Becoming a Writer, Becoming a Student: The Pedagogy of Academic Discourse Socialization in a First-Year Writing Course for Non-Native English Speakers

A Dissertation
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Kendall A. King, Adviser

May 2015

Acknowledgements

While the act of writing a dissertation often feels solitary, getting to that point most certainly is not. There are so many who where instrumental in helping me through this PhD journey.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my research participants for making this dissertation possible. I am thankful to Kit Hansen for welcoming me into her class and affording me such a rich research space. I feel lucky to have had the opportunity to not only explore my research interests, but also to have learned so much about teaching. I am grateful to all the students of Kit's FYW for NNES class for allowing me to join them for a semester. I am, in particular, indebted to the five focal students who took time out of their busy schedules to meet with me to discuss their writing and share their experiences with me. It was such a pleasure to not only learn from them, but with them.

I want to thank these members of my dissertation committee for their support over the years: Kendall King, my advisor, for her academic rigor, for always pushing me just a bit more, for her timely and constructive feedback on drafts of all kinds, and for helping me see this through; Martha Bigelow, for being positive and encouraging, and for stretching my thinking in unexpected ways; Mike Anderson, for all the support and teaching and research opportunities (being part of the international student survey study was a real highlight of this PhD experience); and, Elaine Tarone, for the inspiring SLA course so many years ago that compelled me to pursue a PhD, for always being there to support me both professionally and personally, and for all the amazing opportunities that added much richness to this PhD experience.

I want to thank so many friends who helped make this journey enjoyable and who offered so much support whenever I doubted myself. To Kelly, Hanna, Jason, Andie, Beth, I never would have made it through without their support, advice, encouragement, and friendship!

I want to thank C&I, MELP, and CARLA for all the valuable teaching and work experience (and funding!). And a special thanks to Nathalie Blanc and the Laboratoire ICAR-Labex ASLAN for a generous research grant that afforded me dedicated time to work on my dissertation while also networking and being part of valuable and engaging seminars and workshops at the Universite de Lyon in France.

And finally, thanks for my family: to my parents, for always being there, and for the extra babysitting so I could work (and take a break!); to Ruthie, for always being so positive and ready to lend a hand; to Augustin and Violette, for being patient, and for being the best distractions; and to the superhero in all of this, Tom, for everything. Words of thanks cannot even begin to show my appreciation for all the support, encouragement, and patience.

Dedication

To Augustin, Violette, and Baby.

May I help instill in you (as was in me) the confidence to set big goals, the perseverance to see them through, and the humility to ask for and accept help along the way.

Abstract

Higher education institutions (HEI) in the US have experienced sustained growth in the numbers of new international undergraduate students on their campuses over the past several years (Institute of International Education, 2014b). Many of these students are non-native English speakers (NNES) who, despite having high English language proficiency, often face challenges as they adjust to a new academic community (Anderson, Isensee, Martin, Godfrey, & O'Brien, 2012; Leki, 2007; Robertson, Line, Jones, & Thomas, 2000; Spack, 1997; Zamel & Spack, 2004). These challenges extend beyond language and include difficulty in adjusting to new academic discourse practices that are often tacit and deeply cultural. While most HEI campuses offer support to NNES international students in their initial adjustment, many of these resources are brief or optional. However, a possible resource in facilitating the adjustment to being a university student in the US is the first-year writing (FYW) course, which originated in the nineteenth century to help address linguistic and cultural differences among students (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008). Yet, little is known about what actually happens in FYW courses, and no study has closely examined the FYW for NNES course as a site of academic discourse socialization for NNES international students. This study aimed to fill this gap.

Situated in a language socialization (LS) framework, this dissertation research employed ethnographic and discourse analytic methods to collect and analyze data (e.g., classroom observations, audio/video recordings of class sessions, semi-structured interviews with five focal students and the instructor, class documents, and student work)

and understand how *through* language, the instructor socialized students to *use* language and thus, also develop sociocultural competence and understanding. Prior research on academic discourse socialization among NNES students has tended to employ a narrow understanding of discourse and focused primarily on academic speaking and writing. However, by employing a broader understanding of academic discourse to include ways of thinking and being, findings from this study highlight the dual role of this FYW for NNES course in socializing students into valued academic discourse practices about writing and also about being a student in their new academic environment. Findings also demonstrate how the instructor socialized students, ultimately offering them access to their new academic environment, by making values and practices overt, by inviting and immersing students into ways of thinking and being, and honoring her students' academic and literacy backgrounds. Findings also demonstrated student agency in enacting or resisting valued US academic discourse practices.

Insights from this study illustrate the benefits of employing a broader understanding of academic discourse in language socialization research. By not limiting my understanding of academic discourse to speaking and writing, as many LS studies have, this study revealed ways in which this FYW for NNES course was about so much more than academic writing. It also illuminates the potential role that FYW for NNES courses could serve in not only socializing students into valued academic writing practices but also into broader academic discourse practices and values related to being *good* students in the US.

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ESL	English as a second language
FL	foreign language
FYW	first-year writing
HEI	higher education institutions
L1	first/native language
L2	second language/also used to refer to any non-native language
L2S	second language socialization
LS	language socialization
NNES/NNS	non-native English speaker
SLA	second language acquisition
TESL	teaching English as a second language
TESOL	Teaching English to speakers of other languages
IRB	Institutional review board

Chapter 1: Introduction

"Therefore, learning the rules of English composition is, to a certain extent, learning the values of Anglo-American society. In writing classes in the United States I found that I had to reprogram my mind, to redefine some of the basic concepts and values that I had about myself, about society, and about the universe, values that had been imprinted and reinforced in my mind by my cultural background, and that had been part of me all my life." (Shen, 1989)

Background and Rationale

Higher education institutions (HEI) in the US have experienced sustained growth in the numbers of new international undergraduate students[1] on their campuses over the past several years. For instance, in the 2013/14 academic year alone, new international undergraduate enrollment rose by 7.3% from the previous year (Institute of International Education, 2014b). And, between the 2004/2005 and the 2013/2014 academic years, new international undergraduate student enrollment rose from 59,943 to 109,486 (Institute of International Education, 2014b); this represents an 83% increase. While some of these students are from English-speaking countries, many come from countries such as China, South Korea, and Saudi Arabia (Institute of International Education, 2014a), where English is either not widely spoken, or not spoken at all. It can thus be presumed that new international undergraduate students are predominantly non-native English speakers (NNES).

International undergraduate students who apply to study in the US must demonstrate advanced proficiency in English prior to being fully admitted to a four-year university. English language proficiency is often based on scores from tests such as the Internet-based Test of English as a Foreign Language (iTOEFL), the International

[1] International students are identified as being in the US on a student visa (i.e., J-1).

English Language Testing System (IELTS), the Michigan English Language Assessment Battery (MELAB), or other local university language assessment tests. Admitted students who meet minimum language proficiency requirements are generally exempt from taking any English as a second language (ESL) courses.

Despite having high scores on English language proficiency exams, many NNES undergraduate international students still face challenges as they adjust to a new academic community (Anderson, Isensee, Martin, Godfrey, & O'Brien, 2012; Eland, & Thomas, 2013; Leki, 2007; Robertson, Line, Jones, & Thomas, 2000; Spack, 1997; Zamel & Spack, 2004). The challenge of adjusting to a new academic environment is referred to by Bailey (2006) as "academic culture shock" (p. 6). Bailey (2006) explains that international students' "academic culture shock" is likely a result of cultural differences between home and host institutions including student and teacher roles and relationships, expectations for classroom participation and engagement, learning styles and approaches, and academic writing conventions and discourse patterns. For example, both Bailey (2006) and Eland and Thomas (2013) point out that notions of respect and distance between students and teachers, as well as where the responsibility for learning lies, might differ across cultures. They further add that students coming from certain academic environments might be used to a learning style that values memorization and reproduction of knowledge rather than the application of knowledge and development of critical thinking skills. Eland and Thomas (2013) point out that these differences in educational values are often rooted in deeper values of individualism versus collectivism. Finally, not only does academic writing vary from culture to culture, but many argue that

US academic writing is rife with linguistic and rhetorical conventions that are largely tacit and ambiguous (Elton, 2010; Hyland, 2009; Leki, 1995).

Thus, while international students certainly face challenges in using English for academic purposes, their challenges extend beyond language and include an adjustment to culturally rooted academic practices. Jin and Cortazzi (2006) refer to these culturally rooted academic practices as the "culture of learning" which they describe as "the taken-for-granted frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about how to teach or learn successfully and about how to use talk in interaction, among other aspects of learning" (p. 9). They explain that often neither the teachers nor the learners are aware of how their cultural academic practices and expectations are causing possible misinterpretations about what is considered being a good student or teacher (Jin & Cortazzi, 2013).

Many campuses offer resources and programming to help international students adjust to studying in a foreign language (FL) while living in a foreign culture. Andrade's (2006) review of research examining international student adjustment notes the success of HEI programming in helping international students overcome challenges including social and cultural adjustment and academic achievement. Some of these resources include advanced language courses such as academic speaking or writing and English for specific purposes, academic skills courses, comparative education courses, buddy programs, mentoring/tutoring services, cross-cultural counseling, and academic advising. Many of these resources and programs at HEIs are optional, however, and often students are left to navigate them on their own.

Accessing and using available resources can be problematic for some students who might not be aware of all that is available to them. Other students might not see the value of the resources. Understandably, since the demonstration of high English language proficiency is sufficient for the admissions requirement, students might not anticipate the challenges presented by studying in a new academic environment and through a second language. As Cortazzi and Jin (1996) and Fox (1994) discuss, students are sometimes not aware of differences in academic culture and practices across cultures. Even as students begin to face the challenges, cultural differences could inhibit them from seeking professional help for fear of stigma or shame (Eland & Thomas, 2013). Finally, some students might opt to maximize their credit load with required courses in an attempt to complete their degrees as quickly as possible without realizing the different demands of college courses in the US. In sum, there are many reasons for the variation in the types and amount of support international students seek and receive as they adjust to their new academic community.

Many of the resources and support available to NNES international undergraduate students are optional. At many HEIs however, there are a few basic campus-wide requirements of all undergraduate students, regardless of their domestic or international and native or non-native English speaker status. These requirements vary from institution to institution but often include a first-year writing (FYW)[2] course (Fleming, 2011).

The roots of the FYW course are disputed; however, Harvard is commonly

[2] The name of this course varies from institution to institution and includes Freshman Composition and College English (Fleming, 2011).

referred to as its birthplace in many historical accounts of composition in the US (Beaufort, 2007; Fleming, 2011; Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008). The FYW course was developed in the nineteenth century as a way to address the increased diversification of students. This increase was largely due to HEIs moving from being primarily training centers for law, medicine, and the church to offering a broader range of academic disciplines including agriculture and engineering, and from changes in HEI enrollment (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008). Knoblauch and Matsuda (2008) explained that this expansion of disciplines and increased (thus, shifted) enrollment meant that "not every entering student could be assumed to have the kind of linguistic background and experience that traditional native speakers of privileged varieties of English had" (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 6).

While the FYW course was initially meant to help address linguistic and literary differences among nineteenth century HEI students, these differences were likely not of the same nature (or not as extreme) as those existing among today's students. Currently, with increased access to HEIs among both domestic (including NNES resident students) and international students, HEI students are even more linguistically and culturally diverse. As a way to acknowledge and support (or as Matsuda (2006) argues: to contain) the "problem" of the linguistic, academic, and cultural differences of NNES students, many institutions began to offer sections of FYW for NNES students (Matsuda, 2006). These sections fulfill the FYW requirement but are meant to focus on the unique challenges and experiences often faced by many NNES students.

The FYW for NNES course could, however, serve a broader purpose in helping to

socialize students into academic discourse practices beyond US academic writing. This could include socializing students into practices related to being a *good* student at US HEIs and uncovering broader societal values guiding many US academic discourse practices. As Fleming (2011) argues:

> Composition is the only course in U.S higher education that comes more or less untethered to a traditional academic discipline, that doesn't therefore have to introduce students to a particular body of knowledge, that is relatively unburdened by the "content fetish" that characterizes the rest of the academy. (p. 14)

Thus, the course content could, in part, be about exploring different educational systems including the societal values that guide them and the academic discourse practices that reflect them. Fleming (2011) further argues that FYW is uniquely positioned in its "contentless" nature to be a space that focuses "genuinely" on the students and "their opinions, their backgrounds, their hopes and aspirations, their language" (p. 14). This extends the role of the course from helping students with writing, to "becom[ing] full members of their own society without being tyrannized by it" (Fleming, 2011, p. 14). In other words, FYW could be a promising site of academic discourse socialization for NNES new international undergraduate students, where academic discourse practices and their guiding societal values are made overt and students are immersed into new ways of being and thinking, thus granting them access to their new academic community.

Significance of the Study

Recent work on academic discourse socialization has drawn on language socialization (LS) theory to gain a holistic understanding of the socialization processes

experienced by international students as they adapt and adjust (or not) to a new academic environment (e.g., Morita, 2000; Seloni, 2012; Seror, 2009; Vickers, 2007; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). In brief, from an LS perspective, language and sociocultural knowledge are understood to be inextricably intertwined. Thus, LS, as a field, seeks to understand how *through* language learners are socialized to *use* language (and by extension, also develop sociocultural knowledge) in a given community. Much of this research has focused on oral academic discourse. While many studies have examined the experiences of second language (L2) learners in adjusting to various university writing practices (Casanave, 2002; Leki, 2007; Spack, 1997; Wake, 2010), few studies specifically take an LS perspective to do so (a notable exception is Seror, 2009).

Further, many of these studies on second language academic discourse employ a rather narrow understanding of academic discourse. Gee (2008) defines discourse as "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities (or "types of people") by specific groups" or more simply as, "ways of being in the world" (p. 4). Thus, by extension, academic discourse is more than just the "forms of oral and written language and communication" that Duff (2010, p. 175) uses as her definition of academic discourse in her overview of academic discourse socialization.[3] It must also include ways of thinking, behaving, and just being.

[3] Gee makes a distinction between the more narrow and broader understandings of discourse by using capital D (*Discourse*) to refer to the broader understanding of discourse. While I do not make this spelling distinction, as explained, my own understanding of *discourse* aligns with Gee's *Discourse* and Hyland's (2009) definition of academic discourse.

As NNES international students adjust to studying in the US, they must of course learn appropriate ways of speaking and writing, whether for interacting with faculty and peers, giving presentations, participating in class, or writing lab reports, essays, and research papers. However, they must also learn the valued ways of being and thinking like a student which, in line with LS theory, are mediated through language. My understanding, therefore, of academic discourse aligns more closely with that of Hyland (2009) who includes thinking in his definition, "academic discourse refers to the ways of thinking and using language which exist in the academy" (p. 1). Hyland extends it a bit further to align with Gee (2008) and includes behaviors. This extended definition of academic discourse thus includes what Jin and Cortazzi (2006) call the "cultures of learning" which, as described above, reflect the underlying culture guiding academic discourse practices including approaches to teaching and learning (p. 9).

Research Questions and Overview of the Dissertation

To date, few, if any, studies using an LS framework have employed this extended understanding of academic discourse. And none have examined a FYW for NNES course as a site of socialization into this broader understanding of academic discourse. Given the numbers of new undergraduate international students at HEIs each year and the challenges faced by these students as they adjust to their new academic environment, there is a critical need to understand how and where to best support new international students. Given this gap in the research, my work builds on prior work on second language academic discourse socialization by examining the following questions:

1. What academic discourse practices and norms are valued by the instructor in a first-year writing (FYW) course for non-native English speakers NNES?
2. How are students socialized into these practices and norms?
3. What evidence, if any, is there for socialization into these practices among two NNES first-year international students in this FYW course?

To answer these questions, I conducted a semester-long ethnographic classroom study of a FYW course for NNES students. I examined student/teacher interactions, classroom activities, and course documents to better understand what academic discourse practices are valued in this class and how these are communicated to the students. Finally, through interview data and samples of student work and writing, I looked for evidence (or lack thereof) of student socialization into the valued practices and norms. In short, focusing on the role of the instructor as a socializing agent, this study examined three important aspects of socialization, the *what* (What are students being socialized into?), the *how* (How are students being socialized? What are the processes or mechanisms?), and the *outcomes* (Is there evidence of socialization? If so, what?).

Having introduced this study and presented the research questions, the following is an overview of the remaining chapters of this dissertation. In Chapter Two, I describe the theoretical framework of this study. In doing so, I present an overview of LS theory and its application to second language and academic discourse contexts. I also review relevant research in second language academic discourse socialization while offering critiques and identifying gaps in the research.

In Chapter Three, I present the LS methods used in this dissertation. I explain how ethnographic and discourse analytic tools were used as part of the research design, data collection, and data analysis. I also describe the research context, the participants, as well as the data collection and analysis procedures. Finally, I share important personal and professional background and how it might impact me as researcher.

In Chapter Four, I present the findings from my analysis data gathered through classroom observations and audio/video recordings, class documents, student and instructor interviews, and student writing samples. Findings are categorized in two overarching themes: (1) Becoming a Writer and (2) Becoming a Student. I support each of these findings with detailed examples from the data. In doing so, I address each of my research questions.

In Chapter Five, I summarize and discuss the findings while making connections to relevant theory and prior research. I then acknowledge limitations and identify areas of further research. Finally, I discuss the implications of this dissertation and offer final thoughts on the FYW for NNES as an important site of academic discourse socialization.

In brief, as the chapters will illustrate, this dissertation not only extends current theory and research on second language academic discourse socialization, but also contributes much needed empirical evidence of the classroom practices in FYW (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008). Findings serve to better define potential goals of FYW courses for NNES students and contribute to conversations about campus internationalization efforts.

Chapter 2: Setting the Scene

Introduction

This dissertation explores the academic discourse practices and norms valued by the instructor in a FYW for NNES course and how students are socialized into these practices. Essentially, this project uncovers the intertwined linguistic and sociocultural practices of a FYW for NNES course and the ways the instructor socializes student into these practices. Given the essential role of language (written and spoken) in both conveying the class' valued practices and norms and socializing students into those practices, an ideal framework for this research is language socialization.

Language socialization is a perspective on language learning and development heavily rooted in anthropology. From an LS perspective, language is thought to not only mediate, but also be mediated by the sociocultural norms and practices of a given community. Language socialization theory was originally used to examine the connection between a child's language acquisition and the development of the sociocultural knowledge inherent in his/her community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Thus, in its beginnings, LS research closely examined child/caregiver interactions (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). The LS perspective has since been used to examine novice/expert interactions to better understand the intertwined nature of language and sociocultural development among learners of all ages in varied contexts, including for instance, academic discourse socialization of a group of physicists in a higher education context (Ochs & Jacoby, 1997). Bayley and Schecter's (2003) edited book, *Language Socialization in Bilingual and Multilingual Societies* and Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin's

(2011) book, *The Handbook of Language Socialization*, further illustrate the extension of LS research. For example, research presented in Bayley and Schector's (2003) edited book includes Cole and Zuengler's (2003) study examining language socialization and identity construction among ethnically and linguistically diverse high school students in a college-prep program, and Roy's (2003) study examining language ideologies in a bilingual call center in Ontario and how the local variety of French was positioned as substandard thus putting into question many of the employees' bilingual identities.

This chapter provides a brief overview of the evolution of LS theory including its application to second language educational contexts. In addition to this overview, I synthesize research on second language academic discourse socialization in higher education contexts and briefly describe the historical traditions and ongoing debates of FYW, including those sections designed for NNES students, at HEIs in the US. The following review illustrates the gap in second language academic discourse socialization research that largely overlooks the role of FYW for NNES (a commonly required course of all undergraduate students in many HEIs) in socializing international undergraduate students into their new academic environment.

What is Language Socialization Theory?

The goal of LS is to understand the role of language in the process of an individual becoming a competent member of a particular group. This views language acquisition and development through the dual aims of learners *being socialized to use language* and *being socialized through the use of language* (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Drawing on anthropological, sociolinguistic, sociological, and psychological perspectives

and merging ethnographic and discourse analytic methods, LS research aims to gain a holistic view of language development (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). This includes examining the language used for developing the "social and cultural knowledge and sensibilities" of a given community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011, p. 1) and the process by which learners gain membership and legitimacy in that community (Duff, 2007).

Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin founded the field of LS in the 1970s and early 1980s. They were dissatisfied with the then current trends in first language acquisition research that tended to ignore sociocultural contexts and the research on socialization that ignored the role of language (Garrett, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Schieffelin and Ochs thus decided to draw on the strengths of each of these traditions in their work and "bridge these academic divisions" (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008, p. 3). They understood socialization to be "an interactional display (covert or overt) to a novice of expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting" (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). Their work focused on child/caregiver interactions to examine how children were socialized into becoming competent members of their community in terms of language, culture, and values (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). Their research sought to understand how *through language* children were socialized to *use language* (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Duff (2010b) further explains Ochs' perspective of LS:

> As learners gain knowledge of language and an ability to participate in new discourse communities by using language appropriately, they gain various other kinds of information or cultural knowledge about ideologies, identities or

> subjectivities, affective orientations, linguistic and nonlinguistic content (history, mathematics) and practices valued by the local community. (p. 173)

Thus, from an LS perspective, the development of language as well as sociocultural knowledge are tightly intertwined and even mediated by one another.

Critics have argued that the term socialization suggests a one-way, uncontested process. However, Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) emphasize that the socialization process is "promoted but not determined by" (p. 4) a more knowledgeable person and that learners or novices have agency to resist, enact, or hybridize valued linguistic and cultural practices. Ochs and Schieffelin (2008, 2011) also highlight the potential bidirectional process of LS where novices become the socializing agents. Ochs (1986) gives the example of children socializing members of their family into the roles of parents or siblings or into appropriate ways of interacting and behaving with school or peer groups.

Because LS theory involves understanding how the various settings and interactions that a person encounters help shape his/her experiences of becoming a member of a given group, a key aspect of LS research is that it typically employs methods that enable researchers to examine everyday life. For this reason, ethnography is an important part of LS research. According to Garrett (2008), other features of traditional LS research include a longitudinal study design, field-based data collection with analysis of naturalistic audio or audio/video data, and micro and macro levels of analysis (p. 194-195).

Since its original application to first language development research, LS theory and methods have evolved and been applied to a much wider range of learners and contexts. While LS was always viewed as a life-long process, its application to examine learners or novices of all ages in a variety of settings, including schools, classrooms, and workplaces is more recent and thought be part of a "second wave" of LS theory and research (Bronson & Watson-Gegeo, 2008, p. 46). Ochs and Schieffelin (2008) explain this expanded application of the LS perspective in their historical overview of the theory:

> Language socialization transpires whenever there is an asymmetry in knowledge and power and characterizes our human interactions throughout adulthood as we become socialized into novel activities, identities, and objects relevant to work, family, recreation, civic, religious, and other environments in increasingly globalized communities. (p. 11)

This extended second-generation LS research is becoming a widely influential approach within the field of second language acquisition (SLA).

Extending Language Socialization Theory: Second Language Socialization

One fruitful area in which the LS perspective has evolved is in its application to the field of SLA. Emerging as an approach to SLA only since the 1990s, second language socialization research (L2S) examines individuals who are learning the sociocultural practices and values of a new community while also learning the language of that community. This attention to sociocultural practices and group membership highlights the social turn in SLA and a focus that extends beyond an individual's cognition and development of linguistic forms.

Language socialization theory offers the field of SLA an approach that tries to bridge the social and cognitive divide in understanding and explaining second language acquisition. Duff and Kobayashi (2010) further explain that:

> Because L2 socialization research brings together an analysis of social, cultural, and cognitive dimensions of situated language learning, it is highly compatible with a *sociocognitive* perspective that considers the cognitive and the social to be intricately interwoven and mutually constitutive. (p. 76)

The central tenet in LS, that language development mediates and is mediated by the development of cultural and social knowledge and practices, maintains in L2S research. The added complexity of L2S is that both children and adults arrive at this new learning situation with a repertoire of linguistic and cultural practices of at least one other group or community. Because of this, Duff (2007) also explains that gaining membership to a new group as an L2 (versus L1) learner is often even more challenging in terms of access, acceptance, and learner motivation. These challenges generally arise from the learners themselves, but also from the community members or those thought to be the socializing agents. Duff (2007) adds, for example, that motivated learners could (intentionally or not) be denied access to group membership or they might experience personal conflict in becoming full members of a given group.

While L2S research has examined various contexts and learners, the bulk of L2S research takes place in educational contexts. In the section that follows, I first explain second language academic discourse socialization and then review key studies on academic discourse socialization among L2 learners in higher educational contexts.

Finally, I identify limitations and gaps in the research that this dissertation study aims to address.

Research in Second Language Academic Discourse Socialization

Maintaining the traditions of LS theory, Duff (2010) explains that academic discourse socialization aims to answer such questions as:

- How do newcomers to an academic culture learn how to participate successfully in the oral and written discourse and related practices of that discourse community?
- How are they socialized, explicitly or implicitly, into these local discursive practices?
- How does interaction with their peers, instructors, tutors, and others facilitate the process of gaining expertise, confidence, and a sense of authority over those practices over time? (p. 169)

This departs from earlier work that focused on defining academic discourse and how it should be taught to students, and focuses more on the processes of socialization (Duff, 2010b; Morita & Kobayashi, 2008).

As the students in HEIs have become increasingly culturally and linguistically diverse, there has been a recent interest in understanding the experiences of second language learners as they adjust to and are socialized into their new academic community and its discourse practices. In this section, I review studies that illuminate the processes by which L2 students are socialized into various academic discourse practices. Notably missing from this review and from the research in general, are studies that examine more

broadly how or where international students are socialized into their new academic community, not just specific academic discourse practices of particular classes or disciplinary activities.

One exception however, is an early study exploring LS in the post-secondary context, was Poole's (1992) examination of the cultural messages displayed through the teacher's interactions in two beginning ESL classes. Drawing on Ochs' and Schieffelin's LS theory and methods, Poole's (1992) ethnographic classroom study used transcript data for the basis of the analysis. In her examination of teacher/student interactions, Poole (1992) uncovered how, through teacher scaffolding and student/teacher co-construction of sentences or propositions, students were implicitly socialized into several cultural messages. These messages were that teacher or expert assistance is common and appropriate and that guessing the mental state or opinions/ideas of others is fair game. In other words, despite instructor scaffolding, students often were credited for their success, and it was implied that co-constructing and finishing or extending one another's sentences/thoughts is appropriate. Poole (1992) also illustrated how, despite efforts by the teachers to suppress overt student/teacher power asymmetries, there were clear implicit messages that the teachers were still in control and maintained a certain level of power.

The classroom interactions observed by Poole (1992) served as a mechanism for imparting classroom values and beliefs, but they also potentially served to socialize students into larger academic discourse norms and cultural values. For instance, US academic culture tends to value cooperative, participatory, interactive learning and a

more flexible student/teacher power dynamic, where student voice and preference is often considered (Eland, Smithee, & Greenblatt, 2009). Thus, the local routine interactions of the classroom reflected these larger macro societal values.

Poole's (1992) study focused on *what* students were potentially socialized into and *how*, but revealed little about the participants themselves. Questions left unanswered include what the teachers' stated beliefs and values were, and whether their cultural messages and interactional patterns were intentional. We also do not know anything about the students' uptake or perceptions. As discussed in the review of LS theory above, simply presenting sociocultural knowledge, whether implicit or explicit, does not entail socialization. Nonetheless, the study illustrated how routine classroom interactions can carry important cultural and social information and points to the ESL classroom and the teachers as important sites and agents of broader academic discourse socialization.

In another study examining *what* students are socialized into, Morita (2000) explored the sociocultural values promoted in two graduate courses of a Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) program. Morita's (2000) study however, extended beyond uncovering values and cultural messages but also sought to understand the goals for the courses' oral academic presentations, the nature of the students' discourse socialization, and the outcomes from the students' perspective. To do so, Morita (2000) employed standard LS ethnographic methods including participant observation, audio recordings and transcriptions of student oral presentations, and interviews.

Unlike Poole's (1992) study, where the values were embedded implicitly in the nature of the interactions, Morita (2000) identified course values and oral academic presentation goals through explicit comments in interviews with the instructors. Through the interviews, Morita (2000) was able to uncover the intentions guiding the instructors' pedagogical decisions. Instructors also shared their valued expectations and practices explicitly with students through their assignment instructions, by giving students sample/template language, and by demonstrating an oral academic presentation for the students. In the interviews, students in Morita's (2000) study noted the importance of interactions with their peers, the sub (or preparatory) activities, and observation of other presentations in their socialization process. Thus, Morita's (2000) findings extended the locus of socialization from routine student/teacher interactions to include activities, observation, and peer interactions.

As discussed above, even students wanting to become socialized into the norms and practices of their new community are not always able to do so, or do so in a hybridized way (Duff, 2007). Through the interviews, Morita (2000) discovered some of the challenges faced by the NNES students in engaging in these presentations. Students cited differences between home (L1) academic discourse practices and expectations and those of their new academic community, a common challenge faced by international students in their new academic settings (Eland & Thomas, 2013). While students were able to identify the valued practices of giving and engaging with oral academic presentations, they did not always know how to take them up or enact them. Students were also conflicted by their various other discourses and identities (experienced teacher

in native country, novice graduate student in L2 community, etc.). Finally, some students, to greater or lesser degrees of success and acceptance, intentionally opted to deviate from the prescribed norms of the target community and came up with their own hybridized practices.

Morita's (2000) study is important in that, like Poole (1992), the role of instructors as socializing agents and the classroom as a site of socialization was highlighted. But Morita's (2000) study also pointed to the important role of peers as socializing agents and learning activities as socializing events. This demonstrates the value in moving beyond close examination of traditional novice/expert (and in particular student/teacher) routine interactions in LS research. Finally, by employing more robust methods, Morita (2000) was able to gain a more *emic* perspective and better understand the instructor intentions and student perceptions of the socialization process.

An earlier study that also offered important student perspective on academic discourse socialization, is Spack's (1997) longitudinal case study following Yuko, an undergraduate student from Japan. Though not framed specifically in LS theory, the study used a longitudinal (three-year) qualitative case-study design that included interviews, classroom observations, and text analysis. In trying to understand Yuko's experiences in her academic discourse socialization in the US, Spack (1997) took into account sociocultural factors, Yuko's personal and educational background, and her interactions with faculty and course-related texts in examining Yuko's academic discourse development. The focus was less on tracing specific development and more on understanding the struggles and successes in the socialization process.

Despite having a high level of English proficiency, Yuko had difficulty adjusting to the demands of her academic courses. While the cognitive demands of doing academic work in a second language certainly contributed to the difficulties Yuko faced, Spack (1997) learned how Yuko's Japanese cultural and educational background challenged her ability to fully adopt the academic discourse practices in the US. Similar to the students in Morita's (2000) study, Yuko experienced an inner conflict of "competing discourses" (Canagarajah, 1993, as cited in Spack, 1997, p. 15) between her Japanese student self and her US student self. But she also intentionally resisted socialization into certain practices. Yuko explained this in a journal entry she wrote for one of her classes: "And certainly there are things that I don't want to get used to or be 'Americanized'" (p. 15). This aligns with LS theory about learner agency in any socialization context, where learners are active participants in the socialization process and can chose to enact or resist various valued practices.

Like the students in Morita's (2000) study, Yuko seemed to be aware of many of the valued discourse practices, but for various reasons could not or would not enact them—at least not initially. By the third year of the study, Spack (1997) and Yuko herself noticed Yuko's development and confidence in engaging in academic discourse practices in general and academic literacy (reading and writing) in particular. Both Spack (1997) and Yuko credited ongoing practice with the very activities and discourse practices Yuko tried to adopt. Spack (1997) also noted the importance of Yuko's interactions with instructors and classmates in the construction of her linguistic and sociocultural knowledge about her new academic setting. This study, similar to Morita's

(2000), revealed the importance of not only socializing agents but also socializing events or activities. These studies suggest that by engaging in socializing events or activities, learners are able to "try on" new discourse practice and negotiate the socialization process. They also point to the importance of exploring sites where socialization into broader discourse practices is taking place. Morita's (2000) study does this to a certain extent but focuses specifically on oral presentations and Spack's (1997) study does not offer insight into what is happening in any specific class. Thus, there is a need to understand how classes such as FYW for NNES might serve to socialize students into broader academic discourse practices.

Also highlighting the important socializing role of engaging in a relevant task or activity was Vickers' (2007) study examining the out-of class senior capstone project meetings of a group of electrical and computer engineering (ECE) undergraduate students. Vickers (2007) gathered field notes, audio recordings, and video recordings for the team's seven meetings related to their engineering project, and conducted a close analysis of the team interactions. Similar to Morita (2000) and Spack (1997), Vickers (2007) sought to understand the students' perceptions of these interactions. To do so, Vickers (2007) conducted "playback sessions" where she met with each student and played back portions of their team meetings asking them to annotate and give commentary on what they considered successful and unsuccessful instances of communication.

Vickers (2007) considered the small team of six students (five domestic NES students, and one international NNES student) a community of practice (Lave & Wenger,

1991) where the participant structures placed students as core or peripheral members of the team. Although the novice/expert roles of the team were locally constructed, the participant structures reflected the communicative norms of the ECE professional community. Thus, by participating in the team project, the students were not only socialized into discourse norms of the small group, but also those of the wider ECE academic and professional community.

An additional socializing experience for many ECE students was their professional internship where, by being immersed into the professional work world, the students learned the discourse norms of the professional ECE community and how to communicate in ECE teams. This professional experience in turn, helped students gain legitimacy in their academic setting and project teams. However, due to visa regulations, international students were often left out of this experience, thus challenging their ability to gain legitimacy and core membership among the members of their project team; the NNES international student in Vickers' (2007) study was acutely aware of this. The lack of access to a key socializing process illustrates the claim that in L2S, for various reasons, L2 learners often do not have the same kind of access or acceptance as L1 learners to their new communities (Duff & Talmy, 2011).

Despite lacking access to a professional internship, the NNES international student in Vickers' (2007) study did manage to gain core membership in his project team. He did so, in part, with the support of the two core members who helped him co-construct appropriate contributions to the team. While this student was denied access to an important socializing activity, some of his team members served as critical socializing

agents in accepting him and helping him gain core status on their team. This study helps further illustrate the complex nature of socialization and the multitude of players and variables in the process, particularly for L2 learners.

Similar to other studies (e.g., Morita, 2000; Spack, 1997), Zappa-Hollman (2007) found that despite high English language proficiency, the academic discourse socialization process was especially challenging for L2 learners. Like Morita (2000), Zappa-Hollman (2007) focused on the activity of oral presentations among NNES international students. Unlike Morita (2000) however, Zappa-Hollman (2007) did not focus on the oral presentations of a specific program, but rather, she examined the participation and socialization of six NNES graduate students into the oral presentations in various courses across the curriculum.

Through observations and interviews with the students, Zappa-Hollman (2007) learned that many of the challenges faced by the NNES international were sociocultural, and thus highlighted the intertwining of language and sociocultural knowledge development. Students discussed the challenge of adjusting to differences in home (L1) and host (L2) academic culture in the approaches to and understandings of giving academic presentations. Evoking Heath's (1986) early work illustrating how home literacy practices might align with the valued academic discourse practices of early elementary school, one of the NNES international students in Zappa-Hollman's (2007) study aptly commented during an interview on how students (including herself) had been socialized into their respective academic discourse norms from a young age:

> We are not trained to do presentation. So, basically, many of us don't have language, the language expression. [. . .]'Cause – in America or Canada – I heard the children student are encouraged – to speak out from childhood? So, yeah [. . .] I guess they're get used to express their thinking orally? Much more than Japanese. (p. 471)

While some students tried to overcome these differences and enact local (L2) norms, others resisted and adhered to the home (L1) practices of oral academic presentations with which they were familiar.

Another challenge faced by the L2 students in Zappa-Hollman's (2007) study was the overwhelming lack of socializing agents. While the students benefited from socializing activities such as observing, preparing for, and giving academic presentations, the lack of support from others made the process more difficult. In fact, one instructor, in talking about supporting the NNES international students' language related to the presentations, told the researcher in an interview "this is beyond what we can do" (Zappa-Hollman, 2007, p. 479). Despite this lack of support, Zappa-Hollman (2007) discovered that the students had many coping strategies, illustrating their awareness of the valued norms and desire by some to adopt the practices.

With the exception of Spack (1997), who focused on the adjustment to academic speaking and writing more broadly, the above studies focused on socialization into oral academic discourse practices. Research focused on academic writing development has acknowledged the socially situated nature of writing and the important role of social context and thus have used qualitative approaches to research L2 writing; however, few

studies have examined second language writing explicitly from an LS framework. Thus, the majority of the following studies employ a variety of other methods and frameworks to help understand the process of learning to write for academic purposes in a second language.

In a longitudinal study case study, Leki (2007) followed four NNES undergraduate students over the course of three to five years to try to understand their experiences as they adjusted to literacy demands across the curriculum. In trying to understand what factors contributed to writing development across the curriculum, Leki (2007) pointed broadly to the importance of ongoing writing practice, which helped develop confidence and increased familiarity with disciplinary content and jargon. This is similar to the studies discussed above that showed the importance of practice and socializing activities.

The students in Leki's (2007) study also benefited from feedback on their writing, illustrating that instructors or writing center staff served as important socializing agents and that their interactions, both written and spoken, offered crucial socializing processes. Leki (2007) further noted that feedback was most helpful when there was something concrete to react to and a need to revise for a final draft. Leki (2007) made a distinction however, between unsolicited feedback, which professors provided to students as they saw fit, and instances where students sought out feedback on specific aspects of a writing assignment. Leki (2007) claimed the latter was the most useful for students. It is possible that solicited feedback resulted in dialogue and negotiation of meaning whereas in the unsolicited feedback, students were left to their own devices to interpret (or ignore)

feedback. This echoes the findings of an earlier study by Goldstein and Conrad (1990) that analyzed the interactions of writing conferences. Goldstein and Conrad (1990) found that in conferences where students took an active role in topic nomination and questioning there was more negotiation of meaning and eventually more successful revisions on written assignments.

In a more recent study examining feedback on writing from an LS framework, Seror (2009) analyzed the feedback that five NNES international undergraduate students from Japan received on writing assignments across the curriculum. Over the course of eight months, Seror (2009) interviewed the students and their instructors, collected writing assignment guidelines, and gathered students' written work and any feedback they received. Seror (2009) found that students and instructors aligned with what they considered ideal feedback. Both groups highlighted the importance of detailed, timely feedback that was easy to read. This included a focus on content with some attention to grammar and language. Most importantly, Seror (2009) noted that both students and instructors agreed that not only was it important to point out problems or mistakes, but also that offering suggestions for how to improve was also central in helping students develop their writing. This aligns with Duff (2010), who notes the effectiveness of explicitness in the socialization process. Students also mentioned preferring being able to interact and dialog with their instructors about the feedback, highlighting the importance of interaction in the socialization process.

Unfortunately, Seror (2009) found that the actual feedback students received was not what the students had hoped. Comments were often illegible and difficult for

students to understand, highlighting the tacit and ambiguous nature of writing expectations in academic settings. Thus, the usefulness of the feedback in helping students develop writing was compromised. Also, feedback often lacked explicit advice or instruction about how to improve, which is similar to the feedback and support provided (or not) by the various mainstream course faculty in Zappa-Hollman's (2007) study.

In interviewing the instructors, Seror (2009) was able to uncover some of the broader, macro institutional forces that impeded the instructors from providing the feedback they idealized; thus illustrating how the macro influenced local micro interactions. These forces included limited resources and the university's merit and reward system. Instructors mentioned feeling "overworked and underpaid" (Seror, 2009, p. 217) due to heavy teaching loads with a lot of students and therefore not enough time to give the proper feedback. Without being explicit, messages to the students such as: "Unfortunately, there is no TA for this class" or "I'm preparing for a conference next week" (Seror, 2009, p. 217) implied the busy lives of the instructors and lowered students' expectation for feedback. Other reasons instructors gave for giving less than ideal feedback was the lack of value placed on teaching, as compared to research and publication, by large research institutions. Instructors felt spending too much time on teaching and feedback was a poor investment in terms what was valued for tenure and promotion.

Taken together, the findings of the studies reviewed so far make important contributions to our understanding of the socialization process. Not only do they

highlight how more macro academic and sociocultural values can impact local interactions, but as Seror's (2009) study also shows, the intent of a socializing agent can be foiled. While studies (e.g., Morita, 2000; Spack, 1997; Zappa-Hollman, 2007) have pointed to reasons why even motivated learners might be challenged in their socialization efforts, Seror's (2009) study offers a unique perspective on the socializing agents themselves and on what impedes them from contributing as they would like to a successful socialization process.

Another study looking at the role of social interaction in L2 writing development, was Wake's (2010) more recent study which focused on spoken interaction and its role in socializing L2 students into the discourse of an economics course in an Australian University. Unlike Seror (2009) who focused on feedback on writing as a form of interaction, Wake (2010) examined classroom discourse and analyzed the questions of NNES international students in an undergraduate economics course in Australia along with peer/instructor responses. Findings showed that the instructor's use of language became less abstract and metaphorical over time in responding to students' content questions, affording students the ability to make meaning of the content. Classroom discussion then provided the students with the opportunity to appropriate the specialized discourse, which eventually transferred to their writing. Unfortunately, we have to take Wake's (2010) word for this since no samples documenting change or development in student writing were provided.

While the close analysis of the written and spoken interactions in Seror (2009) and Wake (2010) offer important insight into the kinds of interactions that do or do not

support academic discourse development, close attention to *what* develops is overlooked. In fact, with the exception of Vickers (2007), none of the studies reviewed above engaged in close analysis of student academic discourse over time to highlight development (or lack thereof). In studies that point to development or socialization (or lack of it), the researchers relied primarily on interviews to gain student perceptions of development or the socialization process. If researchers did track development in student discourse, for several possible reasons, including the nature of the research questions focused on in the articles, this was not data that was presented through careful discussion in their articles. In their extensive review of second language academic discourse socialization, Morita and Kobayashi (2008) also note that studies have generally focused on the *goals* or *process* of socialization and that few have attempted to examine the results or development that occurs.

Though not in an HEI setting, one study that did closely examine classroom interactions and instructional activities as well as changes in NNES student writing was Huang (2004). Working specifically from an LS framework, Huang (2004) examined scientific writing development in a US high school content-based ESL course. Huang (2004) examined two ESL classes. Between the two classes there were 35 students who were in Grades 8 to 10. Unlike the above studies that were more traditionally longitudinal[4], Huang's (2004) data collection took place over the course of five weeks. Like other LS studies, the data were varied and included course documents and lesson plans, student work, and classroom discourse.

[4] See Chapter Three for a discussion about longitudinal research in educational contexts.

In analyzing the classroom interactions, Huang (2004) found that classroom activities were organized largely into three main categories: (1) interaction with texts; (2) interaction with others; and (3) interaction through texts. These interactions were not mutually exclusive; interaction with texts was often guided by spoken interaction between the teacher and students. In analyzing the interactions students had with others, it became clear that the spoken interaction provided students with opportunities to engage in scientific discourse. For example, the teacher used questions that asked students to focus on their initial understanding of concepts and demonstrated logical thinking in science. In peer interaction, students drew on prior knowledge and texts as they attempted to define and classify scientific terms. Students also engaged in spoken interaction while peer editing, which resulted in interaction with texts, about texts, and with others.

In analyzing the students' writing, Huang (2004) found that it generally improved in terms of its logic, its content, and its use of linguistic features. This is all evidence that the various interactional practices of the lesson and its instructional activities likely helped students construct content knowledge and develop the scientific language and ways of thinking needed to write definitions and classifications. By combining analyses of interaction and student writing, Huang's (2004) study illustrates how through language students were socialized into the language, ways of thinking, and writing conventions of a specific class.

One of the strengths of Huang's (2004) study is its focus on examining student writing and behaviors for examples of discourse development. It also points to the role of

classroom interactions and participating in learning activities in socializing students into an extended understanding of academic discourse, which included speaking, writing, and ways of thinking. This is the only study in this review that makes explicit mention of socialization into ways of thinking as part of the desired or actual outcomes.

In summary, this review of studies on second language academic discourse socialization illustrates the variety of research using an LS framework to examine the processes through which NNES students learn the discourse practices in their new academic setting. Language socialization as a theory and method, allows for a rich, holistic, and in-depth understanding of mutually (and socially) mediated linguistic, social, and cultural development. Because of the breadth of what LS research includes, we see from the studies reviewed here that researchers tend to focus on something specific such as: the implicit cultural messages of student/teacher interactions (Poole, 1992); the socialization processes of learning to give oral academic presentations (Morita, 2000; Zappa-Hollman, 2007); the socialization into small student group discourse practices of electrical and computer engineering students (Vickers, 2007); the largely unsuccessful role of writing feedback practices as socializing interactions (Seror, 2009); and the role of classroom oral interactions and learning activities for socializing students into written discourse practices (Huang, 2004; Wake, 2010). Those studies that do examine academic discourse socialization more broadly (Leki, 2007; Spack, 1997) do so at the expense of close analysis of novice/expert interactions. But to be fair, these studies did not specifically employ an LS framework. Other ways these studies narrowed in scope included: focusing on student/instructor interactions (Poole, 1992; Seror, 2009) versus

peer interactions (Vickers, 2007); focusing the exploration of socialization processes and outcomes to one specific aspect of academic discourse, the notion of classification (Huang, 2004); or focusing on processes of socialization versus actual outcomes (beyond learner perspectives).

Taken together, these studies illustrate the power of the LS theory and methods in highlighting the complex and multidimensional process of learning the academic discourse practices of a new community, particularly for L2 students. The studies point to the important role of socializing agents, of being introduced to the discourse practices of a community through various activities, and of being viewed as legitimate participants. These studies also demonstrate the struggles some NNES students face in the process of socialization, including unequal access to socializing opportunities, difficulty in overcoming difference in competing discourses such as home (L1) and host (L2) academic discourse practices, personal agency to resist or hybridize valued norms, and even the external, macro, forces hindering the efficacy of socializing agents.

Though some of the studies reviewed above take place within academic classrooms, none of the studies focused on the role of the class itself as a site of socialization into broader academic practices. In fact, close examination of classrooms as sites of such socialization in HEIs shows a gap in the second language academic discourse socialization research. Yet, introductory courses and other courses required of large numbers of students at HEIs are certainly influential in conveying valued academic discourse norms and contributing to the socialization process. One such course is the

FYW course. First-year writing is one of the few courses required of all students at most HEIs. And it is to this context that I now turn my attention.

First-Year Writing as a Site of Academic Discourse Socialization

The traditions and current roles of the FYW course have long been and continue to be debated (Fleming, 2011; Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008; Matsuda, 2006; Ritter & Matsuda, 2012). Though a staple in US higher education since the early 1900s, two main factions exist, both centered around the purpose of the course: (1) those who see FYW as a space to "prepare students for writing in the academy, writing across the curriculum, writing in the disciplines;" and (2) those who believe the role of FYW is to "nurture a student's personal identity, personal vision, and sense of self" (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 14). Despite these debates, the FYW course requirement remains in most HEI contexts, and in practice, the FYW course might serve to initiate students into a variety of writing genres (e.g., personal and academic), discourses (e.g., literary, popular, academic, professional, and public), and pedagogical approaches (e.g., rhetorical, process, and critical), all of which can largely depend on "university policies, individual politics and beliefs, student populations, geography, social constraints, social freedoms, past experiences, and in-the-moment decisions" (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 21).

Regardless of the role of FYW, Matsuda (2006) argues that FYW courses often reflect a "myth of linguistic homogeneity" which he defines as "the tacit and widespread acceptance of the dominant image of composition students as native speakers of a privileged variety of English" (p. 639). While Matsuda was referring to the linguistic forms associated with an academic variety of English, this idea could certainly be

extended to include assumptions that students share common mainstream literacy practices and other cultural norms and values, which earlier work by Ramanathan and Kaplan (1996) discussed. In reviewing studies examining writing courses in ESL versus composition programs, Ramanathan and Kaplan (1996) noted that composition courses tended to employ teaching practices that "assume a set of cultural norms that many NNS do not necessarily possess" (p. 23). They further explained that:

> For L1 students, socialization into "essayist literacy" (Scollon & Scollon, 1981) begins in early childhood in many middle-class homes, is reinforced through the elementary/high school years, and is assumed of literate middle-class adults in higher education and beyond. Thus teachers customarily perceived as teaching "writing" skills may in fact be providing mainstream students with opportunities to enhance and refine competencies the students have been acquiring all their lives. (p. 23-24)

Given this, it seems a FYW course explicitly for NNES students should be about breaking down assumptions and using pedagogical approaches meant to help uncover and socialize students into writing practices that are often thought to be not only tacit and vague (Elton, 2010; Hyland, 2009; Leki, 1995), but also deeply cultural (Fox, 1994; Hinkel, 2013; Ramanathan & Kaplan, 1996).

While the stated intention of FYW for NNES, which is a credit course fulfilling the FYW requirement, is to better support the unique needs of NNES students, little is known about what is actually happening in FYW courses (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008). Related research has demonstrated ways in which NNES international undergraduate

students could potentially benefit from NNES sections of FYW. For example, Braine (1996) found that students who completed the NNES section of freshman composition passed their exit writing test at higher rates than counterparts who completed regular sections of freshman composition. Studies have also shown that preferences for and gains from NNES sections of FYW courses extend beyond writing. Braine (1996) and Costino and Hyon (2007) found that many students preferred NNES sections of FYW for reasons including: comfort in asking questions in class, ease of engaging in class discussions with peers they can relate to, and access to an instructor with training in working with NNES students. These studies highlight not only the academic writing support, but also the academic cultural adjustment support that can be afforded by the NNES section of the FYW course. It also points to the potential of NNES sections of FYW as an important site of academic discourse socialization for NNES students.

Summary

In this chapter I have described LS as the guiding theoretical frame of this dissertation study. In addition to providing an overview of LS theory, I have demonstrated how the theory has expanded its application beyond child/caregiver contexts to include the academic discourse socialization of NNES international students in HEIs in the US. In reviewing studies on second language academic discourse socialization, I have highlighted the valuable perspective offered by LS for exploring the the questions posed in this research study:

- the academic discourse practices and norms valued by the instructor in a FYW course for non-native English speakers;

- how students are socialized into the practices and norms of a FYW course for non-native English speakers;
- and whether there is any evidence of socialization into these practices among two non-native English speaking first-year international students in this course.

Chapter 3: Researching Second Language Academic Discourse Socialization

Introduction

Situated in an LS framework, this qualitative, interpretive study sought to understand the role of language in the process of becoming a competent member of particular groups, the groups in this case being the local FYW for NNES class and the broader US undergraduate academic community. More specifically, I used an LS framework to understand in what ways students' linguistic and cultural development of academic discourse was mediated through instructor-led classroom interactions and activities. While this might suggest that socialization into target culture norms is a desirable, one-way process, Duff (2002) reminds us that a range of outcomes and intentions is possible and proposes that LS "provides a helpful theoretical perspective of the construction, negotiation, and transformation of knowledge, identity(ies), and difference(s) in and through educational discourse" (p. 291). Thus in alignment with this aspect of LS research, this dissertation research may, in part, point to instances of students both adopting and resisting socialization into the valued academic discourses practices of the FYW for NNES class.

Research Design

Consistent with LS research (Duff, 2010a, 2010b; Garrett, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002), this study brought together ethnographic and discourse analytic methods to understand language use and development (or lack thereof) among students in the context of a FYW for NNES course. This study was ethnographic in that I aimed to understand people and events in their natural setting (LeCompte & Schensul,

1999). Through ongoing participant observations, recordings of classroom discourse and activity, and interviews with students and the instructor, I sought to gain a rich triangulated description of the classroom culture (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). In attempting to understand the classroom culture from the perspective of the class members, I aspired for an insider or *emic* perspective (Merriam, 2009). In other words, I tried to understand the participants' point of view of their experiences in the socialization process, a perspective that is privileged in LS research (Duff, 2007; Duff & Talmy, 2011). I acknowledge however, that my experiences and researcher role are such that a true insider perspective was compromised. For example, participants might have responded to interview questions in ways they thought I wanted instead of sharing actual opinions.

In ways, this study was similar to classroom ethnography. Watson-Gegeo (1988) explains that classroom ethnography "emphasizes the sociocultural nature of teaching and learning processes, incorporates participants' perspectives on their own behavior, and offers a holistic analysis sensitive to levels of context in which interactions and classrooms are situated" (p. 135). An important distinction however, is the specific focus of LS on language and sociocultural development or shift in communicative competence (or lack thereof), which is not inherent to ethnographic classroom studies but is a central premise of LS research (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). This focus on linguistic and sociocultural knowledge development and negotiation or shift in identity is also what distinguishes this study and its LS theoretical framework from other approaches such as ethnography of communication and linguistic ethnography which also attend to sociocultural aspects of language. The ethnography of

communication is primarily a method for examining "etic and emic analyses of communication, and sometimes macro- and micro- level analyses of discourse" (Duff, 2002, p. 291) to understand the "patterns and functions of communication" (Saville-Troike, as cited in Duff, 2002, p. 291) of a given community. And, according to a linguistic ethnography perspective, "language and the social world are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity" (Rampton, Tusting, Maybin, Creese, & Lytra, 2004, p. 2). Thus, similar to LS research, the ethnography of communication and linguistic ethnography research closely examine language *use* within a community; however, an LS perspective has the added focus of seeking to understand *acquisition* and *development* of language use and sociocultural knowledge.

Aligned with the ethnographic nature of LS research as outlined by Garrett (2008), this study incorporated: (1) a longitudinal study design[5]; (2) field-based data collection and an analysis of naturalistic audio or audio/video data; and (3) attention to micro and macro levels of analysis. As with most LS studies, there is an additional layer of ethnographic work that focuses on the individual development of some of the community members (Garrett, 2008). It is in seeking a detailed analysis of these selected individuals' interactions and linguistic and cultural development that LS research

[5] What is considered longitudinal is largely debated. This study is limited by the duration of the course under observation, which is the length of an academic semester. In her article reviewing principles of classroom ethnography, Watson-Gegeo (1997) describes classroom ethnography as the "intensive, detailed observation of a classroom over the period of its duration (e.g., semester or year), recording a large sample of classroom activity" (p. 136). This suggests that duration is less important than a thorough observation of a particular context, especially when the context itself has a limited time frame.

employs discourse analytic methods and tries to make connections between micro and macro levels of data (Garrett, 2008).

My goals for this study were to first to uncover the academic discourse values and practices into which the students were socialized. The second was to examine how these values and practices were communicated to students. And finally, the third goal was to identify evidence of (or lack of) socialization in the students' academic discourse practices.

Entry Into Site

I first became interested in how international students adjust to the academic discourse practices in US institutions when I was assigned, last-minute, to teach an advanced academic writing course at the University of Minnesota's intensive English program during my first semester as a PhD student in the Fall 2009. The students in that class were admitted to the university but were required to take additional ESL courses due to their scores on standardized tests; they were thus required to take a writing course their first semester to complete the minimum English requirement. My students were at different stages of their academic careers and from different departments across campus. I struggled with making the course relevant and useful for my diverse student group. And so began my quest to better understand and serve my international students. I reached out to writing instructors and program directors from various departments around campus to learn more about what they were doing and how. I conducted a small-scale interview study to better understand the experiences of international undergraduate students and their academic and linguistic adjustment. I took part in a large

interdepartmental survey study also aimed at understanding the experiences of international students on our campus. I did extensive reading on international student experiences and academic literacy development and socialization.

Through these conversations, research projects, and my own reading, the linguistic, cultural, and academic struggles many international students faced became even more apparent—even among successful students and those with high English proficiency—and my dissertation topic began taking shape. I was left wondering if, how, and where undergraduate students, who were fully admitted to the university, were supported in their adjustment to a new academic space and its discourse practices. It was clear that while many campus resources existed, international undergraduate students who were fully admitted to the university and so not required to take ESL classes, were largely left to navigate the university on their own.

It seemed one possible exception existed: the FYW course, the one common requirement of all undergraduate students at the university. According to the FYW program website at the University of Minnesota, the FYW courses are meant to provide students with "the fundamental skills and knowledge about writing demanded in university study" and a "foundation for development and refinement of their writing abilities throughout their college career and beyond" ("First-Year Writing : Writing Studies : University of Minnesota," n.d.). The program also reserved sections of the FYW course exclusively for NNES students. This was where I wanted to be. I wanted to understand how the FYW class for NNES helped socialize students into academic discourse practices.

Having determined my desired research site, I reached out to one of the instructors of the NNES sections. The instructor, Ms. Hansen, was recommended to me by nearly everyone I spoke with when I first began reaching out to people about teaching academic writing and later when I shared my research interests. Ms. Hansen happened to be a former classmate in my MA ESL program so we already had an established relationship. She also was the recipient of several teaching awards, making her an ideal participant.

Having identified my research site and participating instructor, I then began my dissertation research and data collection. To protect the anonymity of the students who participated in this study, I do not reveal the exact year that this study was conducted. Instead, I share that it was a Fall semester sometime between 2011 and 2014 and list the date as 20xx throughout.

Description of Context

University Writing for NNES Students at The University of Minnesota

One of the few, if not only, courses that are required of all undergraduate students at the University of Minnesota is a FYW course offered through the department of Writing Studies in the College of Liberal Arts ("Liberal education requirements," n.d.). To fulfill this requirement students are able to choose between *University Writing* or *Writing and Academic Inquiry* ("The University of Minnesota's First-Year Writing Requirement," 2012). According to the department webpage, the primary goals of these courses are as follows:

- *University Writing* fulfills the first-year writing requirement. Drafting, revising, editing. Academic genres. Critical reading, rhetorical analysis for principles of audience, purpose, and argumentative strategies. Emphasizes electronic/print library. Critical analysis, annotated bibliography, research paper.
- *Writing and Academic Inquiry* fulfills the first-year writing requirement. How writing works in varying contexts/genres, how it presents complex arguments. Students read/analyze increasingly challenging texts. Concepts of audience, purpose, and context. Library research, guided revision. ("The University of Minnesota's First-Year Writing Requirement," 2012)

The department reserves some sections of *University Writing*[6] (henceforth, FYW) exclusively for NNES each semester (henceforth, FYW for NNES). During the Fall semester when this study took place, nine of the 72 (~12.5%) FYW sections offered were reserved for NNES. These sections shared similar objectives and filled the same requirement as the regular section of FYW. The course was described on the university website as follows:

> All sections of First-Year Writing courses have similar criteria and standards but we have developed special sections to help address the unique writing needs and backgrounds of non-native speakers. In general, we cover the same type of material and have the same number of assignments. Both classes will help you explore the writing process and discover how to write effectively and clearly for university audiences. Both classes address these skills: finding and researching a

[6] *University Writing* was the name for this institution's FYW course.

> topic, constructing a thesis statement, developing an argument, organizing and writing a draft, revising a draft, documenting sources, editing and proofreading. ("First-Year Writing courses for Non-Native Speakers of English: WRIT 1301," 2012)

Thus, the purpose of the FYW for NNES courses is not remedial, but rather is to allow for differentiated instruction to better address the needs and strengths of students with different language and literacy backgrounds. This could include special attention to language form and function, cultural differences, and understanding American audience/reader expectations ("First-Year Writing courses for Non-Native Speakers of English: WRIT 1301," 2012).

Another difference between the regular FYW and FYW for NNES at the University of Minnesota is that the NNES sections at this institution are generally taught by instructors who have masters degrees in teaching English as a second language (TESOL) or in linguistics, and therefore are assumed to have an understanding of the processes of teaching and learning a FL, including second language writing. Finally, the NNES sections are slightly smaller than the regular sections, allowing students to receive more individualized attention from their instructor ("First-Year Writing courses for Non-Native Speakers of English: WRIT 1301," 2012).

No student at the University of Minnesota is required to take the NNES sections of FYW. Non-native English speaking students who are fully admitted to the university, and thus exempt from taking any prerequisite ESL coursework, are eligible to register for any section of FYW. However, of the NNES students fully admitted to the university,

those with a TOEFL score between 550-599 are strongly encouraged to take the NNES sections of FYW ("First-Year Writing courses for Non-Native Speakers of English: WRIT 1301," 2012). Ultimately, it is up to the student to decide which section to take.

For a number of reasons, students who register for the NNES section are sometimes not the intended first-year student audience. For example, in the class observed in this study, only nine out of 21 students were first-year (freshman) students in their first semester at a US university. This is likely because some of the students were transfer students entering an HEI in the US beyond the freshman year. However, it might be that of some the students intentionally waited to take the course or that students had to delay taking the course because of other first year requirements for their major.

The Classroom

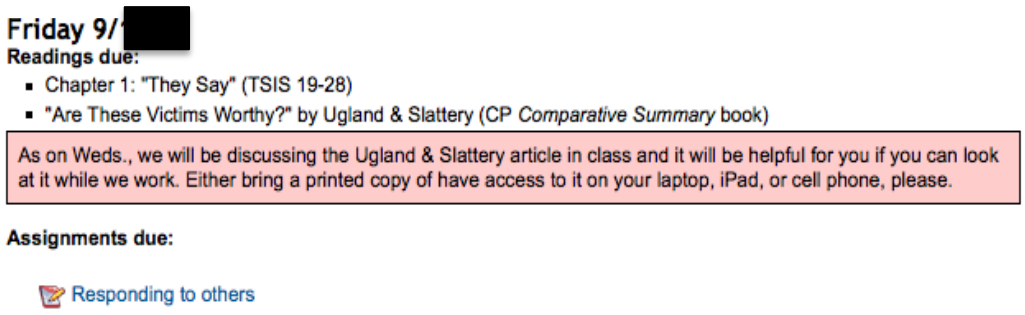
The physical space. The class I observed met for 50 minutes on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays for the 15-week Fall semester. The room was equipped with a blackboard, an overhead projector, and a desk and podium at the front of the class for the instructor. The class had tall ceilings and large windows, yet the space felt a bit tight and crowded. In some ways this crowded space contributed to the cozy feeling of the classroom environment. The room had pods or cluster seating and students sat in groups of four or five at four different sets of tables. This setup was conducive to the workshop nature of the course where students were encouraged to discuss and collaborate with each other.

The classroom was a space where the instructor presented assignments and requirements, reviewed homework, shared writing tips, provided explicit writing

instructions and guidelines, and reminded students of policies and deadlines. For the students, it was a space for collaborative group work intended to develop writing skills and prepare upcoming writing assignments, independent work on writing assignments, and instruction and guidance from the instructor.

The online space. In addition to the physical classroom space, this section of FYW for NNES had an important online space as well. The course made extensive use of the university's learning management system, Moodle. The course Moodle site contained the daily course calendar indicating what needed to be done prior to class time on any given day and provided all relevant internal (within-site) and external links. The image below provides a glimpse at the sort of detail provided to students for any given day.

Figure 3-1 Sample Description of Homework Assignments



Students could click on the assignment due to direct them to the actual assignment. As evidenced from this single day, Ms. Hansen made it clear to students what they needed to do to prepare for class.

The Moodle site was also used to house all course documents (e.g., the syllabus, instructor written course materials and assignment details, and class PPTs and handouts).

Essentially, students could find a written record of nearly everything presented (orally or in print) during class time. Nearly all homework assignments were completed and graded within Moodle and writing assignments were also submitted and responded to within Moodle.

Such extensive use of the Moodle site necessitated the students to log in regularly. It became a way for the instructor to easily disperse information to the students and keep records (and copies) of student assignments, papers, and grades. To be an active and engaged student in this section of FYW for NNES, students had to learn to navigate Moodle.

The learning environment. The classroom environment Ms. Hansen attempted to create was one where the students felt capable and valued. For example, in the following text from the initial welcome paragraph of the syllabus, Ms. Hansen acknowledged the challenges many students face in learning to write but pointed out the advantage NNES students have:

> Most students, including those born in the U.S., are worried about taking a writing class. Of course, as a non-native speaker of English, your task is even harder. I want to reassure you, though, that you will be able to do fine in this class. While these NNES sections meet the same requirements as a regular section, you will receive extra support in understanding how American academic writing works. You will receive lots of "how-to" instruction and feedback on your writing before your essay is graded. You can visit me during my office hours for help, and you can also visit Student Writing Support (SWS) for free tutoring on your essays

> (there is more about SWS near the end of this syllabus). Moreover, you have an advantage that many American students do not have, namely, that because you speak more than one language, your brain and thought processes are already more flexible. Believe it or not, this ability can actually help you in your writing.
>
> (Syllabus)

This statement illustrated how Ms. Hansen positioned the students as capable and their NNES status as an advantage, something I discuss more in the chapters that follow.

In addition to drawing attention to the advantages they had as NNES students, Ms. Hansen also ensured that students knew that they had a lot to offer each other. She often encouraged the students to speak up and share their opinions. To help students feel more comfortable in sharing, Ms. Hansen would occasionally change the seating arrangement. The first time she did this, she explained her reasoning to the students and highlighted how much the students could benefit from one another, "I do this periodically during the semester because that way other students get the benefit of your wisdom, your conversation, your point of view" (Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 7; Sept. 19, 20xx). In this excerpt, Ms. Hansen reminded the students that they all had something to offer each other—that they were worthy.

These types of messages acknowledging and valuing the students' backgrounds and contributions to class were common. They likely helped create a positive learning environment where the students could develop confidence in their writing and being a student in the US.

The Curriculum

While all sections of FYW for NNES at the University Of Minnesota have the same overarching goals described above, each instructor is free to decide how those larger objectives are met. This means that each instructor is able to select her own texts and design her own syllabus and course assignments.

The syllabus for this FYW for NNES course was a 23-page document that began with a paragraph welcoming the students to the class and highlighting their NNES status as an asset as shown above. It then detailed the major course assignments and provided students with pages of university and course policies (e.g., academic honesty, plagiarism, attendance, late work, discrimination, etc.) and resources (e.g., instructor office hours, university writing center, mental health services, etc.). Unlike most syllabi, it was not until the last two pages that students were given a bit more detail about the course itself. The choice of this order seemed to underscore the importance of the course policies; students had to skim through pages of policies and resources before they found more information about the course itself and what they could expect to learn.

Beginning the two-page course-specific details was a brief paragraph offering a general overview of the course goals:

> *University Writing* [FYW] introduces you to typical American university writing practices, including an emphasis on developing well-researched, properly cited papers. *University Writing* [FYW] fulfills the first-year composition requirement.
>
> (Syllabus)

In addition to this general description, the instructor also offered the student a list of

more concrete outcomes of the course. Below is the list as it appeared in the syllabus

Table 3-1 FYW for NNES Stated Course Outcomes

University Writing [FYW] Course Outcomes

Upon successful conclusion of University Writing [FYW], you will be able to:

Develop a process of writing

- control prewriting and planning strategies to arrive at a focused topic
- produce an outline or prospectus for a researched paper
- craft thesis statements that indicate a clear position on a topic and tie the paper together
- develop a topic through clearly structured paragraphs and the whole paper so that ideas are fully explained, assertions are backed up, supporting evidence is sufficient and claims are credible
- through the sequence of assignments, develop a body of knowledge and growing perspective on a topic

Explore diverse contexts and styles of reading and writing

- communicate their ideas and those of others to specific audiences
- write in appropriate academic genres and computer media to communicate with different audiences
- make choices in their own writing and articulate other options

Practice disciplines of research and study

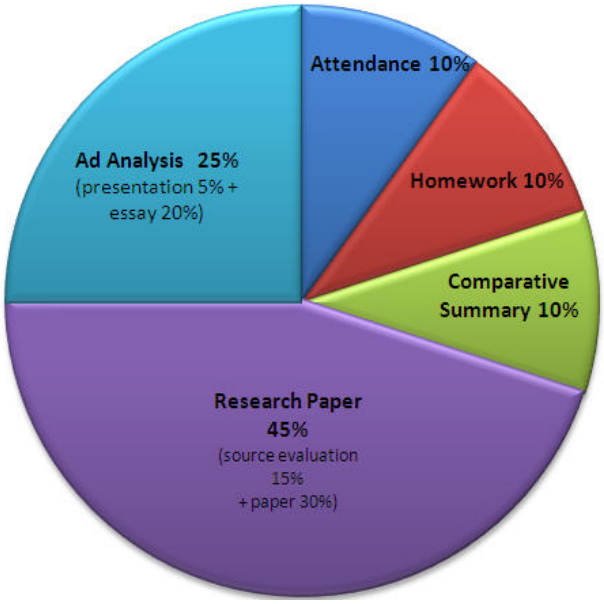
- identify an author's audience, purpose, argument, and assumptions (i.e., critical reading) in an analysis paper or class discussion
- locate and evaluate relevant scholarly and popular sources on a research topic using library resources
- properly and ethically use MLA or APA documentation format for in-text and external bibliographic citations of scholarly, popular, and electronic sources
- consistently follow standards of written, edited English

(Syllabus)

As evident from the above list, the course aimed to help students develop a wide range of skills related to academic writing and discourse with the hope that this would serve them across the curriculum.

To help students meet the above listed outcomes, the course was designed around the preparation and writing of three main assignments (presented in order they were due): (1) a comparative summary; (2) a research paper; and (3) an ad analysis. Students followed a process approach to writing for each of these papers. Students were asked to brainstorm, draft and revise twice, and finally submit their final papers to the instructor. The figure below, taken from page 5 of the course syllabus, illustrated these course components and their weight toward the final grade.

Figure 3-2 FYW for NNES Course Components



As the figure above illustrates, the grade weight for the second two papers each included an additional component, a source evaluation for the research paper and an oral presentation for the ad analysis. To help students prepare for each of the larger writing assignments, students had daily homework and reading assignments that engaged them with various aspects of academic writing (e.g., developing a thesis statement, understanding citation practices, building a logical assignment).

The sequencing of activities did not necessarily align with the sequence of a given paper. For example, students did not focus first on introductions and thesis statements, then on developing strong paragraphs, and then on to conclusions. The order of topics presented was much more fluid and suggested a nonlinear and iterative approach to writing. Students moved from activities in critical reading, to writing summaries, to developing paragraphs, using sources, and so on. The same was true with the

assignments themselves; students started the research paper (the second writing assignment) before they were finished with the comparative summary (the first writing assignment) and shifted their focus and made connections between different activities, reading assignments, and their own writing.

Over the years of teaching this course, Ms. Hansen has developed an ambitious curriculum meant to guide students into developing a writing process and practice that is broad enough to serve them across the curriculum. To do so, each activity, assignment, and assessment serves a specific purpose in helping students successfully write course papers and, ultimately, meet course objectives.

The Required Texts

This FYW for NNES course had three required texts: (1) *They Say, I Say* by Gerald Graff and Cathy Birkenstein (Graff & Birkenstein, 2009); (2) *The Little Seagull Handbook* by Richard Bullock and Francine Weinberg (Bullock & Weinberg, 2011); and, (3) the instructor written course packet (provided free on the Moodle site). To complement these texts, Ms. Hansen developed many additional materials and assignments.

The book, *They say, I say* (Graff & Birkenstein, 2009), is a short text that introduced students to the idea that writing is an academic conversation, where writers must first read carefully to understand what has been said on a given topic and then express their ideas in response to that current conversation. The book explains how academic arguments are developed around this idea of conversation and adopts a

form/function approach by providing templates to scaffold students into uses of academic language for various moves used in academic writing.

While *They say, I Say* (Graff & Birkenstein, 2009) aims to help students understand the basic moves of academic writing and the relevant linguistic structures, *The Little Seagull Handbook* (Bullock & Weinberg, 2011) is more of a *how-to* book with guidelines and models for various types of writing tasks and assignments. For example, the book offered detailed information on different kinds of writing, on doing academic research, on citing in different styles (e.g., MLA, APA, Chicago), on formatting, and editing. The book served as a resource book that students were asked to become familiar with for this class and could come back to in the future.

The last required text was an instructional manual written by Ms. Hansen. It was available through Moodle. The contents were primarily a series of *how-tos* and tips for such things as brainstorming and creating a mind map, writing an introduction, and writing a title. The guidelines were supported with many annotated examples to help students better understand what was meant in the explanations.

Participants

Participant Selection and Informed Consent

The selection of Ms. Hansen as a participant in this study was the result of purposeful sampling. Having been identified by colleagues as being particularly gifted at teaching writing to NNES students, conducting a study with Ms. Hansen as my primary participant allowed me to investigate a teaching and learning context that many

considered to be exemplary and thus offered me "inquiry into and understanding of a phenomenon in depth" (Patton, 2002, p. 46).

I sent Ms. Hansen an email in the spring prior to the targeted Fall semester telling her a bit about my research ideas and asking if we could meet to further discuss my project. Ms. Hansen agreed to meet and was very receptive to the idea of her class being the research site for my dissertation. After having identified a research site and instructor to work with, I then received approval from my dissertation committee to move forward and submit an IRB application for my study. In this application and the information I provided to Ms. Hansen and her students, I explained that I wanted to better understand second language writing development. I intentionally made this vague so as not to skew or interfere with anything the instructor or the students would naturally be doing.

Upon receiving formal IRB approval[7], I presented Ms. Hansen with more concrete details about my research project: (1) the data I collected would be kept secure; (3) all identifying information would be removed; and (3) Ms. Hansen could back out of the study at any time. Ms. Hansen gave official consent to be part of the study. She was scheduled to teach two sections of FYW for NNES during the Fall semester targeted for data collection. We agreed that I would observe the section with the most first-year students since that was my target population.

On the first day of class during the Fall semester, Ms. Hansen gave me a few moments to introduce myself and my research project to the students. I verbally explained the IRB consent process and gave each student a copy of the consent form. I told them that I planned to attend and audio record each class period. I explained

[7] See Appendix B for evidence of IRB approval.

that they could opt out and not participate in the study, in which case I would not include their classroom interactions or course work in my data analysis. I then explained that if they consented to being in the study, they could do so in one of two ways. The first was just as a regular student. They would participate in class normally, allowing me to use their classroom interactions and written work in my research. The only additional task that would be asked of them would be to complete a brief survey[8], allowing me to collect some background information. The second way I told students they could participate was as a focal student which, in addition to the above, included participating in interviews and allowing me to audio/video record their writing conferences with the instructor.

All the students consented by the end of the week to allowing me to use recordings of classroom discourse and written assignments. The written work would be made available to me through the course website with no additional burden placed on the students. In the online survey collecting background information, five students expressed interested in being a focal student. I contacted each student individually and we set up a time to meet to go over additional IRB consent and conduct an initial interview. I reminded the students that they were under no obligation to be a focal student and that they could back out at any time without any repercussions. All five students committed to being focal students for the entire semester; however, because the FYW course is intended for first-year students, I focused my study on the two focal students who where freshman. Further discussion of this decision is provided below.

[8] See Appendix C for sample questions included in this online survey/questionnaire.

The Instructor

Ms. Hansen[9] had been teaching FYW for NNES for many years. She began her career in teaching writing to NNES while beginning her MA in TESOL program in 2002. In completing this degree, Ms. Hansen, gained expertise in the theories of second language acquisition and practical experience in teaching second language writing. In addition to her MA in TESOL, Ms. Hansen had previously completed a master's degree in psycholinguistics and had professional work experience in IT. As illustrated in the excerpt below, Ms. Hansen leveraged her background and experience when she taught and shared it with her students:

> I have 2 M.A. degrees, one in psycholinguistics (a cross-disciplinary area of cognitive psychology and linguistics), and another in teaching English as a second language. Nonetheless, I worked for 25 years in the computer industry in various capacities, including as a programmer and a project manager. I am fairly fluent in spoken German (I worked, lived, and studied there for 18 months), but terrible at writing it. I have also worked in Bengaluru, India. I believe that all these experiences have helped prepare me for teaching these classes and understanding my students' special needs. (Syllabus)

The above paragraph, located on the first page of the syllabus, helped Ms. Hansen establish credibility with her students but also helped build rapport. She mentioned being fluent in German and yet claimed to be terrible at writing German, almost to commiserate with students that despite her high FL oral proficiency skills, her writing is often still difficult. The brief mix of CV type-details and honest personal experience began to

[9] This is the participant's real name. She asked that it be used.

establish the kind of relationship Ms. Hansen developed with her students—one that was professional and matter-of-fact, yet friendly and understanding.

In observations of and discussions with Ms. Hansen, it was clear that she was passionate about teaching writing and working with NNES students. Her passion for teaching FYW was something she shared with her students in her syllabus through statements such as, "I love teaching these classes" (Syllabus). Ms. Hansen also made her enthusiasm for working with NNES students apparent through spoken and written interactions with her students. For example, on the first day of class she told the students she was happy that they were there (Field Notes, Day 1; Sept. 4, 20xx)—something that was also emphasized in the first sentence of the syllabus, "I'm glad that you chose to enroll in this non-native speaker (NNES) section of Writ 1301!" (Syllabus).

It was also in her genuine interest in the students' work that we saw Ms. Hansen's love for teaching writing. In reviewing with the class a list of the students' research paper topics, Ms. Hansen told the students how excited she was to read their papers, "I'm really looking forward to these papers. I can tell already from the variety of these papers that I'm going to learn about a lot of different things, which is part of what is really fun!" (Classroom Interaction – Whole Class Discussion, Day 12; Oct. 1, 20xx). Ms. Hansen further showed her interest in the students' work during one-on-one writing conferences. At the beginning of a conference about a student's research paper she said, "I'm looking forward to this paper. I've been reading Sherry Turkle's book all week about alone together and all these issues that these robots toys for children raise. So, I want to see what you have to say about it" (Student Writing Conference, Nov. 13, 20xx). Such

comments showed the enjoyment Ms. Hansen got out of her teaching. They also illustrated Ms. Hansen's desire to engage the students in conversation and listen to their ideas.

Given the commitment to her teaching and her students, it is no surprise that Ms. Hansen is a popular instructor who has won many teaching awards and has earned a great reputation among students; her classes are generally full and often have long waitlists. While some students likely registered for FYW for NNES thinking it would be easier, this was not the case in Ms. Hansen's class. Students quickly realized that the course was rigorous and that Ms. Hansen was strict and had high expectations. Because of her high expectations along with her genuine interest in and care for the students and their work, she was much appreciated. In our final interview on Dec. 10, 20xx, Jason, one of the focal students told me that Ms. Hansen made him want to work hard and do well.

The Students

There were 21 students in this FYW for NNES course. As mentioned above, nine of the 21 were first-year university students in their first semester as an undergraduate student at a US university. Another six students were second (sophomore) or third (junior) year transfer students thus, also in their first semester as an undergraduate at a US university. So, of the 21 students, 15 were attending a US university for the first time[10]. Reflecting the trend that Chinese students are the largest group of international students in the US (Institute of International Education, 2013), the majority of the students in this class were Chinese. Of the 21 students, 16 were Chinese. Among the

[10] It is possible that some students studied in the US university context as students in intensive English programs. However, this was their first semester as fully matriculated, degree-seeking, university students.

other five students there were three South Korean students, one Vietnamese student, and one Malaysian student.

Of the 21 students in the class, five volunteered to be focal students. For reasons described in further detail below, I limited my analysis to the two freshman students, Jason and Nancy[11].

Table 3-2 Focal Students

Focal Students				
Name	**Academic level**	**Country of origin**	**Native language**	**Major**
Jason	Freshman	South Korea	Korean	Pre-business
Nancy	Freshman	China	Chinese	Pre-architecture

Jason. Jason was a shy, soft-spoken, clean-cut student from Korea in his first semester at the University Of Minnesota. He had arrived in the US for the first time less than two weeks prior to the start of the semester. While Jason had never been to an English speaking country, he attended an international (English-medium) high school in China. Through his experience at the international school, Jason was used to studying and "doing school" primarily in English. According to Jason, most of the teachers in that school were native English speakers from Canada. Despite this exposure to English, and a TOEFL iBT score of 98—an English proficiency score considerably higher than the 79 required to be fully admitted to the university ("University Admissions," 2013)—Jason mentioned lacking confidence in his proficiency and his ability to communicate with native speakers, "I was not that good at English and since teachers were native speakers I

[11] To protect anonymity of the student participants, these are pseudonyms that I selected for them. The English pseudonyms reflect their own choice to go by an English name as students in the US.

haven't got many opportunities to talk with them" (Interview 1; Sept. 20, 20xx). Jack told me that this lack of confidence in communicating with native English speakers was what made him decide to sign up for FYW for NNES and what caused him to remain silent in most of his other classes, "If there are native speakers, I can't speak very well. I cannot participate" (Interview 1; Sept. 20, 20xx).

Jason had a full academic load. In addition to taking FYW for NNES Jason was registered for a number of other courses including calculus, astronomy, and microeconomics. Due to the kinds of courses he was taking, Jason told me that the only time he really ever spoke English was during the FYW for NNES class. This included his time out of class as well. While Jason had met some American students (that he referred to as friends) during orientation, he did not hang out with them because he did not feel comfortable doing so, citing language as his problem. He lived alone in an off-campus apartment and had formed a social circle that was primarily Korean. While he was exposed to a lot of English throughout the day, his own interactions in and use of English were actually quite limited.

His non-native English speaker status along with his own lack of confidence in using English marked him as an outsider on campus in many ways. Jason was also an outsider in this particular section of FYW for NNES since the majority of the students were Chinese. In essence, Jason experienced a double minority status in this class. Though he spoke some Chinese (in his experience attending high school in China, he learned Chinese at school and he was exposed to Chinese in his daily life outside of

school), he had a non-native Chinese speaker status in the class and his interactions with other students were generally in English.

In class, Jason participated actively. He asked questions and participated in the small group discussions and activities. He was always on time, prepared, and attentive. He took his work seriously and wanted to do well in the class. He contacted the instructor regularly and met with her during office hours to try to ensure that he understood class concepts and was integrating them and the instructor feedback into his writing appropriately. He wanted to 'do it right' or as instructed. While his socialization was certainly messy and not always uncontested or straightforward, in ways, he was a model student.

Nancy. Nancy was a quiet, yet free-spirited, independent student from China also in her first semester at the University of Minnesota. While this was her first time at a US university, she had come to the US as a child to participate in a Concordia Language Camp with other children from around the world. She did not remember much about the camp other than it was fun. In addition to this childhood experience, Nancy claimed to have been officially studying English for seven years. She had a TOEFL score of 95 which is higher than the 79 required to be fully admitted to the university ("University Admissions," 2013). In getting to know Nancy, I did not get the sense that she had major confidence issues with communicating in English. She made errors and needed to negotiate understanding in some of her interactions, but she seemed more focused on being able to communicate which allowed her a certain freedom in her communication.

The sense of freedom was something that Nancy really appreciated about her experience in the US. As someone who liked to dye her hair pink or blond, wear fishnet tights, and drive a motorcycle, she talked about how she never 'fit in' in China. In the US, she felt more accepted and more able to be herself. She joined clubs such as the Electronic Dance Music club and signed up for a Kung Fu based dance class. She met US friends, even boyfriends, through these activities and talked of the parties and dance clubs she attended with them. Unlike Jason, Nancy seemed to branch out from her Chinese community and interact more with US students. From our conversations, Nancy seemed to suggest that for her this experience in the US was not just about her academic career but also about gaining new personal and social experiences. Of course, it is possible that what she told me did not align with her actual feelings and social activities.

Nancy was a pre-architecture student. In addition to the FYW for NNES class, Nancy was also registered for art history, Spanish, calculus, an architecture class, and judo. She did not share how she was doing in those classes, but in FYW for NNES, her grades suggested she was struggling. She was often late to class, did not complete assignments, forgot to put her name on papers, and received warnings for plagiarism. In class, she often sat with her back to the teacher. Due to the nature of the pod seating arrangement this was hard to avoid, but unlike other students, she often would not turn to face the front during teacher-centered instruction. However, Nancy participated during large and small group activities and commented on the usefulness of the course resources available on Moodle, so she was not entirely disengaged. It was more a question of

inconsistency. Though Nancy seemed to resist doing things that were expected of her, her inconsistencies made her unpredictable and multifaceted.

Data Collection

This qualitative study examining the language and culture of one FYW for NNES course (WRIT 1301) involved extensive data collection over the course of an academic semester, the complete length of the course. Data collection began in September 20xx and ended at the end of the semester in December of that same year. A final interview was conducted with the instructor in January of the following year. In accordance with the ethnographic approach to LS research, and in an effort to gain a rich, holistic, and triangulated view of the research context, this study collected a variety of data including, audio recordings of class sessions, participant observations and field notes, site artifacts, and interviews. These data points are described in detail in the paragraphs that follow, but the table below provides a brief overview of the data collected.

Table 3-3 Data Sources

Data	*Samples*
Audio/Video Recordings & Transcripts	• 34 (50 min) class sessions (85% of total meetings times) • 5 (45-60 min) student/instructor writing conferences • 2 (20-60 min) semi-structured instructor interviews • 15 (20-80 min) semi-structured student interviews (3 for each of the 5 focal students)
Participant Observations & Field Notes	• 36 (50 min) class sessions (90% of total meetings times)
Student Work	• 40 drafts (2-5 page) of writing assignments (all drafts of the three writing assignments for each of the five focal students) • copies of all homework assignments for each of the five focal students
Documents	• all course handouts and documents

Audio/Video Recordings

The main source of data for this study was the audio recordings of class sessions. Over the course of the 15-week semester, the class met a total of 40 times. Of these 40 class sessions, I collected 34 audio recordings sessions. I did not record the first two sessions because I was waiting for participant consent. I missed another two due to my own illness and attendance at an out of state conference. The remaining two class sessions that were not audio recorded were because my key participant, Ms. Hansen, was not present. She had planned for a substitute instructor to lead a class activity while she held writing conferences with the students.

To best capture the spoken classroom discourse and interaction, I placed a digital recorder at each of the four 'pods' or clusters of student desks. I placed a fifth recorder at the front of the room to ensure that I would also capture Ms. Hansen's speech. Essentially, I have five audio files for each class session. This provided me with a detailed record of the classroom discourse for any given day.

In addition to the audio files, I also collected video recordings of most of the class sessions. For the reasons listed above, and due to some technical difficulties, I obtained video recordings for 26 class periods. I placed a video camera at the back of the room. This video camera was aimed toward the front of the room and captured the activity at one cluster of student desks and the front of the classroom including the blackboard and projector screen. The purpose of these video recordings was to allow me, when needed, to re-immerse myself into the classroom during the formal analysis stage of my study.

In addition to the class sessions, I audio recorded the student/teacher writing conferences for each of the five focal students. I did not attend these conferences because I did not want to interfere with the one-on-one nature of these conversations. I have audio recordings of these sessions along with copies of the drafts being discussed during the conferences.

Participant Observations

With the exception of four class periods, I attended each of the class sessions over the course of the semester. During each of these class sessions, I took extensive notes about what was going on in the class. To enhance my audio and video recordings, I paid attention to things such as classroom dynamics, student participation and engagement, speakers in whole-class discussions, and use of materials/artifacts. I wrote my field notes in a table with four columns: (1) time; (2) topic/activity; (3) features of interaction; and (4) what's of interest. I flagged and inserted notes of instances or interactions that I found of particular importance to my research questions so that I could easily return to those moments during my formal analysis stage. During class, I also collected classroom artifacts such as course textbooks, all handouts, Power Points, and most blackboard notes. Upon reviewing my field notes each day, I summarized my impressions of the day and began a list of codes and themes that I saw emerging.

Interviews

For each of my interviews, I prepared in advance a semi-structured interview protocol of open-ended questions[12]. I also allowed for the conversation to emerge naturally and to include discussions based on recent class observations, initial analysis of

[12] See Appendix C for sample interview questions.

field notes, and copies of student work that I had collected up to that point. I recorded the interviews on a small digital recorder, which I placed on the table near us. As we spoke, I took notes on a printed copy of my interview protocol. Each of the interviews lasted from 20 to 60 minutes.

Instructor interviews. I had originally planned on three interviews with the instructor: one each as the beginning, middle, and end of the semester. However, as the semester got underway, Ms. Hansen and I found many opportunities to connect and talk more regularly, prompting me to forgo the mid-semester interview. There were two recurring time frames for these informal, but regular, discussions. The first was during class time. Ms. Hansen would often come talk to me while students were working individually or in groups. The second was out of class. Ms. Hansen and I got into the routine of walking across campus together after class. These walks generally ranged between five to ten minutes two to three times a week. During these conversations, we debriefed the day's class and I took the opportunity to ask questions based on my observations, initial analysis of field notes, and copies of student work.

Student interviews. For each of the focal students I conducted three interviews: one at the beginning, one at midterm after the first major writing assignment, and the third at the end of the semester. These interviews were generally conducted in the campus office I shared with the instructor. At times however, I did meet students at another location on campus (e.g., a quiet lounge area). At the beginning of each interview, I reminded students that their anonymity would be preserved.

The first interview was meant to get to know each student and his/her background a bit more. I also used this time to ask about each student's prior experiences with academic writing and their expectations of the course. In the second and third interviews, the goal was to understand each of the student's impressions of the class and how the course in general, and the instructor in particular, was helping to develop their academic writing. I wanted to begin to understand what each student seemed to be taking away from the course and how this was reflected in his/her writing. During these interviews, I brought copies of each student's papers to have something concrete to talk about and refer to. I asked how the drafts changed and why.

Student Work

The instructor's extensive use of the online course management system, Moodle, made the collection of student work quite easy. Nearly all the student work was submitted and returned via Moodle, and therefore most work was in electronic format. I had guest instructor access to the Moodle site allowing me to download and collect copies of the focal students' work. I collected copies of all their online homework assignments and each of the three drafts for the three major writing assignments. This included any written feedback provided by Ms. Hansen on any of this work.

Classroom Documents and Artifacts

I collected nearly every document used in this class. I purchased copies of the required course textbooks and downloaded each of the online packets (e.g., syllabus, instructional materials) provided on Moodle by the instructor. I collected handouts from all the class sessions that I attended. I saved digital copies of class power points. In

addition to the instructional materials, I also collected copies of many of the instructor's lesson plans.

Data Reduction

Given the extensive quantity of data I collected and the breadth of my research questions that explore both the *processes* of LS and the *outcomes,* I found it necessary to limit the focus of my analysis to selected portions of the data collected. Duff (2002) explains this process of data reduction as follows:

> As in all empirical research, data reduction is necessary, often achieved by the principled selection of a limited number of representative activities, discourse samples, and focal research participants from a much larger study, sometimes in combination with a quantification of general patterns across the data set and more macroscopic contextualization. (p. 294-295)

Duff (2002) also describes a number of strategies for implementing data reduction which included (among others) focusing on certain activities or learners, both of which I did.

As I did not want to compromise the *what,* the *how,* and the *outcomes* of the socialization process that made my study unique, I decided to focus my analysis on two of the five focal students and on student/instructor interactions. The two students that I decided to focus on were the best match for my population of interest. The FYW for NNES class is intended for incoming first-year students. All the focal students were in their first year at this US higher education institution, however, some were arriving as transfer students in their sophomore or junior years. As stated above I decided to focus on two students, Jason and Nancy, who were freshman in their first semester as university

students in the US. Another reason to focus on these two students was the contrasting experiences and perspectives they offered. Language socialization theory and literature highlights the agency newcomers have in their socialization process; some are more open to socialization while others are more resistant. Jason and Nancy seemed to be on opposing ends of the spectrum and served to offer a varied perspective on the outcomes of socialization, though of course each of their experiences is certainly not simple nor straightforward. It is also important to note that given my focus on the role of the instructor, I focused my analysis to data on student/instructor activities and interactions. For this reason, I did not examine peer/peer interactions, a limitation that I discuss further in Chapter Five.

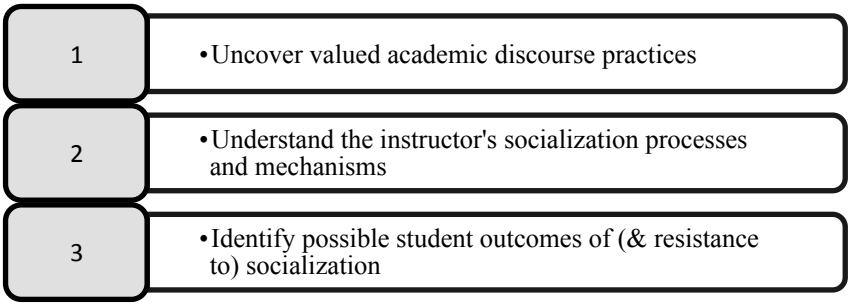
This data reduction did not affect the analysis of any general classroom/course data, such as class observations and transcriptions, which I used to understand the classroom culture and identify the valued practices and ideologies. This data reduction allowed me to focus my examination on the role of the instructor as a socializing agent and on the specific student experiences and socialization outcomes of the two focal students.

Data Analysis

I had several goals for the analysis of my data that aligned with my research questions. These goals are illustrated in the figure below and explained in the paragraphs that follow. While this figure and the descriptions that follow might suggest a linear process, this in no way reflects the reality of my data analysis. Rather, as my analysis and understanding of the data and its interconnectedness, as well as connections to the

theory and literature developed, I moved back and forth in time, between analysis goals, and between different data sets.

Figure 3-3 Data Analysis Goals



The first goal was to uncover the instructor's underlying values and practices conveyed to students in the FYW for NNES classroom community. I identified these valued discourse practices the students were being socialized into with the understanding that this did not suggest socialization actually occurred. To uncover the valued academic discourse practices of this FYW for NNES course, I engaged in an iterative and reflexive process of ongoing reviewing, coding, and analyzing transcripts of interactional data (classroom recordings, writing conferences and interviews), field notes, and site artifacts beginning during the data collection phase. This allowed me to explore emerging themes and focus on further data collection.

Upon completion of my data collection, audio-recorded class sessions and interviews were reviewed and transcribed. My analysis of classroom data, writing conferences and interviews focused primarily on content and thus tended to be transcribed more broadly. The selected segments of student/instructor interactional data

were transcribed more narrowly[13] to allow for closer examination of language use. I uploaded each transcription to the online data analysis software, Dedoose. Then, beginning in chronological order but moving back in forth in time as needed, I carefully reviewed all the data (e.g., audio-recordings, course documents, assignments, readings) for each class period[14] and uploaded any additional relevant data to Dedoose for coding.

I began with open coding (Creswell, 1998) to help ensure I did not miss anything important in the data and to allow for themes to emerge. Initial names for codes came from both the data itself and from the literature. Codes coming directly from the data and participants are more "emic" (Maxwell, 2005) and often referred to as *in vivo* codes (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013). For example, anytime the instructor or other source focused on the concept of voice and how to make it clear to readers who is speaking at any given point in a text, I used the code *They Say, I Say* (Graff & Birkenstein, 2009). This was the title of one of the course textbooks, but it also became the way the instructor and students talked about this concept. Other codes such as *resisting*, were concepts from LS theory and research. Applying the code *resistance* helped me identify moments in student/teacher interactions or student work and behavior when a particular student seemed to be resisting a particular practice or value of the classroom. Acknowledging and examining this learner agency is an important part of LS theory and research (Duff, 2010b; Duff & Talmy, 2011).

Deeper reflection on my codes helped identify connections between my data and the literature. They also prompted me to make analytic memos (Miles et al., 2013) to

[13] See Appendix A for transcription notes and conventions.
[14] I also uploaded transcripts of any writing conferences as they fit into the chronological sequence of the data.

process these connections. Maxwell (2005) explains, analytic memos serve not only as a way to capture analytic thinking about the data, but also "*facilitate* such thinking, stimulating analytic insights" (p. 96).

As I progressed in the analysis of my data, I began to better understand the data and the relationships between codes, and thus, codes were changed, merged, deleted, and created. Eventually, I landed on the following fairly stable parent codes that aligned closely with my research questions:

Table 3-4 Examples of Codes

Parent Codes	*Examples of Sub-codes*
Valued Socialization Outcomes	Becoming a student • Being active and engaged • Being respectful and considerate (& minimize the burden placed on instructor) Becoming a writer • Being a critical thinker • Understanding audience
Socialization Process	Helping students notice
Classroom Environment & Culture	Supporting students Seeing students as capable
Student Outcomes	Resisting

The second goal of my analysis was to understand the processes of socialization used by the instructor. In other words, I wanted to understand the mechanisms, intended (conscious) or not, used by the instructor to help socialize students into her valued academic discourse practices. To do this, I reviewed the data with the parent *socialization process* code and closely analyzed the interactions and learning activities that I identified as ways students were being socialized. In this analysis I carefully examined what was being said and done and how.

The last goal of my analysis was to identify any possible outcomes of socialization in the two focal students. These outcomes could include not only adoption, but also resistance to or simply lack of socialization. I looked for this in the students' classroom behaviors, their interactions with the instructor, and their written work. Notably missing from this part of my analysis is analysis of peer interaction, a limitation I discuss in Chapter 5.

Researcher's Role and Positionality

Because of my work with international students both as an instructor and researcher, I approached this research project with a certain understanding of and sensitivity to the international student experience. I also came to this project with extensive international travel and work experience. This in no way however, privileged me as an insider to the international undergraduate student community. I have never been an international student in a foreign country nor had to navigate a foreign academic culture and language as a student. I benefit from being a native English speaking, white, middle-class graduate student. My access to higher education has always been a given and did not come with any real sacrifice or pressure from my family.

On the first day of class, Ms. Hansen allowed me to introduce myself to the students. I told them that I too was a student at the university and that I was working on my PhD in FL education. I wanted to emphasize our one commonality –our student status— and try to distance myself from Ms. Hansen and the role of instructor and ultimately evaluator. I hoped this would help me build a relationship with the students where they could openly talk to me about their experiences as students in the course and

in developing their academic writing. To help reinforce this, Ms. Hansen and I decided it would be best that I sat at a student desk and refrained from taking on any kind of teaching role.

While I sat among the students, I did not join any of the student work groups. I wanted to be able to devote my full attention to all that was happening more broadly in the classroom and the role of the instructor and thus, used this time to note things about student participation, instructor engagement with students (noting any conversations of interest that I overhead and wanted to review on the audio file), and general classroom dynamics. So while I have audio recordings of all the small group discussions, mostly in Chinese since students were allowed to use their home language in class, I do not have substantial notes on what was happening within each group during small group work.

It was also during this small group time that Ms. Hansen would often come and talk to me about the lesson, upcoming activities, student work, or her general reactions to how things were going. These informal conversations took place when students were doing independent or group activities. This could have caused students to see me as aligned with Ms. Hansen, but students still appeared comfortable and open with me during interviews, some even sharing stories of their personal life or asking me for help with work for other classes. The short, side, conversations offered important insight to better understanding Ms. Hansen and her teaching process.

Summary

As explained and illustrated earlier, the strengths of an LS framework include its dual focus on language and sociocultural knowledge and the robust methodological tools

used for understanding how one mediates or is mediated by the other. Research exploring the valued academic discourse practices of a classroom community, how they are conveyed to students, and whether students enact or resist these practices, as this dissertation aims to do, requires an in-depth understanding of the classroom culture as well as analysis of the classroom interactions and student work. Employing ethnographic and discourse analytic tools common to LS research afforded me the macro and micro levels of analysis needed to address my research questions.

Chapter 4: Becoming a Writer; Becoming a Student

Introduction

What is a good writer? A good student? The notion of *good* is highly subjective. What *good* means in an academic setting can depend on the personal taste or preferences of an instructor or grader. However, it can also be informed by broader cultural values and expectations. For example, in the US, *good* academic writing often reflects the US value of directness in that it must generally meet the socioculturally expected norm of the role of the writer in stating the thesis or main ideas at the beginning of a text (Eland et al., 2009; Fox, 1994; Hinkel, 2013). Thus, in learning the academic discourse practices associated with the expectations of academic writing in the US, new international students are arguably also learning broader societal values of their new academic community. Though the extent to which this happens (successfully) depends on such factors as pedagogical approaches and student prior knowledge.

Analyzing Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES course through an LS perspective illustrated way in which macro societal values and norms were embedded in micro local practices; and thus how *through* language students were socialized to *use* language and develop relevant sociocultural knowledge. Closely examining classroom interactions and learning activities while paying attention to both macro and micro levels of analysis demonstrated the degree to which Ms. Hansen's course extended beyond teaching students about academic writing. Ms. Hansen socialized her students into becoming *good* writers *and* students by helping them uncover the broader societal values guiding locally expected practices.

To highlight the dual focus of Ms. Hansen's class, the findings are presented in two main sections, *Becoming a Writer* and *Becoming a Student.* In each of these sections, I (1) report on some of the most salient cultural messages and associated academic discourse practices valued by Ms. Hansen; (2) describe the process(es) of socialization into these norms and practices; and (3) where possible, I draw on data from the two focal students, Nancy and Jason, to illustrate examples of socialization into or resistance to the valued academic discourse practices and norms. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the findings and their relevance to current literature including debates about the role of FYW, particularly for new NNES international students, and to a growing body of research on second language academic discourse socialization that has tended to use a narrow understanding of academic discourse.

Becoming a Writer

As the quote on the first page of this dissertation illustrates, because of the deeply cultural nature of writing, learning to write in a new academic setting involves not only learning the values of that society but also developing new ways of thinking and being that reflect those values (Fox, 1994; Hinkel, 2013; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Shen, 1989). One of the many challenges for NNES international students in adopting new academic writing practices is that the cultural values guiding the expected practices are often unspoken and assumed (Fox, 1994; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Ramanathan & Kaplan, 1996).

Ms. Hansen's explicit approach to teaching academic writing helped NNES first-year international students uncover the values that guide US academic writing practices.

Ms. Hansen made explicit comments that the academic writing practices the students might have been used to in their home (L1) institutions often do not fit the expectations of US academic writing. This, at the very least, drew awareness to differences in academic writing. For example, on the first day of class, Ms. Hansen told the students:

Excerpt 1[15]

1 Ms.H *The writing style we use in the US might be quite different than what*
2 *you do in your home country. If you want good grades, you have to*
3 *learn to write in the academic style that is expected in US colleges.*
(Field Notes, Day 1; September 4, 20xx)

In this early message to the students, Ms. Hansen emphasized the role of expectations in academic writing and how a mismatch could ultimately be detrimental to a student's grade, especially if the instructor/grader was not aware of cultural differences in academic writing practices. This message from Ms. Hansen positioned the students as the ones who needed to make the cultural adjustment.

In order to begin making these cultural adjustments, the students first needed to be aware of US academic writing values and practices; they also however needed opportunities, which Ms. Hansen provided, to enact these new practices and incorporate them not only their writing, but be immersed in new ways of thinking and being. Through explicit and implicit messages about the academic discourse practices valued in this FYW for NNES course, Ms. Hansen worked to socialize students into broader US academic writing practices that would serve them beyond this class. In what follows, I share two salient cultural messages and associated academic writing practices valued in

[15] See Appendix A for transcription notes and conventions.

Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES. The following are the two most salient messages related to writing in Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES course:

1. "Getting to the Heart of It"

   This phrase, based on a conversation with Ms. Hansen, represents the message that critical thinking is at the heart of academic writing.

2. "Writing is Not Paint by Number"

   This phrase, from a comment Ms. Hansen made to the students, represents the message that writing is contextual and that writers must pay attention to audience and the purpose for writing.

While these messages certainly overlap—for example, offering a critical analysis of a given topic is part of understanding audience expectations—I discuss them separately because of the importance they each received throughout the course. In presenting these findings, I explain each of the cultural messages and related academic discourse practices, describe the socialization processes, and provide evidence of student socialization or resistance.

"Getting to the Heart of It"

Early in the semester, as I was walking with Ms. Hansen after class one day, we talked about her experiences in teaching FYW for NNES. She explained how in the beginning she used to ignore the part of the syllabus that mentioned the development of critical thinking skills, but that over the years, she has come to realize that critical thinking is actually "the heart" of the class and of academic writing (Personal Conversation, Day 6; Sept. 16, 20xx). However, in reviewing Ms. Hansen's syllabus

after our conversation, I noticed there were only two explicit mentions of critical thinking and neither was listed explicitly as part of the course goals or outcomes. The first mention was in an opening welcome to the students where Ms. Hansen shared a bit about herself. Here she stated explicitly how much she enjoyed teaching writing and helping students develop their writing and critical thinking skills:

> First of all, I love teaching these classes. I like the subject matter, I love research writing, I thoroughly enjoy trying to figure out how to help students evolve in their writing and critical thinking, and I particularly like working with students like you. (Syllabus)

From this, we see that helping students develop their critical thinking skills for the US academic environment was clearly a priority for Ms. Hansen, despite it not being so explicitly stated in the detailed list of course goals and outcomes.

Ms. Hansen's second explicit mention of critical thinking in the syllabus came in a section about how to prepare for appointments with her or with a writing center consultant. In this part of the syllabus, she explained the students' role in these meetings, which included doing their own critical thinking, "our meetings are not for us to tell you what to write or to do your critical thinking for you – but we will help when you are confused or need someone to "think aloud" with" (Syllabus). This not only set the expectation that the students should do their own critical thinking, but that they also would do so ahead of time, an expectation about being a *good* student that I expand on below.

Despite this fact that critical thinking was not an explicitly stated course goal in the syllabus, critical thinking was certainly a valued discourse practice in this FYW for NNES course. And it was one that Ms. Hansen considered to be essential in *good* academic writing in the US. While explicit mention of critical thinking was largely missing in the syllabus, the notion of critical thinking arguably did show up in course outcomes and grading rubrics such as developing a topic, backing up assertions, presenting and supporting multiple viewpoints, and identifying and challenging assumptions: all arguably components or evidence of critical thinking. Without stating it explicitly, Ms. Hansen was socializing students into what it meant to engage in critical thinking in her class and in US academic writing. More overt definitions of critical thinking might have been helpful to the students, however, because even the concept of critical thinking is thought to be a tacit social practice that varies across cultures (Atkinson, 1997; Fox, 1994).

At times, Ms. Hansen made the connection between critical thinking and writing explicit. For example, on the first day of class during the course introduction, Ms. Hansen reassured the students of their ability to be successful in this class by deemphasizing the role of English and highlighting the importance of critical thinking:

Excerpt 2

1 Ms.H *You shouldn't be scared of this class. I know writing is hard. It's hard*
2 *for native speakers too. But you are not going to be graded on your*
3 *English. You will be graded on critical thinking, what you put into your*
4 *essays.*

(Field Notes, Day 1; Sept. 4, 20xx)

Here, Ms. Hansen told the students directly that they needed to demonstrate critical thinking in their essays. Its centrality in writing was further emphasized since Ms.

Hansen also told the students that critical thinking was what they would be graded on, not their English language skills. Ms. Hansen seemed to say this to reassure students, without realizing, or perhaps acknowledging, the challenge presented to some students by the critical thinking expectation. This is not because the students are not able to do critical thinking, but because it might be something they were not socialized into doing in the same way in their home (L1) academic practices thus, potentially making the enactment of this norm in general, and in writing more specifically, that much more challenging.

However, the connection between critical thinking and writing was not always so explicit. In many ways the importance of critical thinking was conveyed more implicitly through Ms. Hansen's messages. Students were provided opportunities to enact this value through related discourse practices such as developing multiple viewpoints and perspectives. The following comment made to the students by Ms. Hansen (lines 1-2) immediately following a small group activity emphasized the value of having different opinions and how it pushes thinking:

Excerpt 3

1 Ms.H *remember difference differences of opinion (1) usually help us*
2 *understand stuff (1) so lets not worry about being different (1) so your*
3 *task is to decide whether the statement fits scenario one about violating*
4 *the rights of victims and families (.) or scenario two about showing*
5 *racial bias (1) both (.) or neither (2) so let's start with B victims deserve*
6 *to be able to grieve in private which scenario or scenarios or whatever*
7 *did you guys feel that that fit? (5)*
8 S1 *in our group we agreed that this is used to support scenario one*
9 Ms.H *ok good*
10 S1 *but not for scenario two*
11 Ms.H *good! //and*
12 S1 *actually// you can also use this as some supporting materials at the end*
13 *of scenario two*

14 Ms.H *you can build INTO it*
15 S1 *//yeah*
16 Ms.H *that's// a good observation (1) it might not be where you START (.) but it*
17 *could fit later on good thinking um (.) and why does it fit scenario one?*
18 *(1) how did you know that?*
(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 6; Sept. 17, 20xx)

In lines 16 and 17, Ms. Hansen praised the student for his answers, and thus placed value on what she considered evidence of his thinking. Ms. Hansen also conveyed to the students the importance of rationale in US critical thinking by asking in line 16 for explanation or justification of the answer.

In the middle of a long set of announcements at the beginning of class one day, Ms. Hansen also emphasized that what was more important than being right or wrong on the particular Moodle assignment being discussed was showing evidence of thinking and supporting ideas:

Excerpt 4

1 Ms.H *… I looked at not everybody's answers (.) I haven't graded this yet (.)*
2 *but I took a look at some of the answers, and (.) um for the questions*
3 *number one (1) and you guys are doing fine on it (.) not only fine but*
4 *some of you had better answers (.) better worded answers than my own*
5 *(.) so that's good! um what (.) I'm not going to discuss the*
6 *answer to number one (.) if I when I read your stuff, if I think you need*
7 *feedback I'll tell you we're just going to deal with number two (1) and*
8 *I'd like to say right off-- right away (.) that it doesn't matter (.) if your*
9 *answers are different than my answers or if your answers are different*
10 *than your groups' answers don't go in and change your homework (.) if*
11 *you change your homework then it says that you are LATE! //don't*
12 *confuse me!*
13 S1 [laughs]//
14 Ms.H *//remember as long as I see evidence that you are THINKING about*
15 *what you're doing and giving REASONABLE SUPPORTED answers you*
16 *get full credit (1) so please don't panic if we have disagreements about it*
(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 6; Sept. 17, 20xx)

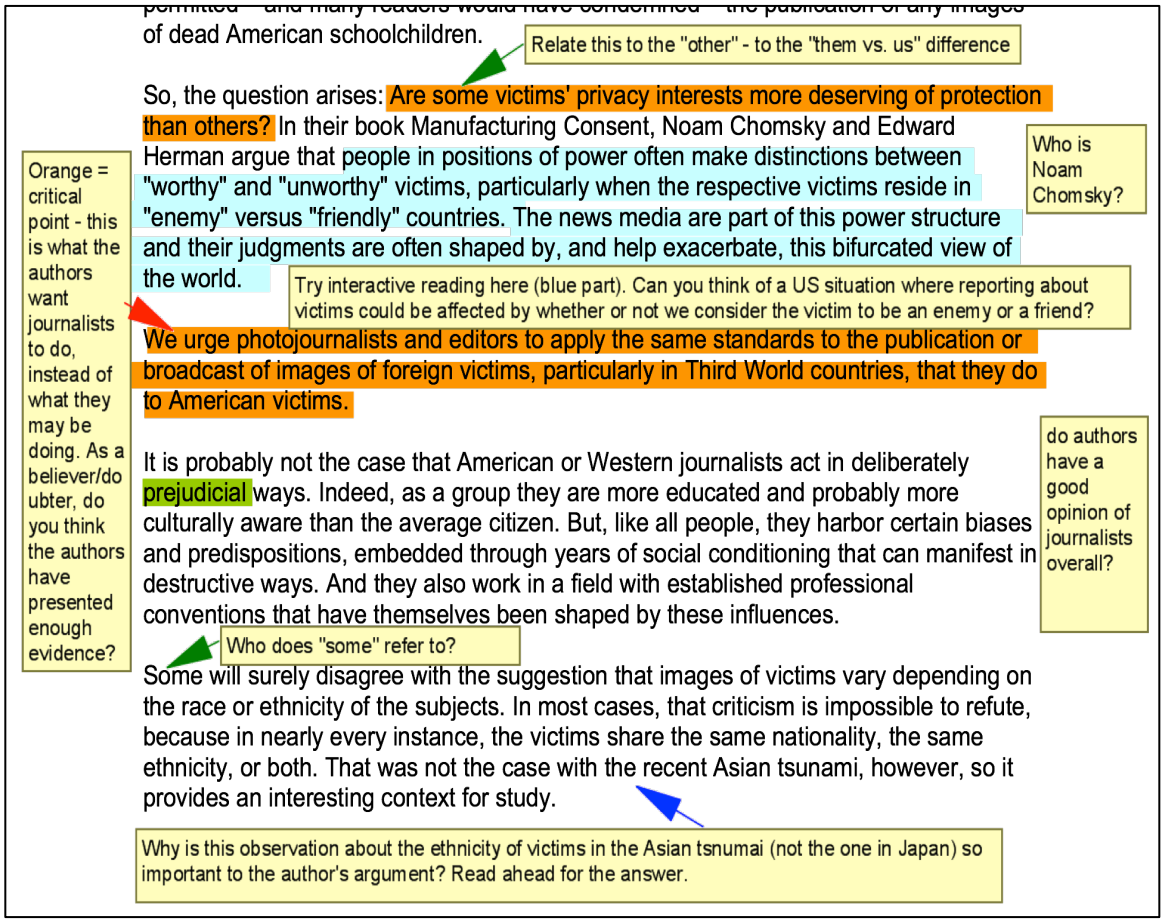
Messages such as, “it doesn't matter if your answers are different than my answers or if your answers are different than your groups’ answers” (lines 8-10) and “remember as long as I see evidence that you are thinking about what you're doing, and giving reasonable supportive answers, you get full credit” (lines 14-16) offered examples of what critical thinking meant in the US academic setting and suggested that multiple opinions and viewpoints on a given issue can be valid. These messages, in addition to Ms. Hansen’s admission that some of the students had better answers than her own (lines 3-4) likely helped instill confidence in the students and encouraged them to develop their own individual opinions and worry less about having the same answer or response as everyone else, including the instructor. Finally, of note in this interaction is in line 8 where Ms. Hansen offered the students a definition or alternative to the expression, “right off.” By also offering, “right away” (line 8), Ms. Hansen provided students with exposure and access to more colloquial English. This notion of access that Ms. Hansen gives the students is one that I discuss in more length later.

Similar to the interactions in Poole’s (1992) study, which served to implicitly impart broader societal values, Ms. Hansen’s comments in Excerpt 4 above also reflected, and perhaps implicitly worked to socialize, students into broader societal values such as individualism which are often thought to guide academic practices (Eland et al., 2009; Eland & Thomas, 2013; Hinkel, 2013; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998). Eland and Thomas (2013) explain how the societal value of individualism leads to educational practices that value critical thinking and student independence where knowledge and instructors are open for questioning. In Excerpt 4 above then, Ms. Hansen was not just valuing and

encouraging multiple perspectives and thus critical thinking. She was, in a small, implicit way, instilling the societal value of individualism which allowed for the possibility of a student outperforming the instructor, as Ms. Hansen acknowledged students did (lines 3-4). This however might be challenging for students from more collectivist societies where, as Eland and Thomas (2013) claim, students are not to question the instructor or offer contrasting views so as to not "disrupt the harmony of the group or classroom" (p. 151).

Along with these indirect messages encouraging critical thinking, classroom practices and activities also helped foster the critical thinking skills valued by Ms. Hansen. Just the fact that developing critical thinking skills was a central focus of many class activities and assignments in her writing course was a strong message in itself. A more specific way in which Ms. Hansen socialized students into critical thinking practices was by giving examples of the kind of questions students should be asking of themselves in doing academic work. Nowhere was this guided practice for critical thinking more salient than in the annotated readings Ms. Hansen provided students after they had had a fair chance at reading and trying to understand the text first. The following example of an annotated text was one of the articles that the students were to read and write about in the first writing assignment, the Comparative Summary.

Figure 4-1 Example of Annotated Reading, Day 5; Sept. 14, 20xx



In this annotated version of the article, *Are These Victims Worthy?* from The Digital Journalist (Ugland & Slattery, 2005), Ms. Hansen demonstrated the kind of interactive reading and critical thinking she expected, which consequently also fostered the valued practice of active learning (which I discuss in greater detail in the section below, *Becoming a Student*). As can be seen in the example above, the annotation is color-coded. The orange (dark highlighting) signifies a key point that Ms. Hansen wanted to highlight, the blue (light highlighting) signifies content the students should try to connect to in their own personal lives or other things they had read/heard about, the green

(highlighting of a single word) is used to highlight difficult/new vocabulary, and the text boxes highlight questions to engage the students more deeply with the article.

These annotations served to set several expectations related to critical thinking in Ms. Hansen's class. By highlighting the word "prejudicial" and asking "Who does 'some' refer to?" Ms. Hansen set the expectation to pay attention to language and grammar and how it is used and for what function. By asking "Who is Noam Chomsky?" and "Do authors have a good opinion of journalists overall?" Ms. Hansen set the expectation that students were to take responsibility for trying to fully understand the meaning of a text and any embedded cultural references. Finally, the questions "As a believer/doubter do you think the authors have presented enough evidence?" and "Why is this observation about the ethnicity of victims in the Asian tsunami (not the one in Japan) so important to the author's argument?" set the expectation to question authors and try to understand and evaluate the effectiveness of their rhetorical moves and argument development. Essentially, the annotations helped move students from being passive readers to those who are fully engaged in questioning, analyzing, and understanding the content, language use, and rhetorical strategies of a given text. Perhaps most important is how this annotation illuminated the accepted, even valued, practice of questioning authors as part of critical thinking. This is much less acceptable in many other cultures (Eland & Thomas, 2013; Fox, 1994; Jin & Cortazzi, 2006) and thus could be a difficult practice for some students to fully enact.

This annotation, along with a similar one provided to students for the second related article to be used in the Comparative Summary assignment supported students in

their development of critical reading and thinking skills. It also served to scaffold the students' understanding of the texts and the different viewpoints on a topic as well as help develop their own perspectives. In an informal discussion with me during class, Ms. Hansen talked about the importance of supporting students by making sure materials were accessible or by allowing students to select materials they were comfortable with (versus requiring only academic articles as sources for the research paper). Otherwise, as the conversation below illustrates, Ms. Hansen felt the goal of getting students to understand different viewpoints would be lost in their inability to fully comprehend a given text:

Excerpt 5

1 Ms.H *So, if you're trying to get students to engage with something that is*
2 *meaningful. Potentially meaningful to them. If you're trying to keep*
3 *them from plagiarizing and putting a lot of pulp into what they're*
4 *writing then you have to make the materials, you have to allow them to*
5 *use materials that they can access.*
6 LBG *Because it's. What you want them to present in the research paper is to*
7 *make an argument and present two sides of an argument.*
8 Ms.H *Or multiple view points.*

(Classroom Data – Private Side Conversation, Day 11; Sept. 28, 20xx)

Here again, we see the value Ms. Hansen placed on developing multiple perspectives on a topic as well as her role in helping students do that.

In addition to guiding students in reading strategies meant to help foster critical thinking skills and the development of different viewpoints, Ms. Hansen also used interactive questioning practices to push students' thinking. In the following excerpts from a discussion about the annotated article referenced above, Ms. Hansen was trying to get students to think about the concept of *other*, a central theme in the articles students were reading for their Comparative Summary essay. Ms. Hansen began, as she often did,

by building on what the students currently knew and understood. Here, she did so by asking students to think about *otherness in* their home contexts:

Excerpt 6

1 Ms.H *so (1) um I want you to think about your own countries right now (1)*
2 *and about other ethnic groups (.) in your own countries (.) who are*
3 *those others? (1) let's start with Malaysia who are the others with*
4 *respect to you?*
5 S1 *//um let's see (2) I would suppose it's the Caucasians?*
6 Ms.H *//*the *Caucasians? define who the Caucasians are*
7 S1 *//um generally the Westerners*
8 Ms.H *//Westerners? um ok (.) but in Malaysia (1) within within the Malays (.)*
9 *aren't there THREE different ethnic //groups?*
10 S1 *three main// different ethnic groups*
11 Ms.H *//ok what are those ethnic groups?*
12 S1 *//the Malay, Chinese, and Indians*
13 Ms.H *Ok. So aren't two of them kind of other? with respect to you?*
14 S1 *//well it's hard to say because Malaysians are just Malaysians*
15 Ms.H *//do (.) you (.) ever feel like you're an OTHER?*
16 S1 *um unless they categorize me as an out group then usually no*
17 Ms.H *//that's good that's not that's a little different than from what I've*
18 *heard from (.) other CHINESE Malaysians who feel because of (1)*
19 *unequal access to education they feel OTHERED (.) does that sound*
20 *true to you?*
21 S1 *well it has some truth to it*
22 Ms.H *//yeah ok (2) how about in China?*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 5; Sept. 14, 20xx)

Ms. Hansen started this discussion by calling on a very participatory student who was open to sharing his ideas. This student, as evident in line 5, was quick to offer a response to her question, though it was not what Ms. Hansen was really expecting given her ongoing questions. She affirmed the response, but pushed for more in lines 8-9 by asking about *otherness* within the Malay community. At this point, in lines 10 and 12, the student confirmed that there are three ethnic groups, but was not willing to admit, or perhaps did not realize that certain groups could be *othered* and responded that "Malaysians are just Malaysians" (line 14). Ms. Hansen seemed unconvinced with his

answer, but rather than call him out on it and risk making him uncomfortable, she shared another perspective (lines 17-20). This got the student to acknowledge in line 21 that the concept of *other* also exists in his community. While it is possible Ms. Hansen imposed this response on the student, another interpretation is that the questioning sequence, including the perspective of the Chinese Malaysian, offered the student the opportunity to explore his own understanding of, or thinking about, *otherness*.

Following this interaction, Ms. Hansen asked a few other students about the concept of *otherness* in their countries and then moved on to explore *otherness* in the US and its relevance to the article the students had read.

Excerpt 7

1 Ms.H *so WHY is this idea of OTHER (.) in America and in (.) in how we write*
2 *about people who aren't like us why, is that so important (1) to us? (7)*
3 *who does this article identify (1) as other?*
4 S2 *[unint] other than the Western*
5 Ms.H *//right so non-Western victims most of whom do not have white skin (1)*
6 *right? ok what do Americans PRIDE themselves? why are we proud of*
7 *ourselves (1)*
8 S3 *cause you're developed (.) cause we're developed right?*
9 Ms.H *//what about how we treat other people within the United States?*
10 S3 //WITHIN*? the United States?*
11 Ms.H *uh huh within within the United States*
12 S3 *um (.) as a foreigner I am sorry as a foreigner I may think it's because*
13 *you are the first to arrive here*
14 Ms.H [chuckles]
15 S3 [laughs with Ms. Hansen] *right?*
16 Ms.H *yeah* [said hesitantly]
17 S3 *//so WE'RE the foreigners*
18 Ms.H *//you're the foreigners yeah although Native Americans //might dispute*
19 *that*
20 S3 *yeah//*
21 Ms.H *but (2) so I'm trying I'm trying to lead you into the question without (.)*
22 *answering it (.) what role does EQUALITY play in the United States? (2)*
23 *is this? do we, do we try to have equality between peoples? (2)*
24 S1 *yes, it's in the constitution*
25 Ms.H *it's in the constitution now (.) we used to have slavery (.) we used to have*

discrimination (.) against African Americans and it's not that we DON'T have discrimination anymore (.) but we're TRYING always to be (.) more open minded we being in this case, I'm speaking (.) as a //white

S3 *yeah// despite the race even the ideas opinions right? the difference between them*

Ms.H *so if we have this idea of ourselves in America as (.) not discriminating and being more open minded (1) then (.) doesn't that (.) have some doesn't that lend some credibility to the criticism that this article raises? (1) I think that we are the most free equal nation on earth we don't discriminate but when it comes to victims (.) I will show pictures of brown skinned victims that I will not show white skin victims*

S3 *//yeah*

Ms.H *that's one of the things that at the core of this article so it's addressing the values of the average American (2) it's saying maybe you're not as good as you think you are you are not as open minded and unprejudiced as you think you are (1) what's the value of having your thoughts about yourself challenged? (1) that's part of what's going on in this article.*

S3 *//do you mean um without disasters (.) we cannot realize how conventional we are, right?*

Ms.H *well I hope it doesn't take a disaster but yes! (.) the way we treat the disasters yes it does //help us realize*

S3 *the disaster// tested us*

Ms.H *//yes it tested us*

S4 *//[unint] because we need to compare with others some people are suffering so we can know how good our life is now [unint]*

Ms.H *yes, absolutely that's part of why this article's published but (.) the article asks the question (.) why will you publish those pictures of Indonesians but you won't publish the same kind of pictures about (.) whites (.) who died in the tsunami? (1) you see the difference? that is one of the points they made (3)*

S5 *actually it's a little bit rude but I think that those people are always live in a not really good living conditions so they are just probably (.) just used to die all the time (.) it's a little bit crude but die everyday*

Ms.H *but you know what your words are saying? is it's showing an attitude towards OTHER //right?*

S5 [laughs]//

Ms.H *so, that's why it's a good example (.) of how this thinking gets into our brains and we want to challenge our thinking*

S? *[unint]*

Ms.H *yeah most of us won't [unint] but I won't talk in public about it these people want us to talk in public about it.*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 5; Sept. 14, 20xx)

Having had the students first think about *other* in their own contexts, Ms. Hansen then tried to help them understand the perspective of *other* in the US. She guided and pushed the students' thinking with questions such as, "who does this article identify as 'other'?" (line 3), "what do Americans pride themselves, why are we proud of ourselves?" (lines 6-7), and "what about how we treat other people within the United States?" (line 9). Despite these guiding questions, Ms. Hansen's comment in lines 21-22, "but, so I'm trying to lead you into the question without answering it" suggested Ms. Hansen did not get the responses she was looking for. The use of the conjunction "but" (line 21) acknowledged the students' comments while also implying that Ms. Hansen expected something different. Much like the student thinking about *other* in the Malaysian context (lines 5 & 7 in Excerpt 6 above), the students speaking in lines 4-20 here commented on the Western/non-Western and US/foreigner dichotomy but had a harder time seeing *otherness* within the US, not surprisingly. This is likely because the NNES international students were missing important cultural and historical context around the topic, but perhaps it was a subject they were uncomfortable with, as many might be.

Despite this, and maybe to justify her questioning practices, in line 41, Ms. Hansen told the students that she was trying to lead them to the main point. She then followed this point with a bit of historical and cultural context and finally ended up explaining the issue of *otherness* in the article. Much like the annotations for the reading, here Ms. Hansen was again emphasizing the importance of understanding other (new) perspectives by asking questions to guide the students' into deeper and more critical thinking. The comment in line 57 from the student (S5) who said "those people" to refer

to the exact *others* Ms. Hansen was talking about and whose photographs were argued in the reading to be more likely used in reports on tragedy, suggested the student was likely missing the point. While he mentioned that his comment might be rude, he seemed unaware that his comment actually exemplified the notion of *otherness*, including his biases. In lines 79-80, Ms. Hansen drew attention to how the student's comment illustrated the exact *otherness* she and the article are talking about, and pushed the student to think about this with a simple, "right?" (line 61). The student's (S5) response of laughter (line 62) was almost an *aha* moment, a realization and understanding of new perspectives, both the article's and his own. This excerpt illustrates how Ms. Hansen's use of display or known-answer questions (Weissberg, 2006) potentially functioned to socialize students into the kind of critical thinking that will serve them in their academic writing across the curriculum and throughout their academic careers in HEIs in the US.

Enactment, and thus evidence of potential socialization, of the valued academic discourse norms related to critical thinking and its impact on student writing can be seen in Nancy's writing and Ms. Hansen's feedback on her ability to present multiple viewpoints. In the feedback provided to Nancy on the second (revised, not final) draft of the first writing assignment (the Comparative Summary) Ms. Hansen told Nancy:

> Reduce the amount of quoting. Make it much clearer what U&S[16] are concerned about. But one thing you should add here is some examples. You had many examples for Hoyt[17], but none here. Give an example of bias in what photos to publish. (Written Feedback Revised Draft of Comparative Summary)

[16] U & S refers to (Ugland & Slattery, 2005)
[17] Hoyt refers to (Hoyt, 2010)

Essentially, Ms. Hansen told Nancy that her presentation of viewpoints presented in the article by Ugland and Slattery (2005) was not clear and lacked examples, or evidence. In the equivalent paragraph in the final draft, Nancy only addressed part of these comments. She did add examples to help illustrate the point, but she did not offer any explanation of those examples. And rather than paraphrasing to reduce the quoting, Nancy simply removed the quotation marks and even extended the now plagiarized quote (which the instructor did not detect this time). Nancy did try to add a bit more explanation to her text, but only a sentence, which did not seem to resolve the issues presented by Ms. Hansen about being clearer. This lack of real improvement between the revised and final draft is evident in Ms. Hansen's feedback:

> U&S gets more confused as you write more, especially in the 2nd body ¶. You need to explain the examples – you need to say that there were many photos of victims for the one, but not the other. It is inaccurate to report that journalists are trained to be prejudicial. U&S made a point of saying their training is NOT to be prejudiced, but that biases learned over a lifetime can sneak in. The reader will not get the main point about U&S.
>
> (Instructor Written Feedback Final Draft of Comparative Summary)

The score associated with this feedback was a check minus on the *meets basic requirements*[18] level of performance for the category called *focus* on the grading rubric. This category was essentially about critical thinking and included such criteria as identifying, analyzing, and comparing/contrasting the main points of the two articles, and

[18] The grading rubric consisted four performance levels: *excellent, strong, meets basic requirements*, and *needs improvement*.

providing essential and relevant supporting details. The criteria were basically about being able to discuss the various viewpoints presented in the articles about the use of photos to report on human tragedy. Nancy's overall grade on this paper was a C.

As the above feedback illustrates, there did not seem to be much development in critical thinking skills from draft to draft on the Comparative Summary essay. There does seem to be improvement over time on that aspect of writing, however. On Nancy's final draft of the Research Paper, which she failed due to significant plagiarism issues, Ms. Hansen did emphasize that Nancy had a reasonable paper, and specifically praised Nancy's representations of diverse perspectives. This suggested improvement from the earlier Comparative Summary where the feedback was less positive.

These examples from Nancy's writing illustrated her uneven and inconsistent enactment of valued discourse practices, and thus highlighted the complexity of the socialization process as well as Nancy's behaviors and identity. While Nancy did not address Ms. Hansen's advice to more fully, clearly, and accurately represent multiple viewpoints in her Comparative Summary essay, Ms. Hansen identified in written feedback Nancy's ability to represent multiple viewpoints as a strength of her Research Paper (the second major paper of the course). For a number of possible reasons, Nancy took up some of the desired practices and not others. This could be a due to a lack of time or motivation; but it could also be due to not fully understanding or knowing how to meet Ms. Hansen's expectations. In her research examining culture in academic writing, Fox (1994) realized that, because of a shared cultural background, domestic students tended to understand the ideas behind the feedback they received on writing; however,

due to cultural differences around the notions of clarity and evidence, instructor advice could be more difficult for international students to address. Thus, even if learners want to be socialized into certain practices, they might not (initially) be able to do so (Duff, 2010b). These speculations in trying to understand Nancy's behaviors emphasize the complexity of learners and their agency (conscious or not) to enact or resist certain practices.

The adoption of the specific practice of developing multiple viewpoints within critical thinking was something Nancy was conscious of. In our final interview on Dec. 12, 20xx (after classes were over), I asked Nancy what she had learned from doing the Research Paper. The first thing she listed was how much she learned about her topic, the repatriation of cultural artifacts. Later in the interview, I asked Nancy whether she agreed with the claim that critical thinking was the heart of academic writing. She responded with an emphatic, "yes" and explained her reasoning, noting the connections she was able to make to her course work as a pre-architecture major and the new perspective she developed on her topic:

Excerpt 8

1 Nancy *The more source you read, you are going to know what you really want*
2 *to express. Like, firstly kind of you can pick up topics for me. So this*
3 *topic. Ms. Hansen she gave this topic. So, she firstly she had asked me*
4 *whether I want it. Firstly I look at it, and I just saw "Repatriation*
5 *Cultural Property" what is that? I don't know. I didn't like touch this*
6 *kind area previously, but I don't want to refuse Miss Hanson. So, I just*
7 *accept it and say well fine I am going to do this research. And I did*
8 *some research about this paper, and it matches what I learned in Art*
9 *History somehow.*
10 LBG *Yeah, it kind of was a nice topic for you in the end, right?*
11 Nancy *Yeah, and also what I took this semester, the architecture. The content*
12 *in the architecture is somehow related to the old buildings, the relics,*
13 *and so it matches again well.*

14 LBG *Yeah. So it sounds like this paper also made you think about how your*
15 *other classes connect, right?*
16 Nancy*Yeah*.
17 LBG *So it made you connect a lot of thinking.*
18 Nancy*And besides, besides this paper. After know research, after research a*
19 *lot of things. I think I have some new fresh thoughts about repatriation*
20 *of cultural properties that is why I enlarged my conclusion a lot on the*
21 *final.*
22 LBG *So you developed your knowledge on the topic.*
23 Nancy*Yeah.*

(Final Interview, Dec. 12, 20xx)

Nancy's comment about developing new ideas in lines 19-20, "I think I have some new fresh thoughts about repatriation of cultural properties," aligns with one of the benefits, mentioned by Ms. Hansen, of doing research and reading various sources. This message to the students is illustrated in the following excerpt, which came in the middle of a nearly 15 minute teacher monologue of announcements and explanations concerning the Research Paper:

Excerpt 9

1Ms.H *... what I'm particularly concerned about is some of you had very short*
2 *(1) sources (.) for the source evaluation and you couldn't possibly write*
3 *four pages (.) with sources that were one page or one paragraph long*
4 *right? so make sure you get all of your sources it changes your thinking*
5 *(.) to have (.) more sources ...*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 24; Oct. 29, 20xx)

In this excerpt, Ms. Hansen was reminding the students of the importance of finding good, solid sources to help them develop ideas and allow them to write enough to meet the page requirement of the Research Paper assignment. This excerpt highlights the value Ms. Hansen placed on development and change in thinking as a result of reading various sources; practices related to critical thinking that Nancy seems to be socialized into, and that could likely benefit her as she continues in her studies in the US.

In this first section of findings, I have focused primarily on the valued academic discourse practice of developing multiple perspectives, which reflect the broader cultural message conveyed in this FYW for NNES course—that critical thinking is the heart of academic writing. I illustrated how the use of explicit messages and implicit practices, such as Ms. Hansen's use of annotation and questions, facilitated the socialization process. Finally, I gave an example of how, even despite failing a paper, Nancy demonstrated possible socialization into the particular academic discourse practice of developing multiple perspectives on a topic as a form of critical thinking and a key aspect of academic writing. I now move to examine the message that academic writing is not formulaic, which I represent with the phrase, "Writing is Not Paint by Number. "

"Writing is Not Paint by Number"

The message represented by Ms. Hansen's phrase, "Writing is not Paint by Number" is that academic writing is not formulaic. A writer cannot simply learn and then follow a list of *how tos* to be used blindly in academic writing; instead, a writer needs to pay close attention to contextual factors such as audience and consider such questions as, Who is the reader? And how does this reader perceive or react to your writing? The understanding of audience, including the role of the writer and the expectations of the reader, however, is cultural (Fox, 1994; Ramanathan & Kaplan, 1996). Thus, much like other academic discourse practices, the notion of audience is something that students are likely socialized into from a young age, making the adjustment to new understandings a challenge for them.

A primary way that Ms. Hansen socialized students into understanding the importance of context in academic writing was through various readings and learning activities. One of the first readings students were asked to do was a text written by Ms. Hansen about the *rhetorical triangle* which she explained to be a form of persuasion that balanced three elements: the writer, the text, and the audience (Moodle Site, Instructional Material, The Rhetorical Triangle). This text asked the students to think about different writing contexts (e.g., writing a physics lab report, writing a text message to a friend, and writing a research paper about the impact of violent video games on children) and what kind of strategies and data would be most effective for each of the situations (e.g., using facts, figures, statistics; making your reader feel angry; demonstrating that you know and understand the material you are reporting; demonstrate that you are familiar with the important literature in the field). The text then explained that it would depend on the writer's goals:

> Clearly, you would make different combinations of choices depending on the image you want to convey about yourself, who you are writing for, and what your purpose in writing is.
>
> (Moodle Site, Instructional Material, The Rhetorical Triangle)

In ways, the use of the word "clearly" from the explanation above might have served to draw attention to a practice that in fact might not have been clear to the students. It is possible this was a strategy used by Ms. Hansen to further help uncover cultural values and practices for her NNES international students.

The same text then went on to discuss how a writer's choices in language use, data sources, and use of emotion and logic, could impact how he/she is perceived by the reader and ultimately enhance or weaken the effectiveness of a piece of writing. After reading the text, the students were asked to apply their understanding of the reading and the *rhetorical triangle*. Rather than have students examine text, Ms. Hansen asked the students to analyze various print advertisements by thinking about who the ad was intended for, how it might be perceived, and the strategies of persuasion being used. While the reading offered explicit messages about the importance of paying attention to audience, the homework activity was more implicit and engaged students in a way of thinking that could eventually guide their academic writing practices beyond the class.

This mix of explicit messages and implicit practice was a common strategy used by Ms. Hansen. This was also evident in the peer review activity, which the students were asked to do twice during the semester. The peer review activity gave the students the opportunity to view academic writing through the perspective of a US reader with the ultimate goal of reinforcing their understanding of the role of the writer in US academic writing. The guidelines for the peer review were all framed around how or whether the writer did various things for the reader, thus underscoring that texts are written for someone and that the writer needs to take that someone (and their cultural expectations) into consideration.

Figure 4-2 Excerpt of Peer Review Guidelines

PEER REVIEW Guide

Write your name on your peer's paper. Read your peer's essay completely. Reread it and then do the following activities.

Always explain your answers. Do NOT comment on English, please! Show me your work at the start of class to get credit for this peer review.

Orientation for audience.

- It is **important that the reader know**[19] which sources are being summarized. Underline where the article/author is identified and credentials are presented
- **The reader should know quickly** what the overall issue across the sources is. Circle the student writer's statement about the main issue. Do you agree? If not, make a note explaining what you think the main issue is.
- Pretend that you have not read the same articles. Do you think your peer has provided enough background information for a general audience to understand the relevance of the issue in the sources? If not, explain.

A good summary makes the sources' main points clear and provides only the most essential supporting detail in a well-organized way.

- Put checkmarks next to main points/arguments and draw stars next to supporting detail. Does your peer present the right points and supporting evidence to **help the reader** understand the sources' main points?
- Is your peer's organization logical, or do you feel like it jumps around or is confusing?
- Is there a topic sentence that **prepares (or tries to prepare) the reader** for the points in the rest of the paragraph? Circle it. Explain why the topic sentence works or does not work.

Reporting the *they says*.

- It is essential that the various voices (*they says*) are **easy for the reader** to differentiate and that the reporting verbs your peer used are right for the situation.

The bolded text in the bulleted points are the instances where Ms. Hansen called attention to what the writer should be doing in relation to the reader. These messages made explicit the role of the writer and helped illuminate the expectations of readers in US academic writing for directness. But, it was in the act of doing the peer review that students had the opportunity to really enact the ways of thinking, guiding the academic writing practices related to audience. Thus, through the written language and questions in the peer review guidelines and the subsequent peer interactions, students were

[19] Text in bulleted points was bolded to better illustrate relevant data.

socialized into sociocultural knowledge and understandings about audience in US academic writing. It is possible that developing this cultural understanding of academic writing later guides the students in their academic writing beyond this course, further illustrating the important site of academic discourse socialization afforded by a FYW for NNES course.

Another way that Ms. Hansen helped socialize students into understanding the importance of audience was through direct one-on-one interactions with students. The following excerpts come from a conversation between Ms. Hansen and Jason during their writing conference for the Research Paper. In the writing conferences, Ms. Hansen generally read the student's paper out loud and offered comments and feedback along the way. In the example below, Ms. Hansen had just read a section of Jason's paper[20], which she felt was lacking detail and explanation:

Excerpt 10

1 Ms.H … *okay so (1) you are asking your reader to provide information from*
2 *(1) the reader's own knowledge (.) rather than providing it yourself and*
3 *you are not this little part of Hijab is not balanced enough I agree here*
4 *that it is a famous symbol "they wear it because of religious REASONS*
5 *but it's also considered" religious reasons which are what? you should*
6 *you should TELL the reader modesty um because the prophet said to (.)*
7 *ok (.) um (.) "it is also considered a symbol of oppression and" THIS I've*
8 *definitely heard about but what is how is it a deprivation of PRIVACY?*

(Writing Conference – Jason/Ms. Hansen; Nov. 17, 20xx)

Rather than just tell Jason that the paper was missing details and explanation, Ms. Hansen framed the feedback as a reaction from the reader, the audience, of the paper. She highlighted the role of the writer in making a text clear to the reader, and thus emphasized the importance of keeping the audience at the forefront of the writing

[20] See Figure 4-3 to reference this section of Jason's Research Paper.

process. Understanding this responsibility of the writer is one that is cultural, and valued in US academic writing but might be new for writers from other cultures. So is the concept of clarity. As mentioned earlier, Fox (1994) explained that even the notion of clarity could be understood differently in different cultures and that a simple comment asking a student to expand more or make something clearer could be interpreted differently if the writer and reader do not share a common cultural or academic background. Thus, Ms. Hansen's approach to commenting as a reader and also an instructor (expert) offering explicit suggestions (to a novice) for what would make the passage clearer is arguably an important piece in helping Jason gain a cultural understanding of audience.

A bit later in the same writing conference, Ms. Hansen reacted to some statements Jason made about Islamic women and their participation in politics[21]:

Excerpt 11

1Ms.H … "*the presence of religious (.) beliefs (.) makes an (.) intimidating*
2 *atmosphere for Islamic women (.) and under this kind of intimidating*
3 *atmosphere women (.) do not dare participate in politics or speak their*
4 *voice in public" okay (.) um (.) so (.) my my feeling here is that (.) you*
5 *(.) you are you are (2) making too broad a generalization (.) because*
6 *again some reality even in Iran (.) shows it so instead of saying they do*
7 *not dare they are they are (.) intimidated from or you could even say*
8 *women are reluctant are more reluctant may be reluctant to participate*
9 Jason *//oh yeah*
10 Ms.H *so the// thing is that there are a lot of of (.) um Muslim women in politics*
11 *it varies from country to country Iran maybe Sudan right now is*
12 *probably pretty (.) repressive um but um and Saudi Arabia [unint] um*
13 *but other countries Palestinian women are really involved in their*
14 *politics and women in Egypt and Morocco see what happens but (.) what*
15 *I say is (2) be (2) less (1) um (2)*
15 Jason *assertive*
16 Ms.H *//assertive (3) be more (4) attentive tentative so words that you might*

[21] See Figure 4-4 to reference this section of Jason's Research Paper

17 *want to consider (1) um are the modals like could would might (1) may*
18 *those kind of things bring those kinds of things in there and and things*
19 *like for (.) MANY and in SOME and you can also use Muslim*
20 *interchangeably with Islamic rule in some Muslim countries (.) just to*
21 *back off a little on that*
22 Jason *ok*

(Writing Conference – Jason/Ms. Hansen; Nov. 17, 20xx)

In this interaction, Ms. Hansen illustrated how some of Jason's comments did not sit well with her, the audience. In lines 4-6 and 10-14, Ms. Hansen offered exceptions to Jason's statements, thus diminishing their credibility, as least with her. Here Ms. Hansen reacted not just as an instructor offering suggestions for improvement (lines 6-8, & 16-21) but as an informed citizen who had some familiarity with the topic and took objection to Jason's rather bold claims. Ms. Hansen's reactions offered Jason insight into cultural expectations of being careful of the reader's potential reaction, which Jason might already have been be somewhat attuned to. In line 15, Jason offered up the word, "assertive," completing Ms. Hansen's sentence and critique of his writing. This suggested his understanding the problem with his text in relation to audience. In lines 6-8 and 16-20, Ms. Hansen offered Jason some examples of how to soften or hedge his claims and make them more palatable for the reader, which Jason seemed to agree with in line 22.

Both Excerpts 10 and 11 above illustrate how Ms. Hansen complemented her role as the instructor and offered Jason the perspective of a reader as a way to help him understand how a piece of writing can impact an audience. This was also the approach she took with peer reviews where she told students that their job was to "react as a reader" (Classroom Data, Day 15; Oct. 8, 20xx) and therefore, think about what was

missing or hard to understand and what was done well. The peer's job was not to correct language or solve problems. Thus, the writing conferences and peer reviews provided the students with a real audience for their paper. It also helped emphasize their role as writers and the need to pay attention to the reaction of their readers and their potential cultural biases. While Ms. Hansen offered suggestions for improving their writing, she largely left this part of the process to the student to figure out. This reflected Ms. Hansen's belief in the instructor's role in helping students notice gaps in their knowledge, thus creating a need for them to figure things out or produce something. In our final interview on Jan. 24, 20xx, Ms. Hansen reported that this belief stemmed from her interpretation and extension of Swain's Output Hypothesis[22] (Swain, 2005), which argues that student production and noticing of gaps in their understanding of an L2 is thought to foster L2 development. Ultimately, these writing conference interactions were less about correcting students' work and more about guiding them in their thinking and ultimately in their understanding of US academic writing.

Examination of Jason's Research Paper drafts, along with comments from our final interview, pointed to enactment of or socialization into Ms. Hansen's valued practice of paying attention to audience in academic writing. The brief excerpts from Jason's paper below show the changes Jason made from the revised (the version submitted for the writing conference with Ms. Hansen) to the final draft in two sections of his Research Paper. Underlined are the changes Jason made on his own and

[22] Swain's (2005) Output Hypothesis claims that producing language is an important part of the second language learning process. Swain (2005) argues there are several functions of output, including the noticing/triggering function which says that it is in trying to produce that learners notice or realize what they do not know, thus prompting the learner to notice or discover the need to learn something new.

highlighted are the changes Jason made likely in response to Ms. Hansen's reaction to his paper during the writing conference. The Nov. 12 version is the paragraph that Ms. Hansen was commenting on in Excerpt 10 above where she told Jason that he, the writer, was asking too much of the reader in terms of background knowledge and that he needed to add more explanation and detail, which he subsequently does.

Figure 4-3 Jason's Research Paper, Part 1

	Revised Draft, Day 30; Nov. 12, 20xx	Final Draft, Day 38; Dec. 3, 20xx
1	First aspect that interferes Islamic	The first aspect that interferes with
2	women's political participation is	Islamic women's political
3	religion. Religion is very important	participation is religion, which is a
4	part of Islamic people's life. For	very important part of Islamic
5	example, hijab is one of the most	people's lives. For example, hijab, a
6	famous symbols that represent Islamic	veil which overs neck and hair, is one
7	women. Islamic women wear hijabs	of the most famous symbols that
8	because of religious reason; however,	represent Islamic women. Islamic
9	hijab is also considered as a symbol of	women wear hijabs because of
10	oppression and deprivation of privacy	religious reason, since hijab
11	in most cases. Just like Hijab, hadith	religiously means modesty and
12	(collection of saying and act of the	morality; however, hijab is also
13	prophet Mohammad) defines women's	considered as a symbol of oppression
14	roles for government and nation. "The	and deprivation of self-determination
15	Hadith literally declares destruction of	in most cases. Just like hijab defines
16	a nation that assigns women to the	women from having self-
17	leadership position." (Osamani,	determination and living an
18	Ahmad, and Ali, 2009, p. 10-11).	autonomous life, the Hadith (a
19	Despite of that hadith does not	collection of sayings and acts of the
20	officially restrict the women to	prophet Mohammad) defines women's
21	participate in politics; Hadith does	roles for the government and the
22	imply that women should not be the	nation. For example, "The Hadith
23	ones who lead neither of communities	literally declares destruction of a
24	and nations. Islamic people are well	nation that assigns women to the
25	known for their sincere faith; they not	leadership position" (Osamani,
26	only pray for their god everyday but	Ahmad, and Ali, 2009, p. 10-11).
27	also study the Quran and the Hadith	Despite that the Hadith does not
28	very hard. Therefore, studying those	officially restrict women from
29	Hadith, which defines women's	participating in politics; the Hadith
30	political role and participation, Islamic	does imply that women should not be
31	people are gradually and	the ones who lead local communities
32	unconsciously think that men and	and nations. The Islamic people are

33	women are very different and that	well known for their sincere faith;
34	each of men and women has different	they not only pray for their god
35	rules to follow; men are entitled to be	everyday but also study the Quran and
36	leaders though religion while women	the Hadith very hard. Therefore, by
37	are assigned to do house chores.	studying the Hadith, which defines
38		women's political role and
39		participation, the Islamic people can
40		gradually and unconsciously learn to
41		think that men are better much better
42		leaders than women are.

While Jason did not overhaul his Research Paper, he did make changes. Jason added a few details about the hijab and its symbolism. For example in line 6 of the final draft, Jason added a description of a hijab, offering the reader a definition, as Ms. Hansen requested, rather than assuming the reader knew this. In lines 10-12 of the final draft, Jason incorporated Ms. Hansen's specific recommendation to include "modesty" as an example of a religious reason for wearing the hijab. He also, in lines 14-22, more overtly explained the connection between the hijab and the Hadith to the status of women.

In Excerpt 12 (lines 7-9) below, Jason claimed these changes were meant to help the reader understand his paper better:

Excerpt 12

1 LBG *How did Ms. Hansen's class make you feel as a writer? Like when you*
2 *started this semester do you feel now do you feel more or less confident?*
3 *Do you feel more or less comfortable? Do you feel more or less like an*
4 *American?*
5 Jason *More like American and humble.*
6 LBG *What do you mean by that?*
7 Jason *I should suppose that the audience is not, um, do not have as much*
8 *knowledge as I do. I should explain better so that the audience can*
9 *understand. Before I didn't do that.*

(Final Interview; Dec. 10, 20xx)

It is possible that Jason's comments and changes in his paper also reflected his internalization of Ms. Hansen's comment in Excerpt 10 above essentially telling Jason not to ask readers to supply the background information necessary to fully understand his text. Adapting his writing based on the audience was something that Jason mentioned not doing before this class (line 9). But, since taking Ms. Hansen's class, he mentioned that he wrote more like "an American and humble" (line 5), suggesting that Jason not only enacted the practice of paying attention to audience but also identified as becoming more like an American writer. This is an important identity shift with which many international students struggle (e.g., Spack, 1997).

Although the above comments made by Jason suggest his socialization into some of Ms. Hansen's values discourse practices related to audience, it is possible that sometimes Jason was simply doing what Ms. Hansen had asked of him. For example, Jason talked about how he would sometimes do what Ms. Hansen said and suggested out of respect and desire to be considered a *good* student, even if he disagreed with what she had said, "I almost agree with the instruction on everything if she says it's right. … After then maybe I think, at that time she might be wrong, but for now I agree" (Final Interview; Dec. 10, 20xx). He further commented that his decision to agree with Ms. Hansen was likely due to his experiences in Korean and Chinese education, even though it contradicted the US value of being critical, which paradoxically was valued discourse practice in Ms. Hansen's class as discussed above. Ultimately, Jason exercised his agency in opting to follow his home (L1) or prior discourse practices over the valued practice of critical thinking in Ms. Hansen's class. This choice that Jason had to make

highlighted the conflict of competing discourses students might feel as they are socialized into the discourse practices of a new community, and illustrates the complexity of the socialization process including learner agency, which I will discuss in further detail in the discussion section of Chapter Five.

In addition to elaborating on ideas in his Comparative Summary essay, Jason also made linguistic changes to soften his assertions as another way of showing careful consideration of audience. Below is the Nov. 12 section of the Research Paper that Ms. Hansen and Jason were discussing in Excerpt 11 above where Ms. Hansen told Jason that he was being too "assertive" in his writing and that he needed to be more "tentative."

Figure 4-4 Jason's Research Paper, Part 2

	Revised Draft, Day 30; Nov. 12, 20xx	Final Draft, Day 38; Dec. 3, 20xx
1	In addition, religion can also influence	In addition, religion can also influence
2	women's political participation	women's political participation
3	indirectly. Most of Islamic	indirectly. Most Islamic communities
4	communities have their own religious	have their own religious leaders and
5	leaders and morality polices (or	morality police (or religious police) at
6	religious polices) at local level. Iran,	the local level. Iran, for example, has a
7	for example, have a lot of morality	lot of morality police. Morality police
8	polices. Morality police does not seem	are not like other police, since they do
9	like other police, since they do not	not have uniforms. However, they can
10	have uniform. However, they can	enforce law based on the Quran and
11	enforce the law based on the Quran	the Hadith on the spot without
12	and the Hadith on the spot without	permission from the judicial
13	permission from the judicial	institutions. Morality police mainly
14	institutions. Most of morality polices	tackle women's behaviors and
15	tackle on women's behaviors and	appearance ("Iran's morality polices
16	appearance ("Iran's morality polices	tighten control on women with the
17	tighten control on women with the	rising heat," 2012. Paragraph 2,4.).
18	rising heat," 2012). Presence of the	Because of the religious police,
19	religious polices makes intimidating	women may feel that they are being
20	atmosphere for Islamic women. Under	observed all the time, making them be
21	this intimidating atmosphere, women	careful in all their actions and words.
22	are not dare to participate in politics or	The presence of the religious police
23	even speak their voice in the society.	would make an intimidating
24		atmosphere for Islamic women. And,

25	under this kind of intimidating
26	atmosphere, women could not
27	participate in politics and even speak
28	their voice out loud in the public as
29	easily as women in Western states.

In the final Dec. 3 version we see Jason's revisions based on Ms. Hansen's feedback to carefully consider the possible reaction of the reader to certain language and claims. As recommended by Ms. Hansen, he mitigated his claims through the use of modals (lines 19, 23, & 26) in his final draft. These changes could be simple examples of what second language acquisition (SLA) literature refers to as uptake where a learner incorporates a correction in his/her language use; however, Jason's comments in our final interview (see Excerpt 13 below) suggested there was a change in his understanding of the importance of audience and thus, a possible socialization into the valued discourse practices related to audience.

When I asked Jason if there was specific moment or activity or something that Ms. Hansen said or did that made him realize the importance of paying attention to audience, Jason replied "no." But he explained that instead, it was something gradual:

Excerpt 13

1 Jason *There was a significant impact. But Ms. Hansen I think gradually and*
2 *slowly make the impression that I should pay more attention to the*
3 *readers*.
4 LBG *So, do you think if I asked you at the beginning of the semester, and I*
5 *didn't ask you, but if I had, about your understanding of audience or the*
6 *importance of audience what do you think you would have said?*
7 Jason *Sorry I didn't get*.
8 LBG *So now you say you have a better understanding of audience and that*
9 *you are more aware of audience when you write. Even if not initially*
10 *when you write but when you revise. What did you think about audience*
11 *at the beginning of the semester? Or did you not think about audience?*
12 Jason *I didn't think about audience.* (Final Interview; Dec. 10, 20xx)

Jason's feeling that his understanding of audience was a result of gradual and ongoing messages from Ms. Hansen (lines 1-2) suggested a process that was less conscious and more about developing a way of being or thinking which ultimately impacted his writing. In other words, slowly, with time, and through repeated and routine interactions and learning activities, Ms. Hansen socialized Jason into this valued academic discourse practice. Jason's socialization into the understanding of how audience impacts writing—illustrating that writing indeed is not *paint by number*— was quite a change from the beginning of the course when he "didn't think about audience" (line 12).

Even though Jason claimed to not have thought much about audience prior to taking Ms. Hansen's class, this was not the first time he had been exposed to North American notions of audience in academic writing. In our final interview, Jason mentioned that the North American teachers in his English-medium international high school in China had taught him about audience, but that he "didn't use that" (Final Interview; Dec. 10, 20xx). There are a number of possible reasons Jason resisted this academic discourse practice in the past, but he seemed to enact them in Ms. Hansen's class. However, his awareness of the valued practices and his prior resistance to and current enactment of the practices, illustrated his agency in the socialization process.

In this section, I illustrated how Ms. Hansen socialized students into the cultural notion that academic writing is contextual, and not paint by number, by focusing specifically on the notion of audience. This importance of audience in writing was conveyed through explicit and implicit messages. But, as I illustrate and discuss below, it certainly extended beyond writing and was reinforced throughout the course in different

ways. I also described how Ms. Hansen used class activities and writing conferences to try to socialize and immerse students into related academic discourse practices. The findings illustrated that in her attempt to communicate these practices to her NNES international students, Ms. Hansen did not always make explicit the extent to which the notion of audience and the related academic discourse practices are cultural. This points to just how challenging it might be to avoid assumptions and socialize students into such deeply cultural discourse practices, even for an instructor with Ms. Hansen's extensive educational and professional experience in working with NNES international students. Finally, I provided examples from Jason's Research Paper and excerpts from our final interview to illustrate his socialization into discourse practices related to audience. These findings highlighted the complex nature of the socialization process and the important role of learner agency in this process. I discuss both topics in further detail in Chapter Five. I move now to illustrating how Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES course was not only an important site of socialization into academic writing practices, but also a site for socialization into broader academic discourse practices.

Becoming a Student

In the FYW for NNES course examined here, the stated goals were related to writing; yet, close examination of the student/instructor interactions and class activities revealed that the course was about much more. The students also noticed this extended role of the course, as Nancy's quote from my final interview with her illustrates, "I think honestly this class will help me to be a better student, but I don't think it will help me to be a better writer" (Final Interview; Dec. 12, 20xx). As the findings presented below

illustrate, many of the valued academic discourse practices in this FYW for NNES course were not about writing, but about becoming a student and being initiated into the "cultures of learning" (Jin & Cortazzi, 1998, 2006, 2013) of the class and the broader US academic discourse community.

While several cultural messages were conveyed, the two most salient were:

(1) "You're Going To Have To Do Some Work First!"

This recurring phrase from Ms. Hansen represents the message that students should be engaged and active learners.

(2) "Just The Way You Would Treat Your Mother!"

This utterance, also from Ms. Hansen, represents the message that students should be respectful and considerate toward their instructors.

In the sections that follow, I explain and describe the valued academic discourse practices and norms in Ms. Hansen's class, discuss socialization processes used by the instructor, and offer examples of student socialization, or lack thereof.

"You're Going To Have To Do Some Work First!"

One of the most prominent messages about being a student conveyed in Ms. Hansen's class was the importance of being an engaged and active learner and what this entailed in the US. The attention given in Ms. Hansen's class to what being an active and engaged learner meant was important, given the cultural differences in the related expectations and academic discourse practices (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998). In Ms. Hansen's class, the message of being an active and engaged learner included the culturally Western student-centered approach to education that views

learning in large part as the student's responsibility and requires work and participation on the part of the student both in and out of class (Eland & Thomas, 2013). This cultural message was conveyed to the students both implicitly and explicitly through classroom practices and interactions. The mixed use of explicit and implicit messages aligns with prior LS research, which has demonstrated that sociocultural messages can be explicit, but that they can also be implicitly woven into interactional patterns and discourse practices (e.g., Morita, 2000; Poole, 1992).

The importance of active learning was emphasized by the nature of the course itself. Designed as a workshop-style, activity-driven class, students needed to participate and *do* and *practice* in order to be successful. However, in addition to this course design, a common implicit way in which Ms. Hansen expressed the message that students were to be engaged and active learners was by requiring students to read classroom policies, assignment descriptions, and activity instructions. This requirement was not just something stated, but a practice enacted. Ms. Hansen enforced this expectation by either not going over this information at all, or by waiting until the students had at least demonstrated they had made their own attempts to try to figure something out. For example, on the first day of class, Ms. Hansen spent very little time going over the syllabus. In fact, she did not even provide paper copies of the syllabus to the students. Instead, Ms. Hansen showed the students where the syllabus could be found on the course Moodle site and made quick references to some of the course policies. She then told the students that it was up to them to read about, know, and understand the policies and that they should ask her if they had any questions.

The expectation that students be active and engaged learners was further reinforced through the instructions for the homework assignment posted on the Moodle site the second day of class, which included reviewing the syllabus:

> **Readings due:**
>
> - Introduction (TSIS 1-14)
> - Syllabus (CP *Syllabus*) - you can skim this[23] - be sure you know what kinds of information are in the syllabus so that you can follow the policies and also look up information when you need to. You are responsible for knowing this information.
> - Guidelines for Polite Email (CP *Instructional Material*)
>
> (Moodle Site, Day 2; Sept. 7, 20xx)

Messages such as "You are responsible for knowing this information" in this homework assignment announcement placed the responsibility of learning and knowing course policies on the student, but also positioned them as capable of reading and understanding course policies and instructions. Further, because Ms. Hansen did not go over any of this in detail in class, it implicitly created the expectation that students should ask clarification questions if needed. Asking for this kind of help and clarification might have been difficult for some students from Chinese educational backgrounds who might feel like a burden and even be embarrassed by asking for help (Eland & Thomas, 2013; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998). And yet, creating a gap in students' knowledge, and thus motivating them to need or want to know something and potentially ask for help, was a pedagogical

[23] Underlining is from original text.

approach mentioned above that Ms. Hansen used intentionally to try to foster student learning.

The expectation that students should read information and instructions carefully—essentially 'do their work'—before asking questions was also emphasized in nearly every activity in this class. For example, during in-class activities, Ms. Hansen would pass out written instructions of what the students were to do, and that was it. It was very common for Ms. Hansen *not* to verbally explain an in-class activity. Instead, students were expected to read the written instructions and then ask questions if they needed clarification. While this, in ways, contradicts recommendations of offering second language learners information in multiple modalities, providing a written set of instructions afforded students time to read and digest the instructions and the opportunity to then discuss and clarify with peers or the instructor.

This in-class expectation also held for larger out-of-class writing assignments. Rather than explaining writing assignments in detail in class, Ms. Hansen asked the students to do some reading about and understanding of the assignment on their own. To support students in this, Ms. Hansen developed in and out-of-class activities to help instill the practice of reading carefully, taking responsibility for understanding an assignment, and becoming aware of the available resources.

Even when Ms. Hansen used class time to help students fully understand a writing assignment, she ensured students were still in control of the learning. For example, as illustrated in Excerpt 14 below, Ms. Hansen asked the class to guide her through the

Moodle site, which she had called up on her iPad and projected on the screen, as a way of introducing a group activity to explore the first major writing assignment of the semester:

Excerpt 14

1 Ms.H *... my experience (.) tells me that it's really BORING for students to*
2 *listen to me say (.) what the requirements are for (.) an essay (.) and you*
3 *(.) you'll do much better if (.) you try to find out some of the issues the*
4 *questions for yourself which is what the worksheet is there are two sides*
5 *to the worksheet (.) you're doing to start with the side that says*
6 *comparative summary worksheet is there an extra one? (1) any extras?*
7 *(.) alright now where is the first place that you're going to go (1) to get*
8 *(3) to the information about the comparative summary? help me*
9 *navigate here (5) where's the first place to go?(2)*
10 S1 *//huh?*
11 Ms.H *how are we going to get the information about the comparative*
12 *summary?*
13 S1 *course packet*
14 Ms.H *alright course packet (.) and then what?*
15 S1 *writing assignments*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 6; Sept. 17, 20xx)

Rather than showing or telling the students the information directly, Ms. Hansen expected the students to be active and engaged by guiding her to relevant pages on the course Moodle site. She did this by asking students questions (lines 11-12 & line 14) that would demonstrate they knew where to find the necessary information about an assignment. The student responses in lines 13 and 15 demonstrated the student's understanding and awareness of the available online resources. This type of questioning practice also offered the students a very informal and non-threatening space to get comfortable with the valued practice of speaking in class, especially since students had been assigned to look all this up ahead of time and thus were meant to be prepared to answer the questions.

Following this initial introduction to the activity, Ms. Hansen then, as illustrated in Excerpt 15, gave the students a few more tips before asking the students to work in groups:

Excerpt 15

1 Ms.H *as you answer the questions that are on the comparative summary*
2 *worksheet* [to S1] *which is that's this other side*
3 S1 *other?*
4 Ms.H [to S1] *ok? alright?* [to whole class] *I DON'T want you to READ*
5 *everything in the comparative summary book! (.) right now (.) you ARE*
6 *responsible for reading it (.) before you write it (.) before you write*
7 *your essay all I want you to do NOW is to become familiar with WHERE*
8 *information IS what kind of information is in the comparative summary*
9 *book? (.) and where to find it (1) so (.) answering those questions (.)*
10 *should help you get familiar …*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 6; Sept. 17, 20xx)

In lines 5-6, Ms. Hansen made explicit her expectation that the students know the information provided about the comparative summary but that the current task at hand was simply to know what information was available and where to find it (lines 7-10). The questions on the worksheet, to be completed in groups, were meant to help the students explore the Comparative Summary writing assignment. This, once again, emphasized the students' role and responsibility in learning and figuring things out. The worksheet included such questions as:

- How many drafts are there for the comparative summary?
- How do you find out my criteria for grading this essay?
- Which articles are you comparing?
- Which chapter has general instructions for how to approach this assignment?
- Imagine yourself doing this essay; what questions do you still have?

While some could see this kind of assistance and support as hand holding, these questions introduced students to the kinds of questions they should eventually ask themselves to better understand any assignment they are presented with in the future. This essentially helped socialize new NNES international students into a thinking process and way of being that would likely serve them throughout their educational career in the US, thus once again socializing them into the larger US academic discourse community.

Ms. Hansen's verbal and written questioning practices served to implicitly place the responsibility of figuring something out on the students. If students asked for her support too quickly, as illustrated in the excerpts below, Ms. Hansen would often tell the them that they needed to do a bit more work or thinking first before she would help them. In Except 16 lines 1-2 and 4-5, the student was asking for clarification on a writing assignment that had been just been introduced. In response, Ms. Hansen referenced instructions for how to organize and structure this particular writing assignment (lines 6-10):

Excerpt 16

1 S1 *Ms. Hansen? [unint] we don't have to find out the direct confliction*
2 *//between these two*
3 Ms.H *there might not be// right but you still could compare them! right?*
4 S1 *//yeah, as long as we have um we find out um we find out the criteria or*
5 *critiques*
6 Ms.H *yeah, you have to have some cri-- some basis for comparison in fact you*
7 *read on in the course packet a there's the thing about instructions and it*
8 *gives suggestions for organizing and how to start doing a comparison*
9 *setting up a table (.) that'll help you structure it and we will be spending*
10 *time either on Friday or maybe Monday next week I've forgotten*
11 *working on that table to to guide you (.) but you won't get A A-prime, B*
12 *B-prime*
13 S1 *ok just um analyze it individually (1) or?*
14 Ms.H *well that's what you're going to have to figure out (1) so you I will give*
15 *you more guidance after you've had time to think about it*

16 S1 *//ok*
17 Ms.H *but// I think you're going to have to do some of the work first, and I think*
18 *you'll be able to solve some of those problems yourself,*
19 S1 *//ok*
20 Ms.H *ok?//*

(Classroom Data – One on One Conversation, Day 6; Sep17, 20xx)

Ms. Hansen placed the responsibility back on the student (line 14) and told him explicitly that he needed to do a bit more of the work (line 17) before she would offer any assistance (lines 14-15). Along with the push to figure things out on his own, Ms. Hansen also shared her confidence in the student and his ability to figure things out (lines 17-18). This vote of confidence in the student positioned him as capable and might have been the encouragement he needed to take initiative and try to figure out the assignment on his own.

Another example of Ms. Hansen's explicitness in her expectation that students figure things out on their own is illustrated in Excerpt 17 below. Here, a group of students had been debriefing recent articles they had read and were to write about in the Comparative Summary essay. The students were still confused about the articles and sought out help from Ms. Hansen:

Excerpt 17

1 S1 *so our group are still like discussing the view point of the two articles*
2 *like we aren't even sure what those view points are*
3 Ms.H *uh huh keep discussing! I'm not going to tell you! not until you guys*
4 *have done a lot more work on this.*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 8; Sept. 21, 20xx)

Though the student did not directly ask for help, the comments in lines 1-2 implied a plea for assistance. In ways, the student was engaging in the practice valued by Ms. Hansen of asking for help and clarification when needed, and yet Ms. Hansen's blatant refusal to

help just yet (lines 3-4), suggested to the students there were more parameters around asking for help. While Ms. Hansen repeatedly created situations where students needed to ask for assistance, she also expected them to first demonstrate that they had done their fair share of the effort in figuring something out first.

This expectation of students having to do their own work before seeking help was also made clear in the course syllabus. After describing to students some of the available resources for getting extra help in their writing (e.g., Student Writing Support consultation, or Ms. Hansen's office hours), Ms. Hansen included a section in the syllabus entitled, "Know What You Want to Talk about During Your Appointments:"

> When you meet with me or a SWS [writing center] consultant, you should have specific issues in mind; our meetings are not for us to tell you what to write or to do your critical thinking for you – but we will help when you are confused or need someone to "think aloud" with, or we will critique a particular section of your paper… This is because I lack time to read every student's draft multiple times and because you are the one who has to do the work. (Syllabus)

Here, Ms. Hansen made explicit that, even in seeking help outside of class, it was still the responsibility of the student to do the hard work. This might have helped students understand that getting help did not mean someone would do the work for them, but that instead, ideally, that person would scaffold their learning.

The expectation that students had to do their share of the work before they could get direct assistance from Ms. Hansen was further emphasized through the daily homework and reading assignments. The homework was very much about scaffolding

the students' learning and preparing them for next class period. Often, the class activities hinged on the students having done their part in trying to learn (about) a particular concept or writing strategy. Students, as illustrated in the following excerpt, seemed to understand this expectation. In this excerpt, Ms. Hansen was transitioning to a large class discussion about argumentation. In doing so, she asked the students about the reading they were assigned in preparation:

Excerpt 18

1 Ms.H *you remember (.) that you had a reading in Little Seagull for today (.)*
2 *what was that reading about? (7)* [students stiffly and silently look
3 around at each other while Ms. Hansen look around the room] *you*
4 *DID it right? (6)* [students seem panicked and ashamed. One student
5 shakes his head no] *no? (2) you guys didn't do the reading?* [Ms.
6 Schreiber's tone seems concerned and frustrated] *it was LISTED (1)*
7 S1 *for today?*
8 Ss //[*unint*]//
9 S2 *about argument?*
10 Ms.H *//about arguments!*
11 S1 *//oh! yeah //*[students sigh and laugh in relief as they realize they had
12 done that reading and that there was a miscommunication]
13 Ms.H *oh!* [Ms. Hansen laughs and smiles at the students.]
14 Ss [students laugh with Ms. Hansen and seem much more relaxed]//
15 Ms.H *ok! so you read about arguments (1) right?*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 4; Sept. 12, 20xx)

In lines 1-2, Ms. Hansen opened the interaction by asking the students what the reading was about. By putting the students on the spot like this, Ms. Hansen set the expectation that students were to come to class prepared. Ms. Hansen's use of rising intonation to turn the statement "you didn't do the reading" (line 5) into a question followed by the reminder that the reading was listed (line 6) demonstrated her frustration in a lack of response from the students, further reinforcing her expectation that students complete homework, come to class prepared, and speak up in class. Instead of responding,

students whispered to each other and glanced worried looks around the room at each other while flipping through their books and syllabus. This suggested a sense of panic and shame from the students that they had not done all the homework. It also implied the students' understanding of and possible socialization into the valued norms of being prepared for class. Finally, a student asked whether the reading was on the topic of argument (line 9), which Ms. Hansen confirmed (line 10), thus clearing up a misunderstanding about which reading Ms. Hansen had been asking about. The sense of relief and laughter demonstrated in lines 11-14 suggest a shared understanding of Ms. Hansen's expectations around preparing for class. Also of note in this interaction was Ms. Hansen's seven seconds of wait time (line 2) followed by another six seconds in line 4 after her confirmation question that students had done the reading (lines 3-4). This use of wait time served to set Ms. Hansen's expectation that she wanted a student to respond to this question, and more generally, that students participate orally in class.

For some students new to US academic practices, this kind of oral participation and speaking up in class can be challenging, in part due to their prior academic discourse socialization (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Eland & Thomas, 2013; Jin & Cortazzi, 1998). Students who come from a Chinese educational background for example, might be used to being more quiet recipients of instruction during class and saving questions for after class (Jin & Cortazzi, 1998). Ms. Hansen made it clear however, that in her class, part of being active and engaged meant speaking up in class.

In addition to the implicitness of wait time, this message of needing to speak up in class was often also made explicit. For example Ms. Hansen regularly told students

directly that she wanted them to speak up during whole class discussions, as illustrated in Excerpt 19 below where Ms. Hansen was leading the students in a whole class debriefing session about a small group activity the students had just completed:

Excerpt 19

1 Ms.H *hello!* [trying to get the students' attention] *(2) ok first order of business*
2 *today (3) is (.) um (4) this pre-reading practice that we started (5) so (1)*
3 *I have the documents up here (3) and we are just going to whisk (.)*
4 *through these (5) so did I assign tables to answer these?*
5 Ss *yes*
6 Ms.H *ok do you remember?(1) who had question one? (2)*
7 Ss *[unint]*
8 Ms.H *you guys? ok so I want to hear from somebody at this table who doesn't*
9 *usually talk you know who you are (2) if you haven't talked very*
10 *often I would like you to just say which (.) which articles would you look*
11 *at if you were interested in ethics?*
12 S1 *[unint]--*
13 Ms.H *you talk all the time!*
14 S1 *oh!*
15 Ss *//*[laughs]
16 Ms.H *I love it//* [laughs] *but I want somebody else to because we have some*
17 *people who are shy and I want them to feel less shy*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 12; Oct. 1, 20xx)

Though she acknowledged that some students might be shy (lines 16-17), Ms. Hansen explicitly set the expectation that everyone should speak in class, even during whole class discussions. While Ms. Hansen attributed the silence to being shy, it is possible, as suggested earlier, that students were actually following different home (L1) discourse practices related to speaking in class; either way, Ms. Hansen seemed to suggest that this was not a valid excuse. Despite this, Ms. Hansen cut off a student who began to offer a response (line 13). She did offer praise or encouragement for his willingness to speak (line 16) and explained her rationale for asking him to stop (lines 16-17). This helped set

additional parameters around speaking in class that the same student could not do all the speaking and that quiet students could not simply rely on those more willing to speak up.

To help ensure more students would speak up, and arguably to get them into the habit of being prepared to debrief group activities or discussions, Ms. Hansen often told students ahead of time that she expected everyone in the small group to share one thing from their discussion. Even the opportunity to work and discuss in groups ahead of time was a pedagogical technique that could help transition students into participating orally in large group discussions (Eland & Thomas, 2013).

Just as being shy was explicitly stated as an invalid excuse for not participating in class discussions, so too was gender. In another routine, whole-class debriefing session following a small group activity, in Excerpt 20 Ms. Hansen was soliciting responses from a small group to number 12 on a worksheet:

Excerpt 20

1 Ms.H *good (.) alright (.) number 12 (6) I've got a challenge for you guys here*
2 *(1) I'm looking at these tables and (.) with the exception of the all-girls*
3 *table (.) I'm noticing that at the other tables the girls tend to speak last*
4 *(2) alright? guys tend to I don't know WHY! they're braver or what but*
5 *I want to see more girl talk (2) so somebody answer number 12 (3)*
6 S1 [male student] *um so //for number 12*
7 Ss [every body laughs, including Ms. Hansen]//
8 S1 *[unint] I think the author may use they say or either I say or both of*
9 *them to critique the or make credible the [unint]or explain the author's*
10 *opinions (2)*
11 Ms.H *ok I'm not sure I understood you (.) say that one more time I'm going to*
12 *pay better attention.*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 4; Sept. 12, 20xx)

Ms. Hansen's explicit request for more "girl talk" (line 5) did not immediately yield a female response (line 6). Yet, it certainly sent an explicit message that the women's voices were equally important, and that women were expected to speak up as often as the

men, and in no particular order. In addition to setting the expectation for more female participation in whole class discussions, this interaction also illuminated one way in which Ms. Hansen made participating in class safe for the students. Ms. Hansen did not understand the student's response to question 12 on the worksheet (lines 8-10). In asking the student to repeat his answer (lines 11-12), Ms. Hansen took responsibility for not understanding his answer, allowing the student to save face and maintain confidence in his speaking. Finally, of note again in this interaction is Ms. Hansen's use of wait-time. At the beginning of the excerpt, Ms. Hansen said, "Number 12" (line 1) to indicate she was ready for a student to offer an answer to that question. She followed her prompt with six seconds of wait-time before making her request for more female participation—signaling her expectation for students to participate orally.

The use of extended wait-time, characteristic of Ms. Hansen's classroom speech, was an implicit way that Ms. Hansen conveyed the valued academic discourse practice of speaking in class, particularly during whole class discussions and activities. In addition to the above examples of wait-time in Excerpts 18 and 20, Excerpt 21 below illustrates an exceptionally long 14 seconds of wait time (line 2) before Ms. Hansen shared her frustration in the lack of student participation. This excerpt comes from an interactive PowerPoint presentation about the parts of an essay:

Excerpt 21

1 Ms.H … *in the introduction! what things do you think you want in the*
2 *introduction? (12) I'm waiting!* [Ms. Hansen's tone is determined and
3 frustrated] *(2) you guys are better than THIS (2) I don't care what order*
4 *tell me! what what kind of things are you going to put in your*
5 *introduction?*
6 S1 *thesis?*
7 Ms.H *a thesis statement?* yes *(1)*

8 Ss *//[unint]*
9 S2 *briefly// introduce the [unint]two //passages*
10 Ms.H *yes// you have to introduce the two articles*
11 S2 *and [unint]*
12 Ms.H *okay alright good start here so …*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion; Oct. 5, 20xx)

The 14 second pause (line 2) coupled with Ms. Hansen's stated determination to wait for a student response made very clear her expectations that students needed to speak up during whole class discussions. It is possible that in addition to her wait time, the sharing of her dissatisfaction with the students' behavior (lines 3-5) also served to motivate, or shame, the students into finally responding in line 6. Either way, by insisting on student participation and not offering the answer, Ms. Hansen also reemphasized the expectation that students do their share of the work in learning and be prepared to participate actively in class, whether in small-group discussions or in large-group discussions. The students' eventual responses in lines 6, 8, 9 and 11 suggest a possible socialization into, albeit reluctant, or at least awareness of, the valued academic discourse practices for speaking in class.

While the students seemed aware of at least some of the valued discourse practices and norms related to being an engaged and active student, not all students enacted them. For example, in my final interview with Nancy it was clear she understood Ms. Hansen's pedagogical practices:

Excerpt 22

1 Nancy *She won't give you a very specific answer but she will provide a way for*
2 *you to find the answer, right?*
3 LBG *Yeah, why do you think she does that?*
4 Nancy *Well it's really good I think. In China there is an old saying like. God*
5 *how do I translate that? It is better for you teach people how to fish than*
6 *just give them fish.* (Final Interview; Dec. 12, 20xx)

In lines 1-2, Nancy talked about how Ms. Hansen would not give specific answers, but that she would support students in finding the answer. Nancy likened this to a Chinese expression of it being better to teach someone to fish than to just give someone fish (lines 5-6). These comments suggested Nancy's understanding of Ms. Hansen's expectation that students do the work to figure things out. And yet, despite this, Nancy often did not enact the practices associated with Ms. Hansen's expectations. This emphasizes that simply knowing of or about a valued practice does not entail internalization of or socialization into that practice. It is possible that reasons for this disconnect are due to the complexities of the learners themselves and their agency (for a variety of reasons) to enact or resist some, all, or none of the valued practices.

It was not only common for Nancy to turn in assignments late or not at all, but it also became clear that Nancy did not regularly do her share of the work in the learning process. For example, she was one of the students Ms. Hansen described as being "totally off in left field about what constitutes a topic" (Classroom Data – Private Side Conversation, Day 11; Sept. 28, 20xx) for the Research Paper. Despite trying to support Nancy in helping her develop a topic on her own, Ms. Hansen ended up assigning Nancy a topic for her research paper because she "didn't see any evidence of concrete thinking about it" (Classroom Data – Private Side Conversation, Day 11; Sept. 28, 20xx) and she needed Nancy to move forward and at least get the experience of writing a research paper. The need for Ms. Hansen to assign Nancy a research topic—essentially giving her the fish—illustrated Nancy's failure to (fully) take up Ms. Hansen's valued practice of doing the necessary independent work.

The following conversation between Ms. Hansen and Nancy further emphasized Nancy's lack of engagement in the course:

Excerpt 23

1 Ms.H *so are we agreed on your your topic? did you get my last email?*
2 Nancy *oh yep*
3 Ms.H *ok cause I asked you to confirm*
4 Nancy *//oh*
5 Ms.H *that// you were going to do that*
6 Nancy *ok*
7 Ms.H *//so I*
8 Nancy *also I// complete the online the online [unint]can you give me the credit?*
9 Ms.H *um did you send me an email with it? cause I didn't get an email about*
10 *it?*
11Nancy *//um*
12 Ms.H *or did you upload it on Moodle?*
13 Nancy *no (.) I thought I can I can show you in class*
14 Ms.H *//yeah you can show me in class that's fine too*

(Classroom Data – One on One Conversation, Day 12; Oct. 1, 20xx)

Nancy's short, one-word responses (lines 2, 4, & 6) appeared to simply be a way to appease Ms. Hansen. Nancy did not offer an explanation or apology, thus did not really engage in this conversation. Instead, Nancy seemed to be avoiding the issue of not taking the expected initiative or responsibility for doing her work. By not even acknowledging or responding to Ms. Hansen's email, Nancy seemed to be resisting more than just doing the necessary work, she also resisted socialization into being a respectful student, which is the topic of the following section.

Nancy's resistance to being socialized into Ms. Hansen's valued discourse practices related to being an active and engaged student was also evident in her choice of not doing the necessary prerequisite reading and work to even begin to understand basic citation formatting practices. Things such as punctuation for in-text citations and formatting reference lists were topics students, including Nancy, had been assigned to

read about, engage with on homework assignments and in class activities, and then apply to writing. Nancy even received explicit feedback about her incorrect citation formatting during her writing conference with Ms. Hansen:

Excerpt 24

1 Ms.H *have you seen an APA document that numbers (2) the entries? no! grab*
2 *me that (.) grab me the no the handbook back there (4) when I see stuff*
3 *like this Nancy (.) I just wonder if you have been in class because we*
4 *have gone over this (.) SO often this is what it's SUPPOSED to look like*
5 *(.) not those numbers*
6 Nancy *okay* [shyly]
7 Ms.H *yeah? and the run over line is supposed to be indented do you know how*
8 *to do that?(3) oh! you're using SOFTWARE that creates this for you? (.)*
9 *what software are you using?*
10Nancy *just [unint]*
11 Ms.H *okay but when you do that you have to pick what kind of style (.) so APA*
12 *fifth edition [unint]*
13Nancy *oh! yeah (2)*
14 Ms.H [laughs]

(Writing Conference – Nancy/Ms. Hansen; Nov. 20, 20xx)

Nancy's affirmative response (line 6) indicated that she understood there was a problem—not just with the formatting of her citations but also with her not doing the prerequisite work that would have enabled her to use correct formatting. It is possible that she was again just offering a quick response to deflect the issue since she still made the same errors in the final draft of her paper. While it seemed she knew the valued behaviors and practices, she resisted them by not applying them to her writing. There are many possible reasons Nancy did not adopt the APA citation practices Ms. Hansen expected including, simply not wanting to, not understanding the importance of doing so, or not wanting to conflict with other (e.g., home) discourse practices; regardless, in not doing so, Nancy exhibited her agency and illustrated the important role that learners play in the socialization process. This highlights another important aspect of learner agency in

the socialization process whereby learners can "contest or transform as well as accommodate practices others attempt to induct them into" (Duff & Talmy, 2011, p. 97).

In contrast to Nancy, Jason offered an example of a student who demonstrated socialization into the valued academic discourse practices of being an active and engaged learner. A clear example of this is the following email Jason sent Ms. Hansen where he exhibited having done a lot of thinking and preparation for the first writing assignment by offering different structural possibilities for his paper in response to feedback Ms. Hansen had given him:

Figure 4-5 Jason's Email; Oct. 23, 20xx

On Tue, Oct. 23, 20xx at 7:46 PM, Jason Ko <jko@umn.edu> wrote:

Hi Ms. Hansen.
I have a question for the essay. I have three body paragraph for now. The first paragraph talks about the similarity; the other two paragraph talks about the differences of two article. So my structure looks like following:
Para1. Similarity of the two articles
A: Hoyt's point
B: U&S's point
para2. Difference of the two articles 1
A: Hoyt's point
B: U&S's point
para3. Difference of the two articles 2
A: Hoyt's point
B: U&S's point

Your suggestion was to put the para2 in front of the para2. When I move the paragraphs, I realized that it would be better, if I just talks about Hoyt's point in Paragraph 2, jus like following:
Paragraph1. Hoyt's point (originally the difference 1)
para2. similarity of the two articles
A:U&S's point
B:Hoyt's point
para3. Difference of the two article
A: Hoyt's point
B: U&S's point
To sum up, I have two changes:
1. change in paragraphs (para1&para2)
2. change in order of points in para2.

Does it seem too messy?
Thanks
Jason

While this single email cannot point to change or development in Jason's behavior, it illustrated that he was enacting the valued academic discourse practices of this FYW for NNES class by demonstrating careful thinking and application of readings and discussion about how to organize the first writing assignment. Ms. Hansen very much appreciated this email, and responded with praise, "You did such a great job explaining this! Thanks. … So it sounds to me like you are making an intelligent decision" (Ms. Hansen email; Oct. 23, 20xx). She seemed impressed not only with the evidence of his engagement and thinking about the assignment, but also in his clear communication. In this email, Jason demonstrated not only an understanding of Ms. Hansen's valued discourse practices, but also ultimately of the US educational practices related to being an active and engaged student who had done his share of the work, his share of the learning.

This illustrates the potential role of FYW for NNES as an important site of socialization into broader academic discourse practices, beyond writing, including being a student in the US. While some NNES international students come from educational backgrounds that also value being active and engaged learners, how this translates into actual academic discourse practices in different learning environments might be quite different. This section of findings, "You're going to have to do some work first" has illustrated how Ms. Hansen worked to not only immerse students but also to make overt and accessible to her NNES international students the valued discourse practices related to being active and engaged students in the US. These practices included: reading and understanding course policies, assignments, or class activities; asking for help and clarification when needed; figuring something out independently; being prepared for

class; and participating orally in large group discussions. Given the cultural ties for these practices and the challenges new NNES international students might face in adopting them, the opportunity provided by Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES course to socialize students into US academic practices and to enact US cultural ways of thinking and being could serve as an important transitional space for new NNES international students as they seek membership and competency in this new academic environment. This is especially important given the breadth of cultural values and academic discourse practices made explicit in Ms. Hansen's class, which included, as the next section discusses, ways the students were to be considerate and show respect to instructors and faculty in the US.

"Just The Way You Would Treat Your Mother"

Ms. Hansen told students not to burden her. Instead, she asked them to treat her as they would their mother. Though perhaps a bit contradictory to some, in this request Ms. Hansen was asking the students for respect and consideration. To maintain Ms. Hansen's perspective, I use her words, "just the way you would treat your mother," to represent her valued discourse practices related to showing respect and consideration to her, and to other instructors in the US academic environment.

Given that the students in this class were all Asian and primarily Chinese, it is possible that in this request, Ms. Hansen was drawing on the Chinese students' cultural understanding of teachers as parents—where students are to respect teachers because of their social status and because the guidance and care they offer (Li, 2006). Part of this respect toward towards teachers is likely a result of filial piety that is extended to teachers

(Jin & Cortazzi, 1998). According to Chow and Chu (2007), aspects of filial piety include obedience, courtesy, and academic achievement, which in many ways align with how Ms. Hansen wanted to be treated.

Ms. Hansen wanted the students to treat her just as they would their mother. She expected them to be respectful and considerate of her and her time, and not burden her, especially considering all she did for them. Ms. Hansen's message here echoes the message about audience in writing presented above, and is about the students' developing awareness of the recipient or the audience of their work and actions.

Ms. Hansen conveyed this message of being respectful and considerate toward instructors to the students rather explicitly, early in the semester and couched it within expectations of the broader academic culture. For example, in the instructions for an assignment asking students to practice writing a polite email to an instructor, Ms. Hansen wrote:

> **Be Polite to Your Instructor**
>
> Even though Americans are much more informal than many other peoples, we still expect a certain level of politeness between instructors and students. For example, **many instructors expect students to call them by their first names, but this does not mean that all your interactions with the instructor can be informal.**[24]

(Moodle Site, Course Packet, Day 2; Sept. 7, 20xx)

Ms. Hansen followed these assignment instructions with concrete examples exemplifying many of the tips and recommendations for how to be polite, respectful, and considerate,

[24] Text was bolded to better illustrate relevant data.

particularly in email, in the US academic environment. Providing students with templates supported students linguistically in their socialization into culturally appropriate uses of language.

In addition to explicit messages, Ms. Hansen socialized students into being respectful and considerate in their new academic community through the locally valued academic discourse practices and norms of the FYW for NNES course. The expected classroom practices were often about helping students pay attention to the presentation of their work and develop awareness of how their work and other actions might be perceived. Ms. Hansen made it clear to the students that they needed to submit work that was neat and organized and easy to follow, not just in language use, but also in such practices as naming files, and in the format and presentation of documents. Ms. Hansen used a number of strategies to reduce possible cultural ambiguity and help students understand what exactly this meant in her class.

One way that Ms. Hansen socialized students into paying attention to the details and look of their work was through in-class activities and homework assignments that asked students to pay attention to details and practice editing/proofreading skills. In explaining this activity to the students, Ms. Hansen mentioned the importance of such small formatting detail:

Excerpt 25

1Ms. H … *your job is to com-- (.) oh! there are extras (.) is to compare the (.)*
2 *the first column and the second column because in the second column*
3 *the year is fixed now why are you doing this? (.) most of you (.) learn to*
4 *read and write in a character based (.) writing system (.) and so the*
5 *mechanics the use of punctuation the spacing and so on is not something*
6 *that is NATURAL (.) to you um there are lots of things that are it's easy*
7 *to make mistakes on and not see (.) but if you let your paper go through*

8 *with mistakes like these it's just like going into an interview in a shirt*
9 *that is dirty or not ironed (.) right? it makes a bad impression (1) so you*
10 *have to learn how to see these things…*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 17; Oct. 12, 20xx)

In lines 3-7, Ms. Hansen acknowledged the challenge students often face in noticing these small editorial details given their language background. However, she did not allow this to be an excuse and drew attention instead to the negative impression such formatting errors might give readers (lines 7-10). The activity itself asked students to compare and contrast texts with and without formatting or proofreading errors and see if they could identify the errors. Errors included spacing, font differences, capitalization, and spelling as the following selected examples from the class handout illustrate:

Table 4-1 Examples from "Paying Attention to Detail" Handout, Day 17; Oct. 12, 20xx

Text with error(s)	Corrected text
Instead , Sanghavi insists that…	Instead, Sanghavi insists that...
The point is to	The point is to ....
Ebola hemorrhagic fever has captured the public imagination as the "DarthVader of the microbial world" because ...	Ebola hemorrhagic fever has captured the public imagination as the "Darth Vader of the microbial world" because ...

Such activities were designed to help students notice or "learn how to see things" (line 10) as Ms. Hansen said in the excerpt above, thus socializing the students into important editing and proofreading practices that will help minimize the burden they place on the reader and help make the best impression possible.

In the written instructions, Ms. Hansen further emphasized the importance of the impressions students make on their instructors and others who grade their work:

> It is easy to overlook little details when racing to finish a paper, but ignoring them can make a negative impression on your reader (or more importantly, your grader). (Paying Attention to Detail Handout, Day 17; Oct. 12, 20xx)

Helping students understand how their work and behaviors could be perceived and the impact this might have on their grade is another socialization process that I discuss in more detail below. But first, I present more examples of how students were socialized into paying attention to details such as formatting and organization of submitted work.

One way that Ms. Hansen socialized students into paying attention to the look of their work was by including it in the grading criteria. For example, the instructions below for submitting a revised draft of the first writing assignment included having a clear file name, which was also taken into account in the evaluation:

> **Instructions**
>
> - Upload the revised draft for your comparative summary.
> - **Be sure to name your file correctly**
>
> **example: Lisa Wong Comparative Summary**[25]
> - Bring 2 printed copies to class to exchange with your peers. Copies MUST be printed. If you miss class, you will not be able to participate in the peer review and you will lose peer review points.
> - This draft is does not receive a letter grade. Both your peers I will give you advice on this draft. I will grade the next draft - the polished draft.
>
> **Evaluation**
>
> **Points for this draft will be based on** the sincerity of your effort, definite improvement over the previous draft, being on time, and **following directions, including using the right file format and naming your file correctly.**
>
> (Moodle Site, Day 17; Oct. 12, 20xx)

[25] Text was bolded to better illustrate relevant data.

In addition to this, students were asked to reference one of their texts, *Little Seagull* (Bullock & Weinberg, 2011), for the specific formatting requirements. Per the grading rubric for the writing assignments, failure to adhere to the formatting requirements outlined in that text resulted in losing points on the paper. Assigning points potentially motivated students to take up the valued practices.

This type of attention to formatting and detail was even required for simple online Moodle homework activities where part of the evaluation was about the presentation of the answers and the ease of their readability, as we see from the following evaluation criteria for an online Moodle assignment:

Figure 4-6 Moodle Site, Day 4; Sept. 12, 20xx

Evaluation

You will be evaluated on the thoughtfulness of your answers, on answering all the questions completely, and on visual presentation (i.e., making it easy for me to know which answer belongs to which question, whether it is a "believe" or a "doubt").

Please make it easy for me to know which questions your answers "belong" to. You can do things like copy/paste the questions into your answer or phrase your answer to make it clear which question your are answering. Be sure to answer all questions.

In the above evaluation criteria, Ms. Hansen emphasized the importance of making things "easy" on her in the grading process and minimizing any burden a student might place on her thus, respecting her.

Helping students understand how their behaviors could be perceived as burdensome was another way Ms. Hansen socialized students into what it meant to treat her as their mother and be respectful and considerate in this academic environment. Excerpt 26 below illustrates how Ms. Hansen shared her reaction to some of the things the students did. This message to the students came in the middle of a set of long (5+

min) announcements at the beginning of class one day when Ms. Hansen, clearly frustrated, shared with her students a list of grievances. She was annoyed that: (1) students were not reading or responding to her emails; (2) they did not seem to be reading the feedback she took time to provide for them; and (3) they were not submitting assignments properly on the Moodle site. Ms. Hansen explained to the students that if they messed with their Moodle submissions, their work could be marked as *late* even if they initially submitted something on time. In a rather frustrated tone, Ms. Hansen then told the students:

Excerpt 26

1 Ms. H *... anytime you do ANYTHING on Moodle it records time and date*
2 *stamp (1) so (.) if you forget to do it* [click 'send for marking' vs. just
3 'submit'] *and it's AFTER the due date DON'T do it because THEN it*
4 *will record the late date (1) and that confuses me and I have enough*
5 *work to do (.) without hearing your excuses (.) and your pleas not to*
6 *mark it late (.) so if you forget (.) don't worry about it (.)*
7 S1 [unint]
8 Ms. H *if you forget to give me your HOMEWORK that is something to worry*
9 *about (1) okay?*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 15; Oct. 8, 20xx)

In this excerpt Ms. Hansen made explicit her frustrations with the students' behaviors. In doing so however, she explained her perspective and why what the students did was burdensome, as if to acknowledge the innocence in the students' intentions. It was likely students were still getting used to the functionalities of Moodle or were just trying to make sure they had submitted their assignments correctly. However, it seems they did not think about how it could affect Ms. Hansen, or that it even did. In this message, Ms. Hansen made explicit her negative reaction to the students' actions particularly because it caused more work and confusion for her in the grading process.

Ms. Hansen's expectations however, extended beyond her class and any direct benefit it offered her personally further illuminating the importance of the FYW for NNES course as a site for socializing NNES international students into broader academic discourse practices. In my final interview with Ms. Hansen, she talked about how her "pickiness" (Final Interview; Jan. 24, 20xx) was ultimately a way of preparing, even protecting, her NNES first-year international students from the realities of the broader academic community.

Excerpt 27

1 Ms. H *I think my expectations are pretty high. I got several complaints about*
2 *strictness this semester. And I was very satisfied. I think I shared with*
3 *you my answer didn't I? Maybe I hadn't. I'll have to find it. But one of*
4 *the students said that she just thought I was too strict and not giving*
5 *credit for the things that were accomplished. I said, "You know I worry*
6 *about being too strict." Because I was dinging left and right for not*
7 *giving me the correct file names and sources, 'cause it creates more*
8 *work for me. And it technically should create more work for them too*
9 *trying to keep straight. When they didn't include page numbers. When*
10 *they didn't upload all of the files. Didn't have the right format. And*
11 *yes, those things really look picky. ... I think lots of instructors wouldn't*
12 *care. They don't even ask for sources. So I know I go an extra mile on*
13 *that but part of the reason I do that is I have got to protect this kids from*
14 *themselves and other teachers. They have got to have a system so that*
15 *they can do things right or be able to defend themselves if somebody*
16 *challenges them.*

(Final Interview; Jan. 24, 20xx)

This excerpt illustrates Ms. Hansen's intention and even satisfaction in being strict with her expectations of the students (lines 1-2) and in playing an important role in instilling practices that might benefit students in other classes (lines 11-14). Perhaps knowing that the students' language might have errors and that some of their behaviors and discourse practices could be misunderstood by instructors less familiar with NNES international students, Ms. Hansen socialized students into developing practices that they have large

control over.[26] Such practices included adhering to formatting requirements and making their work as clear and legible as possible, essentially making their work and assignments *look* right. This could minimize the negative or frustrated reactions a grader might have to a student's assignment. A paper or assignment that *looks* like what the grader/reader expects could have an advantage over the one that does not.

This importance of not annoying or burdening the instructor and adhering to his/her expectations was further emphasized in Excerpt 28 below. Here Ms. Hansen was explaining her expectation that sources be accessible and that specific quotes be easily located within each source, thus following course citation practices:

Excerpt 28

1 Ms. H … *I don't want to have to guess which page you found the information*
2 *on or which link you found it on I want it all consolidated (.) to make my*
3 *life easy if my life is EASIER (.) I might be more (.) um (.) forgiving on*
4 *your essays* [laughs] *ok? or maybe a more accurate way to look at is if*
5 *you irritate me and I'm in a bad mood it might not go as well for you*
6 *and you don't want me to be biased against you (.) right? so make my*
7 *life easy just the way would treat your mother*
8 *Ss* *//*[laugh]
9 Ms. H [laughs]*// right?*

(Classroom Data – Whole Class Discussion, Day 13; Oct. 3, 20xx)

Ms. Hansen placed the responsibility of making sure citations were clear and easily referenced on the students (lines 1-3) and suggested that doing so would be a benefit to their grade (lines 2-4). Ms. Hansen also pointed out how irritating her could ultimately cause a negative bias as she graded their work (lines 4-7). In this interaction, Ms. Hansen also made the connection that taking up these discourse practices was part of treating her, the instructor—a nurturing yet demanding mother, preparing her children for the bigger

[26] As opposed to language where they are limited by their own proficiency and cultural understanding of academic writing in the US.

academic world—with respect and consideration. Finally, this interaction also likely drew awareness to how a lack of consideration of the instructor's perceptions might have negative consequences a student's grade.

It is possible that understanding the perspective of the teacher in reaction to student work and behaviors, and essentially developing awareness of the academic audience beyond writing, was something many students had not thought of before. For example, in the above Excerpt 27 where Ms. Hansen spoke of the student who complained about her being too strict, Ms. Hansen mentioned that she also explained her "pickiness" to the student. The following is Ms. Hansen's report of her interaction with the student:

Excerpt 29

1 Ms. H *And yes, those things really look picky. I told her that. And I said, but*
2 *then, I think about another arena like the Olympics and those little*
3 *things that I am knocking off for. Those are the things that keep a*
4 *gymnast from getting top points. They get dinged for just a slight*
5 *stumble. And who is really the top notch student? It's the one who can*
6 *hold it all together.*

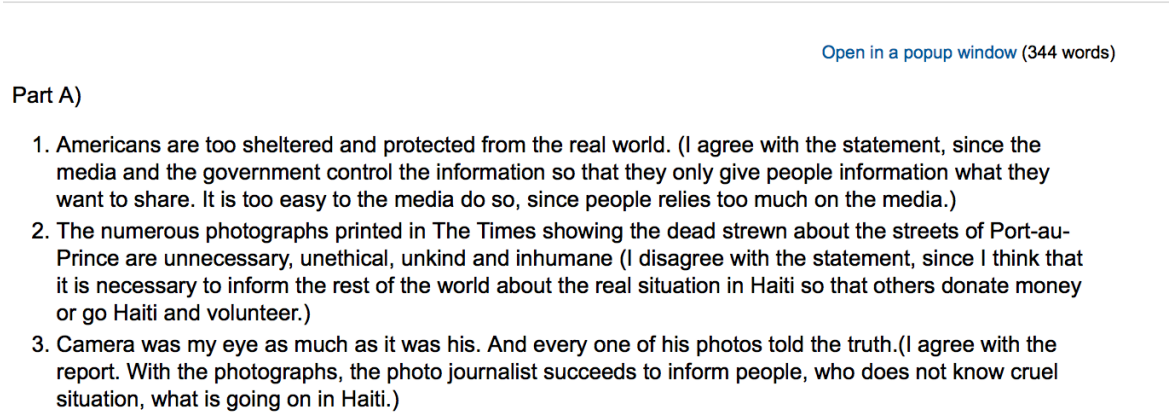
(Final Interview; Jan. 24 20xx)

According to Ms. Hansen, the student was then much more accepting of the critiques and grade and even thanked her for explaining her rationale. In ways, the student's reaction suggested a possible socialization into, or at least a deeper understanding of and appreciation for, the locally valued discourse practices related to being a respectful and considerate student.

Another example of a student who seemed to have been socialized into valued discourse practices related to being respectful and considerate was from Jason, one of

the focal students. Jason was a very conscientious student who generally abided by or enacted the valued discourse practices of this FYW for NNES course. He presented his homework in a neat and organized way as Figure 4-7, an image from his Moodle homework submission, illustrates:

Figure 4-7 Example of Jason's Work, Day 4; Sept. 11, 20xx



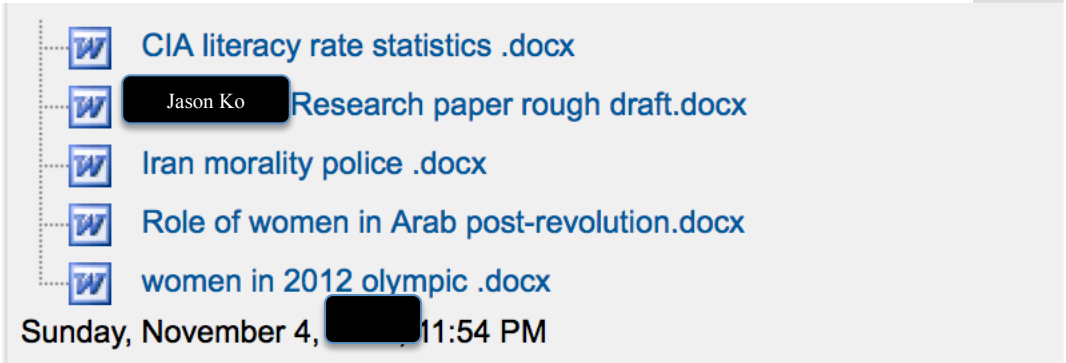
Open in a popup window (344 words)

Part A)

1. Americans are too sheltered and protected from the real world. (I agree with the statement, since the media and the government control the information so that they only give people information what they want to share. It is too easy to the media do so, since people relies too much on the media.)
2. The numerous photographs printed in The Times showing the dead strewn about the streets of Port-au-Prince are unnecessary, unethical, unkind and inhumane (I disagree with the statement, since I think that it is necessary to inform the rest of the world about the real situation in Haiti so that others donate money or go Haiti and volunteer.)
3. Camera was my eye as much as it was his. And every one of his photos told the truth.(I agree with the report. With the photographs, the photo journalist succeeds to inform people, who does not know cruel situation, what is going on in Haiti.)

Jason's use of labeling and numbering made his assignment easy for Ms. Hansen to read and follow. In addition, his papers also adhered to Ms. Hansen's formatting expectations. He also consistently named his documents in a clear and identifiable manner, which we see below in the list of files he submitted with a draft of his research paper:

Figure 4-8 Example of Jason's File Naming, Day 27; Nov 5, 20xx



From the beginning of the course, Jason adopted the valued discourse practices related to the cultural message of being a respectful and considerate student toward Ms. Hansen—treating her as his mother—thus, it is not possible to track socialization in its traditional sense of change or development over time. What can be said is that he had the agency to resist or enact, and he chose to enact and take up local academic discourse practices that extended beyond academic writing practices. And in doing so, he was further prepared for the broader academic community. While he might stand out in future mainstream classes, it likely will not be because his instructors see him as a burden.

As demonstrated throughout this section, "Just The Way You Would Treat Your Mother," the valued academic discourse practices related to being respectful and considerate toward instructors were often about developing awareness of the how instructors might react to student behaviors and how that ultimately could impact a student's grade. In many ways this evokes the notion of audience in academic writing, which, as illustrated above, was also valued in this course. Similar to the notion of audience where, through implicit and explicit messages, Ms. Hansen tried to help students gain the perspective of the reader and understand the expectations of the writer in US academic writing, here Ms. Hansen used similar approaches to help students understand the perspective of US instructors and how they might perceive their students' work and behaviors.

This overlaps with other cultural messages and valued discourse practices in this FYW for NNES course. For example, in uncovering valued US academic practices

related to critical thinking, Ms. Hansen emphasized the importance of developing multiple perspectives on a given topic or issue. This, in turn, aligns nicely with Ms. Hansen's goals of helping students develop awareness and understanding of the contrasting roles of writer/reader and student/teacher and, ultimately, the notion of audience embedded in each of those relationships. Further, being a respectful and considerate student who is aware of the instructor as the audience of a student's work and behaviors also connects to Ms. Hansen's valued practices related to students doing their share of the work and being active and engaged in the learning process. For example, speaking in class, demonstrating initial thinking and attempts at figuring something out before asking for help, and showing up to office hours or writing consultations prepared, a student would not only abide by many of Ms. Hansen's valued discourse practices related to being an active and engaged learner, but would show respect and consideration in the ways Ms. Hansen expected. Thus, as I discuss in further detail in the following chapter, many of the valued local practices reinforced each other and thus likely worked together to help socialize students into academic discourse practices beyond writing and beyond the FYW course, including being (considered as) a competent and legitimate student in the US.

Chapter 5: Academic Discourse Socialization in FYW for NNES

I embarked on this dissertation study with the following guiding research questions:

1. What academic discourse practices and norms are valued by the instructor in a first-year writing course (FYW) for non-native English speakers (NNES)?
2. How are students socialized into these practices and norms?
3. What evidence, if any, is there for socialization into these practices among two NNES first-year international students in this course?

To answer these questions, I drew on theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches of LS broadly, and second language academic discourse socialization, more specifically. In doing so, I employed ethnographic and discourse analytic methods to collect and analyze my data. In brief, the key findings of this study are the following:

- Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES students was more than a writing class. It was an important site of socialization for NNES international students into broader US academic discourse practices and values.
- Ms. Hansen socialized NNES students into academic discourse practices by making values and practices overt, inviting and immersing students into ways of thinking and being, and honoring her students' academic and literacy backgrounds.
- Despite being immersed in an environment ripe for socialization, students demonstrated agency in enacting or resisting valued US academic discourse practices.

I turn now to a more in-depth discussion of each of these points while weaving in my theoretical framework and connecting it to prior research. I then present limitations to this study and I offer some final words about the role of FYW for NNES as an important site of academic discourse socialization.

More than Writing

As discussed in Chapter Two, there have been ongoing debates surrounding the role and purpose of FYW (Fleming, 2011; Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008; Matsuda, 2006; Ritter & Matsuda, 2012). Largely absent from these debates and from academic discourse socialization research is in what ways, besides writing, the FYW course serves to socialize NNES students into broader US academic discourse practices and values.

All of the overt and explicit descriptions of Ms. Hansen's course suggested that her FYW for NNES class was teaching students about academic writing in the US, and in many ways it was. But, analysis of the classroom practices and student/teacher interactions afforded by an LS perspective, illustrated ways in which Ms. Hansen's class was about so much more. Even the practices conveyed as being relevant to writing were also arguably about being a student and tended to reflect broader societal values. For example, the importance of critical thinking which showed up in many of the valued academic discourse practices related to academic writing, was also an important part of being a student in the US, and a possible reflection of the societal value of individualism (Eland & Thomas, 2013). As mentioned above, Ms. Hansen's emphasis on developing multiple perspectives around a topic or issue as a form of critical thinking related to writing was also relevant to the ways in which Ms. Hansen worked to socialize students

into being respectful and considerate. In this case she tried to offer the students the added instructor's perspective in response to student discourse practices.

In Ms. Hansen's class, the valued discourse practices related to being a respectful and considerate student were also connected to the significance of audience in US academic writing. Students in Ms. Hansen's course were socialized into developing awareness of how their work and behaviors might be perceived by their instructors much like they were socialized into developing awareness of how their writing might be perceived by their readers. In both instances, Ms. Hansen helped students uncover the expectations of their US audiences and develop the academic discourse practices that would enable or facilitate their membership into the US academic community.

Thus, in Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES class, students were immersed in overlapping direct and indirect, implicit and explicit messages that socialized them into US academic writing and ways of being a student, but also into broader US social values that are thought to guide educational practices. For example, Eland and Thomas (2013) discuss the role of broad societal values of individualism versus collectivism in shaping local classroom cultures and practices:

> In a classroom context, collectivism is reflected in a style of learning where students are expected to listen, understand, and memorize the knowledge that the instructor provides, generating a shared understanding of the world. Individualism, by contrast, generates a style of learning where knowledge is open to question and critical thinking is highly valued. Related to these ideas, "power distance" explains how people feel and relate to power and hierarchy (Hofstede

> 1980). In a classroom in a high-power-distance culture, teachers are the sole initiators of activities as their role is to transfer wisdom and knowledge to students who are obedient and show respect toward them. In low-power-distance cultures, teacher still transfer knowledge but respect and encourage their students' independence; as such, students are expected to speak up in class and can contradict their teachers (Knight n.d.). (p. 150)

They further explain how these differences possibly led to more teacher-centered approaches to education in collectivist societies and more learner-centered approaches in individualistic societies. Of course, these are broad generalizations, but they do offer some insight into the ways macro societal values impact local micro practices, including valued ways of thinking, being, and even writing. For example, according to Cortazzi and Jin (1996) the notion of being an active learner is cultural. Volunteering comments in class, a valued practice related to being an active and engaged learner in Ms. Hansen's class but also a reflection of societal individualism as explained by Eland and Thomas (2009) above, might be seen as "showing off" or "preventing teacher talk" and thus discouraged in Chinese classrooms (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996, p. 200) and societies valuing collectivism (Eland & Thomas, 2013).

Jin and Cortazzi (2006) refer to these culturally rooted educational practices as the "cultures of learning" which they define as the "taken-for-granted frameworks of expectations, attitudes, values and beliefs about how to teach or learn successfully and about how to use talk in interaction, among other aspects of learning" (p. 9). We are socialized into broader societal values and the related educational practices from an early

age (e.g., Heath, 1986). And therefore, as research examining second language academic discourse socialization of NNES international students in the US (e.g., Morita, 2000, Spack, 1997) has demonstrated, adjusting to those of a new academic culture can be challenging.

Some might argue that in any class, instructors are socializing students into ways of being and behaving, particularly for their class. However, Ms. Hansen saw it as part of her role to prepare students for the expectations outside her class and across the curriculum (see Excerpt 27). While research has shown that mainstream[27] instructors across the curriculum might be aware of the cultural differences in learning and the challenges of doing academic work in a second language (Robertson et al., 2000; Trice, 2003), other studies such as Seror (2009) and Zappa-Hollman (2007) suggest that instructors (even those well-intentioned) do not have the time nor the resources to adequately help NNES international students or they feel that it is "beyond what we can do" (Zappa-Hollman, 2007, p. 479). Ms. Hansen, having the professional and educational background and expertise in working with NNES international students found ways to infuse her course with messages and learning activities to help socialize the students into broader academic discourse practices and values. This not only immersed students into ways of being and thinking but also made practices and values more overt through explicit and implicit messages; and therefore, helped socialize students into linguistically and culturally appropriate ways of being a student in the US.

[27] In other words, not ESL classes, but regular content courses meant for all/any admitted student meeting the proper prerequisites.

Further, discussion about this process through which Ms. Hansen socialized students into valued academic discourse practices is in the section that follows. But first, I would like to summarize the point being made here, that FYW is, or rather can be, an important site of broader academic discourse socialization, as my findings illustrate. FYW is an ideal space for socializing NNES international students into the cultural and societal norms and values, such as individualism, that are thought to guide many US academic discourse practices, including writing, the "cultures of learning," and the ways of being a student (Eland et al., 2009; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999). It can only be an ideal space, however, if students are granted access to the necessary linguistic and sociocultural knowledge necessary to be socialized.

Providing Access

While FYW courses have been criticized for using practices that assume certain linguistic and literacy backgrounds among the students (Robertson et al., 2000; Trice, 2003), one of the strengths of this study is the classroom evidence it offers illustrating that this is not always the case. One of the most important findings in this study is related to the ways in which Ms. Hansen worked to socialize NNES international students into academic discourse practices by not only helping to demystify and uncover academic practices that have long been considered tacit and ambiguous (Elton, 2010; Hyland, 2009) but also by welcoming the students as capable members of their new academic environment.

Unlike many composition teachers who are said to lack training in and experience with teaching NNES students (see Ferris, Brown, Liu, Eugenia, & Stine, 2011; Matsuda,

Saenkhum, & Accardi, 2013), Ms. Hansen had a background in TESL and SLA and many years experience teaching FYW for NNES students. This was in addition to her own experiences as a second language learner. Ms. Hansen referenced these qualifications to the students in the syllabus and to me in various personal conversations. This background and interest in teaching NNES students likely contributed to her awareness that her students' language and literacy backgrounds might not align with the academic expectations and valued practices in the US. Further, it guided her teaching practices to not only be explicit but also take on a "learn by doing" (Final Interview; Jan. 24, 20xx) approach where students were pushed to do and produce, as discussed above. This approach can be seen in many of the implicit practices illustrated in the findings sections such as helping students notice by providing examples, pushing students to produce and figure something out on their own, and simply by engaging students in activities that helped instill certain ways of thinking or ways of being.

Literature on LS theory and research highlights the importance of making cultural values and norms explicit to newcomers (e.g., Duff, 2010). In addition, several of the LS studies reviewed in Chapter Two (e.g., Morita, 2000; Seror, 2009; Zappa-Hollman, 2007) further illuminated the significance of explicitness in the second language academic discourse socialization of NNES students. Aligning with this literature, the data presented above offered multiple examples from both *Becoming a Writer* and *Becoming a Student* of how Ms. Hansen worked to make expectations, classroom practices, and even cultural norms explicit to her NNES international students. It began on the first day of class, when Ms. Hansen blatantly told the students in Excerpt 1 that academic writing in

the US is likely different from that of their home country and that to get good grades, they needed to adopt the expected academic writing norms in the US. This not only drew the students' awareness to likely differences in academic writing practices but also made it clear that the responsibility was theirs, the students', in adjusting to and adopting the new norms if they were to get good grades.

We also saw Ms. Hansen's use of explicitness in trying to help students understand important aspects of academic discourse practices. For example, in Classroom Data, such as Excerpt 2, Ms. Hansen made explicit the expectation that academic writing show critical thinking. Through course readings (see Instructional Material, The Rhetorical Triangle) the students were presented with overt messages about the role of context (audience, in particular) in academic writing. Ms. Hansen also told the students clearly that she expected them to be engaged learners who must try to figure things out on their own (see Excerpts 16 & 17) and participate in large group class discussions (see Excerpts 19, 20, and 21). And finally, as illustrated in the Polite Email assignment, and Excerpts 25, 26, and 28, Ms. Hansen tried to make overt the reactions instructors might have to student work and behaviors that did not conform to the expected practices. It is possible this explicitness contributed to helping students better understand and be socialized into the values and practices of their new academic community.

However, Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) explain there is more to LS than explicitness, "…language socialization does not boil down to a set of behaviors that are explicitly and intentionally oriented to enhance a novice's knowledge or skill" but rather, "more pervasive is socialization through novices' routine participation in semiotically

mediated practices" (p. 12-13). Likewise, Elton (2010) points out that the tacitness of academic writing often requires more than simply making writing practices explicit, as Ms. Hansen did. Elton (2010) concluded that tacit knowledge could be uncovered "through a combination of words and actions" (p. 158), in other words a mixture of "being taught and experiencing" (p. 158), which is what Ms. Hansen did.

In addition to making expectations, classroom practices, and even cultural values, explicit, findings illustrate how Ms. Hansen reinforced explicit messages through implicit messages and practices and scaffolded learning activities. For example, in addition to telling students that critical thinking was important in academic writing, Ms. Hansen demonstrated what constituted critical thinking in the US context by providing annotated examples for how to read a text and prepare to write about that text and by asking probing questions that pushed students' thinking and tried to help them gain new perspectives as illustrated with the concept of *other* in Excerpts 6 and 7. Finally, the act of critical thinking was infused throughout the course allowing for students to be immersed in this practice. It was emphasized by encouraging students to have, share, and respect different opinions (see Excerpts 3 & 4), by requiring that students find, read, and represent multiple sources and viewpoints in their papers, and by asking students to support and reason through claims. Thus, students were not simply told explicitly that critical thinking was important, but they were shown and guided in what that meant, and they were then initiated into practices encouraging them to do it (critical thinking), to *live* it, beyond writing.

This was also true of the processes of socializing students into other course values including the notion of context, and in particular, the significance of audience in US academic writing. In addition to the explicit messages about this, Ms. Hansen positioned the students as authentic readers and audience, as a way to draw awareness to the intertwined relationship of the reader and writer in a text. The questions in the annotated text in Figure 4-1 and the Peer Review Assignment (Figure 4-2) illuminated the "right" readers have in questioning the author and engaged the students in the practice of doing so. The idea of audience was further emphasized in Ms. Hansen's valued norms and practices related to becoming a student. Here, Ms. Hansen helped uncover the expected behaviors and cultural practices about being polite and considerate toward instructors in the US. This meant the students needed to pay attention to how their work or behaviors, much like their writing, might be perceived by their academic audience in the US.

The valued practice of being mindful of audience was not just something the students were told about or given the opportunity to practice both in writing and in being a student, but it was a value they were immersed in. It was almost an experience the students were to live, a way of thinking and way of being that would infuse their academic discourse practices. The same could be said of the other valued practices of Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES class. They were not just practices to be taught and learned, but ways of thinking and being to be instilled, enabling NNES international students access to their new academic community.

Being afforded access to sites, agents, or activities of socialization is a critical piece of the socialization process (Duff, 2010b). We saw this in Vickers' (2007) study

reviewed in Chapter Two where a NNES international student gains access to his academic and professionals circles through his small group team members. In contrast, Seror (2009) and Zappa-Hollman (2007), also reviewed in Chapter Two, demonstrated how a lack of access to adequate opportunities for socialization led to increased challenges for NNES international students in adjusting to new academic discourse practices. Thus, in a HEI setting that might otherwise not easily grant access to NNES international students, Ms. Hansen's course specifically was, and FYW more broadly could be, an important site for access and thus socialization for NNES international students into a new academic community and society.

The explicit messages combined with implicit messages and activities used by Ms. Hansen likely helped NNES international students in the socialization process by uncovering values and practices in academic discourse. This combination of practices also granted students access to what is otherwise thought to be assumed knowledge (Matsuda, 2006; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Ramanathan & Kaplan, 1996). Language socialization theory suggests that the positioning of students also plays a significant role in the socialization process (Duff, 2010b; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011), particularly for older and L2 learners. The findings of this study illustrated how Ms. Hansen positioned the students as capable and even advantaged by their L2 status which further supported the socialization process.

There were many ways that Ms. Hansen positioned the students as capable and welcome in the academic community. Such messages were conveyed to the students in the course syllabus when Ms. Hansen reassured them they could do well in the course

and that their NNES status was an advantage. Ms. Hansen also positioned the students as capable in setting the expectation that they were, among other things, to try to first figure out things on their own (see Excerpt 16) and then ask clarification questions when they did not understand something. Ms. Hansen also acknowledged the "extraordinary" feats the students were trying to accomplish (i.e., learning L2 academic writing) (Email to students, Day 28; Nov. 7, 20xx) and the valuable contributions they made in class and on homework (see Excerpt 4). It is possible that Ms. Hansen's belief in the students helped instill confidence and motivation in them, and her dedication to her students helped socialize them into local academic discourse processes. Ultimately, Ms. Hansen's positioning of the students served to further invite them into their new academic community by considering them as capable members.

In summary, the findings presented in Chapter Four and discussed above illustrate the multilayered ways in which Ms. Hansen worked to socialize her NNES international students into the valued academic discourse practices. Through a combination of explicit and implicit messages and learning activities, Ms. Hansen worked to make overt the valued academic discourse practices and created an immersive environment rich with opportunities for the students to develop both the necessary language and sociocultural knowledge to become competent members of their new academic community. This, combined with the positioning of the students as advantaged by their NNES status and capable of successfully doing academic work in a second language, highlight ways in which Ms. Hansen served as an important socializing agent. These findings also illuminate how the FYW for NNES course can be an important site of academic

discourse socialization when classroom practices and interactions reflect an understanding of and appreciation for the students' language, literacy, and educational backgrounds.

Enacting and Resisting

While the findings in this study point to Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES class as an favorable space for socialization into US academic discourse practices and values, these findings also align with LS theory and research claiming that intent or opportunity to socialize does not entail socialization. Ochs and Schieffelin (2011) explain that, "A central tenet of LS research is that novices' participation in communicative practices is promoted but not determined by a legacy of socially and culturally informed persons, artifacts, and features of the built environment" (p. 4). This is largely because learners have agency to enact or resist socialization (Duff, 2010). Findings presented in Chapter Four about the focal students in this study, Jason and Nancy, serve to further substantiate this claim.

Jason seemed to be socialized into many of the valued discourse practices presented in Ms. Hansen's class. For example, Jason exhibited his understanding of the role of audience in US academic writing in our interviews (see Excerpts 12 & 13), as well as by modifying his writing (see Figures 4-3 & 4-4) in light of his understandings. In addition to taking up this writing practice, Jason also enacted many of the valued practices related to being a student. In Figure 4-5, a copy of an email Jason sent Ms. Hansen, Jason exhibited his tendency to be prepared for class and to have done his share of the work or learning. This also serves as an example of how he was respectful and

considerate by sending an email that was clear, easy to read, and that followed the polite protocol expected by Ms. Hansen. These are all examples of how *through* language, Jason was socialized into *using* language and taking up other valued academic discourse practices.

Jason's enactment of the valued academic discourse practices suggests that this socialization process was relatively successful. As mentioned previously, it is possible that his experiences in an English-medium international school with many North American teachers served to initiate him into many of the valued discourse practices of Ms. Hansen's class. In fact, he mentioned having learned about audience in that school, but did not do anything about it then. His decision to not enact in the past but to take up the practice now certainly shows his agency, particularly since he had some level of awareness in both contexts. It is possible that his motivation or confidence changed. It is also possible that previously he knew about audience and that this time he finally understood how to apply this knowledge to his writing. Finally, it is also possible that something about Ms. Hansen's interactions with him provided the additional access and inspiration he needed.

Despite the apparent ease with which Jason seemed to be socialized into the valued discourses practices of Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES course, there is evidence of his "competing discourses" (Canagarajah, 1993, as cited in Spack, 1997, p. 15). Like Yuko, in Spack's (1997) study, Jason was influenced by home (L1) or prior academic discourse practices and societal values. As briefly discussed in Chapter Four, in our final interview on Dec. 10, 20xx, Jason talked about how his cultural background guided his

propensity to do what Ms. Hansen asked him to do even though he knew that the US educational practices valued more critical thinking and, perhaps, more questioning of what instructors said or advised. So, while in ways his home practices trumped US practices, this resistance to some US practices actually benefitted him. This is an example of the agency L2 learners have in in the socialization process to not just enact or resist but also to innovate (Duff, 2010b) or transform (Duff & Talmy, 2011), thus resulting in hybrid practices. Regardless, it helps exemplify the messy and complex process of L2S; while on the outside it seemed the socialization process was seamless and easy, evidence suggested that, like Yuko (Spack, 1997) and the students in Morita's (2000) study, Jason also had some internal negotiation between past and new discourse practices.

While Nancy did not offer such explicit glimpses of her internal struggle in the socialization process as did Jason, it is likely that she too experienced inner conflicts of her agency of enacting some practices while resisting others. However, unlike Jason, who ultimately did achieve academic success in terms of his final grade of A, Nancy nearly failed the course. The practices that Nancy enacted most consistently were related to critical thinking and developing multiple perspectives on a given topic in her academic writing as discussed in Chapter Four. In ways, it is possible that this Western value of critical thinking with its roots in individualism and independence aligned with who Nancy was, despite her background. She was a non-conformist, a self-proclaimed "loud girl" (Final Interview; Dec. 12, 20xx) who preferred a "random style" of writing (Interview 1; Sept. 21, 20xx). She was a free spirit whose pink hair and fishnet tights

made her stand out in the US but even more so in China. While these personal characteristics might have contributed to her enactment of critical thinking practices in her writing and in being a student, they might have also led to her resistance of other practices such as adjustment for audience and being concerned with how she was perceived—clearly something she did not seem to worry about in terms of her appearance. Although further research that includes more ethnographic work following Nancy and analysis of peer interactions is needed to substantiate any of these speculations and more carefully observe Nancy's intricacies, these speculations help illustrate some of the possible factors and complexities at play in the socialization process.

Limitations, Suggestions for Further Research, and Implications

This dissertation endeavored to explore *what* academic discourse practices and values students were socialized into, *how* they were socialized, and also looked for examples of student enactment of or resistance to these practices and values. It was ambitious considering most studies in second language academic discourse socialization, as discussed in Chapter Two, tend to focus on one or two of these aspects of socialization or focus more narrowly on a particular academic discourse practice (e.g., oral presentations, small team interactions). Yet, in looking at the *what*, the *how*, and the outcomes of socialization in Ms. Hansen's class, I was able to gain a well-rounded understanding of important aspects of socialization including the role of macro societal values in local micro discourse practices and expectations, the processes of socialization, the importance of access to a given community, and the agency of the learners. Further,

employing a broader view of discourse, which extended beyond academic speaking and writing, afforded the ability to understand to what extent Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES socialized students into the values and practices necessary to become more competent students and writers the US academic environment.

In opting for breadth, I acknowledge that one of the limitations of this dissertation study is perhaps a lack of depth in a single aspect of LS. For example, unlike Poole (1992) who uncovered the implicit ways teachers were socializing students into cultural knowledge by conducting detailed linguistics analyses of *how* utterances were said and (co)constructed between the teacher and student, I tended to focus on *what* was said as well as the pedagogical practices that Ms. Hansen used. However, linguistic analyses such a Poole's (1992) might have further illustrated the extent to which Ms. Hansen's speech and interactional practices implicitly socialized students into cultural norms and values.

In this dissertation study, I was primarily interested in the role of the FYW for NNES course as a site of socialization and the instructor, Ms. Hansen, as an agent of socialization. For this reason, I focused on student/teacher interactions, including assignment instructions and feedback. However, as the reviewed literature in Chapter Two illustrated, peers can also play an important role in the socialization process. For example, Morita's (2000) study found that peers, in surprising ways that disrupted traditional notions of novice/expert, also served as important socializing agents for the focal students' socialization into giving academic oral presentations. And Vicker's (2007) study examining peer interaction among electrical engineering students, illustrated

how through linguistic scaffolding during team interactions two team members played a crucial role in socializing a third NNES international student into gaining core membership in their small group and ultimately into the larger academic and professional community. These studies illustrate what could have been gained in this dissertation by closely examining peer interactions during small group work in Ms. Hansen's class. Doing so, could have not only offered insight into how students worked to socialized each other, but it could have also provided an important additional perspectives on student understanding or negotiation of and socialization into valued discourse practices. Finally, examination of peer interactions might have offered insight into the social dynamics among the students, which studies outside of LS (e.g., Lynch, Klee, & Tedick, 2001) have found to contribute to target language use and development. In the case of this dissertation, such social dynamics may have contributed to the socialization into valued discourse practices.

Because my focus was on this FYW for NNES course, I bound my data collection around the duration of the course, which limits the extent to which I can detect (or not) socialization over time. However, similar to Spack (1997), who examined Yuko's socialization into academic literacy for several years, by extending the study to follow students for one or more semesters beyond the duration of the FYW for NNES course, I certainly would have gained further insight into the students' experiences in the socialization process. With more time, students might have been better able to share their perceptions of the role FYW for NNES played in socializing them into the broader academic community.

These limitations offer suggestions for future research. In addition to conducting even deeper linguistic analyses of interactional data, examining peer interactions, and extending the length of the study, this study points to other possible research projects. For example, while this study offers much needed research illuminating what is actually happening in FYW classes across the US (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008), it is only one study examining a single classroom. Similar studies in other FYW courses would demonstrate to what extent the FYW for NNES class examined in this dissertation and its instructor, Ms. Hansen, were unique or not as important sites and agents of socialization.

Finally, another possible area of research would be to examine the bi-directionality of the socialization process in such classes as FYW. Recent efforts of campus internationalization seek to maximize the contributions of international students in fostering new/international perspectives among domestic faculty and students. Closely examining ways in which international students in turn socialize their instructors and peers into understanding their home (L1) academic discourse practices and societal values would not only offer important contributions to LS theory and research, but it would also serve as a form of assessment of such internationalization goals.

As is however, this study offers important implications for teacher ESL/FL teacher development. Arguably, one of Ms. Hansen's strengths was her ability to help students uncover and notice the valued academic discourse practices of her class. Her understanding of cultural differences in academic writing along with academic discourse practices and even societal values certainly contributed to her ability of doing this. Thus, teacher education programs may serve future ESL/FL instructors well by incorporating

study of comparative education where future teachers explore how their own educational systems and practices and those of other cultures are rooted in deeper societal values and are often something certain groups of learners are socialized into beginning at a very young age. This may help future teachers develop sensitivities to and awareness of where their students are coming from and the academic discourse practices they must learn in addition to developing the FL/target language. This in turn, may help teachers in their ability to offer access to newcomers their new academic community.

Another strength of Ms. Hansen's practices likely stemmed from her background in SLA, which was evident in her practice but was also something she discussed in our interactions. Ms. Hansen's interpretation and application of SLA theories to her teaching of writing points to the importance of SLA courses in preparing future ESL/FL teachers. Perhaps especially important in such courses is ensuring that future teachers not only understand the major theories but also develop tools for how to apply their SLA knowledge to various contexts in thoughtful and meaningful ways. While Ms. Hansen extended such SLA theories as the Output Hypothesis, it demonstrates the important impact teacher education programs and specific courses can have on teacher practices. Finally, given the extent to which Ms. Hansen's personal, professional, and educational background seemed to contribute to her ability to create a favorable site and space of socialization, there is a need for FYW programs to give careful consideration when hiring instructors who will be working with NNES students, whether in mixed or separate sections.

Final Words

Despite any limitations in examining academic discourse socialization in a FYW for NNES course, this dissertation study makes important contributions to several different bodies of literature and research, including FYW and academic discourse socialization. First, this study responded to Knoblauch and Matsuda's (2008) call for research providing more detailed understanding of what is actually happening in FYW courses. In doing so, this research illuminated the important role that FYW for NNES courses serve in not only socializing students into accepted academic writing practices but also into broader academic discourse practices and societal values related to being a *good* student in the US. This extended role of the FYW for NNES is one that is largely missing from the debates about the purpose of FYW courses and yet is critical given the increase in new NNES international students each year and the lack of systematic and meaningful socializing sites and activities at many HEIs in the US.

In terms of LS research and theory broadly, and second language academic discourse specifically, this study is one of the few that has employed a broader understanding of academic discourse to specifically focus on a site and agent of socialization for undergraduate international students new to HEIs in the US. By not limiting my analysis to a specific activity, such as oral presentations, writing a research paper, or small group work, my analysis revealed ways in which Ms. Hansen's course was about so much more than academic writing.

This study also further emphasizes the importance identified in prior L2S literature and research of making overt academic discourse practices and societal values

that are often otherwise tacit and assumed in academic settings. And, this study demonstrates the importance of providing students a space for immersing into and living the ways of being and thinking that guide the valued academic discourse practices. Additionally, the findings demonstrating Ms. Hansen's positive positioning of the students as worthy and capable reinforce prior claims in L2S that granting newcomers access to their new community is critical to the socialization process. However, despite the favorable conditions offered by Ms. Hansen's FYW for NNES course as a site of socialization, Jason and Nancy illustrate, as LS research suggests, that socialization is not guaranteed and that learner agency to enact and resist socialization further complicates the socialization process. In summary, by extending my query to include examination of the socialization processes and student outcomes, this study offers a more holistic view of the socialization process not offered in many L2S studies.

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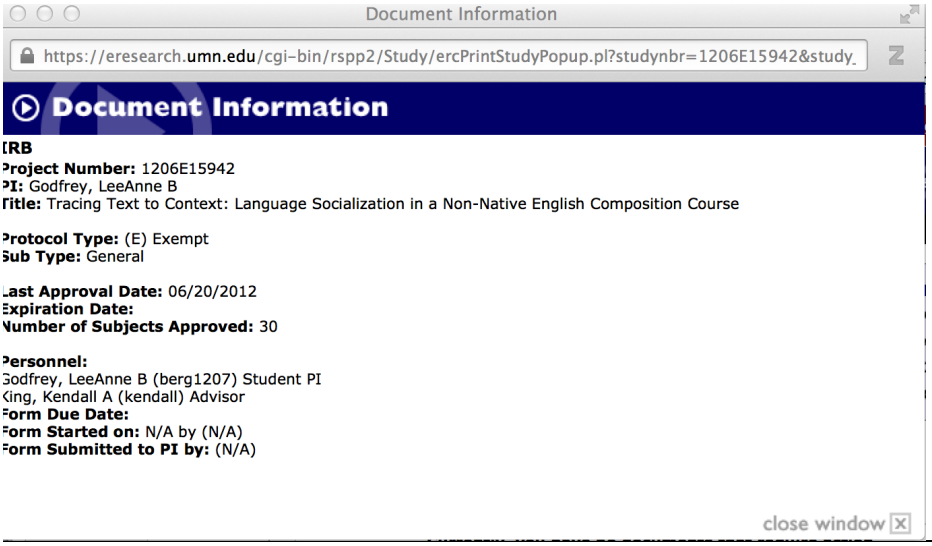
Appendix A: Transcription Conventions

- All spoken data was transcribed in italics to make a clear distinction between data that was in written form.
- Interview data and spoken data from field notes were transcribed using standard orthography.
- Student/instructor interactional data (classroom & writing conference) was transcribed in lowercase and according to the following conventions:

S1, S2, ...	students (Students who played an important role throughout the semester have pseudonyms.)
[xxx]	descriptions of actions or additional comments/metacommetary
( )	numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence
(.)	short pause
//xxxx//	overlapping talk
xxx--	interruption
//xxx	new speaker immediately follows previous one but no overlap
?	question tone (rise)
!	exclamatory utterance
XXX	stress on word or words (all caps)
"xxx"	reading from a text (own or other's)
[unint]	unintelligible or unclear speech

Appendix B: IRB Approval



Wed, Jun 20, 20xx at 12:24 PM
irb@umn.edu <irb@umn.edu>
To: berg1207@umn.edu

The IRB: Human Subjects Committee determined that the referenced study is exempt from review under federal guidelines 45 CFR Part 46.101(b) category #2 SURVEYS/INTERVIEWS; STANDARDIZED EDUCATIONAL TESTS; OBSERVATION OF PUBLIC BEHAVIOR.
Study Number: 1206E15942
Principal Investigator: LeeAnne Godfrey
Title(s): Tracing Text to Context: Language Socialization in a Non-Native English Composition Course

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- This e-mail confirmation is your official University of Minnesota HRPP notification of exemption from full committee review. You will not receive a hard copy or letter.
- This secure electronic notification between password protected authentications has been deemed by the University of Minnesota to constitute a legal signature.
- The study number above is assigned to your research. That number and the title of your study must be used in all communication with the IRB office.
- Research that involves observation can be approved under this category without obtaining consent.
- SURVEY OR INTERVIEW RESEARCH APPROVED AS EXEMPT UNDER THIS CATEGORY IS LIMITED TO ADULT SUBJECTS.
- This exemption is valid for five years from the date of this correspondence and will be filed inactive at that time. You will receive a notification prior to inactivation. If this research will extend beyond five years, you must submit a new application to the IRB before the study's expiration date.
- Upon receipt of this email, you may begin your research. If you have questions, please call the IRB office at (612) 626-5654.
- You may go to the View Completed section of eResearch Central at http://eresearch.umn.edu/ to view further details on your study. The IRB wishes you success with this research.

Appendix C: Sample Interview/Questionnaire Questions

Sample Instructor Interview Questions

Initial Interview

1. What is the role of non-native English (NNE) composition?
2. What are the key learning objectives? How are these measured?
3. What does it mean to be an academic writer at the university level? What can be expected of L2 students at this level?
4. What are some common challenges for students in this course? What gains in writing development do students generally make?
5. How is NNE composition different from a regular section?
6. What advantages/disadvantages are there to each section for NNE students?
7. In what ways is NNE successful? What makes it successful?
8. How would you describe the principles or writing theories that guide your teaching practices?
9. What is the role of the instructor in helping students develop academic writing?
10. What is the role of the student in academic writing development?

Mid-semester Interview

1. What seems to be working well?
2. What challenges are you experiencing? What about the students?
3. What kinds of writing progress do you see in your students? How do you measure this?
4. Can you describe your feedback practices? What is effective? What isn't? How do you know?
5. In what ways, if any, does class time, class activities, feedback contribute to student academic writing development? How do you know?
6. What do you think was happening here [refer to specific classroom interaction, writing conference interaction, or feedback on student work regarding a focal student's work]? What was your intent? Did the student succeed? Why or why not?
7. [In reference a focal student's work]. Do you see evidence here of ways in which your interactions with this student might have influenced or impacted this student's writing.

Final Interview

1. How would you describe the progress your students made this semester?
2. What do you perceive your role to be in this? In what ways do you think your instruction and feedback impacted the student writing?
3. Do you see evidence of your influence in student writing?
4. What is unique about what you can offer your students versus regular sections of freshman composition or what students get in their other courses?
5. What do you think the long-term effects of this class might be for your students?

Sample Questionnaire Items for All Students

Initial Questionnaire

1. What year are you in school? What is your major?
2. What is your native language(s)?
3. What other languages do you know?
4. How many years have you been studying English?
5. How much time have you spent in an English speaking country? What was your living situation? Did you study while you were in an English speaking country?
6. Why are you studying at the U of MN? How long have you been here?
7. Did you take an English proficiency exam? If so which, and what was your score? Do you think the exam was a good reflection of your writing skills? Why or why not?
8. What is academic writing? How is it different from other writing?
9. Do you see yourself as a competent academic writer? Why or why not?
10. Do you think your English writing is different from native English speaking students who are the same age as you? If so, in what ways?
11. Did you consider taking the regular composition class? Why did you decide to register for this class? This instructor?
12. Have you taken any other English writing courses? If so, when? Where? What do you think you learned about academic writing in that class?
13. What is your experience in English academic writing?
14. What are yours strengths/weaknesses in academic writing?
15. What do you hope to learn in this class?
16. How do you think this class will help you in your other classes? What are you looking forward to? Are you concerned or nervous about anything? If so, what?
17. What is the best way to learn/develop academic writing?
18. What is the role of your teacher in helping you develop your English academic writing?
19. Are you interested in being a focal student in this semester-long study on academic writing development?

Sample Interview Questions for Focal Students

Initial Interview

1. This interview will build on the responses provided on the initial questionnaire.
2. Other questions:
    a. Do you feel comfortable writing in English? Why or why not?
    b. In what ways do you think your prior experiences help/hinder your ability to write academically in English?

Mid-semester Interviews (these will be timed before/after major writing assignments)

1. What do you think of the class so far? What are the most important things you've learned about academic writing? How/where did you learn this?
2. In what ways do you feel your academic writing has developed? What or who has helped you develop? Can you provide any specific examples?
3. After rough/first draft:
    a. What were you thinking about as you prepared to write this assignment?
    b. What were you hoping to accomplish?

c. What are some strengths or weaknesses of this piece of writing?
d. What do you think your instructor will think of this work?
e. Did you get any help in writing this paper? Did you get any feedback from friends or classmates? Did you incorporate their suggestions? Why or why not?
f. In what ways did class activities or your teacher help you in writing this?
g. What were your intentions here [referring to a specific part of an assignment]?

4. After final draft:
    a. What kind of feedback did you get from your teacher on this paper?
    b. What did you think of the feedback? In what ways was it helpful (or not)? Did anything surprise you? Did you make changes based on this feedback? Why? Why not?
    c. Do you feel your interactions (spoken & written) with your teacher have influenced your writing decisions? How? Why?
    d. Did you make any changes to this paper in addition to things pointed out by your teacher? Why? Why not? If so, what made you decide to make those changes?
    e. What were your intentions here [referring to a specific part of an assignment]? Why did you decide to do this? Where did you get the idea to do this?
    f. How did your writing conference help you? What did you learn through that conversation? What (could have) made that experience beneficial?

Final Interview

1. In what ways do you think you've grown as a writer? Do you see yourself differently in any way?
2. In what ways do you think your writing has developed? What/who may have contributed to this?
3. What changes would you make to this assignment [referring to various course assignments] if you were to write it today? Why?
4. What is academic writing?
5. Do you see yourself as a competent academic writer? Why or why not?
6. How has this class prepared you to write for other academic purposes/classes?