunities for interaction among senpai and kohai (the study participants) but these were rarely relevant to English. The participants almost invariably described their senpai as friendly, approachable and helpful. Many senpai had completed the GP or study abroad. Despite this, the participants rarely approached their senpai for support relevant to English academic writing or the GP. Japanese cultural values urge senpai to help kohai, although a senpai's role is to socialise kohai into Japanese society (see Barker, 2016; Nakamura, Fujii & Fudano, 2010, although these authors do not refer to "socialisation"), which may partly explain why participants did not take up opportunities to interact with club senpai, TAs or tutors about academic English. Even when interactions were relevant to academic English, the senpai usually initiated the interaction and determined its mode and goals. Kokoro (see Chapter 4) described his Economics Theory Club senpai advising him to "English *to* economics *no kurabete, douchi ni fokasu shitai* [compare English and economics (then think about) which (you) want to focus on]" (interview, 8.6.16). The advice is not asked for but given during Kokoro's formal club-entrance interview and appeared to influence his eventual decision to leave the GP after one semester and focus on economics rather than English. Usami's interaction with Hirano (see Chapter 5) illustrated that senpai were often willing to help the students with academic writing,

but it was extremely rare for the participants to initiate a discussion with senpai like this. Despite my frequent member-checking of the INoP maps, participants rarely mentioned talking to senpai and never visited the Writing Centre. Certainly the power relations inherent in the senpai-kohai hierarchy may have discouraged the participants from seeking out academic English support from club or seminar senpai. However, the senpai-kohai system *encourages* students novices to seek the support of the relative experts. Rather, it appeared that the students did not recognise the access to support that senpai could provide.

Thus, access to socialisation opportunities was not *blocked* by the institution context or constrained by macro-level ideologies, as has been shown by research on study abroad in North American academic settings. In such contexts, SA students may be positioned as less competent or legitimate members of academic communities and their opportunities to interact blocked by "native-speaking" peers or professors. As seeking support from teachers or professors can be uncomfortable and difficult (Séror, 2011), SA students seek out individuals who are knowledgeable but less socially-distant, such as peers, writing centre tutors and younger lecturers (e.g. Fujioka, 2013; Okuda & Anderson, 2015; Séror, 2011). Instead of power relations shaping the taking up of access, I found that capitalising on existing access was also contingent on individuals' evaluation and identification with network nodes. In other words, while the participants sometimes did not recognise existing opportunities, they also chose to reject certain opportunities.

As illustrated by their INoP maps, the four participants in Chapter 5 constructed networks with few ties relevant to academic writing, despite many opportunities to leverage their wider social networks. Participants' choices not to leverage potential ties were signalled by their evaluations about the academic and affective returns nodes could provide. As described in Chapters 4 and 6, some of these choices appeared pragmatic, as participants sought out academic interactions with people who were "good at grammar" or affective support from an objective "*daisansha* [third party/outsider]". Similarly, they chose not to interact further with peer editors who wrote "few comments" or comments "only [about] grammar" or friends who appeared "lazy". Although the senpai-kohai social hierarchy meant that participants never gave explicitly negative evaluations of senpai, their lack of interaction supports the claim that senpai were sometimes not valued as well as not recognised as sources of support. Usami was the only participant who engaged with a

senpai in an arranged, extended discussion about academic writing, and she did so explicitly because of Hirano's status as former member of Jim's class who had knowledge of "Jim's way" of academic writing. Other senpai may have been considered less able to provide such returns.

However, it was often difficult to extricate evaluations of expected returns from choices which signalled participants' identifications with people in network. Yoko and Tomomi sought support from each other and from people like Ai and Misako as much because these individuals were "close friends" as because of their knowledge of English academic writing. Indeed, much of their discussions consisted of empathising about their lack of understanding of English academic writing and Jim's expectations (see Chapter 5 and below). Yoko identified strongly with her "library friends" group, describing these shared practices of academic-affective support. Tomomi's description of Usami and the friends from microeconomics as "lazy" (see Chapter 5) signalled her lack of identification with these individuals as well as judgement about the affective-academic returns they could provide. Usami's description of EAP classmates as "studying friend[s]" she chose not to interact with outside class (Chapter 5) suggested they could provide academic support but that she did not identify with these people on another, presumably affective, level. Indeed, participants were often constrained or unwilling to leverage social ties to peer editors for reasons largely unrelated to expected returns. Female students often favourably evaluated the written comments of their assigned, male peer editors but chose not to seek further interaction with them, despite difficulties in revising their essays. However, these identifications and choices also indexed wider macro-level cultural values including gender. I will discuss participants' choices in relation to evaluation and identification of people in networks in more detail in the following two sections.

In summary, living arrangements, time spent on campus and the hierarchical structure of the Japanese university did constrain participants' agency in constructing and interacting in networks to aid development of their academic writing and their academic literacy socialisation. However, by and large, the students had access to opportunities that they chose not to take up. The structure of the Japanese university did limit leveraging of ties and recognition of nodes' socialisation potential; however, I did not find the hierarchical power relations and blocked access described in SA contexts. Rather, individuals' identification with multiple individuals in their

networks, shaped by meso and macro conditions, transformed their networks and led to variable socialisation outcomes, which I will now discuss.

6.2   Identification and Ethos

Access to identities as legitimate (novice) members is necessary for participation in academic communities and their discourse/literacy practices. Existing research has often portrayed this as classroom-situated and negotiation within a community of practice (e.g. Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004, 2009) or other negotiation within a wider, university-based academic community (e.g. Zappa-Hollman, 2007); claiming membership has also required newcomers to contend with stigmatised "ESL student" or "non-native speaker" positionalities which limit access to identities. However, my participants' most critical identity constructions did not occur in classrooms, nor was access to identities necessarily blocked by top-down power relations in their Japanese university community. The GP was only one among the many social groups the participants identified with, and these multiple identifications were also implicated in their academic discourse socialisation. The more powerful identifications were with people in networks rather than with a community, as peers were "powerful agents of (co)-socialization" (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015, p. 26) to co-construct practices and identities. At the same time, the aspirational identity of Global Programme member, reified by teachers and programme documents, indexed competent identities as users of academic English. However, the macro-level Japanese cultural values pervading *bukatsu* (extracurricular clubs) constrained some participants from fully identifying with academic English and/or the Global Programme; despite not identifying strongly with clubmates as individuals, some participants' choices appeared to signal the cultural values such as *giri* inherent in such social cultural communities. The participants' identity constructions thus demonstrated their negotiations and reconstructions of this identity, contingent on their differing exercise of agency in response to multi-level constraints. In this section, I discuss how my participants accessed and constructed multiple identities relevant to their socialisation into academic English writing.

Firstly, the aspirational GP identity was defined by teachers to set high goals and a sense of supportive competitiveness among the students. While teachers' positioning of students in relation to this identity indexed some of the hierarchical power relations found in existing research, positioning did not limit access to an

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identity as competent member of the class but was intended to encourage students to take up access to it. This is exemplified by Jim's explicit positioning of some EAP class students. In interview accounts, the EAP Advanced class participants frequently prefaced comments with "Jim said" to recount his description of a GP student. In Chapter 3, I triangulated interview accounts, Jim's written comments and numerous informal interactions with Jim as a fellow GP teacher to describe this GP identity in detail. Being a GP student meant prioritising GP homework over other tasks, spending "time and effort" on written assignments, particularly through revising essays drafts in response to peer and teacher written feedback. It also meant actively seeking support from peers and the teacher when needed (Jim, interview, 16.1.17). Also implied was that participation meant investing emotionally in one's classmates by "respect[ing] and support[ing] one another" (EAP Advanced class syllabus, accessed online 3.4.16). Jim evaluated students in his oral and written comments based on whether he believed they had engaged in these practices.

Participating in the GP involved paying close attention to what "Jim said" to understand the qualifications of a GP student. This was evident in Tomomi's account of the whole-class email Jim sent in first semester (see Chapter 5). Describing their essays, he wrote, "some of you put in a lot of effort" but "Other students need to spend much more time and effort on your written assignments" (Jim's email, subject line "D3 feedback", 5.25.16). While Jim positioned some individuals as "Other students", they remained legitimate GP members. Jim's positioning differed from studies conducted in English-dominant contexts where positioning by instructions of "native speaking" students blocked or limited access to socialisation opportunities (e.g. Anderson, 2017; Harklau, 2000; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004; Yi, 2013). Unlike labels like "ESL student" (Harklau, 2000; Yi, 2013), an "Other student" was not a less legitimate member of an academic community. Jim provided copious amounts of written feedback on all students' assignments, interacted with them in class and insisted his door was always open to visits. Jim's positioning had a large impact on his students through the power accorded by his (macro-ideological) status as native speaker in English and (meso-community) university teacher, as well as his reputation in the GP for being strict and uncompromising. Yet, Jim's positioning of "Other students" was intended to encourage them to take up access to the GP identity through engaging in practices such as seeking support and paying close attention to written feedback.

However, in response to their positioning, participants made choices different from those affected by their teachers and which were contingent on their networks. For instance, to avoid being positioned as an "Other student", Tomomi gradually reduced her network interactions, more often studying alone and revising her assignments without peer feedback or support. In contrast, Usami did seek support from her network in response to being positioned as needing to make more, but she chose to look outside the EAP Advanced class. Responses to positioning by the teacher sometimes led to the practices preferred by the teachers and sometimes not. Positioning and claims of membership in relation to the aspirational GP identity must thus be seen in context of the participants' networks. Neither the GP nor the EAP classes were communities of practice; rather, students interacted through looser networks of practice, within which the GP and EAP existed as clusters of nodes which individuals identified with to varying degrees. Rather than a linear path to greater participation and identification blocked or afforded by power, the participants' choices in relation to academic writer and GP identities were shaped by identifications with multiple social groups.

The macro-level Japanese cultural value of *giri* (responsibility to others) was influential in shaping many of these choices. As described in Chapter 5, *giri* is a macro-level Japanese cultural value and refers to how fulfilling responsibilities to others is necessary to maintain one's social image in wider Japanese society. *Giri* can be translated as "obligation" or "duty" (Yabuuchi, 2004) and has been described as necessary for the maintenance of *mentsu,* positive social image (Haugh, 2007 cited in Tao, 2014, p. 115). It is distinguished from more neutral terms such as *gimu* and *sekinin* which refer to tasks or duties with which we are charged, failure to fulfil which is not necessarily seen as a threat to one's *mentsu* (B. Suzuki, personal communication, March 5, 2019). *Giri* is a macro-rather than meso-level construct; the choice to fulfil responsibility to others did not necessarily denote identification with these people. In contrast to research on immigrants entering North American academic settings (e.g. Kim & Duff, 2012), my participants did not describe feeling pressured to non-identify with (academic) English, but the responsibility (*giri*) they experienced for others did shape their negotiation or realisation of identities. Crucially, students appeared to experience obligations signalling *giri* toward people with whom they *did not identify.* In order to fulfil obligations, participants either left the GP or shifted their participation to different degrees, including remaking academic writer and GP

identities and practices. However, this represented agency in choosing to fulfil this obligation and, by extension, identify with values of wider Japanese culture.

Giri permeated the participants' accounts of participating in extracurricular clubs to a much greater extent than their accounts of learning academic English in the GP. *Bukatsu* (extracurricular club activities) are an integral part of the Japanese university system and are relevant to larger macro-level cultural values such as *giri* and *senpai-kohai* and influenced choices made by several students in the study. Participation in *bukatsu* typically required a large investment of time. While Yoko and Tomomi's clubs met during semester breaks, and Yuri was comfortable attending the Calligraphy Circle when she had time, membership in more demanding and prestigious clubs was seen as mutually-exclusive with full participation in the GP. In other words, it was not possible to identify with the GP and also fulfil obligations to clubmates. For example, Kokoro's decision to leave the GP after one semester but continue in the WTU Economics Theory Club related to advice given by his club senpai to consider the balance between English and economics. Similarly, Tomomi's friend Hikarin described her inability to continue in the EAP Advanced class as "*shikatanai* [inevitable] is natural, it is natural" (interview, 23.1.17) when she had also joined a demanding club. While those who chose to participate in such demanding clubs did appear to identify strongly as members of such social cultural communities, they did not always identify strongly with the clubmates as individuals. Rather, this is particularly clear in the account of Yuri's friend Asako, who chose to fulfil her perceived obligations to a clubmate despite not identifying with her as an individual. Asako explained that she left the GP to prepare for a Debate Club competition with her partner, Momo, described as "*son nani dibeito ni ha isshoukenmei jyanakatta* [not (working) so conscientiously on the debate]" (interview, 19.1.17), a harsh evaluation by the standards of my data. When preparation for the debate becomes "busy", Asako said of quitting the GP, "*atashi ga erande ikenaina* [I can't choose]". In other words, despite not identifying strongly with Momo as clubmate, Asako feels obliged to her and to the other members of the debate club with whom she participated in the competition. In these examples, the choice to fulfil obligations to others constrained participants' other choices.

In Kim and Duff (2012), individuals who participated in English academic activities were positioned as betraying their Korean identity and actively discouraged from majoring in English at university. In contrast, *giri* was a relatively weaker

constraint, but it was also a macro-level cultural value and "hidden when … taken for granted" (DFG, 2016, p. 37), permeating all levels of society and shaping agency to identify with different social groups. For instance, in contrast to some of Kim and Duff's (2012) participants' agency in crossing boundaries between Korean-speaking and Canadian academic communities and accessing (English) academic identities, participants experiencing *bukatsu* "*erande ikenaina* [couldn't choose]" to both participate in the GP and fulfil club member responsibilities. Furthermore, unlike immigrant contexts in which individuals navigate L1 and L2 networks, the networks of the GP students were embedded in the Japanese university community in which macro cultural values are endemic. Thus, while Aiko exercised agency to construct her "pioneer" identity (see Chapter 5), this identity was more about fulfilling obligations to clubmates than identifying with the GP or academic English. Aiko's effectiveness in capitalising on access to GP practices and related identities was limited by the responsibility she felt to attend daily Hip-Hop Dance Club practice sessions, preventing her from reciprocating academic support provided by her GP friends. She constructed the "pioneer" identity by repurposing achievable aspects of the GP identity (maintaining high grades and a TOEFL score) which did not require interaction with GP classmates and signalled her personal achievement as an inspirational example to future club kohai. In a sense, *giri* was a constraint, as it limited Aiko's renegotiation of academic literacy practices and related identities. However, it is important to emphasise that Aiko and other students had *chosen* to join clubs and, once there, fulfil the obligations they believed inherent in *giri*. While I would argue that individuals did not always identify strongly with their clubmates, nevertheless they had chosen to identify with the macro-level cultural values which pervade these inherently Japanese sociocultural communities.

Thus, *giri* shaped the micro-level choices and meso-level identifications of those who had joined the more demanding extracurricular clubs, signalling the central importance of *bukatsu* within the Japanese university system and wider society. In contrast, identifications in the GP were shaped less by such macro-level values and more by meso-level relations in networks and the choices they mediated. This is clearly evident in the accounts of Yoko, Usami and Tomomi. While *giri* was indexed to different degrees in their choices and identifications, it was to a lesser extent.

Enacting obligations that indexed *giri* shaped Yoko's realisation of the aspirational GP identity, as she initially felt unable to fulfil her social obligations to

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respond to peer feedback and seek support. However, her agency mediated her claims to an identity as a competent GP member which allowed her to renegotiate the GP identity and fulfil obligations as classmate and friend. Initially, Yoko described a past-socialised identity as a "passive" classmate and friend who had difficulties in responding to peer feedback and seeking support, effectively limiting her access to the micro-level interactions which could become opportunities to access and negotiate the GP identity. Yoko invoked her high school experiences of English writing to describe herself as a less competent GP member who was a "passive" and not "good at grammar" or "confident". In one account, this constrained Yoko from seeking additional support from a peer editor, leading her to cut a problematic sentence from an essay rather devaluing the contribution of the peer editor by rewriting it without adhering to his advice. This conflict suggests Yoko wanted but was unable to acknowledge the contribution of her peers because she could not identify as a competent and "active" GP student, feeling most comfortable studying alone rather than seeking support in networks. However, because *giri* was indexed in negotiable network interactions rather than in a bounded community, Yoko was later able to access and reconstruct an identity as competent writer and fulfil the obligations associated with *giri*. She did this by drawing on personal resources such as her knowledge of Japanese academic writing and through self-reflection partly undertaken during our research interviews. "Studying alone" became valued as she could reflect on and acknowledge peer and teacher feedback without feeling responsibility to follow all advice or seek support at every juncture. At the same time, this identity mediated her forming a support network among the strongly-tied "library friends", Ai, Keigo and Misako and seeking out support through weak ties to nodes like Shinichi and Kai. Thus, because of her access to material, personal and network resources, Yoko could exercise agency to access and (re)construct multiple identities that aided her socialisation, filling her obligations at the same time. Yoko's accounts illustrate that choices relevant to identities and networks were shaped by macro-level cultural values. Yoko's self-identifying as "passive" indexed both her perceived lack of access to the aspirational GP identity and her inability to fulfil social obligations, explaining the importance of her renegotiation of a GP identity in which such obligations could be satisfied.

While Tomomi's choices indexed *giri* less strongly than Yoko, her renegotiation of the GP identity towards the end of the academic year was shaped by

the values. Her reframing "*te wo nuku* [cutting corners]*"* (interview, 23.5.16) into working "*kouritsu yoku* [efficiently]" (interview, 18.1.17) indexed both her desire to identify with the GP and to avoid being seen as someone who ignored her obligations to others. Unlike Yoko, Tomomi lacked the time on campus necessary to ask for explanations of feedback or seek other forms of support. She came to believe that discounting peer and teacher comments on her writing and starting essays again was more likely to lead to a favourable evaluation from Jim, described by Tomomi as looking for "the fresh and new idea" (interview, 18.1.17). She also began to spend less time on certain drafts of essays. However, this contradicted both the aspirational GP identity and *giri*, as the support and advice of others were no longer acknowledged. Therefore, Tomomi's repeated accounts of lacking time because of her part-time work responsibilities can partly be understood as her identification with the macro-level cultural value of fulfilling responsibility to others.

In contrast to Yoko and Tomomi, Usami's choices appeared the least shaped by *giri*. However, her development of the strong ties to others which signalled *giri* for other participants was constrained by her own and others' choices. Like Tomomi and Aiko, Usami's access to interaction opportunities was shaped by her lack of time on campus to seek support from networks; however, she did not appear to feel the obligations to her classmates which necessitated the identity renegotiations of Tomomi, Aiko and Yoko. Usami described feeling social distance from other EAP Advanced students and did not seek out support from classmates or peer editors. She also discounted peer feedback on her writing. However, triangulation with Tomomi and Yoko revealed that *they* had chosen to keep distance from Usami; her apparent lack of obligation to classmates was also shaped by choices others had made about her. Usami's lack of interest in seeking out and reciprocating support did not index a lack of identification with Japanese cultural values but rather her understanding of the choices open to her. These choices had implications for the identities that Usami developed. Unlike Tomomi and Yoko, Usami was not able to develop strong academic-English related ties and did not renegotiate the GP identity. Instead, she expressed a desire to better understand "Jim's way" of writing, achieve a high grade on her essays and be seen by Jim as a "talented writer" (Usami, interview, 3.2.17; see Chapter 5). Usami's identification with Jim's positioning of her did not index a lack of *giri*-shaped obligation to her classmates but was a response to constraints imposed on her.

Thus, the choices of the GP students signalled *giri* most powerfully when they were also involved in certain demanding *bukatsu* communities. Because these extracurricular clubs were a part of a Japanese cultural/education system in which macro-level values like *giri* were pervasive, the students appeared to feel a strong sense of responsibility to their club members, often trumping their desire to improve academic writing and participate in the GP. In contrast, while social relations of those not involved in *bukatsu* did index values such as *giri*, identities and relationships in networks were more negotiable, leading to variable contingency in the ways participants chose to fulfil (or remake) their social obligations. Yoko, Tomomi and Usami can broadly be seen on a continuum of most to least invested in their relationships with classmates and their desire to fulfil the responsibilities associated with *giri*; however, obligations to others also signalled individuals' ability to form network ties. Thus, macro-level values shaped the choices of the participants but only functioned as a constraint within the established sociocultural communities of *bukatsu* extracurricular clubs. At the same time, individuals' micro-level choices shaped their own and others' meso-level networks, mediating the possibilities for a renegotiation of identities.

In short, all participants responded to their access in different ways, contingent upon different past experiences, beliefs and choices to identify with individuals in their social networks which also signalled macro-level values. While the participants described being a "GP student" or "GP member", this description was only nominally comparable. The identities they developed were very different from each other and from those promoted by their teacher. In the following section, I will discuss how academic literacy choices indexed identification with the aspirational GP identity and with classmates but were shaped by pervasive macro-level cultural values of *giri* and gender relations in Japanese society.

6.3   The Meanings of Academic Writing: How Practices Indexed Agency and Access

One of the initial motivations of this research was to further demonstrate that academic English is co-constructed through interaction by individuals as social, literacy practices in order to participate in immediate meso-level networks and communities. My participants' choices surrounding their development of written academic English were purposeful, underscoring a LS perspective in which "practices

signal competent (or less competent) participation and membership in particular cultures and communities" (Duff, 2019, p. 12). In this final section, I will review instances of participants' academic writing choices and discuss the significance of the meso-level social practices surrounding these literacy events (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Broadly speaking, the participants' academic literacy practices signalled their identification with people inside and outside the programme and with the programme itself, and their identities as competent academic writers on the GP, but such choices were shaped by taken-for-granted, macro cultural values.

Firstly, the participants' academic writing choices were aimed at achieving teacher recognition which they believed signalled a competent, aspirational GP identity. Most participants identified strongly with the aspirational GP identity promoted by the teachers, particularly by Jim in the EAP Advanced class. Initially, participants viewed teachers as the gatekeepers or mediators of successful realisation of this identity, contingent on teachers' evaluations in the form of written or spoken praise or a grade above 90% on written assignments. Negative teacher evaluations were interpreted as signalling students had made insufficient "effort" and investment on the programme. In response to negative evaluations, participants aligned their choices to the ideal recommended by their teacher, such as seeking support from peers and their teacher or spending extra time revising their writing. For instance, when Chihiro, Yuri and her friends are "shocked" by the low grade their teacher Mike had given on one of their assignments, they arranged to discuss and rewrite their essays together for the first time (see Chapter 4). Similarly, despite earlier discounting advice from a peer, Masahiro, when Usami received a poor evaluation from Jim, her choice was to seek support from her senpai, Hirano. This indexed her desire to invest in idealised GP practices, as she believed that seeking support from her network could realise her goal of a high grade and positive comments from her teacher. Thus, teachers were seen as mediators of an aspirational GP identity, and participants believed that successful realisation of this identity was communicated by teachers' written and oral comments.

Capitalising on access to non-class interactions mediated the students' negotiation of competent GP identities. Participants developed their sense of competence through comparing themselves to peers and empathising over difficulties in the GP. In short, impromptu discussions, usually face-to-face but sometimes online, students compared each other's writing based on criteria such as length, level of detail

or use of evidence. In these micro-level interactions, participants emphasised the difficulties they felt in meeting teacher expectations, showing it was "not only me" who felt anxiety about teacher evaluations and the demands of the programme (Tomomi, interview, 23.5.16). Of course, not all participants had access to such opportunities to develop their competent GP identities. Yoko's capitalising on her access was initially constrained by an identity as a less-competent writer of academic English; however, her leveraging of resources, including the opportunity to reflect on her practice in our interviews, mediated her construction of a competent identity as a member of a small group of friends which further bolstered her belief in her capacity in the GP and in writing in general. The key practice of her "Yabai" group was sharing difficulties which led to discussions about academic writing.

However, the GP identity was not owned by Jim and other teachers but was relationally co-constructed across networks, so practices which were dis-preferred by teachers could be re-indexed anew. Teachers became not so much gatekeepers as yardsticks, partly obviating the need for their recognition. For instance, Tomomi redefined "effort" from spending as much time as possible on every assignment to participating "*kouritsu yoku* [efficiently]", realised in her micro-level writing as she spent less time on some assignments and strategically removed sections from essays which she found difficult to revise after feedback. Through her agency, Tomomi was able to separate achieving her goal of recognition from the teacher from engaging in all practices he recommended.

The importance of practices and networks is exemplified by Usami's difficulties in capitalising on access to the GP identity. Initially, Usami drew "confidence" from her network interactions outside the GP to engage in dis-preferred practices similar to Tomomi's, such as discounting peer feedback and revising without consulting her peer editor. However, Usami lacked Tomomi and Yoko's networks of close ties to GP classmates. Thus, when she demonstrated a desire to identify more strongly with the GP later in the year, she could only conform to "Jim's way" of academic writing, rejecting her earlier practices rather than recasting them as pragmatic choices in light of her constraints, as Tomomi did. In short, the students' academic writing practices signalled their identification with the aspirational GP identity, but choices to interaction through network ties mediated re-indexing this identity to encompass practices dis-preferred by their teachers.

Networks were not only a means to access identities relevant to the GP and develop academic writing skills, but many students participated in academic literacy practices to *strengthen these same individual networks of practice*. Such stronger, multi-use ties mediated access to academic support opportunities, but the maintenance of such ties also indexed wider macro-level Japanese cultural values including *giri* and *mentsu*. However, these choices also indexed wider values of gender in Japanese society, as developing stronger network ties was identified by some male participants as a feminised practice. Considering academic literacy practices as strengthening networks expands on existing research in SA settings which has seen the building of network ties as a way to develop knowledge of the preferred (meso) practices of an academic community (Séror, 2008; Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015), or more generally as a way to access (micro) opportunities for language use (Dewey, Ring & Gardner, 2013; Isabelli-Garcia, 2006), but has rarely considered how choices index identifications with people in networks and with macro values. In one sense, participants' choices to seek support from peers signalled the macro-level cultural value of *giri* (see Chapter 5 and above). Often, maintaining harmonious social relations appeared the main purpose of academic literacy choices. For instance, when Aiko's illness prevented her from returning her partner's essay in time, her choice was to meet her partner and "[check] his essay more, more carefully" in order to "apologise" (Aiko, interview, 3.2.17). This choice indexed both her desire to maintain the (meso) social tie and the (macro) value of *giri*, the fulfilment of obligations to others to maintain one's *mentsu*, or positive social image.

The students' academic literacy choices also signalled macro-level gender values (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Norton, 2000). Gender equality is very limited in Japan compared to most other developed nations (Coleman, 2016), and Japanese social relations and language choices are often highly gendered. Learning English has been linked to a feminised form of internationalisation (Kelsky, 1999), suggesting that males are less likely to identify with English than females. Analysis of interview accounts and the makeup of INoPs suggests gender relations pervaded the meso and micro choices and investments of the participants. At the micro level of interview interaction, gender was rarely explicitly signalled by the participants' pronoun choice in interviews or in their written assignments. Nominally male (M) and female (F) interviewees used "he or she" frequently in English to avoid gender when speaking generally about "GP students" and in their written assignments. In Japanese, syntax

does not require the use of pronouns, gendered or otherwise, although the language encodes gender in multiple other ways. However, examination of all seven focal participants' INoPs reveals that networks recreated gender relations in Japanese society, as most strong social ties were to those of the same nominal gender. In addition, some male participants appeared less invested in academic practices they identified as female. I will discuss how gender pervaded micro, meso and macro levels in detail by comparing the academic literacy choices of the male and female participants. These choices about practice demonstrate the constant interaction between macro, meso and micro levels, showing that gender is "an important dimension along which college-age L2 learners and their peers organize their language and the social world" (Diao, 2016, p. 616).

Firstly, female participants like Yoko, Tomomi and Usami all formed their most important ties to females, although Yoko did develop one strong tie to Keigo (M). While Yoko described seeking support from Kai (M) and Shinichi (M), she generally sought affective-academic support from the group of predominantly female "library friends". Female participants engaged in the affective-academic discussions described above to strengthen ties to (usually) female classmates. Even Usami, who was less invested in her GP "studying friend[s]" maintained ties outside the GP to a small group hometown friends enrolled in other GP classes. In contrast, female students were often unwilling or uninterested in approaching male partners for additional support, as illustrated by Tomomi and Yoko's accounts of peer editing with Hiroto (M), Yoko's first-semester peer editing with Kai, and Usami's peer editing with Masahiro (M). Most female participants described interacting with female peer editors and engaging in short and extended discussions with females in their networks. With the exception of Yoko's inclusion of Keigo as one of the "friends in the library", no female participant described a male as a "friend", nor did males describe females as such. Even when female participants described seeking support from males in extended discussions, the interaction was between "GP member[s]" (Yoko, interview, 24.10.16) rather than friends. Although Aiko sought to maintain her social tie to Keigo through supporting his writing, her description of Keigo as a "gentleman" was both gendered and suggesting of social distance when compared to her female "friends in GP class" (interview, 3.2.17). Thus, while female participants did seek support from males, important affective-academic interactions occurred among female classmates.

In contrast, Kokoro's network consisted of a large number of weak ties predominantly to other males. Both he and Masahiro were resistant to my suggestion that they would arrange to meet particular peers to seek academic support and/or strengthen their social ties. Indeed, such practices were explicitly identified by Masahiro as signalling gender. In his account of the EAP Advanced class' non-class interactions (see Chapter 5), Masahiro described male students as having "no borders" and interacting coincidentally at "just occasion to meet". Female students, on the other hand, would "divide the group" (Masahiro, interview, 4.12.16). For instance, when Kokoro did not understand Yoko's comments on his essay (Chapter 4), he had a short discussion with Kenichi (M) who was "just next to me" in the SALC (Kokoro, interview, 18.5.16). He did not appear to recognise Yoko as a potential source of support and his interaction with Kenichi was limited and purely academic. Indeed, in comparison to the female participants, affective or emotional content was largely absent from the accounts of male participants. This was interpreted by female participants as lack of investment in the GP practices of giving detailed comments on writing. Comments given by Masahiro and Hiroto (M) were described by Usami and Tomomi respectively as repeating information given by Jim in English, implying the male peer editors had not invested in the same detailed, Japanese-language feedback given by female students. The females also interpreted males' written feedback as signalling gendered social distance. Tomomi accounted for her choice to not seek Hiroto's support in terms of her inability to relate to him emotionally (Chapter 4), while Usami objected to Masahiro's gendered positioning of himself as teacher and her as student (Chapter 5). Analysis of Kokoro and Masahiro's accounts suggests the female students' interpretations were accurate. Male students identified many of the practices preferred by both the female participants and Jim as feminine and instead relied on discussions characterised as coincidental meetings, focused around improving writing rather than developing stronger affective ties and "dividing" into closer groups of friends.

Thus, the students' micro-level choices were situated within a meso-level context pervaded by macro-level cultural values of gender. Macro-level values in which males and females were not expected to interact or form close (affective) ties influenced micro-level choices to take up access which shaped the context as the meso-level networks of practice. The students typically chose to seek support from those of the same gender, limiting their taking up of access to support from different-

gender individuals and discouraging the formation of different-gender network ties. However, these choices had been shaped by micro-level written and spoken interactions among the students, as females interpreted males' lack of affective involvement as lack of investment in the GP. Some males did not invest in these practices which they identified as feminised, specifically arranged discussions and forming stronger network ties. However, gender values which encouraged female students to form strong affective ties mediated development of support networks and negotiations of identities relevant to academic writing and competent participation in the GP. Macro-level values in which females were expected to form stronger emotional bonds than males were indexed in the micro level of students' written comments, interpretations of these and interactional choices made in response, shaping the taking up of access and thus meso-level networks. While females were usually discouraged from taking up access to support opportunities from males, some males' unwillingness to invest in people and practices appeared to more significantly limit their taking up of access.

In short, the participants' academic literacy choices were meaningful and purposeful. Practices could signal a desire to meet the expectations of a native-speaking English teacher who functioned as gatekeeper or mediator of competent academic-writer identities, expressed through grades and comments to students. Yet, practices were also co-constructed in networks and could take on meanings different from those promoted by teachers but which nonetheless afforded access to identities as competent GP members and writers. As I have emphasised elsewhere in this chapter, access was rarely blocked but rather was not taken up. Taking up of access to micro-level opportunities in networks mediated students' claims to competent academic writer and GP member identities through the remaking of academic literacy practices for new purposes. Conversely, when participants did not take up access, understandings of academic writing and literacy practices were limited to understanding how to meet teacher expectations. The greater individuals' (taking up of) access to opportunities in networks, the greater their ownership of the meaning of academic writing. While the macro-level cultural value of *giri* shaped the taking up of access, wider gender relations pervaded the meso-level social identities of participants, leading to networks which reproduced wider gender relations.

6.4   Summary

The learning trajectories of the participants in my study demonstrate that micro-level agentive choices are situated in meso-level networks as well as sociocultural communities, and that networks are also pervaded by macro-level ideologies and values which shape such choices. I will summarise three main contributions of this chapter.

Firstly, social networks provided potential access to a variety of socialisation opportunities, but the participants often either did not recognise or did not take up this access. While access was somewhat constrained by practical constraints such as living arrangements or working part-time, by and large students *had* access to many opportunities for socialisation through network ties. The pervasive senpai-kohai cultural values which structured interactions among the students and their club and seminar seniors may have constrained their leveraging of non-English specific ties. However, the participants seemed not to recognise that such weak ties could lead to support opportunities. In addition, participants' choices to seek support from their teacher or close classmates rather than weakly-tied others suggests that practices were heavily intertwined with identifications with friends from their EAP classes. Instead of leveraging their many weak ties, most participants preferred to seek support from strongly-tied friends within their same English class.

Secondly, the participants' choices to identify with multiple social groups shaped their taking up of access to and (re)negotiation of identities relevant to English academic writing in the GP. Access to identities as legitimate participants in the GP was not blocked by meso power relations, as shown in English-dominant contexts. Teachers' positioning through written and oral feedback was designed to encourage students to take up of access to identities and practices. Instead, individuals' network-situated social identities shaped their response to this access. For those who had joined *bukatsu* (extracurricular clubs), the macro-level cultural value of *giri* did mediate access to identities relevant to academic writing in the GP. Having chosen their clubs over their English, such students lacked the time necessary to seek and reciprocate support from classmates and fellow GP members and engage in the negotiation of identities relevant to their English academic writing.

While these macro values did shape the choices and identifications of participants not involved in demanding clubs, the choices appeared less constrained, although these choices did not necessarily lead to realisation of desired academic identities. Yoko and Tomomi's choices to identify with "GP friends" mediated their

renegotiation of identities relevant to academic writing. In contrast, Usami's choice to identify outside the GP rather than address problematic social relations to classmates constrained her (re)negotiation of the GP identity and she remained focused on understanding "Jim's way" of writing.

Finally, the academic literacy choices participants made indexed both these multiple identifications and taken-for-granted macro-level ideologies and values. Many of the participants' academic writing choices were aimed at achieving recognition from their teachers which they believed signalled competent GP student and academic writer identities. They engaged in the academic literacy practices recommended by teachers, particularly in response to poor teacher evaluations. At the same time, students also compared their writing and empathised about the difficulties in the GP. This mediate their re-situating of competent GP identities from contingent on a teacher evaluation to accessible through a micro-level network interactions with friends. Teachers did not own the GP identity, but it was relationally co-constructed through these micro-level interactions and thus situated in networks rather than the classroom as community. Drawing on their competent identities developed through network interactions with friends, participants re-situated some academic literacy practices dis-preferred by teachers as those of efficient and competent academic writers.

However, the participants' micro-level choices and social identities situated in their meso-level networks were pervaded by macro-level cultural values. In particular, unequal gender relations in wider Japanese society cut across multiple levels. Although the participants' choices to seek interaction with certain people and respond or ignore their feedback indexed their meso-level identifications with these individuals, these evaluations were gendered. Some male students limited their investment in practices which were identified as feminised, specifically arranging extended discussions to develop multi-use affective-academic ties. Similarly, female participants interpreted the lack of emotional content in male students' written feedback to signal their lack of investment in both the GP and in relationships with their classmates and often chose to limit their interaction with males. As such, the individual networks of practice developed typically reproduced existing gender relations, shaping access to academic literacy socialisation practices and opportunities to negotiate competent identities.

From the above, I conclude that neither the GP nor the EAP classes were *communities* (of practice or otherwise). Rather, students interacted and constructed looser networks of practice within which the GP and EAP existed as node clusters to which individuals identified to varying degrees, contingent on the interplay of agency and access in response to multi-level constraints and opportunities. The learning trajectories of the participants in my study demonstrated that current understandings of academic discourse socialisation/identity construction, predominantly developed through research through research on North American study abroad and immigrant academic contexts, do not fully account for agency and access in much more widespread so-called "EFL" or "preparatory EAP" contexts in which L2 academic communities are diverse and fragmented across social networks. It is necessary to further understand L2 academic literacy as sets of practices situated in meso-level networks, networks which are open to change through agency enacted in micro-level interactional choices. Such choices are both enabled and constrained by the macro-level ideological and cultural values which pervade the meso-level contexts of situated learning. In the final chapter, I discuss the implications of my research for L2 and non-L2 dominant academic socialisation contexts and questions it raises for the broader field of transdisciplinary second language acquisition (DFG, 2016).

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Implications

7.0   Introduction

In this final chapter, I will recap my conclusions and suggest future theoretical and research agendas. Firstly, addressing the three research questions I introduced in Chapter 1, I will recapitulate the main findings of my study. Secondly, treating language socialisation as one discipline within a transdisciplinary field of second language acquisition (SLA), I will discuss the theoretical contributions of my research and raise some questions about current descriptions of second language learning. Thirdly, I will address the limitations of my research in relation to data access and interpretation of interview accounts. Finally, I will conclude with suggestions for further research in the field of L2 academic discourse/literacy socialisation.

7.1   Recapitulation of Findings

In Chapter 4, I chiefly addressed my first research question: *What academic-English literacy practices do learners develop while enrolled on an English for Academic Purposes course?* In answering this question, I considered literacy practices in which students engaged to participate more fully on the programme. Even though many practices involved micro-level revisions to writing done alone, practices were social as well as individual, cognitive processes. GP students oriented towards the expectations of their EAP class teachers by paying close attention to written feedback, classroom talk, and materials provided, including worksheets and sample essays from past students. Students accessed other textual resources such as their classmates' essays and information found online to measure their progress, understand expectations and find content for their essays. Students also accessed personal resources in the form of experiences which could be used as evidence and examples to support their arguments in writing. Personal resources supported the students in other ways, such as boosting their sense of competence or confidence as writers.

Practices indexed by non-class, micro-level interaction with their classmates and others in their social networks were important for the students' academic writing development. These networks provided emotional and academic support during multiple stages of the writing process. Students had brief interactions with classmates, teachers and others to seek academic advice on writing. Some of these interactions also occurred online through social networking mobile applications. They also had longer, face-to-face meetings to discuss writing with strongly-tied classmates who

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were also friends. These meetings were often arranged when participants wanted to understand a friend's written feedback.

The choices participants made to revise their writing were mediated through these personal, textual and network resources. Participants tried to respond to their peers' feedback and meet the expectations of their teachers by writing increasingly long, detailed and well-supported essays. The students tried to avoid dis-preferred practices such as *not changing* writing between drafts in favour of *adding* or *changing supporting details.* This was partly to achieve their goal of longer and more detailed essays and a higher grade from the teacher, but also to signal their investment in the GP. Participants described a greater desire to communicate their meaning to a reader, conceived of as their teacher or classmates, than to maintain syntactic accuracy or lexical appropriacy. Therefore, academic writing is a social process, with academic writing performed through a combination of social interaction and self-reflection but always oriented toward current and future interactions with others.

In Chapter 5, I addressed my second research question: *What is the place of individual networks of practice in development of these academic literacy practices, and how are interactions influenced by the types of social ties to individuals?* In this chapter, I focused on four participants from the EAP Advanced class to consider the relations between their choices in networks of practice and different socialisation trajectories. Responding to the Global Programme identity as promoted by their teacher, participants viewed the development of strong, multi-use ties to classmates as necessary to claim competence as academic writers and member of the Global Programme. Participants' choices were shaped by agency and indexed their understanding of meso-level networks and use of the micro-level interactional opportunities these networks afforded.

All participants had access to opportunities for socialisation at the micro level but did not always capitalise on this access. Tomomi, Usami and Aiko had difficulty in finding the time to interact outside class because of part-time work, club activity commitments and long commutes. However, they often chose not to take up access to opportunities through weak ties to classmates or senpai (seniors). Indeed, Usami and Aiko engaged in practices which strengthened their ties *outside* the Global Programme and did not provide academic writing support opportunities. Although Aiko's choices related to academic English were constrained by her perceived obligations to her club members indexing the macro-level cultural value of *giri*, she also made choices to

fulfil these obligations. Aiko's network remained limited and had ties relevant to academic English were weak.

Tomomi chose to not to capitalise on many network ties, defining her own identity as competent GP member in comparisons and evaluations with these people, paradoxically facilitating her renegotiation of an academic-writer identity but somewhat limiting her engagement with the academic literacy practices she had earlier preferred. Therefore, many ties in Tomomi's network atrophied as the academic year progressed, although she maintained important strong ties.

In contrast, Yoko's choices facilitated her access to desired identities and deepening of her INoP ties. Negotiating and reflecting on her identities and practices in research interviews and using her existing personal and network resources, Yoko renegotiated the aspirational GP identity into one in which practices of studying alone and self-reflection were valued and signalled capacity as a writer. This renegotiated identity mediated her seeking of academic support though weak ties and development of strong ties to a small number of classmates for academic-affective support. While Yoko's network appeared limited, in fact she had strengthened many important multi-use ties. In short, the meso-level situated context shaped the possibilities students perceived open to them at the micro level of interaction with people in their networks. In turn, their different choices in networks shaped and were shaped by (re)negotiated identities and agency.

In Chapter 6, I considered the accounts of the seven participants in light of existing academic socialisation research on agency, access, identities and social networks. I addressed my third research question: *What other factors (such as competing identities, power or access to resources) influence these interactions and the practices that are developed?*, considering the multiple ways in which macro-meso-micro levels shaped choices about networks, identities and practices. It was necessary to understand levels as inextricable, as multiple indexicalities cut across micro-level choices indexing meso-level social identities and the macro-level values of Japanese society and culture. Participants' access to socialisation opportunities was necessarily facilitated and constrained by the possibilities open to them in their social context. Face-to-face interactions were believed necessary to engage in many of the literacy practices described in Chapter 4 and mediate the relationships important to GP. Thus, the access of who those lived off-campus and/or needed to work part-time

was constrained to a degree because they lacked the time on campus to engage in such interactions.

However, by and large, all participants had access to potential opportunities through many network ties to classmates, senpai, teachers and others. Rather, participants appeared to a) not recognise some opportunities and/or b) chose not to take up some opportunities they did recognise. Firstly, recognition that social ties to relative experts (club and seminar senpai) could lead to socialisation opportunities was constrained to a degree by the taken-for-granted nature of macro-level senpai-kohai roles. Senpai were expected to socialise their kohai (including participants in the study) into the rules and obligations of wider Japanese social hierarchies rather than support their academic English writing. Secondly, however, participants also chose not to take up recognised access. Micro-level choices to seek affective or academic support were often pragmatic and returns-based, as the participants sought out individuals who had knowledge of ways of academic writing in the Global Programme, were "good at" aspects of writing, or who could provide objective affective support from outside the programme. However, these choices also signalled the students' multiple identities and identifications. Participants often chose not to take up access to opportunities when they did not identify with individuals, particularly evident in peer-editing interactions between female and male students.

The students' multiple identifications with different social groups shaped their taking up of access and, concurrently, agency to (re)negotiate identities relevant to academic writing in the GP. While teachers in the GP, and Jim in particular, positioned students through their written and oral comments, this positioning was intended to encourage engagement in preferred academic literacy practices rather than block access to the aspirational GP identity. The participants' responses to this positioning and the GP identity were contingent on their (usually L1) network interactions rather than their membership of an L2-speaking class community.

However, other identities shaped the students' understanding of GP and academic writer identities, identities which signalled macro-level ideologies and values. Choices were shaped by the macro-level, Japanese cultural values which pervaded sociocultural communities and networks. The choice to fully participate in *bukatsu* (extracurricular clubs) was also often a choice to identify with the macro value of *giri*, or valuing the fulfilment of obligations to others, which permeated *bukatsu* social cultural communities. While students did not feel pressure to *non-*

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identify with the GP or academic English, fulfilment of their responsibilities as club members led students to prioritise clubs over English or withdraw from the GP entirely. While Aiko's exercise of agency facilitated her renegotiation of the aspirational GP identity to consider herself as a "pioneer", she identified with a more limited understanding of academic writing and the GP than many other participants. Indeed, while *giri* also shaped the choices of participants who were not involved in demanding clubs, their agency to make choices in networks was less constrained, facilitating renegotiation of the GP identity. Having chosen to strengthen network ties in response to positioning and difficulties in the GP, Tomomi and Yoko both drew on networks to renegotiate the aspirational GP identity and claim their own preferred practices as those of competent academic writers. These renegotiations also facilitated their fulfilment of obligations to reciprocate peer support and response to written feedback which index *giri*.

Meso-level social identities and macro-level cultural values were differently indexed in the micro-level choices participants made as they engaged in the shared academic literacy practices described in Chapter 4. As such, academic writing took on different meanings for different participants. The students aligned their academic literacy choices with those of their teachers, engaging in preferred practices such as seeking *extended discussions* or *adding detail,* aimed at achieving recognition from teachers in the form of comments and grades. In this sense, the students considered teachers to be mediators or gatekeepers of successful realisation of the aspirational GP identity. However, competence was also situated in micro-level, non-class interactions, as students compared and empathised around the difficulties of conforming to their teachers' expectations. Participants' network choices could facilitate renegotiation of the aspirational GP identity, as described above, including the re-indexing of dis-preferred literacy practices such as *not seeking support* as appropriate and pragmatic responses to constraints. Crucially, the identities students developed were relationally co-constructed, so meso-level identities shaped and were shaped by micro-level interactional choices. These multiple indexicalities can be illustrated by Usami's academic literacy choices. Her choice not to engage in non-class discussions or approach her peer editor for support indexed her lack of identification with classmates, but also signalled some classmates' choices to maintain a social distance from Usami, choices which themselves had been shaped by her perceived identification with friends outside the EAP Advanced class signal by

"chatting" in class. Yet, as mentioned above, macro-level values also permeated the meso-level context and shaped the choices both made and available at the micro level.

In particular, Japanese gender relations functioned as taken-for-granted ideologies which shaped micro-level academic literacy choices. Male students' lack of investment in certain practices indexed their belief that these were inherently female. Similarly, female participants often chose not to seek support from male peers whose written feedback lacked emotional content or invoked unequal gender relations in which males were expert-teachers and females novice-students. With some notable exceptions, the macro gender values shaping these choices remained hidden, revealed only in the participants' interview accounts and the makeup of their INoPs.

In summary, participants' socialisation trajectories show that socialisation into identities and practices as academic writers indexes multiple indexicalities across levels. In contrast to much research on academic literacy socialisation in English-dominant contexts, access to socialisation opportunities which mediated the renegotiation of identities was not "blocked" by those in power but was shaped by the participants' choices to take up access in meso-level networks. The students in the GP were not marginalised but had many choices, as they participated as L1-speakers in an L1-dominant, Japanese context. Thus, my research suggests that studying so-called EFL contexts calls into question the notion of dominance. Instead of hegemonic macro-level ideologies indexed in positionalities of the "native speaker" or "ESL student" which shape the possibilities open to individuals in the situated context, my participants' renegotiation of identities and seeking out micro-level opportunities was mediated by Japanese cultural values including gender and social obligation. Moreover, the inextricability of these multi-level indexicalities had to be understood through accounts of network interactions outside the classroom.

Although I have focused on the local social context rather than the imagined English-speaking communities in which the participants desired to eventually participate, I believe the strong identities as competent writers of academic English that many developed transcended their participation in their local, Japanese university context. Although the research context did not conform to typical understandings of English-speaking academic communities as existing in physical institutional spaces or in a wider professionalised academy accessed through publications and presentations, nonetheless their trajectories represented all the complexities of academic literacy socialisation.

7.2   Theoretical Contributions and Questions

Firstly, as mentioned above, my study further demonstrates that so-called EFL contexts are sites rich for research in (academic) language socialisation, despite the recent dearth of research. In contexts like mine, (academic) language socialisation approaches can illuminate relations between concurrent processes of first and second language or culture socialisation. In my study, resources and social ties accessed through the L1, such as knowledge of Japanese academic writing, and ties to family, classmates and friends, supported learners' L2-English socialisation. Conversely, prior and concurrent socialisation into Japanese cultural values, specifically senpai-kohai relations, *giri* (social obligation) and gender which were embedded in meso-level structures both afforded and constrained access to English socialisation opportunities and realisation of identities as competent academic writers in the programme. Considering L2 socialisation in an L1-dominant context facilitates a picture of learning language and culture as shaped by the indexicalities of local, L1 context.

The methods I used to access and analyse participants' non-class interactions also contributed to theorising of L2 academic socialisation. While many studies have used discussions of participants' writing as a focus for interviews, structuring my interviews around participants' smartphone photographs co-opted them in the research process. This method privileged the participants' agency to dictate conversational directions and revealed important interactions which otherwise would have been lost. In addition, my use of membership categorisation analysis (MCA) to analyse interview data shows the approach can deepen understanding of network ties/social choices as bound up in shared assumptions about society and culture which are constructed moment-by-moment in interviews. MCA illuminated what the interviewees and I considered common-sense ways of evaluating others and assumptions about social relations between students or friends. These methods illuminated new facets of academic language and literacy socialisation.

I also further demonstrated that the framework of individual networks of practice (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015) is capable of visually representing patterns of interaction in individuals' networks. In terms of the maps themselves, I reduced the numbers of lines in networks, representing multiple ties and clusters through overlapping, Venn-like coloured ovals. As well as being less visually intimidating, these refined INoP maps represent some dimensions of the networks "at a glance". For

instance, rather than counting lines and tracing them to nodes and clusters, viewers can more rapidly determine the number of ways in which a node is tied to the core through the number of overlapping colours. In terms of the analysis of the ties in networks, I demonstrated the value in considering both academic and affective support; however, I confirmed the findings of Zappa-Hollman and Duff (2015) that close analysis of accounts, including triangulation with participants' academic writing and close micro-analysis (e.g. MCA) is necessary to understand the relationships between different types of support, different functions of ties and academic discourse socialisation.

However, despite the increasingly-advancing understanding of second language learning represented through the transdisciplinary framework of The Douglas Fir Group ([DFG], 2016) and recent theoretical contributions in response (e.g. Duff, 2019; Ellis, 2019; Larsen-Freeman, 2019; Ortega, 2019), some difficulties were revealed in applying current theories to network-based socialisation in a non-English dominant context. In the remainder of this section, I will raise some questions of the portrayal of SLA by the DFG (2016) in relation to the interaction of agency and structure. My research suggests that greater attention to the relations between *and within* levels would benefit future understandings of second language learning.

Firstly, how are meso sociocultural communities and macro ideological structures open to change? DFG emphasise that levels exist in constant interaction with each other, constantly changing as a result. However, the descriptions of interactions between these levels appear somewhat "top down". DFG (2016) describes "facets" and "factors" which mediate learning. However, the description of macro-level cultural values or sociocultural communities as factors which mediate/influence learning implies a separation between language learning and the social context. While this is not intended by the authors, it can be interpreted as a downwards conflation of agency and structure in which structure is pre-eminent (Carter & Sealey, 2000). Language learning could thus be understood as a process in which individuals are influenced by outside forces to greater and lesser extents but do not enact change on these forces. Micro-level contexts are seen as "shaped by" sociocultural institutions and communities which "affect the possibility and nature of persons creating social identities in terms of investment, agency, and power" (p. 24). Similarly, while meso-level sociocultural communities "shape and are shaped by" macro-level ideological structures, how these meso and macro structures are shaped would benefit from

greater clarity. Larsen-Freeman (2019) argues processes of iteration and co-adaptation can transform structure through change and adaptations inherent in repetition, but she does not situate this emergent agency within the three levels of the DFG schematic. My analysis of WTU students' individual networks of practice, theorised at the meso level, demonstrated agency can effect changes to these networks, as networks may be more malleable than bounded communities (of practice or otherwise). Although my analysis did not consider how micro and meso levels shape macro structures, I suggest that beginning from consideration of networks rather assuming the existence of well-defined and/or bounded communities could account for changes to the meso-level situated contexts of learning and, potentially, macro-level ideologies.

Secondly, how are (meso-level) social practices relevant to the multiscalar levels, in particular as aspects of meso social identities? At the meso level, I suggest the DFG schematic exhibits a degree of central conflation (Carter and Sealey, 2000), in which the *intra*-level relations between, for example, identity, agency, power and social networks and communities warrants further attention. Duff (2019) drew on the LS notion of indexicality to represent interactions between levels, but the majority of her examples (in contrast to her earlier work [Duff, 1995, 1996, 1997]) consider factors which shape micro-level choices. In its current form, the schematic does not fully address language as social practice (Barton & Potts, 2013) by showing how meso level identities and practices are mutually-constructed at the meso intra-level. While DFG (2016) allude to frameworks such as communities of practice and individual networks of practice, chiefly they refer to language learning in terms of micro-level "linguistic practices" (p. 32) rather than meso-level social practices. By analysing accounts of micro-level revisions to written texts and interactions, I revealed that (sometimes similar) micro-choices are aspects of meso-level practices. These practices themselves index identities, agency, power and communities and networks, but I found it difficult to account for these intra-level relations through applying the DFG framework. Theories may benefit from attention to understanding of meso-level social practices to understand how individuals deploy micro-level semiotic resources differently, and what is indexed by these choices.

Finally, what is the place of texts in the macro-meso-levels? DFG's schematic is scalable from the individual interacting with others to wider communities and to finally societies and cultures as a whole. Individuals engage in face-to-face (or online, such as chats and video calling) interactions with others at the micro level situated

within meso-level communities by employing social identities while wider macro-level ideologies afford and constrain the possibilities open in these multilingual contexts. However, there are few mentions of written, *a*synchronous forms of interaction, namely texts produced through writing or online communication. Drawing on Layder (1997), Carter and Sealey (2000) locate texts at the level of *social settings*, described as the structure or context in which interaction occurs (in DFG's terms, the meso level). Texts emerge from authors' engagement with language but are "irreducible to either of these elements and possess properties and powers which are partially autonomous of them and capable of exerting influence in their own right" (p. 8). To use Larsen-Freeman's (2019) terms, texts have (nonhuman) agency to act on the social world. In my research, micro interaction occurred both between individual and the person who had made the comments, and between individual and the text itself. For instance, as my participants' made micro-level choices to revise their writing in response to written peer and teacher comments, they interpreted written comments from the peers and teachers as indexing social identities and macro ideological structures, responding to these indexicalities in the same way as in face-to-face interactions with others. These interpretations and responses in turn shaped the participants' micro-choices to interact in networks and thus shaped the meso-level context of their learning. Thus, the DFG framework may benefit from greater attention to the place of texts in language learning by considering texts at the meso level, possessing agency.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

In this section, I will address some of the limitations of my study. Firstly, while I made efforts to position myself as researcher rather than teacher, nevertheless I had been working for several years on the Global Programme at the time of conducting the research. My position of power as GP teacher could have discouraged the participants from criticising their teachers, classmates or GP practices, or giving accounts in which the interviewees themselves were cast in a "bad light". However, this was mitigated by the longitudinal nature of the study and my affiliating with participants as student-researcher rather than teacher through a sympathetic attitude and use of Japanese. In addition, my approach to interviews as data, including my use of membership categorisation analysis, facilitated understanding of how my position

and assumptions as a teacher shaped the flow of interviews. As described in Chapter 5, participants' responses to these assumptions became important data in the study.

In addition, my position and experience as teacher influenced my analysis of participants' accounts. As a graduate of an MA TESOL programme from a North American university, I had been socialised into a pragmatic approach to language teaching in which academic writing was seen as a set of transferable skills and linguistic forms to be taught and learnt, rather than a set of constantly (re)negotiated social practices. However, I was supported by discussions with my supervisors and academic colleagues which facilitated my evolving understanding of academic writing as a social practice. Most importantly, however, the participants themselves socialised me into an understanding of English academic writing as a social practice through their interview accounts by their unexpected responses to my questions, alluding to network choices and emerging identities in response to my pragmatic questions about their micro-level revisions to writing.

The nature of the research itself could have partly dictated the direction of interviews. My asking about non-class interactions and member-checking of networks signalled my interest and assumptions that social network interactions would be important. However, as stated above and exemplified in the accounts in Chapters 4 and 5, participants volunteered accounts of people and networks at unexpected times, suggesting that networks were important to them. Furthermore, while this certainly shaped the flow of interviews, it also had positive outcomes for the students. For instance, as she related in our final interview, my questioning of Yoko's support-seeking practices in networks encouraged her to be more active and reflect more deeply on her practice, facilitating her development of identities related to competence in academic English writing. Despite their difficulties on the programme, Yoko, Tomomi, Usami and Aiko chose to continue in the GP in their second year. I suggest that participation in interviews increased some participants' investment and sense of agency to construct identities and practices within the programme.

Furthermore, the individual networks of practice which I used to represent participants' patterns of interaction among network nodes were limited in some ways. Most notably, although I showed longitudinal changes to Yoko and Tomomi's networks semester-by-semester, it was not practical to show within-semester changes. Partly, this was for reasons of readability; showing change after each interview would have necessitated more than 20 maps. Moreover, reifying messy human experiences

into network maps was difficult. Most interviews lasted less than 60 minutes, during which it was not possible to deal with every node and interaction and discuss when it occurred. Sometimes participants later recalled important interactions, but had difficulty remembering when these had occurred. Indeed, the average of four interviews per semester I conducted would not have been sufficient to locate each interaction temporally as well as within the network unless this had been my sole focus.

However, I do not believe this limitation affected my conclusions. I was concerned with representing participants' emic accounts of networks rather than representing them etically or objectively; the participants choices to recount particular interactions and not others were significant, as exemplified by the different values Aiko, Tomomi and Yoko attributed to their ties to each other.

Finally, ethical and practical constraints meant it was impossible for me to directly observe participants' face-to-face, micro-level interactions outside the classroom. My attempts to access such interactions met resistance from the West Tokyo University Institutional Review Board (pseudonym) and, more importantly, the research participants themselves. Non-class interactions were impromptu and private, although Yoko and Tomomi each provided me with an audio recording of a peer interaction. While I triangulated accounts with multiple other sources of data, nevertheless observing micro-level interactions would have added a further level to my analysis.

7.4   Directions for Further Research

In this final section, I will give some suggestions for further research on academic discourse socialisation and related fields based on the above theoretical contributions, questions and the limitations of my study.

Firstly, a greater focus on academic socialisation in non-L2 dominant contexts is necessary. These contexts represent, globally, most individuals' academic socialisation experiences, yet since the pioneering work of Duff (1995, 1996, 1997), little research has considered so-called foreign language contexts (Alruwaili, 2017; Haneda, 2005, 2007 are notable exceptions), except in terms of EAP programmes' effectiveness in developing skills necessary to participate in academic communities overseas. Such a focus would reduce the current privilege accorded to North American academic contexts in L2 socialisation.

Secondly, research can consider interactions outside classrooms through applying the framework of individual networks of practice. At time of writing, only two studies have applied a version of the framework to language learning. However, as I have demonstrated, a refined INoP framework can represent the many ways in which language learning/socialisation occurs through interaction in networks.

Thirdly, further research could consider innovative ways to access participants' out-of-class interactions. While current research has investigated peer interactions and written feedback, these studies have relied on classroom or "set up" encounters among peers (e.g. Jones, Garralda, Li & Lock, 2006; Villamil & de Guerrero, 1996; Wigglesworth & Storch, 2012; Yang, 2014; Yu & Hu, 2017; Yu & Lee, 2015, 2016; Zhu & Mitchell, 2012). My study has shown that the choice and mode of interaction with a peer is important to understanding what is indexed by such micro-level choices. Therefore, research could attempt to access impromptu interactions or those planned by students outside classrooms. Ways to access these interactions could include the use of mobile technologies and greater engagement with language learners themselves. For instance, my use of learners' own smartphones to take photographs to simulate recall could be expanded to include the widespread video and audio recording functions of smartphones, having participants themselves act as co-researchers. This could also mitigate the implied power relations which may have inhibited my direct access to these interactions.

Finally, with direct access to video and/or recordings of impromptu interactions or those planned out of choice, microanalysis using Conversation Analysis or Membership Categorisation Analysis approaches could illustrate how identities, agency and access are indexed in these micro-level interactions in addition to interview accounts of these. Furthermore, research could consider how learners' revision processes make use of written peer feedback and other semiotic resources moment-by-moment through, for instance, think-aloud protocols. Such data could confirm how meso-level identities and choices about network construction in response to macro affordances and constraints which I have described in this study also shape micro-level cognitive and interactional processes among L2 learners.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Materials for Potential Participants

Lancaster University

Department of Linguistics
and English Language

Help me with my research and get
one-to-one English practice

- Share your experiences
- Help the world understand English learning in Japan
- Make a **contribution** to | **West Tokyo University** |
- Practice **conversation & interviewing**
- **Anonymous** (無名)

I would like to interview you 4-6 times a semester to:
    Discuss your English development
    Discuss your social university experience
I would also like to talk to some of your friends too

If you are interested, please contact:

j.bankier@lancaster.ac.uk

< Or use the
QR code

Thank you!

John Bankier, PhD Candidate, Lancaster University

Appendix B: Interview Procedures and Sample Questions

Note: In some interviews, I followed all four of the below stages. More often, participants would bring up, for instance, an essay draft or peer interaction during Stage 1 or 2 and the interview would proceed from there.

Stage 1: Discussion of photographs participant had taken

- Did you have a chance to take any photos since I saw you last?

Stage 2: Discussion of EAP class in general

- What are you doing in your EAP class now?

- What are you enjoying at the moment?

- What is challenging at the moment?

- Who have you been spending time with recently?

Stage 3: Discussion of latest drafts of assignments or of new assignments

- What have you been writing recently?

- Tell me about the <u>second</u> draft.

- How did you revise the <u>third</u> draft?

- Tell me about your peer editing. / Tell me more about <u>Hikarin</u>.

- Tell me about your teacher's comments.

- How do you feel about the comments/the grade?

- How happy are you with this draft (at any stage)?

Stage 4: Checking of networks

- Have you interacted with anyone else in your network related to English?

- Who have you been spending time with recently?

- Did you see <u>Yoko</u> recently?

- Is anyone missing from this network map?

Appendix C: The Global Programme Advanced EAP Class Writing Process

Model	The teacher presents a model rhetorical pattern
Pre-writing	Students generate ideas within the pattern through free writing and/or discussion in class
Outline	Students produce an outline of their ideas as a homework assignment Students discuss the outline with a partner in a following class
Draft one (D1)	Students produce a first draft of the assignment as homework Students discuss the first draft with a partner in a following class
Draft two (D2)	Students produce a second draft of the assignment as homework During a following class, students are assigned a "peer editor" based on seating arrangements As homework, students read their partner's draft and annotate it extensively with written feedback, "peer editing" Students exchange the annotated draft with their partner, usually outside class
Draft three (D3)	Students produce a third draft of the assignment as homework Students submit the draft to the teacher by email Using a word processor, the teacher gives extensive feedback on the draft and returns it to the student by email
Final draft (FD)	Students produce a final draft of the assignment as homework Students submit the draft to the teacher The teacher returned the draft within one or two weeks including a score and letter grade and handwritten feedback explaining the evaluation

Appendix D: Extracts from Global Programme Worksheets on Unity and Coherence

Essay and Paragraph UNITY

Paragraph **UNITY** means that one paragraph is about ONLY ONE main topic. That is, all the sentences -- the topic sentence, supporting sentences, and (sometimes) the concluding sentence -- are all directly connected to ONE main idea. If your paragraph contains some sentences that are <u>NOT related to the main topic</u>, then we say that the paragraph "**lacks unity**," or that the sentence is "**off-topic**."

Main Idea

⇧ ⇧ ⇧ ⇧

Sentence Sentence Sentence Sentence
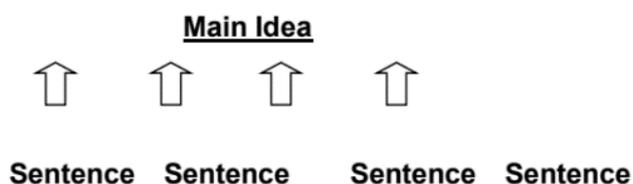
Extract from worksheet "Paragraph and Essay UNITY (Fall Semester).docx"

GEL - Coherence Worksheet

Coherence: The smooth connection between **sentences and ideas** in a paragraph.

Sentence ⇒ Sentence ⇒ Sentence ⇒ Sentence ⇒ Sentence ⇒ Sentence

Three ways to make your paragraph coherent are:

1. <u>Repeat</u> key nouns & use pronouns <u>consistently</u>

2. Use <u>transition signals</u>: Major connectors & minor connectors

3. Your ideas and sentences must be <u>logically organized</u>

Extract from worksheet "COHERENCE worksheet (Fall Semester).docx"

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Appendix E: MCA Transcription Conventions in Chapter 5

I have based these conventions on Fitzgerald and Housley (2015), themselves based on Jefferson (2004). Symbols which do not appear in transcripts have been omitted from this key. Translation conventions are based on Bushnell's (2014) approach to Romanised Japanese in transcripts for the purposes of membership categorisation analysis.

Simultaneous utterances

`and [did] you`	Left square brackets show where overlapping talk starts
`    [yeah]`	Right square brackets show where overlapping talk ends

Continuous utterances

`=`	Equal signs show there is no interval between the end of one term and the start of the next; or that talk is latched

Intervals within and between utterances

`(1.0)`	Numerals in parentheses signify silence (measured in tenths of a second)
`(.)`	A full-stop enclosed in parentheses signifies a micro-pause (less than 0.1 second)

Characteristics of speech delivery

`hhh hah heh`	Laughter
`It is `<u>`not`</u>	Underline signifies marked stress
`NOT`	Capitals signify increased loudness
`ri::ght`	Colons signify stretching of the preceding sound/syllable. Each colon stands for one beat.
`don't th-`	Single hyphen signifies speech cut off abruptly

Intonation contours

`so!`	Exclamation mark signifies an exclamatory fall to suggest surprise, anger or excitement
`so?`	Question mark signifies rising intonation, suggesting a question
`so.`	Full-stop/period signifies falling intonation, suggesting the end of a turn
`so,`	Comma signifies low-rising intonation, suggesting continuation of the turn
↑	Sharp rise in intonation, mid-turn
↓	Sharp fall in intonation, mid-turn

Commentary in the transcript

`((looks for essay draft))`	Double parentheses signify a transcribers' comment, such as a physical action or explanatory comment
`I thought it was meiwaku`	Italics signify talk in Japanese, Romanised for readability
troublesome	Italicised text in another font signifies a translation of the talk directly above it
then (I) opened (it)	Italicised parentheses indicate a word has been added to the translation to clarify meaning

Other symbols

•	Vertical ellipse signifies that a section of talk has been omitted for readability

Non-translated words

A translation has not always been provided for some common Japanese hesitation words to increase readability

nandaro	What's was that? / What?
toka	And such

Appendix F: Informed Content Form (Host Institution)

研究参加への同意書

研究課題名 : Developing Academic English in Japan 2016

私は（研究者名）John Bankier が実施する研究について、説明書を用いて説明を受け、研究計画の意義・目的・方法や、個人情報の保護方法などについて十分理解しましたので、この研究に参加することに同意します。

説明を受けて理解した項目（□にご自分で✓印を入れてください。）

1. この研究について
   - □ 研究の意義、目的、方法など
   - □ 研究成果の公表の可能性
   - □ 収集するデータの種類、収集方法、期間、所要時間など
   - □ 対象者に選ばれた理由
   - □ 予測されるリスク、危険、または不快な状態
   - □ 研究に参加することにより予測される対象者にとって、また社会にとっての利益

2. 個人データの取り扱いについて
   - □ 個人情報の保管・管理方法、廃棄について

3. 研究への参加について
   - □ 研究への参加は任意であること
   - □ 参加に同意しない場合もいかなる不利益を受けないこと
   - □ 同意はいつでも不利益を受けずに撤回できること
   - □ 参加者は説明書と同意書の写しを得ること

4. この研究に関する問い合わせ先

_____

　年　　月　　日

参加者署名　_____

Appendix G: Research Approval from Host Institution

Approval Notice

January 26, 2016

John Bankier

World Language Center

Study Title: Developing Academic English in Japan 2016

Approval No.:

Dear Mr. John Bankier:

Your protocol titled "Developing Academic English in Japan 2016" was reviewed by the Institutional Review Board for Human Research of ▮▮▮ University (IRB). After considering the research in detail, it was fully approved. You are now eligible to start your research at ▮▮▮ University.

If you have any questions concerning this review, please do not hesitate to contact us at

Sincerely yours,

IRB Chair, ▮▮▮ University

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Appendix H: Informed Consent Form (Lancaster)

Lancaster University

Department of Linguistics
and English Language

Consent Form

Project title: *Developing Academic English in Japan 2016*

1. I have read and had explained to me by *John Bankier* the information sheet relating to this project.

2. I have had explained to me the purposes of the project and what will be required of me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to the arrangements described in the information sheet in so far as they relate to my participation.

3. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary. If I withdraw from the project at any time until 7th February 2017, my data will be destroyed and not used in the study. If I withdraw after this period, the information I have provided will be used for the project.

4. I understand that interviews will be recorded.

5. I understand that all data collected will be anonymised and every effort will be made to avoid revealing my identity.

6. I have received a copy of this consent form and of the accompanying information sheet.

Name:

Signed:

Date:

Appendix I: Student Participant Information Sheet

Lancaster University
Department of Linguistics
and English Language

Participant Information Sheet (students)

Researcher: John Bankier

Study title: Developing Academic English in Japan 2016

1. Research outline

Objectives of the study, research design and procedures

The objective of the study is to understand how students learn academic English in Japan. This includes speaking, listening, reading and writing, and I'm especially interested in writing. I want to learn about your experiences in the past and your experiences now while studying at university. I have received permission from ___ University and Lancaster University to conduct this research.

Rationale for selection of the participants

I chose you because you are enrolled in an intensive English program which includes academic writing.

Types of data, data collection methods, data collection period and approximate time

During Spring and Fall semester, 2016, I will:

- Interview you in English or Japanese 4-5 times a semester. Interviews will be recorded and then transcribed.

- Collect copies of your work from your EAP class.

- Ask to meet one or two of the people who help you with your English and talk to them about academic English. E.g. senpai, friends, classmates or club members. I may also ask to visit one of your club or seminar meetings if relevant.

- Visit your EAP class 1-2 times per semester to observe in general.

Possibility of releasing the study results

I plan to publish and present on the results of the research. I will use quotes from our interviews. However, I will remove your name, the name of the university and also change any identifying characteristics.

Any anticipated risks, physical or mental impact and pain

There are no risks to you from the study. Your teacher knows some students in his class are participating in my research. He does not know their names. You can leave the study at any time and your teacher will not be told.

Potential benefits of the research to the participants or society

In Japan, academic English is taught in most universities. However, teachers often don't understand their students'

struggles or why they succeed or don't succeed. This research will help teachers teach better. Taking part in this study will give you some English conversation practice, practice with interviews, and a chance to talk about your learning experiences.

2. Protecting personal information

Methods of storing and managing, and destroying personal information

I will store my data on a network drive which includes password-protected encryption. I will also backup my data online using Box.com through Lancaster (also encrypted). Only I will have access to it. Instead of your real name, I will use a pseudonym (a fake name). If I take notes by hand, I will keep them locked in my office cabinet. Digital copies of your EAP class work (essays, etc.) will be kept on my network drive and hard copies will be kept in my cabinet. Data from the project will be stored for 10 years after its completion.

3. Participation in research

Participation in this research is voluntary. You don't have to take part if you don't want to. You will not be disadvantaged by choosing not to participate in the research.

Withdrawal from research

If you withdraw from the project at any time until 7th February 2017, your data will be destroyed and not used in the study. If you withdraw after this period, the information you have provided will be used for the project. Just let me know if you want to stop your participation in the study. You will receive a copy of the explanatory form and consent form.

4. Contact details

In case of concerns or complaints, participants can contact either my supervisor or Head of Department:

Researcher: Research Supervisor 1:   Head of Department:

Appendix J: Teacher Participant Information Sheet

Lancaster University

Department of Linguistics
and English Language

Participant Information Sheet (teachers)

Researcher: John Bankier

Study title: Developing Academic English in Japan 2016

1. Research outline

Objectives of the study, research design and procedures

The objective of the study is to understand how students learn academic English in Japan. This includes speaking, listening, reading and writing, and I'm especially interested in writing. I want to learn about your approach to teaching academic English and how it relates to your current EAP class. The study has been reviewed and approved by the ____ University and Lancaster University ethics committees.

Rationale for selection of the participants

I chose you because you are teaching on the program from which my focal participants will be drawn.

Types of data, data collection methods, data collection period and approximate time

During Spring and Fall semester, 2016, I will:

- Interview you 2 times a semester. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed.
- Visit your EAP class 1-2 times a semester

Possibility of releasing the study results

I plan to publish and present on the results of the research. I will use quotes from our interviews. However, I will remove your name, the name of the university and also change any identifying characteristics.

Any anticipated risks, physical or mental impact and pain

There are no risks to you from the study. Although you will be aware that some of your students are participating in the study, I will not inform you which students. You can leave the study at any time.

Potential benefits of the research to the participants or society

In Japan, academic English is taught in most universities. However, teachers often don't understand how their students struggle or why they succeed or don't succeed. This research will allow teachers to better understand how to help students in Japan to learn academic English. Taking part in this study will give you a chance to share the perspective of a teacher.

2. Protecting personal information

Methods of storing and managing, and destroying personal information

I will store my data on a network drive which includes password-protected encryption. I will also backup my data online using Box.com through Lancaster (also encrypted). Only I will have access to it. Instead of your real name, I will use a pseudonym (a fake name). If I take notes by hand, I will keep them locked in my office cabinet. Digital copies of your EAP class work (essays, etc.) will be kept on my network drive and hard copies will be kept in my cabinet. Data from the project will be stored for 10 years after its completion.

3. Participation in research

Participation in this research is voluntary. You don't have to take part if you don't want to. You will not be disadvantaged by choosing not to participate in the research.

Withdrawal from research

If you withdraw from the project at any time until 7th February 2017, your data will be destroyed and not used in the study. If you withdraw after this period, the information you have provided will be used for the project. Just let me know if you want to stop your participation in the study. You will receive a copy of the explanatory form and consent form.

4. Contact details

In case of concerns or complaints, participants can contact either my supervisor or Head of Department:

Researcher: Research Supervisor 1:   Head of Department:

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