

JYU DISSERTATIONS 72

Laura McCambridge

Norms and Ideologies of Academic Writing on an International Master's Programme in Finland



UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
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ABSTRACT

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This ethnographically-oriented study followed the experiences of six (later four) students on an international master's programme in Finland. Programmes such as this combine culturally, linguistically and often academically diverse students, using English as a lingua franca for course completion and evaluation, rather than the official language of the institution. My aim was to explore the norms and ideologies of English academic writing on the programme, or, in other words, what counts as 'good' writing for participants in this increasingly common context of English use for academic purposes. Over three years, I collected a range of data, including students' texts, instructions for and feedback on those texts, interviews with students and teachers, and students' writing journals. The study led to four published articles, each reporting on an aspect of English writing norms on the programme that emerged from the data.

The first article examined the students' discourses on good academic writing in English upon beginning the programme, identifying several norms that they commonly referred to and authorities that they drew on in explaining these norms. The second article examined native speaker ideology on the programme, looking both at ways in which native authority over English language norms was reinforced and ways in which it was challenged. The third article explored a tension on the programme between the need for more transparent, standardised norms for English writing and the need for flexibility, considering the diversity of students' backgrounds and aims. And finally, the fourth article focused on a specific norm that arose repeatedly: namely the notion of good English writing as assertively arguing one's 'own point of view'. The article examined how this norm translated into discursive practice through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis of metadiscourse in students' texts and analysis of students' and teachers' perspectives on those texts.

As with previous studies of English as a lingua franca, my study found that participants in this context tended to prioritize intelligibility over linguistic correctness, also when it came to writing. This was especially the case for texts that were considered to be written for local, Finnish teachers. However, even teachers who stated that they did not evaluate language in students' texts did in fact draw attention to certain language features when explaining their strengths or weaknesses, particularly the use of metadiscourse. As these evaluations were positioned as issues of content, separable from language, expected *ways of talking* about disciplinary issues tended to remain obscure. My findings thus reiterate the importance of integration and awareness-raising in academic writing pedagogy. Rather than repetition of generic principles that, as my findings suggest, can obscure what is actually rewarded in practice, I argue that students benefit from a 'decoding' of their discipline's discourses by subject area teachers, as well as an integration of writing into classroom interaction.

Keywords: academic literacies, English as a lingua franca, international higher education, ethnography of writing, writing norms, language ideologies, voice

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Jyväskylä 1.4.2019
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1 INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I investigate the norms and ideologies of academic writing on an international master's programme in Finland, in light of the increasing internationalisation of higher education worldwide and use of English as an academic lingua franca. My interest in writing norms stems from Academic Literacies research, in which writing is approached as a social practice rather than as an autonomous intellectual skill, with norms that are construed within a social context (e.g. Ivanič 1998; Lea and Street 1998; Lillis and Scott 2007). My interest in ideologies stems from intense debates on the role and nature of English in the process of this internationalisation. On the one hand, English has been described as a "cuckoo in the nest" of higher education (Phillipson 2006), dispossessing other languages and language practices, and privileging English-speaking academics. On the other hand, English has been portrayed as an increasingly neutral lingua franca: a tool for communication across national borders, adapting to the practices and identities of its diverse speakers and developing new norms of use (cf. Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2001). Both academic literacies and English as a lingua franca research have been concerned with the relationship between language use and social power, with the agenda of improving access to and equal participation in powerful practices: academic writing as a powerful discourse and English as a powerful language. I therefore see the combination of these two research interests as timely.

The number of international master's programmes, typically synonymous with English medium master's programmes, has increased dramatically in Europe over the last decade (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013; Wächter and Maiworm 2014). Finland is a clear example of this increase: Brenn-White and Faethe (2013: 6) estimate that between 2011 and 2013 alone, the number of English medium programmes increased in Finland by 52%. These programmes attract students from around the world, leading to very heterogeneous student bodies, not only in terms of students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, but often also their academic and disciplinary backgrounds, especially in the case of topic-based, multidisciplinary programmes. Although the programmes are clearly situated in a local Finnish institutional context and taught primarily by

Finnish lecturers, their courses are usually run entirely through English and assessed through writing, culminating in the completion of a research-based Master's Thesis.

These programmes are good examples of the kinds of contexts that are produced through internationalisation in higher education: they are temporary communities, culturally and linguistically diverse yet officially English-only, oriented to an international scale of academia, yet located in a local institutional context. Analysing the norms of English writing in this community thus has the potential for both sociolinguistic and pedagogical insights that are relevant on a wider scale. Previous treatment of English academic writing from these kinds of contexts, however, has tended to be text-centred and/or deficit-orientated, comparing the text features of non-native writers to those of native writers (or 'Anglophone centre' writers), with the practices of native writers as presumed norms. I aim instead to provide insight into this context in its own right, discovering how its students and teachers themselves conceptualise English, interpret text features and construe good academic writing.

In order to access the writing norms of community members themselves, I had to look beyond decontextualised text analysis. I therefore took a longitudinal, ethnographically oriented approach, following six (later four) student case studies through three years of their studies on the Master's programme. During these years I gathered texts that the students wrote for evaluation, interviewed the students and their teachers repeatedly, collected course materials, instructions and feedback that students received on their texts, and asked the students to keep a journal about their writing experiences. In this way, I was able to gain a more holistic picture of writing on the programme, with writing norms being a matter not only of text features, but also of the practices, discourses, and lived experiences surrounding the texts.

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

In line with principles of ethnography, I began the study with a very broad guiding question:

What counts as good English writing on the programme?

In other words, I wanted to know what students and teachers construed to be good academic writing in English and what kinds of written language and discourse practices were rewarded on the programme. However, rather than assuming a static set of norms that everyone would agree on, as might be implied for example by the question "what are the writing norms on the programme?", I wanted to allow for the possibility that there would be contestations and contradictions, for example between participants with different kinds of backgrounds, participants with different roles on the programme, explicit regulation versus implicit preferences etc. The wording

‘what counts’, therefore, is also intended to signal an interest in the wider, ideological issues that such contradictions often entail, such as ideas about the nature of English, disciplinary epistemologies, and relationships of power and authority in establishing appropriate writing practices.

This dissertation is ‘article-based’, meaning that it consists of four individual research articles, each with its own focus, in addition to this literature review and summary. I hence began my study only with the guiding question and allowed the specific focus of each article to emerge over the course of the three years, from the themes and issues that seemed to be particularly salient on the programme. Eventually, my four articles, along with their specific research questions, included:

Article 1: McCambridge, L., & Pitkänen-Huhta, A. (2012). Discourses of Literacy on an International Master’s Programme: Examining Students’ Academic Writing Norms. In A. Pitkänen-Huhta, & L. Holms (Eds.) *Literacy Practices in Transition: Perspectives from the Nordic Countries* (pp. 165-188). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

- What norms do students express for academic writing in English?
- What authorities do students draw on in explaining these norms?

Article 2: McCambridge, L., & Saarinen, T. (2015). I know that the natives must suffer every now and then’: Native/non-native indexing language ideologies in Finnish higher education. In S. Dimova, A.K. Hultgren, C. Jensen (Eds.) *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education* (pp. 291-316). Berlin: Mouton, 291-316.

- How do participants construe native and non-native in English?
- What language ideologies are indexed in these constructions?

Article 3: McCambridge, L. (2016). Academic Writing in a Lingua-Franca Context: Standardization, Accommodation or Transformation? In K. Harrington, T. Lillis & M. Lea (Ed.), *Working with Academic Literacies: Research, Theory, Design* (pp. 185-193). Fort Collins, Colorado: The WAC Clearinghouse and Parlor Press.

- What points emerged for the standardisation and explicit teaching of academic writing norms on the programme?
- What points emerged against such standardisation?
- What might characterise a transformative approach to writing pedagogy in this context?

Article 4: McCambridge, L. (2019). If you can defend your own point of view, you’re good: Norms of voice construction in student writing on an international master’s programme. *English for Specific Purposes*, 54 (2019), 110-126.

- To what extent did students explicitly assert their ‘own voices’ using metadiscourse?
- What voice types did students construe in their texts and how did they perceive their texts and teachers’ expectations?
- What voice type(s) did teachers prefer and how did they interpret students’ practices?

The specific focuses of my dissertation therefore include:

- Students’ talk about good academic writing at the beginning of the programme and the authorities they drew on in construing norms.
- English native speaker conceptualisations and language ideologies on the programme, as well as in Finnish higher education more generally.
- A tension on the programme between the need for more transparent, standardised norms and the need to accommodate diverse practices, and the implications for pedagogical design.
- A contextualised understanding of the voice types that students construed in their papers, and the writing norms that teachers construed in interpreting and evaluating their practices.

My intention through these four articles was to be both sociolinguistically descriptive and pedagogically useful; in other words, I wanted to understand the written language norms in this context in its own right, while at the same time gaining insights into students’ experiences in this context that may be helpful for future students and teachers beyond the identification and prescription of model text features.

1.2 Structure and Theoretical Concepts

The purpose of this present summary is both to frame and draw together these articles, reporting on the study as a whole. I begin here with definitions of my main concepts, ‘writing norms’ and ‘language ideology’. In chapter two, I introduce the notion of writing as a social practice, overview my main theoretical framework - the Academic Literacies Approach (AcLits) - and review literature on two themes that are relevant to this international master’s programme: namely academic writing norms as shaped by culture and language, and academic writing norms as shaped by genre and discipline. In chapter three, I discuss the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and overview previous research findings on ELF in academic contexts. And in chapter four I discuss the context of internationalisation of higher education in Nordic countries and in Finland in particular.

The second half of this summary focuses more specifically on the methods, data and results of my project. I begin in chapter five by introducing ethnographic methodology in researching academic writing, while overviewing the data I collected and critically reflecting on set-backs I encountered. Next, I introduce the programme and my case-studies, and discuss my ethical considerations. In chapter six, I summarise each of my four articles in turn. And in the final chapter I draw together what I consider to be my study's overall contribution and limitations, as well as possibilities for future research.

1.2.1 Writing Norms

In his work on literacy and ideology, Gee (2008: 6-30) points out that in interaction the meanings of words come attached not to fixed dictionary definitions, but rather to what he calls 'cultural models', including all the associations and connotations that words have acquired through their use in various contexts. Words are therefore imbued by experiences with the world and come to conceptualise and represent the world in simplified forms. When we use language, we draw in part on the sharedness of these cultural models to make meaning, but, especially when interacting in new contexts and with people from different backgrounds, we also construct new models, and negotiate or contest meanings. In academic discourse this kind of negotiation is especially obvious; conceptualisations of the world can have important implications for its investigation and word contestations can therefore give rise to different research paradigms. Here, I explicitly negotiate the meaning of a word that is central to my study and often used in sociolinguistic research, but not often theorised (Blommaert 2006: 520): namely the word 'norms'.

When used in regard to literacy, the term 'norms' generally signals a socially oriented paradigm, as it tends to be a given that it refers to the social norms of written language use as opposed to the 'rules' of a language system. I use the term to refer to writing practices (i.e. ways of using written language) that are considered normal, appropriate or preferable in a given community or context. Writing norms are what people in a community think they should do in (or with) their texts; they therefore have a regulative influence on writers' linguistic and discursive conduct. Hynninen and Solin (2017) define language norms as including what is common, what is accepted/expected, and what is codified for a particular context. In other words, a norm can be a recurring practice that comes to be seen as normal and exert a sense of "oughtness" (Pippo 2012 in Hynninen and Solin 2017); a norm can be a practice that people construe implicitly as preferable in how they talk about texts or treat texts; and a norm can be an explicit regulation in a community, emanating from an authority such as a written guide, official policy, or a teacher. Norms therefore are not identifiable solely in texts themselves, but are also construed in the discourses and practices in which the texts are situated.

When I began my research, I did not isolate a particular type or level of writing norms to focus on in my data collection, nor did I limit the range of writing norms that I was interested in. I did not for example specify norms that

concern sentence level language use (such as preferred word choices or grammatical constructions), norms that concern the discursive structure or content of texts, or norms that concern how different kinds of texts are used. I decided instead to begin from general notions of good writing in English and to allow as far as possible the more specific focuses to stem from emic perspectives, i.e. the perspectives of community members themselves. So, for example, when the norm of arguing one's 'own point of view' was referred to repeatedly by participants and a particular sentence level text feature seemed salient in this (the use of metadiscourse), I choose to analyse how that feature was used and interpreted. In understanding how writing functions in social contexts, different levels of writing norms are often intertwined. Even something as simple as writing a 'thank you card', for example, involves layers of implicit or explicit norms, from lexical and grammatical choices, to the structure and appearance of the text, to the content and tone of the text, to whether, when, to whom and by whom such a card should be sent. Isolating a specific type of norm in advance therefore would have been unhelpfully limiting and would likely have entailed a less contextualised understanding.

Many literacy scholars have used the term 'conventions' to refer to these socially preferred or recurring writing practices and text features (e.g. Canagarajah 2002a, Lillis 1997). In the context and for the purposes of this research, however, I prefer the term norms. I understand there to be a rigidity to the word conventions, evoking connotations of established traditions and clear, relatively undisputed, observable textual forms. In a temporary, diverse community such as the international programme I investigate, I cannot assume that such established academic writing conventions can be clearly observed, especially from a student viewpoint. The term norms, however, I consider to be more flexible; unlike conventions, norms can be subtle, varying and conflicting. They can be demonstrable, recurring practices that are preferred in a community or only imagined ideals – representations of good writing and good writers that people construct when talking about texts, which may in fact be quite different from what they do in their texts or the practices that are actually rewarded (cf. McCambridge 2019). Conventions, on the other hand, I consider to be more strongly tied to observable patterns in the texts themselves.

Another term that is sometimes used in academic literacy research to refer to preferred writing practices is 'expectations'. AcLits research in the UK, for example, has often focused on the gap between teachers', often subtle and implicit, expectations for students' writing and students' own understanding of academic discourse, especially 'non-traditional' students who have not long been inducted into an essayist style of writing (see e.g. Lea and Street 1998). Phrases such as 'be explicit' and 'argument' written in essay margins may be used by teachers as shorthand for supposedly transparent issues of content and logic, but can in fact mark language use that deviates from expectations in socially nuanced ways. In other words, rather than being a problem of content, the writer may not yet have learned the expected code for expressing that content. The term expectations is therefore used to denote the written language

norms that teachers have in mind when setting and reading written assignments (see also Casanave 2002). In this study, my interest is indeed partly in teachers' expectations as revealing and constructing general norms for academic writing in this community. However, an individual teacher's expectation does not necessarily represent a norm, in the sense of being a pattern of similar expectations across a group of people.

In sum, my concern in this study is with 'normativity' in academic writing - 'normative' as in 'evaluative' or "expressing value judgments or prescriptions" (Collins English Dictionary 2017). Cameron (1996: 2) describes normativity as having a central role in language use, as being "part of what language-using is about, and not just something perversely grafted on." Linguists have generally treated prescriptive evaluations of good language use versus bad language use as being beyond their descriptive domain (Cameron 1996: 3-11). Signs, after all, are arbitrary, language change is continual, and language variation is natural. Language is therefore frequently conceptualised as something that 'evolves' as a living creature with a will of its own, with linguists' role being to describe the regularities of language in a given time and place. From this angle, language seems like a very democratic organism: what once was perceived as correct, educated usage might in another time or place be perceived as quaint and clichéd; what in one context is aspired to as skilful and eloquent, might in another context be interpreted as pretentious and inauthentic. Language judgements begin therefore to seem very arbitrary.

On the other hand, when language is not seen as a living thing in itself, but rather as "a vehicle for communication between living things, namely human beings" (Milroy 1992: 23 in Cameron 1996: 5), these perceptions seem much less an arbitrary add-on to language and more a fundamental part of the social practices and processes in which language is shaped. Cameron (1996: 6) puts it that:

Language-using is a social practice: the human capacity for acquiring and using language is necessarily actualised within social relationships. Thus the sort of behavioural regularity captured in a rule must arguably arise in the first place from speakers' apprehending and following certain norms.

This is not, Cameron goes on to point out, an apologia for linguistic prescription, but rather an argument that normativity is a fruitful focus for sociolinguistic analysis and that linguists can in fact play a role in normative linguistic debates.

1.2.2 Language Ideology

In discussions of normativity in regard to language and literacy, the concept of 'language ideology' is also frequently invoked, meaning very broadly "shared bodies of common-sense ideas about the nature of language in the world" (Rumsey 1990: 346; see also Woolard 1998). Cameron (1996: 4) observes that all evaluations of language use are fundamentally ideological; normative attitudes about good and bad language entail ideas about the nature, value and purpose

of language (or of a language). For example, the ideal that people should use language according to a standard model often entails an understanding of language as a communicative tool for transferring thought clearly and precisely. On the other hand, the preference for using a local language variety might be based on a sense that the variety is imbued with the community's authentic identity. Language ideology therefore contributes to the lens through which language use is interpreted and valued. Woolard (1998: 3) points out that "there is as much cultural variation in ideas about language and about how communication works as a social process as there is in the very form of language". My aim in this study is to explore these kinds of ideas particularly in relation to the nature of good English writing on the programme.

The term 'ideology', however, can be jarring. It may evoke connotations of an authoritarian dogma - a discreet manifesto or system of doctrine. It is also often used in a negative sense to mean a system of distorted and false ideas, usually the misguided ideas of 'others' (van Dijk 2004). Although I do analyse participants' ideas about written academic English in this study as social constructions, I do not presume them to be false. I make no a priori distinction between true and false ideas about written language use, not because I consider their truth value to be unimportant, but because, in describing the norms of a community, it is important to 'strange-make' all ideas, even those that seem natural to the researcher (for the concept of making the familiar strange in ethnography see e.g. Van Maanen 1995: 20). Moreover, I do not consider participants' ideas to be representations of a coherent system of doctrine, existing abstractly somewhere in pure form. In people's everyday lives, I would argue that such doctrines are much more piecemeal and multivalent than they are construed for example in texts. And even in texts, the sense of a discreet, complete, and internally consistent dogma is difficult to maintain. Rather than a coherent system of explicit ideation, therefore, I prefer Therborn's (1980: viii) characterisation of ideologies as "the cacophony of sounds and signs of a big city street". Ideologies are construed, both implicitly and explicitly, in the discourses and practices of a community, emerging "as derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position" (Woolard 1998: 6). By this definition, there is no socially detached ideology nor is there any ideology-free social condition; it would be impossible to live in a state of complete individual scepticism, without any concepts about the world or ways to determine a good course of action.

As socially emergent, language norms and ideologies concern more than just language, but rather tie language to other social phenomena. In particular, they tie language to constructions of identity: who we are to ourselves and to others, and how we position ourselves (or are positioned) in relation to others. Woolard (1998: 3) puts it that language ideologies "envision and enact ties" between language and identity, underpinning "the very notion of the person and the social group". An obvious example is the way in which individual languages came to be closely entwined with the emergence of national identities, through a national romantic ideology of language from the 18th

century onwards. The concept of language as “the genius of the people” (Woolard 1998: 16-17) has informed a general assumption of one (pure) nation/one (pure) language still today, as well as perceptions of nativeness and national ownership over languages. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) also give examples of the way in which language that is statistically associated with a group of people comes to be ideologised as representing a type of person. This language is then often in turn ‘revalorised’ with the perceived positive or negative traits of that ‘type’ - even traits such as intelligence and moral character.

A final major theme in literature on language normativity and ideologies is power. Put simply, regulating or evaluating language tends to involve a degree of power. Different definitions of ideology conceptualise this power somewhat differently. An understanding of ideology as a system of distorted beliefs or false consciousness generally considers ideology to be a tool for rationalising and enforcing domination, thereby placing power relationships as the defining focus of ideological analysis. The ideas of the dominated group are perceived as non-ideological by definition. More neutral, ‘total conceptions’ of ideology on the other hand tend to conceive of power relations as a crucial social factor in its construction, but alongside other phenomena. Woolard (1998: 8) explains that:

If by ideology we mean signifying practices that constitute social subjects, surely we should also attend to, for example, affiliation, intimacy, and identity, all of which are complexly imbricated with but not directly and simply equitable to power.

Again, I align with a more neutral understanding of power as a crucial factor, but not the only factor, in language normativity and ideology, and I consider the role of power in the regulation of English academic discourse to be more complex than that of dominating group versus dominated group. There can be many forms and scales of power in an academic community, including for example political and economic power (for example in allocating funding), the power of gatekeepers (for example in assessing, editing, and approving language use), the power of authoritative voices (for example a teacher or guidebook author), the power of institutional rank (for example in determining policy), the power of numbers, the power of peer or in-group approval, and power that stems from wider social structures - such as relationships of gender, class, nationality and ethnicity.

In my own work, I was particularly interested in perceptions of authority in construing good academic writing in English. I drew partly on English as a Lingua Franca research for framing this, with its problematisation of native-speaker authority, which I will return to in chapter three. I drew also on Blommaert’s (2010) vocabulary for discussing normativity, which includes the concepts ‘orders of indexicality’, ‘scales’ and ‘polycentricity’. In Blommaert’s (2010) terms, every space (for example, that of a Finnish university) is filled with “stratified normative complexes that organise distinctions between, on the one hand, ‘good’, ‘normal’, ‘appropriate’ and ‘acceptable’ language use and, on

the other hand, 'deviant', 'abnormal' etc. language use" (p.6). These 'complexes' allow an individual to speak recognisably, indexing a valued 'kind of person' in that space, e.g. a good student, a good anthropologist, an intelligent person, an educated person and so on.

Blommaert (2010) elaborates that although spaces have traditionally been viewed as being organised horizontally, i.e. regionally, they are also organised vertically across stratified 'scale-levels'. Use of a given language resource can have a particular indexical meaning and be highly valued on a local scale, but then change meaning or lose value through relocation to different context or reorientation to a different scale. More prestigious language resources, on the other hand, usually transfer more easily. The degree of mobility is subject to power relations in world markets and hence linguistic resources can become a compounding source of inequality. Some people, Blommaert (2010) points out, have access to and control over higher scale-levels, and therefore easily benefit from globalisation, whereas "many people nowadays find their linguistic resources to be of very low value in globalised environments" (p.3).

In relation to power in producing norms, Blommaert (2010) also refers to 'centres of authority'. He argues that whenever we talk about topics, we orient to these centres as the "places where 'good' discourse about these topics is made" (Blommaert 2010: 40). He likens this to Bakhtin's (1986) concept of a 'super-addressee', an evaluating authority (real or imagined) that we project into our interactions with immediate addressees. He points out that:

very often such authorities have names, faces, a reality of their own; they can be individuals (teachers, parents, role models, the coolest guy in class), collectives (peer groups, sub-cultural groups, group images such as 'punk', 'gothic' etc.), abstract entities or ideals (church, the nation state, the middle class, consumer culture and its many fashions, freedom, democracy), and so on: the macro- and micro-structures of our everyday world. (Blommaert 2010: 39)

These centres of authority produce linguistic and discursive norms - notions of good, appropriate, valuable ways to speak or write - but, as there are multiple forms of power existing across different scale-levels, every topic and every space will be "polycentric"; i.e. there will be more than one authority and those authorities can be in conflict. Blommaert also therefore dismisses unidimensional accounts of power in the relationship between people and language resources globally. He argues for example, as does Pennycook (2006), that the paradigm of linguistic imperialism, in which English is necessarily the language of domination and oppression worldwide, entails a static, immobile image of language, one in which "a language" is owned by a national group and is therefore in competition with other (discreet, static) languages and national groups. This image, he argues, is unable to capture the complexity of ways in which both people and language resources travel, encountering different kinds of contexts and purposes, and producing new kinds of 'indexical orders'.

1.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the norms of language use - also written language use - are not selected freely from a menu within a community of equals; they are instead an active part of how people understand, evaluate and structure their social world. Especially in institutional settings, breaking norms can have significant consequences. Language use after all is interactive, consisting not only of intentions, but also interpretations. On the other hand, it is also clear that norms and ideologies travel and change along with the movement of people and changing social circumstances. They are not fixed, but are rather imbued by experiences with the world, as Gee (2008) put it, and are therefore construed between people and in relation to their circumstances. This is particularly relevant in the context of an international master's programme, in which English is used as a lingua franca between students and teachers from around the world, hypothetically at least removed from the more established English language norms of academic institutions in Anglophone countries. Mortensen and Fabricius (2014: 220) describe these multilingual communities as representing "dynamic language scenarios where indexicality is constantly in-the-making, and historical community memories are necessarily short". Such communities, they observe, can combine more traditional ways of thinking with "new impulses brought about by the new setting". I therefore consider this a fascinating context for exploring language normativity and ideology.

2 UNDERSTANDING ACADEMIC WRITING NORMS

As established in the previous chapter, my study is premised on the understanding that language use is subject to social norms and that those norms are not an add-on, but rather “part of what language-using is about” (Cameron 1996: 2). In literacy research, this premise entails approaching writing as a social practice rather than focusing on text alone. In this chapter, I introduce the concept of writing as a social practice, overview its application to academic writing – summarised as the Academic Literacies Approach – and discuss two themes in previous research on academic writing that are relevant to the multicultural and multidisciplinary context of my study: norms as shaped by culture and language, and norms as shaped by genre and discipline. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the concept of community, definitions of which tend to differentiate between research methodologies.

The concept of writing as a social practice is the result of increasing sociolinguistic and anthropological attention to the role of literacy in everyday social activities, summarised since the 1990s as “New Literacy Studies” (Barton 1994; Gee 1990; Street 1997). Traditionally, sociolinguistics has concentrated on the relationship between spoken language and society. Written language, in contrast, has been perceived as an artificially or necessarily stabilised form of language (see e.g. Stubbs 1980 in Lillis 2013: 8), as well as a main culprit in linguistic prescriptivism and the illusion of ‘a language’ as a complete set of correct forms with fixed, unambiguous meanings. Widespread literacy, after all, is a relatively recent historical phenomenon (cf. UNESCO 2006: 189), and writing has played a significant role in the codification and standardisation of language use (Lillis 2013: 7). It has therefore tended to be seen as a technical skill – the recording of language through inscription (cf. Bloomfield 1933: 21) – resulting in turn in the analysis of written texts as objects, as though the meanings and functions of written language can be interpreted by the analyst without regard to the social interaction in which it is embedded. Street (1984) termed this an ‘autonomous model’ of literacy.

An understanding of writing as a social practice does not deny the role of writing in processes of linguistic codification and standardisation (Lillis 2013: 8). Rather it posits that the traditional binary between speech and writing, and treatment of writing as sociolinguistically inauthentic, has in the past led to an exaggeration of writing's static, uniform nature, as well as strongly normative or prescriptivist stances towards writing even among sociolinguists (see Lillis and McKenny 2013: 417). This in turn has resulted in a neglect of the ways in which writing practices and norms do vary and change along with social context, now often summarised as 'literacies' (c.f. Street 1984), and the ways in which writing mediates social activities and relationships. As a result, as variation and change in written language use have become particularly visible recently through new and changing technology, linguists have sometimes characterised it as a form of speech rather than writing in order to circumvent deficit judgements (e.g. McWhorter 2013 in the case of texting).

The need, however, to include writing as a legitimate focus of sociolinguistic attention is becoming increasingly clear. Literacy now plays a major role in people's lives globally, in a way that is often entwined with speech. As Coulmas (2013: 1) points out, a purely oral culture is no longer a viable alternative for people in the vast majority of communities. With traditional images of writing as published, edited texts, it is easy to overlook the variety of literacy practices that people engage in and the extent to which their everyday lives are mediated by writing and reading. New Literacy Studies has expanded 'what counts as writing' in literacy research, drawing attention through ethnographic observation to 'ordinary' writing and reading, or 'vernacular literacy practices' (Barton and Hamilton 1998), that have previously been invisible in literacy surveys (Lillis 2013: 75-76).

An approach to writing as a social practice generally involves ethnographic methodology that draws attention to the way in which writing is situated in context. It often involves empirical observation of "literacy events" (Brice Heath 1983; Barton 1991), i.e. interactions in which literacy plays an integral role, and observation of the behaviours that those events involve, i.e. what people 'do with' literacy. Barton and Hamilton (1998: 3) put it that:

Literacy is primarily something people do; it is an activity, located in the space between thought and text. Literacy does not just reside in people's heads as a set of skills to be learned, and it does not just reside on paper, captured as texts to be analysed. Like all human activity, literacy is essentially social, and it is located in the interaction between people.

Studies that focus on what people do with literacy have drawn attention to the differing ways in which texts are treated in different communities, ways that are often taken for granted and not recognised as learned behaviour (cf. Brice Heath 1983). These studies also advocate a move away from a monolithic concept of literacy as a singular skill that people do or do not possess, as well as away from a 'Great Divide' perception of literacy as the virtue of civilised, knowledge-based societies as opposed to primitive, oral societies (cf. Street 1993: 10).

As an alternative to the 'autonomous model' of literacy, Street (1984) advocated an 'ideological model' of literacy. Besides a recognition of the variability of literacy practices and norms, this model places at its heart some of the main concerns of contemporary anthropology, including a community's construction of knowledge (or belief), identity, social change, power, and the meeting of local and global spaces (see Barton and Papen 2010: 10). Literacy in other words is bound up in what Gee (2011) calls capital 'D' Discourse, i.e. ways of using language that are entwined with ways of acting, interacting, believing, valuing, dressing etc. that position people as "kinds of people" or recognisable subjects in a social system. He explains:

If you want to get recognised as a devout Catholic, you cannot just talk the "right" way about the "right" things; you also have to engage in certain actions (like going to mass) with the "right" people (e.g. priests) in the "right" places (e.g. church) and you have to display the "right" sorts of beliefs... and values. The same is true of trying to get recognised as a "Native American", a "good student", a "tough policeman," or a "competent doctor." You need to talk the talk and walk the walk. (Gee p.37)

Social expectations for both spoken and written language use are therefore more complex than superficially preferred forms; they are concerned with one's social habitus. Ivanič (1998: 39) put it that "every discursal decision positions the writer doubly: as a thinker of such things and as a user of such words and structures." Learning to write well within a given context therefore involves more than learning a formal shell of text features to imitate.

2.1 The Academic Literacies Approach

An "Academic Literacies Approach" (AcLits) adopts this ideological model of literacy and understanding of writing as a social practice. It emerged from a UK context of WAP (Widening Academic Participation) as a critique of pedagogy that conceptualised academic writing as an autonomous skill - what Lea and Street (1998: 158) call a 'study skills' approach to student writing. A study skills approach has been described as failing non-traditional students in the UK by positioning academic writing as a common-sense matter of intellectual ability, with language reduced to a surface level system of correct versus incorrect grammar and spelling (Lea and Street 1998: 158). This, Lillis (2001: 53) argues, can result in an "institutional practice of mystery", where students are offered little mediation into the practices and codes of academic insiders, but are expected to decipher these through a process of 'environmental osmosis' (Wyatt 1990 in Lillis 2001). Students who have long been inducted into standard formal English and essayist writing practices have a clear head-start in this process. Students for example from working class backgrounds, on the other hand, often attend poorer resourced institutions where they are less likely to receive personal mentoring (cf. Preece 2009: 14, 177-179). They are then characterised as not being able to write, not being able to use 'proper' English, and as lowering

the standard of higher education, a stigma that does nothing to meet the goals of widening participation and reducing social inequality.

Ethnographic and case study accounts of students joining an academic discipline or transitioning between disciplines have repeatedly described the experience of being a stranger in a strange land (McCarthy 1987; Lea 1994; Lillis 2001). I would compare this to the sense of having joined a conversation late, without fully understanding the language that is being used, the body of knowledge being referred to, the practices and values of the group, or even the purposes of the interaction. Into this conversation flows a steady stream of authoritative voices, each laying claim to unfamiliar words (cf. Lillis 2001: 78-106; Preece 2009: 25) and tying them to vaguely familiar meanings. Abruptly the student is required to contribute to this conversation, piecing together a worthy 'invention' of the university or discipline (Bartholomae 1986; Lillis 2001), while anticipating the teacher's expectations for the task (Casanave 2002; Cox 2010; Lea and Street 1998). The teacher then rates the contribution on a grading scale and comments e.g. 'be explicit', an instruction that is itself easily misinterpreted by those unfamiliar with essayist discourse (see Lillis 2001: 57-58; Lillis and Turner 2001: 58-62). Casanave (2002), in her case study of multilingual writers, describes this process as a kind of 'game' that students learn to play, one in which they must decipher the game rules, many of which change from one discipline to the next or even one teacher to the next.

Situated studies that move away from a sole focus on texts to a focus on practice have hence drawn attention to the lived experiences of students negotiating academic literacy norms and the complexity of the practices they encounter. There is a sense in such research, of writing and studying as human activity, involving human relationships and emotions. A theme that recurred for example in the case-studies of Lillis et al (2016) was students' frustration at not understanding the theoretical texts they were expected to read, learn from and use in their writing. Good (2016) describes students' reactions to this frustration in her study as "theory resistance", involving for example 'theory trashing' and dismissing academic writing as a waste of time. Preece (2009: 64, 65, 76, 98, 132), on the other hand, describes situations in her ethnographic study in which the face threat of not understanding disciplinary discourse was resisted for example through 'trashing' lecturers, academic texts and writing tasks. Also writing in a context of Widening Participation, Cox (2010) describes what she calls the 'college fear factor' in a community college in the US. She captures many students' "tremendous anxiety" and "utter confusion" in adjusting to academic culture(s), which manifested in her study for example through avoidance of or resistance to particular writing tasks. Cox likewise views these students' confusion and frustration over the purposes of academic writing genres as being compounded by the treatment of writing as a self-evident and autonomous skill separate from disciplinary content. This results in content teachers rarely making the discursive codes of their subject areas explicit, seeing writing 'problems' instead as the domain of separate composition courses.

Besides this autonomous, study skills approach, however, AcLits scholars have also identified and critiqued what they term an 'academic socialisation approach' to writing pedagogy (Lea and Street 1998: 158). An academic socialisation approach understands writing as subject to social norms and recognises the need to provide mediation for students. This is generally characterised as a kind of apprenticeship into the academic community. Although an AcLits approach is not presented as mutually exclusive to academic socialisation (or to study skills for that matter), its scholars have critiqued a socialisation approach on several counts (cf. Lea and Street 1998, 2008; Lillis 2003; Lillis and Scott 2007). The first is a tendency to offer solutions to gaps between novice and expert practices that are "overwhelmingly textual in nature" (Lillis and Scott 2007: 11). This often involves identifying the features of expert texts and explicitly prescribing them to novices, which Lillis and Scott (2007: 13) term 'identify and induct'. It tends to position discourse as a set of formal text features to be studied as an object, rather than as integrated with the learning, construction and contestation of disciplinary knowledge. Separating language in this way from its users and their purposes can entail a superficial understanding of its functions, reducing knowledge construction to a textual version of paint-by-numbers.

An academic socialisation approach has also been criticised in AcLits research for the power relations it constructs between insiders and novices, in which 'insider' norms and practices need only be reproduced or imitated, rather than discussed, problematised or critiqued. Teachers are positioned as authorities in this relationship who transmit correct knowledge, thinking and writing to students, through what Freire (1970) called a banking model of education (see also Boyd 1991). Such power relations do not involve students as active participants in an on-going conversation or argument, and leave little room for the nature of the conversation to change. Moreover, much EAP (English for Academic Purposes) research, for example, promotes its findings on the emphatic premise that 'novices' - whether they are defined as beginning students, non-traditional students or non-native English writers - 'need to', 'have to', 'must' learn the writing conventions of 'experts' in order to be 'successful'. This language leaves little room for agency on the part of these writers or for ongoing negotiation of norms within and between communities, implying instead a simple, one-way process of enculturation.

As opposed to this normative approach, AcLits proposes a 'transformative' approach to student writing (cf. Lillis and Scott 2007; Lillis et al 2016). In their 2016 collection on working with a transformative approach, editors Lillis, Harrington, Lea and Mitchell each contributed her own understanding of what 'transformative' might mean in practice. For Lillis (p.8-11), a transformative approach arose from the conviction that practices which are dominant may be so because they are conventionalised and not necessarily because of their continued meaning and validity. Transformation for her therefore involves exploring how such practices have become legitimised and what alternatives might be possible. Harrington (p.11-13) on the other hand

explains that for her a transformative approach is based on an 'open system' premise: the conviction that ideas "cannot survive long lodged within a single domain" (Beer 1996). She explains that her interest is in boundaries – their advantages in maintaining the survival of a group and its ideas, but also their disadvantages if drawn too tightly. Lea (p.13-15) explains that for her a transformative approach stems from an interest in the contested nature of textual practice and knowledge construction. Whereas much research on academic writing has focused on scrutinising novices' practices in relation to the status quo, emphasis should also be placed on scrutinising insiders' practices and the norms of the institution. Finally, Mitchell (p.15-17) characterises a transformative perspective as involving a suspicious tendency – a willingness to question things, even dominant things, a willingness to ask why things are done in a particular way, and a willingness to seek alternatives. In all of these interpretations, there is the sense that academic writing norms ought not to be seen as unbreakable conventions that must be replicated by novices or outsiders, but rather as a part of a community's tradition of knowledge construction that can be – or in fact ought to be – questioned and contested.

Academic Literacies therefore constitutes an integrated and critical approach, in which language and discourse are understood as entwined with content and practice. Lea and Street (1998) describe AcLits as incorporating both study skills and socialisation, but as viewing academic writing as embedded in contested disciplinary epistemologies. They put it that "in practice, what makes a piece of student writing 'appropriate' has more to do with issues of epistemology than with the surface features of form" (p.162). This returns again to the theme of ideology, as Ivanič (1998: 303) defines epistemology as "ideologies... of intellectual activity, of knowledge and of knowledge-making". In this sense, what matters is not only ideologies of or about language use, but ideologies as indexed and construed through language use; and indeed the two are difficult if not impossible to separate. Baynham (2000: 18) puts it that academic discourse involves "a discipline-internal awareness of what counts as knowledge and what counts as an authoritative disciplinary position, and this includes the awareness of internal diversity and conflict, as realised in the politics of the discipline".

The writer's position in relation to the politics and trends of the discipline is indexed in his or her language choices, as well as choices of what to foreground, whom to cite, what to count as evidence, what shared knowledge and values to assume etc. (MacDonald 1992 in Ivanič 1998). Hyland (2005a: 71) points out that while academic discourse is often characterised as argumentation, arguments are only considered to be good from a particular viewpoint. He explains:

Personal judgements are only convincing, or even meaningful, when they contribute to and connect with a communal ideology or value system concerning what is taken to be normal, interesting, relevant, novel, useful, good, bad, and so on. (Hyland 2005b: p.175.)

Learning to write well in a given context therefore involves learning to understand and anticipate the target reader's point of view – or, in an AcLits approach, to potentially resist and challenge that point of view.

This also returns again to the issue of identity, since all of these linguistic and discursive choices contribute to the sense of a writer in the text. The issue of identity has featured prominently in AcLits studies, due to its focus on case-studies and on writing as human, social activity (see e.g. Carlino 2012; Castelló and Iñesta 1998; Ivanič and Camps 2001; Lea 2012). Ivanič's 1998 study of writing and identity at a UK university is a particularly well-known example. Ivanič (1998: 23-29) identifies three kinds of 'selves' that are relevant to the experience of writing. One she labels the 'discoursal self', which is similar to the notion of the writer's 'persona' (see e.g. Hyland 2004b: 122) or to a general notion of 'voice' (see e.g. Ivanič and Camps 2001; Nelson and Castelló 2012) in a text. In writing sociology, for example, the writer is expected to 'write like a sociologist' (Ball et al 1990: 357) or, in effect, to sound like a sociologist, taking up the expected voice of a sociologist. A second 'self' Ivanič labels the 'self as author'. She points out that in academic writing, a writer is also expected to find a way insert him or herself into the disciplinary discourse, conveying a distinct and recognisable position, with a degree of authority. Finally, Ivanič also refers to the 'autobiographical self', meaning the writer's 'real world' background and identity(ies) beyond the text. The writer's autobiographical self may be relevant to a text, may be ignored, or may even be in conflict with the discoursal self or authorial self that the writer is expected to adopt. Stierer (2000: 201-202), for instance, found in his study that experienced practitioners returning to higher education to gain further professional qualifications were generally expected to position themselves in their texts as though they were novice future members of an academic community, as opposed to experienced members of a professional community.

To conclude, Lillis and Scott (2007) identify two main principles as characterising an AcLits approach: a transformative perspective and an understanding of academic writing as a situated social practice. Research that has specifically used the label 'academic literacies' has primarily been based in the UK and South Africa, in contexts of Widening Participation. What differentiates the context of my study is that rather than focusing on non-traditional students participating in dominant institutional writing practices, I focus on a programme in which international students are the majority and both students and teachers are using English as a lingua-franca, rather than the official language of the institution. Moreover, upon first meeting the students, it was clear that their disciplinary backgrounds were also diverse and their previous studies had involved quite different kinds of writing. In the following sections, I therefore overview literature concerning two themes that are particularly relevant to understanding academic writing norms in this multicultural and multidisciplinary context: namely, writing norms as shaped by culture and language, and writing norms as shaped by genre and discipline. Although much of the literature I overview concerning these themes stems from

different traditions to AcLits (e.g. Contrastive Rhetoric, EAP and Composition Studies), they are traditions that have been influential in Finnish contexts and they have involved research that shares AcLits principles. I will therefore overview research concerning these themes historically and discuss the contribution that situated and critical approaches, in line with AcLits, have made more recently.

2.2 Academic Writing Norms: Culture and Language

An emphasis on academic writing norms as being shaped by or as varying according to culture and language can be found particularly in the framework of Contrastive Rhetoric (henceforth CR), more recently termed Intercultural Rhetoric (cf. Conner et al 2008). The beginnings of CR are generally attributed to Kaplan (1966), although Connor (1996: 28-30) traces it further back to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and at least a soft version of linguistic relativity: the notion that language, culture and thought are inseparable and that learning a new language entails in some sense learning a new way of thinking. Kaplan, in his oft-cited and oft-criticised first 1966 article on the topic, contrasted the discourse level features of 'English' students' expository writing with the writing of students from other cultures and with other first languages. For example, he discussed the features of 'oriental' textual coherence, contrasting it as indirect and circular in comparison to linear English textual coherence (Kaplan 1966: 17). These differences he initially attributed to differences in cultural patterns of thinking, although he later attributed them also to cultural differences in learned writing conventions (Kaplan 1987 in Connor 1996: 16). And indeed, later work in CR by other scholars took a decidedly social turn, generally referring to cultural traditions or expectations, rather than to thought patterns (e.g. Cai 1993; Connor 1996; Leki 1991; Scollon and Scollon 1991; Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999a; Ventola and Mauranen 1996).

CR as a research interest originated in ESL pedagogy, concerned with teaching English academic writing to non-native speakers, particularly international students attending US universities. Its origins were therefore generally practical as opposed to theoretical, and, according to Connor (2008), it was a means to challenge the otherwise autonomous model of written language in pedagogy of the time: "people did not consider that writing could be taught. You were either born with the gift or you lacked it" (Connor 2008: 301). L2 teaching in US universities was mainly focused on oral communication, with the assumption that writing is simply a matter of "putting spoken words down on paper" (Freeman 1983 in Bloch 2008: 258). The notion of cultural and linguistic 'transfer', beyond a sentence level, offered a less ethnocentric explanation for why international students' texts seemed different to US students' texts. Understanding that expectations for rhetorically effective writing are not universal, that writers draw on the more familiar norms they have acquired in their home communities, led to more awareness of and

sensitivity towards cultural differences (see also Canagarajah 2002c: 34). Li (2008: 11-12), for example, explains that for non-native ESL writing instructors in the US such as herself, this interest in culture created a space in which their experiences were made relevant to the mainstream: "Thus, our presumed liability becomes an asset. This is the one place in which we can have as much, if not more, authority than native speakers of English."

A research endeavour arose therefore from this context that predominantly consisted of identifying rhetorical differences between writing 'in English' and writing in other languages (with the terms 'language' and 'culture' tending to be used interchangeably). In particular, the writing norms of East Asian cultures were often juxtaposed as indirect, circular and collectivistic in comparison to direct, linear and individualistic English writing (cf. Eggington 1987; Hinds 1987; Scollon and Scollon 1991; Matalene 1985; Cai 1993; Li 1996; Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999a). Hinds (1987), for example, contrasted expository writing in Japanese as being "reader responsible", as opposed to writing in English as "writer responsible", meaning that in English expository writing the writer is expected to guide the reader more explicitly and directly through the text. In his 1990 study, he further characterised writing in Japanese, Chinese, Thai and Korean texts as "quasi-inductive", with a delayed introduction of purpose, explaining that native English readers, in contrast, expect a more deductive style of writing.

These differences in writing norms were then often related to differences in cultural values. Scollon (1991), for example, attributed the indirectness he identified in Chinese writing to the Chinese concept of self as rooted in Confucianism, valuing "four core relationships", in contrast to the Western value of individualism. Li (1996), on the other hand, found that US and Chinese teachers evaluated the same set of student texts according to quite different values. The Chinese teachers in her study, she observed, thought that good writing "should carry a positive, or more desirably, a profound moral message" (p. 90), whereas the US teachers thought that good writing "should demonstrate the writer's unique perspective on life" (see also Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999a: 53-54). Ho (1998) and Cai (1993) found that Taiwanese and Chinese students respectively emphasised the importance of being able to memorise, imitate and quote ancient texts in their writing, demonstrating respect for tradition and authority. Finally, Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999a) argued that the notions of individual voice, strong personal stance, and critical thinking in academic writing are American, middle class ideals that can cause difficulties in English writing for students from "cultures oriented to more interdependent representations of self" (p.59).

Research from a Finnish context also emerged that contrasted academic writing in Finnish with academic writing in English (cf. Markkanen et al 1993; Crismore et al 1993; Mauranen 1992; Mauranen 1993; Ventola and Mauranen 1991; Ventola 1994). This research also tended to characterise English writing as direct and 'writer-responsible' in comparison to Finnish. Crismore et al (1993), for example, in a contrastive analysis of metadiscourse use found that Finnish

students tended to use more hedging and fewer boosters than American students. They attributed the difference to sociocultural values, arguing that Americans are more likely to value certainty in argumentation as a sign of strength, whereas Finns are more guarded in expressing their views, as a result of Finland having been dominated historically by Sweden and Russia (Crismore et al 1993 in Connor 1996: 48). Mauranen (1993: 160), in her contrastive research of Finnish versus English academic writing, also observed that the game rules of academic writing “reflect the values of the writing cultures that people get socialized into.” Some of her findings included that Finnish (medical) writers introduce the central referents of their texts later (Mauranen 1992), that Finnish (economist) writers use less explicit metatext to guide the reader (Mauranen 1993), and that Finnish writers follow a different pattern of theme-rheme progression in their English discourse (Mauranen 1996). Among the explanations she offered for these differences were the arguments that Finnish academic prose is reader-responsible, that Finns are taught in school to address an intelligent reader, and that continual, explicit sign-posting in texts can in fact be considered patronising (Mauranen 1993 in Connor 1996: 51).

In the decades since Kaplan’s initial article, however, CR has been fiercely contested. Atkinson (in Matsuda and Atkinson 2008: 280-281), for example, describes how already during the 1980s in the US when he first became interested in cultural differences in academic writing, he was “warned in no uncertain terms that this was a problematic concept.” One of the main problems has been its use of the terms ‘culture’ and ‘language’ as broad, homogeneous categories, usually demarcated nationally (as writing ‘in French’, ‘in Japanese’, ‘in Finnish’, ‘in English’) – which Atkinson (2004) labels a “received culture” perspective. With its emphasis on structuralist, binary comparisons, CR studies can therefore position culture and language as abstract ‘factors’ lying behind discourse and practice, determining text patterns.

This perception of culture as an abstract factor that people ‘have’ can in turn lead to exaggerated and essentialistic depictions of cultural groupings, which are particularly problematic when applied to ‘the Other’, the outsider whose background and previous experiences are understood only as an abstract factor called ‘culture’ that might ‘transfer’ negatively into the self-evidently preferable, normal ‘target model’. Culture in this case is not a concept that helps the researcher connect language use with social context, but works to actually distance language use from context – from the complicated realities of real groups of people interacting and from the ongoing processes of historical, social change. Matsuda (in Matsuda and Atkinson 2008: 289), for instance, explains that he often finds research students wish to compare sets of e.g. Japanese and English texts with little attention to the contexts of the texts and little purpose beyond finding differences:

They start from, “Here is the kind of data I can collect and analyse, and here is a convenient framework – CR – that says they might be similar or different, and I compared two texts, and they were different.” So what? And the “so what” part gets people in trouble because they suggest that there’s something about Japanese that makes it so.

Culture therefore becomes a mysterious but innate national characteristic existing behind the text, as opposed to something people 'do': norms that they co-construct through interaction with others. Cultural differences then do not need to be understood and negotiated between people; only identified and removed from the text.

Another aspect of early CR that has been criticised is its neglect of political or ideological issues such as relationships of power (cf. Kubota and Lehner 2004). The result is the academic socialisation approach that Lea and Street (1998) criticised, in which the outsider ought simply to imitate the insider, i.e. to write 'appropriately', with little mediation or change on the part of insiders. Difference is again then marked negatively by default, as a flaw: the failure of the outsider to accurately and correctly mimic the insider. The question of who is considered the appropriate insider and who the flawed outsider is rarely scrutinised. Earlier CR, for instance, while categorising writing cultures in national language terms, tended to use the label 'native speaker' as a broad gold standard for preferred English discursive practice. Grabe and Kaplan (1996), for example, stated:

What is clear is that there are rhetorical differences in the written discourses of various languages, and that those differences need to be brought to consciousness before a writer can begin to understand what he or she must do in order to write in a more native-like manner (or in a manner that is more acceptable to native speakers of the target language). (p.198)

In a globalised academia in which English is the lingua franca and non-native speakers the majority, the assumption that all academics must aim to write in a manner that is acceptable to native speakers of English, entails a remarkable power imbalance, besides being unrealistic (see Baker 2013 for a similar critique). It leads to a situation in which the native speaker is viewed not only as the gatekeeper of appropriate English, but the gatekeeper of appropriate writing practices and in turn appropriate knowledge construction.

As a result of this criticism, discussion of 'cultural difference' in discourse studies has become controversial, even stigmatised. In fact, Atkinson (in Matsuda and Atkinson 2008: 282, 291-292) points out that CR has become something of a straw-man in writing research, despite the fact that few researchers nowadays would actually label themselves "contrastive rhetoricians". Moreover, Connor et al (2008: 3) explain that theorisation of writing norms and culture has moved on in the decades since Kaplan's first article, and yet her own and other scholars' early works continue to be critiqued, as though, ironically, thinking on the topic were static or "frozen in space". On the other hand, the term 'culture' continues to be used in both EAP and literacy studies. New Literacy Studies also uses the concept of culture to explain how people write. Barton and Hamilton (2000: 7), for instance, define literacy practices as being "the general cultural ways of utilising written language which people draw upon in their lives."; Ivanič (1998: 65) describes literacy practices as being "culturally shaped"; And several academic literacies scholars have quoted Ballard and Clancy (1988: 19) in explaining that

“becoming literate involves becoming acculturated: learning to read and write the culture” (e.g. Ivanič 1998; Lea 1994). The notion of cultural influence on writing practices therefore continues to be relevant. However, both theoretical framings of and methodological approaches to cultural variation have changed significantly.

One change has been an emphasis on writing as socially situated and meaning as socially constructed within communities of practice (Connor et al 2008: 4). From the viewpoint of writing as a social practice, culture is not an entity that people possess, but rather a verb (Street 1993); it emerges through what people say and do. In social constructionist models of language, such as Fairclough (2001), culture is a macro scale-level of context, which both shapes and is shaped by the micro scale of context, i.e. the situation: the physical setting, participants and interaction. Although the norms and values of culture can be said to exist at some level of abstraction, hence providing frameworks for interpreting meaning, they are nevertheless negotiated between people and change under changing social influences. Oftentimes these influences are concrete and observable, as opposed to being mysterious underlying properties. Li (2008: 18), for instance, points out that although US scholars have continued to attribute features of Chinese students’ writing to the influence of the eight-legged Confucianist essay structure, this essay structure was in fact officially abolished at the turn of last century and ridiculed in a 1942 polemic by Mao entitled “Against Eight-legged Partisan Essays”. So while the notion that Chinese students write Confucianist essays might continue to capture the imagination, an understanding of cultural context as shaped by ongoing socio-political as well as grassroots changes – i.e. an understanding of culture as a process as well as a product (Connor 2004) – can provide more nuanced explanations.

An understanding of culture as something that people do and something that is dynamic also entails a poststructuralist understanding of culture as hybrid. Atkinson (2004: 280) points out that CR and applied linguistics more generally have been dominated by a ‘peoples and cultures’ view (Gupta & Ferguson 1997), in which the world is divided neatly into separate and distinct societies, with separate and distinct cultures. An understanding of culture as emerging through social interaction, however, entails that it is influenced by people interacting not only within the same location, but across locations. In a globalised world, this leads to what has been termed global or transcultural “flows” (cf. Pennycook 2006): “flows of people, media, ideas, technology, and money” (Atkinson 2004: 281), resulting also in flows of language resources and norms. And again, as Blommaert (2010) described, these resources and norms travel not only horizontally from region to region, but also vertically, producing orders of indexicality across stratified scales. CR scholars (e.g. Atkinson 2004, Connor 2004) have taken up a somewhat similar stratified, vertical image from Holliday’s (1999) model of overlapping small and large cultures. In relation to academic writing, a small culture might be the institution, department or classroom, whereas a large culture might be the nation state or transnational

disciplinary community. Atkinson (2004) and Connor (2004) both argue that the concept of small cultures should be important in future CR - now relabelled IR (Intercultural Rhetoric) - so that the practices of a given setting are not attributed solely to a national culture, but are rather viewed as being situated within complex interacting cultural influences.

A third and related direction in research investigating ESL academic writing and culture is therefore the use of locally situated and reflexive methodology that is context sensitive and includes the talk and processes surrounding text production and interpretation (Connor 2002: 506). This research has not so much been interested in contrastive cultural differences, but rather the ways in which for example international students negotiate expectations for their writing at Anglophone universities or periphery scholars experience writing for publication in Anglophone-centre journals. Two notable examples are Casanave's (2002) 'multicultural case-studies' of academic writers and Canagarajah's (2002a) autoethnography of his experiences writing in Sri Lanka and the US. Drawing on a social practice framework, Casanave (2002) characterises academic writing as a kind of game, albeit a serious game, and its conventions as implicit game rules. She describes ESL writers' experiences of academic writing expectations at various stages of transition into institutional communities of practice, beginning from Japanese undergraduate students on preparatory courses for study abroad and ending with the 'juggling and balancing' games of bilingual academics writing in two or more languages for different target readers and attempting to satisfy the demands of different writing cultures. Again, there is a sense throughout her work of writing as a very human activity, especially as she reflects on her own struggles participating in an academic community and describes the ways in which her participants adjust to or resist the changing sets of game-rules they encounter.

Canagarajah's (2002a) study is similarly reflexive and conveys periphery scholars' difficulty publishing in centre journals in very practical terms. Along with differences in textual conventions and community values, he also describes the concrete effects of local conditions, including access to material resources such as advanced technology and the databases of the centre publications through which writers are expected to frame their research findings. His study particularly scrutinizes geopolitical inequality in academic writing, in which Northern American and Western European journals, often dominated by Anglophone academics, label themselves 'international' and publication within these journals is an international currency that stratifies institutions, determines whose research is cited, and in turn determines disciplinary trends and the rules of the discursive game. Canagarajah also discusses ways in which literacy conventions in fact shape communities and the representation of knowledge, rather than simply vice-versa (p. 79-85). And he describes how images of centre practices and norms carry prestige in periphery contexts after those practices have actually fallen out of favour in the centre. In attempting to follow centre trends therefore, periphery scholars are in a power relationship in which they are continually a step behind (p.215).

Critical approaches such as Canagarajah's have therefore also influenced research on academic writing norms and culture (cf. Baker 2013, Bloch 2008, Canagarajah 2002b, 2002c, Kubota & Lehner 2004, Zamel 1997, Zamel & Spack 1998). As well as challenging essentialistic and binary presentations of cultural difference, these approaches have much in common with AcLits in seeking to problematise dominant norms and practices - for example, dominant Anglophone norms - rather than teaching them as static and unbreakable conventions, and in approaching the vernacular literacies of international writers as potential resources rather than as deficits by default (Canagarajah 2002b, 2002c). Kubota and Lehner (2004) characterise this as seeking empowerment rather than assimilation, and while empowerment might also involve explicit teaching of dominant forms, these forms are taught as rhetorical resources rather than as correct and superior usage to replace local traditions.

In conclusion, traditional Contrastive Rhetoric studies which compare sets of texts as representing dichotomous national cultures have been strongly critiqued as a result of more situated, practice-based, critical understandings of culture. Such early CR studies would be characterised as distinctly text-centred and deficit oriented from an AcLits perspective. However, the concept of culture continues to be relevant and continues to be used in studies of writing practices, also by researchers who have been critical of CR. The term captures the sense that writing norms are not universal and that a writer's linguistic and discursive choices can be perceived quite differently in different contexts, including regional contexts. Li (2008) argues that, despite postmodernist critiques, the notion of cultural variation in writing norms ought not to be abandoned. Indeed, a postmodern emphasis on culture as hybrid and free-flowing can in fact come full circle, to the point where the notion of difference is in itself controversial, in effect returning to a view in which dominant norms are considered to be universal. Pennycook (2006: 45) explains that:

Notwithstanding all the problems with the way the notion of culture has been mobilised to orientalize, reify, categorise, and divide, however, some notion of culture may still be useful as a way of describing human difference. Thus, after asking if the culture concept has perhaps served its time, Clifford (1988), attempts to employ the term differently, to imply movement and contingent difference.

A critical perspective is premised on the notion that there are in fact differing norms and that these differences have consequences. Hybridity implies the hybridisation of something, and, as Canagarajah (2002b: 39) explains, the postmodernist fascination with eradicating power does not mean that power relationships no longer have consequences.

The cultural diversity of participants on an international master's programme was part of my motivation in investigating its norms. My goal, however, was not to take each student case study as representing his or her national 'home culture'. My goal rather was to understand how good writing was construed considering this diversity. On the other hand, I did not assume that this programme represents what sometimes seems projected as the ideal super-diverse, multilingual community, in which no one group's norms are

dominant and in which norms are continually under constructive negotiation. Instead, I agree with Baker's (2013: 8) point that discourses of nationality and culture do exist and may well be salient in the ways in which students perceive writing expectations or teachers' interpret students' practices. My aim was therefore to approach these discourses, as Baker put it, "in a critical manner that recognises them for the ideological constructions that they are".

2.3 Academic Writing Norms: Genre and Discipline

Besides (regional) culture and language variations, much research has also investigated the ways in which academic writing norms are shaped by or vary according to genre and discipline. Although, as with culture, my aim in this study is not to characterise the norms of a particular genre or discipline, when investigating what counts as good writing in an academic context, notions of genre and discipline are likely to be salient. Evaluations of English academic writing, after all, involve not only evaluations of good English, but good academic discourse, good student writing, essay writing, cultural studies writing and so on. The term 'genre' is used in language studies to describe these categorisations of language use, although it is most commonly applied to specific text labels (e.g. essays, research articles, poems, recipes).

Within a given community or context, texts are often recognisable as belonging to a particular type, in other words as serving certain purposes and fulfilling certain expectations. For example, it would be surprising to pick up a text labelled an 'essay' and discover it to be a 'poem'. The purposes of the texts are different, and social expectations for their content, structure and language are different. These expectations become resources for communicating. Rather than having to consciously reinvent ways to communicate in every interaction, people draw on the norms of a given genre to make recognisable meanings. The genre therefore forms a 'frame' or 'schema' through which to conduct the activities of our day-to-day lives (Hyland 2004a). Martin (2000: 120) put it that, "out of all the things we might do with language, each culture chooses just a few, and enacts them over and over again".

However, although commonly applied to text labels, most genre theorists would not define a genre as a type of text, as though it were simply a template of expected linguistic or discursive features. Rather, it is generally defined in ways that emphasise the nature of a genre as a purposeful social activity. Moreover, as with the definition of culture, genre analysts disagree as to just how stable and distinct a genre can be said to be; whether it is really as predictable and repetitive as Martin's quotation above suggests or whether expectations for writing are in fact so intertwined with context that they defy static typologies. To take the essay example, it is easy to notice that this is in fact a broad label for what can be quite different texts, with different expectations. Moreover, the 'we' who read 'essays' are not a homogeneous group of people who only read and write one type of text, within one closed community, on one

topic, serving one purpose. Most readers in academia will have experience with a variety of texts in a variety of contexts that are loosely referred to with the label 'essay'. It is therefore unlikely that a prototypical set of features can be identified that would apply to all essays in practice. Finally, it is clear that in order to function as a resource for meaning making, a genre must also allow writers the agency and freedom to make meaningful choices. Breaking norms and surprising the reader can also be meaningful and can in fact lead to trends that change the genre or produce new genres over time. Viewing a genre as a static template of text features therefore misses the point that these features are resources for communication and human agency.

Within analyses of written academic language, three theoretical schools of genre study have been influential (Hyon 1996; Hyland 2004a; Solin 2011), each with a somewhat different definition, a different stance on genre stability and variability, and a different emphasis on text versus context. These include the ESP (English for Specific Purposes) approach, stemming from ESL teaching; New Rhetoric, stemming from Composition Studies in the US; and the Sydney School, stemming from Systemic Functional Linguistics. In this section, I will overview the understanding of genre norms within each of these approaches in turn, while discussing how they relate to the critical stance of AcLits and its approach to writing as a social practice.

2.3.1 ESP and Genre Norms

The first approach to genre – the ESP (English for Specific Purposes) approach (Swales 1990, Bhatia 2004, Hyland 2004a) – has been the most influential internationally in the teaching of English academic writing. Although ESP scholars may draw on quite different theoretical and methodological frameworks (Hyland 2004a: 43, Solin 2011), Swales' 1990 concept of genre has had a very central place in the research and teaching of ESP. Swales (1990: 58) defined a genre as:

A class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre.

In other words, in ESP a genre is a classification of communication (e.g. an essay, a recipe, a poem) that is recognisable by members of a community as fulfilling a purpose. ESP scholars have been particularly interested in identifying the discursive structures of texts and relating them to the genre's communicative purposes. In ESP, these structures are described as 'moves', the best known of which are the moves analysed in Swales' CARS (Create a Research Space) model of research article introductions.

EAP (English for Academic Purposes) arose out of the wider ESP and was aimed at the teaching of academic English to non-native speakers/writers on the basis of their specific communicative needs. Like Contrastive Rhetoric, therefore, its origins were practical and pedagogical, and it is therefore often seen as having a distinctly deficit orientation to student writing, taking the texts

of community experts or insiders as being rhetorically successful, identifying their features, and teaching those features to students (cf. Lillis and Scott 2007: 13-14). Unlike Contrastive Rhetoric, however, a community is not typically categorised in terms of national culture or language group. Although its target students are usually non-native English speakers, it does not define experts necessarily as native speakers. Rather, central to the concept of genre in EAP, has been Swales' (1990) definition of 'discourse community'.

The discourse community model arose due to the inadequacy of the geographically based notion of the 'speech community', especially in regard to literacy. As opposed to being formed according to regional groupings, a discourse community is formed through interaction between people with common goals. To be more exact, Swales (1990: 24-27) gives the follow criteria definition:

1. A discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals
2. A discourse community has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members
3. A discourse community has its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback
4. A discourse community utilises and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims
5. In addition to owning genres, a discourse community has acquired some specific lexis
6. A discourse community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discourse expertise

A discourse community is therefore partly defined by its common use of genres to fulfil shared goals. These genres "create", in Swales' terms, the "discoursal expectations" of the community (p.26), including for example norms of appropriate topic, form, structure, and text role. Rather than being "owned" by the native speaker or native culture, Swales describes genre norms as being owned by the discourse community and especially expert members of that community. A discourse community is therefore understood to be structured hierarchically, with powerful, expert insiders who maintain the community's norms and gate-keep its boundaries for potential new members.

In Swales' 1990 definition, it is clear that both a discourse community and a genre were perceived in quite distinct and stable terms. Changes were described by Swales (1990: 26) as needing to be approved by the community and new groups were described as needing to "settle down and work out their communicative proceedings and practices" in order to gain recognition. This conjures an image of genre norms as conscious criteria - criteria which are agreed upon between community members who strictly know their place, having been issued a community membership card along with a set of purposes, values and norms to adhere to. Since the early 1990s, however, this image has been challenged as overestimating the boundaries of communities, underestimating the number of communities in which individuals participate, and underestimating the extent of disagreement, negotiation and change within

a community, especially as a result of interaction between novices and experts, or as a result of interaction between competing group norms (cf. Canagarajah 2002a). Already in 1993, Swales himself wrote what he described as the “valedictory for demise of the discourse community” (Swales 1998: 21-22):

I concluded that discourse communities did not exist via membership of collectivity, but persisted in some more ghostly way by instantiation and engagement. In other words, we are not what we are (tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor), but we are what we are doing at any particular moment.

Moreover, in 2001 Askehave and Swales also problematised the notion of communicative purpose as determining and defining genres, explaining that “the purposes, goals, or public outcomes (of genres) are more evasive, multiple, layered, and complex than originally envisaged” (2001: 197). This suggests that rhetorical structures, for example, cannot be rationalised by transparent social goals.

Finally, as in Contrastive Rhetoric’s debates concerning small versus large cultures, EAP has struggled to identify at what scale a grouping might be characterised as a discourse community. Is it for example a disciplinary community, an institutional community, or a classroom community? In Swales’ 1998 textography of three groups of writers (in the disciplines of IT, Botany and Applied Linguistics) on three floors of a building at the University of Michigan, it appears to be a mixture. Each floor includes scholars who interact with others in their discipline in different locations, disciplines which have very different writing norms. On the other hand, all three floors are part of the institutional community of the university, which determines to some extent their policies, their position in the university as a whole, and the ways in which their work is evaluated. Finally, scholars also form a group with others on their floor. Although they may write within quite different theoretical frameworks (for example, one applied linguist might publish SLA research and another critical discourse analysis), they nevertheless share professional practices that shape their research goals. Swales describes these three floors as being quite distinct worlds with distinct physical environments and day to day practices, and he uses the labels ‘discourse community’ and ‘community of practice’ interchangeably to describe them.

When it comes to differences between disciplinary writing norms, the work of Hyland has been particularly influential in EAP (e.g. Hyland 1997, 2000, 2006). Hyland (2006: 17-18) points out that Swalesian EAP genre studies have mainly focused on characterising the text types used by particular discourse communities. He argues that less attention has been given to the variation of norms across disciplinary discourse communities, attention which would help to counter monolithic images of academic writing and academia. His work, along with the work of researchers such as Becher (1989, 1994), Charles (2007), Fløttum et al (2006, 2009), Harwood (2005), Holmes (1997), Samraj (2002), has identified differences in recurring text features across disciplines, and often linked those to epistemological differences, a linkage that AcLits scholars have also advocated. These studies have focused for example on

language features that express stance and voice (e.g. hedging, boosting, attitude marking, self-mentions, reader engagement markers), the structural moves of an academic argument, and the use of citations. They have mostly been corpus based, measuring the quantity of a given text feature in a corpus of texts and comparing the results across disciplines, often supplemented by qualitative analyses of the disciplinary values these text features reflect (see Hyland 2006: 22-23 for a summary table of research contrasting disciplinary text features). In addition, interview-based studies have elicited the intentions and interpretations of writers and readers (see e.g. Harwood 2007, 2009; Harwood and Petrić 2012; Matsuda and Tardy 2007; Petrić and Harwood 2013).

The study of text variation across disciplinary communities has much in common with contrastive rhetoric and its study of text variation across regional cultures or languages. Indeed, Hyland frequently refers to a discipline as a cultural group (e.g. Hyland 1997, 2006). Studies of disciplinary variation can be said to improve on early CR in that they do not tie culture to geographical region or to the notion of the nation-state and may therefore be less inclined to essentialise. One is not, after all, born into a disciplinary community; it is constituted through interaction between people engaged in the construction of knowledge on a particular topic. However, the notion of discipline, like the notion of discourse community more generally, has encountered some of the same difficulties as CR: namely at what scale to define a disciplinary community and how to demarcate its boundaries. A discipline has been identified in corpus studies in a variety of ways – sometimes very generally (e.g. hard vs soft sciences, natural sciences vs humanities) and sometimes more specifically (e.g. biology vs history). Hyland (2006: 38) explains:

Clearly we have to recognise the potentially tremendous diversity of disciplines. They contain Nobel prize winners, lab assistants, theorists as well as popularisers, and Chomskians as well as Functionalists. Like all human institutions, they comprise competing groups and discourses, marginalised ideas, contested theories, peripheral contributors, and drop-in members. In the end, disciplines are neither monolithic nor unitary, but loose collectives of specialisms with diverse views, procedures and values, inhabited by individuals with assorted experiences, interests, and influence.

Cross-disciplinary studies then, like cross-cultural studies, also have to consider how they link text features to changing contexts and how they can avoid superficial or essentialistic characterisations. Ivanič (1998: 82) explained that for her the value of disciplinary studies is not that they produce taxonomies of text features but rather that they can “uncover in increasing degrees of subtlety and sophistication the social process at work in such communities”. Cross-disciplinary studies, in other words, also have to address Matsuda’s question, ‘I compared two texts, and they were different. So what?’.

Within EAP, the debate between what has been termed “accommodationist pragmatism” and “critical pedagogy” has been underway for some time, at least since the early 1990s. Accommodationism corresponds to what Lea and Street (1998) termed a socialisation approach. Casanave (2013: 197) describes it as the view that “students need to learn prevailing discourse

conventions as efficiently as possible, including lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical norms of the discourse communities they will participate in". Critical pedagogy, on the other hand, she (ibid.) describes as the view that "students need not only to be aware of the ways that the English language is implicated in issues of power but also to recognise that they have the right, or perhaps the obligation, to question, resist, and challenge the status quo". Benesch (2001), Pennycook (1997) and Canagarajah (1999, 2001, 2002c) all argue for a kind of 'critical pragmatism' in which students are made aware of expectations for their writing, but at the same time are encouraged to question, engage with and problematise the status quo (Casanave 2013: 203). The status quo in Critical EAP, as in Critical Contrastive Rhetoric, tends to be seen as native Anglophone dominance. Although EAP does not typically define community experts in terms of their nationality or nativeness, but rather in terms of their success for example in international publishing, in practice some of the same ideological controversies apply. The editing boards of international journals tend to be dominated by native English speakers, to require that non-native writers' texts are edited by native English speakers, and, according to Lillis and Curry (2010), tend to review research submissions from the perspectives of imagined Anglophone centre readers. Critical pragmatism therefore encourages a questioning of these power relations and their effects.

2.3.2 New Rhetoric and Writing Norms

The next school of genre theory that has been influential in English academic writing research internationally is what is termed 'New Rhetoric' and stems from a US context of rhetoric and composition studies. Of the three schools outlined here, New Rhetoric has the most in common with AcLits in its emphasis on situated social context as opposed to text features. In New Rhetoric, a genre is defined as a form of social action or "typified rhetorical actions" that develop in response to the demands of a recurrent situation (Miller 1984: 159). Miller (1984: 151) puts it that "a rhetorically sound definition of genre must be centered not on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish". The focus, hence, is on what a genre does, which bears some resemblance to the concept of social practice in AcLits, although not entirely equivalent. Whereas the concept of social practice refers generally to literacy behaviour, ways of using written language or what people 'do with' literacy, the concept of social action draws heavily on speech act theory and rhetorics. What a genre does in context is therefore analysed in terms of its illocutionary force or perlocutionary effect, as well as its rhetorical persuasiveness.

New Rhetoric, like AcLits, has favoured ethnography, with thick descriptions of the contexts in which spoken or written genres are used. Miller (1984: 152) explains, "if genre represents action, it must involve situation and motive, because human action, whether symbolic or otherwise, is interpretable only against a context of situation and through the attributing of motives." New Rhetoric therefore shies away from any closed theoretical classifications and

from labelling of genre based on formal features, instead taking seriously the 'de facto' genre labels that are used by people in their everyday lives, such as the lecture, the user manual, the progress report, the sermon (Miller 1984: 155).

Another similarity to AcLits in New Rhetoric is the influence of social constructionist and social interactionist theory. This can be seen in its emphasis on intertextuality, addressivity and dialogism as vital in the processes of genre development, as oppose to the conceptualisation of genres as distinct entities. Freedman and Medway (1994: 6) explain that New Rhetoric has "seized on" Bakhtin's "emphasis on 'dialogism' and on the 'addressivity' of discourse in anticipating a reader/hearer's response and in responding to the larger textual conversations already in progress". Texts respond to other texts and draw on other texts. Writing can be seen as an ongoing dialogue or discussion, in which the writer draws on the 'voices' of the genre (the words, phrases, tropes and arguments of previous writers) in order to construct a recognisable position. This discussion can be seen very explicitly in academic writing in the form of source citations; however, it can also be seen more subtly in the way in which texts derive meaning by drawing on general norms for language and content that have evolved through the discussion. Reading a specific text in this sense is again like joining a conversation late or like seeing only the tip of the disciplinary iceberg, with the normative schema established by previous texts lying beneath the surface.

Genres therefore evolve not as chains of appropriately labelled formulae, but as ongoing networks or webs of people in dialogue (cf. Cooper 1986; Freedman 1994). It is logical that the dialogue and resulting norms develop in a particular direction for example in a given institution, disciplinary community, national community or language 'space'; for example, a structural comparison of the norms that have developed in English writing on a topic may reveal interesting differences to the norms that have developed in Finnish writing on the same topic. These are not, however, isolated worlds, but instead part of a network of people who, to varying extents, encounter and are influenced by other people in other contexts, through written and/or spoken interaction. Like AcLits, therefore, New Rhetoric has been interested in the ways in which people draw on the heteroglossic 'voices' they encounter in order to convey meaning. Bakhtin (1981 in Ivanič 1998: 43) summarised it as:

Language has been completely taken over, shot through with intentions and accents... All words have a "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, an age group, the day and hour. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions.

For Bakhtin, therefore, using language involves evoking connotations of those who have used it before, using their metaphors, turns of phrase, arguments, structural tropes and so on as resources. Using a genre then can "create indexical connections that extend far beyond the present setting of production or reception" (Briggs and Bauman 2001: 226). Indeed, Blommaert (2010: 102) characterises the spread of language globally as the movement and

appropriation of specific semiotic resources (such as genres, registers and modalities) rather than as the movement of whole 'languages'.

Whereas the ESP tradition of genre has often been applied to pedagogy through the explicit teaching of genre features in the classroom, New Rhetoric has mostly resisted developing explicit pedagogical applications of its analyses (cf. Freedman 1994; Solin 2011). This is mainly due to the importance of context in New Rhetoric and the conviction that genres emerge through the rhetorical demands of a recurring situation. Removing the genre from that situation inevitably recontextualises it, changing its meaning and purpose. The result is that texts are presented statically as artificial templates, with form removed from function. Moreover, these templates may in fact be misleading, since the kinds of texts that students will be required to write in the future are hard to predict, they may encourage students to focus on formal features rather than meaning or function, and, especially if the teacher is an outsider to the community, representations of the genre may be misleading (Freedman 1994: 167-168). For New Rhetoric scholars, one learns to use a genre by participating in a community: reading and writing texts as part of situated activities, focusing on meaning as opposed to form, and acquiring indexical nuances in ways that cannot be prescribed in a classroom.

In some respects, this resembles what Lillis called 'environmental osmosis'. For AcLits scholars, the difficulty with this model is that non-traditional students are at a clear disadvantage in the academic communities they are expected to engage with. There is, as Preece (2009: 49) put it, the need to build bridges between the language and literacy practices of 'non-elite' students and the academic community. A 'sink or swim' submersion in the community may suffice if the language that students are likely to encounter consists of what Krashen (1981, 1984, 1991) termed 'comprehensible input' (drawn on by Freedman 1994) or if the task, in terms of Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory, lies within students' 'zone of proximal development' (often drawn on by the Sydney School). Otherwise, if no mediation is provided in the 'strange land', there is a strong probability that many students will remain strangers. Cox (2010: 7-8) points out that in fact this is exactly what happens in a significant number of cases at least in the US; many students never overcome the 'fear factor' she describes and, despite huge investments of time and money, about half of all enrolled students do not complete their undergraduate degrees within ten years and non-traditional students are yet more likely to drop out.

2.3.3 The Sydney School and Genre Norms

Finally, the Sydney School approach to genre developed out of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in Australia during the 1990s. Conceptualising linguistics as "a set of systems for creating meanings in social contexts" (Hyland 2004a: 25), SFL aimed to systematically categorise language forms in terms of their functions. A key element in this was Halliday's Functional Grammar and its categorisation of social processes on the level of

sentence syntax and semantics. Another element was Sydney School genre theory and its categorisation of social processes on the level of text structure. Martin, one of the Sydney School's best-known genre analysts, defined a genre as a "staged goal-oriented, social process" (Martin 1992: 505). The emphasis in this definition is that a genre develops as a means of achieving a social goal. Since that goal cannot be achieved within one sentence or utterance, it is necessarily broken down into stages. The Sydney School therefore categorises genres according to similar goals with similar stages, e.g. a recount, a narrative, an explanation, a report, a procedure. A recognisable text – e.g. an essay – is usually made up of several of these genres and is therefore called a 'macro-genre' (Martin 1992).

Sydney School genre analysis also involves description of the typical language features of genres. For example, the procedure genre involves the use of imperatives, sequencers, adverbials of time and place etc. (cf. Hyland 2004a: 107). The explanation genre, on the other hand, involves classifications, passive voice and nominalisation, present tense, connectors and conjunctions etc. (cf. Yang 2008). In addition, the language of genres is also described as being conditioned by register, which consists of three contextual variables: field (the nature of the social activity and the subject of the text), tenor (the relationship between the participants) and mode (whether spoken, written, multimodal etc.) (see Martin 1997). It is in terms of register variations therefore that social context is said to shape instances of genres in the Sydney School, genres which are in turn said to "enact the social practices of a given culture" (Martin and Rose 2008: 6). Therefore, although social context, social practice and culture are referred to in the Sydney School approach to genre, genres are mainly identified and categorised as recurring structural stages, with context as a set of variables that influence their linguistic configuration. In AcLits terms therefore, it takes a text-centric approach.

An aspect that the Sydney School (and more generally SFL) and AcLits share, however, is their concern with issues of social justice and access to prestigious institutions and powerful discourses (cf. Coffin and Donahue 2012: 72). Kress (1993: 28) describes the Sydney School's approach as being "both a pedagogical and a political project", and, like AcLits, it has aimed at the empowerment of students for example from migrant or working-class backgrounds. The strategies of these two approaches, however, have been quite different. Whereas AcLits has advocated empowering students not only to understand but also to potentially challenge practices and norms, the Sydney School has advocated explicit teaching of key genres in order to equip students with powerful meaning making resources and help them gain access to educational and career opportunities (Cope and Kalantzis 1993 in Solin 2011). Martin and Rose (2008) for example describes a classroom context he observed in which children wrote different kinds of texts, which were then evaluated by teachers according to norms that were never made explicit:

What kind of literacy world was this? Basically one in which writing was not taught. For models, kids had to depend on texts they'd bumped into on their own... On top

of all this the fact that teachers called every genre a story reflected their own lack of genre consciousness. This impacted heavily on both implicit and explicit evaluation – since everything was treated as good or bad narrative... Handy if as a student you tweak that this is what teachers have in mind, but debilitating if you can't read between the lines. It didn't seem like social justice to us and we tried to intervene. (P6-7)

This has echoes of Lillis' (1999) description of the "institutional practice of mystery" encountered by non-traditional students in UK higher education, although it suggests a solution that Lea and Street (1998) would likely call socialisation.

On the other hand, SFL's entwining of form and function – which Lillis (2013: 52-54) describes as "collapsing the form function dichotomy" – goes beyond traditional skills-based teaching of language as a system of grammatical rules to obey or native norms to imitate, teaching language forms instead as ways of representing the world and achieving social goals in interaction. SFL can therefore help teachers to make visible to students the ways in which scholars represent events, people and processes grammatically and rhetorically (cf. Moore in Lillis 2013: 52), raising awareness of the connection between academic discourse and, for example, epistemology.

2.4 Summary: Communities, Norms and Student Writing

In all of the approaches that I have overviewed here, some very similar themes and similar critiques have arisen in ways of understanding writing norms. One major theme has been the characterisation, categorisation and scale of the community in which norms develop, and indeed whether the term 'community' is even appropriate to describe the ways in which people interact in a postmodern, globalised world. A second theme concerns the extent to which norms can be said to be in flux: how quickly norms change and, importantly, why they change. A final theme is the role of imitation in the acquisition of norms: the extent to which students ought to be encouraged to follow and imitate the status-quo of a discourse community or potentially challenge it.

With regards to how to characterise a community and its changing norms, I believe my own dilemmas in structuring the present chapter illustrate quite well some of the complexities. Although in reality, academic disciplines are dynamic and their boundaries are contested, texts such as this tend to characterise them as static, homogeneous entities, with researchers who strictly 'know their place'. I structured and restructured this chapter many times. At one point I structured it historically, with what Shaw (2009: 2) calls the 'ascent of man trope', in which writers create a research space by placing all previous approaches and findings on an evolutionary ladder of progress leading inevitably to their own. I quickly found, however, that the ideas and approaches which I would have liked to label as unique to present day AcLits

also arose in other regional contexts and times. At another point I attempted to organise the chapter into regional groupings, overviewing research stemming from a UK context, a Finnish context, a US context, a 'peripheral' context etc. I found, however, that I was unable to fit researchers and their writings into neat regional boxes either; there was obvious and continual overlap, overlap that was also obvious when I tried to separate academic writing research into clear disciplinary communities - e.g. research investigating second language writing separated from research investigating first language writing. In the end, I structured this chapter according to ideas and attempted to do something of a combination approach, tracing the conversation, the major voices in that conversation, and creating more of a 'branching bush' representation (see Gould 1991 in Shaw 2009: 2) of themes. This is how I would choose to model the ways in which norms develop in academic discourse. I am drawn to the word 'network', as I am convinced that semiotic norms evolve through webs of interaction in which each new contribution draws on the norms established by previous contributions in order to make recognisable meaning, while at the same time shaping future norms.

I do not however reject the term 'community', as groupings and affiliations are nevertheless very important in the ways in which both norms and identities are construed - whether those are groupings at a disciplinary scale that form through practices such as participation in conferences and journals, or groupings at a local, institutional scale that form through practices such as participation in courses, seminars, and project groups. What matters is not only the norms that evolve within written texts, but also the norms that are negotiated outside the text - the ways in which people talk about, make sense of and regulate literacy (Barton et al 2000: 6). Such groupings are hierarchical, involving relationships of power and what Blommaert (2010) termed 'centres of authority'. Some norms may be regulated by these centres very explicitly and concretely - for example through policy, evaluation, finance and publication. And since groupings are part of networks, rather than isolated worlds, this regulation can dramatically affect the way in which the 'network' of textual interaction develops globally.

I am also drawn to Anderson's (1983) term 'imagined community', which he used in reference to the construction of national identity. All the people of a nation cannot interact with and know each other, yet they construct a sense of sameness, belonging and national identity through representations of the nation in discourse. Likewise, all the members of a discipline cannot interact with and know each other, yet they construct a sense of sameness, belonging and disciplinary identity through representations of the discipline in discourse. A community identity then is formed not only through shared norms and practices, but also through images of shared norms and practices - including narratives of us and other. Writing hence involves a complex interaction between real writers, real readers, and real communities, and imagined writers, imagined readers, and imagined communities. In understanding writing norms, the contexts of 'real', local interactions and practices need to be considered as

well as the imagined interactions that students are expected to take up in their texts and the representations of self and community that they are expected to construct.

In all of the approaches I have discussed in this chapter, there has been a particular motivation for investigating and debating the nature of writing norms. In most cases, that motivation has been pedagogic: for AcLits, bridging the gap between students' and teachers' understandings, and potentially transforming institutional practices; for CR and EAP, helping non-native writers succeed in an Anglophone dominated academic world. Casanave (2013: 3) describes the critical versus pragmatist debate in writing research and teaching as something of a false dichotomy, and I am inclined to agree with her. I do not believe that it is a matter of one group of teachers wishing to help students and another group wishing to dominate or indoctrinate them. Instead, as Casanave also points out, many practitioners combine a variety of principles and strategies in their search for ways to help students solve the mystery of academic writing, and ultimately for student writing to be a constructive and empowering activity. What attracted me to the AcLits approach was its interest in students' experiences of academic writing and its emphasis on norm negotiation rather than prescription. I hoped to gain insight into how students and teachers actually use English as a lingua franca for writing on their courses, rather than viewing my task as identifying erroneous features in their texts in comparison to a native model. A transformative approach in my context hence involves investigating the participants in this programme as English language users in their own right and problematising the native model in the teaching of English academic writing. It is this problematisation that I turn to in the next chapter in my discussion of English as a Lingua Franca research.

3 ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

My interest in the norms and ideologies of English writing on an international master's programme was motivated by the diversity of its participants and their use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), meaning as a communicative medium between speakers of different first languages (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). ELF research, like AcLits research, has sought to counter a default deficit model in language research and teaching. Whereas AcLits scholars have critiqued skills-based discourses in which non-traditional students are positioned as a problem in higher education, as being unable to write and as lowering standards, ELF scholars have critiqued a model in which non-native speakers of English are expected to imitate the linguistic and discursive practices of English native speakers. The number of non-native speakers of English around the world now far outnumbers that of native English speakers (cf. Crystal 2008), and the vast majority of these speakers (and writers) use English outside traditionally Anglophone countries, such as the UK, Ireland, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Characterising the language use of such a large proportion of speakers as 'learner language' implies that these speakers are imagined only through the lens of traditional foreign language classroom teaching. If language norms are shaped through language use - through the activities, interaction, and negotiation of its users - it follows that the 'non-native speakers' who use the language in their activities will also shape its norms.

ELF studies of writing norms, however, have been sparse. ELF research has mostly focused on spoken interaction, as it has often investigated speakers' strategies for negotiating meaning and their invention of innovative forms, whereas writing is seen as slower to change, less open to negotiation and as allowing for less monitoring of intelligibility (Mauranen et al 2016: 45). Nevertheless, as writing tends to be 'high stakes' language use, especially in academia and higher education, it is an important focus, and Mauranen et al (2016) hence identify written ELF as a major research gap. An academic literacies approach, in my view, seems particularly well suited to filling this gap. Its focus on writing as a social practice rather than as a set of autonomous, transparent skills has led to some similar questions to those proposed by ELF

scholars - namely, from whose perspective good writing is perceived, and how diversity and cultural change impact language norms and the sources of language and literacy norms. Moreover, academic literacies' ideological model of writing aligns well with ELF's scrutiny of English language ownership and authority. Jenkins, a major voice in ELF research, indeed describes academic literacies as having much in common with ELF in its contestation of autonomous notions of academic discourse and encouragement of teachers to question their own expectations and practices (cf. Jenkins 2013: 42-46). Although academic literacies research has been more practice-focused than early ELF research, ELF has increasingly embraced situated, practice-focused orientations. I therefore see the combination of academic literacies and ELF interests as timely.

In this chapter, I first introduce the background of ELF research and its theoretical underpinnings, discussing four framings that seem apparent in ELF research, which I label ELF as a context(s), as a critical movement, as a variety and as practice. I then overview research into the use of English as an academic lingua franca. Due to the scarcity of such research on writing, the majority of this overview concerns spoken ELF. However, I pay particular attention to studies that concern English language norms and ideologies in higher education lingua franca contexts, which have been more numerous.

3.1 Theorizing English as a Lingua Franca

When it comes to theorising how English language norms are developing internationally, Kachru's (1990, 1992a, 1992b) World Englishes model has been very influential in past years. Kachru labelled the traditionally Anglophone countries as the "inner circle" and as "norm-providing". Countries in which English is used as a second language, such as in postcolonial contexts, Kachru labelled as the "outer circle" and as "norm-developing", meaning that they are developing local English norms in their own right. Finally, countries in which English is used as a foreign language for international purposes, Kachru labelled as the "expanding circle" and as "norm dependent", meaning that its English speakers do not develop their own language norms, but model their English off that of inner circle countries. Though influential in sociolinguistics, however, Kachru's model has lost relevance partly due to its division of English varieties according to national terms, ignoring intranational variation, as well as the kinds of norms that develop across national borders around shared interests, purposes, and practices (cf. Björkman 2013: 5; Jenkins 2007). Especially with English and especially with new technology, participating in social activity through a common language is not limited to geographical region, locked within the "Herderian triad" of language, community and place (see Bauman and Briggs, 2000, Canagarajah 2012: 20; Blommaert and Verchueren 1998). The effect is that the association of English with a particular 'inner circle' national culture has become less obvious - not to the point that English has become

'cultureless' or lost all power for identification, as House (2003) claimed, but rather to the point that it has adapted to new local and translocal contexts, developing new norms of use and indexing new identities.

As opposed to a World Englishes division of English into nationally based varieties, with 'expanding circle' English as dependent on native 'inner circle' norms, ELF scholars have in recent years located their work within a Global Englishes paradigm (Jenkins et al 2011). Global Englishes again draws on the image of networks or flows to characterise the spread of English worldwide, and tends to describe language movement as a movement of resources (e.g. discourses, registers or genres), rather than as the development of discrete, codifiable varieties. Pennycook (2006), for example, discusses the ways in which hip hop culture has spread around the world along with English language practices that are taken up and reinvented in different local contexts to index local meanings and identities. This reinvention in turn feeds back into transnational scales of hip hop culture. Pennycook (2006: 31) claims that the spread of language resources is hence not unidirectional (from a US centre to the periphery) and determined only by economic relations, but is rather "part of complex networks of communication and cultural flows". He therefore, like Blommaert (2010), distinguishes a Global Englishes paradigm not only from the pluralistic model of World Englishes (with its tendency to label more and more English varieties), but also from a cultural imperialism model in which English use is necessarily a manifestation of Anglo-American domination. Pennycook (2006: 21-23) argues for example that an examination of Global Englishes must also include an examination of the ways in which English is mixing with other languages - for example through the development of dynamic creoles, which challenge the perception of a language as a stable set of core grammatical and lexical features, and challenge even the definition of 'English'.

Within this wider paradigm of Global Englishes, ELF scholars have focused specifically on the use of English as a contact language between speakers of different first languages. Although still a relatively young area of study, ELF has seen a proliferation of interest over the past two decades. The theoretical framings and approaches of ELF research, however, have been somewhat mixed and, for some, controversial (see e.g. O'Regan 2014, Saraceni 2008). The term ELF seems to have several meanings in ELF research, which I would categorise as ELF as a context(s), ELF as a critical movement, ELF as a variety, and ELF as practice. In the first sense, the term ELF can simply denote this extremely common context worldwide in which English is used as a lingua franca. ELF research has aimed to investigate the kind of English used in this context in its own right, rather than treating it as 'learner language' bound for second language acquisition studies, within a deficit model. When used to denote a context, moreover, ELF is clearly not one entity, despite the neat shorthand of the label. There are many contexts in which English is used as a lingua franca. The context of an English medium master's programme in Finland, for example, is clearly different to that of an English medium fan fiction website. The language practices and norms that develop in these

contexts will therefore likely be quite different, despite both being uses of English “among speakers of different first languages”.

Secondly, ELF could be described as a critical movement in applied linguistics, associated with challenges to the use of native speaker models in English language research and teaching internationally. In this sense, ELF is the assertion of the right of English users from around the world to use the language in ways that reflect their cultural backgrounds (cf. Koo 2009: 74), rather than being expected to aspire for example to a particular native accent, native-like grammatical correctness, Anglo-American genre norms, US or UK cultural practices etc. A major theme in introductions to the study of ELF is the need for validation of non-native English speakers as users of the language, rather than only as learners of the language (see Cogo and Dewey 2012; Seidlhofer 2001: 133, 2004: 209; Seidlhofer et al 2006: 20). Mauranen (2006: 147) puts it that:

We need to break out of the confines of accepting only the native speaker as worth investigating, and above all stop considering second and foreign language users as eternal “learners” on an interminable journey toward perfection in a target language.

ELF is often juxtaposed with EFL (English as a Foreign Language), which is associated with the tradition of foreign language classroom teaching, in which all deviations from native norms are viewed as errors to be corrected and any signs of the speaker’s first language are viewed as interference (see Jenkins et al 2011: 283-284).

The native speaker model in English teaching moreover often imagines students’ future English interactions as being in Anglophone countries (generally the US or England) or with people from Anglophone countries, and the language is viewed as being integrally tied to these national cultures. ELF scholars (e.g. Ke and Suzuki 2011) point out, however, that learners are more likely to use English to interact with people with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Learning to use English in these circumstances is therefore learning intercultural communication: the ability to adapt one’s language use and negotiate meaning intelligibly with speakers (or writers) of different first languages and with different expectations or frames of reference. Adherence to native norms may in fact be a hindrance in such circumstances rather than an asset.

As a critical movement, ELF may also be described as attempting to create more equal power relations in international contexts by challenging the dominance of ‘inner circle’ Anglophone countries, while maintaining the benefits of a shared communicative medium across nations. In this sense, ELF offers an alternative discourse to what has been labelled ‘native speaker ideology’ or ‘native-speakerism’ (Holliday 2006). Specifically with regard to English, Holliday associates native-speakerism with a kind of Westernism, in which the spread of English is also imagined as a spread of Western cultural values and individual, critical thought. The image that emerged for example from early Contrastive Rhetoric in which Anglo-American writers think

independently, argue critically, and write linearly, whereas Asian writers think passively, repeat authorities, and write ambiguously, has been described not only as a stereotype of cultural difference but in fact as a product of 'orientalism' (Kubota 2001). Holliday (2006) points out that the English native speaker teacher, from this point of view, is positioned not only as owning the language, but as an authority on good thinking and good values and practices, with the 'non-native speaker' as suffering from deficiencies in those respects. ELF scholars counter this ideology by arguing against the ownership of English language practices by a particular national cultural group, and for a view of intercultural interactions as a negotiation of meaning and construction of shared norms.

The third and most controversial connotation of ELF is its use to refer to a variety of English. Some ELF scholars have denied this connotation entirely, claiming that ELF has not been theorised as a variety of English in any traditional sense, but rather as a 'mode of communication' (see e.g. Cogo 2008: 58). Other scholars of Global Englishes, however, such as Canagarajah (2012: 68), have distanced themselves from this connotation by using instead the term LFE (Lingua Franca English). I would argue that the positioning of ELF as a variety emerged partly as a function of its critical ideological aims. In attempting to validate non-native speakers as users and shapers of English 'in their own right', much ELF research has focused on capturing the systematicity of ELF use, compiling and analysing corpora (such as the VOICE corpus) to identify core features. The sense has been that in order to offer a viable alternative to native models in EFL classrooms, ELF would need to be described and codified (see Seidlhofer 2004). Jenkins et al (2011: 289) explain that:

Corpus findings in ELF have thus far given rise to a certain degree of typicality in the more salient features that occur in lingua franca interactions. ELF researchers have been at pains to accentuate the SYSTEMATICITY involved in the emerging patterns of language use that these features appear to indicate.

Such research has indeed begun to identify features in ELF corpora that occur more frequently than in comparable native speaker corpora, but that do not disturb communication and are treated as acceptable by speakers. Phonological and lexicogrammatical features identified have included for example frequent substitution of dental fricatives (e.g. Kirkpatrick and Deterding 2011); tendency to drop '3rd person -s', especially with collective singular nouns (Breiteneder 2005; Cogo and Dewey 2006); innovative uses of prepositions, articles and collocations (Cogo and Dewey 2006); and creative uses of metaphorical language (Pitzl 2009). Behind these recurring non-standard features, a common explanation offered is that speakers in language contact situations focus more on meaning and mutual intelligibility, as opposed to adherence to prestigious norms, and therefore tend to regularize and simplify lexicogrammatical features that are functionally redundant (see Breiteneder 2005: 262-264). Form hence follows function (Cogo 2008). ELF scholars argue therefore that although the features of ELF interaction are variable, they are not random, and when they are communicatively effective, there is no reason to treat them as errors.

ELF research has also been partly bound to a variety orientation through its discursive tropes. In defining and validating ELF in relation to 'native speaker English', scholars can inadvertently reproduce the native versus non-native dichotomy that they aim to challenge. The label 'ELF' then seems to imply a monolithic type of English, juxtaposed with a monolithic type of 'native English'. This dilemma is by no means unique to ELF discourse. Pennycook (2006: 43-44), for instance, points out the same weakness of 'post' movements, explaining that 'poststructuralist' discourse remains tied to structuralism by continually defining itself in opposition to it. He therefore prefers the use of 'trans' as opposed to 'post'. The catch-22 of any movement is that its discourse is built on discourse that has gone before, as explained in chapter two, and often in reaction to what has gone before. Juxtapositions are therefore a trope of academic discourse generally, as researchers create meaning by defining approaches in relation to what they are not (or not only). Hence an ideological approach is not an autonomous approach; a transformative approach is not a normative approach; a Global Englishes approach is not a World Englishes approach, and so on. In ELF discourse, English as a lingua franca is not learner language or deficient English as a native language. The nature of ELF interactions, as being between diverse speakers and often within transient communities, deserves attention both as a research interest and as a pedagogical model.

In recent publications, even in those that refer to core features and systematicity, ELF scholars have been at pains to emphasise that ELF is not in fact a variety. Jenkins et al (2011: 296), for example explain:

The fluidity of ELF, along with the hybridity that we referred to earlier, calls into question whether ELF can be considered a language variety or even a group of varieties in the traditional sense of the notion. We would argue that it cannot. Even the earlier form-focused ELF research had observed and explored how ELF varies according to contextual factors and, in particular, how these factors impacted on speakers' accommodative behaviours.

ELF scholars have begun to embrace the practice-based approach to Global Englishes advocated by Pennycook (2006) and Canagarajah (2013), viewing ELF as a fluid and dynamic mode of language use, which adapts to the specific contexts of its users. A practice-based perspective on ELF was already present, however, in earlier ELF research through its emphasis on ELF interaction as intercultural communication and its identification of the pragmatic strategies that speakers use to negotiate meaning successfully. As users of English as a Lingua Franca encounter a mix of different kinds of speakers, they have to learn to adapt their language resources quickly to the dynamics of each new context, which is frequently referred to as accommodation (cf. Cogo 2009; Jenkins 2000). Jenkins describes this ability to accommodate one's language use as a skill that is important in international contexts for native and non-native speakers alike. Studies that have focused on pragmatics in ELF interactions have identified ways in which speakers hold off interactional norms (Seidlhofer 2004: 218) and 'let pass' deviations from expected language (cf. Firth 1996); code-mix their

language resources (Cogo 2007; Hülmbauer 2009; Klimpfinger 2009), and use various pragmatic strategies to monitor intelligibility and prevent or repair misunderstandings (House 2013; Kaur 2011; Lichtkoppler 2007; Pitzl 2005; Watterson 2008).

With regards to the conceptualisation of ELF in my own study, I align with an understanding of ELF as a common context of language use that deserves attention 'in its own right'. I therefore also align with an understanding of ELF as a critical movement, as I do not begin with the assumption that the norms of language use in this context are deficient in comparison to native contexts and that its writers inevitably aspire to native norms. Finally, I align with an understanding of ELF as tending to involve practices related to the linguistic and cultural diversity of interlocutors, such as a negotiation of meaning and norms. I do not approach ELF as a variety of English, nor do I seek to identify a stable set of language features that could be described as 'Master's Programme English', unless that is made salient by participants in the programme themselves. My focus is rather on the level of practice, discourse and ideology: the norms and ideologies that students and teachers construe in using, talking about and evaluating written English for academic purposes.

A criticism that I would make of ELF literature is that it has tended to present English language norms and ideologies in quite a dichotomous way: either speakers aim for native-like correctness and adherence to prestige forms, or they aim for instrumentality and intelligibility. There are, however, many other sources of normativity that may also be salient to speakers in ELF interactions, including for example indexicals of authenticity, affiliation, education, disciplinary expertise, creativity, aesthetics, authority, objectivity, politeness, and so on. Although ELF research has addressed these issues - for example, Jenkins (2007) overviews attitudes towards various English accents in ELF contexts and, in an academic setting, Mortensen and Fabricius (2014) discuss the construction of indexicality in transient ELF communities - scholars' validation of ELF nevertheless tends to be based on a correctness versus intelligibility dichotomy. While these two language ideologies may indeed be the most salient for ELF users in many contexts, in asking the question 'what counts as good writing on the programme?', I also wanted to remain open to the emergence of other sources of normativity.

I therefore agree with Phillipson (2015) that English cannot be seen as a *lingua nullius*, i.e. a purely instrumental and ideologically neutral tool that is owned equally by all who use it. Language is never ideologically neutral; it is always entwined in the meanings, identities and power structures of those who use (or cannot use) it. Phillipson (2015: 23) puts it that:

Seeing a language as purely instrumental, or seeing language teaching as ideologically neutral, as an apolitical, purely technocratic mission, entails closing one's eyes and mind to how social structure operates nationally and internationally, and is in conflict with principles of social justice and a balanced sustainable language ecology

I do not consider, however, that the only other possibility is that of linguistic imperialism, in which the use of English in different parts of the world is inevitably in subjugation to Anglo-American dominance. While the connection between the spread of English and the global power of the UK and later the US is important to remember, it is also undeniable that part of its spread is connected to instrumentality, i.e. the decision to use a language that has a wide distribution and that therefore many people, from many countries, can understand. Perhaps the heart of the ELF argument is that when English is used in a Finnish classroom by students and teachers from Finland, China, Brazil, Germany, Iran, Spain, Ireland and so on, it would be “closing one’s eyes and mind” to believe that Anglo-American authority over their linguistic and discursive norms is inevitable. Again, rather than assuming either complete Anglo-American norm dependence or complete neutrality and equality, this is a context of language use that deserves to be investigated in its own right.

3.2 English as an Academic Lingua Franca

Academia has been one of the most studied domains of English use as a lingua franca. This is likely due in part to ELF scholars’ own proximity to and familiarity with academic discourse. However, it is also a result of the increasing dominance of English in international academia and higher education, and the particularly powerful nature of academic discourse in the construction of knowledge and the perception of prestigious, ‘educated’ language. Mauranen et al (2016: 45) identifies the central aim of academic ELF research as being to understand the consequences of English use in this domain: its impact on higher education and on other languages in academia, its impact on the sources of norms and conventions in academic discourse, and its impact on “language contact”, “cultural contact”, and “centres of power”.

Thus far, most research on academic ELF has focused on spoken interactions. The most prominent project in this respect has been the compilation of the ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) corpus at the University of Helsinki. This corpus includes a one-million-word database of spoken English interactions in lingua franca contexts, drawn from a range of disciplines and genres (or ‘speech event types’, based on speakers’ own event labels). This enables researchers to analyse ELF language use across disciplines and genres or within disciplines and genres. A number of studies have been published using its data, with similar results to those of more general ELF corpus studies, emphasising the ability of and need for speakers in diverse academic communities to use language in a way that promotes intelligibility and co-constructs shared meanings. For example, Mauranen (2006, 2007, 2010) found that speakers make considerable effort to prevent misunderstanding through pragmatic strategies such as self-repair, interactive repair, confirmation checks, repetition, and discourse reflexivity. And Ranta (2006) found that in comparison to the native speakers included in the MICASE corpus, speakers in

the ELFA corpus made relatively extended use of the progressive for stative verbs, for describing general validity or habitual activity, and for referring to points in (past) time. Her analysis suggested that rather than being random 'errors', this use of the progressive functioned expressively, as a way of emphasising the verb for the sake of clarity.

A second strand of academic ELF studies has focused on a micro, local community scale of English language practices in international higher education. These situated studies have concentrated on spoken language practices and have again described ways in which speakers negotiate meaning collaboratively, developing new language norms and sources of language norms. Kalocsai's (2014) ethnographic study, for example, found that a group of Erasmus students in Hungary developed shared, ritualised forms in their English use for greeting, teasing, thanking, swearing and apologising, which they positively labelled 'Erasmus English'. She observed that they were very supportive of each other's language use, working as a group to help a speaker express his or her intended meaning and treating this language support as successful not when they found the 'correct' native form, but when they achieved mutual understanding. Smit's (2010) study of an English medium programme in Austria, moreover, found that the community developed principles of clarity, directness and explicitness for their classroom language use. She also identified a 'joint forces' principle, in which explanations of content would be constructed interactively, regardless of traditional classroom roles; if a speaker was not able to communicate an explanation clearly, other speakers would join in until the explanation was jointly understood. Finally, Hynninen's (2016) investigation of ELF spoken interaction at a Finnish university specifically focused on the regulation and negotiation of English language norms. On the basis of interviews and recordings of naturally occurring interactions, she found that L2 English users often took on the role of language authorities during spoken interactions, assessing and construing correct English use. While nativeness remained a perceived source of correctness, participants nevertheless also drew on other sources of language norms - in particular, disciplinary expertise.

A final major focus in academic ELF studies has been attitudes and ideologies concerning the kinds of English expected in international higher education (Mauranen et al 2016: 51-52). Jenkins (2013), for instance, conducted a discourse analysis of the public websites of sixty international universities worldwide. She found that while the websites promoted cultural diversity as richness, they nevertheless oriented both explicitly and implicitly to British and North American English as their linguistic standards and did not take into account the linguistic diversity of their students in their policies. She concludes that despite their international orientation and composition, these universities' language policies are nevertheless "grounded in largely national (British and North American) English norms". She followed this discourse analysis with a questionnaire study of 166 members of staff from 24 countries, which also found that 'standard' North American or British English were considered to be

most appropriate, non-native students tended to be positioned as a problem, and 'home' teachers and students were not expected to have to accommodate their language use or negotiate meaning with non-native students (Jenkins 2013: 158).

Mortensen and Fabricius (2014), on the other hand, conceptualize international higher education programmes as being "transient, multilingual communities" whose language attitudes and ideologies are more likely to be visibly under construction in comparison to those of more stable, traditional communities. They describe language ideologies as being interpretative resources that may be made explicit in speakers' talk about language or that can be observed more subtly in interactional moves. Their qualitative analysis of the language attitudes of four students on an international programme in Denmark found an imagined hierarchy of English varieties, with native English – particularly US or British English – at the top and positioned as difficult to achieve. Danish English was nevertheless relatively high in this hierarchy, considered to be good English, and students described being more relaxed and able to speak "normally" among other non-native speakers. They also construed a non-native speaker using a native accent as pretentious and as claiming an identity inauthentically. Mortensen and Fabricius analyse these language attitudes as being divided across the traditional sociolinguistic dimensions of status and solidarity – with native speakers as using the "real", prestigious English, but the shared non-native status of the students in an ELF context as providing a sense of being "all in this together".

Although an ELFA corpus of written academic texts (WrELFA 2015) has recently been compiled at the University of Helsinki, relatively little has been published to-date on academic writing from an ELF perspective. What has been written mainly concerns international academic publishing. ELF scholars have critiqued the requirement of many international journals that non-native English writers' texts are checked by a native speaker to ensure that their language conforms to native expectations (see e.g. Hu 2004, Jenkins 2011, Mauranen and Ranta 2009, Seidlhofer 2004). Seidlhofer (2004: 222) argues that this entails a gatekeeping of such journals on purely linguistic criteria, rather than on the basis of academic quality. Owen (2011), in analysing native speakers' corrections of non-native speakers' academic texts, found that many of the corrections were not in fact necessary for intelligibility. Mauranen et al (2010: 184) suggest that 'good English' in academic writing is hence perceived from a native perspective, and they point out that "if the vast majority of readers and writers are not native speakers of English, perhaps qualities such as clarity and effectiveness should be considered from their perspective rather than that of the native speaking minority".

Academic literacies scholars have also drawn attention to the politics and practices of English academic publishing internationally. In their textography of the writing of 50 non-Anglophone scholars, Lillis and Curry (2010) focus on the networked activity and complex process of English-medium text production, as texts pass through the hands of 'literacy brokers' such as proofreaders, editors

and reviewers. Although they do not focus on linguistic and discursive norms, they do examine the language ideologies and power relations involved in this process. They identify on the one hand an enlightenment ideology, in which researchers characterise English as enabling free exchange of universal knowledge, and on the other hand they identify ways in which the requirement to publish in English and the gatekeeping of international journals can involve a marginalisation of local knowledge from non-Anglophone contexts. They found, for example, that scholars in their study were expected to imagine an Anglophone centre reader in their work and promote the usefulness and originality of their research in relation to Anglophone centre needs and interests. This monocultural perspective, moreover, seems to extend to a monolingual ideology, as Lillis et al (2010) demonstrate the dominance of English-medium citations of English writers and the negative attitudes of journal reviewers in their study towards even occasional references to work published in other languages.

My study is one of the first situated investigations of student writing in international higher education from an ELF perspective. Whereas ELF corpus studies that identify regularities in written texts have the challenge of collecting and compiling comparable texts that have not been proofread or edited by native speakers for publication, situated studies have the advantage of being able to follow writers and readers in the process of attempting to understand, fulfil, negotiate, and implement norms. These are not peripheral non-Anglophone scholars attempting to write according to the norms of an Anglophone centre reader, but non-Anglophone students and teachers using English writing for their own pedagogical purposes. Writing is high stakes language use in this context, as it involves explicit evaluation resulting in course completion or non-completion. It is primarily non-Anglophone teachers who are gatekeepers in this context of appropriate English academic writing practices. A situated study of writing in this context is therefore a fruitful extension of ELF research.

4 INTERNATIONALISATION AND FINNISH HIGHER EDUCATION

Besides English academic writing norms and practices, and the use of English as a lingua franca, a third topic that is important to review in order to contextualise my research is the internationalisation of higher education and the language policies and ideologies that have been involved in this process. Although my study examines written language norms on a local scale, the programme is not an isolated island in Finnish higher education, but is rather part of a larger trend and its norms are related to wider policies and ideologies. In this chapter I therefore discuss the background to the programme, including the incentives that have driven internationalisation in higher education and research into discourses that have arisen concerning the use of English in Nordic and Finnish higher education contexts.

4.1 Background and Incentives

The rapid increase in the use of English in Finnish higher education is of course by no means unique to Finland but reflects worldwide trends as well as trends within Europe. The adoption of EMI (English Medium Instruction) programmes has, however, been particularly visible in Nordic countries. Whereas EMI has been controversial for example in France, Germany and Italy, it has encountered much less resistance in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland and Finland. In Nordic countries, Hultgren et al (2014: 1) estimate that 80% to 90% of PhDs are now written in English and 20% to 40% of graduate level programmes are conducted through English, and Brenn-White and Faethe (2013: 5) observe that the number of EMI programmes is continuing to increase rapidly. Over the last fifteen years, Finland has been among the countries with the highest proportion of English medium teaching in Europe, outside Anglophone countries (see Ammon and McConnell 2002; Coleman 2006; Garam 2009; Lehikoinen 2004; Wächter and Maiworm 2008, 2014). Saarinen (2014: 133)

estimates that around two thirds of Master's Programmes in Finland are conducted through English, although she notes that a precise proportion of English instruction is difficult to calculate, since one can also study for a Master's degree in Finland outside of these programmes.

Internationalisation and the use of lingua francas are of course not new in higher education. In the middle ages, wealthy students from around Europe would travel for example to Bologna and Paris to study through Latin. The first Finnish university, the Royal Academy of Turku, which formed in 1640 when Finland was part of the Kingdom of Sweden, also used Latin for tuition (Saarinen 2012a: 238). Latin was perceived not only as a lingua franca, but as a language that would "educate and discipline" the youth (Klinge et al 1987 in Saarinen 2012a: 238). With the rise of nation-states, however, universities around Europe became increasingly national affairs and the use of national languages for tuition grew. At the same time Germany emerged as a European academic centre and German as an academic lingua franca. Also during Finland's 'national awakening', Latin was gradually replaced by Swedish as a tuition language during the early 19th century and Finnish in the late 19th century, and by German as a lingua franca in the mid to late 19th century (see Saarinen 2012a: 242).

During the transition from Swedish to Finnish, the language of Finnish higher education was a contentious political issue. Language ideologies indeed led to the founding of new universities in Finland - with Åbo Akademi being founded in 1918 to promote Swedish and the University of Turku in 1920 to promote Finnish. In the 1930s, the use of Swedish versus Finnish at the University of Helsinki was intensely debated, leading to a decree in 1937 that secured the university's bilingual status. Today, Finland officially has two Swedish speaking, three bilingual (Finnish/Swedish) universities, and nine universities that officially use Finnish (opintopolku 2017). Since the 1990s, however, Finnish institutions have been moving towards greater freedom in language choice, with a unified University Act in 1997 allowing for the use of languages other than Finnish and Swedish in tuition, and the New University Law in 2009 granting the right to examine (i.e. offer full degrees) through other languages (Saarinen 2014: 135). Although in the 1990s 'other languages' also sometimes included for example German or French, over the last two decades the use of 'other languages' has increasingly in practice meant English. Unlike the choice of Finnish versus Swedish historically, this shift towards English in Finnish higher education has been almost an invisible issue in higher education policy (Saarinen 2012b) - although there have been indications recently that this is changing (see Saarinen 2018).

Although internationalisation is not new, the rate and scope of internationalisation in higher education around the world over the last 20 years is unprecedented. This has been associated with other major changes in the nature of higher education institutions (Hultgren et al 2014: 4). In the West, one such change has been the widening of access to higher education as part of the shift towards a 'knowledge economy', with higher education positioned as a

source of innovation and development, and hence national economic growth. Whereas historically universities were institutions for elites with the means and autonomy to pursue a 'liberal' education and knowledge for its own sake, universities and polytechnics have become more accountable to the nation-state for the relevance of its pursuits to the needs of the economy and labour force (Hultgren et al 2014: 5-7). Another change has been the move towards 'free-trade' and an open market as part of globalization (Hultgren et al 2014: 4; Altbach and Knight 2007: 291). In European higher education, this has been supported by the Bologna Process of 1999, which aimed to create a more equivalent system of higher education in EU countries so that qualifications could be recognised across the EU labour market and so that students could move more freely between EU higher education institutions. This in turn aimed to enhance Research and Development across Europe through international cooperation and sharing of expertise, and in turn to enhance the EU's competitiveness in a global economic marketplace.

On the other hand, it is clear that higher education itself has become a global economic marketplace. In 2015, 4.6 million students were studying across national borders (OECD 2017: 289). According to Bashir (2007: 18-19), in terms of direct commercial revenue, the leading educational exporters from 1999 to 2005 were the US, followed by the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In 2016, international students brought 39 billion dollars to the US economy (IIE, 2017). And in the UK, high-fee-paying international students have become a major source of higher education funding in an era of widening participation along with, in recent years, austerity policies. Far fewer students are sent from these Anglophone countries to universities abroad than are received - ratios of students received to students sent being around 15:1 in the US, 9:1 in the UK, and 23:1 in Australia (OECD 2002, in Howe 2009). The biggest export market, on the other hand, consists of 'middle income' countries in Asia, particularly China, India and Korea (OECD 2013: 319). Asian students constitute some 53 percent of all international students in OECD countries (OECD 2013: 313), most of whom are studying in the US, the UK, or Australia (OECD 2013: 321). A more recent trend in this demand for Western, Anglophone education has been the establishment of off-shore campuses in Asia particularly by North American, British and Australian universities. Such unidirectional trade in higher education can be explained by the prestige and ranking of Western universities in a global economy that is dominated by the West. Graduates from high ranking Western universities are likely to be competitive in their industries at home, although a large proportion of these graduates remain in the West for work, risking a 'brain drain' in their home countries (see e.g. Odhiambo 2013).

The establishment of EMI programmes within non-Anglophone countries such as Finland can therefore be seen as a means to compete for the 'commodity' of international students, offsetting 'Anglophone asymmetry' in this market (Hughes 2008; Saarinen 2014: 137). On the other hand, tuition in Finland has been free for both Finnish and international students. Although Finland has recently begun to charge tuition fees for non-EU students, the goal

of Finnish institutions in offering EMI has not previously been direct economic revenue, but rather indirect gains. Two of those gains are to do with branding and ranking. Despite free tuition, higher education is nevertheless listed by a 2009 Finnish internationalisation strategy document as an important national export product (Saarinen 2014: 138). Owing to Finland's PISA results as well as its image as a Scandinavian welfare society, Finland has gained an international reputation for quality and equality in education. Moreover, the presence of international students and staff, along with research publications in international (mainly English) journals and subsequent citations, contribute to a university's world ranking - ranking which in turn attracts further 'talent', further funding and further international visibility. Anglophone universities have dominated world rankings, with the spread of English internationally as a major advantage. The adoption of EMI within non-Anglophone countries is therefore a means to compete (cf. Hultgren 2017).

4.2 Discourses, policies and ideologies

Hultgren et al (2014: 2) identify two discourses that have arisen in Nordic higher education in response to these internationalisation drivers, with associated language ideologies. The first discourse they label 'internationalist' and the second 'culturalist'. At a national scale, an internationalist discourse is characterised by politicians' desire to enhance the nation's international competitiveness. At an institutional scale, it is characterised for example by concerns with a university's international ranking. Within this discourse, the use of English is mostly a 'non-issue'. In a Finnish context, for example, Saarinen (2014) analysed language ideologies in three higher education internationalisation strategy documents, issued in 1987, 2001 and 2009. In the 1987 document, internationalisation is presented as having both economic and educational benefits and language is dealt with pragmatically, in relation to the development of language education. The 2001 document includes reassurances for institutions worried about potential loss of autonomy in light of the Bologna Process, but this protectionist discourse does not allude to language, and English is rather referred to as providing a competitive edge. Finally, in the 2009 document, Saarinen observes again that language is mostly invisible and that 'foreign language' has in fact become synonymous with English. Saarinen speculates that this invisibility could be due either to a wish to avoid highlighting the position of English (Saarinen 2012: 168) or due to a weakening of the perceived link between language and nationhood to the point that it is not considered an issue (Saarinen 2014: 138).

A culturalist discourse on the other hand is characterised by worries that national interests, culture and language are under threat and need to be protected. Hultgren et al (2014: 2) point out that this discourse does not correspond to a left or right wing political orientation, but is rather taken up both by conservative nationalists and by those concerned with protecting the

welfare state and higher education against commercialisation. In Finland, this discourse became visible in the national media particularly during 2009 and 2013. In 2009, a Finnish student filed an official complaint with the Office of the Chancellor of Justice regarding English medium programmes, referring to Finnish or Swedish speaking students' right to receive tuition in their mother tongues (Saarinen 2014: 135). The Chancellor's Office decided against the student, but stipulated that higher education institutions ought to make students' right to use Finnish or Swedish also on English medium programmes more visible. In 2013 another complaint was filed concerning the use of English at Aalto University for all Master's Programmes, and a representative of Jussi Niinistö, of the True Finns Party, posed a formal question to the Minister of Education and Culture, Jukka Gustafsson concerning the case. A similar response was given to that of the 2009 complaint. It is therefore possible that language choice is becoming a contentious issue again.

Hultgren et al (2014: 8-9) explain that with this mixture of voices across the political spectrum, discourses concerning internationalisation and Englishisation have been fraught with contradictions. They summarise these contradictory voices nicely:

How wonderful it is to internationalise but at the same time how frightful are the dangers of losing our national heritage and language at the university, the prestigious site which once celebrated the use of the local language as a glorious achievement. How wonderful to reach the summits of research quality, but how awful to have to relearn all the tricks of the dissemination trade in a new language just when we had perfected learning in our own language. How great to democratise wisdom - and how disturbing if quality suffers and traditions change when the masses enter the gates of learning previously exclusive to the elite.

At the level of policy, this conflict of interests and motivations has resulted for example in talk of promoting 'parallelingualism' between the national language and English, so as to avoid 'domain loss' on the part of the national language and so as to ensure that the language remains 'society bearing' (Hultgren et al 2014: 9). However, Hultgren et al (ibid.) also point out that there is a widening gap between these ideologies construed at a policy level and what actually happens in practice. Whereas language policy tends to construe languages as discrete, essential entities that can be divided neatly into separate domains and kept complete or pure, the level of practice is often messier and more complex, with a mixing of different languages for different tasks and purposes. For example, in a given classroom, Finnish might be used for teaching, English for reading, and a mixture of languages for discussion, depending on the presence of international staff and students and their ability to use the local language.

In comparison to language choice, less research attention has been paid to language ideologies that concern the kind of English expected in Finnish higher education. An exception again is Hynninen's (2016) ethnographic study of language regulation, demonstrating in participants' negotiation of English norms the presence of both native speaker ideology and other forms of language authority such as disciplinary expertise. Another exception is

Saarinen and Nikula's (2013) analysis of language requirements for entry to EMI programmes. They found that as a general rule programmes require students to provide evidence of their English skills with a certificate from one of the major international language exams, such as TOEFL. The English expected is described in a range of ways, from 'adequate' to 'excellent', but test points required correspond roughly to CEFR level B2 and above.

What is more interesting from the viewpoint of language ideology, however, is the question of 'whose English' is expected. This is suggested in Saarinen and Nikula's analysis (2013: 142-147) by the categories of students who are exempt from the language certificate requirements. At Universities of Applied Sciences, which have unified language requirements, applicants who have completed upper secondary or university education in the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand or Ireland are usually exempt, as are applicants who have completed a university degree through English in the EU/EEA. Applicants who have completed education through English outside these countries are not exempt, even those from one of the 50 or so countries in which English is an official language. Although universities do not have unified language requirements, Saarinen and Nikula's analysis of various sources suggests similar policies (see pages 143-145). They point out that although this is likely intended to favour students whose qualifications can be reliably accredited, it nevertheless in effect creates a hierarchy of students and Englishes on the basis of nationality. Despite the lingua franca context therefore, at least at this policy level, the use of English is stratified. Whether this stratification is also salient in practice or whether such hierarchies are more negotiable and fluid, is a matter that I will return to in discussing my results.

5 PRESENT STUDY

I turn now to the details and results of my own investigation of the norms and ideologies of writing on an English medium master's programme in Finland. In this chapter I discuss my methodological choices, beginning by introducing an ethnographic approach to writing research, discussing various ways in which a researcher can access participants' own perceptions of good writing. At the same time, I integrate an overview of the data I gathered from the programme, reflecting critically on the limitations I encountered and concluding with a table that summarises the timing of the data collected. Next, I introduce the programme and each of my six student case-studies. I close the chapter with a discussion of my ethical considerations, including how I accessed the site and obtained my participants' informed cooperation.

5.1 Ethnography

As established, an approach to writing as a social practice has favoured ethnographic and case study methodology. Such ethnography involves paying close attention to the contexts in which texts are written, observing and understanding culture as something people do rather than as something they have. Paltridge et al (2016: 52) put it well that ethnography allows a researcher to discover not just the 'what' (for example the common features of a set of texts), but also the 'how' and the 'why'. When I began my research, I had myself been teaching academic writing, including a remedial course for students on programmes such as the one I now analyse. I became curious as to how such heterogeneous groups of students actually experience writing across their studies, how they are expected to write by their subject area teachers and why, and whether the advice and feedback received on such language courses help them in their writing tasks. Taking an ethnographic and case study approach, i.e. following several students across their studies while gathering a range of data, seemed to be a good way to satisfy this curiosity.

Although there are different approaches to ethnography, ranging for example from complete immersion in a community to more select involvement in a site, several distinct principles of ethnography are commonly identified (see e.g. Hammersley 2006; Lillis 2008; Paltridge et al 2016; Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999b). These include:

- Participatory observation in which the researcher observes and possibly also participates in the context.
- Collection of multiple data sources with the aim of viewing the same subject from different angles and hence achieving a triangulation of data and thick description of the context.
- Sustained engagement with participants so that the researcher gains an understanding of the community over time.
- Commitment to accessing emic perspectives rather than relying on etic interpretations.
- Reflexivity, meaning that researchers reflect critically on their own role in the context, the ways in which they represent participants, and their own learning trajectories.

Lillis (2008) distinguishes three levels of ethnography in academic writing research: ethnography as method, ethnography as methodology and ethnography as deep theorising. Ethnography as method involves for example analysis of text features that is supplemented by a particular method - usually interviews - with the aim of also considering the contexts in which the texts are written. Ethnography as methodology, on the other hand, is more than one particular method of data collection (such as interviewing), but rather involves the collection of multiple data sources and sustained involvement with participants over time, with the aim of discovering what is important to community members themselves. Ethnography as methodology can be called naturalistic research in the sense that although the researcher may begin with a general guiding question, the research plan and its particular methods often evolve in response to observations over time. Ideally, this should allow for surprises and for knowledge that is not predetermined by the researcher's initial position (Willis 1980 in Paltridge et al 2016: 8). Finally, ethnography as deep theorising (cf. Blommaert 2007) attempts to collapse the text/context dichotomy, treating both as part of social practice and circulating between text analysis and context analysis.

In my research, accessing emic perspectives was particularly important. In attempting to understand writing norms in this lingua franca context, it was important, as far as possible, not to inadvertently reproduce my own expectations. As a 'native English speaker', as well as a language and writing teacher, I have been in a position of authority with respect to English writing norms. I therefore had to find ways to lay aside my own preconceptions when talking to participants, observing their practices and reading their texts, so that I could instead access participants' own conceptions and interpretations of

written English. I therefore structure this chapter's methodological and data overview according to the following question: *How can a researcher access what participants themselves consider to be good English writing?* In answering this question, I review some of the approaches commonly taken in ethnography of writing and reflect on their application in my own study, while also listing the data I gathered.

5.1.1 Observation

The first and perhaps most obvious answer to the question above is to observe the participants during their writing or other study activities. Ethnographic studies of literacy practices have often involved observing what people 'do with' literacy in concrete, everyday 'literacy events', i.e. events in which literacy plays a key role (e.g. Brice Heath 1983, Barton and Hamilton 1998). Lillis (2014: 81) lists this as including physical co-presence, using recordings and/or making field notes; and virtual co-presence through observation of online discourse. The advantage of such observation is that the researcher is able to describe what people actually do, as opposed, for example, to what they think or say they do. It enables the researcher to observe literacy not only as text but as part of peoples' day to day activities.

A challenge for my particular guiding question - what counts as good English writing - was finding opportunities to observe participants' normative interpretations of written language use as opposed to observing more generally what participants 'do with' texts. Whereas with spoken discourse, micro-level interpretations of language use may be observed in the real-time turn by turn structure of the interaction, with written discourse, responses are often not immediately verbalised and attempts on the part of the researcher to elicit those responses can interfere with the progression of the interaction. Paltridge et al (2016: 21) point out that in studies of written interaction, contextualisation might involve quite different methods to spoken interaction:

while a contextualised study of academic speaking and listening might use participant observation and field notes and take the physical context of the event into account, this might be less the case with academic writing studies unless, of course, the study is examining writing behaviour.

Rather than actually watching participants read or write in isolation, more useful literacy events for observing language normativity include, for example, group writing tasks, in which participants compose text together, feedback sessions either between peers or between teacher and student, and classes in which students' writing or criteria for their writing are discussed. These are the kinds of events that I planned to observe in my study.

Unfortunately the amount of participatory observation in my study fell short of my original plan. As I completed my research alongside full-time work, I was unable to participate in the students' courses physically. I therefore asked my student participants to inform me when they would have a feedback or class session in which they would discuss their writing, so that I could observe

or set up a recording device for those sessions. My strategy was hence rather dependent on the initiative of my participants. The students themselves were busy, however, and understandably did not always know when a situation would be relevant or remember to inform me when such a situation occurred. Moreover, these situations seemed to occur much less frequently than I had anticipated. In order to create the kind of collaboration I had hoped for and identify salient interactions concerning writing, I would have needed to be physically present in the students' courses for at least some period of time.

Another factor that I did not anticipate was how highly mobile the students would be. Although during the first year, while they were taking courses, students were physically 'on the programme', in subsequent years, they went on study exchanges abroad or decided to write their theses from different locations, communicating with their supervisors via e-mail and returning to Finland at times that were difficult to predict. When we were not able to meet face to face, I would e-mail them to ask how they were experiencing the process of writing their theses. Often they replied simply that they did not have time to write due to other commitments. By the end of forty months, only one student, Kimiko, had graduated. Extensive observations of students' writing behaviour in person therefore became unrealistic.

Despite these limitations, I was able to record the following events that specifically concerned the students' writing:

- Audio recordings of six face-to-face feedback sessions with the language teacher (Megan) during the first year of the programme, totalling two hours and thirty-two minutes.
- An audio recording of a seminar session in which a student (Mei) presented her work during the third year of the programme, totalling two hours and twenty minutes, and an audio recording of a face-to-face feedback session between Antti (thesis supervisor) and Stephanie during the third year of the programme, totalling forty minutes.

Although specific extracts from these interactions do not appear in my articles, they did inform my articles and my project as a whole. Prior to interviews with participants, I listened to any relevant recordings, making notes on points that I could ask participants to clarify, react to or expand on. The feedback sessions with the language teacher, for example, proved to be important in my analysis for article three.

5.1.2 Interviews and questionnaires

A second way for a researcher to access participants' own perceptions of good English writing is simply to ask them in interviews or questionnaires, directly or indirectly. In *Academic Literacies*, a particular method of interview that is commonly used has been labelled 'talk around text' (Ivanič 1998, Lillis 2008).

Attributed first to Ivanič (1998), talk around text refers to text-centred discussion in which writers' own intentions for and interpretations of their writing are elicited. Ivanič's original model consists of four concrete features as a method. Firstly, it involves gathering participants' literacy histories in order to contextualise their writing choices and experiences. Secondly, it includes explicitly focusing on a range of linguistic features in the students' writing, particularly contrasting rhetorical choices. Thirdly, it involves encouraging writers themselves to focus on features of the writing that they consider important. And finally, the model involves a series of on-going discussions concerning the writer's text or texts, reflecting a longitudinal and process approach while building a relationship with the participants, rather than accessing only the fixed glimpse that a one-off interview evokes.

Lillis (2008) elaborates on the ways in which the spoken data gathered through the talk around text method ought to be understood and treated. Firstly, she emphasises such data's 'transparent/referential' aspect, meaning that the researcher ought to respect the authenticity and meaningfulness of participants' perspectives. Secondly, she explains that the data ought also to be treated as discursive and indexical. In other words, rather than transparently reporting truth, participants' talk indexes discourses on a topic, using those discourses to make meaning and construct a representation or narrative. Finally, she emphasises the talk's 'performative/relational' nature. From this perspective, the data elicited in discussion with participants is interactional and performed in the specific context of the interview. Interviewees' talk in interviews is always influenced by the interviewer, not only by the kinds of questions asked, but also by the interviewer's identity and the interview's circumstances. Participants may give rather different accounts of events to different people and in different settings. The researcher should therefore take this influence into account in interpreting responses.

In attempting to discover what participants count as good English writing and why, interviews can be useful in eliciting participants' perceptions on an issue. Their main drawback, however, is indeed that explicit, conscious accounts are always representational and performative. What people say they value in interview is not necessarily what they do or reward in practice. For example, in regard to using interviews to elicit perceptions of written language errors, Williams (1981) pointed out that people are likely to present more conservative appraisals by the mere fact of being asked to consciously focus on linguistic form. This is especially the case with people who are in institutional positions of authority:

Merely by being asked, it becomes manifest to them that they have been invested with an institutional responsibility that will require them to judge usage by the standards they think they are supposed to uphold (p.152)

In my own study, however, eliciting the 'standards they think they are supposed to uphold' was in itself meaningful. I therefore gathered many 'talk around text' interviews while being careful to treat interview talk as discursive

representations of good writing in the particular context of the interview, rather than as straightforward reports of participants' practices and preferences.

I sometimes found that there were tensions, however, in treating interview data as both referential and discursive. For example, I found myself struggling with ways to report on ideological constructs in discourse (e.g. the notion of being a 'real native speaker', us/other images of Asian versus Western students, the notion of proper academic writing as being British or American etc.) while also respecting the authenticity of participants' experiences and perceptions. Part of my solution was to identify issues that were common across interviews and to ensure that I presented several sides of the issues in my articles, including both different participants' perspectives and different perspectives put forward by the same participants. This enabled me to position ideological differences as tensions between discourses and to avoid critiquing any one individual's talk. If a particular individual's talk did appear to be singled out for critical discussion, I contacted that participant before submitting the article for publication.

A positive side to treating the interviews as discursive, moreover, was that it enabled me to address the impact of my own role on the performance of identity and authority in the interviews. For example, in my first interviews with students, I asked them about their previous experiences with writing for evaluation and with teachers' feedback, and found that two of the students reacted negatively to the implication that they should care about teachers' evaluations or grades. Although I did not anticipate or intend this implication, these students' contestation of teachers' authority over writing was nevertheless a revealing part of my analysis for article one.

After three years, my study's interview and questionnaire data included:

- Twenty-five face-to-face interviews, totalling twenty-eight hours and thirty-six minutes
- Eighteen recorded face-to-face interviews with students, totalling nearly twenty-one hours, plus several hours of unrecorded, informal discussions with the students. These interviews were conducted once per term during the first sixteen months of the programme and then at various intervals when individual students returned to Finland and had completed written work to discuss.

The interviews involved general discussion of students' literacy histories and their experiences on the programme, and more specific discussion of the texts that students had written since the previous interview. My approach differed slightly from Ivanic's 'talk around texts' model in that I rarely drew participants' attention to aspects that I had noticed in the texts myself - such as contrasting rhetorical choices - but rather asked very general questions about their intentions for their texts and their own evaluation of their texts. I felt that it was

important that any writing norms discussed were raised by participants themselves. I also did not want our talk to resemble a teacher/student feedback session and I did not want to position myself as a writing authority by directing students' attention to particular text features. Instead, more specific text interpretations were elicited by asking students if they could pinpoint general impressions in the texts, asking them about changes made between text drafts, and asking them about points raised in writing journals, instructions or feedback. All of the recorded interviews were transcribed.

- Seven face-to-face interviews with teachers, totalling nearly eight hours.

The interviews with teachers again involved general discussion of their literacy histories and their experiences with teaching and evaluating writing on the programme, and more specific discussion of the students' texts written for their courses. I interviewed the teachers after the texts were evaluated or the following term, and they agreed to reread the texts before the interviews. As with the students, I did not draw teachers' attention to particular text features, but rather tried as far as possible to discuss norms that teachers raised themselves. I asked them to explain the purposes of the assignment, their criteria for the assignment, what they saw as the strengths and weaknesses of the particular texts, and their reasons for giving a particular grade. I also asked them if they could pinpoint their general impressions in the texts and to elaborate on points they raised in instructions or feedback. All of the interviews with teachers were audio-recorded and transcribed, besides one interview with the head of the programme upon initial contact with the site.

- Two e-mail interviews and many informal e-mails

When I was unable to meet students in person over the years, I asked them questions via e-mail at regular intervals. Two of the e-mails I would describe as interviews in that I asked more structured and in-depth questions about particular experiences with writing on courses, with lengthy responses from students. The informal e-mails, on the other hand, usually simply asked for updates on how they were finding the process of writing their theses. Students' responses to these were often quite brief. In hindsight, I would have used skype or a similar technology to interview students while they were abroad. At the time, I thought that the technology might create a barrier to free-flowing discussion, and I preferred to wait until I could meet students in person. Having become more accustomed to online meetings, courses and feedback sessions, that reluctance now seems unnecessary.

- Eleven questionnaires, gathered from all the incoming students

At the beginning of the programme, I surveyed all of the programme's incoming students, asking basic information about their backgrounds: their previous studies, languages they used, countries they had lived in, and whether they would agree to take part in the study (all of the students agreed). This enabled me to gather a general understanding of the kind of student body that the programme involved, and it enabled me to select my six case-studies.

5.1.3 Text Analysis and Text Trajectories

Of course, much analysis of academic writing norms has focused on text features. EAP researchers, for example, have often analysed the rhetorical structures, or moves, of a given genre, as well as the language features of texts within a discipline. Although Academic Literacies research has avoided emphasising text at the expense of practice, text analysis has nevertheless been important for example in understanding the ways in which students position themselves in their writing, their interpretation of writing expectations and the epistemological connotations of given text features (see e.g. Ivanic 1998; Ivanic & Camps 2001; Lea and Street 1998).

Academic Literacies scholars have also more recently emphasised the importance of collecting 'text trajectories' (Lillis and Curry 2010), i.e. tracking the process of a text's development over time, as opposed to viewing texts as products. This has involved gathering drafts of a text, observing the practices involved in each draft, tracking changes from draft to draft, talking to participants about those changes, and gathering other documents surrounding each draft (such as editors' comments and reviews). Such trajectories again challenge a view of writing as an individual, autonomous skill; writing for publication, for example, involves the input of many different voices who shape the text in relation to the purposes and ideals of the community. Understanding how and why writers change their texts to satisfy a target reader or evaluator can hence be very revealing in regard to writing norms.

In my own study, I asked my student participants to send me texts that they wrote for evaluation on the programme, along with instructions and feedback that the texts (or drafts of the texts) involved. I would then read the texts before our interviews and review any other documentation associated with the texts. Already during the first term, however, a misunderstanding arose between myself and the students. Most of the students understood that I was interested only in essays as opposed to other genres that might be used for evaluation, and therefore they only sent me their essay texts at first. When I reviewed our first interviews I was not surprised, as I realised that I had indeed alternated the word 'assignment' and 'essay' when explaining my project to students. This was partly a result of my first interview with the head of the programme, who told me that the courses on the programme were evaluated

using essays, and partly a result of my own experiences as a student in a Finnish university, in which I continually wrote essay style papers. When I realised that some courses were in fact evaluated using other kinds of texts, which the students were not sending me - for example blog entries, research plans, annotated bibliographies and book reviews - I quickly corrected this. In hindsight, I also realise how engrained my own image of academic literacies as *essayist* was when I began my research.

Another limitation was that students' texts, written for evaluation, usually involved little overt trajectory to follow. The papers were mostly written at the end of courses without drafts, feedback or other kinds of interactive follow-up, and usually with minimal written instructions. There were exceptions to this: most notably, the language course and the thesis seminar, from which I was able to gather more data and track text trajectories. For the most part, however, writing seemed to be an important but nevertheless solitary activity for students. In total, I collected:

– Fifty-three texts written for evaluation:

- Twenty-one final (essay style) course papers
- Collections of online blog entries from six students (counted as six texts in total)
- Six annotated bibliographies
- Six research plans
 - Each plan included two drafts, one written for Megan's language course and one written for the Antti's thesis seminar. Changes between the drafts were tracked using Microsoft Word.
- Three maturity exam essays
- Four master's thesis drafts
- One completed master's thesis, with changes tracked (by Kimiko)

I read these texts before interviews with participants, noting features that I found interesting. Again, however, I did not direct participants' attention to these features myself, but rather asked participants to talk freely about their perceptions of the texts and asked them if they could pinpoint particular impressions in the texts. If a teacher mentioned, for example, that a text was 'sophisticated', I asked if he or she could point to places in the text that exemplified this. Or if a student felt that her text was 'careless', I asked if he or she could point to places that exemplified this. When I then came to analyse the texts more systematically for article four, I was able to do so on the basis of themes that emerged from participants' perspectives and I was able to select and adapt analytical tools that would be relevant specifically to norms introduced by participants themselves. In this way I was able to achieve what Lillis (2008: 382) referred to as circulating back from context to text, ensuring that my text analysis and context analysis would be complimentary, rather than viewing them as dichotomous.

5.1.4 Other documentation

Another approach that an ethnographer can take to accessing emic writing norms is to examine other kinds of documents from the community that concern writing, directly or indirectly. These can include for example “codified norms” (cf. Hynninen 2016: 28-29), such as official policy and promotional documents, writing guides used on courses, and teachers’ written instructions for writing, and it can include written feedback on written assignments. This kind of documentation can also be regarded as observational data in ethnographic studies of writing, as much writing activity is now mediated by online platforms, and hence consists of written documentation rather than face-to-face interaction. In my own study, I was given access to the programme’s online learning platform to which course materials and assignments were usually uploaded. Students also sometimes forwarded me e-mail exchanges they had with teachers - or, in one case, another student - concerning their writing.

Again, a limitation is that there may in fact be little documentation in which written language expectations or evaluations are made explicit. As already mentioned, I found that few of the courses on the programme included detailed written instructions for assignments. Moreover, students generally received little feedback on their assignments unless they specifically asked for it, which they rarely did. I therefore again gathered less naturally occurring documentation about writing than I had originally planned and mainly relied on the interviews to access teachers’ interpretations of students’ writing beyond the grade. However, after three years, my documentation data included:

- Five sets of instructional handouts on specific written assignments.
Two of these handouts were written for the language course, one for the thesis seminar, and two for content courses.
- General online course materials for four courses and the research seminar.
- Online documents published by the university’s language centre, including information on courses for EMI programme students, writing advice in English for the maturity exam (an exam essay that students write after completing their theses), and job advertisements for language teachers and consultants.
- Twenty sets of written feedback from teachers, written specifically for my student case-studies.
Twelve sets of feedback were written by the language teacher, four by thesis supervisors, and four by a content teacher.

Again, I reviewed these documents before interviews, depending on whom I was going to talk to and which texts we were going to discuss. I did not draw on the language centre’s documents for any interview questions, but they were useful for providing a general overview of the institution’s practices and policies for language education.

5.1.5 Collaboration and reflexivity

A final element that is common in ethnographic research, particularly in accessing emic perspectives on practices, is a commitment to treating participants as co-researchers, along with a commitment to reflexivity, meaning that the researcher reflects on his or her own involvement in the community and its effects. This often lends ethnographic research a more personal and documentary tone than positivistic epistemologies, as culture is not usually treated in terms of 'factors' that can be objectively measured and controlled, but rather as both participants' and researchers' practices and experiences, including their perceptions, interpretations, and narratives of those practices and experiences.

The article format of this dissertation resulted in something of a dilemma in terms of enlisting participants' collaboration as co-researchers without overly influencing the context myself. I did not at first want to inform participants explicitly that I was interested in norms and ideologies of English use in case it would cause them to be self-conscious about the kinds of norms and ideologies they construed. My original plan was instead to simply observe practices on the programme, enlist students as collaborators by asking them to keep a journal about their perspectives and experiences, and then involve them in my analyses after they finished their studies. However, due to the part-time format of the programme and the article format of my thesis, I found myself writing the first articles while still gathering data. I decided therefore to wait until writing my final article and my thesis summary to ask for participants' responses to my analyses, although at that stage, I received fewer responses than I would have liked. In the end, my collaborative data included:

- Thirteen student writing journal entries, written by four students

My instructions to students for the journals were very general. I told them that they could write freely about anything that was important to them in writing a particular assignment. I gave them examples that they could write about how they found the process of writing, what they thought the teacher expected, what they found enjoyable or difficult in writing the assignment, and a self-evaluation of their texts. During their first year, students wrote their reflections in a word document, so that they could send their comments along with their texts. During the following year, I gave each student a physical 'thesis notebook' that they could use as a journal about writing the master's thesis. Only one student (Kimiko) kept this 'notebook' journal and returned it when she finished her thesis. As a whole, the journal entries were brief but sufficient to notice two clear themes: there were numerous comments about not knowing what teachers expected from or thought of their writing; and there were numerous comments that the strength of a given text was its assertion of the student's own opinion, although sometimes with uncertainty as to whether that opinion was expressed appropriately.

- Five analysis responses, including one in-person discussion with students Kimiko and Stephanie, two e-mail responses from the language teacher Megan, and one e-mail response from a content teacher, Anita.

Participants' responses were positive. Participants recognised themselves in my representations and thought that I had been able to capture issues in their writing and on the programme that were salient and useful. Kimiko, Stephanie, and Megan confirmed and elaborated on some of my conclusions for articles three and four. Kimiko, however, corrected a detail about her from my earlier papers: I had written my earlier articles that she completed an associate degree in the US, but she also completed a bachelor's degree there. This information was not part of my analysis, only participants' profiles, so it does not have a bearing on my results.

5.1.6 Conclusion

Considering the limitations I experienced in gathering my data, especially in gathering observational data, I eventually decided that I could no longer use the label 'ethnographic' to describe my study. Having planned to conduct a much more immersive, observational study of literacy practices, I could see many gaps between what I had hoped to achieve and what I had been able to achieve. I decided therefore to use the label 'ethnographically-oriented' instead (see Paltridge and Starfield 2016: 218). The bulk of my data consisted of interviews and texts, and indeed, I was most inspired after talking with participants. When I managed to sit down with participants and discuss their experiences in person, I found that they had much more to say than the few lines sent by e-mail, written in their journals, or written on course handouts.

On the other hand, my study does fulfil Lillis' (2008) definitions of ethnography as methodology and ethnography as deep theorising. All of the documentational and observational data I was able to collect informed my interviews and analyses in various ways, and I was able to sustain involvement with most participants over several years, even after they finished the programme. It was therefore possible to identify those issues that were most salient to participants over time. Moreover, my approach enabled me to circulate between context and text analysis, treating texts, interviews, documentation, and literacy events all as social practice and all as involved in discursively constructing writing norms on the programme. It was particularly useful to be able to adapt my text analysis for article four to focus on what participants themselves considered to be important, finding tools that could shed light on ambiguities students encountered, as well as the general impressions of students that teachers formed on the basis of their texts. Below is a summary of the data I collected, including its timing.

TABLE 1 Summary of the main data gathered and its timing

	September 2009	October 2009	November 2009	January 2010	February/March 2010	April 2010
Questionnaires						
Interviews						
Hand-outs						
Matti's Essay (WJ)						
Megan's Annotated Bibliography (WJ)						
Megan's Written Feedback on AB						
Megan's Research Plan (WJ)						
Megan's Written Feedback on Plan						
Megan's Feedback Sessions						
Interviews						
Antti's Blog Entries						
Mikko's Essay						
Antia's Essay (WJ)						
Matti's written feedback						
E-mail Interviews						
Kimiko	x	x	x WD	x	x	x WD
Mei	x	x	x WD	x	x	x WD
Stephanie	x	x	x WD	x	x	x WD
Tommi	x	x	x WD	x	x	x
Julia	x	x	x WD	x	x	x
Amir	x	x	x	x	x	x
Megan						
Mathi						
Mikko						
Antti						
Antia						

	Late Summer/Autumn 2010	Autumn 2011	Autumn/Winter 2011	Spring 2012	Autumn 2012
Antti's Research Plan (WJ)					
Interviews					
E-mails, 2010 through 2012					
Thesis Draft 1					
Thesis sessions on Thesis draft 1					
Interviews					
Antia's Written Feedback on Thesis draft 1					
Feedback on Thesis 1 from PHD student					
Maturity Exams (WJ)					
Thesis Draft Two					
Antia's Written Feedback on Thesis draft 2					
Thesis Evaluation (Antia and Antti)					
Interviews					
Final draft thesis					
Kimiko	x WD	x	x	x WD	x
Mei	x	x (Jan)	x	x	x
Stephanie	x	x	x	x	x
Tommi	x	x	x	x	x
Julia	x	x	x	x	x
Amir	x	x	x	x	x
Megan					
Mathi					
Mikko					
Antti					
Antia					

WD = With Diary (student's reflection on writing the text).
 WI = With Instructions
 I collected many additional assignments (some with diary) and course materials during the first year.
 I also e-mailed with participants later and met with Kimiko and Stephanie in 2016 to discuss my results.

5.2 The Programme and my Case-Studies

The university in question is situated in a large town in Finland, with campuses spread across several locations. The EMI programme I investigated was situated within the Humanities faculty and within a department that comprises a range of individual subject units in which students can complete bachelors, masters or PhD degrees. A master's degree in Finland is worth 120 ECTS credits (1 ECTS = 26hrs study) and is generally composed of courses in the major subject, courses in a minor subject (or subjects), language and communication courses, a master's thesis and a final academic 'maturity' exam. Master's programmes are intended to last two years, but students can and often do take longer, as they can complete their master's theses part time and plan their timetables themselves, selecting and registering for individual courses (usually worth between two and five credits each) as they are offered.

Each study year at the university is divided into two main teaching terms, which are in turn each divided into two teaching periods of roughly eight weeks. The courses on the EMI programme I investigated generally lasted for one or two periods, meeting once or twice a week and for two hours at a time. During their first year, all of the students took a core set of courses on the programme, supplemented by a choice of optional courses from the wider department. The core and optional courses were taught by teachers from different subject units in the department, by occasional visiting lecturers, and by two members of staff who were dedicated to the programme. The programme also utilised an online learning platform, with sections for core courses. Teachers would upload their materials to this platform and occasionally students would upload their texts, but the platform was not used for interaction.

All bachelor's and master's degree programmes at Finnish universities include compulsory language studies, taught by the university's 'Language Centre'. Language study requirements for students on EMI programmes vary depending on the faculty, but usually include at least an English research communication course and a Finnish course. The English research communication courses are catered to specific programmes and therefore intended to be integrated. For the EMI programme investigated here, this course took place during students' first year and involved writing tasks such as annotated bibliographies and research plans that aimed to prepare students for writing their master's theses. In addition to the compulsory language courses, student can choose from a range of optional courses in various languages offered by the Language Centre.

During their second year, rather than being 'on the programme', the students mostly took optional and minor studies, wrote their MA theses, and/or completed a study exchange abroad. During their third year, all of the

students I followed were travelling and/or working, while completing their MA theses independently. During the first year, my interviews with students usually began by discussing their adjustment to the Finnish seasons, especially the winter. During the following years, our interviews usually began by discussing their latest travels.

Class sizes on the programme were small and the students formed a tight-knit group, especially during their first year. Even during the second and third years, they visited each other during their study exchanges abroad. And years later, long after graduating, they told me that they still visited each other around the world. While they did not describe the programme itself as a community, since it only had two dedicated staff members, they definitely perceived its students as having formed a community.

I first met the programme's students during their orientation week in September 2009. I introduced my project to them in speech and writing, explaining that I would like to follow several of them through the programme as case studies, investigating with them the ways in which English writing is used in this potentially challenging new context. I then distributed a survey asking some basic information about their cultural, linguistic and academic backgrounds, and asking if they would agree to take part in the study. All of the students agreed. I was then able to select six case-studies who I felt best represented the community's diversity: a 'home' Finnish student with a degree in business and communication studies from a Finnish university of applied sciences in communication; a German student with a degree in British and American studies from a German university; a Japanese student with a degree in fine art from a New York community college; a Chinese student with a degree in English literature from a Chinese university; an Iranian student with a degree in computer studies from an Iranian university and a background in creative writing; and finally a Brazilian student with a degree in linguistics from a Brazilian university and a background in photography and journalism. These students illustrate well the kind of student bodies on these programmes. None could be easily categorised as representing a particular nationality or discipline. They therefore also illustrate well Canagarajah's (2017: 66) description of contact zones:

it is not only that a community is in contact with other communities, adopting changes deriving from this ongoing history of interaction; the community itself constitutes members who bring with them diverse values, identities, and repertoires that are in contact.

All of the students had fascinating, rich and unique stories as to how they came to be at this Finnish institution. They have all been given pseudonyms in the descriptions below.

5.2.1 Kimiko

Kimiko grew up in what she described as the countryside in Japan, with "lots of fields, rice fields, fruit fields and a lot of nature". She started learning English in

school around twelve years old, but she described her school English lessons as grammar and translation based, with no practice in using the language to communicate, besides some reading. English lessons were therefore her “napping time”.

At fifteen, Kimiko started to work part time in a gas station and fast food restaurant in order to save money to “get out of that small town”. She wanted to experience something of the world and she wanted to study art. At eighteen, she used her savings to move to the US, first to a town in Illinois, which she found too conservative and racially segregated, and then to New York. In New York, while working to support herself, she studied for an associate degree in Fine Arts at a community college, later transferring to a university in Harlem and eventually earning a Bachelor's degree in Fine Arts after four years.

At these New York colleges, Kimiko took basic courses in a variety of subjects in which she had to write in English. She also attended an English composition course where she was surprised to be studying alongside local American students who were struggling with academic writing and did not know common academic writing structures that she had been taught already in Japan. She also described the composition course as being quite removed from the kinds of writing she did on other courses, as it mostly focused on writing responses to literature or position papers on socio-political issues. The only feedback she remembered receiving was being told to write shorter sentences. On her content courses, she only received grades rather than feedback, and she described her grades as “okay”.

During the early 2000s, Kimiko “gave up on living in States” due to what she described as its materialistic culture and a change in its political climate. Instead of returning to Japan right away, however, she first moved to Turkey for a year to study photography. She explained that she wanted to experience a less developed country than Japan or the US – a country in which education is not “spoon fed”. While there, she used a mixture of English and Turkish. She met a Finnish man while living in Turkey who had also been travelling extensively and who later became her husband.

After leaving Turkey, Kimiko taught Japanese as a second language in Japan and then as a foreign language in India, where she was happy to have a chance to teach the language as a tool for communication rather than as a set of grammar rules. She moved to Finland about a year before the programme began. She decided to join the Master's programme because its subject appealed to her, the structure of the programme seemed to be flexible, and it seemed to be welcoming of students with different kinds of backgrounds.

5.2.2 Mei

Mei grew up in a very large city in China near to Hong Kong. Her parents both worked at a university, her mother as an English teacher and her father as a physicist. She explained that she began learning English due to her mother's influence “ever since I was able to talk”, which gave her a head start with the language in primary school when English studies began at around nine years of

age. As English was a strong subject for her in school, she went on to study English at university in China. She also explained that she chose to study English because she liked European and American culture.

Mei described her university English studies as including both English literature and translation. She explained that most of the writing she did during her bachelor's degree consisted of reflective paragraphs that were literary in style and not what she considered to be strictly academic, such as essay writing. Feedback she had received on that writing mostly consisted of grammatical corrections. In order to complete her degree, however, she was required to write a thesis, which she considered to be a stricter and more academic type of writing. She described this thesis as being language checked and corrected by a tutor before submission.

Mei explained that she decided to come to Finland despite her father wanting her to study in the US. She wanted to leave the Chinese university system in order to have the opportunity to use English on a daily basis, but she also wanted to make a different kind of choice than going to England or the US. She explained that she had always wanted to visit Europe and, since she was a fan of certain Finnish Goth bands and had a friend who had been on exchange in Finland, she decided on Finland.

During my first interview with Mei, she explained that she liked the diversity of students' backgrounds on the programme, but that their professional experience made her nervous. Whereas they all seemed to have work experience from various sectors, she was starting the programme immediately after finishing her undergraduate studies in China.

5.2.3 Stephanie

Stephanie grew up in Germany, near the border of Switzerland. She began learning English at school already at nine years old and described speaking a kind of "Denglish" - a mixture of German and English - with her bilingual friend as a teenager. After school, she worked in Ireland for a year as an au-pair outside Dublin, and she returned to Ireland nearly every summer after that, also working there again for an eight-month period as an intern. During our first interview, Stephanie continually mentioned friends of different nationalities, and I later discovered that she is a very active member of the couch surfing community, using the community to travel and to host people from around the world. She explained that English is therefore the language she uses most often in her life, both in spoken and written interaction.

Stephanie completed her bachelor's degree in British and American studies at a German university. She described this as being mostly literature studies and as involving several academic writing courses on which she was taught many times how to write "a proper essay". Most of the courses in her bachelor's studies were evaluated through final essay papers, which were fifteen to twenty pages in length. She also wrote a thirty-page thesis to complete her bachelor's degree. Stephanie explained that teachers in Germany sometimes did not accept her English essays - one teacher, for example, returned her essay

to be rewritten several times before it was considered acceptable. Nevertheless, she said that she now finds studying and writing through English “no problem at all”, explaining that she would find it more difficult in fact to write an essay using German.

While in Ireland, Stephanie became good friends with a Finnish woman, whom she later visited in Finland a number of times. During her bachelor’s studies, she decided to do an exchange term in Finland, which included several courses on the EMI programme in question. After finishing her degree in Germany, Stephanie decided to return to the programme as a master’s student mainly due to her interest in its combination of subjects.

5.2.4 Tommi

Tommi grew up in a medium sized town in Finland. He began the EMI programme while still in the process of finishing his bachelor’s thesis for a Finnish University of Applied Sciences. He explained that he had been having difficulty finding sources on his thesis topic that his supervisor would accept, so it was taking longer for him to finish the bachelor’s degree than expected. He described his bachelor’s degree as a mixture of management and communication studies, and his bachelor’s thesis as a practical work focusing on marketing the Finnish gaming industry in Japan. Besides the thesis, he described his previous academic writing experience as being mostly essays, reflective reports and diaries, most of which were written in Finnish.

Like other Finns of his age, Tommi began learning English at about nine years old and he described having liked English in school. Before the programme, he had little experience with writing in English. A few of his courses at the University of Applied Sciences were conducted through English, but their assignments were written in groups. On the other hand, he had gained more experience using English when he worked as an intern in London for two months, while living with a Scottish family. He decided to study through English for his master’s degree because he aimed to have an international career in the gaming industry and he understood that much research on his topics of interest (gaming, culture and marketing) is available only in English.

5.2.5 Amir

Amir grew up in Northern Iran. Immediately at the beginning of our first and only interview, he told me that he had extensive experience as a creative writer in Persian, writing what he described as poetry and folklore. He began writing poetry already from the age of twelve and by sixteen had won several poetry prizes. Amir also quickly began talking about the contrast between creative writing and essay writing, describing essay writing as ‘mathematical’ and explaining that he had ‘neglected’ this more technical style of writing in the past, preferring to write narratives. Although he did not have a lot of experience with academic writing in English, Amir explained that he had

nevertheless “lived in a way in English language” because of his poetry, having translated many poets from Persian into English.

Amir’s experience with English began at about the age of twelve in secondary school, where he explained that much of the teaching was conducted through English. He completed his undergraduate degree in computer science at an Iranian university, which was also mostly conducted through English. He described the textbooks in his field as all being in English and his teachers as being educated in the US. His teachers encouraged him and his peers to study abroad, and most of his friends hence left Iran to work or study in Europe. He explained that this was due to the state of computer science in Iran at the time; people had to move elsewhere to gain expertise.

Amir chose this particular EMI project due to its mixture of subject areas. Moreover, although he explained that he did not appreciate Finnish poetry in comparison to Russian or Scandinavian poetry, he was interested in Finnish folklore.

5.2.6 Julia

Julia grew up in a small city in San Paolo State in Brazil. As with the other students, in interview Julia mentioned a dizzying array of places she had lived, languages she spoke, workplaces, studies, and international friends, to the point that it was difficult, even with the help of the written survey, to obtain a clear picture of her literacy and academic history. She moved to Finland already two years before the programme began with her son. Julia described her move to Finland as having been a spontaneous and radical decision - she just packed her bags, used her savings, and suddenly found herself in this new country. While working in a production company in Brazil as a translator, she had made a Finnish musician friend, and had the impression of Finland as a very safe and affordable country, with a good social structure. She thought that it would be a good place to raise her son, especially since she would still be able to support herself through her translation work for clients around the world.

Julia described herself as having been very lucky academically, because she came from a family of successful women - her mother was an economist and her aunt a physician, and they had always encouraged her to succeed in her studies. She completed her undergraduate degree in linguistics at a “top” university in Brazil, where she also studied for a master’s degree in semantics, but, to her mother’s disapproval, left before “presenting” her thesis. She explained that she had been “really inside academic life” and had been writing a thesis about scientific discourse but had decided finally that the subject was not for her. For ten years she then worked as a freelance translator between Portuguese, English, German and Spanish, while living and studying in several countries. She lived in Argentina for three years, where she studied both physiotherapy and photography, after which she also worked as a freelance photographer alongside translation.

Julia started learning English, as well as German, at seven years old in school. She attended an English medium school in Brazil from age seven to

seventeen, after which she spent two years at a school in Germany, studying through both German and English. She described expectations for academic writing at the school in Germany as being based on “British English” due to her British teachers and as involving stricter expectations for essay writing than she had previously been used to. After school, she received a translator’s diploma through the University of Michigan, where she was exposed more to what she described as an American way of writing. Before beginning the programme, she had also studied marketing at a university of applied sciences, which was taught through Finnish. She explained that she did not find studying through Finnish to be a problem as the reading materials were all in English and she was able to write assignments using English. She described being in a classroom where the teacher and other students spoke Finnish while she followed along using the English textbook and asking for explanations when needed. As with the other students, she chose to study on the EMI programme due to her interest in its particular combination of subjects.

5.2.7 Losing two of my case-studies

During the first year, I lost two of my case-studies: Julia and Amir. Julia left the programme entirely during the second term. As is the case for many graduate students in Finland, she had been working part time alongside her studies. She decided to invest more time in professional opportunities that had arisen in photography and journalism. Amir also had many professional commitments and activities outside the programme. Although he still sent me some of his texts and agree that I could record his feedback session with the language teacher, he did not respond to requests for further interviews. Both of these students had expressed strong identities as writers in other domains during my first interviews with them (journalistic writing for Julia and literary writing for Amir), and both of them had hoped to challenge some of what they considered to be dominant academic writing conventions. I was therefore very disappointed not to be able to follow their experiences further. They nevertheless both feature in article one and Amir features in article three.

5.3 Access to the Programme and Ethical Issues

My first contact with the programme was an e-mail to the programme’s coordinator in spring 2009, explaining generally the aims of my project and what it might involve for the programme, its teachers and students. He agreed via e-mail that I could follow the programme. We then met in person in August 2009 to discuss my updated, written plan. The coordinator – who I call Antti in my articles – told me that writing had been a problematic issue on the programme that deserved investigation. He added me to the programme’s online platform so that I could follow its schedule, materials and assignments, and he distributed copies of my written plan to the other teachers involved in

the programme. I explained to participants that I was not revealing my precise research question at that point in case it would affect the outcome of the study, but that I was interested in literacy practices in this diverse context, as well as their experiences with and perspectives on English writing.

I next met with all of the programme's incoming students at their orientation day in September 2009 and presented what the project would involve. I distributed my written plan along with a survey asking about their backgrounds and whether they would agree to take part. All of the students agreed. On the basis of the survey, I selected six students to focus on as case-studies and then contacted them by e-mail, setting up our first interviews. At the beginning of the first interviews, I again explained what the project would involve and asked if they would agree for our interviews to be recorded and transcribed for use in my articles. They agreed. I also asked them to send me their texts written for evaluation, any instructions and feedback they received on their writing, and to keep a journal of their writing experiences, in which they could discuss freely how they found writing the assignments, their process for writing, any difficulties they encountered and a self-evaluation of their texts. I told students that I hoped the process of writing about and discussing their writing would be useful for them, and that they might benefit from my analyses at the end of the project. The programme's coordinator, moreover, agreed to award them extra (ungraded) written communication credit for their participation.

As the programme progressed, teachers whose written assignments would potentially feature in the study were contacted individually by e-mail and asked to take part in an interview about their experiences teaching through English and evaluations of the assignments. Two teachers did not agree to take part, and hence I did not include texts, instructions, feedback or comments about their courses in any of my articles. Five teachers, on the other hand, did agree to take part. When meeting these teachers, I again explained what the project would involve and asked if they would agree for the interview to be recorded and transcribed for use in my articles. They all agreed, although one teacher asked specifically that the interview would only be used for my own study rather than made open-access. I then decided not to store my data generally in open-access databases, as much of the data is interconnected; for example, in interviews and journal entries, students sometimes discussed courses taught by teachers who did not give me permission to use information from their courses in publications.

Despite otherwise receiving broad permissions from participants, I nevertheless used pseudonyms and decided not to state the name of the programme or the name of the university in any of my articles. I did however refer to the general subject area and general information on participants' backgrounds and roles on the programme, as this was relevant to my research question and was information that was freely given by participants during recorded interviews. I did not include the precise titles of courses - only subject areas - and I avoided stating or sometimes changed teachers' job titles for

further anonymity. I found this to be a delicate compromise between the need to contextualise writing practices and at the same time protect the anonymity of the programme, so that I would be able to potentially problematise discourses and practices without endangering anyone's reputation. It was not my aim to evaluate the programme and its teachers, and I did not wish to criticise any individual, but rather to examine norms and practices that are recognisable and relevant on a wider societal and institutional scale, in a way that would be helpful pedagogically.

I felt somewhat freer in using extracts that concerned the language teacher, Megan, as I was in contact with her more often and knew that the issues discussed were of professional interest to both of us as English teachers. I could identify with her as a 'native speaker teacher' and did not expect that she would take critical discussion of language ideologies as an evaluation of her as an individual teacher. Nevertheless, as extracts from her interview appeared to be criticised in article three, I sent the article to her before sending it to editors, so that the extracts could be removed if she found them in any way damaging. I was relieved that her response was in fact very positive. She agreed with my representation of practices on the programme and found my critique to be constructive, while offering further explanation that helped to inform the overview of my articles in this summary. I am very grateful for her cooperation and openness, as it was particularly issues of language pedagogy that motivated my study and being able to critically discuss language ideologies in relation to language pedagogy in this context was important.

Having finished collecting data, I also sent article four to all of my participants before submitting it to a journal. I received responses from four participants: Stephanie, Kimiko, Anita and Megan. Their responses were positive; the students whose writing and experiences were represented in the article felt that those representations were accurate, and the teachers felt that the article would be useful in their teaching. I then met with Stephanie and Kimiko in person to discuss the results of the study as a whole. Once again, my interpretations of their experiences and perceptions of writing norms on the programme seemed to be confirmed. However, Kimiko corrected a mistake in my description of her educational background in my earlier articles. She had obtained a bachelor's degree as well as an associate degree while studying in New York.

All of the digital data collected during the project is stored in my personal account on the University of Jyväskylä's local network, with password protection. Physical documents, such as a journal notebook, course materials and questionnaires that were completed by hand, were either scanned and added to the digital data folders or sent to secure university archives.

6 KEY FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH ARTICLES

In this section, I overview each of my four articles in turn. I include the articles' main research aims and/or questions, data, methods of analysis, and key findings. The articles are presented in the order in which they were written. I conclude the section with a discussion of my conclusions in relation to my main research question: what counts as good academic writing on the programme?

6.1 Article 1: Norms and Authorities in Talk about Writing

Article 1: McCambridge, L., & Pitkänen-Huhta, A. (2012). Discourses of Literacy on an International Master's Programme: Examining Students' Academic Writing Norms. In A. Pitkänen-Huhta, & L. Holms (Eds.) *Literacy Practices in Transition: Perspectives from the Nordic Countries* (pp. 165-188). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

My contribution to this article was roughly eighty percent. The article reports on data that I collected and analysed myself, and most of the writing is my own.

In this first article, my co-author and I characterise the students as being 'in transition'. The article focuses on their perceptions of good academic writing in English at the beginning of the programme, usually having recently moved to Finland and having completed their Bachelors' degree studies in another country and/or discipline. We frame EMI programmes in lingua franca contexts as being examples of super-diverse, temporary communities which are at an intersection between local and global social scales. Although situated in a local institution, they combine students from around the world and are orientated towards internationalisation. We argue that in understanding the impact of globalisation on language use, there is a need to examine 'language in motion' (Blommaert 2010: 5), i.e. people and linguistic resources 'on the move' across spaces, forming new communities and practices that are not stable but rather "mix and transform, and then perhaps die out and remerge elsewhere".

In particular we raise the question of ownership over the new space. Blommaert (2010: 6) put it that the movement of people is “never a move across empty spaces. The spaces are always someone’s space, and they are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use”.

The article examines the six students’ discourse about academic writing in the first set of interviews. The aim of the interviews was to get to know the students and their literacy histories, and to discover how they characterised good academic writing in English at this early stage. I asked them about their previous experiences with using English, with academic writing and with feedback on their writing, their perceptions of good academic writing in English, what they considered to be their strengths and weaknesses in academic writing, and how they thought academic writing in English is best learned. In analysing the interview data, we aimed to answer the following questions:

- What norms do students express for academic writing in English?
- What authorities do students draw on or orient to in explaining these norms?

Theoretically in the analysis, we drew on Blommaert’s (2010) vocabulary of ‘scales’ and ‘centres of authority’. We use the word scale to refer both to the notion of norms as being hierarchically ranked in value and to the notion of some norms as being considered more ‘global’ or transferable than others. ‘Centres of authority’ we conceptualise as being places, individuals, collectives, entities that people may refer or orient to in discussing norms and evaluating appropriateness (Blommaert 2010: 40). These authorities we also analyse as being stratified across scales - with some authorities apparently outranking others in participants’ perceptions.

I analysed the transcribed interview data using both thematic and discourse analysis. In other words, I identified themes in the students’ answers and analysed the language they used to express these themes. We approached discourse both as an individual’s way of talking about and making sense of academic writing in the particular context of the interview and as socially available ‘ways of talking’ about academic writing that the individual might draw on.

The data was coded using Atlas-ti qualitative analysis software. I first coded each norm concerning English academic writing in each interview, grouping similar norms together as they were repeated across the interviews. The software also enabled me to easily compare the language that students used to express those norms. I then coded each interview again to identify authorities that students explicitly or implicitly referred to in rationalising these norms, again creating categories across the interviews and considering their language use as well as their stratification. In the analysis, I tried also to take into account my own role as an interviewer, considering students’ reactions for example to norms or authorities that my questions might imply. For example,

in asking Tommi and Amir about their previous experience with feedback or evaluations of their writing, both challenged the notion that they should care about teachers' opinions and grades, drawing on other sources of authority that they considered more valid.

In answering the first question, what norms do students express (or construe) for academic writing in English, I was intrigued by the similarity in the students' discourse. They not only identified similar features of good academic writing, but they used similar discourse in describing these features. Firstly, they talked about real academic writing as essay and thesis writing, and they tended to refer to other, less familiar genres in vague terms (e.g. "some kind of like a diary type of thingy" - Tommi). Secondly, they emphasised the importance of academic writing as expressing and arguing one's 'own point of view' - a point of view that is personal, original and demonstrates critical thinking, whether that thinking is right or wrong. This we described as an 'individualistic discourse' on writing (see also Ivanič 2004), in which the construction of the writer's own, 'critical' perspective is prioritised for example over demonstrating knowledge or identifying objective truth. Thirdly, in characterising good essay writing, the students emphasised the importance of linear structure, which was described as including an introduction, a main body, and a conclusion: saying what you are going to say, then saying it, and then saying what you said. This structure was portrayed as being strict, constraining and difficult to achieve - a challenge in comparison to other, more natural, 'flow' like genres that the students engaged in. It was rationalised, however, as being important for clarity and intelligibility, while avoiding vagueness and/or deviations.

In answering the second question, what authorities do students draw on or orient to in explaining these norms, I found more variation than in comparison to the first question, but again there were clear common themes. Some of the features of academic writing that the students positioned as important in academic writing - adhering to a strict linear structure and arguing one's own viewpoint - the students positioned as universal, global norms that everyone should know. For example, Kimiko described her surprise at discovering during her studies in the US that some students did not know these norms.

On a local scale, however, teachers were perceived as variable and contestable authorities. In hindsight, in asking the students about their experiences receiving feedback, I myself introduced the notion of teachers as authorities. However, the students also referenced their experiences with teachers independently of this question and, as mentioned above, their reactions to my question were revealing. Firstly, teachers were perceived as sometimes transgressing global norms, particularly the norm of having a unique, original point of view. Teachers were represented as sometimes being more interested in correct academic style and displays of orthodox knowledge than in students' own, critical ideas. Secondly, in the case of Amir and Julia, teachers' authority was challenged by referring to their own authority as

professional writers. 'Being a writer' was construed as having experience and success in creative and journalistic writing, success which requires superior writing skills to academic writing, which is "primitive", "not correct", "heavy" and uninteresting in comparison.

A final centre of authority in English writing, which appeared to override both teachers' local authority and the students' own authority as professional writers, was the authority of native speakers, especially native speakers from the UK or US. Proximity to this centre (for example through experience studying in the UK or US) was construed as adding to a teacher's authority or validity. Stephanie, for example, challenged her German professors' authority by referring to their non-nativeness and comparing their opinion of her written English to that of her native English-speaking friends. Amir also referred to not having lived in an Anglophone society as being a problem in his English writing, despite his extensive experience with creative writing in English. Finally, several of the students referred to reading British or American 'original' texts as being the best way to learn good academic writing in English - although for Mei, 'original' English, also meant 'Western' or 'European'.

On the other hand, none of the students expressed any apprehension at the idea of writing a Master's thesis using English in a Finnish context. It seemed that writing through English in Finland, where everyone is using English as a second language, was not perceived as intimidating. And for three of the students, writing in English was in fact described as being easier than writing in their mother-tongues.

In the conclusion to this article, I describe my surprise at the similarities between the students' discourse on the features of good academic writing in English. I had been prepared that students would create quite different discourses on good academic writing, considering their different cultural and disciplinary backgrounds. I also mention what I now consider to be a stereotype in Contrastive Rhetoric - the notion of 'Anglo-American' academic writing as linear and critical, versus 'Asian' academic writing as indirect and respectful of authority. I point out that all of the students were 'well versed' in discourse on English academic writing as individualistic, to the extent that principles especially of good essay writing seemed almost too obvious for them to put into words. In hindsight, my surprise suggests that I started this study with more of a 'received culture' definition than I am ending it with. Considering the globalised nature of academia and considering how long this discourse on English academic writing (along with its contrast to 'Asian' writing) has been around, it is not surprising that the students were very familiar with it. Moreover, these students were highly mobile, many of them having studied abroad before, having studied through English before, and having taken courses on English academic writing before. It is therefore interesting but not particularly surprising that they talk about academic writing in similar ways. As a teacher, in fact, realising just how familiar students are with this image of good academic writing encouraged me to question the value of teaching such generic, abstract ideals. This was especially the case when I later realised how

differently students in fact enacted these ideals in their texts - an issue I will return to in summarising article four.

6.2 Article 2: Native Speaker Concepts and Language Ideologies

Article 2: McCambridge, L., & Saarinen, T. (2015). I know that the natives must suffer every now and then': Native/non-native indexing language ideologies in Finnish higher education. In S. Dimova, A. K. Hultgren & C. Jensen (Eds.) *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education* (pp. 291-316). Berlin: Mouton, 291-316.

My contribution to this article was roughly sixty percent. The article combines data that I gathered with data that my co-author gathered. We conducted the content analysis of our data sets separately and the discourse analysis together.

I wrote the second article in this project together with Taina Saarinen, who was conducting a project from 2011 to 2013 on the internationalisation of higher education entitled "internationalisation and invisible language" and had published much work on language ideologies at a policy level that is relevant to my research (see e.g. Saarinen 2012, Saarinen 2014). This article came about following my presentation of article one at the 19th Sociolinguistics Symposium in 2012. Taina had made some very similar observations regarding perceptions of native authority in her data from a wider Nordic higher education context. Our collaboration therefore provided an excellent opportunity to combine a micro-scale project focusing on a specific programme longitudinally with a macro-scale project investigating language ideologies in Finnish higher education more widely. The article does not explicitly focus on written language use, as Taina's project did not only concern perceptions of written language and neither my nor Taina's participants themselves raised a distinction concerning native authority regarding spoken versus written language. However, in summarising the article's results here, I will highlight issues that are especially relevant to writing norms and ideologies.

In this article, we analyse participants' use of the concepts *native* and *non-native*, examining the meanings they attach to those labels and the language ideologies they construe. Our research questions were:

- How is the concept of nativeness versus non-nativeness in English construed in our data?
- What kinds of language ideologies do these constructions reflect? What are the (higher education) political implications when native/non-native are touched upon?

From my project, the data included fourteen individual interviews with students and five individual interviews with teachers during the first two years of the programme (nineteen interviews in total). From Taina's project, the data

included eight individual interviews with staff and students from two Finnish universities and one group interview with four students from a Finnish university of applied sciences. However, although we narrowed down the data to these interviews due to the limited length of the article, it is important to note that both projects involved other kinds of data that contributed to the focus of this article. In my project, for example, the interviews were informed by instructions and feedback on writing, students' journal entries and collections of students' texts written for evaluation, whereas Taina's project also involved for example analysis of internationalisation policy documents (see Saarinen 2012a, 2012b), and analysis of language requirements for entry to EMI programmes in Finland (see Saarinen and Nikula 2013).

We analysed the transcribed interviews as content and as discourse, first searching through all of the interview data for explicit use of the term *native* (or *non-native*, *nativeness*, *non-nativeness*) as well as for more implicit references, such as *mother tongue*, *first language* or evaluations of language skills on the basis of nationality. These instances were then analysed in context to understand the meanings attributed to the concepts as well as the kinds of language ideologies implied. We define language ideology in this article as:

sets of beliefs about the position of a language or its speakers in a society (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), which, in turn, may turn into political hierarchisations about the (political, cultural and social) value of the language and its speakers (see Nikula et al 2012; Saarinen and Nikula 2013).

In hindsight, I would add beliefs or ideas about language and communication more generally to this definition, as this understanding is also relevant to our conclusions. Neither of our interview sets explicitly focused on nativeness. Although I did ask four of the teachers in my project how they thought studying through English in Finland might compare to studying through English in an Anglophone country, the issue of nativeness was otherwise raised by the twenty-three interviewees incidentally.

In our analysis, we identified two major themes in the use of the concepts native and non-native. Both of these themes centred on the meaning of *non-native*, as most participants identified themselves as non-native speakers and attributed characteristics to this category in relation to native speakers. The first theme we summarised as *non-nativeness as not*. Participants continually defined the word *native* through negation, as something they were not. In particular, nativeness was positioned as something strict and authoritative in relation to English use; *natives* use *correct*, *real* English and therefore have the authority to evaluate English use. A teacher in my study - Mikko - for example described his own English by claiming that *I know the natives must suffer every now and then*. He went on to explain that he focuses on content in students' texts rather than language, asking rhetorically who he is to judge students' language. This notion of natives suffering from non-native language use was also mentioned by Anita, another teacher in my study, who similarly remarked that language errors in students' texts are not as important to her as they would be to a native speaker. Comments such as these by disciplinary teachers that they teach

content rather than language are reminiscent of academic literacies scholars' description of a study skills model of academic writing, in which language is positioned as a matter of correct grammatical rules, spellings etc., somehow separable from content (cf. Lea 2008). However, rather than placing great importance on students' mastery of these *correct* rules, neither Mikko nor Anita considered such mastery to be essential for students in writing for non-native teachers.

Participants in our data mostly referred to nativeness as something distant: a strict form of English that *they* use *there*. However, for the US language teacher in my study, Megan, whose institutional role was to teach students the *conventions of research reporting and academic writing* (as stated in the course description), correctness was positioned as something that *we* have *here*. When I asked who *we* referred to, Megan very candidly examined the readers she imagined when using the pronoun. *We* in fact opened into a continuum of correctness, with Western and Northern European contexts juxtaposed with non-Western, Southern European or lingua franca contexts, in regards both to language use and discursive structure (as suggested by Megan's reference to appropriate Western *linear thought*). Eventually, however, the definition of *we* centred on *Great Britain* and the *US* as the principle norm providers. The need for students from non-Anglophone countries to be socialised into an appropriate English style of writing was justified by the argument that *we* would have to acculturate if *we* studied *there* (with myself as an interviewer and language teacher from the UK included in *we*). It is therefore intriguing that despite *here* in reality being a local Finnish context, the use of English seemed to imply a global *here* that is in fact the linguistic and cultural territory of the UK or US. This contrast between local lingua franca and global native expectations is in effect construed by the institutional practice of offering separate language courses on English academic communication that are often taught by English native speakers. Megan was hired to do a task that positions and requires her to have authority regarding academic writing *in English*. It is therefore unsurprising that this language ideology was clear in her discourse.

On the other hand, this continuum of correctness from non-Western to Western English use was also construed by participants who identified themselves as non-native speakers. Mei, for instance, recommended that in order to learn good academic English writing, students ought to read *original* Western English texts as opposed to Chinese English texts. For Mei, Finland was included as a Western country where *they* use English. Moreover, in Taina's project, a university administrator positioned the English of international students as problematic in comparison to that of Finnish staff. A stratification was therefore also implied within non-native Englishes that reflects Saarinen and Nikula's (2013) findings on a policy level, in which experience studying through English in Europe or in one of six centre Anglophone countries was generally accepted as evidence of English proficiency, whereas similar experience from outside Europe, including from postcolonial contexts, was not.

The second theme in our results we label *non-nativeness as but* and can be summarised by the statement *I'm not a native-speaker, but*. Although the participants continually differentiated themselves from native speakers and positioned native speakers as correct and authoritative, this authority was also frequently challenged and/or native-like correctness described as unimportant. A teacher in my study - Matti - for example, in discussing his experiences with English research writing, claimed an authority with the language that stemmed not from national origin but from disciplinary expertise: *when you write this kind of stuff, it is, you know, a certain kind of language, a certain terminology that I know*. He explained that he sometimes comments on the English use of the journal articles he reviews, even if he thinks that they are written by native speakers. He used the phrase *I'm not a native speaker* as a disclaimer several times in explaining this, concluding with the statement: *so I usually say that I'm not a native speaker, but I do think that he should consider these things*. A similar challenge to native authority based on genre and disciplinary knowledge was observed in Mikko's explanation of how even an Irish student had problems with the kind of writing expected on the programme. He commented: *we cannot accept journalistic text... we need to slowly turn them to the direction of academic writing*.

Another important challenge to the native ideal came through the notions of non-nativeness as being less intimidating, more accommodating and more practical. In Taina's data, a German exchange student explained that she purposefully chose to study through English in Finland because although Finns have a high standard of English, *it's still not their mother-tongue, so it's OK to make mistakes as a student*. She also commented that she chose to study in Finland because she considered a lingua franca context to have pedagogical advantages in that students' understanding of academic language is not assumed, *everything is explained, because they are teaching foreigners, not in their mother tongue but in a foreign language*. If true in practice, it would suggest that the heightened need for meaning negotiation in a lingua franca context could mean that students are provided more mediation into disciplinary codes than in contexts where language is taken for granted.

In terms of practicality, moreover, there was an emphasis on English use in this context as being a tool for communication for which native-like correctness is unnecessary. Therefore, although he stated that native speakers might *suffer* from his and the students' incorrect English, Mikko explained that he learned to use English practically while working on a campsite with people from around the world and therefore has no fear of making mistakes: *I just learned to communicate and I'm fine*. This reiterates the emphasis in ELF research that what matters most in ELF contexts is intelligibility - *realistic* as opposed to *real* English (Seidlhofer 2003). The sense of being in the same boat with other non-native speakers seemed to create a sense of solidarity and freedom: *but all of us speak English as non-native*.

On the other hand, in reference particularly to writing, there was a difference in attitudes towards texts that were written for a local reader, such as a subject area teacher, versus texts that were written (or imagined to be written)

for a global scale of reader. Master's theses for example were described as being a *window into what is done on the programme*, since they are published online. They were therefore described as needing to be *correct* and perhaps even checked by a native English speaker. Megan's language course also seemed to be imagined as geared towards stricter global expectations. Mei, for instance, explained that she found the course useful in being reminded how the language *should* be used, but she was relieved that the Finnish subject area teachers were less *strict* in that respect. This has been pointed out in studies of written language normativity before. Cameron (1996: 33-75) describes, for example, how our image of written language as highly standardised stems from the image of writing being published texts - texts that have been through editing - whereas everyday writing is in reality much more variable.

In sum, the language ideologies we identify in the article include a hierarchy of correctness and authority in English use from native to non-native, with the UK and US English at the top, but also from Western to non-Western, with *our* national use of English above *their* English. Hence, we point out that NNS-NNS English use can also be stratified in national terms. Besides national stratification, however, sources of authority in regard to English norms included disciplinary experience and expertise, as well as experience in using English as a communicative tool in which intelligibility is seen as separable from and more important than linguistic correctness - the former being practical and the latter being a matter of prestige. This seemed to be based on two concepts of language - one in which language is a tool for (and learned through) communication and one in which language is a system of correct grammatical rules. Writing on a local scale was viewed as a tool - a means to communicate ideas clearly. Writing on a global scale was viewed as needing to be linguistically correct, in order to demonstrate high educational standards.

Our results in this article are similar to those of Mortenson and Fabricius (2014), who studied language ideologies in Danish higher education on the basis of interviews. They too observed a hierarchy of Englishes that was not limited to a native/non-native dichotomy but included positive appraisals of the national Danish English as opposed to other non-native Englishes. On the other hand, their participants also emphasized a sense of solidarity and a sense that expectations for language use were relaxed due to the majority being non-native English users.

6.3 Article 3: Writing Norms in Pedagogical Design

Article 3: McCambridge, L. (2016). Academic Writing in a Lingua-Franca Context: Standardization, Accommodation or Transformation? In K. Harrington, T. Lillis & M. Lea (Ed.), *Working with Academic Literacies: Research, Theory, Design* (pp. 185-193). Fort Collins, Colorado: The WAC Clearinghouse and Parlor Press.

In article three I move from concepts of nativeness to a tension that emerged on the programme regarding the need for more transparent standard norms for written assignments versus the need for flexibility, considering the diversity of the students. This was not a tension between students and teachers, but rather an issue that arose in various ways in the discourse of both groups. It also struck me as a tension within Academic Literacies discourse in applying critique of dominant literacy ideologies to teaching practice. I therefore decided to explore this issue in my data in more depth.

I frame the article by pointing out a practical dilemma posed by Academic Literacies scholars' critique of both an implicit *institutional practice of mystery* approach to student writing and an explicit *identify and induct* approach. I ask, *if an implicit approach is too vague and an explicit approach too prescriptive, what can teachers actually do?* I point out that this tension may be heightened within a super-diverse, temporary community such as an EMI programme. With the combination of English use and local Finnish institutional practices, the *mystery* that this group of international students have to solve in understanding expectations may be particularly obscure. On other hand, such diversity again raises questions of *whose norms* are considered to apply in this ELF context. If a standard set of norms for writing is thought to be applicable and explicitly teachable, how are those norms rationalised?

I originally analysed all of my data over three years for this paper, noting for example instances in which students' diversity was referred to positively or negatively, instances in which particular models were used or explicit norms explained, and instances in which the benefits of clear, standard norms or the benefits of flexibility were referred to. I then divided these instances into points for and against the explicit teaching of norms, and in turn into teachers' and students' perspectives. One of my main challenges with this article, however, was that the length for each chapter in the edited collection it contributed to was limited to 3000 words. With the sheer amount of data, viewpoints, and issues to discuss, my first draft was well over 8000 words. On the recommendation of reviewers, therefore, I limited the article to the most common and relevant points (on both sides of the tension) and only included data that directly related to those points. This included four sets of interviews with three students - Mei, Kimiko, and Stephanie - over twenty-seven months (twelve interviews in total), and one set of interviews with five teachers over eighteen months (five interviews in total). I also included instructions that students received on writing and recorded feedback sessions between each of the three students and the language teacher, Megan.

Unfortunately narrowing down the data and synthesising eight participants' viewpoints so succinctly inevitably meant losing some nuance in the final version. This included for example more discussion of the kinds of writing norms that were perceived as needing standardisation and the kind of flexibility that was perceived as beneficial. It also included analysis of a particular standard model that was used frequently by the language teacher in evaluating writing - a rubric adapted from the CEFR (Common European

Framework of Reference). And it included for example some very positive comments from students about feedback received on the language course. The points that remained in the article, however, constitute a very condensed summary that is nevertheless representative of the analysis as a whole.

In order to save space, I did not state research questions in this article but rather explain that my aim is to overview the need for clear, explicit norms versus the need for flexibility. If I would now state my research questions explicitly, they would be:

- What points emerged for the standardisation and explicit teaching of academic writing norms on the programme?
- What points emerged against such standardisation?
- What might characterise a transformative approach to writing pedagogy in this context?

I answer the first two questions by summarising participants' perspectives. I answer the final question from my own point of view as part of the article's discussion.

Firstly, the need for clearer writing standards was implied by three of the teachers' comments about problems with intelligibility in evaluating students' texts. Antti put it succinctly that *it is difficult to evaluate those texts in which you don't understand the meaning*. Although this issue of intelligibility was raised by teachers in interview, only one clear case of a problem with intelligibility occurred in practice that involved the writing of one of my six original case studies. Matti explained that he invited Amir to discuss his paper because he could not understand its meaning. Rather than being an issue of language, he explained this as being an issue of shared content knowledge, specifically shared knowledge of Iranian religious history. In other words, it was an issue of addressivity: the assumptions that the writer makes about the reader's background knowledge. Matti explained that he nevertheless found the paper interesting and could tell that Amir knew what he was writing about, so after discussing the context of the topic with him, he ultimately gave the paper a high grade.

The clearest positioning of diversity as problematic in terms of its effect on student writing was expressed by the language teacher. Again, as pointed out in article two, Megan was employed explicitly to teach standard research communication conventions *in English*. It is therefore unsurprising that she experienced a particular sense of pressure to socialise the students into a discreet set of linguistic and discursive practices. She described this pressure humorously:

Well the needs are very varied and it's very difficult for one individual instructor to address them, especially when you consider in this group the only continents not represented were Australia, a native English-speaking country, and Antarctica, where it's only penguins

As was also described in paper two, this pressure was confounded by the treatment of language and writing skills as separate from content, with subject area teachers not seeing it as their role to teach language. Megan confirmed this in her response to the article before it was published: the institutional approach to English language pedagogy was mainly academic socialisation, with academic communication courses targeted at particular disciplinary groups and intended to be integrated. In practice, however, responsibility for writing pedagogy seemed to be left to the language course and hence her sense of pressure to teach students what she considered to be appropriate writing practices in a short period of time.

From the students' perspectives, the need for clearer, more explicit norms for writing arose particularly during their first year on the programme. They all described expectations for writing on the programme as being vague, with few instructions and little feedback. In a journal entry written in February of the first year, Mei commented:

We were taught to write in Chinese way of academic thesis however I don't know if it's fit the requirement here... To tell the truth I don't have any idea how the teacher here thinks about my writing.

This vagueness seemed particularly problematic when it came to new, unfamiliar genres, such as reflective summaries or research proposals. In interview, Mei explained, *it's quite like I said completely new for me so I'm just trying I don't like I said I don't know what they want that's what I cannot give them.* All of the students mentioned that they searched for model texts, for example online, that would help them with the linguistic and discursive expectations for their assignments. But they were also unsure whether these models were applicable to their own contexts and which features would be seen as strengths or weaknesses in evaluation.

When it came to points against standardisation or explicit teaching of a set of norms, these stemmed, in teachers' perspectives, from a discourse of *diversity as richness* as well as the need for flexibility as a strategy for coping with student diversity, particularly the diversity of students' disciplinary backgrounds and research interests. In Matti's course, flexibility in topic choice led to a very diverse set of essays, not only in terms of topic but also, in consequence, genre; for example, one student wrote a literary criticism, one a position paper on video games and violence, one a critique of cultural semiotics, and one an analysis of Iranian religious history. Matti explained that this freedom was intended to enable students to shape the assignment to their own needs, building up background knowledge that would be useful for their master's theses, for which they also had broad freedom of topic choice. Finally, when asked directly whether she thought it would be helpful if students were taught a specific set of norms for their written assignments, Anita answered that definitely not. She added that she thought it would be *very boring* if everyone wrote in the same way, mentioning in particular what she called an Anglo-

American model. She thought it would be more helpful if students were made aware of options for their writing and their rationale.

From the students' perspectives, support for the flexibility in writing expectations on the programme arose more in the second year of their studies. The students seemed to enjoy the greater freedom on the programme, with Stephanie and Mei both commenting that they had now come to enjoy writing. Both explained that they had been given very detailed and strict instructions in their past studies on what to do and what not to do in their texts, as Stephanie put it, *don't do this and don't do that and be aware*. She explained that she now enjoys writing and felt that her writing had improved as a result. Mei also described a new sense of identity as a writer in her field thanks to flexibility especially in pursuing her own topics and relating theory to her own interests. She claimed that she had begun to see the world as someone in her field.

Finally, it was clear that identifying and prescribing a "one size fits all" set of norms would be easier said than done. The reasons for a writer's use of particular linguistic and discursive features are complex. It was difficult for a teacher to guess the rationale behind a student's writing choices and attempts to prescribe generic norms could in fact lead to more misunderstandings. Megan, for example, sometimes attributed unexpected elements of students' texts to clear cultural or register differences. In one instance, Mei began a paper with a page long introduction, with long sentences and no paragraph breaks. In their feedback session, Megan commented that long sentences and paragraphs may be appropriate in China but are inappropriate *in English*. When I asked Mei later if this is true of Chinese writing, she replied emphatically *no no no no*, and pointed out that she was taught paragraph structuring in China as a child in primary school. She explained that she thought long sentences were in fact an English norm (unlike Kimiko, who thought that short sentences were an English norm) and that she had been trying to follow the structure of a model she found online. When asked why she did not explain this during the feedback session, she responded that Megan is a native speaker and *that's the authority*. I point out that as a teacher, taking on the role of ambassador for *correct* text features can in fact impair a more useful negotiation of meaning or intention.

In the article's conclusion, I return to the question of a transformative approach to writing pedagogy in this context and suggest two possible characteristics: agency and negotiation. In terms of cultivating agency, I point out that the problem is not with having norms per se. Criteria for written assignments are clearly necessary considering that they will be evaluated; the point, after all, is not to leave students to struggle and then evaluate whether their work matches opaque ideals. The problem is rather with an approach to norms that forecloses student agency, with the rationale for criteria being, as Chanock (2001: 8) put it, *because I say so*. In EFL teaching, the equivalent of this is *in English, this is how we do it*. Instead, providing the models that students seem to crave and deconstructing them as Anita suggested, in order to draw attention to different options and their rationale or ideology, would allow students to develop greater sense of control over their writing choices and the

meanings they communicate. It would help them to *populate their texts*, as Ivanič (1998) and Lillis (2001) put it, *with intention*.

The second characteristic, that of negotiation, has been suggested before for example by Canagarajah. In the article, I use Matti's meeting with Amir as an example of such negotiation. Although Matti and Amir had rather different cultural knowledge, Matti was prepared to discuss that knowledge with Amir – apparently treating the paper as a genuine interaction on the topic, as opposed to simply an object to evaluate. While this kind of one-on-one negotiation of meaning with written assignments may not be possible with larger classes and fewer resources, the aim of producing critical negotiation rather than simply induction can nevertheless be applied to classroom teaching more generally. The question “what counts as good writing in this context?” can surely be discussed with students rather than simply prescribed. Students, moreover, can be equipped as researchers of their discipline's writing practices (see also Harwood and Hadley 2004) and teachers can use their personal experience of disciplinary writing to draw students' attention to the use of particular discursive forms and tropes. This can help students acquire critical knowledge of the discipline through its discourse, rather than treating disciplinary content and language as separate.

6.4 Article 4: Argumentation and Norms of Voice Construction

Article 4: McCambridge, L. (2019). If you can defend your own point of view, you're good: Norms of voice construction in student writing on an international master's programme. *English for Specific Purposes*, 54 (2019), 110-126.

My final article combines a detailed analysis of the students' texts with an analysis of the interviews, journals, handouts and feedback. It takes as its starting point the norm construed by students in their first interviews and analysed in article one: good academic writing as arguing one's own point of view. I noticed that the students put this norm into practice in their writing in very different ways. I also noticed that the teachers, who likewise referred to the norm of arguing one's own viewpoint, pointed to certain features in the students' texts as demonstrating good or bad practice. I wanted to combine a thorough analysis of these text features with an analysis of teachers' interpretations, students' accounts of writing the texts, and other documentation. In this way I would be able to understand this writing norm holistically – considering how the norm was represented in principle, while also examining the indexicality of text features in practice and the ways in which students experienced writing the texts.

I use the concept of voice in this article as a means to open up these issues. On the one hand, voice has been defined as the way a writer *sounds* in a text, along with the notion that a writer can *sound like* a certain subject position and *sound right* according to social expectations for a given genre. In this sense,

every text can be described as including a *voice type* (or *types*) that may be perceived more or less positively by the reader (cf. Ivanic and Camps 2001). On the other hand, voice has also been defined as the writer's individual self-expression in a text, including the expression of an individual viewpoint. In this sense, a text can be described as including more or less of the writer's *own voice* (cf. Ramanathan and Kaplan 1996). Both definitions are relevant to understanding norms on the programme, as participants repeatedly emphasised that good writing ought to argue an individual viewpoint and teachers seemed to prefer a particular voice type among the variety that students construed in their texts.

In order to analyse voice construction in the students' texts, Hyland's (2005a) model of metadiscourse seemed particularly useful (see also Hyland 1998, 2010). Metadiscourse markers in Hyland's model include all features through which writers *explicitly* intrude into their texts in order to express their own attitude, comment on the truth value of a proposition, and interact with or guide the reader. These include what Hyland calls interactional markers, consisting of attitude markers, boosters, hedges, self-mentions, and reader addresses; and interactive markers, consisting of frame-markers, code-glosses, transitions and evidentials. Hyland's model can be a useful means of describing texts broadly, achieving both quantitative comparisons of the extent to which writers explicitly express their own voices and qualitative analyses of the voice types they construe. Moreover, Hyland's model covers many of the text features in students' texts that teachers mentioned while describing good or bad writing. Whereas previous metadiscourse research has mainly been corpus-based or has involved directly requesting participants' perceptions of metadiscourse markers, my data offers an opportunity to combine metadiscourse analysis with interpretations that participants gave spontaneously while evaluating texts or while describing their intentions for writing those texts.

I focus in this article on written voice construction by four of my student case studies: Kimiko, Mei, Tommi and Stephanie. For my text analysis I chose three papers that each of the four students wrote during their first year on the programme (twelve texts in total). These were written for three separate courses concerning theories of culture, culture in visual images and aesthetics. The texts were comparable and quite typical for evaluated writing on the programme: each was written as a single draft at the end of the course and involved brief, general instructions that students write an "essay" about a theme of their choice from the course contents or relating a course theme to a topic or case of their interest. I drew only from the students' first year for this text analysis because it was a period when the students could be described as locally 'on the programme', rather than on study exchange or working on their master's theses from different locations. The exception is Stephanie's paper B, which she wrote as an exchange student on the programme, one year before joining the programme officially as a degree student.

The rest of the data included in the article was gathered over the first fifteen months of the programme and includes three sets of interviews with each of the four students (twelve student interviews in total); writing journal entries (completed for eight of the texts); e-mail discussion with Kimiko and Tommi at the end of the spring term; interviews with each teacher regarding their evaluation of the students' work (three teacher interviews in total); written instructions students received on papers A and C; and written feedback that the students received from Matti on paper A via e-mail.

My text analysis began by identifying and categorizing metadiscourse markers in each of the students' texts, using Hyland's 2005a model. Although I first analysed all of the categories in Hyland's model, I included only six categories of marker in this article, both due to limited space and due to their particular relevance in relation to participants' norms. These markers are:

TABLE 2

Evidentials	Refer to a source of information from another text. Examples: <i>according to X (1990), (Z 2000)</i>
Hedges	Withhold the writer's full commitment to the proposition Examples: <i>might, perhaps, possible, slightly</i>
Boosters	Emphasize force or the writer's certainty in the proposition Examples: <i>in fact, clearly, always</i>
Attitude markers	Explicitly express the writer's attitude to the proposition Examples: <i>Unfortunately, surprisingly, interestingly, I agree that</i>
Engagement markers	Explicitly refer to or build the relationship with the reader Examples: <i>Consider, note that, you can see that</i>
Self-mentions	Explicit reference to the author(s) Examples: <i>I/we/my/our</i>

I identified these markers *ground up* in each text on the basis of function. Whereas previous studies using Hyland's model have tended to search for predetermined forms in large corpuses of texts, it was important for my study's aims to be able to identify unexpected forms for expressing the above functions. This 'ground up' process was straightforward for self-mentions, reader engagement markers and evidentials, but more complicated for attitude-markers, boosters and hedging (i.e. affective and epistemic evaluations). In identifying these markers, previous metadiscourse studies have often attempted to draw a distinction between propositional and non-propositional discourse, as well as between writers' 'text-world' and 'real-world' evaluations. In practice, I found these distinctions to be fuzzy. Especially since many of the texts concerned issues of aesthetics, students' text-world and real-world evaluations - as well as their text-world and real-world selves - continually

overlapped, making it very difficult to apply such distinctions consistently and in a way that would be relevant to participants' writing norms.

As my aim with the quantitative analysis was to compare the extent to which students asserted their 'own voices', I found it most useful to instead concentrate on identifying evaluations that students explicitly owned in the text, as opposed to evaluations that they attributed for example to other agents, while ostensibly maintaining neutrality. As explicitness is a matter of degree, I found many borderline cases in my first analysis, which I gathered into a separate document. I then developed a detailed set of principles for what to count and repeated my analysis using these principles in order to ensure consistency. I would hence describe this as an adapted version of Hyland's model, as opposed to its straight application. My set of principles, with examples, are included as an appendix to this dissertation (see appendix one).

Having achieved quantities for the above markers, I then looked qualitatively at the voice types that students construed in their texts, considering for example what students evaluated, the types of evaluations they made (e.g. how critical or positive, how tentative or emphatic, and the register of vocabulary choices), and how they positioned themselves and the reader. I next read through all of the interview data, teaching materials, journal entries, and feedback, coding extracts that were relevant to the issue of voice, argumentation, and metadiscourse use, using Atlas-ti software. This enabled me to observe themes, patterns and ambiguities in participants' discourse, to identify (dis)connections between specific text practices and general writing principles, and to compare students' and teachers' perceptions. My research questions for this article were as follows:

1. To what extent did students explicitly assert their 'own voices' using metadiscourse?
2. What voice types did students construe in their texts and how did they perceive their texts and teachers' expectations?
3. What voice type(s) did teachers prefer and how did they interpret students' practices?

In the article, I first summarized the results of the quantitative analysis, comparing the extent of students' use of various metadiscourse markers. I then analysed each student case-study separately, describing the voice types the student construed in each text, the story behind the text's production, and the teachers' evaluation, weaving in different kinds of data. In this summary, however, I will answer each question above more directly.

To answer the first question, students used metadiscourse to explicitly express their own voices to very different extents. Of the four students, Tommi used the most interactional metadiscourse, together with the fewest evidentials, and received the lowest grades. Stephanie used the least interactional metadiscourse, together with the most evidentials, and received the highest grades. However, especially Tommi, Kimiko and Mei's practices varied dramatically also from text to text. For example, Tommi's paper B included

twice as many metadiscourse markers as paper C, Kimiko's paper C included more than twice as many as paper A, and Mei's paper B included nearly twice as many as paper A. Looking at the quantities of specific markers, Tommi's paper B included nearly three times as many hedges as paper A; Kimiko's paper C included more than twice as many hedges as paper A; and Mei's paper B included fifteen times as many self-mentions as paper A. This suggested already the context dependent nature of their practices. Stephanie's use of metadiscourse, on the other hand, showed much less variation, and indeed the voice type she construed was very consistent across her three papers.

To answer the second question, students construed a range of voice types in their texts that varied around three main elements: their involvement of their autobiographical selves, the subject of their evaluations, and the types of evaluations they made (e.g. how critical or positive, how tentative or emphatic, and the register of vocabulary choices). For example, I summarise Kimiko's voice in paper C as that of a cautious learner. Her evaluations are of theories of aesthetic interpretation, and she combines frequent attitude markers with frequent self-mentions and hedging. She also refers often to the classroom community, positioning herself and her reader as members of that community, conveying the sense that she is carefully displaying her learning for the teacher. Tommi's voice in paper A, on the other hand, I summarize as polemic. His very frequent evaluations are strongly critical, emphatic and informal in register, and he mainly evaluates people's thinking as opposed to theories of cultural interpretation. And Mei's voice in paper A, I describe as that of a literary enthusiast. Her paper analyses the message of a novel, and her evaluations involve enthusiastic appraisals of the author's skill and incredulity at the characters' behavior. This variation in voice types seemed to be influenced both by the students' perceptions of the teacher's expectations and by their disciplinary backgrounds. Both Kimiko and Mei, for example, stressed that they struggled with knowing how to analyze their chosen topics from a cultural studies viewpoint, particularly how to use the discipline's 'ways of talking'.

Finally, in answer to the third question, teachers seemed generally to prefer the voice of a detached cultural analyst, with few explicit markers of the writer's own stance, few references to the writer's autobiographical self and more references to the voices of the discipline. Particularly Stephanie's writing seemed to meet teachers' expectations for this detached voice, as her evaluations were of theories of cultural interpretation, her vocabulary choices were familiarly academic in register and she often cloaked her own voice for example through the use of other scholars' voices and use of the passive. In making aesthetic evaluations, moreover, she mainly referred to places and objects as producing, presenting and construing beauty, rather than directly calling a place or object beautiful herself. Teachers praised Stephanie's writing as being sophisticated, exemplary and essayist. On the other hand, teachers' evaluations of the other students' practices were not unambiguous, as they also considered their impressions of the individual student and his/her learning, and they drew on images of cultural norms in interpreting students' practices.

Kimiko's frequent use of interactional metadiscourse in paper B, for example, was praised as an example of a *shy Japanese woman* learning to be more assertive. Images of Western culture as valuing assertive argumentation versus Asian culture as valuing memorization of authorities were hence evoked, although in fact Kimiko and Mei in my study tried hard to express their own opinions, as they believed they were expected to, while Stephanie's author-removed texts received most praise.

In concluding this article I make three pedagogical suggestions. The first is that teachers raise awareness of the voice types that writers in their discipline tend to construe and their rationale; the second is that rather than simply being told to 'argue' their 'own point of view' as a generic principle, teachers raise awareness of their discipline's textual practices for doing so, including not only how evaluations are expressed, but also what scholars in their field evaluate and why; and the third is that students can benefit from an integration of academic literacies (both reading and writing) as a means of constructing knowledge within the local classroom community. In other words, rather than expecting students to mimic preferred text practices in their essays as products to be evaluated at the end of a course, students' reading and writing tasks can be used in a way that allows for more genuine meaning negotiation between classroom participants. This could include, for example, some explicit and critical decoding of *the words they use* - the field's *ways of talking* - with subject area teachers acting as language teachers, rather than treating language as the domain of separate writing courses.

7 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In discussing my conclusions, I will begin by directly addressing my study's original guiding question: *what counts as good English writing on the programme?* while also referring back to some of the main theoretical observations in chapters one to four regarding academic writing norms, language ideologies, and the use of English as a lingua franca in international higher education.

I point out in chapter one that writing norms involve not only text features that are preferred in practice, but also principles or images of good writers and good writing that may in fact contradict what people actually do or reward. Overall, students construed very similar images of good English academic writing, using remarkably similar normative discourse. This included in particular the notion of English academic writing as having a strict, *difficult* linear structure - in essay writing, meaning *an introduction, main body and conclusion*, in which you *say what you are going to say, then say it, and then say what you said*. And it included the notion of English academic writing as individualistic, arguing *one's own point of view*. Students emphasised that a good essay, for example, should demonstrate critical thinking and should argue their personal opinions, rather than repeating the opinions of others, and several of the students described previous negative experiences with writing for evaluation as being the problem of the teacher not accepting different viewpoints or being focused on correct writing style rather than the student's unique ideas, hence transgressing this principle of individuality. This principle emerged both in the students' first interviews and in their writing journals, with Kimiko, for example, viewing the inclusion of her own opinion in her texts as her strength, although she also expressed uncertainty as to whether she was expressing those opinions appropriately.

Teachers also drew somewhat on the image of English academic writing as linear, though with different stances in relation to that image. The language teacher, Megan, for example, referred to *linear thought* as being the appropriate, Anglo-American way to write in English, also in this Finnish context, whereas a subject area teacher, Anita, referred to a linear Anglo-American way of writing as being *very boring* were it to be universally prescribed. All of the teachers

emphasized the importance of academic writing as arguing the writer's own thinking – a principle that was repeated both in interviews and in written instructions for essay writing. However, teachers also perceived a tension between the notion of expressing one's own opinions and arguing apparently objective conclusions. Matti saw this as a fundamental tension in students' writing, while Mikko and Anita construed students' explicit assertion of their own opinions as a step on the way to arguing their *own not opinions* in an apparently more objective manner.

Generic principles and images of good writing are thus not easily translatable into textual practice and in fact may even run contrary to what is valued in practice. Students put the 'own point of view' principle into practice in their texts in very different ways and tended to vary their practices from one text to another, reflecting, for example, their perceptions of teachers' expectations. My analysis of students' metadiscourse use and the voice types they construed in their texts found that the kinds of attitudes students expressed, the language they used to express those attitudes, and even the kinds of subjects they expressed attitudes towards were very varied. And although Western academic culture was characterised as individualistic, assertive, and critical, in practice teachers in fact preferred and rewarded more detached 'author-removed' writing with relatively little *explicit* assertion of the writer's viewpoint. Stephanie's writing in particular seemed to fulfil teachers' expectations for an appropriate disciplinary voice. Rather than using explicit attitude markers, she typically expressed her attitudes through passive constructions and vocabulary that referred to apparently neutral abilities and processes. This was in contrast to students who expressed their *own point of view* explicitly, whether cautiously or forcefully, and were perceived as subjective.

In chapter two I point out, moreover, that writing involves a complex interaction between real writers, real readers and real communities, and imagined writers, imagined readers and imagined communities. This was clearly the case on the programme in the sense that students were on the one hand writing to display their learning on a particular course and satisfy the expectations of a particular teacher, and on the other hand expected to imagine themselves as experts participating in a disciplinary discussion, writing for a global scale of reader. This led to some ambiguities in teachers' interpretations, as they seemed to evaluate both the student's ability to 'invent the university' – i.e. recreate an imagined disciplinary dialogue – and their learning as an individual student. Attempts to negotiate meaning directly with the teacher in a text, such as Kimiko's cautious interpretation of sources and positioning of herself as a learner on a course, broke those norms, but were nevertheless acknowledged to be pedagogically beneficial. Moreover, the particular global reader that a student was expected to imagine was ambiguous in this multicultural, multidisciplinary context. For example, in one text Amir addressed an imagined global reader who was familiar with Iran's religious context, but found that in fact his real reader – a Finnish professor – was not. This led to the need for meaning negotiation outside the text in which the

student's expertise in this area was eventually valued and the text was awarded a high grade.

Although certain linguistic features in students' texts did seem to index 'good writing' and 'good disciplinary practice' on the programme, participants' perceptions of 'good English' and 'good language' seemed to be tied mainly to ideals of intelligibility versus correctness, with language construed either as a practical tool for communication or as a more abstract system of correct grammatical forms. In my analysis of the native speaker concept for article two, I found that participants in this ELF context tended to emphasise the importance of intelligibility over correctness. They did this by differentiating themselves from native speakers, with subject area teachers for example pointing out that although native speakers might suffer in reading students' language errors, it is more important in this context that students' writing is intelligible. Students also seemed to perceive English native speakers as possessing strict, correct English, but were relieved that they were writing for non-native, local teachers, with apparently more relaxed expectations. English native speakers hence seemed to be construed as language authorities for participants, but they were positioned as distant authorities and participants also drew on other sources of authority – such as disciplinary expertise and genre knowledge, and the notion of 'being a writer', with experience in creative or professional writing. The phrase, *I am not a native speaker, but I do think...*, was typical of these constructions.

In terms of Blommaert's (2010) local and global scale levels, however, there was an interesting difference in regard to what counted as 'we', 'here', 'on the programme', and in turn what counted as good English. Whereas texts written on courses for subject area teachers were positioned as local and as oriented to more accommodating local expectations, the master's thesis, as a published text, was construed as being aimed at a global scale of reader, as a window into the quality of the programme, and therefore as needing to satisfy higher, implicitly native-like, standards of linguistic correctness. In other words, the two language ideologies that are often dichotomised in ELF research – the idea of language use as aiming at intelligibility and the idea of language use as aiming at native-like correctness and prestige – seemed to correspond in this context to a local versus global scale orientation, respectively. This also echoes Blommaert's (2010) point that the indexical meanings of language resources move and change not only across horizontal spaces, but also across vertical spaces. In this context, orientation towards a global scale of reader was perceived as requiring more prestigious resources.

A local versus global scale difference was also suggested by differences between expectations on subject courses and expectations on the programme's language course. For the language teacher, *we, here, on the programme* was imagined as an international location, with the UK and the US at its norm-providing centre, and with Anglophone countries, Northern Europe and the West at the top of a hierarchy of linguistic and discursive appropriateness. The students seemed happy to be taught these *strict, correct* norms for their writing,

but also relieved to leave those norms behind on other courses. On the other hand, also for subject area teachers and students, this lingua franca context was stratified. *Here*, with appropriate academic practices and discourse, was Western as opposed to Asian and, in the wider data used for article two, international students' English use was positioned as more problematic than that of home students and staff. These hierarchies are similar to those observed by Saarinen and Nikula (2013) in language criteria for admissions to EMI programmes in Finland and very similar to students' language ideologies described by Mortensen and Fabricius (2014) on an international programme in Denmark. And in my analyses for both articles three and four, it was clear that cultural narratives of 'us' and 'other' were salient in teachers' interpretation of texts - narratives which unfortunately tended to obscure students' actual dilemmas in understanding expectations for their writing and finding agency in their writing choices.

As I also point out in article three, there tended to be few codified norms for written assignments and much flexibility for students in choosing the topics and in consequence the genres of their written assignments. They also did not often receive feedback on their writing, unless specifically requested, and subject area teachers rarely corrected students' language use. This flexibility seemed in part a response to the diversity of students' backgrounds, and indeed students mostly appreciated the agency that this flexibility allowed them in pursuing their own interests, especially after the first year. However, although this flexibility in topic choice and relaxed approach to linguistic 'correctness' led students to believe that there were no common norms on the programme, their texts were in fact evaluated according to language norms that tended to remain subtle and implicit. While indexical markers of nativeness were not particularly salient to teachers on the programme, indexical markers of subjectivity were. In other words, whereas 'sounding like' a non-native speaker in one's text due to non-standard prepositions, article use and adverb placement was not perceived as a problem, 'sounding' subjective, polemic, cautious, timid, and so on, was. Although language tended to be perceived as something separate to content, linguistic code is nevertheless important in distinguishing between Tommi's phrase *here are eight basic myths about video games that just won't do* and the hypothetical phrase *Smith (2010) identifies eight common assumptions about video games that can be deconstructed*. As observed in previous academic literacies research (see Lillis 1999; 2001), when academic writing practices are perceived as common-sense matters of good thinking, analysis, and argument, these codes tend to remain obscure to students.

In regard to 'whose norms' these are - or in Blommaert's terms, their 'centres of authority' - I am not sure that this is answerable in any straightforward way. I would argue that these more subtle, implicit language codes have developed through a network of discourse in which an *assumption* can acceptably be said to be *deconstructed* or *profoundly mistaken* (especially while citing a field scholar) but cannot directly be called a *myth that just won't do*. This network involves institutions and authorities that regulate

communicative practices - in this context particularly teachers - but characterising these codes and their indexicality simply in terms of a native versus non-native English speaker dichotomy does not seem to be helpful.

In identifying 'whose norms' these are, it may be enlightening to instead ask 'whose purposes?'. To some extent these norms are shaped by the purposes of its disciplinary scholars and can be attributed, as academic literacies scholars have argued, to disciplinary epistemology. There are certainly social constructionist and poststructuralist connotations in Stephanie's presentation of common assumptions as being deconstructible, as well as in her portrayal of places and objects as creating cultural associations with beauty, as opposed to essentially being beautiful. However, as Askehave and Swales (2001: 197) argued, the purposes of written genres - and presumably also their discursive norms - are "evasive, multiple, layered, and complex". The disciplinary rationale for academic writing expectations is not always obvious. In addition to drawing on social constructionist discourse, Stephanie seemed simply to be using language in a way that has become conventionalised and valorised in this community as *sophisticated* and *essayist*. That is, her writing 'sounds right'; it conveys a valued textual voice or, in Ivanič's (1998: 23-29) terms, a valued 'discoursal self'. Moreover, it is language that functions pragmatically to preempt criticism or objection. As it appears only to neutrally comment on ability (it can be deconstructed), rather than directly stating an attitude (it just won't do), the writer is not perceived to be biased and/or possibly wrong.

A final observation in overviewing the four articles is that they all include contrasting and sometimes contradictory discourses on writing norms: for example, nativeness as correctness versus nativeness as unimportant, diversity as a problem versus diversity as richness, the need for transparent standards versus the need for flexibility, good academic writing as arguing an assertive 'point of view' versus good academic writing as objective and neutral, and so on. Although I expected that norms and ideologies of English writing would differ according to different roles on the programme, and to some extent they did, it was also interesting to notice that these contrasting discourses tended to be construed by both teachers and students, and sometimes in fact by the same individual in the same interview. This is in line with Hultgren's (2014: 8-9) point that discourses on internationalisation and Englishisation in Nordic Higher education are fraught with contradictions and incongruities. It is clear that the issues involved in the internationalisation of higher education, student diversity and the use of English as a lingua franca in writing are complex and cannot be reduced to simple motifs (diversity = good, prescription = bad). On the other hand, discourse on any issue is likely to be fraught with contradictions and incongruities. As I point out in chapter one, as opposed to being a discreet, coherent set of doctrine, which all the members of an apparently homogeneous group ascribe to in full, ideology is more aptly characterised as "the cacophony of sounds and signs of a big city street" (Therbon 1980). A particular ideological discourse may be very powerful in a given context and time, but as individuals

engage in a variety of social activities and networks in their daily lives, it is unlikely to be the only discourse they encounter, draw on and contribute to.

7.1 Implications

My dissertation contributes: an investigation of an ELF context to academic literacies studies; an investigation of student writing to ELF studies; and a situated investigation of an EMI programme to the pedagogical discussions of EAP. As explained in chapter three, academic literacies and ELF scholars both challenge deficit models in language pedagogy: in the case of academic literacies, the notion that increasing diversity in student populations is a problem for student writing rather than a resource, and in the case of ELF, the notion that users of English around the world are dependent on native-speaker norms, rather than shaping its norms through their own language use. Studies taking an academic literacies approach have investigated student writing as a social practice, considering for example how institutional literacy practices shape knowledge construction, how non-traditional students in the UK experience and contest dominant academic discourses, and the gaps between students' and teachers' understanding of writing tasks (cf. Lea 1998; 2004). This study expands that approach to an increasingly common context of student writing worldwide that has been produced by the internationalisation and Englishisation of higher education – that of English medium programmes. ELF studies, on the other hand, have often used corpora to describe the features of spoken English use in lingua franca contexts. This study expands ELF studies by focusing on student writing, investigating writing in an ELF context as a social practice as opposed to attempting to codify it as a variety.

The results of my study echo some common findings of UK academic literacies research, including for example ways in which language is primarily treated as a matter of remedial study skills rather than integrated into course design and subject learning; the 'mystery' that students encounter in trying to decipher implicit disciplinary codes, especially when moving between disciplines; and the gap between students' and teachers' understanding of writing expectations. However, the specific dynamics of this context also contribute some new observations to academic literacies. First of all, its international orientation and the variety of its students' national backgrounds made discourses of cultural difference particularly salient – images of cultural norms for example played a role both in the ways that students perceived English writing ideals and in the ways that teachers sometimes interpreted students' writing practices. These imagined norms were clearly hierarchical, with good academic writing being Western – or more specifically British and American – rather than Asian. Secondly, the use of English as a lingua franca between students and teachers with different first languages, led to some competing 'centres of authority' and language ideologies in this context – for example between native speaker authority and disciplinary expertise, and

between an approach to language as a system of rules and an approach to language as a practical communicative tool. Thirdly, I would speculate that the obvious diversity of the student body and the programme's use of English as a lingua franca made the need for meaning negotiation and flexibility in writing expectations more apparent than in contexts where non-traditional students are a minority and the institution has a long tradition of using English as an official language.

Finally, my study contributes an ethnographically-oriented investigation of an EMI programme to the pedagogical discussions of EAP (English for Academic Purposes). EAP studies have tended to focus on international students' acquisition of English in Anglophone mainstream institutions, and student writing from contexts in which English is not an official language has tended to be treated as learner language and discourse to be compared with a native speaker gold standard. My primary aim when I became curious about students' experiences on EMI programmes was to understand this context better and become a better teacher, and indeed when I contacted the participants in my study, I told them that my aim was not to evaluate the programme, but rather to analyse writing practices on the programme from students' and teachers' perspectives in a way that would be pedagogically useful. I will therefore elaborate here on the pedagogical implications of my study.

As I point out in article three, there was something of a tension on the programme between the need for more transparent standards for teaching and evaluating writing, and the need for flexibility, considering the diversity of the students. Instructions for writing tended to be brief and general, and written assignments were usually set at the end of courses, with little interactive follow-up beyond the grade. A frequent theme from students' perspectives was that they did not know what was expected from their writing. As has been found in previous ethnographic research (e.g. Cox 2010; Preece 2009), this combination of uncertainty with an awareness of being evaluated produced anxiety for students, especially during their first year. The freedom, however, was also perceived to have positive effects; during their second year, especially Stephanie and Mei explained that they now enjoyed academic writing and felt that they had more agency in their writing on the programme than in their previous studies. From teachers' perspectives, flexibility was a response to the programme's multidisciplinary nature and in particular the variety of students' research interests and thesis topics. Moreover, there was also a sense that prescribed norms for writing – especially an imagined set of Anglo-American norms – could in fact be misleading. As article four demonstrates, there can be a divide between such abstract principles and the much more complicated, sometimes obscure and changing realities of what is valued in written language practice. Imagined principles can even run counter to what is rewarded in practice and therefore work against students who try to apply and adhere to them.

In my conclusion to article three, I suggest that a transformative approach to writing pedagogy in this context might be characterised both by agency and negotiation. Rather than 'laissez-faire', promoting agency would entail raising critical awareness of different kinds of 'scholarly' writing practices and their implications or rationale. This would include decoding disciplinary discourses - with subject area teachers drawing attention to the discipline's *ways of talking*, including for example the way language is used to describe, analyse and evaluate phenomena. It could also promote students' critical reading of the ways in which scholars represent their claims, along with the people, events, relationships and processes that their claims involve.

The second feature, that of negotiation, has been emphasised in previous ELF research as important in spoken interaction between diverse speakers. In such spoken interaction in ELF contexts, speakers use various kinds of pragmatic strategies to monitor understanding, repair misunderstanding, support each other's language use, code-mix their language resources, co-construct explanations, and, over time, co-construct shared norms. ELF scholars have not often focused on writing, as it tends to involve fewer possibilities for such negotiation. I do not however see why that should necessarily be the case, especially on a local level. In my conclusion to article four, I suggest that academic literacies be integrated into the classroom community in a way that would allow for a negotiation of meaning through written interaction, rather than only for the evaluation of texts as products. In my analysis of Kimiko's essay for Anita's course, it struck me that Kimiko was attempting to negotiate meaning in her careful presentation, interpretation and tentative critique of sources. Rather than positioning such texts at the end of courses to be evaluated, I would suggest that their integration into the construction of knowledge during the course would be more useful. In other words, peer-to-peer (as well as student-to-teacher) written interaction could be made part of students' learning process, not only in the sense of 'peer reviewing' (i.e. with feedback aiming to improve the text), but in the sense of joint knowledge construction. Such integration of academic literacies would also allow for content teachers to act as language teachers, mediating and critiquing the discipline's discourse, rather than viewing language as the domain of remedial courses.

7.2 Methodological Reflections and Limitations

In this section, I review my project's methods in light of the results, reflecting on what worked well in discovering the writing norms and ideologies of this programme, and what, in hindsight, I would have done differently. Finally, I suggest some directions for future research.

To begin with, a fundamental aspect of my study that proved to be fruitful was that my research plan was very open in the beginning, with only the broad aim of discovering what was important to the participants themselves in

academic writing. I also mostly kept my interview questions general; for example, in discussing texts with participants, I asked them to describe the texts' strengths and weaknesses, and to pinpoint their impressions, if they could. Otherwise, my text-focused interview questions were based on other contextual data - for example, impressions that students described in their journals or reactions to feedback comments. This allowed themes to emerge that were unexpected and that were not part of my original interest, such as the assertion of the writer's individual viewpoint. Moreover, sustained engagement with the students over time, meeting them and their teachers at intervals over the course of their studies, allowed me to discover how these themes developed. For example, I could observe how their perceptions of good academic writing when they arrived on the programme were later put into practice in their papers, how their practices were interpreted by teachers, and whether, how, and why their writing practices changed across courses. Allowing the focuses of my articles to emerge in this way also enabled collaboration to develop naturally with other researchers who were noticing similar issues - such as Taina Saarinen, who identified similar language ideologies in her research on a policy level, and the group of AcLits researchers who aimed to discuss similar issues in applying a transformative approach to writing pedagogy.

Treating my interview data as discursive representations, moreover, also proved to be revealing. It enabled me to analyse an explicit level of normativity: the level of abstract principles and ways of talking about writing, without treating participants' comments as straightforward reports of reality. Although asking people directly about their values is indeed a poor way of discovering what they actually do in practice, it nevertheless enabled me to observe patterns in their discourse on English writing, such as similarly expressed images of us and other, of writing, of English and of language in general - images that surely come from somewhere and that relate to the ways in which written English is treated. For example, the image of 'good language' as a system of correct (native) forms relates to the way in which language was seen as the domain of the (native) language teacher and the way in which language features that were in fact salient to subject area teachers were not made explicit, but rather treated as issues of content. Moreover, the image of English academic writing as critical and individually argumentative related to students' strategies for overtly expressing criticism in their texts, to a central tension that teachers described in students' writing, and to a cultural image that seemed to influence for example how some of Kimiko's texts were interpreted.

A final approach that was fruitful in my study was allowing the focus of my text analyses to stem from participants' perspectives. Starting from norms construed in emic perspectives, moving to an analysis of text features relevant to these norms, and then revisiting the emic perspectives, I found to be an effective way of closing the gap between text and context. It enabled me to identify text features that were salient to participants and tied to other kinds of data, rather than for example starting with my own text focus and attempting to

find explanations or interpretations from the context. Choosing my text focus instead on the basis of freely given evaluations made it possible to use text analysis in a way that addressed emic experiences and perspectives, rather than vice-versa. It also allowed me to achieve a triangulation of data - combining quantitative and qualitative text analysis, with as much contextualisation as possible.

The last point brings me, on the other hand, to one of the main gaps in my research: a relative lack of participatory observation. Although I did manage to record a number of feedback sessions and I was able to observe practices on a broad level, for example, the kinds of courses students took, the kinds of assignments they were asked to write, the kinds of instructions and feedback they received, and the ways in which writing and language were generally treated, I was not able to gather field notes from classroom observations. Such observations may have corroborated the impressions and experiences that participants reported. I was forced instead to simply report on their reports. Observing how writing was talked about in the classroom, moreover, would have given me more naturally occurring discursive representations than observing how writing is talked about in interviews, in which the interviewer's own assumptions always play a role.

Another advantage to being present in classrooms may have been more of the students' involvement as co-researchers. As my case-study profiles reveal, these were fascinating people, with very rich and varied backgrounds, who found themselves together on this programme in Finland. Although I had some very good discussions with the students when I did meet them, I nevertheless often felt myself an outsider looking in, only able to scratch the surface of their experiences. Especially as they came and went from Finland during their second and third years, I found myself frequently contacting them with requests for updates. Moreover, as I explained in chapter five, students' journal entries were usually quite short and they sometimes forgot to inform me for example about feedback received or meetings with supervisors. I feel certain that if I had been present with the students in classes during their first year, I would have gained more insight into their experiences. I know that there was much more to observe than I was able to observe.

As I also explained in chapter five, however, one of the main reasons why my study lacked this participatory observation was that I began a full-time job as a university teacher at the same time as I began gathering my data. This new role also had positive effects on my research. With my own students, I had first-hand experience of some of the issues that occurred on the programme. For example, as perhaps my question in article three, "what can teachers actually do?", conveys, I sometimes found myself frustrated in practice with what seemed to be conflicting ideals: making unspoken expectations explicit and providing transparent criteria for evaluation, while at the same time avoiding prescriptiveness and deficit models of student writing; carrying out my institutional role as an evaluator, while at the same time encouraging students' agency in their writing choices. A student on a writing pedagogy course I

taught put it very well that the problem is the tension between being a coach and being a judge. A coach works alongside athletes, for example, to help them improve their performance, whereas a judge rates their performance. Teaching, on the other hand, often involves both roles. I therefore well understood the language teacher's feeling of responsibility in her role as both language coach and evaluator to improve students' performances in relation to a perceived standard. She tackled this dual role with a mixture of codified rubrics and detailed feedback. I also understood the students' craving for models and clear instructions, alongside their frustration and anxiety at being told "don't do this and don't do that and be aware". As a teacher myself, I was pleased to have the possibility to experiment with different approaches to the issues of transparency, negotiation and evaluation, with lesser and greater success.

A final element that I would have liked to include more in my study is a focus on process through tracking changes in students' texts. Tracking changes can allow the researcher to see how a text develops in response to feedback, for example, and can therefore be very useful in understanding norms and how writers interpret norms in their language use. Although this kind of trajectory was not possible to observe in the texts I analysed for this thesis, it would be a fruitful focus in future research.

The limitations of my study are related to its narrow scope. This is after all a small case study of writing on an EMI programme in a Humanities discipline, in Finland. While I assume that many of the issues raised in this context are relevant to other, similar contexts, it is obviously not possible to characterise the writing norms of EMI programmes generally on the basis of my study, nor to assume that any influence I noticed on an individual student's writing would be replicated across students. My aim was not in fact to characterise a type or variety of English writing, but rather to use this programme as a case-study of the kinds norms and language ideologies that can be involved. Instead, I hope that some of the issues raised here could be taken up by future research, particularly pedagogically oriented studies exploring for example ways in which the diversity of students' backgrounds can be used as a resource in the classroom; ways of integrating writing into students' classroom interactions and meaning negotiations, and ways of helping students to critically decode disciplinary language and writing norms. In general, however, writing in English as a lingua franca contexts remains a research gap and particularly more studies of writing as a social practice in ELF contexts are needed. It is now an extremely common context of written English use worldwide and a fruitful ground for exploring language normativity.

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YHTEENVETO

Akateemisen kirjoittamisen normit ja ideologiat kansainvälisessä maisteriohjelmassa

Tässä etnografisessa tutkimuksessa seurattiin kuutta (myöhemmässä vaiheessa neljää) opiskelijaa ja heidän kokemuksiaan Suomessa järjestetyn kansainvälisen maisteriohjelman aikana. Tavoitteena oli selvittää, millaisia englanninkielisen akateemisen kirjoittamisen normeja ohjelman osallistujat konstruoivat. Tällaiset kansainväliset koulutusohjelmat, joissa englantia käytetään opetuksessa lingua francana, ovat yleistyneet kaikkialla maailmassa. Niissä syntyy tilapäisiä yhteisöjä, jotka ovat kulttuurisesti ja kielellisesti monimuotoisia, mutta virallisesti ainoastaan englanninkielisiä. Kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden englanninkielisiä kirjoituksia on aiemmin tutkittu pääasiassa yhteyksissä, joissa nämä opiskelijat muodostavat vähemmistön englanninkielisissä yliopistoissa. Tämän tutkimuksen konteksti eroaa aiemmista, koska kansainväliset opiskelijat ovat enemmistönä ohjelmassaan ja sekä opiskelijat että opettajat käyttävät englantia lingua francana oppilaitoksen virallisen kielen sijasta. Tämä on yleinen englannin kirjallisen viestinnän konteksti, joka jo itsessään on tutkimisen arvoinen.

Väitöskirjallani on annettavaa sekä kirjoittamisen tutkimukselle akateemisten tekstitaitojen (Academic Literacies, AcLits) näkökulmasta että englantia lingua francana (English as a Lingua Franca, ELF) -tutkimukselle. AcLits-tutkimus syntyi Britanniassa haastaen tekstikeskeiset tekstitaitoteoriat, joissa kirjoittamista pidetään erillisenä kognitiivisena taitona. AcLits-lähestymistapaan kuuluu kirjoittamisen etnografinen tarkastelu tilanteisena sosiaalisena käytäntönä. Tällöin kiinnitetään huomiota esimerkiksi siihen, kuinka tekstejä käytetään tietyssä kontekstissa, kuinka ja miksi erilaisia diskursiivisia käytäntöjä kehittyä ja kuinka epätyypilliset opiskelijat kokevat kirjoittamisen konteksteissa, joissa korkeakoulutuksen saavutettavuutta on lisätty. AcLits on kriittinen viitekehys pyrkiessään läpivalaisemaan vallitsevia institutionaalisia käytäntöjä eikä vain tunnistamaan ja määrittelemään tekstin "oikeita" ominaisuuksia. ELF taas pyrkii kyseenalaistamaan lähestymistavan, jossa ei-syntyperäisten englanninpuhujien kielenkäyttöä tutkitaan vain sen erojen - ja oletettujen puutteellisuuksien - näkökulmasta verrattuna natiivin kielenkäyttöön. Koska englantia käytetään nykyisin viestinnässä maailmanlaajuisesti puhujien äidinkielestä riippumatta, ELF-tutkijat selvittävät esimerkiksi kommunikaation onnistumista ELF-konteksteissa, samoin kuin niissä kehittyviä kielellisiä ja diskursiivisia normeja.

Edellä mainitut kaksi alaa yhdistyvät tutkimuksessani siten, että ELF-kontekstin tutkimus tuo lisätietoa akateemisten tekstitaitojen tutkimukseen ja akateemisen kirjoittamisen tutkimus ELF-tutkimukseen. Aiemmassa AcLits-tutkimuksessa on yleensä keskitytty tarkastelemaan kirjoittamisen käytäntöjä englanninkielisissä oppilaitoksissa, kun taas ELF-tutkimuksen painopisteenä on ollut kansainvälisten kontekstien suullinen englantia. Nämä kaksi alaa

täydentävät toisiaan, koska molemmissa pureudutaan vallitseviin kielellisiin ideologioihin ja kielipedagogiikan malleihin, joissa lähtökohtana on kielitaidon puutteellisuus. Lisäksi AcLits-lähestymistapa soveltuu hyvin ELF-kirjoittamisen tutkimiseen sellaisissa väliaikaisissa, monimuotoisissa yhteisöissä, joita kansainväliset korkeakouluympäristöt tuottavat, koska siihen kuuluu kielellisten käytäntöjen etnografinen havainnointi eri kielivarianttien luokittelun sijasta.

Kolmen vuoden aikana keräämäni aineistoon kuuluu opiskelijoiden haastatteluja, kirjallisia tehtäviä ja kirjoituskokemusta reflektioivia päiväkirjoja, samoin kuin kurssimateriaaleja sekä opettajien haastatteluja ja palautteita. Tutkimuksen lähtökohtana oli kysymys ”millaista kirjoitettua englantia tässä kontekstissa pidetään hyvänä?” Eli sen sijaan, että ohjelmassa tuotettuja tekstejä olisi verrattu tiettyyn natiivikirjoittajan malliin, tavoitteena oli selvittää, millaisia akateemisen englannin normeja opiskelijat ja opettajat itse rakensivat toiminnassaan. Pyrin myös analysoimaan niitä kielellisiä ideologioita, joita sisältyi implisiittisesti kirjoitusten käsittelytapoihin sekä osallistujien käsityksiin ”hyvästä englannista” ja ”hyvästä kirjoituksesta”.

Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä julkaistusta artikkelista. Ensimmäinen niistä keskittyy opiskelijoiden käsityksiin hyvästä englanninkielisestä akateemisesta tekstistä ohjelman alussa tehtyjen haastattelujen perusteella sekä niihin auktoriteetteihin, joihin opiskelijat nojaavat normeja rakentaessaan. Näitä käsityksiä analysoitiin sekä teemallisesti että diskursiivisesti. Analyysi paljasti opiskelijoiden hyvän tekstin kuvauksissa huomattavia yhtäläisyyksiä, esimerkiksi samoja teemoja sekä samanlaisten sanojen ja ilmausten toistoa. Ensiksikin osallistujat kuvasivat akateemisesta englantia rakenteeltaan tiukan lineaariseksi. Siinä on selkeä punainen lanka ja jako johdantoon, tekstiosaan ja yhteenvetoon. Toiseksi tekstin kuvattiin tuovan kirjoittajan oman näkökulman esille vakuuttavasti, tavalla joka osoittaa kriittistä ajattelua.

Tarkastellessani niitä auktoriteetteja, joihin opiskelijat nojaavat kuvatessaan normeja, havaitsin opettajia pidettävän kyseenalaisina paikallisen tason auktoriteetteina. Heillä on valta arvioida tekstejä, mutta joskus he myös unohtavat kunnioittaa oletettua universaalia yksilöllisyyden periaatetta. Toisaalta opiskelijat nojautuivat myös kirjoittajan auktoriteettiin kyseenalaistaessaan opettajien arviointia sekä pitivät luovan tai journalistisen kirjoittamisen asiantuntemusta autenttisempaan kirjoitusten laadun arvioinnissa. Natiivikielenkäyttäjän identiteetti näytti kuitenkin sivuuttavan jopa ammattikirjoittajan identiteetin auktoriteettina; äidinkielistä henkilöä opiskelijat tuntuivat pitävän suurempaan auktoriteettina arvioitaessa kielellistä laatua ja oikeellisuutta. Opiskelijat eivät kuitenkaan arastelleet kirjoittaja maisterintutkimuksensa englanniksi ohjelmassa, jossa sekä opiskelijoiden että opettajien äidinkieli oli jokin muu kuin englanti.

Väitöskirjan toisen artikkelin teemana jatkuu natiivikielenkäyttäjän auktoriteetti ja ei-natiivin identiteetti. Siinä yhdistetään maisteriohjelman kahden ensimmäisen vuoden aineistoa laajempaan suomalaista korkeakoulutusta koskevaan aineistoon, jonka Taina Saarinen on kerännyt.

Havaittuamme aineistoissamme samanlaisia teemoja analysoimme, kuinka osallistujat käyttivät käsitteitä *native* ja *non-native* (samoin kuin esimerkiksi termit *first language* ja *mother tongue*) sekä heidän rakentamiaan kielellisiä ideologioita. Yhtäältä havaitsimme, että syntyperäisyyden katsottiin takaavan ehdottoman auktoriteettiaseman – eli että natiivikielenkäyttäjillä on hallussaan oikea englanti. Lisäksi kirjoitetun englannin suhteen näytti vallitsevan hierarkia, jossa britti- ja amerikanenglanti olivat ylimpänä ja muutkin englannin läntiset variantit ylempänä kuin esimerkiksi Aasiassa käytettävä englanti. Toisaalta amerikkalaiselle kieltenopettajalle oikeat kielelliset käytännöt olivat jotakin, joka ”meillä on täällä” – ja kv-opiskelijoidenkin tulisi omaksua ne – kun taas paikallisille sisällönopettajille kielellinen virheettömyys oli jotakin, joka ”heillä on siellä”. Siinä missä natiivit saattoivat kärsiä lukiessaan kielellisesti virheellistä tekstiä, suomalaiset opettajat pitivät ymmärrettävyyttä tärkeämpänä ainakin kurssin sisäisissä tehtävissä. Lisäksi natiivikielenkäyttäjän auktoriteetti kyseenalaistettiin joskus viitaten esimerkiksi kokemukseen alakohtaisesta diskurssista ja akateemisista genreistä. Tällaista suhtautumista syntyperäisyyteen pidämme osoituksena kahdesta usein rinnakkaisesta kielellisestä ideologiasta: toisessa niistä kieli nähdään oikeiden muotojen järjestelmänä, toisessa se taas on käytännöllinen työkalu, joka tuottaa ymmärrettävää viestintää.

Kolmas artikkelini lähestyy normeja ja ideologioita tarkastelemalla kahden erilaisen tarpeen välistä jännitettä maisteriohjelmassa: yhtäältä kirjallisissa tehtävissä tarvittaisiin läpinäkyvämpiä, standardisoituja normeja, mutta toisaalta opiskelijoiden erilaisten kulttuuristen ja akateemisten taustojen vuoksi tarvitaan joustavuutta. Kurssitehtävien ohjeet olivat yleensä lyhyitä ja hyvin yleisluonteisia, ja opiskelijoiden diskursiiviset käytännöt teksteissä vaihtelivat suuresti. Yhtenäisten normien puute aiheutti opiskelijoissa jonkin verran epävarmuutta varsinkin ensimmäisen opiskeluvuoden aikana, kun he etsivät mallitekstejä kurssitehtäviensä diskursiivisiin rakenteisiin ja kieleen. Tekstien arviointi tuntui opettajista myös joskus haastavalta, koska ne olivat keskenään erilaisia. Toisaalta kirjallisten tehtävien joustavuutta kuvattiin keinona mukautua opiskelijoiden erilaisiin akateemisiin taustoihin ja kiinnostuksen kohteisiin, myös ohjelman monitieteisyyden ja osallistujien maisterintutkielmien vaihtelevat aiheet huomioiden. Opiskelijat näyttivät myös arvostavan ohjelman vapautta toisena opiskeluvuotenaan ja selittivät nauttivansa kirjoittamisesta nyt enemmän kuin aikaisemmin, jolloin heidän kirjalliset tehtävänsä olivat olleet tarkkaan säädeltyjä. Päätän kolmannen artikkelin esittämällä pedagogisia keinoja edellä mainitun jännitteen lievittämiseen, jotka tiivistän neuvottelemisen ja opiskelijoiden toimijuuden edistämiseksi, vastakohtana sekä liialliselle sallivuudelle että säätelylle.

Väitöskirjan viimeinen artikkeli sisältää perusteellisen analyysin kolmesta kunkin opiskelijan ohjelman ensimmäisenä vuonna kirjoittamasta tekstistä. Lisäksi siinä analysoidaan opiskelijoiden haastatteluja ja päiväkirjoja sekä opettajien haastatteluja, ohjeita ja palautteita. Artikkelin keskiössä on opiskelijoiden ensimmäisissä haastatteluissaan tulkitsema kirjoitetun

akateemisen englannin periaate, joka myöhemmin toistui heidän kirjoituspäiväkirjoissaan – nimittäin “oman näkökulman” esittäminen vakuuttavasti. Opiskelijat toteuttivat tätä periaatetta teksteissään silmiinpistävän erilaisin tavoin. Myös opettajat viittasivat oman näkökulman perustelun merkitykseen ja kiinnittivät huomion kirjoittajien metadiskurssin käyttöön (esim. ensimmäinen persoona ja kannan ilmaiseminen, lieventäminen ja vahvistaminen) kuvatessaan hyvää argumentointia. Analysoin artikkelissa metadiskurssin käyttöä teksteissä ja vertailen sen perusteella, minkä verran kirjoittajat toivat omaa näkökulmaansa eksplisiittisesti esille. Tarkastelen myös heidän tehtävissä esille tulevia ‘ääniä’ (voice). Varsinaisen tekstianalyysin lisäksi tutkin kontekstisidonnaista aineistoa voidakseni vertailla opiskelijoiden ja opettajien käsityksiä teksteistä.

Analyysin perusteella voidaan päätellä, että vaikka vahvasti kriittisen, yksilöllisen kirjoittajan äänen katsotaan kuuluvan englanninkieliseen – tai länsimaiseen – akateemiseen tekstiin, tässä kontekstissa opettajat kuitenkin käytännössä suosivat tekstejä, joista kirjoittajan ääni oli häivytetty. Niissä tuli mieluummin näkyä vain vähän eksplisiittisesti ilmaistuja asenteita mutta paljon tunnustettujen tutkijoiden näkemyksiä. Opiskelijat tulkitsivat teksteissään hyvin erilaisia ilmaisutyyppejä, aina poleemisesta väittelijästä kirjallisuuden harrastajaan tai harkitsevaan oppijaan. Opettajien odotuksia näytti kuitenkin vastaavan parhaiten puolueettoman kulttuurianalyytikon ääni, jonka näkemys näyttäytyy objektiivisena havaintona eikä niinkään subjektiivisena näkökantana. Opiskelijoiden käytännöt näyttivät heijastelevan heidän akateemista taustaansa sekä vaikutelmiaan luokasta ja opettajasta. Usein heille oli epäselvää, kuinka tieteenalan sanoja ja puhetapoja tulisi käyttää keskusteltaessa valituista aiheista.

Väitöskirjan lopussa esitän kaksi kokoavaa havaintoa. Ensimmäinen niistä vastaa aiempien ELF-tutkimusten tuloksia: myös kirjoitetussa kielessä osallistujat pitivät yleensä ymmärrettävyyttä tärkeämpänä kuin kielellistä virheettömyyttä. Tämä koski erityisesti ohjelman paikalliselle opettajalle tarkoitettuja tekstejä, kuten kurssitehtäviä. Maisterintutkielman kaltaisia tekstejä, jotka ajateltiin kirjoitettavan kansainväliselle lukijakunnalle, koskivat osallistujien mielestä tiukemmat, oletetut natiivitasoiset kielellisen virheettömyyden vaatimukset. Paikallisen ja kansainvälisen tason erilaiset odotukset näkyivät myös kontrastina sisällönopettajien ja kieltenopettajan hyvää kirjoitettua englantia koskevassa diskurssissa. Sisällönopettajien näkökulmasta kielellinen virheettömyys oli jotakin, joka ”heillä on siellä” ja jota opiskelijoiden ei tarvitse välttämättä noudattaa. Kieltenopettajalle, joka näytti edustavan englannin globaalia tasoa, oikeakielisyys ja sopivuus sitä vastoin oli jotakin, joka ”meillä on täällä” ja joka opiskelijoidenkin tulisi omaksua. Jopa ne sisällönopettajat, jotka nimenomaan kielsivät arvioivansa kurssitehtävien kieltä, toivat kuitenkin esille tiettyjä kielellisiä piirteitä selittäessään arviointiperusteitaan. Erityisesti tämä koski metadiskurssin käyttöä argumentoinnissa. Näille opettajille ei selvästikään ollut ongelmallista, jos opiskelija ei kuulostanut natiivilta. Mutta esimerkiksi subjektiiviselta,

varovaiselta tai ylimieliseltä kuulostaminen oli ongelmallista. Kun näitä tulkintoja ja arviointeja pidettiin sisällöllisinä, kielestä erillisinä asioina, tieteenalakohtaiset puhetavat jäivät helposti opiskelijoille epäselviksi. Tämä myötäilee niiden brittiläisten akateemisen tekstitaidon tutkijoiden havaintoja, jotka ovat kritisoineet akateemisen kirjoittamisen käytäntöjä verhoavaa "salaperäisyyttä" sekä kieltenopetuksen sijoittamista "tukikursseille" sen sijaan, että se integroitaisi sisällönopetukseen. Toisaalta kyseiset tutkijat ovat myös kritisoineet tekstin ominaisuuksien ennalta määrittelyä, koska se sulkee pois opiskelijan toimijuuden. Tutkimukseni osoittikin, että opiskelijat arvostivat kirjoituksiaan koskevien odotusten ilmeistä joustavuutta sekä sitä, että sisällönopettajat painottivat merkitystä selvästi enemmän kuin kielellistä muotoa.

Yhteenvetona artikkelieni pedagogisista päätelmistä painottaisin edelleen toimijuuden, neuvottelemisen ja integraation suurta merkitystä. Sallivan laissez-faire-asenteen sijasta kirjoittajien toimijuutta voitaisi edistää lisäämällä kriittistä tietoisuutta erilaisista tieteellisen kirjoittamisen käytännöistä sekä niiden merkityksestä ja periaatteista. Tämä kattaisi myös tieteenalakohtaisten diskurssien avaamisen: sisällönopettajat esittelisivät opiskelijoille heidän alansa puhetavat, esimerkiksi kuinka kieltä käytetään kuvattaessa, analysoitaessa ja arviotaessa ilmiöitä tieteenalalle ominaisella tavalla. Tämä voisi edistää myös kriittistä lukemista ja kiinnittää opiskelijoiden huomion tapoihin, joilla tutkijat tuovat esiin väitteensä sekä henkilöt, tapahtumat, suhteet ja prosessit, joita nuo väitteet koskevat.

Neuvottelua on toisaalta pidetty osana suullista vuorovaikutusta ja sen merkitystä on korostettu varsinkin taustaltaan erilaisten henkilöiden välillä. Miksi opiskelijoiden kirjoituksia tulisi pitää pääasiassa tuotteina, jotka arvioidaan kurssin lopussa? Kirjallinen vuorovaikutus voitaisi pikemminkin integroida tiedon rakentamiseen luokkayhteisössä siten, että opiskelijat saisivat neuvotella merkityksistä ja opettajat voisivat välittää heille tieteenalakohtaisia normeja.

Tutkimukseni rajoitukset liittyvät aineiston kokoon: väitöskirja on pienimuotoinen tapaustutkimus, joka keskittyy tarkastelemaan kirjoittamista humanistisen alan englanninkielisessä maisteriohjelmassa Suomessa. Vaikka oletan, että monet ohjelmassa esille nousseet kysymykset ovat relevantteja myös muissa vastaavissa yhteyksissä, tutkimukseni pohjalta ei voida määritellä yleisiä akateemisen kirjoittamisen normeja englanninkielisiin koulutusohjelmiin. En olekaan pyrkinyt luonnehtimaan tiettyä kirjoitetun englannin tyyppiä tai varianttia, vaan käyttämään ohjelmaa tapaustutkimuksena selvittääkseni siellä esille nousevia kirjoittamisen normeja ja kielellisiä ideologioita. Sen sijaan toivon, että joidenkin esille nostettujen kysymysten käsittelyä voidaan jatkaa tulevaisuudessa erityisesti pedagogisesti suuntautuneissa tutkimuksissa. Niissä voitaisi perehtyä esimerkiksi siihen, kuinka opiskelijoiden taustojen monimuotoisuutta voidaan hyödyntää luokassa sekä siihen, kuinka kirjoittaminen voidaan integroida luokassa tapahtuvaan vuorovaikutukseen ja merkitysneuvotteluihin. Yleensä ottaen kirjoittamista on

tutkittu vasta vähän ELF-konteksteissa, joten se tarjoaa hedelmällisen maaperän kielellisen normatiivisuuden kartoittamiseen.

Avainsanat: Akateemiset tekstitaidot, kirjoittaminen, englantia lingua francana, kielellinen normi, kielellinen ideologia, englanninkielinen opetus, kansainvälinen korkeakoulutus.

APPENDIX 1: PRINCIPLES OF TEXT ANALYSIS

My principles are listed below. For the sake of clarity, I illustrate my principles with model phrases (e.g. *X is an important form of art; in my view, X is a form of art; X is clearly a form of art*), rather than with text extracts. However, these models are based on phrases that students used.

Attitude Markers

- 1) In order to count as an explicit marker of the student's **own** attitude, an evaluation had to be directly attributable to the writer in the text (e.g. *X is important*). This excluded the following cases:
 - a. Evaluations that the writer attributes to someone else's viewpoint: *According to Smith, X is important*
 - b. Evaluations that the writer attributes to general opinion: *X is considered to be important; X is important in Asia.*
 - c. Evaluations that the writer attributes to him/herself in the past: *X was important to me.*
 - d. Hypothetical evaluations: *if X is important, then...; in cases where X is important, then...*
 - e. Evaluations that are abstracted to the point that the writer does not appear to be the evaluator: *X creates associations with beauty; X stands for beauty; X presents beauty; X gives the impression of beauty; X can be considered as aesthetic beauty*

- 2) Statements that seemed to me to be subjective (e.g. *X is a form of art*) but were represented as neutral or factual were not counted as attitude markers. However, if the statement included an evaluative adjective, adverb or noun, this was taken as an explicit assertion of the writer's attitude and counted as an attitude marker: *X is an important form of art; Importantly, X is a form of art; X is a form of art of great importance.*

- 3) NB. Evaluative was understood as conveying the writer's overt positive or negative value judgement, considering also the co-text. In this set of texts, this included judgements of goodness, correctness, importance, appropriateness or normality, effectiveness, success, aesthetic appeal, enjoyment, difficulty, utility, worthiness, logic, intelligence, maturity, threat, bravery, interest, taste, comfort, tranquility, authenticity and truth.

- 4) I also included lexical items as attitude markers if they were overtly positively or negatively loaded. Again, this was based on my own perception of the overtness of the writer's own evaluation. For example, I did not count terms like *claim, belief* and *assumption*, but I did include *myth, fault* and *mistake*. Although calling something an *assumption* suggests disagreement, calling it a *mistake* communicates that disagreement overtly.

With *assumption* there is still a possibility that the writer agrees with what is assumed, whereas with *mistake* there is not.

- 5) If the writer explicitly marked a statement as his/her own opinion, I counted that as an attitude marker, as well as a self-mention: *In my view, X is a form of art*. Variations of this kind of statement were counted in the following way:
 - a. *In my view, X is a form of art*: counted as one attitude marker
 - b. *X is an important form of art*: counted as one attitude marker
 - c. *In my view, X is an important form of art*: counted as one attitude marker
 - d. *In my view, X is an important and useful form of art*: counted as two attitude markers
- 6) Expressions of hopefulness (*hopefully, I hope to*), agreement (*I agree, this is true*), gratitude (*fortunately, thankfully*), and preference (*I prefer to, I would like to*) were also counted as attitude markers.
- 7) The modal (or semi-modal) verbs *should, must, have to, needs to, ought* and *cannot* were counted as attitude markers when the writer used them to refer to something that is the right or wrong thing to do or happen: *This should not happen; This cannot happen; This must not happen; This needs to happen; We have to improve this*.

Hedging and Boosting:

- 1) In identifying hedging and boosting, I primarily looked for the writer's commentary on the truth of a proposition, e.g. *X is probably a form of art, X might be a form of art, X is clearly a form of art, X is definitely a form of art, X is indeed a form of art. This suggests that X is a form of art*. This commentary is not seen as modifying the proposition - *X is a form of art* - but rather as explicitly communicating the writer's confidence in the proposition.
- 2) I also included frequency markers (e.g. *always, never, whole, sometimes, often*), quantity markers (e.g. *most, all, many, few*), and markers of degree (e.g. *very, quite, to an extent*), when they conveyed a strong sense of the writer's conviction rather than being an ostensibly neutral report on 'text external' circumstances. This was again a subjective distinction, but to ensure consistency, I considered the following:
 - a. whether the marker was attached to another marker of the writer's attitude or certainty: *it is quite important; it is extremely clear; it is never a good thing*
 - b. whether the marker could be removed without removing vital information: *every single aspect/ every aspect; there are so many things/there are many things; this is just like/this is like*
 - c. whether the marker is clearly hyperbolic: *in all corners of the earth; there are tons of reasons; throughout the whole of human history; countless people have*

- d. whether the marker is used to emphasise something surprising, extreme or incredulous: *people don't even know that they should*
 - e. whether the marker itself is vague and therefore hard to verify: *to a certain extent*
 - f. whether the marker is used to hedge or boost a generalisation that is the writer's own observation: *People never like..., Women tend to prefer..., Viewers always think...*
 - g. whether the marker is repeated for emphasis: *they never..., they never..., they never...* In cases like this, each use of *never* was counted as a booster
- 3) *Seems* and *appears* were sometimes difficult to analyse considering that some of the essays concerned aesthetics and literally referred to appearance. I therefore had to judge from the co-text whether the verb was expressing uncertainty.
- 4) *Could* and *can* were also difficult as they can refer literally to ability or can be used to convey uncertainty. They often seemed to be used as a way of reducing the force of a claim, while at the same time maintaining authorial distance and the appearance of objectivity. I only counted them as overt insertions of the writer's voice in the following cases:
- a. When combined with an evaluative adjective: *it can be important; it could be important*
 - b. When combined with a verb that denotes opinion or speculation: *it can be argued that X is art; we could consider X to be art*. These combinations, though still appealing to a sense of objectivity (after all, everything *can* be argued), nevertheless convey a strong sense of the writer's tentative voice.
 - c. When used speculatively, with a similar meaning to 'might': *it can be the case that; it could be that; it might be the case; it might be that*.
- 5) In combinations, each marker was counted separately:
- a. *To me, it seems quite important in some sense* = four hedges.
 - b. *To me, it seems extremely important in every sense* = two hedges, two boosters
- 6) As with attitude markers, certainty markers (hedging, boosting) had to be attributable to the writer's **own** voice, rather than being attributed to another party. So, for example, in the phrase, *Barthes suggests that...*, '*suggests*' would not be counted as hedging because the action was attributed to Barthes - it is ostensibly Barthes who suggests, argues, or states. On the other hand, in the formulation *Barthes' statement suggests that...*, '*suggests*' would be counted as hedging because the writer directly owns the action, presenting it as his or her own tentative interpretation of Barthes' statement.

APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION ON THE STUDY

English Academic Writing on the Master's Programme *****

A longitudinal PHD study

Researcher: Laura McCambridge

Purpose: My precise research questions are not explained here in case it affects the results of my study. In general, however, my purpose is to explore the ***** Programme as an academic discourse community, concentrating on students' writing.

My research does not involve evaluating the programme or its teachers. I am rather using the programme as an example of an English Lingua Franca community in higher education, and looking at how English academic writing practices are negotiated when students and teachers are linguistically and culturally diverse. I hope the results will be useful for teachers and future students.

I plan to:

- select a sample of students from different cultural backgrounds as case-studies
- ask those students to keep a journal about their writing experiences
- analyse a number of texts* written by the students over the two-year period
(*one or two texts per student each term*)
- collect teachers' instructions for writing the texts I analyse (*if applicable*)
- attend or tape classes where the teacher gives instructions for writing
(*if applicable*)
- collect teachers' feedback on those texts (*if applicable*)
- attend or tape teacher/student feedback sessions (*if applicable*)
- interview the students about their texts
- interview teachers about the students' texts

What does this involve for students?

- Keeping a journal throughout their studies
- Sending me the texts they write for courses
- Attending an interview once or twice a term

What does this involve for teachers?

- Allowing me to attend or tape one or two classes
- Allowing me to attend or tape several feedback sessions with students
- Allowing me to collect their instructions for and feedback on the students' texts
- Allowing me to interview them about the students' texts and their evaluation/feedback

My intention is to choose, as far as possible, texts from different teachers' courses, so that no teacher will be inconvenienced more than once during the two-year period.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW FRAMEWORKS

The interview questions listed here were frameworks for stimulating discussion around writing and experiences on the programme. The order of the questions asked and their precise wording depended on participants' responses, and more questions were asked to follow up on their responses. More specific questions were also asked that related to the contextual data, the particular background and role of the teacher or student, and the particular assignment.

Initial interview with the programme coordinator (first contact with the site)

How long has the programme been running?

Why was the programme started?

How many students are admitted each year?

Do you know how many students are arriving and from which countries?

What kind of process do students undergo to qualify for the programme?

How about the language requirements?

What kind of a drop-out rate is usually involved?

Do the students all follow the same courses over the two years?

Do they have a course guide and programme for next year /last year that I could look at?

How many teachers work on the programme?

What nationalities are the teachers?

How big a role does writing play on the programme?

What kind of writing do courses on the programme involve?

Is there a 'house style' for writing that students and teachers follow? If so, who composed it and how?

What is the role of language teachers or language courses on the programme?

Do students usually receive feedback on their written assignments? Do they have feedback sessions that I could observe?

I will ask students to keep a journal about their experiences writing for the programme and to take part in interviews (about two per term). Would it be possible for students to be awarded credits for this?

How can I inform teachers about the project?

Student Background Interview

Where are you from in *****?

Did you live in ***** for your whole childhood?

What languages did you use or study growing up?

When did you start learning English? Did you use English much as a child? Did you do much writing in English?

You marked English as a second language rather than as a foreign language. Why?

Why did you decide to move to/live in *****?

How did you find living there?
 What languages did you use there?
 How did you find studying in *****? How did you find using ***** language there?
 What kinds of teachers did you have there?
 What kinds of feedback did you receive from them on your writing?
 Why did you decide to come to study in Finland?
 Why did you decide to study *****?
 How are you finding the programme so far?
 How often do you write? In what contexts? What languages?
 How do you find writing in general? How about writing in English? How about academic writing?
 What kinds of writing did your studies in ***** involve?
 Do you remember receiving advice or feedback on your writing? Do you remember any advice that you've found useful?
 How did you go about writing an assignment for a course? How would you describe your writing process?
 Would you consider yourself a good writer? Why/why not?
 What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses in academic writing?
 What do you think is a good essay?
 What do you think is a weak essay?
 How is an essay in English structured?
 How would you describe its language?
 What is the purpose of writing an essay?
 Are there any other conventions you associate with English academic writing?
 What do you think of them?
 How do you think good academic writing in English is best learned? If you had to give advice to another student on academic writing in English, what would you say?
 How do you feel about using English on the programme? How do you feel about writing the Master's Thesis through English?

Student Text-Based Interviews

How have your studies been going?
 How have they compared to your previous studies in *****?
 How have you found studying through English?
 What kinds of writing have you done?
 Was this text familiar to you – have you written this kind of text before?
 How did you find writing them?
 How did you find the ***** course?
 How did you feel about the ***** assignment?
 How did you find it to write? Was there anything you found difficult? Why/why not? Was there anything that you enjoyed writing or found easy to write? Why/why not?

What do you think was the purpose of writing it?
 What were your intentions in writing it?
 You commented in your journal that *****. Why? What did you mean by that? Can you elaborate on that?
 What did you think the teacher expected from it?
 What do you think makes a good *****?
 How did you go about writing the *****? What was the process like?
 Do you think it would have been different to write it in ***** language?
 What did you think of the feedback you received on it?
 Was there anything that surprised you? Was there anything that you expected?
 Was there anything that you would have liked more feedback on?
 What do you think was meant by "*****"?
 What did you think of the point "*****"?
 Why did you use ***** here?
 Why do you think the teacher corrected your use of *****? Do you agree with the correction?
 What did you think of the teacher's suggestion that you should *****?
 Did you/will you follow that suggestion? Why? Why not?
 I noticed that you changed ***** from the last version. Why did you make that change?
 How do you feel about writing generally now?
 Has your attitude to writing changed since the last time we met? If so, why?
 What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses as a writer now?

Subject Area Teachers' Background and Text-Based Interviews

How did you come to be teaching on the programme?
 How did you come to be teaching *****?
 How do you feel about teaching through English?
 How do you find evaluating students' English texts?
 How does it compare to evaluating Finnish texts?
 How much do you read and write in English yourself?
 How do you find reading and writing through English?
 What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses as an academic writer in English? Are they different in Finnish?
 Are there different expectations for your writing in English and Finnish?
 How do you find the student texts you receive in English?
 The students come from many different kinds of backgrounds; do you see that in their writing?
 How do you think studying through English in Finland might compare to studying through English in an Anglophone country?

 Can you describe this assignment?
 Why did you set this assignment?
 What did you expect from the students' answers?

What would you consider an excellent *****? What would be a weak *****?

How important is language to you in evaluating the texts? Why? In what way?
How important is structure? Why? In what way?

Impressions of particular texts and writers

How did you find this text to read and evaluate?

You gave this a ***** grade. Why?

What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of this text?

Where do you see that in the text / Can you pinpoint that in the text?

I noticed in the feedback you commented on/corrected ***** Can you explain/elaborate/comment on this?

What would you expect or hope for from a language centre course on English academic writing? Are there particular norms that you think should be taught?

Language Teacher's Background and Text-Based Interviews

Tell me about your experiences with academic writing when you were at school or university.

How much writing/ what kinds of writing did you do at university?

How did you find academic writing?

Do you remember any kind of advice you received for writing?

What role does academic literacy have in your life at the moment?

What do you see as your strengths and weaknesses in English academic writing?

How did you come to be teaching at the Language Centre?

How did you come to be teaching the ***** course?

How do you find teaching English academic writing?

Do you use any particular sources or guides for teaching or evaluating writing?

Why these sources?

What has been your impression of students' writing in general?

Can you describe academic writing in English?

What do you consider to be good academic writing in English? Why?

What do you consider to be weak academic writing? Why?

How do you find teaching English research communication on the Master's programme?

What do you consider to be students' needs when they come to the programme?

What kinds of writing does the programme involve?

How would you characterize writing on the programme?

What do you see as your role in working with the ***** students?

How do you find this role?

What does the course include? Why?

How was the course planned?

How would you consider the course to have been successful?

Why did you ask students to write a *****?

What do you consider to be a good *****? Why?

What do you consider to be a weak *****? Why?

Can you describe *****'s writing?

Why did you give this paper a ***** grade?

What do you think are its strengths and weaknesses?

Where do you see ***** in the text?

In the feedback, you commented that *****/corrected *****. Can you elaborate/explain why?



ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

DISCOURSES OF LITERACY ON AN INTERNATIONAL MASTER'S PROGRAMME: EXAMINING STUDENTS' ACADEMIC WRITING NORMS

by

McCambridge, L., & Pitkänen-Huhta, A. (2012)

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7 Discourses of Literacy on an International Master's Programme: Examining Students' Academic Writing Norms

Laura McCambridge and Anne Pitkänen-Huhta

7.1 Introduction

English has long been the dominant *lingua franca* in international scientific communities. Hamel (2007: 53) estimates that in international periodical publications 75% of articles within the humanities and social sciences, and over 90% within natural sciences, are published in English. This dominance is in turn reflected in higher education worldwide: students are increasingly expected to be able to read course material written in English and, particularly in Nordic countries, are expected to be proficient in academic English before graduating. A more recent development in this trend is the growing number of degree programmes conducted entirely through English in EFL countries. Finland is a prime example; all Finnish universities now offer at least one higher educational programme through English (Maiworm & Wächter, 2002), with most offering many more. These 'international' programmes attract students and teachers both from within Finland and from around the world, forming remarkably multicultural, multilingual discourse communities where English is used both for participation and learning and for instruction and assessment. Literacy in particular typically plays a central role on these programmes, with students' learning and assessment culminating in the completion of a thesis.

Most research into student writing in non-English speaking countries has thus far been from an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) perspective with the aim of determining how students can best improve their language and acquire the academic writing norms of an apparently monolithic English-speaking world. Fewer studies have yet looked at this context from a sociolinguistic perspective, with the aim of understanding the norms of English use within these programmes as discourse communities in their own right and how they reflect the social world in which they exist. With this agenda in mind, we take an ‘Academic Literacies’ approach to investigate students’ expressed norms of academic writing on an International Master’s programme at a medium-sized university in Finland, perceiving these norms to be ideological, contextual and interwoven with the purposes, values and power structures of the society that shapes them. English-medium higher education in the contexts of *lingua franca* is particularly interesting from this viewpoint, as an intersection between local and global social scales. These contexts offer a valuable opportunity to explore the tensions and conflicts brought about by the globalization of English in academia.

Barton and Hamilton (2000: 7) define literacy practices as including discourses of literacy, that is ‘how people talk about and make sense of literacy’. In this chapter, we focus on students’ ideological discourse on academic writing upon beginning an English-medium master’s programme, looking particularly at the norms they express of ‘good’ academic English and the authorities they orient to in explaining these norms. Blommaert (2010: 39–40) refers to these ‘centers of authority’ as being ‘the places where good discourse about this topic is made.’ Uncovering these centres can improve our understanding of global academic English trends and in turn the present power relations within international academia.

7.2 Approaches to Academic Writing Practices

Lea and Street (1998) identify three main theoretical approaches to investigate students’ academic literacy practices, namely ‘Study Skills’, ‘Academic Socialization’ and ‘Academic Literacies’. The skill-based approach is where writing is taken as an individual cognitive skill with objective standards that are universally applicable. In ESL and EFL literature, this approach has been particularly prevalent, with the standard being that of the apparently universal native speaker or native speaking ability. For example, Silva (1993) summarizes research findings on the differences between native writers and non-native writers of academic English. Although he states that he is not aiming to portray non-native writers in a negative light, he nevertheless describes their norms in terms of deficiencies not only regarding their language

choices and textual conventions but also regarding their writing process. For example, they are described as doing less planning, goal-setting, reviewing and even reflecting on their writing compared to the gold standard of the native speaker (Silva, 1993: 661–662).

The second approach, Academic Socialization, acknowledges the idea that writing practices are contextual to discourse communities. These communities, however, tend to be viewed as rather unique, homogeneous entities into which the novice writer must be acculturated. In ESL and EFL literature, this view can be seen in much of the genre-based research on writing, where the English norms of an academic discipline are first identified and then taught to non-native speakers (e.g. Hyland, 2006; Swales, 1990). It can also be seen in early Contrastive Rhetoric research, where the norms of academic discourse are contrasted between English and other languages or cultures, in order to create greater understanding of cultural difference in writing and again ultimately teach non-native students the appropriate way to write in English (e.g. Connor, 1996).

Although the Academic Socialization approach has certainly improved our knowledge of socially situated literacy practices, it tends to oversimplify the context by ignoring the variation, conflicts and overlap brought about through interaction and often competition with other discourse systems on both local and global scales. Discourse communities are often demarcated rather broadly, with academics within a discipline all agreeing to and adhering to the same literacy practices and norms unproblematically. Moreover, the suggestion seems to be that these practices rarely change and that all new scholars or non-English-speaking scholars can and should adopt them.

Stemming from New Literacy Studies, the Academic Literacies approach, however, views these practices as being rather more dynamic, conflicted and ideological. Discourse communities, as Blanton (1994: 221) puts it, are 'constantly in the making'. Their practices change depending on the individuals who constitute them, the purposes they serve and the social power structures that govern their use. Both students and teachers bring their social backgrounds, language backgrounds, literacy histories, pedagogical philosophies and content approaches with them to class. These are just some of the factors that can influence their ideologies of writing and in turn their academic writing norms. Moreover, academic writing norms cannot be seen simply as vehicles for universal ideals of good thinking, but are rather in themselves a means of producing, structuring and limiting thought. As Canagarajah (2002: 79) puts it, 'the medium is also the message' – pragmatic and discursive expectations for academic writing shape what we regard as acceptable content.

Previous studies taking and developing this approach have been primarily concerned with exploring new contexts that have arisen in UK higher education and the conflicts of literacy practices that result. They have focused particularly on the literacy practices of non-traditional students – that is students with social backgrounds that have previously had very limited access to higher education. Ivanič (1998), for example, highlights the role of these students' social identities in their language choices and how they subtly conflict with the identities they are expected to evoke as academic writers in UK universities. In a similar case study, Lillis (2001) also highlights the role of students' identities in their writing practices, while exposing the confusion non-traditional students face in understanding the expectations of teachers who perceive writing norms to be autonomous and transparent intellectual ideals.

Similar work has previously been carried out from an EFL perspective on a global scale, for example by Canagarajah (2002) and by Lillis and Curry (2010). Both projects emphasize the close relationship between concepts of valid academic literacy and valid knowledge production. In doing so, they demonstrate the struggles that periphery or simply non-Anglophone scholars face in contributing to scientific knowledge production worldwide as a result of their varying language and literacy norms. The gates of prestigious 'global' journals are often kept by Anglo-American editors, reviewers and proofreaders who review articles for an imagined Anglo-American readership. Lillis and Curry (2010: 150–153) give one example of a Southern European scholar being told that her article was 'too Latin', with 'pretentious' word choices, to be received well by Anglo-American readers. Another non-Anglophone scholar's paper came under fire for use of 'weasel words', such as 'phenomena' and 'approach'. This was presented not as a socially developed language preference but as a transparent intellectual truth. In this way, valid knowledge production globally is limited to those who are able and willing to satisfy the discourse expectations and connotations of a perceived Anglo-American authority. In this way, 'global' in scientific communication becomes 'a place called the 'US'' (Lillis & Curry, 2010: 135).

The majority of academic literacy studies have focused on writing in the United Kingdom or on scholars in non-Anglophone countries writing for international publications. A context in which both students and teachers from varying cultural and social backgrounds come together to form a discourse community in which English is used as a *lingua franca* is rather different. The potential for variation in language and literacy practices is clearly greater and the need to negotiate conflicting ideologies is heightened. Moreover, many earlier studies on transnational literacies have focused on immigration: situations where people move to a new place and face new practices both

in everyday life and in education (e.g. Blommaert, 2008). However, in the case of the master's programmes which we focus on in this chapter, we are facing a situation of temporary migration, with people shifting localities in search of global education, and thus practices are constantly on the move and in flux, merging and transforming. As the title 'International Master's Degree Programme', adopted by most Finnish Universities, suggests, these programmes are orientated towards an imagined global community and the perceived practices of that community, while still being clearly situated in a local Finnish context.

7.3 The Global and Local in English Literacy Practices

In recent years, the emphasis in literacy studies has been heavily on local practices, as an opposition to autonomous views of literacy as a neutral transferrable skill, which is unaffected by individual, contextual or societal factors. Focus on the locality of practices has resulted in an extensive body of research showing that literacy is indeed multiple, varying and ideologically loaded (e.g. Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1984). At the same time, however, it seems that not enough attention is paid to the transnational literacies and global flows prevalent in present-day societies (Warriner, 2009). Brandt and Clinton (2002), for example, call for Literacy Studies scholars to focus on the dialectical relationship between the local and the global, and to examine local literacy events and practices in the light of the global. Similarly, Baynham (2004) calls for more attention to issues of schooling, with a particular emphasis on transnational movement. This focus would help shed light on the interaction between the global flows and the local contexts, as Warriner (2009: 167) argues. These calls do not undermine the significance of the local, but there is a need for studies that look at the intersections of local practices and global flows, and the historically and culturally formed social patterns and structures.

There have been claims that globalization makes the world smaller; it unites people and ideas and turns the world into a global village (e.g. Modiano, 1999). It has also been claimed that the English language has a significant role in this process as an international *lingua franca*. The present sociolinguistic situation is, however, a lot more complex than this idealized picture of a world united. The world has not, as Blommaert (2010: 1) says, 'become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways.' Movement of people cannot be described merely in terms of emigration and immigration. Instead, people are constantly on the move in unpredictable ways, forming new communities that are not stable

but emergent and expanding; they mix and transform, and then perhaps die out and remerge elsewhere. This kind of movement has recently been called ‘superdiversity’ (Blommaert, 2010; Vertovec, 2007). Present-day international higher education is a good example of such communities: students seek educational possibilities globally and thus they come together with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds for a limited period of time, ‘resulting in changing practices in the new “educational contact zones”’ (Pennycook, 2007a: 25). Eventually, they again disperse in different directions.

This kind of haphazard movement creates a new kind of sociolinguistic situation and calls for new kinds of conceptualizations. Blommaert (2010: 5) talks about a sociolinguistics of mobility, where the focus is not on ‘language-in-place’, but on ‘language-in-motion’. People move across spaces and their linguistic resources move with them, taking new shape in new places. However, this movement is not unproblematic, as Blommaert (2010: 6) notes:

Movement of people across space is therefore never a move across empty spaces. The spaces are always someone’s space, and they are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use and what does not count as such. Mobility, sociolinguistically speaking, is therefore a trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language ‘gives you away’.

To understand the complexities of the temporarily created space, we need to consider the role of English as a global language as we cannot deny the fact that English has a significant role in the processes of globalization. English is the language of opportunities and imagined communities (see Anderson, 1983; Norton, 2001; Pitkänen-Huhta & Nikula, 2012; Yashima, 2012). As Pennycook (2007b: 101–102) says, we need to examine more closely what role English plays in global flows and how people use English and appropriate it to meet their own needs. In the case of English-medium higher education, the students come together with their own resources of English, which they have acquired through participation in their respective previous spaces where they have come across academic literacy practices. In this new multilingual and multicultural community, conflicting ideologies of language and literacy – that is beliefs about the value of various language and literacy practices (McGroarty, 2010) are bound to meet. In particular, the ownership of the new space becomes extremely complex. Whose space is it, in fact? Whose norms are at play? What expectations are there for the use of English and where do those expectations come from?

The World Englishes perspective has been quite influential in examining the role of English in communities and societies where it does not have an official status. The three circles of English speakers by Kachru (1985) have been used to explain the spread of English in the world. The circles are the inner circle (native speakers of English), the outer circle (ESL) and the expanding circle (EFL). Pennycook (2007a, 2007b), among others, has criticized the World Englishes view, however, and has proposed that instead of understanding 'English' as different forms or varieties of the core native English, we should see it as a phenomenon that moves across spaces and communities, and is at the same time both fluid and fixed (Pennycook, 2007a: 8). This take on language and language use allows us to look beyond the distinction of the global and the local, and enables us to understand the complex connection between current sociolinguistic spaces and the use of English as a shared linguistic resource in new emergent and fluid communities. In the same vein, Blommaert (2010) uses the terms *scales* and *indexicality* to tackle the connection between the global and the local, the macro and the micro. He points out that the spaces in which mobile people operate are not only horizontal spaces but also vertical spaces, which are layered and stratified. In these spaces, there are various kinds of social and cultural distinctions, and these distinctions are indexical of broader social and cultural patterns (Blommaert, 2010: 5). These 'orders of indexicality' (Blommaert, 2005: 69) 'organize distinctions between, on the one hand, "good", "normal", "appropriate", and "acceptable" language use and, on the other, "deviant", "abnormal", etc. language use' (Blommaert, 2010: 6).

What is important in the context under scrutiny in this chapter is that these patterns of indexicality also involve control and evaluation: some forms of language use are made acceptable by real or imagined sources of authority and are therefore valued and useful (Blommaert, 2010: 38). In traditional or popular belief, the owners of a language (and in turn its discursive genres) are usually viewed as its native speakers or, to be more exact, its socially powerful native speakers. With English and its global use, the situation is naturally more complex. English has now been called 'pluricentric', meaning that there is more than one 'norm producing' centre of authority in its use (Lillis & Curry, 2010) both on local and on global levels – or indeed across both horizontal and vertical spaces. The norms of British or American, upper-middle class 'standard English' can no longer be assumed to suit the purposes of an entire globe, let alone the purposes of every local community in which English is used.

In this study, we explore the issue of normativity in global English academic literacy practices by analysing students' ideological discourse on academic writing. This discourse reveals how students make sense of

academic writing practices and attach value to particular writing norms in English over others. Moreover, analysing students' discourse on writing will also help to identify the authorities they draw from in articulating English academic writing norms – or in other words, the sources from which the correct ways to write originate in their perceptions. This discourse is gathered through interviews with the students shortly after beginning the master's programme in Finland. In this way, we aim to catch students in transition, that is having left one local context and upon facing a new local context, which is, as the programme's title suggests, internationally orientated. The students are therefore situated in a fascinating space in which their resources from one local community, their expectations for another local community and their understanding of global community norms meet. Specifically, the study aims to answer the following questions: (1) What norms of academic writing in English do students express upon beginning the programme? What common or conflicting discourse patterns can be found in how they express these norms? (2) What authorities do students orient to or draw from in explaining these norms?

7.4 Data and Methods

The data consist of extensive semi-structured interviews with six students upon beginning their studies on an English-medium master's programme in the Faculty of Humanities at a medium-sized university in Finland. The interviews were conducted by Laura McCambridge as part of her doctoral study. Below are brief profiles of the students, along with important features of their cultural and educational backgrounds (see Figure 7.1). They have all been given pseudonyms.

The students were asked to talk about their previous experiences with English academic writing, their ideas about good versus bad English academic writing and their strengths and weaknesses in English academic writing. They were also asked more specifically about their experiences with writing for evaluation in English – that is the purpose of written assignments and their thoughts about feedback they have received on their texts. Finally, they were asked how they thought good academic writing practice in English is best learnt. Although these questions made up the framework for the interviews, the students were encouraged to talk freely about any issues that came to their mind when thinking about academic writing in English.

Each interview was first transcribed and then analysed to identify the norms that students express in their discourse as well as the authorities they use in order to justify these norms. Comparisons were then made across all six

Amir	A 33-year-old man from Iran whose first language is Persian. Completed his Bachelor's in Computer Engineering in Iran through Persian and English.
Mei	A 29-year-old woman from China whose first language is Chinese. Completed her Bachelor's in English Translation in China through Chinese and English.
Stephanie	A 26-year-old woman from Germany whose first language is German. Completed her Bachelor's in British and American Studies in Germany through English. Has spent 6 months in Finland previously as an exchange student. Has also lived in Ireland for 2 years.
Tommi	A 26-year-old man from Finland whose first language is Finnish. Completed his Bachelor's in Media Design from a University of Applied Sciences in Finland through Finnish.
Julia	A 36-year-old woman from Brazil whose first language is Portuguese. Completed her Bachelor's in Linguistics in Brazil through Portuguese. As a child, she attended an English-medium school both in Brazil and, for 2 years, in Germany.
Kimiko	A 30-year-old woman from Japan whose first language is Japanese. Completed her Bachelor's in Fine Art in the United States through English. Has also studied for 1 year in Turkey through Turkish.

Figure 7.1 The participants

interviews to identify similar patterns or conflicts in the students' discourse. These patterns and conflicts were in turn analysed to understand how their ideologies of English writing practice are drawn from local and global indexical scales (Blommaert, 2010)

When talking about discourse, we take as our starting point the idea of language as social action and as a resource for creating social realities (Blommaert, 2005; Pietikäinen & Mäntynen, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). When the students talk about academic literacy, they make sense of the phenomenon and the social reality it is related to, thus creating their discourse of academic literacy in that particular space and time. At the same time, they draw upon socially available discourses, using, sometimes in contradictory ways, patterns of talking about writing that are familiar to them in their social worlds (Ivanič, 2004).

The interview extracts are displayed here using the following symbols:

w::ord	= stretched sound
(.)	= a pause
wo-	= word or sentence cut-off
¿	= rising intonation
\$hhh\$	= laughter
\$word\$	= speech while laughing

Unclear speech and minimal responses were removed from an example if they were not important to the analysis. This removal is marked by ‘...’.

7.5 Findings: Global Norms

Throughout the interviews, the students tended to discuss good or bad academic writing on a general, global scale and the discourses created imply that they perceive there to be a typical global norm. Kimiko, for example, implied that the structure of academic writing is universal, something that *‘everybody should know’* regardless of their local environment. Upon moving to the United States from Japan and beginning her studies at a community college, she was surprised by the need to teach these norms:

Kimiko It seemed in the beginning it was kind of easy for me because they are teaching like there should be like a proposing sent – paragraph in the beginning and then develop and then closing and it’s everybody should know that but some people had no clue

In discussing good academic writing in English, the ideas and the language used to express these ideas were remarkably similar between the students, despite their differing cultural, linguistic and even disciplinary backgrounds. The first striking feature in the interviews was the students’ familiarity with the essay and thesis writing genres. When asked about the texts they had been required to write in their previous studies, they put forward essays or theses as genres that required very little explanation or elaboration. This can be seen especially in the following extract from Tommi’s interview:

Laura So did you write a lot like academic writing or how were the courses assessed

Tommi Usually like to pass this like essay or some kind of like a diary type of thingy (.) usually essays

For Tommi, the 'essay' is offered as a straightforward answer to the question. The 'diary' on the other hand, is hedged with *'some kind of like'* and *'type of thingy'* and therefore seems to be a rather vague genre to Tommi. Several of the students seemed, in fact, to understand the essay or thesis formats as being the definition of academic writing.

As essay and thesis text types therefore seemed to represent the students' understanding of academic writing, these genres became the focus of the interviews. In discussing what constitutes good essay and thesis writing, the students stressed two features in particular: the importance of one's own point of view and the importance of structure.

For all of the students, the idea that academic writing should express a personal opinion was very important. The phrase *'point of view'* was repeated throughout the interviews, the following extracts being just two examples:

Mei I think it's like (.) first you have your own point of view and it's like you can just take the reference from others but it's not all from others you have your own point of view

Julia I am a very critical think – thinker so it helps me when I'm writing ... and I always have a point of view it might be good or it might be really bad I always have a very strong point of view about things and I can um not promote myself but I can uh defend myself ... for this kind of um for most subjects there isn't any wrong or right there is points of view so if you can defend your own point of view you're good

In both examples, the students emphasize that this *'point of view'* ought to be personal (*'you have your own point of view'*), unique (*'it's not all from others'*) and firmly held (*'I always have a very strong point of view'*). Moreover, Julia's comments suggest that this *'own'* viewpoint is somehow in conflict or debate with the viewpoints of others. Julia uses the phrase *'I am a very critical thinker'* – a familiar educational ideal – and talks about her ability to *'defend'* her views as her strength. Several other students, using almost the same phrasing, echoed this idea.

Overall, we would describe this as an individualistic discourse on writing, where writing is perceived to be ideally a personal and individual endeavor with the aim of expressing one's own perceptions and setting oneself apart from the perceptions of others. The individuality of one's ideas was, in fact, deemed by the students to be more important than the validity of those ideas. Julia claimed, *'there isn't any wrong or right there is points of view'* and Mei similarly stated, *'there has to be some point of view anyway'*, implying that the

existence of the point of view is the priority in writing, regardless of the actual points expressed.

The second aspect of academic writing that all the students stressed was the importance of having an effective structure. There was a sense in all their answers that academic writing is 'structured writing' and that this structure is difficult to achieve. When asked what his weaknesses in academic writing were, Tommi replied:

Tommi Weaknesses \$hh\$ I think most likely I guess I write too much like uh well like in a flow because uh I should more structure from the grammar and the ideas because I if I write in a flow I have to go back and just s- structure again and again ... yeah more like uh I guess the flow way it's not structured in a good way

From his answer, it is clear that for Tommi academic writing requires a structure into which his natural way of thinking, his 'flow' of thoughts, must be forced through hard effort, 'again and again'. 'The flow way', as Tommi puts it, is not 'a good way' in academic writing. Stephanie, likewise, describes the structure of academic writing as being a 'problem'.

Stephanie I s:ometimes really have problems to like really structure to I don't know but I think that my biggest problem is to put everything into proper paragraphs that are like somehow that is (.) connected

For Stephanie, the 'problem' is achieving 'proper paragraphs' – again giving the sense that in academic writing there is a strict way in which the writing must be formed in order to be correct. This correct structure is linear or as Stephanie puts it 'connected', where you do not deviate from the line of thought you have begun. This notion was repeated continually in all of the interviews, for example with Mei stating that a weak essay is one in which 'you start the point but go in a different direction'. When asked why this linear structure should be adhered to, all the students emphasized the importance of clarity and simplicity in academic writing. Academic writing in their view should not be 'complicated' (Mei), 'blurry' (Kimiko), 'mixed up' (Stephanie), 'dubious' (Amir) or 'confusing' (Julia).

As with 'point of view', the students stressed the importance of structure and clarity over the validity of the ideas themselves. Julia commented that 'the main point would be do I understand... it doesn't matter if I agree or not but does it all make sense because the arguments are well put and they are well organized'.

When asked to explain more specifically what a correct structure is, all of the students gave the format as introduction, main body and conclusion. In fact, this structure was apparently so obvious to the students that it was difficult to get them to explain it in detail. The following is an example of this:

Stephanie Well introduction main part conclusion \$hh\$ to make it

Laura Yup okay that's the short version

Stephanie To make it easier

Laura Any other points perhaps or

Stephanie Well you have your argument that you want to prove and like I don't know some kind of opening question and then try to in the main part try to prove your argument and what you develop it

In this extract, Stephanie gave her initial answer '*introduction main part conclusion*' very quickly in one breath and then laughed, as though acknowledging that she is repeating a clichéd phrase. And again, the students used very similar discourse to describe the essay sections and their functions. For example, in regards to the introduction, Stephanie stated '*you have your argument that you want to prove*', whereas Mei said '*you give the thing you want to talk*' and Julia explained '*you present what you are talking about*', and all three stated that the main body should then '*develop it*'

7.6 Findings: Authority

On the basis of the above, the students seemed to create a fairly uniform, global discourse around good academic writing in English. On a local level, however, the students clearly perceived teachers or professors as local authorities. There was a sense in all the students' answers that their writing is subject to teachers' expectations. The following extract from Mei's interviews sums up this perception nicely:

Mei So sometimes you just write it in the way you think it should be but sometimes it's like it should be just like teachers think it should be like the sentences should be maybe more like shorter but uh to the uh to the

Laura To the point yeah

Mei Yeah but sometimes you will just forget and use the way you write in day

Here, Mei clearly positions her writing as being incorrect, contrasting the way she *'thinks it should be'* with the way *'teachers think it should be'* and clearly giving the latter the final verdict. She also makes an interesting contrast between her normal way of writing – implied by the phrase *'the way you write in day'* – and academic writing, which is the domain of the teachers.

As local authorities, however, teachers' academic writing norms were perceived by most of the students as being variable and often contestable. Kimiko, for example, repeated several times when asked what she thought constitutes a 'good' essay that *'it depends on the teacher'*. Several of the students explicitly contested the authority of local teachers in evaluating their writing. In doing so, they tended to draw on ideals or authorities that they perceived to be more global or higher ranking than teachers' opinions. In particular, the ideal they expressed of writing being an individualistic practice seemed to conflict with the notion that they should care about a teacher's opinion of their work. When asked directly about his experience of grading, Tommi expressed these sentiments quite clearly:

Laura Do you usually know what kind of grade you're going to get

Tommi I didn't actually care \$hhh\$ just because usually if I'm doing something I'm interested in I usually (.) at that point I don't care what's the grade

He went on to explain:

Tommi Sometimes like I find some kind of teachers they can be professional in some way but if you give them like a new point of view or something that is entirely different from theirs even if it's good writing or good research and they don't like it they don't give you the good grade

Here, Tommi reiterates that the important thing in academic writing is to have a *'new point of view'* and to be *'doing something I'm interested in'*. He, in fact, seems to see his teachers as often transgressing this important global yet individual purpose of writing. His disclaimer, *'they can be professional in some way but'*, clearly suggests in his view that failing to accept new opinions is in some way failing to be professional teachers or academics.

This ideological conflict was also referred to by several students as a conflict between teachers themselves, where some teachers understood the importance of having an original point of view and some teachers did not. Kimiko even commented that she could tell already from the teacher's course description '*which side*' the teacher is on, defining the sides as follows:

Kimiko Some professors um they weigh quite heavily on academic writing to good academic writing so they just care about the styles ... how well you write and use of language it's quite important for them more than perhaps what's written in the I mean like the idea ... um some professors preferred to see something um some um personal thing ideas and opinions

This also seems to be a conflict between the two norms that students described earlier, namely to have '*personal ideas*' and to conform to strict structural and linguistic conventions, where '*good academic writing*' is a question of '*styles*'.

Amir also expressed some uncertainty about which side the teachers on the master's programme in Finland would take in this apparently global conflict. He explained that he would like to try to be more creative in structuring his writing and use more of what he termed a '*way of narrating*' in essays, but that he was not sure whether teachers would accept it. In his words, he was not sure '*how much they (professors) believe that every student is coming here to make a unique identity for himself*'. In this comment, the ideal of students' individuality or '*unique identity*' is framed as a global creed to which a professor or community of professors may or may not ascribe.

Beside this individualistic creed, students drew from two other apparently global authorities in challenging a teacher's right to judge their writing. The first we would summarize as the authority of '*professional writers*' – particularly within literary or journalistic fields. When Amir is asked directly about his perceptions of teachers' grades, he – like Tommi in the earlier example – dismisses the question:

Laura So you knew if you were going to get a bad mark from it or if you were going to get a good one

Amir Yes yes

Laura Okay

Amir But you know (.) after the university writing was my profession in a \$way\$ I was a \$writer\$ I wrote so many so many journals in uh so many places (the) books that I have fourteen books in my language

In this extract, the question received a quick ‘*yes yes*’ response with a descending intonation, indicating irritation. This is followed by the conjunction ‘*but*’, implying that the details he gives are rather in dismissal of the question. The basis of this dismissal can be summed up by the statements ‘*writing was my profession*’ and ‘*I was a writer*’. Claiming an identity as a professional writer somehow contradicts the notion implied by the question – that is that he should be concerned with good or bad marks from teachers. Moreover, Amir went on to place literary writing at the top of an ideological hierarchy of writing practices. He explained that ‘*as a poet*’, academic writing conventions are simply ‘*not correct*’ and in fact ‘*primitive*’.

Julia also claimed the authority to challenge her teachers’ expectations due to her identity as a journalistic writer (albeit unpaid):

Julia I’m always writing for uh journals and magazines every chance I have I write text as freelancer I never get anything like paid for that but well it’s fun but it’s a different terminology it’s different level especially if you’re working with public it’s supposed to be a light reading and interesting and appealing it’s different from academic although I have one thing that my teachers here they are kind of scared of me because I still think that I can do although it’s academic writing I still think I can do the thesis in a way that is interesting and appealing and easy to read I don’t want to this heavy academic writing

Like Amir, she sees her experience in and enthusiasm for journalism, ‘*always writing for journals and magazines*’, as giving her the ability to go against her teachers by insisting on writing in a way that is ‘*interesting*’ and ‘*appealing*’. The teachers, presumably the bastions of uninteresting and unappealing, ‘*heavy academic writing*’, are ‘*scared of her*’ as a result.

The final centre of authority in English academic writing practice seemed to override local teachers’ authorities, students’ universal right to individuality and professional writer’s identity. On a global hierarchy, the viewpoints and practices of native English speakers – especially native speakers from the United Kingdom or the United States – seemed to rank the highest in the students’ perceptions (‘norm-providing inner circle’ in Pennycook, 2007a).

Non-nativeness and lack of experience in English-speaking communities were repeatedly referred to as a '*problem*' in being able to write well – both in regards to language and in regards to structure. The following extract is from Stephanie's description of her experience with teachers' grading in Germany (in an English department):

Stephanie It was quite funny and after a while I stopped wondering I wrote two essays for two of my two major classes and a friend from Ireland corrected them for me and for those two essays and for \$those\$ two essays I got the comment that I should seriously work on my English so \$hhheh\$

Laura From the teachers or from the friend

Stephanie From the teachers no from the teachers but the problem is like none of teachers was a real native English speaker they were all Germans well they've been living abroad and everything but anyway

Here, the fact that her teachers were not '*real native English speakers*', but had only spent time abroad, clearly decreases their authority in Stephanie's perception. In this scenario, she positions her Irish friend's opinion of her essay as correct and her German teachers' opinion as incorrect – with her teachers as having a '*problem*'. Her faith in her Irish friend's authority was, in fact, so emphatic that its contradiction by her teachers is intended to be humorous, as suggested by her laughter. No further qualifications are given for her friend's authority other than being '*from Ireland*'.

Amir, whose own authority as a professional writer was stressed emphatically throughout the interview, nevertheless also seemed to view the lack of nativeness as a '*problem*'. In explaining his weaknesses in English academic writing, he stated:

Amir I've translated so many difficult poets into my language and uh my reading I'm sure about it and my way of writing I could communicate all the time but my problem in English is that I was not in English an English society

Despite having translated '*so many difficult poets*' and despite being able to '*communicate all the time*', he nevertheless sees himself as lacking due to not being in '*an English society*'. What he lacks and how his writing is affected by this '*problem*' was not explained.

Moreover, both Amir and Julia in supporting their teachers' right to use English as a medium during their university studies in Iran and Brazil, respectively, explained that they had been educated in America and England.

- Amir ... completely were in English and even the physics the mathematics all of them were in English
- Laura Okay yeah and did you write in English there or was it in Persian
- Amir Writing in English yes because the professors you know in my university most of the professors came as educated in USA
- Julia No for the English school we had Brazilians and we had English people we had both but the Brazilian teachers of course they lived in England for some time and they did uh mostly their master's and PhD in England and then they came back to teach

In Julia's answer especially, she seems to justify the fact that her English-medium school used Brazilian teachers by explaining their experience in England, adding the information with the conjunction '*but*' as though worried that the school might be devalued. Also, the words '*of course*' suggest that she considers this experience with English society to be an obvious necessity for teaching through English.

It was also interesting in the interviews that, although native speakers were authorities in general, the real centre seemed to be British or American academics. For Julia, in fact, a blending of British and American English was the globalization of English. To her, the blend of British and American academic writing styles is the creation of a global style that everyone can understand:

- Julia most books I re- uh most books people here has to read they are not only American they are not only British they are American authors too and what I see in the books in the thesis is that there are like semantic differences but not as much as the structural differences as I used to see before I kind of feel globalization of this area too that the texts are getting to a new common level so everybody can understand doesn't matter where you live

Here, the research in English that she reads is explicitly determined to be British or American and their combination is creating global English, '*a common level so everyone can understand*' regardless of their local communities. She later recommended that in order to learn to be a better academic writer in English, everyone should read these 'original' texts. The clear global centre for English writing, for Julia, is therefore British and American.

7.7 Discussion

In an emergent transnational community of mobile academic writers such as those in this study, literacy is indeed in transition. The global and local meet in students' discourse on good, normal and correct academic literacy in English. On a global level, students readily and easily resort to seemingly universal norms of what counts as good academic writing. The analysis found surprising similarity in this discourse, despite the students' differing cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As Strässler (2008: 218–299) also demonstrates, the academic world seems to be subscribing not only to the use of English as a *lingua franca* but also to a common set of discourse practices which it seems to involve.

Specifically, academic writing was characterized by the students as essay and thesis writing, which entail strict, linear structures as well as individualistic, critical 'points of view'. The individualistic discourse on writing is particularly remarkable considering the students' cultural backgrounds. Much contrastive rhetoric research into academic writing carried out in the 1990s took up in particular the expectation of a personal viewpoint in academic writing as being a major difference between cultures. It was claimed that especially Asian students avoided expressing their own ideas, aiming for harmonious writing that is obedient to rather than critical of authority (e.g. Ballard & Clancy, 1991; Connor, 1996; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999). The students interviewed for this study, however, from Asia and Western Europe alike, seemed to be very well versed in discourse on writing as individual and critical. While this does not necessarily mean that they will adopt similar strategies for expressing their viewpoints in practice, it does suggest that this ideology of academic writing as individualistic is now widespread, at least for 'transmobile' students such as these.

On a local level, however, these norms seemed to clash with their personal experiences of writing in various contexts. When describing their experiences with writing at university, teachers were clearly authorities for the students. The students challenged this authority, however, with their perceptions of universal writing ideals, and teachers' professionalism was even measured by their understanding of academic writing as an individualistic endeavour.

Moreover, several students challenged both their local teachers' authority and their understanding of global academic writing norms through their experiences with other writing genres. They claimed authority for themselves as good writers by drawing from norms in genres that they considered to be better than academic writing – particularly literary and journalistic. Their ways of expressing this superiority was close to what Ivanič (2004: 329) describes as a 'discourse of creativity', where writing is creative self-expression, with the goal of entertaining or intriguing the reader. Their discourse clearly illustrates that ideological conflict in literacy practices occurs not only between different language varieties or between different cultural norms (e.g. a British versus a Finnish context) but also between different genres of writing.

Most frequently, however, ownership of English academic writing on both local and global levels was ascribed by the students to native English speakers, and among native English speakers, mostly to British and American academics. Students evaluated both their own and their local teachers' authority in English writing based on their proximity to native speaker identity. They also felt that good academic writing practices were best learnt by studying 'original' texts produced by native English speakers and, in one case, the globalization of English was specifically described as a blending of British and American writing norms. This reiterates Lillis and Curry's (2010: 135) observation that for many academic writers in English, 'global is a place called the 'US' – or rather, in this case, an international domain of the United States and the United Kingdom.

With these fluctuating norms of academic literacy, the students begin the English-medium master's programme within Finland and start to adapt their literacy practices to the emerging context. Despite acknowledging their lack of native ability as a 'problem', however, students expressed very little apprehension at the thought of writing essays or even a master's thesis in English on the programme. It was as though upon travelling between local communities where English is not the native language, native authority need not be feared and one's own understanding of global practices might be trusted. The use of English therefore seemed to represent for students the ability to travel unproblematically between ELF contexts, while studying to become part of an imagined global community of academics within their field.

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II

I KNOW THAT THE NATIVES MUST SUFFER EVERY NOW AND THEN': NATIVE/NON-NATIVE INDEXING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN FINNISH HIGHER EDUCATION.

by

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Laura McCambridge and Taina Saarinen

13 “I know that the natives must suffer every now and then”: Native/non-native indexing language ideologies in Finnish higher education

Abstract: This article examines the construction of “native” and “non-native” English use in Finnish higher education. Previous studies on the Finnish situation implicate not just language ideological but political hierarchies which favour students from the traditional, hegemonic “Inner circle” countries such as the United Kingdom, United States, Australia, Anglophone Canada, Ireland and New Zealand. This hegemonic position of the inner circle variants is being challenged by an emerging normative ELF ideology. Our article tackles the meeting point of these ideological positions. We aim to understand how native English speaker ideologies might be changing as a result of globalization. We have combined data from our individual research projects, based on interviews with students and staff with a variety of L1 backgrounds at two Finnish universities and one university of applied sciences, and using particularly the data extracts where constructions of native/non-native appear regarding English. Our results indicate that while there are strong norms still in favour of native-like English, different political and pedagogical factors are challenging the native norm. We conclude by discussing the potential implications of this development to language policies in the internationalization of (Finnish) higher education.

Keywords: nativeness, non-nativeness, higher education internationalization, English, ideology

1 Introduction

In recent decades, English seems to have strengthened its role as a de facto lingua franca of higher education (see, for instance, Wilkinson 2013). The apparent linguistic homogenization in higher education contexts runs contrary to the development of (super)diversified (Vertovec 2007) forms of immigration and the array of languages that has resulted. In higher education contexts, it has been

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assumed (and with good reason; see Phillipson 2009; Hughes 2008), that native speakers of English have benefited from the hegemonic position of their mother tongue. The work of Lillis and Curry (2010) demonstrates critically the struggle of non-Anglophone scholars in Anglo-American publishing contexts. Nativeness has been seen as a norm and a desired ideal (see Jenkins 2011). With diversifying forms of international communication and interaction, however, we may be witnessing increasing controversies in how people use English and how they relate to “native” English (Leppänen et al. 2011). Therefore, the position of English as spoken globally by natives and non-natives calls for problematization and reconceptualization. In this article, we examine constructions and ideologies of nativeness and non-nativeness in English in the context of Finnish higher education.

2 English and internationalization of higher education

English-speaking countries have asymmetrically dominated the internationalization market of higher education over the decades following the Second World War. Non-Anglophone institutions (like Finnish universities) typically and increasingly resort to producing English language teaching at universities and universities of applied sciences (the latter being the Finnish equivalent of polytechnics or *Fachhochschule*) to overcome the asymmetry in the increasingly international student markets. The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries alone hosted approximately 1.6 million foreign students in 2001, one third of whom in the USA and an additional 25 per cent in the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Marginson 2006: 17). The focus on these major flows should not hide the fact, however, that the heterogeneous group of international students is mobile for a multitude of reasons, and not all students have the same possibilities for mobility. Murphy-Lejeune (2008: 20–22) has categorized international students particularly in the European context in four ways:

1. permanent residents vs. internationally mobile students
2. Europeans vs. non-Europeans
3. institutional exchange students vs. free movers, and
4. the different schemes within the intra-European mobility.

Murphy-Lejeune suggests that the institutional European movers are the beneficiaries in this scheme, while the non-European free movers and those who cannot be mobile are the more unlucky contenders.

The fact that the English-speaking countries also charge relatively high fees for international students makes international study an economic commodity – and a huge global business. The reasons for offering English-medium study programmes for international students may be allocated, according to Coleman (2006) to seven categories: CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), internationalization, student exchanges, teaching and research materials, staff mobility, graduate employability and the market in international students. As Coleman points out, this “rainbow of motives ranges from the ethical and pedagogical through the pragmatic to the commercial” (Coleman 2006: 4).

While the Anglophone countries dominate the markets in international (in most cases, English-medium) study, non-Anglophone countries have strongly increased their supply of English medium programmes over the past decade. Bernd Wächter and Friedhelm Maiworm have studied the development in consecutive surveys since early 2000s. In their 2002 survey, based on ‘positive’ estimates, 4 per cent of all degree programmes were taught through English and 30 per cent of all institutions reported offering English taught programmes. In their 2008 study, these percentages had risen to 7 and 47 respectively. In another study, Brenn-White and Faethe (2013) further report that the number of English-medium Master’s programmes in Europe has again increased by 38 per cent between 2011 and 2013, with the largest growth occurring in courses taught entirely in English. Of the approximately 21,000 Master’s programmes in Europe, 6,407 programmes are taught either entirely (5,258) or partially (1,149) in English. The Netherlands and Germany offer the greatest number of English-medium programmes, with Sweden reaching the third place after a 73 per cent increase in the last two years. Finland, which already featured highly in Wächter and Maiworm’s statistics (2002, 2008), has also increased its English-medium Master’s programmes by 52 per cent (from 172 to 261) in the last two years (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

It seems that the three-tier degree systems, introduced in European countries following the Bologna Process, have further accelerated the adoption of English-medium Master’s programmes in non-Anglophone countries. It thus seems that the trend for English speaking countries might be turning. One indication of this is a survey of site traffic on programme websites, which showed that the percentage of total page views is still highest in the UK, but the views have gone down from 31 per cent to 24 per cent, with a corresponding rise in Continental website views (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013). While this may be the result of different kinds of political issues (not least the increasing study fees in England), it is also possible that greater interest in Continental Europe is a result of an increased offer in English taught programmes in those countries (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

The traditional scenery of non-Anglophone students heading for Anglophone countries has thus become more diversified, increasing the different kinds of constellations of native – non-native English speaker encounters, and making the hierarchization of native/non-native visible. Language ideologies linked with understandings of English spoken as native/non-native are thus highly relevant and they need to be studied.

3 English in Finnish higher education

Finland is officially bilingual, with Finnish and Swedish having equal constitutional status. Consequently, Finnish institutions of higher education (both universities and universities of applied sciences) are by legislation either Finnish, Swedish, or bilingual. Since the 1990s, English has been increasingly used as a language of tuition in Finnish higher education, but only the University Law of 2004 gave universities, for the first time, the right to grant degrees (in addition to providing tuition) also in languages other than Finnish or Swedish (Saarinen 2012a).

While English is not among the biggest immigrant languages in Finland, it is without doubt the biggest foreign language studied in primary, secondary and tertiary education. The position of English is such that it has been termed the “third domestic” language (after Finnish and Swedish) because of its wide usage and popularity (Leppänen, Nikula, and Kääntä 2008). Finns appear to have positive feelings towards English in general: 90 per cent of Finns think that English is necessary for international communication and 89 per cent of Finns have a rather or very positive attitude towards English-medium schools in Finland. Fifty-four per cent of respondents in Leppänen et al. (2011) reported that they feel admiration towards Finns who can speak English fluently with a native-like accent. The most admired varieties appeared to be the British and North American varieties, while the least admired varieties of English were Indian and Finnish English. Interestingly, 55 per cent of respondents felt that their English skills were inadequate when they spoke with native English speakers, but only 30 per cent when they spoke with non-native English speakers (Leppänen et al. 2011). These results suggest that native-like English skills are respected, but that at the same time, nativeness (or native-speakers) is perceived a somewhat intimidating as well.

In Finnish higher education, English has the traditional functions as a medium of teaching; as a means of archiving knowledge in different text repositories like books and libraries; and as an object of theoretical study (see Brumfit

2004: 164 for the categorization). The data of this article focuses on situations of English as a medium of teaching and as an object of (theoretical) study.

The use of English as a medium of teaching started to increase as systematic internationalization of Finnish higher education began to take shape in the 1980s. Together with the policies, foreign language study programmes have been initiated since the turn of the 1990s. Exchange programmes, supported by the then European Communities both for students and staff, started to grow, and the universities were rewarded as a part of the so-called management by results steering frame among other things for internationalization, operationalized mainly as mobility of students and staff (Saarinen 1997). The new funding allocation system for Finnish universities, effective from 2015, emphasizes internationalization even more clearly (Ministry of Education and Culture 2014).

As a consequence of this systematic policy, international degree programmes were initiated both to attract international students and to foster “internationalization at home” (Nilsson 2000) for Finnish students. The term *internationalization at home* was coined in the 1990s, as it became obvious that the Erasmus mobility goal of 10 per cent left 90 per cent of the students outside mobility schemes. The question “*what to do for the remaining 90%*” (Wächter 2000: 6) was answered with the idea that any international contacts, also those outside formal mobility schemes, were, in fact, forms of internationalization. As a consequence, more attention was paid to what universities (as opposed to mobile students) could do to advance internationalization. Particularly, the new polytechnic (later university of applied sciences) sector was active in internationalization by “foreign language” (i.e. English) study programmes. In the 1990s, German and French language degree programmes still existed to some extent alongside their English language counterparts. Gradually, however, English became in practice the only language in international degree programmes in Finland (Saarinen 2012a). As Anita Lehtikoinen, a long-time Ministry of Education official and current Permanent Secretary quipped (2004), discussing the euphemistic usage of “foreign” for “English”: “We always say foreign-language education, and everyone knows that in practice it means English, only English” (Lehtikoinen 2004: 44).

In December 2013, approximately 291 Master’s degree level programmes are offered in English at Finnish higher education institutions, with 257 at universities and the remaining 34 at universities of applied sciences (Study in Finland 2013). Regardless of this, the position of English has not really been questioned until quite recently, as languages have been fairly invisible in Finnish higher education internationalization policies (Saarinen 2012b). Since the latest university reform of 2010, English language programmes have undergone an increase of approximately 50 per cent in Finland (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013), and only now a

more critical public eye has been turned towards the increasing use of English. The development is exemplified by Aalto University's recent language policy guidelines, where English has been made the *de facto* third official language of the university alongside Finnish and Swedish; similar decisions have been made in other universities as well. This development is witnessed most recently by three decisions by the Chancellor of Justice's office in November 2013, where the complaints dealt specifically with the students' right to use Finnish also in English medium degree programmes. The Chancellor of Justice's Office ruled that while the universities in question were entitled by University Law to teach also in English, they would have to be more specific about the use of English and the student's right to answer exams and essays in Finnish (Chancellor of Justice's Office 2013a; Chancellor of Justice's Office 2013b; Chancellor of Justice's Office 2013c).

English as a subject discipline (in Brumfit's 2004: 164 terms "object of theoretical study"), on the other hand, is located in departments of English and English translation, and in university Language Centres. English can be studied as a major subject in 8 universities Finnish universities, and it has the biggest yearly intakes in language departments (Pyykkö et al. 2006; Opetushallitus 2013). The Language Centres, in turn, provide the language and communication studies for higher education degrees. Only Finnish and Swedish studies are compulsory for all Finnish students, and the number of required foreign languages varies between universities and study programmes. However, judging at least by statistics at the University of Jyväskylä (2012), English is in practice the most widely studied foreign language in Language Centres as well.

4 The concept of the native vs. non-native English speaker

The native speaker versus non-native speaker dichotomy has been central within many branches of linguistics. In language learning and teaching, the native speaker has been positioned as an ideal model, being someone who has acquired the language as a child, uses it in "authentic" contexts and therefore has ownership over how the language is used correctly. In linguistic theory, the native speaker has been viewed as someone with an ideal, instinctive understanding of a language's grammatical system, with that language having developed in the native's mind as a child alongside other physical development (cf. Paikeday, 1985: 40, 71). The concept is also strongly connected to ideological

constructions of national and cultural identity, with one's native language being the language of one's home country and/or family, as suggested also by its often interchangeable use with the term "mother tongue".

What constitutes nativeness in practice, however, is more ambiguous. According to Doerr (2009), the idea of the native speaker as an ideal model in language teaching is linked to three conceptual premises: the association of one nation with one language, the assumption of native speakers as a homogeneous linguistic group (often juxtaposed with "non-natives" as another homogeneous group), and the assumption of a native speaker's complete competence in the native language. All three of these premises are clearly problematic. Particularly in the case of English, the link between the language and any one nation-state is wearing thin, and globalization has led to its still increasing use in international and multicultural settings – such as within international higher education. This diversification of contexts and communities in which English is used has in turn led to diversification in the ways in which it is used. The illusion of a linguistically homogeneous English native-speaking group becomes impossible to maintain. And with such diversification, it also becomes more obvious that no one speaker, native or otherwise, could achieve a "complete competence" in 'the English language'.

With this ambiguity, the use of the term native-speaker, particularly concerning English, typically becomes ideologically loaded. If a native speaker model is to be maintained, but not all native speakers use the language in the same way, some must then be deemed "more native" than others. Likewise, while some of the contexts in which English is used internationally and intranationally are viewed as "authentic" and therefore native, some are in turn viewed as less authentic. Traditionally, "inner circle" contexts, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Anglophone Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand (Kachru 1997), have been favored over outer circle contexts, such as former colonies. This can be seen in Finnish higher education both in language testing for international programmes (Saarinen and Nikula 2013) and in attempts to officially define nativeness in English for application purposes.

Holliday (2006) terms the pervasive ideology surrounding the native speaker in English language teaching as "native-speakerism". Native-speakerism, he argues, encompasses more than simply the concept of the English native speaker as having acquired English as a child, but has rather become associated with "Westernism" – i.e. with the idea that native speakers of English represent Western culture. Western culture is in turn often constructed as active, assertive and individualistic, and juxtaposed with non-native cultures as conformist, indirect and docile (Holliday 2006). The native speaker teacher in academia, for example, is thus implicitly perceived not only as teaching English vocabulary and grammar,

but also the perceived conventions of “English-speaking” academic discourse, such as having a strong point of view and linear analytic thought.

Lillis and Curry (2010) discuss the position of non-English speaking scholars in the Anglo-American dominated publishing scene, not just from the point of view of having the linguistic resources to access publishing and funding, but also from the point of view of having access to the evaluation of what counts as relevant knowledge for the global academic audience. In their words, this is not just a question of a distinction between the local (i.e. taking place in the national language) and global (i.e. Anglophone) publishing practices. This “raises questions about the *boundaries* rather than the *distinctions* [emphasis in original] between the two contexts, particularly in scholars’ attempts to cross these” (Lillis and Curry 2010: 137).

The spread of English and increase in contexts in which English is used by “non-native” speakers has also given rise to theory that challenges native ownership over the language. Literature on English as a lingua franca (ELF) – often defined as the use of English between non-native speakers, although more recently seen simply as the use of English between people with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Jenkins 2009) – has claimed that ELF, particularly spoken ELF, is emerging as a form (or forms) of English with its own norms or at least principles of use (see Seidlhofer 2003). Non-native speakers of English are seen to be shaping the language in ELF contexts as much as native speakers (Seidlhofer 2005).

The most visible reconceptualization of the native versus non-native dichotomy in English has nevertheless been on an academic level, with linguists in the field describing the functions and norms of ELF and theoretically dissociating these from English as a native language (ENL). Much of this has been politically related, in response to the power divide that can result in international communication where some are using “their own” language, whereas others are using a “foreign” language. Indeed the support in ELF literature for reconceptualising English is often constructed on the basis of non-native speakers now outnumbering native speakers (e.g. Seidlhofer 2003; Jenkins 2006), giving the sense that through this strength in numbers, such ideological power relations must be reversed. If English is no longer owned by natives but rather adapted and shaped to meet the needs and identities of its non-native users, a possible threat of cultural and linguistic imperialism can be dispelled.

Whether non-linguists perceive ELF as a valid alternative to ENL is less clear. Jenkins’ (2007) overview of attitudes towards ELF concluded that standard language ideology is pervasive in English internationally and native speaker norms are still viewed as the model for standards. However, some discrepancy could be seen in attitudes towards different NNS accents. In line with Holliday’s

concept of Westernism, Northern and Western-European accents seemed to be less stigmatized than “Asian” and “Pacific” accents (see Jenkins 2007: 81–82, 219–220). Jenkins stresses the role of identity in this ideology, i.e. that non-native speakers’ attitudes towards nativeness is shaped by the communities or labels they wish to identify with through their English use.

Recent research has also indicated that attitudes towards ELF may be changing. Kalocsai (2009) examined language socialization into two Erasmus communities in Prague and found that students developed new norms for English use which they felt positively towards. Although NS English remained “real” English in these students’ perceptions, they nevertheless considered their own English use to be an important aspect of their identities and they valued efficient communication over correctness. Cogo (2010), reporting on data gathered in the UK, the Czech Republic and Hungary, similarly found that although “perfect” English was equated with NS English and NNS English was therefore imperfect by comparison, participants generally had positive perceptions of NNS English, based on their experiences with using English in international contexts. Finally, Hynninen (2013), in a study of norm regulation in ELF at the University of Helsinki, found that although speakers’ beliefs about correctness in English were primarily based on concepts of NS ownership, they nevertheless also drew on alternative sources for constructing norms. Native speaker ideology seems therefore still to underpin non-linguists’ attitudes, but the role of English as an international lingua franca in practice has led to more ambiguity in these perceptions.

5 Present study: Questions, data and analysis

This article takes as its starting point the apparent clash between two ideological tendencies in the use of English in Finnish higher education. On the one hand, explicit language proficiency requirements in Finnish international study programmes implicate political hierarchies which favour students from the traditional, hegemonic “Inner circle” (Kachru 1997), rather than the former colonies where outer circle variants are spoken, regardless of the fact that students may have used English throughout their whole study career (Saarinen and Nikula 2013). On the other hand, this hegemonic position of the inner circle variants is being challenged by an emerging (explicit) normative ELF ideology (see discussion in previous section).

Our article tackles the meeting point of these ideological positions. We aim to understand how native speaker ideologies might be changing in English as a result of globalization. We are looking particularly at higher education where

English is increasingly being used as a lingua franca both on global and local levels.

Our questions are:

- How is the concept of nativeness versus non-nativeness in English construed in our data?
- What kinds of language ideologies do these constructions reflect? What are the (higher education) political implications; in other words, what kinds of dynamics and power relations become visible in the situations where native/non-native are touched upon?

In this article, we have combined data from our individual research projects, using particularly the data extracts where constructions of native/non-native appear regarding English. The data for this article was, in other words, collected for different purposes. What the projects have in common is an interest in internationalization of higher education and the position of English in it.

One set of data is taken from a PhD project investigating norms and ideologies of English writing on an international Master's Programme at a medium-sized university in Finland (McCambridge forthcoming). The project followed four to six students with varied linguistics and cultural backgrounds through three years of their studies, as well as gathering more general ethnographic data from the programme. The data analyzed for this article consists of fourteen individual semi-structured interviews with the students and five individual semi-structured interviews with teachers on the programme. Students' interviews focussed on their perceptions and experiences of writing in English on the programme. Teachers' interviews focussed on their perceptions of writing on the programme, as well as expectations for and evaluations of students' texts. Students from this data set are referred to in the analysis using the following pseudonyms: Mei (Chinese), Stephanie (German), and Kimiko (Japanese). Teachers are referred to as: Mikko (Finnish), Megan (from the US), Matti (Finnish), and Anita (a Swedish speaking Finn)

The data on internationalization of higher education is part of a three year project "Internationalization and invisible language" (Saarinen 2011–2013), funded by the Academy of Finland. The data used for this article includes eight individual semi-structured interviews with Finnish university and university of applied sciences staff (both academic, administrative and other staff) and international students, and one semi-structured group interview with four international students in a Finnish university of applied sciences. The interviews are part of a larger set of interviews in Finland and Denmark (N = 22). The interviews focussed on internationalization of higher education institutions from the point of view of various staff and student groups; *language* was not an explicit focus of the interviews, but it was brought up by the interviewer if not otherwise mentioned.

Interestingly, while it might have been expected that the role of language – particularly either English or the national language(s) – would come up in discussions on internationalization, this was not always the case.

We analysed our data qualitatively, using content and discourse analytical tools and focussing on explicit and implicit references to *native/non-native*. We focussed on the explicit or implicit constructions of *nativeness* versus *non-nativeness* based on the kinds of meanings and connotations that were attached to the terms by our informants. Investigating constructions of native/non-native was not the specific focus of either project, but in both sets of interviews, the observation of issues linked to nativeness prompted the co-operation for this article. Additionally, we looked specifically into references to “English” and the (ideological) connotations attached to the language. We approach *ideologies* as sets of beliefs about the position of a language or its speakers in a society (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), which, in turn, may turn into political hierarchizations about the (political, cultural and social) value of the language and its speakers (see Nikula et al. 2012; Saarinen and Nikula 2013).

6 Analysis: The “not” and the “but” in native / non-native ideologies

Next, we present the results of our analysis. Two major categories emerged from the data; we have named these *non-nativeness as not* and *non-nativeness as but*.

The *non-nativeness as not* category reflects mainly on the native speaker ideal: nativeness as something that is difficult to achieve or as something that the speaker does not identify with. The *non-nativeness as but* category, in turn, presents challenges to the ideal, showing nativeness and non-nativeness as “separate but equal” categories. The categories not only overlap but are intertwined, as “but” emerges as a possibility of challenging the “not”, which represents the traditional understanding of the (linguistic, educational and social) superiority of the native speaker norm. Just as non-native is not construed explicitly but in relation to native, “non-nativeness as but” requires an understanding of the position of the native speaker in the social hierarchy.

6.1 Non-nativeness as “not”: Reproducing the native ideal

Most of the participants in our data construed nativeness on the one hand as correctness and on the other hand in terms of negation. They made it clear

that they were not natives, and implied that they therefore lacked a certain native authority in determining correct English practices. In this sense they reproduced nativeness as an ideal.

For Mei, a Chinese student on the international Master's programme, not being a native-speaker meant that she could never be sure whether her use of English was "right". She explained, "it's not my mother language, so I don't know if I'm right ... you are using the language you've been taught and you think it's the right English I mean... but still there are differences compared to the natives expect so yeah". Here, she clearly positions nativeness as correctness and her own English as being something different to this ideal. Even if she uses the language in the way she has been taught and believes is right, "the natives" know better.

In the next passage, the interviewee, a German exchange student studying in a Finnish university of applied sciences, seems to conceptualize "native English" as creating something of a threshold for entering a native English speaking country, assuming that natives might be more inclined to pay attention to "mistakes" made by non-natives, implying an expectation of natives as gate-keepers:

I So you came here, because you thought that lang-... the English language was of high quality here?

A yeah... that's because I applied, because I knew that Finland was quite successful at PISA, that they have the television programmes in English, that they have early contact with English, and that's what I guessed that they would have a high quality of English... but it's still not their mother tongue, so it's OK to make mistakes as a student [...]

Nativeness is, in other words, construed as creating a challenge, or pressure even, as something demanding that the non-natives may have difficulty reaching. This links with the assumption, discussed above, of natives representing the "right" usage of English: The interviewee also implies that it might be "less OK" to make mistakes in an English speaking country, thus strengthening the assumption of the natives speakers as guardians of the "right" English.

Stephanie, a German student on the Master's programme, also positioned nativeness as authoritative in contrast to non-nativeness. When asked about her experiences of studying English in a German university, she challenged her German professors' authority concerning her use of English due to their not being "real native speakers":

S the only feedback I got in regard to my English was, well it was quite funny and was surprising. After a while I stopped wondering. I wrote two essays for

two major classes and a friend from Ireland corrected them for me and for those two essays... I got the comment that I should seriously work on my English so hhheh

- L from the teachers or from the friend?
 S from the teachers no from the teachers, but the problem is like none of none was a real native English speaker, they were all Germans
 L okay
 S well they've been living abroad and everything but

For Stephanie, the authority of her Irish friend over English clearly overrides the authority of her German English professors. “Real” nativeness is here construed as being from an inner circle English speaking country, and despite her teachers’ expertise in English and experiences of living abroad, their German origin is a “problem” in the validity of their feedback.

The following excerpt presents a layered construction of stereotyping native North American English speakers as demanding a native-like accent (“American accent”) from Finns, and another one where a non-native English speaking Finn assumes that Finns have “excellent skills”. The interviewee is a faculty level administrator at a university:

Well maybe these cultural differences have appeared that, some feedback that for instance Americans who speak their mother tongue so they kind of expect Finns to use the same accent, and then even if your language skills are excellent but the accent is different then they feel that he she doesn't know any English. (T: so did I understand this correctly, the mother tongue speakers complain that...) yeah yeah, students complain that it's not in their own accent [Our translation].

While the interviewee reports that “Americans” expect Finns to speak in their own accent, this is not elaborated in detail. The interviewee does imply that “the Americans” expect a North American accent, but we do not know why this might be the case: is it perhaps easier to comprehend one's own (even if not a native) accent, or is it a question of “the Americans” expecting the Finnish staff to have a native-like accent?

As the phrase “real native English speaker” exemplifies, nativeness seemed to exist in the data on a continuum. Although the participants mostly positioned nativeness as something they were “not”, some “non-natives” were nevertheless more native than others. This continuum often seemed to mirror Holliday's description of native-speakerism as a cultural construct with Western culture positioned as native and “non-Western” cultures as the non-native other. On the Master's programme, non-Western students' writing was described by several of the teachers as more problematic and East Asian students in particular were

characterized as lacking strong individual voices in their texts. For example, Kimiko, a Japanese student, was described by Mikko, a Finnish teacher, as having made great progress, learning to write with more assertive language, after having begun as a “shy uh shy not self- not that self-assured, lost Japanese woman“. Ironically perhaps, Kimiko had actually acquired English and completed her undergraduate degree in the US, rather than in Japan.

This continuum of non-nativeness to nativeness as a continuum of non-Western to Western culture could also be found in the responses of the students themselves. In explaining why she chose to come to Finland to study, Mei stated that she wished to go somewhere where “they use the language“. Interestingly, in her construction the place where English is used includes Finland and the “they” who use English includes Finns. Similarly, when asked what advice she would give to other Chinese students in learning academic English, she suggested:

I think at first you should read read more the original version... I'm not saying that that Chinese people that Chinese version of English is not good, but if you want to be like more professional, you should read the maybe most of it you should try the original one. So how maybe this culture or people in the West who use this language, to see how they write this kind of uh thing.

Her construction of those “who use this language” groups together “people in the West” as a contrast to her own Chinese group. The disclaimer that she does not mean that Chinese English “is not good” reflects an awareness of the ideological implications of her advice, but she nevertheless perceives Western culture as having the more original, more professional English, and therefore as having the more appropriate model for learning to write.

The continuum of correctness from non-Western to Western culture was most explicit in Megan’s discourse. Megan, a language teacher from the US was teaching a compulsory course for students on the Master’s programme on the conventions of English academic communication. Whereas for the Finnish teachers interviewed, correct English was usually positioned as something that “they” use “there”, Megan frequently used words such as “we” and “here” to contrast correct English use with the problematic English use of some international students. When asked who “we” referred to, she replied:

M me myself and I... the royal we... no well I guess when I'm saying we I'm thinking of a Western a Western writer in academia, so we of course all know who we are and what we mean. So I'm I'm thinking of how to write for the Western standpoint because Northern and yeah middle Northern Europe, oh and Southern Europe too to an extent as far as the how you

- know linear thought this type of thing. North America Australia, sort of these traditional English speaking countries in that sense. Now I'm not talking about South Africa or India, I'm not talking about other places where English is a lingua franca, but I'm thinking of typical how we would categorize the West that we that's what I'm talking about as far as
- L so kind of English speaking West
- M yeah and publications for English journal and then journals in English even if it's a European environment. The concept is either Great Britain or the US which is somewhat similar
- L yeah okay so Great Britain and the US are kind of in a way the standards
- M yeah

For Megan, correct English was “here” in the West and associated with “Western thinking”, but the kaleidoscope of appropriate practices and places eventually centred on Great Britain and the US.

Some kind of a Western bias can also be seen in the following example. The non-nativeness of students and staff equally was first construed as a problem by the interviewee (a Finnish university administrator, faculty level). However, the discussion quickly continued towards a direction of the (implicitly international) student's language skills not being adequate:

Weeeel... It shows in that most of us ... teachers, me, students... none of us speak... or there are maybe one or two native English speakers . But that all of us speak English as... non-native. (T: mmmh). And eh .. I don't know if it shows... well some teachers find it problematic that the students' English skills are not good enough ... but I think that's just something we have to be prepared for. That it's a part of the package. That the English skills they have, well of course we have set limits for test scores [...] [Our translation].

The passage hierarchizes non-natives in different categories, where first all non-natives potentially present a problem, but then different sub-categories emerge, where “their” (the students') English skills do not match “our” (the Finnish staff and teachers) English. This links with the previous discussion on “Western” vs “non-Western” preferences, but with a national twist: “our” refers to the Finnish staff (both administrative and teaching staff), whose English, while not native, is superior to that of the (international) students. In other words, not only is a clear divide between natives and non-natives observed, but also within the (heterogeneous) group of non-natives different hierarchies emerge, as “our” non-native is better than “theirs”.

As well as being correct, original, authoritative, and Western, nativeness was perceived in the data as being somehow “strict” and demanding. Natives

were frequently described as “suffering” from non-natives’ less rigid use of English. Again this concept of nativeness as strict was positioned by most participants as a contrast to their own use of English. They did not themselves have strict expectations and did not view themselves as able to fulfill such strict demands. Mikko, a Finnish teacher on the Master’s programme, put it that “I just learned to communicate and I’m fine. I know that the natives must suffer every now and then”. Similarly Anita, in discussing the evaluation of a student’s thesis, remarked that native speakers would probably suffer having to read its incorrect use of English, though she herself did not mind the language at all.

Interestingly these demanding native standards, as Mikko’s remark suggests, were not perceived as being necessary for communication on the programme, but rather as a matter of style and therefore as a potential symbol of quality or prestige. For this reason, texts written for a local level, such as for courses on the programme and for Finnish teachers, were not seen as having to conform to strict standards of language correctness, whereas texts written for a more global level, such as Master’s theses which would be published online, were seen as more subject to native demands.

6.2 Non-nativeness as “but”: Challenging the native ideal

While nativeness was often construed in the data as correctness, there were nevertheless many cases in which the assumption of native authority over English use was challenged. This challenge was typically hedged, with participants making it clear again that they were *not* natives, *but* explaining that they nevertheless had sufficient expertise or experience to determine appropriate language practices. The phrase “I am not a native speaker, but”, as in the following extract, neatly summarizes this sentiment. Here, Matti, a Finnish professor teaching on the programme, was asked whether he sees himself as being at a disadvantage to English speakers in publishing internationally:

M I’m not in anyway bilingual, so I mean of course you are at a disadvantage, but I don’t I don’t think it’s kind of it doesn’t bother me very much. I don’t think it’s a real problem because I mean when you write this kind of stuff, it is you know a certain kind of language, a certain terminology that I know et cetera et cetera and then if there are things to improve in you know language as such, I mean uh I don’t think there’s very much, I write better than I speak, so I think that they can then very easily do those things that are necessary

L okay

M one problem is that because I'm a referee for certain journals and I get articles in English and I'm not a native speaker and then sometimes you wonder I mean and it's a bit difficult because you you feel like commenting on the language as well and still it may be that it's a it's a native speaker who has written that, I mean you can kind of and still you think that this is not very well put in terms of language either and and you are not a native speaker yourself, so I usually say that I'm not a native speaker, but I do think that he should consider these things

As in Matti's explanation, the challenge to native authority was commonly based on a claim to expertise in a particular topic area and genre. Matti's professional experience in his field gives him the authority (albeit hedged authority) to correct a native speaker's use of language.

Mikko, on the other hand, challenged the idea that an Irish student on the programme might have an advantage as a native speaker of English. Again the argument was based on differences between disciplinary and professional backgrounds, which were in turn compared to differences between journalistic and academic genres:

M the native uh native Irish guys, he has a full career in IT, both in studies but then also doing designs and some kind of service supply and then we are discussing different kind of challenges in tuition. It's quite close to a fact that if you get if you get a journalist and you start to support journalist writing a thesis because journalist naturally is so fluent and confident in their writing, producing thinking on writing and then we cannot accept journalistic text

L okay

M we need to slowly turn them to the direction of academic writing, to accept the kind of a formal aspect of it

The underlying challenge here is to the construct of natives as a homogeneous group and the concept that there is one native standard that pervades all disciplines and genres. A native English speaker, it is implied, can have as much difficulty in learning to fulfil disciplinary expectations on the programme as a non-native speaker, and a non-native speaker can in fact have the linguistic advantage. This challenge to the notion of native speakers as a homogeneous group, particularly in regards to written language, could also be found in Kimiko's descriptions, based on her experience completing an associate degree at a community college in the US. She explained that she took language courses which were intended "for even Americans, because I have seen many Americans

who don't write. They don't know how to write". Kimiko was also surprised to find that some of her classmates from the US were unfamiliar with expectations for essay writing which she herself took for granted from academic writing in Japan (such as having an introduction, main body, and conclusion).

A similar kind of situation was described by a German exchange student at a Finnish university of applied sciences who had at an earlier stage of the interview stated that s/he had come to Finland particularly because the non-native nature of the English spoken there was less face-threatening than the native English in an English speaking country (see previous chapter). S/he also found non-nativeness explicitly as something inviting from the point of view of teaching practises, which also had to be accommodated to suit the needs of an international student:

It's a difference, you know, my study colleagues who went to America, they have troubles with many terms who are normal for the native speakers, but here they are explained in business English, everything is explained, because they are teaching foreigners, not in their mother tongue but in a foreign language, that is one reason why I went to Finland.

While s/he had discussed choosing Finland over an English speaking country specifically because Finland was not English speaking, s/he now provides supporting arguments: entering Finland is not only practical because of linguistic, but also because of pedagogical reasons.

If differences were perceived within native practices and native abilities, it easily followed that non-natives as well as natives might negotiate between possible practices. This could be seen even in Mei's discourse, despite her clear perception of the native speaker as an authoritative "other". Having written a research plan with a page-long introduction, she received feedback from Megan that although long sentences and paragraphs were acceptable in China, they were not used in English. In interview, however, Mei explained that she had written the introduction in this way not because it is acceptable in China, but rather because she had used a model of an English research plan she found online. When asked why she did not explain this to Megan, she replied, "because yeah she is native then she says that, we think oh yeah that's that's the authority and we have to follow that. But still are there like maybe there are different aspect from different teachers". This sentiment might be summarized by the statement "she is native [...] but still". Although nativeness is viewed as an authoritative model to be followed, "but still are there like maybe there are different aspect from different teachers". The challenge is hedged, but nevertheless clear.

Another challenge to nativeness as an ideal was based on a contrast between correctness and practicality. Although, as explained in the previous section, many participants assumed that the natives (and thus “correct English”) would suffer, they often also emphasized that non-native use of English in these contexts was adequate and sometimes even preferable. Again, there was a sense of native-like correctness as not actually being necessary for successful communication, as Mikko implies below:

- M but I don't have any fear for using English and neither do I have any fear for making mistakes. That's because of working in a camping site during the high school years so that you just communicated
- L so you were speaking English quite a lot there?
- M yeah and Swedish and German and all that was this kind of a school education level of language
- L okay okay
- M so so so I just learned to communicate and I'm I'm fine I know that the natives must suffer every now and then

In Mikko's answers there was a sense that because he felt he had learned English in a practical way – he “just communicated” – he need not “fear” having to use the language in a native-like correct way. He has acquired the language practically, rather than having to study the language using a native speaker model.

This contrast could also be seen in the divide between expectations on Megan's language course and expectations on content courses on the programme. While students perceived it as important to take part in the English course in order to learn or revise how the language “should” be used, they were happy to leave these strict expectations on the rest of their courses. Reflecting on the English course, Mei explained:

- M although I know I have to pay more attention about like the grammar and formal structures and everything, but I think the teachers they are more interested in your idea
- L mm mm yeah
- M which means I mean at least I feel a little bit better because I know and
- L was it something you were nervous about before?
- M yeah because after like /Megan's/ course a little bit it really you know kind of make all of us nervous

Mei's attitude towards these more relaxed expectations of Finnish teachers was positive (“[. . .] I feel a little bit better”). As in Mikko's answer, there is the sense that in focusing on communicating content, one need not be afraid

of using the language. Mei's perception of these contrasting expectations is validated by the teachers' own explanations. Mikko, for example, explained that he sees a lot of improvement in students' writing "content wise" during the programme. When asked whether he sees a similar improvement in the language, he remarked "yeah but then who am I to evaluate that because my own language is so so so lazy. So I don't bother, I really don't bother".

7 Native/non-native as ideological constructs

Next, we will focus on our second research question: namely the language ideologies that these constructions of nativeness reflect and the political implications of the ideologies for language hierarchies and hegemonies.

Our "non-nativeness as not" construct reflects the traditional understanding of nativeness as something that is difficult to attain, something that the non-native speakers are "not". Similarly, native speakers of English are construed by non-native speakers as guardians of the "right" kind of English. The ideal of nativeness is linked to an understanding of language as a codified system, the knowledge of which is prestigious to the natives and puts pressure on the non-natives. Moreover, the North American language teacher's discourse in particular reflects the prevalent standard (NS) language ideology (cf. Jenkins 2007) in English, which assumes that English speakers from the expanding circle or outer circle ought to be taught a particular standard language model, with the UK or the USA at the centre of its norms.

When the native ideal is challenged ("non-nativeness as but"), it is based not so much on linguistic but broadly speaking political arguments. Professional or topical expertise seems to provide one such argument that overrides native speaker authority. In a different kind of situation, pedagogical reasons seemed to support non-native use of English as opposed to native use. In other words, particularly in educational contexts, a native environment may not always present an ideal context. This seems to lead to conflicting constructions of language, as in actual language use the native speaker ideal is challenged and a relaxed, non-native use of language was seen as even preferable by some of the students. Indeed, part of the attraction in studying through English in Finland for some was its non-native rather than native environment. These sentiments are similar to Seidlhofer's (2003) concept of ELF as a move from "real English" to "realistic English" and do also indicate a move away in practice from standard language ideology, with participants not always viewing native English as providing one standard and natives as one homogeneous group.

Another interesting source of friction in the native speaker ideal were hierarchies based on “Western” or “national” hegemonic positions. Clear hierarchies also appeared particularly within the category of “non-native”, which were based on a construction of “us” and “them” on the one hand, and on Western hegemonies on the other. English as such was not questioned, but particularly in NNS–NNS situations, cracks in the ideal English seemed to appear. This could be described as “national speakerism” or “Western speakerism”, which highlights the assumption that “our” students’ English is better than that of the “others” (regardless of the origin of the “others” English). The teachers and other staff interviewed appeared to hierarchize international students based on their own “national standard” as opposed to “international standards”. This made the issues embedded in “nativeness” and “native speakerism” visible in a new way. The view of “us” and “them” had been hidden behind the self-evident conceptualization of language skills or comprehensibility as something linked with “nativeness”, but the situation turned more complicated in NNS-NNS situations. “We” usually had good language skills, whereas “they” were more problematic, and the whole issue of native speaker skills collapsed into something fluid and porous that still needs more analysis.

While the policy documentation on internationalization seems to promote idealistic understandings of “international” as something homogeneous, inclusive, open and free, the reality seems heterogeneous, layered, hierarchized and Western-centered.

Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of our two categories of *not* and *but*. We would like to stress, as we have done earlier, that the categories are indicative rather than conclusive. However, they do provide one perspective into the problematic position of native vs. non-native use of English in academic contexts.

Table 1: Characteristics of non-nativeness as *not* and non-nativeness as *but*

	non-nativeness as <i>not</i>	non-nativeness as <i>but</i>
Language	“Ideal” English out of reach, demanding	Adequate knowledge of English for successful communication
Natives	... as superior gatekeepers	... as equal colleagues
Authority	... based on native-like language knowledge	... based on subject expertise
Language and internationalization	Relatively homogeneous view of English	Relatively heterogeneous view of English

8 What next? Implications for internationalization policy

In 2010, the University of Jyväskylä's language centre placed an advert for a proofreading position which stated that "*the successful candidate will be a native speaker of English... A university degree from an English-speaking country is a must*". Another advert for a new opening in 2012 simply stated that the applicant "*must have native-like proficiency*". While this reflects the changes in the legislative position of universities as employers since the new University Act of 2010, it is also indicative of the changing position of native English speakers in Finnish higher education.

It seems that the native English ideal is challenged in Finnish higher education from several directions. Professional or topic expertise may overrun language skills in some situations, challenging the native authority. We also saw indications of the pedagogical pressures put on the teaching practices by an international (and implicitly non-native English speaking) student body breaking into the native ideal. This may lead to conflicting constructions of language either as a codified system or as actual language usage, as non/nativeness is sometimes treated as a linguistic category and in other times as a professional or social category.

The potential significance of English in international communication is not questioned, but cracks seem to appear in the understanding of "who owns English", as native authority is questioned. Even though we focus on Finnish higher education, the results of the study can be tentatively extended to any context where English is used as the medium of higher education tuition although it does not have any official status in the community.

Current student mobility flows still favour English-speaking countries, but the trend seems to be turning as others regions in Asia and continental Europe are increasingly offering English medium programmes. The changes in mobility flows can historically be explained by linguistic, geographic, cultural and historical "push" and "pull" factors, which are still very much in place, producing a very diverse and heterogeneous body of students so easily labelled as homogeneously "international" (see Murphy-Lejeune 2008). The linguistic factors of native or non-native English operate, in other words, in a field of multiple overlapping and intertwined other factors.

The whole dynamics of international study is changing, and we do not know what kind of a balance the market will hit. Also Nordic countries are beginning to enter a new kind of mobility market, where non-native English providers offer English language study programmes. Some Nordic countries,

like Denmark and Sweden, have introduced fees for international students, while others, such as Finland or Norway, offer international programmes free of charges. It is quite possible that one of the divides in the new market of international study will go along the lines of native – non-native English provision, which might eventually have an impact on the position of Anglophone vs. non-Anglophone higher education institutions in the global education markets.

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III

ACADEMIC WRITING IN A LINGUA-FRANCA CONTEXT: STANDARDIZATION, ACCOMMODATION OR TRANSFORMATION?

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CHAPTER 13

ACADEMIC WRITING IN AN ELF ENVIRONMENT: STANDARDIZATION, ACCOMMODATION—OR TRANSFORMATION?

Laura McCambridge

THE CONTEXT

Academic Literacies scholars in past years have identified and criticized two main approaches to academic writing. On the one hand, many instructors in UK higher education have been said to treat academic writing as an autonomous cognitive skill rather than a social practice. This, Theresa Lillis (2001, p. 58) argues, has led to an “institutional practice of mystery” where expectations for writing are vague, leaving “non-traditional” students who have not long been inducted into elite writing practices at a clear disadvantage. On the other hand, Academic Literacies has also criticized what is termed an “academic socialization approach” (Mary Lea & Brian Street, 1998, p. 158) in which students are explicitly taught or socialized into the dominant practices of an academic discourse community. This approach has been said to be overly prescriptive, uncritically reinforcing power relations and both oversimplifying and essentializing community norms. Having thus criticized both sides of this apparent dichotomy, Academic Literacies research is left with a clear practical dilemma: If an implicit approach is too vague and an explicit approach too prescriptive, what can teachers actually do? How can teachers help students understand and actively negotiate the writing expectations they face without prescribing an explicit, standard set of norms? In applying its theoretical perspective to pedagogical design and practice, academic literacies must find a third way.

In attempting to identify such a “third way,” this paper focuses on writing practices and experiences on an international master’s degree programme at a university in Finland. “International” programmes such as these, which are becoming increasingly common in Europe, expose the dilemma of vague versus prescriptive teaching yet more intensely. These programmes can often be described as “super-diverse” (see

Steven Vertovec, 2007); their temporary communities consist of highly mobile students with very varied linguistic, cultural and academic backgrounds, and they are often explicitly oriented towards a global scale of academia while still clearly situated in local institutional contexts. Moreover, the programmes typically use English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), i.e., removed from the local sociolinguistic traditions of English native speaking communities. The issue of whether and how to integrate students into a standard set of writing norms in English becomes even more complex in this context—the most obvious question being whose norms to consider the standard? In an ELF context, assuming that there is a set of normative standards that should be taught runs the risk not only of foreclosing students' agency in their writing, but also of reinforcing a global academia in which perceived Anglophone-centre writing practices are idealized. On the other hand, if expectations for writing are left vague, students in this super-diverse setting may find themselves with an even more obscure mystery to solve than those studying in L1 Anglophone dominant contexts.

Tensions concerning the need for clearer, more explicit writing norms versus the need to accommodate diverse writing practices arose repeatedly during a longitudinal ethnographic investigation into this context. This paper will overview each of these two needs in turn, drawing from both teachers' and students' perspectives, before suggesting possible solutions in the conclusion. It suggests that the potential for a transformative approach in this context – for students and teachers – lies in moving away from “in English” as an authoritative rationale in EAP writing pedagogy, cultivating students' agency in their writing choices, and encouraging critical negotiation of practices and expectations.

The master's degree programme in question is located in a medium-sized university in Finland and is conducted entirely through English. Its subject is multidisciplinary, within the field of culture studies. The programme officially lasts two years, but students are able to complete their final research projects (i.e., the master's thesis) part-time.

For this concise paper, the following data was used:

- Four sets of semi-structured interviews with three students over two years concerning six of their written assignments. See Table 13.1 (pseudonyms are used).
- Interviews with four teachers concerning their experiences with writing on the programme and their evaluation of these students' texts. See Table 13.2 (pseudonyms are used).
- Teachers' instructional materials for written assignments.
- Feedback sessions between Megan (one teacher participant) and the students.

The “writing norms” discussed in this paper include any practice or convention

that the participants refer to in regards to how a text should be written and what it should include. Isolating one particular type of norm—e.g., lexico-grammatical, discourse structure, topic, content, purpose, process—would have been unnecessarily limiting; these various levels are clearly intertwined and together contribute to the completion and evaluation of a text.

Table 13.1 Student participants

Mei	29-year-old female student from China, first language Chinese. Completed her BA in English Translation in China through Chinese and English.
Stephanie	26-year-old female student from Germany, first language German. Completed her BA in British and American Studies in Germany through English. Spent 6 months in Finland as an exchange student during her BA. Lived in Ireland for 2 years working as an au pair.
Kimiko	30-year-old female student from Japan/first language Japanese. Completed her BA in the United States through English. Studied photography for one year in Turkey through Turkish.

Table 13.2. Teacher participants

Antti	Male professor and head of the programme. From Finland, first language Finnish.
Mikko	Male lecturer on the programme. From Finland, first language Finnish.
Matti	Male professor from Finland, first language Finnish. Completed his PhD in the United States through English.
Anita	Female professor from Finland, first language Swedish.
Megan	Female lecturer for the university's language centre. From the United States, first language English. Language centres in Finnish universities provide compulsory and optional language courses for students, often divided according to discipline. Megan teaches a compulsory course on English academic writing/presenting for first year students on the programme.

THE NEED FOR EXPLICIT, STANDARD NORMS

From the teachers' perspectives, more standardized norms were needed due to the difficulties that students' diverse writing practices often created for evaluation. They explained that students' varied linguistic, cultural and academic backgrounds sometimes led to such differences in their texts that they were difficult to understand let alone evaluate. As Antti put it simply, "it is difficult to evaluate those texts

where you don't understand the meaning.”

Interestingly, although students' texts tended to be different in terms of language use and rhetorical style, difficulty in understanding also resulted from differences in addressivity, i.e., assumptions concerning the imagined reader. Matti, for example, explained that he had to invite an Iranian student to discuss his essay as a result of such misunderstandings:

He came to me to talk about it because I couldn't make out what he was actually meaning so we had a long very interesting discussion his argument was kind of too compressed that was the problem because I don't know the background of Iranian religious history quite simply so it was very difficult for me but very interesting and important subject and the writer knows what he's writing you can kind of conclude it from the text.

Here, Matti acknowledges that the problem was due to the writer's expectations of the reader's knowledge; he assumed that he could address either an Iranian reader or a global reader aware of Iranian religious conflict in his text. In this case, Matti nevertheless allowed for negotiation of meaning, eventually giving the student a very good grade after all.

For the American English teacher, Megan, who was employed to teach the “conventions of research reporting and academic writing” (as stated in the course description), the diversity of students' texts and lack of standard norms was particularly problematic. The main pressure seemed to stem from the responsibility she felt to even out students' differences and bring them into conventional English academic writing practices, particularly perceived British or American practices. From the subject teachers' perspectives too, the responsibility seemed to fall to Megan as a native English-speaking language teacher to make the students' writing fit for an external reader, primarily in terms of grammar and vocabulary. Several teachers expressed a lack of authority as non-native speakers in focusing on students' English language uses themselves; Mikko put it rhetorically, “who am I to judge their language?”

This responsibility to an imagined external, implicitly native, reader was felt particularly in regards to the master's thesis. Individual course essays were viewed as *local*, for local teachers' eyes only and therefore subject to their flexible preferences. The thesis on the other hand was viewed as a *public* research document, as Antti put it, “a window into what is done on the programme,” and therefore subject to strict English language norms.

From the students' perspective, the need for more explicit norms arose particularly during the first year of the programme. They all mentioned that the instructions for written assignments tended to be very general and flexible on many levels (e.g., topic, structure, register) and students were expected to be independent. Often at the end of courses, students were simply asked to write a paper on a topic of their choice

related to the course content. The students felt that they had no idea where to start with this freedom, especially since the subject areas were sometimes new and searching through source material was slow work in a second language. They appreciated when a teacher did give more specific instructions.

Students particularly expressed frustration at not understanding the content, structure and linguistic expectations for assignment types that were new to them, such as summaries, diaries and research proposals. For example, on one course the students were asked to write reflective summaries of a series of books. When asked how she found this assignment, Mei showed clear signs of confusion:

I think it's kind of I don't know it's quite like I said completely new for me so I'm just like trying I don't like I said I don't know what they want that's what I cannot give them I mean so I would just try to use what I can.

All of the students mentioned that they would search for example texts either online or from fellow students in order to “imitate” some of their features. They seemed to do this not only because the text structures were unfamiliar but also because of their heightened need as second language users to acquire more language in order to mimic the voice they are expected to adopt. However, further frustration was expressed with the difficulty of finding examples that were actually suitable models for the specific papers they were asked to write. Mei, for example, noticed the difficulty of trying to transfer what are assumed to be objective, universal genre norms into her own work, remarking “maybe what we find on the internet maybe belong to other countries you know maybe other areas so it's not maybe not what she expects.” Moreover, Stephanie mentioned that she found it difficult to tell from the examples she found which features would be considered strengths or flaws by evaluators. The implication here was that not only did these students crave examples, but they craved examples that were specific to the assignment given and explicitly deconstructed by the teacher.

THE NEED TO ACCOMMODATE DIVERSE PRACTICES

Despite these frustrations, a discourse of accepting or encouraging diversity and flexibility in writing expectations also arose over this two-year period. For example, just after expressing concerns regarding students' very varied written English, Mikko nevertheless stated:

But the global markets that we are collecting our students culturally its richness we actually need to think positively about the people's academic backgrounds when we make a selection.

In defence of the freedom allowed in written assignments, teachers explained

that it was in order for students to pursue their own interests on the programme, especially in relation to the master's thesis. This was actually seen as a strategy for coping with students' diverse content knowledge in particular. If students could relate the course materials to their own interests and discover sources that would be useful for their theses, this could only be constructive.

Although the students struggled with this freedom at first, they eventually appreciated it during their second year. Stephanie, for example, had previously studied under strict requirements in Germany, where she took many obligatory courses on English writing in order to learn, in her words, "don't do this and don't do that and be aware." During her second year, she claimed that she had benefited from the more flexible system:

Stephanie: I think that the thing that helped me to improve a lot was that it's like free you can do whatever you want to so you can actually like write about those things you enjoy writing.

Laura: Is that what made you more ambitious?

Stephanie: Yeah I think I enjoy it much more it's well I actually enjoy writing nowadays and that's the biggest difference.

It seems that for Stephanie the freedom to choose the content and to some extent the style of her texts entailed a freedom to personalize her academic writing and integrate it into her identity. Mei reiterated this point almost exactly, explaining that in China she had to follow very detailed instructions, whereas on the programme she has much more freedom. Although it frightened her at first, she eventually began to enjoy finding ways to relate theory to her own interests. She too seemed to integrate this process of writing into her identity (and vice-versa):

Mei: Now if you give me any topic, give me certain time, I can write, somehow it helps you. I mean that's how the people who study culture and literature and everything see the world when they look carefully enough, they can see something behind.

Importantly, Mei feels she is beginning to "see the world" as a scholar and writer in her field. She contrasted this enthusiasm with her earlier experiences of simply trying to "deal with the teacher."

When Anita, one of the subject professors, was asked specifically whether she would like students to be taught a particular set of norms for writing their papers, she replied that definitely not. Referring mostly to text structure, but also touching on lexical norms, she explained, "it would be very boring if everyone wrote in a kind of strict what is for me an Anglo-American analytic ideal." Instead, Anita hoped that teaching on writing would make students aware of options, the underlying logic behind those options, and their underlying ideologies. She explained

that students should be made aware of how various practices might help them in writing, but should nevertheless be expected to make their own choices, using their own judgment.

It was also clear that applying a simplistic “one size fits all” set of writing norms within a clearly diverse sociolinguistic context would not necessarily address individual students’ writing difficulties. It was difficult for teachers to tell whether a feature of a student’s text they found “weak” was due to disciplinary background, home culture, language level, lack of effort or something else entirely. For example in giving feedback, the English teacher, Megan, tended to generalize a student’s writing issues as being due to clear-cut cultural or register differences in writing practice. In one instance, Mei began a paper by writing an introduction of nearly a page with long sentences and no paragraph divisions. In a feedback session with Megan, she was told that although in China long sentences and paragraphs may be acceptable, it “doesn’t work well in English.” Mei later told me that she was actually used in China to using shorter sentences and had been trying instead to lengthen her English sentences in order to seem less “childish” and to imitate what she thought was an English norm. In regards to the paragraph length, she explained:

Mei: I found some examples of research plan on the internet and they are doing this I know of course in the body of the essay you will separate, but I don’t know if you can do this in the introduction it’s not like it’s very long ... but of course you know when we were kids in primary school we always have this kind of exam about like doing the paragraph thing.

Laura: So you don’t think it’s true that in China they ...

Mei: No, no, no, no.

In exotifying and essentializing the student’s cultural background, the teacher positions herself as an ambassador of new cultural practices into which the student must be socialized. She thus misses an opportunity for more meaningful negotiation with the student over the logic behind her choices and her actual dilemmas in writing.

CONCLUSION

The frustrations expressed by students in this data over vague or confusing expectations for writing mirror observations in previous academic literacies research in the United Kingdom (see e.g., Lea & Street, 1998; Lillis, 2001). On the other hand, the problems associated with prescribing standard norms are amplified in this super-diverse community. This paper set out to identify a third way to approach academic writing pedagogy. In my view, the data points to two themes that

might characterize this third way: namely, agency and negotiation.

Firstly, the students themselves found that the process of improving as writers was a process of acquiring agency in their writing choices and in turn forming identities as writers in their discipline. This agency and identity could be encouraged by an approach that helps students to connect writing practices to disciplinary purposes. Kate Chanock (2001, p. 8) put it well that the problem is not with having criteria, but rather with the only rationale behind the criteria being “because I say so.” I would add to this the rationale “in English, this is how we do it,” which is the equivalent in EFL teaching on writing. Teachers are often themselves unaware that conflicting practices exist which vary according to discipline, methodology, culture, text-type and so on. If the sole evaluation criterion for students’ writing is its ability to match one imagined Anglo-American set of norms, both the writing and its evaluation lose their pedagogical value. Instead, I would reiterate Anita’s suggestion that students (and teachers) become aware of various options in academic writing, their functions and underlying ideologies.

This approach to connecting form, function and ideology would in turn benefit from collaborative methods in writing pedagogy where emphasis is on negotiation and consciousness-raising rather than prescription. This would mean, for instance, including those examples/models/templates that students seem so much to crave and enabling them to become researchers of their discipline’s writing practices. Examples that are close to the text types students are actually expected to produce and close to what they can themselves achieve are particularly useful. Again, however, it is important that options are given. The danger in giving only one example which the teacher alone deconstructs as an ideal text is that the students’ aim will simply be to copy its features. Instead, various examples could be used in order to provoke negotiation in which both students and teacher can justify their preferences. Nigel Harwood and Gregory Hadley (2004, pp. 366-374) similarly argue for a “corpus-based critical pragmatic approach,” in which teachers and students investigate their discipline’s discourse norms using corpus data.

It is important to emphasize that accommodating diversity and promoting student agency does not mean *laissez-faire*. The point is not to leave students to struggle and then evaluate whether their work meets a particular teacher’s ideals. As Claudio Baraldi (2006, p. 60) puts it, “conflicts between cultural forms must be managed, not avoided.” One way to manage these conflicts might be found in the example of Matti’s experience with the Iranian student’s writing. In evaluating a text that he did not understand due to the student’s very different background, Matti was prepared to negotiate with the student and actually came to appreciate his perspective. If teachers allow students space to explain their choices and are even prepared to question their own assumptions, teacher-student interactions are more likely to become genuinely dialogic and transformative, and ultimately more constructive learning opportunities for students—and in fact for teachers themselves.

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IV

IF YOU CAN DEFEND YOUR OWN POINT OF VIEW, YOU'RE GOOD: NORMS OF VOICE CONSTRUCTION IN STUDENT WRITING ON AN INTERNATIONAL MASTER'S PROGRAMME.

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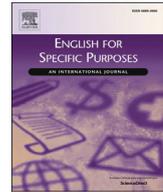
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If you can defend your own point of view, you're good: Norms of voice construction in student writing on an international Master's programme



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ABSTRACT

This ethnographically oriented study followed the writing experiences of four students on an international masters programme in Finland. Gathering a range of data, the study set out to examine what counts as good writing on a programme with a very diverse student body in which English is used as a lingua franca. Both teachers and students emphasised the importance of arguing one's 'own point of view' in academic writing, and teachers often formed impressions of students on the basis of their texts, drawing attention particularly to their use of metadiscourse markers (e.g., self-mentions, attitude markers and hedges). The present article therefore combines a quantitative analysis of students' use of metadiscourse in their papers with qualitative analysis of the voice types they construed in their texts and the ways in which their practices were perceived. The analysis found that students' use of metadiscourse varied from text to text, and they construed strikingly different voice types in their writing. Based on interview and journal data, their practices seemed to be influenced by their experiences of the classroom and teacher, as well as their disciplinary backgrounds. Teachers seemed to prefer the voice of a detached cultural analyst, with fewer explicit expressions of the writer's stance. However, they also drew on their impressions of the individual student's learning and on images of cultural norms in interpreting their practices.

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1. Introduction

This article forms part of an ethnographically oriented study investigating norms and ideologies of English academic writing on an international master's programme in Finland. Programmes such as these which use English as a lingua franca are becoming increasingly common in higher education worldwide. They draw together culturally, linguistically and often academically diverse student bodies from around the world, and, though situated in non-Anglophone institutions and taught primarily by local teachers, they are internationally oriented and use English for instruction and assessment purposes. In Finland, this assessment is heavily writing-based, culminating in students' completion of a master's thesis. The present study followed the writing experiences of four students across several years of the programme, gathering a range of data, including

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students' texts, interviews with students and teachers, students' journal entries, teaching materials and teachers' feedback. The aim was to explore what counts as good English academic writing in this very diverse community, both in the ways that participants talk about writing and in the ways that they actually write or evaluate texts.

During my first interviews with the students upon beginning the programme, a major theme in their discourse on good academic writing was the importance of arguing one's *own point of view* assertively (see McCambridge & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2012). However, although students later repeated this principle in their writing journals, they seemed to put it into practice in their texts in very different ways. Teachers also referred to the principle of academic writing as arguing one's own viewpoint and often pointed to metadiscursive features in students' texts (e.g., self-mentions, attitude markers and hedging) when construing good or bad argumentation. This article therefore examines how students put the principle of asserting their 'own voices' into practice in their texts using metadiscourse, how they perceived their own practices and teachers' expectations, and how teachers interpreted their practices. I conclude the article with a critical discussion of the norms for English academic writing construed in this community.

1.1. Expecting voices and assessing arguments

Although participants in my study did not themselves use the term *voice* in talking about good academic writing, their discussion of individual viewpoint and argumentation echoes writing scholars' discussions of voice in recent years. The term has featured extensively in writing research, although with some controversy, in part due to its varying definitions (see e.g. Stock & Eik-Nes, 2016: 89–90). On the one hand, it has been used generally to describe the way a writer 'sounds' in a text. It is hence a metaphor comparing the sense of reading a text to the sense of hearing speech. As a speaker will be heard to use a certain accent or style of discourse, a writer will be perceived to write in a way that 'sounds like' a certain subject position or 'sounds right' according to expectations for the practices in which the writer is engaged (see Nelson & Castelló, 2012: 35–37). Deviations from the expected textual voice can mark the writer in various ways. Matsuda and Tardy (2007), for example, found that in blind readings of an article, peer reviewers formed impressions of the writer as sounding like a graduate student and sounding like a field outsider. In this meaning of the term, every text has a voice that is a combination of its discursive and non-discursive features, which together convey an impression of the writer that may be perceived positively or negatively (cf. Ivanič & Camps, 2001).

On the other hand, the term *voice* has been used to refer to a strong, individualized sense of the writer in a text: the sense that the text conveys the writer's 'own point of view' and distinct presence (Ramanathan & Kaplan 1996). This sense of an individual writer's voice has tended to be mapped to explicit features of the writer's stance and engagement with the reader (e.g., self-mentions, attitude markers and reader addresses), but it can also include more subtle ways in which the writer presents content to support a particular viewpoint. With this definition, one can refer to a text as including more or less of the writer's 'own voice'. Although this individualized voice has been characterized as an English voice or Western voice, Ivanič and Camps (2001: 8) point out that it is just one potential "voice type" and is hence subsumed by the more general meaning of the term.

Ethnographic, socially situated research into academic writing has tended to approach the issue of textual voice through the wider concept of writer identity. Ivanič (1998: 23–29) theorizes writer identity as including both the general and individual senses of voice – which she labels the writer's discursive and authorial self – but as including also the writer's autobiographical self, meaning the writer's identity/ies beyond the text. Rather than focusing solely on textual variation, academic literacies scholars have followed the lived experiences of students in negotiating norms, including for example their perspectives on the constraints they encounter regarding what they are allowed to say, how they are allowed to say it, and who they are allowed to be in their texts (cf. Lillis, 1997). They have also advocated raising students' awareness of discursive voice types in a way that would allow them greater agency in using or resisting discourses (Ivanič & Camps, 2001).

This literature on voice has sparked some controversy. The most prominent critique has been Stapleton's, (2002) paper. He argues that a focus on voice can take attention away from what he claims to be more important in writing: ideas and argumentation. He worries that such a focus will lead students to believe that it is their individual assertiveness that will be assessed, rather than the validity of their ideas and how convincingly they are argued (Stapleton, 2002: 188). However, as Hyland (2012: 134) puts it, "academic argument involves presenting a position on things that matter to a discipline and this expression of a point of view has to be accomplished in a context of certain community and genre conventions." While I agree with Stapleton that the principle of asserting a strong, individual viewpoint can be misleading, I do not think that a clear separation between voice, ideas and argumentation can be made. It is surely both what one says and how one says it that matters. Evaluations, after all, are of something – and what one evaluates is important as well as how one evaluates it. On the other hand, ideas are not transferred directly from the writer's to the reader's mind; they require language of some kind, language that has a dual function of identifying the writer in ways that are not neutral.

On the international programme I investigate, many elements of this discussion arose, both in students' and teachers' talk around texts. On the one hand, students talked about the importance of expressing their own, individual views, drawing on familiar words and phrases to construe this norm, such as *I am a very critical thinker*. On the other hand, teachers drew impressions of the students from their texts, often drawing attention to the features of stance, engagement and evidentiality that Hyland has labelled 'metadiscourse'. In this paper, I hence combine the two definitions of voice, first looking

quantitatively at the extent to which students explicitly assert their 'own voices' in their texts using metadiscourse markers, and then looking qualitatively at the voice types they construe in their texts, how they perceived their own practices and teachers' expectations, and how teachers interpret their practices.

1.2. Understanding L2 writing norms

The context I investigate is one of remarkable cultural and linguistic diversity, and indeed cultural and linguistic variation has been a major theme in studies of voice and metadiscourse in academic writing. For example, in corpus comparisons, English texts have been found to contain more self-mentions than French, German, Russian and Bulgarian texts (see [Fløttum, 2003](#); [Vassileva, 1998](#)); French and Spanish texts have been found to contain more critical evaluations than English texts (see [Salager-Meyer, Ariza, & Zambrano, 2003](#)); and English texts have been found to contain more direct signposting than Finnish texts ([Mauranen, 1993](#)). Perhaps the most common cultural comparison, however, has been between 'English' and 'Asian' writing, with English writing often juxtaposed as direct, writer-responsible and individualistic in comparison to indirect, reader responsible and collectivistic Asian writing (cf. [Matalene, 1985](#); [Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999](#); [Scollon & Scollon, 1991](#)).

Although these comparisons are useful in demonstrating or drawing attention to the socially and culturally variable nature of metadiscourse use and voice construction, these differences have a tendency to become essentialized and the hierarchy between groups' practices is often assumed. For example, in [Ädel's \(2006\)](#) comparison of Swedish, British and American students' English essays, Swedish students were found to use more metadiscourse than American students, who were found to use more than British students. The publisher's online description of the study then elaborates that "the L2 speakers' overuse of metadiscourse strongly marks them as lacking in communicative competence." ([John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2018](#)). Swedish students are hence generalized to L2 speakers, and whereas British and American students are not described as over- or under-using metadiscourse in relation to each other, these Swedish writers are presumed to be marked as deficient by their target readers.

Some explanation for this essentializing tendency is that culture has frequently been positioned as a national characteristic lying behind a text, determining its features, as opposed to something people 'do' – norms that they co-construct with others, as part of ongoing networks of people in interaction (cf. [Ivanič, 1998: 42](#)). It is logical that such norms develop in a distinct direction in a given institutional setting, a given disciplinary community, a given national community or even a given language 'space'. However, these are not separate and isolated worlds, but rather strings in a web of people who encounter, interact with and draw on the voices of other people in other contexts. [Ivanič \(1998: 211\)](#) hence describes students' discourses as being woven from "extremely heterogeneous" sources. They do not simply draw on 'Chinese writing norms' or 'Finnish writing norms', but on the discourses they have encountered in subjects they have studied, their online interactions, their professional lives, their home lives and so on. Although broad comparisons can identify broad patterns and differences, situated analyses, such as the present study, have the advantage of being able to capture the complexities of how different discursive practices are taken up, interpreted and negotiated in context.

Finally, L2 student writing in English has often been studied in the context of a minority of international students integrating into an Anglophone mainstream institution. The broader context, however, is that English is used as an academic lingua franca around the world and students also study through English in non-Anglophone institutions. While this use of English as a lingua franca may indeed, as [Fløttum \(2012: 228\)](#) worries, lead to some standardization and homogenization of writing norms, it is also possible that the diversity of lingua franca contexts will lead in new directions, especially on a local level at which texts are not edited and proofread. [Mortensen and Fabricius \(2014: 220\)](#) refer to these transient communities as "dynamic language scenarios where indexicality is constantly in-the-making, and historical community memories are necessarily short". These communities can combine known modes of thinking with "new impulses brought about by the new setting". I therefore consider this an important setting for investigating norms of English for academic purposes.

2. Materials and methods

In this article, I focus on written voice construction by four student case studies, profiled in [Table 1](#) below. When gathering data, I did not set out to obtain participants' commentary on certain predetermined writing norms or text features. My aim was rather to discover norms and features that were important to participants themselves, and to then select text analytic tools that would shed light on those norms.

The textual data consists of three papers that each of the four students wrote for three courses during their first year on the programme, totalling twelve texts. The name of the programme is not given here for the sake of anonymity, but it is located in a humanities faculty and generally concerned with cultural studies, though somewhat multidisciplinary in nature. The three courses concerned theories of cultural analysis, culture in visual images and aesthetics. I chose these three papers because they are comparable and rather typical for evaluated writing on the programme. All three were submitted as single drafts at the end of a course to be graded and involved very general instructions that students write an "essay" about a theme of their choice from the course contents or relating a course theme to a topic or case of their interest. The specific topics of the essays

were therefore very varied. I decided to draw only from the students' first year of studies for this text analysis because this was a period when the students could still be said to be locally 'on the programme', whereas in subsequent years most of the students went on study exchanges or decided to work on their Master's theses from a different location. The exception is Stephanie's paper B, which she wrote as an exchange student on the programme, one year before joining the programme officially as a degree student.

The rest of the data were gathered over fifteen months and consists of three sets of face-to-face interviews with each of the four students (twelve student interviews in total); writing journal entries that I asked the students to write after finishing each paper (completed for eight of the texts); e-mail discussions with two of the students (Tommi and Kimiko) reflecting on their first academic year; face-to-face interviews with each teacher regarding their evaluation of the students' work (three teacher interviews in total); written instructions students received on paper A and paper C; and written feedback that the students received from Matti on paper A via e-mail. The students were interviewed cyclically – once per term (roughly thirteen weeks of teaching) – and the teachers were interviewed after the texts were evaluated or early the following term. The teachers are also profiled in [Table 1](#) below.

My interviews with the students concerned their literacy histories, their general notions of good academic writing, their experiences with writing on the programme and the texts they had written for evaluation that term or the previous term. Regarding their texts, they were asked about their intentions for and own impressions of their writing, their perceptions of teachers' expectations, and their reactions to the teachers' feedback and grades. They were also asked to elaborate on any issues that they raised in their journals. My interviews with the teachers, on the other hand, concerned their literacy histories, their general notions of good academic writing, their intentions for the assignment, their evaluation criteria and their impressions of each student's text, with an explanation of the grade.

As in previous 'talk around text' methodology (cf. [Ivanič 1998](#); [Lillis, 2008](#)), my participants (both students and teachers) were shown the essays in question during the interviews. However, rather than drawing participants' attention to particular text features myself, discussion of specific features was accomplished by asking participants to elaborate on their (self-)evaluations of the texts and to illustrate their evaluations with examples from the texts. For example, if a teacher called a piece of writing 'sophisticated', he or she was asked to explain what sophisticated writing is like, what unsophisticated writing would be like and to point to features in the text that seemed sophisticated. If a student called his or her writing 'careless', he or she was asked to point out features in the texts that demonstrated this carelessness and to explain what more careful writing might involve. Extracts in my analysis that concern the use of citations, hedging, self-mentions, attitude markers and so on, therefore stem from participants' own evaluations and explanations.

For the journals, students were asked to write a self-evaluation of their texts and to reflect freely on how they experienced writing the text, including for example their writing process, what they found enjoyable or difficult in completing the assignment and what they thought the teacher expected. Instructions were deliberately broad in order to discover issues that were important to the students themselves; i.e. emic perspectives that could then be expanded on in interview. Students' journal entries were brief but nevertheless sufficient to notice a clear theme, which became the focus of this article: there were numerous comments on the strength of a text being the student's inclusion of his/her own opinion or ideas.

Table 1
Participants.

Tommi	Finnish student, bachelor's in communications from a Finnish university of applied sciences.
Kimiko	Japanese student, associate degree in fine arts from a US community college, leading to a bachelor's in fine arts from a US university. Kimiko also spent a year studying photography at a university in Turkey.
Mei	Chinese student, bachelor's in English translation and literature from a Chinese university.
Stephanie	German student, bachelor's in British and American studies from a German university. During her undergraduate studies, Stephanie had visited the Finnish university as part of an Erasmus exchange.
Matti (Paper A)	Finnish professor.
Mikko (Paper B)	Finnish lecturer.
Anita (Paper C)	Swedish-speaking Finnish professor.

2.1. Analytical methods

My text analysis began by identifying and categorizing metadiscourse markers in each of the students' texts, using [Hyland's, 2005a, 2005b](#) model of metadiscourse. Hyland's model includes what he labels 'interactive markers' (transitions, evidentials, code-glosses, frame-markers and endophorics), through which the writer guides the reader through the logic of the text and references sources, and 'interactional markers' (hedges, engagement markers, boosters, attitude markers, self-mentions), through which the writer expresses stance and directly addresses the reader. Although I first identified all of the markers in Hyland's model, I include only six categories of marker in this paper, both due to limited space and to their particular relevance in relation to participants' norms. These consist of one category of interactive marker and five categories of interactional markers, as listed in [Table 2](#) below.

Table 2
Metadiscourse Categories.

Evidentials	Refer to a source of information from another text. Examples: <i>according to X (1990), (Z 2000)</i>
Hedges	Withhold the writer's full commitment to the proposition Examples: <i>might, perhaps, possible, slightly</i>
Boosters	Emphasize force or the writer's certainty in the proposition Examples: <i>in fact, clearly, always</i>
Attitude markers	Explicitly express the writer's attitude to the proposition Examples: <i>Unfortunately, surprisingly, interestingly, I agree that</i>
Engagement markers	Explicitly refer to or build the relationship with the reader Examples: <i>Consider, note that, you can see that</i>
Self-mentions	Explicit reference to the author(s) Examples: <i>I/we/my/our</i>

I identified these markers 'ground up' in each text on the basis of function, rather than by searching for predetermined linguistic forms. Especially working with lingua franca data, it was important to be able to identify unexpected forms for conveying a given function. This process was straightforward for evidentials, self-mentions and engagement markers, but more complicated for attitude-markers, boosters and hedging (i.e. affective and epistemic evaluations). As my aim was to be able to quantifiably compare the degree to which students explicitly asserted their 'own voices' in their texts, I concentrated on identifying evaluations that students explicitly owned in the text, as opposed to evaluations that they attributed for example to other agents, while ostensibly maintaining neutrality. However, as explicitness is a matter of degree, I found many cases in my first analysis that I considered to be borderline. I gathered these into a separate document and on their basis developed a detailed set of principles for what to include and exclude (see [Appendix 1](#)). I then repeated my analysis using these principles to ensure consistency. Having developed my own principles in this way, I would describe my analysis as an adaptation of Hyland's model, rather than its direct application.

After quantifying the frequency of these markers in the students' essays, I looked qualitatively at the types of voices that students construed in their texts, considering for example what students evaluated, the types of evaluations they made (e.g., how critical or positive, how tentative or emphatic, and the register of vocabulary choices), and how they positioned themselves and the reader in their texts. I next read through all of the interview data, teaching materials, journal entries, and feedback, coding extracts that were relevant to the issue of voice, argumentation, and metadiscourse use, using Atlas-ti software (see [Appendix 2](#)). This enabled me to observe themes, patterns and ambiguities in participants' discourse, to identify (dis)connections between specific text practices and general writing principles, and to compare students' and teachers' perceptions. I then also considered the extracts in context as part of each student's trajectory.

My research questions are as follows:

1. To what extent did students explicitly assert their 'own voices' using metadiscourse?
2. What voice types did students construe in their texts and how did they perceive their texts and teachers' expectations?
3. What voice type(s) did teachers prefer and how did they interpret students' practices?

I answer these questions in the following sections first by presenting my overall quantitative analysis and then by presenting each student profile in turn, interweaving qualitative analyses of their texts with their own perspectives and teachers' interpretations.

3. Results: quantitative text analysis

Below, in [Tables 3–6](#), I present the results of the quantitative text analysis for each student. The tables show the quantity of each metadiscourse marker in each paper (A, B, and C). These quantities are averages per 3000 words for the sake of clear comparison across the texts and between the students. Beside the text labels are the teachers' pseudonyms (Matti, Mikko and Anita) and the grade the text received on a scale from 0 to 5 (0 = fail, 1 = pass, 2 = satisfactory, 3 = good, 4 = very good, 5 = excellent). The tables are presented in descending order of the students' overall quantity of these metadiscourse markers. As evidentials are the only category of interactive marker included, they are differentiated in the tables.

Table 3
Tommi.

	A: Matti (2)	B: Mikko (3)	C: Anita (2)	Total
Evidentials	14	12	16	42
Hedges	18	65	28	111
Boosters	78	60	41	179
Attitude markers	76	52	31	159
Engagement markers	49	83	29	161
Self-mentions	3	29	4	36
Interactional total	224	289	133	646
Overall total	238	301	149	688

Table 4

Kimiko.

	A: Matti (3)	B: Mikko (3)	C: Anita (4)	Total
Evidentials	19	28	45	92
Hedges	30	40	74	144
Boosters	17	32	29	78
Attitude markers	25	44	48	117
Engagement markers	20	46	45	111
Self-mentions	23	33	42	98
Interactional total	115	195	238	548
Overall total	134	223	283	640

Table 5

Mei.

	A: Matti (3)	B: Mikko (4)	C: Anita (3)	Total
Evidentials	31	17	27	75
Hedges	9	13	10	32
Boosters	34	38	46	118
Attitude markers	26	31	38	95
Engagement markers	14	49	31	94
Self-mentions	3	45	6	54
Interactional total	86	176	131	393
Overall total	117	193	158	468

Table 6

Stephanie.

	A: Matti (5)	B: Mikko (3)	C: Anita (5)	Total
Evidentials	30	51	44	125
Hedges	27	13	21	61
Boosters	21	25	20	66
Attitude markers	15	10	13	38
Engagement markers	7	5	4	16
Self-mentions	1	0	2	3
Interactional total	71	53	60	184
Overall total	101	104	104	309

Overall, the most striking feature that the quantitative analysis reveals is the variation in students' practices. Particularly Tommi, Kimiko, and Mei's use of metadiscourse markers varied not only in comparison to one another, but also from text to text. For example, Tommi's paper B includes twice as many metadiscourse markers overall as paper C (301 vs 149); Kimiko's paper C includes more than twice as many as paper A (283 vs 134); and Mei's paper B includes nearly twice as many as paper A (193 vs 117). Looking at specific categories of metadiscourse, Tommi's paper B includes nearly four times as many hedges as paper A (65 vs 18); Kimiko's paper C includes more than twice as many hedges as paper A (74 vs 30); and Mei's paper B includes fifteen times as many self-mentions as paper A (45 vs 3). This variation suggests already the context dependent nature of students' choices and the strikingly different voice types that they construed in each text. Stephanie's use of metadiscourse, on the other hand, shows far less variation. She uses similar numbers of self-mentions, attitude markers, boosters, and engagement markers across her three papers, and indeed her voice in the three papers is very similar.

When examining how the papers were graded, the quantitative analysis reveals that the student with the fewest interactional markers overall (184) - i.e. explicit markers of stance and engagement - together with the most evidentials (125), Stephanie, received the highest grades. The student with the most interactional markers overall (646), together with the fewest evidentials (42), Tommi, received the lowest grades. Although the use of these markers was not the only salient practice in grading, it does suggest that teachers generally preferred fewer explicit markers of the student's 'own voice', along with more reference to sources.

Although these tables demonstrate the overall variation and show generally the kinds of markers that each student used in each text, they offer little explanation for that variation. They also do not reveal the many qualitative differences between the students' metadiscourse use and the voice types they construed, and they offer little clue as to how students perceived and teachers interpreted their practices. This I turn to next in my qualitative analysis.

3.1. Qualitative analysis

A situated, qualitative analysis of students' metadiscourse use that takes into account multiple perspectives on their writing demonstrates the complexity of arguing one's 'own point of view' in practice. There are several interconnected points that I wish to illustrate in my discussion of these case studies:

- Students construed a range of voice types in their texts that varied around three main elements: their involvement of their autobiographical selves in their texts, the subject of their evaluations, and the types of evaluation they made.
- The voice types that students construed seemed to be influenced by their impressions of the classroom and teacher, and especially by their academic backgrounds.
- Overall, teachers seemed to prefer the voice of a detached cultural analyst, expressing evaluations without explicitly owning them and making conclusions relevant to the discipline's knowledge construction.
- Teachers' interpretation of students' metadiscourse use was ambiguous, however, as they also considered the individual student's learning and sometimes interpreted explicit voice markers as a step towards an assertive, but apparently objective, voice. This involved some us/other positioning, with reference to cultural norms.

My intention in the following profiles is to illustrate these points while interweaving analysis of each student's texts with extracts from journals, feedback, and both the student's and teachers' interviews. I use Kimiko's case for an in-depth analysis, telling a more complete story of her writing for each of the three courses. She is the clearest example of a student who varied her practices in relation to impressions of the teacher and her case also illustrates well the ambiguity of teachers' interpretations and the positioning of perceived cultural norms. However, while I discuss Tommi, Mei and Stephanie's cases more briefly, they illustrate specific departures from the preferred voice of a detached cultural analyst and the way in which that preferred voice was construed.

3.1.1. Kimiko

Kimiko provides a particularly clear example of a writer whose voice varied across her texts. For the majority of paper A, her voice is detached and formal; in paper B, her voice is informal and strongly critical; and in paper C, her voice is that of a thoughtful, cautious learner. These changes in voice seemed to mirror her impressions of the teacher and the classroom community.

In paper A, Kimiko discusses interpretations of a controversial work of art entitled 'Piss Christ'. Her voice in the majority of the paper is that of a relatively detached cultural analyst. In comparison to her other papers, paper A is mostly author-removed, with fewer interactional markers overall (115 vs 195 and 238) and with formal register evaluations. Whereas in the later papers she refers frequently to the community of the classroom, often explicitly positioning herself and her reader as members of that community, there are no such references in paper A. At the beginning of the paper, the teacher, Matti, is used as an evidential in third person, rather than engaged directly as a reader: *In the lecture of *** by prof. *** (5th of October), it was clarified that...* Her attitude markers, moreover, are generally limited to evaluations of interest, importance, and agreement (e.g., *arguable, questionable, agreeable* – meaning 'possible to agree with') and refer to ways of understanding cultural interpretations:

I believe it would be interesting to see cultural and social differences within the same nation by looking into how interpretations differ individually...

Whether aesthetics or ethic caused such various reactions is questionable...

I agree on this argument that what might have troubled a viewer is...

This evaluation of lenses, causes and claims conveys her role in the text as an analyst who is concerned with explaining cultural interpretations.

An exception to this voice type in paper A, however, is Kimiko's conclusion, in which she suddenly uses a cluster of self-mentions, giving her own, past interpretation of the art work in contrast to the American interpretations she has previously discussed. Here, Kimiko brings her autobiographical self into the essay:

Interestingly, interpretations vary from culture to culture. Piss Christ is arguable but not a Buddha's head for a home décor in Western countries - might be a good example people interpret things differently. In fact, I did not find the work of Piss Christ offensive or unacceptable. I grew up without a concept of God or Jesus Christ as a holy figure. In result, I could never personalize Jesus Christ to be a sacred being. Therefore, I looked at Piss Christ objectively. I thought that the image was beautiful and the way how it was created was unique. I had been also cynical about worshiping of religious icon and endless reproduction of beautified religious images. Piss Christ seemed to suggest an end point as we had gone through a postmodern era.

To me, Piss Christ did not appear to be problematic in any sense. It proves that our ways of thinking vary from one another because of the differences in which cultural and social environment one grew up. The various interpretations to an artwork revealed such cultural and social differences.

Kimiko's use of past tense here distances many of the attitudes expressed (offensive, unacceptable, beautiful etc.) from her voice in the text, but her self-mentions nevertheless position her as a writer with a particular history and perspective, and she uses that perspective to argue quite emphatically (it *proves* that) that interpretation of art is culturally relative.

With regard to Kimiko's own perceptions of expectations for paper A, as well as her difficulties in fulfilling them, the following interview extract provides a useful summary:

- Kimiko Matti is a very academician and so I thought he would expect us to write like academic paper, which I actually didn't, I think, because to be honest at that time I really didn't know what he was expecting. But his course was very formal I thought, and I had never taken any cultural study courses before and he started out with semiotics, something that I didn't really understand. Of course, some students, some of us had taken cultural study courses and they followed the course quite well I think. But for me it was quite difficult. I really didn't understand the course, so yeah, I was completely lost when I started writing this essay... Eventually I understood it was quite open, free, and I was asking around what they're gonna write about, like other students, and it seemed quite open (...phone interrupts...)
- Interviewer so you didn't really know what was expected and you chose the topic based on what other people were thinking about?
- Kimiko yeah or more like something I knew
- Interviewer sure
- Kimiko yeah, but in the end I kind of failed to finish this essay properly
- Interviewer so how would you have finished it properly or what would be a proper version?
- Kimiko mm I think even Matti pointed out that like the beginning started out okay, but in the end, it was a bit weak, and I agree with him that I did get lost in the middle and towards the end
- Interviewer lost with your ideas or how to explain them?
- Kimiko how to analyze from this cultural- because I could probably analyze this work using how all these art critics would talk about the art, in an artist's concept and approach and so on, but since it was for cultural study course, I had to include some, I don't know how to say it, some ways to analyze this artwork
- Interviewer you had to approach it from a cultural studies viewpoint?
- Kimiko yeah

Kimiko here connects her perception of Matti as an *academician*, a word that suggests technicality, to the need to write an *academic paper* – apparently construing *academic* as meaning formal and theoretical. It therefore seems unsurprising that her evaluations in this paper are mostly formal in register and that she distances the local context in her paper, using the teacher as an evidential and referring to his full title. Her more personal conclusion, however, which she evaluates as improper for an academic paper, she perceives as reflecting a lack of resources in *talking about* the art work from a cultural studies viewpoint, considering that her background was in Fine Arts. In choosing to write about a piece of art, she was writing about *something I knew*, but the way of approaching that art work from this new disciplinary perspective was unfamiliar.

Turning to the teacher's evaluation of this text, Matti particularly commented in feedback and in interview on Kimiko's use of her personal perspective in the conclusion as breaking norms of academic discussion:

- Matti I mean one may of course position oneself in this way, but then at the same time, having done that, one should distance oneself from that. Okay, this is my experience, and this is how I see it, and it can be used as a perspective to discuss, but here it's just given subjectively, and it is not used as a perspective which then can be discussed from a kind of more distanced, in a more distanced way.

Matti here construes reference to one's autobiographical self as being acceptable *as a perspective* in writing, and he repeats the word *distance(d)* three times, suggesting that one's textual voice should be clearly separated from one's autobiographical self. His preferred voice type is hence that of a detached – or *distanced* – cultural analyst and he expected her to return to that voice more extensively in the conclusion, otherwise interpreting her personal perspective as having been *given subjectively*.

In comparison to paper A, Kimiko's 'own voice' in paper B is much more explicit, as well as much more critical and informal. Overall, she uses twice as many boosters (32 vs 17) and engagement markers (46 vs 20), and many more attitude markers (44 vs 25). Although many of her evaluations are again of scholars' claims, in paper B these evaluations often include self-mentions, boosters and informal, strongly critical adjectives:

Murray's *whole* argument in *Digital Images, Photo-Sharing, and Our Shifting Notions of Everyday Aesthetics* *seems to me nonsense*.

I have to disagree with this point. *To some extent, we could say that* convenient and economical features of digital photography have brought a sense that photography is not out of the reach. Nonetheless, *it has nothing to do with* a photograph being precious or not.

Kimiko's self-mentions here (*I have to disagree; seems to me nonsense*) convey the confident voice of a writer who is directly and emphatically challenging the views of published academics. This is a clear change from paper A, in which claims were evaluated more tentatively as *arguable* and *questionable*.

Interestingly, Kimiko did not herself perceive this more explicit and critical assertion of her own voice as a sign of growing confidence or conviction. When asked in interview about her perception of Mikko's expectations for the assignment, she explained:

- Kimiko I really didn't think that he's expecting a certain kind of essay
- Interviewer sure, did you have an idea what he would think of your writing?
- Kimiko a little bit um but I think I was very careless when I was writing this essay probably because of the course it was quite loose and not very formal... it seemed like he picked randomly anything he was interested in. He's kind of spontaneous person. It was quite puzzling, mysterious in a way, so I was quite careless
- Interviewer how do you think the carelessness shows in your actual text?
- Kimiko I think I gave comments without thinking deeply

Kimiko hence did not construe her informal and emphatic evaluations (or *comments*, as she put it) as being authoritative, but rather as being *careless* and given *without thinking deeply*, and again she connects this approach to the text to her perception of the course and the teacher's expectations – as being *loose* and *not very formal*.

Clues to Kimiko's change in voice in paper B may also be found in the teacher interviews. Mikko particularly praised Kimiko's use of metadiscourse in this paper, seeing it as a demonstration that she, as a *shy Japanese woman*, has learned to assert herself more strongly in her text – something he explained that he encourages students to do. He elaborated:

Mikko but she's improved a lot. There are these kind of things like 'surprisingly photography', 'so', 'further', 'right', 'in my opinion' [...] and 'in my opinion', this is one level of Asian students' development in expressing their own not opinions but to the direction of concluding, to the direction of creating an idea from something and this needs to be done so that 'in my opinion' because I know that quite often it takes guts so that okay now I write it because they simply have been taught to keep themselves completely in the content in Asian countries, referring to and memorizing. And in our system if one is able to keep his or her writing on a content level so that it does still include the personal approach and argumentation then they are already quite on a high level. And that's 'so' 'in my opinion' and 'surprisingly' and 'then', 'but'

Mikko's praise of Kimiko's use of metadiscursive markers was not unambiguous here. On the one hand, he construes the use of phrases such as *in my opinion* as a developmental level for *Asian students* in expressing their *own not opinions*, but rather conclusions. The sense was that students have to take the step of explicitly writing 'in my opinion' in order to become more assertive in drawing conclusions. On the other hand, Mikko juxtaposes keeping *completely in the content* with having a *personal approach*, interpreting metadiscursive markers as a sign of the latter. It would therefore seem that although Mikko, like Matti, values a detached voice (apparently arguing conclusions rather than opinions), he integrates his impressions of the student, the student's learning, and images of Asian versus Western norms into his interpretations of her practices.

Finally, paper C, written for Anita's course, conveys an even more explicit sense of Kimiko as a writer in her text; but again, this is a very different 'Kimiko' to that of the previous texts. In paper C I would summarize her voice as that of a thoughtful, cautious learner. The most prominent metadiscourse feature of this text is hedging, which nearly doubles in comparison to paper B (74 vs 40). There is also an increase in self-mentions (42 vs 33), and an increase in evidentials (45 vs 28). These features combine to convey a much more tentative, careful writer persona. So, *I have to disagree with this point* in paper B becomes *I am still a little skeptical* in paper C.

Kimiko also has a very particular way of using evidentials in paper C. Rather than referring to sources as reinforcing a point she has made, she tends to present the source very neutrally, then code-glosses it – tentatively explaining to the reader what it **seems to** mean – and then often follows it with a tentative attitude marker. The following is a good example:

This Bell's statement *seems* to tell that an artwork accepted and regarded as good and beautiful by public is that because a creator, such as Gustave Doré, *might* have been aware of commonly existing idea of beauty (what Bell calls "social beauty"). In this sense, beauty (in a work of art) is an idea that mass audience find beautiful and desire to see... *I feel that* Bell's argument on beauty in a work of art *seem* to have a *simple* approach.

Evaluations such as *I feel that... seem to have a simple approach* convey a rather different voice to that of the previous paper in which sources were evaluated as *odd*, *weird* or *nonsense*.

Kimiko's evaluations in paper C, as in the extract above, are mainly of theoretical arguments explaining aesthetic interpretations. Kimiko's voice in this text is therefore again that of a cultural analyst. However, this cultural analyst is not a detached author, existing solely in the text world, but clearly a student participating in a course in the real world. Kimiko described Anita's course as being centered on discussion of field literature. For example, in her journal she comments:

There were reading materials for each lesson and we talked openly about art and aesthetics during the course. Reading materials were often not so easy to read, but since I read all of them and discussed in the class, I could use them in my essay as reference.

Her paper reads as a continuation of that classroom discussion, with frequent use of reader engagement markers that position the reader as a member of the course:

Reflecting on the discussions *we* had during the course...
Throughout the course *we* spend a good amount of time on the discussion of...
There was a discussion brought up by one of *our* classmates that...
***** explained to *us* in the class that...
We never really reached a conclusion on...

These reader engagement markers, combined with her explicit but tentative way of presenting and commenting on sources, convey Kimiko's voice as that of a learner who is displaying her thinking process for the teacher. And indeed, Kimiko commented in interview that she was *more careful about giving comments on this one for Anita*, knowing that Anita would be her thesis supervisor.

In giving her overall impression of Kimiko's text, Anita characterized Kimiko as being *thoughtful* and *bright*, having read widely and understood what she read (reflecting her careful way of interpreting evidentials), and she contrasted it with students who express authoritative viewpoints without yet understanding the theory they criticize. On the other hand, she also described Kimiko's writing as overly *cautious* and drew attention particularly to her use of self-mentions and hedging:

- Anita I think it's a little bit perhaps old-fashioned to say that you should avoid it [self-mention] and I think well because there is a writer in the text and then another thing is that with these kinds of aesthetics topics it's always somehow depending to some extent on the observations of someone which are not idiosyncratic, but anyway it's someone who makes it and I also think that there are evaluations and you can use that but maybe I would, she could push it a little bit more to the kind of objective side, again less less cautious because there are also cases that you can make a point without saying it's me I mean it's
- Interviewer it's just my opinion
- Anita yes yes yes right yes that's what it becomes yes yes. I realize when I write myself I sometimes uh the first version has a lot of 'perhaps' and so on, but then I take them away

Again, this interpretation of Kimiko's practices is not unambiguous and again there is a sense of explicit metadiscourse markers, such as self-mentions and hedging, as being a step on the way towards *pushing* writing *more to the kind of objective side*. In her own writing, Anita explains, she sometimes removes the hedging in later versions. There is the implication that including many of these markers of the writer's voice indexes subjectivity and, as we discuss above, may therefore be interpreted as less authoritative – i.e. as *just* the writer's *opinion*.

Anita also commented on Kimiko's positioning of herself in her text as a learner in a local classroom community. Again, she had mixed perceptions of its acceptability:

if you think about it as a freestanding academic piece, that is a little bit too much of that kind of reference to themselves, but then on the other hand, this is a course essay, so this kind of telling about the learning experiences may be also motivated, I mean at least it's interesting for a teacher to read about that and I think it's also useful for the student

Like Mikko, Anita seemed therefore to consider the individual student's learning in interpreting her practices. The conflict between the notion of a *freestanding academic piece* whose purpose is to engage in an imagined disciplinary conversation on a global scale versus a *course essay* whose real purpose is to demonstrate the student's learning on a local scale seems to be the source of some of the teachers' mixed interpretations and students' mixing of different voice types.

3.1.2. Mei

Although Mei's practices also varied, her use of three metadiscourse markers stand out across her texts as contributing to a voice type that deviated from that of a detached cultural analyst: namely, her attitude markers, boosters and reader engagement markers. Rather than being ostensibly neutral, Mei's voice in her texts is emotive and also very positive, as, overall, she uses frequent attitude markers (95) and very frequent boosters (118 vs 32 hedges) that convey her personal enthusiasm for the topics she discusses. In paper A, for example, while discussing her interpretation of a short novel, she continually positively evaluates its author, with phrases such as: *A series of stunning work... This excellent work... A writer of great versatility... work of such high quality... Her talent was impossible to ignore... She successfully brings out a completely new style*. And in paper C, in which she discusses the aesthetics of Starbucks, her evaluations are mainly of Starbucks's positive aesthetic appeal: *Sounded by lovely music, tasty coffee smell and cosy light, no wonder customers would love to spend the whole day staying in Starbucks*. Rather than evaluating theories of cultural interpretation, Mei's attitude markers and boosters hence mainly evaluate people, places, and objects. Her voice is that of someone who greatly enjoys the experience of being in Starbucks or who greatly enjoys the author she is discussing, rather than that of a cultural analyst who is examining how aesthetics 'operate' with apparent personal neutrality.

Besides bringing her own autobiographical feelings and experiences into her texts, Mei also frequently uses engagement markers that position the reader as a person with autobiographical feelings and experiences that can be directly evoked in the text:

Staying at *your* room with the door locked is in a private space, however the feeling of isolation and emptiness *may* swallow *you*.

There is therefore a sense that Mei is drawing on both marketing and literary discourses in her texts, mixing strong appreciation of places and products with emotive characterization of people and their behavior.

In interview with Anita, Mei's practice of giving evaluations of objects and places in paper C rather than more theoretical evaluations was interpreted by Anita as being 'description' rather than 'analysis':

- Anita here's also this kind of a descriptive rather than analytic perhaps
- Interviewer okay, so what would make it more analytic
- Anita well it means that you just don't describe what it looks like and feels like, but you would somehow try to think about what it means or suggests and so on.

It is the voice of a cultural analyst that appears to be missing for Anita, in her interpretation of Mei's text. These real-world descriptions and evaluations of aesthetic appeal – *what it looks like and feels like* – ought to *mean* something in relation to the goals of the discipline in constructing a particular kind of knowledge.

In her journal and in interview, however, it came across that from Mei's perspective, her texts were in fact both analytical and argumentative, as she emphasized that she was trying to argue particular viewpoints. For example, in paper A, Mei is keen to argue her interpretation of the novel's message – a message that she cares about, as she claimed that it *changed my view of the whole world*. The novel tells the story of a society in which citizens know that their prosperity is built on a child's suffering:

- Interviewer so what did you want to achieve with the essay?
 Mei I think for me it's like from this essay I really want to take the uh I'm not sure if you know like the summary of the story?
 Interviewer yeah, I do
 Mei yeah, so it's like, I don't know, I want to analyze like, there are mainly two group of people living there. One is just knowing the situation, but they still choose to live on the cost of other people's pain, and also there are another group of people who just decide to leave and try to find some other like utopian countries with the better world or everything. And I don't know, when you connect it to what's going on around the world now, you can see actually she is getting. I mean, you can put this little town in any country. Like either you know there are shits happening, but still you have to live there and also like there are people, okay I don't want to live like that, people who doesn't want to stay, like I have to go somewhere, it's always better in some other place. So, it's like, I don't know, the author is not mentioning about anyone who really stays and fight against this unfairness. Like, is it true that there aren't any people like that existence in a society?... So, I think that's my whole idea of studying this.

Mei's evaluations and analysis in paper A are of the characters' behavior in the story, and her argument is that these characters ought to have stayed to *fight unfairness* in their societies:

They *never* do anything, maybe just a little thing, to try to change the situation in Omelas [the town where they live]; they *never* stand up and speak their empathy; they *never* try to unite and overthrow the misery tradition.

Repetition of the booster *never* here conveys her personal incredulity regarding the characters' behavior. In paper C, on the other hand, her analysis is of the way that features of Starbucks make her and others feel, and her argument is that Starbucks is aesthetically appealing. The markedness of the texts seems to lie in the fact that these arguments are not part of the disciplinary agendas of cultural theory and aesthetic analysis.

Like Kimiko, Mei felt she lacked resources in discussing her chosen topics using cultural studies discourse. Her undergraduate degree in China was in English translation and literature, and she described having mainly written short texts in which she was expected to give her personal responses to pieces of literature. In talking generally about how she found writing on the programme, she explained:

Actually, I don't have any like really background about it, which means the whole like school of [unclear], it's really completely different. So, actually for me, in order to start to write something, like aesthetics and everything, actually I have to read everything from the very beginning... all theory and like the words they use and everything, it's really different. So, I guess I'm trying to learn it on my own, then try to create like in that way. I think I did quite well because I don't have the studies before.

Both Mei and Kimiko hence refer to the difficulty of learning a cultural studies approach to analyzing their chosen topics, along with its language – *the words they use* – which are indeed very much intertwined. Construing a textual voice as a cultural analyst is in fact both a matter of what one focuses on in evaluations and how one encodes those evaluations.

3.1.3. Tommi

Although Tommi's voice also varied across his three texts, I will here discuss only his paper A as another distinct departure from the preferred voice of an apparently detached cultural analyst. In paper A, Tommi writes about the relationship between video games and violence, and his viewpoint that video games do not cause violent behavior comes across very explicitly, emphatically, and forcefully, using very many attitude markers (76), boosters (78) and engagement markers (49) in a direct attempt to persuade the reader. The combination of these markers construes a polemic voice in the text. For example, Tommi introduces the structure of his essay with the thesis statement: *Here are eight basic myths about video games that just won't do*.

The polemic voice of Tommi's paper A is also construed by the type and target of his evaluations. Rather than evaluating theories of cultural interpretation, Tommi's evaluations are often of people's thinking and are very critical and informal in register: e.g., *when will people learn... we need to use our heads... there must be something very seriously emotionally wrong... it is not indeed rocket-science... it would be very naive thinking*. On the other hand, he also includes many *need to/should/have to/cannot* clauses, combined with an inclusive *we* that involves the reader in his demands for change: *we have to understand..., we always have to..., we just cannot...* This, along with frequent use of direct questions, conveys the sense that his aim is to challenge and change public opinion. His voice is hence not that of a detached cultural analyst engaged in an imagined disciplinary discussion, but rather that of someone who is addressing and attempting to persuade an imagined general reader. Indeed, the evidentials that Tommi used in his text mainly drew on an online source that addressed a more general reader.

Matti's feedback to Tommi on paper A again illustrates teachers' preferred voice type. Matti particularly marked Tommi's direct questions and attitude markers as demonstrating a lack of distance in discussing the topic, and he drew a distinction between what he termed rhetoric and argumentation, suggesting that Tommi's way of using metadiscourse in his text signals the former:

In these places it can be said that you replace argumentation with rhetoric and also that you talk past the issue. For example, in dealing with the fifth myth (p.4–5), you ask how someone could imagine that a little girl playing educational games (to learn the alphabet) could become violent as a result. Has anyone claimed anything like that?

Translation of Finnish written feedback sent to Tommi via e-mail

The text that Matti referred to in this feedback reads as follows:

How can we say that any game that has been made for fun, spending time and maybe even learning something is making people to kill other people?...

If we can seriously say that even little girl that plays education games that help her to learn alphabets is making her a killer there must be something very seriously wrong.

Tommi's implied point in this extract, that the purpose and the genre of the game should be considered in judging its effects, does not in itself seem problematic. It is rather the way in which it is expressed – the polemic voice of the text, including its hyperbolic characterization of counter claims and his apparent incredulity in questioning the reader – that seems to have led to its interpretation as *rhetoric*. All discourse after all has a rhetorical effect and the most rhetorically effective texts in academic contexts are likely to be those that resonate with the reader's expectations for an authoritative disciplinary voice.

In interview, having received Matti's feedback, Tommi expressed frustration at apparently not being allowed to express his own views in his writing and not understanding the teacher's purposes and expectations. He commented, for example:

Tommi You cannot put your own mind in the paper. You have to use other people's minds and put it in the paper so it looks valid... To me it feels funny that you cannot bring your own mind into it more. I know you have to be objective in the issues but somehow it feels that why not just copy everything from everyone and just give your paper like that. There's nothing personal in it then.

Tommi's frustration suggests that he has not yet acquired the expected code for expressing his *own mind*, for example through *other people's minds*, and again some explanation for this could be found in his academic background. Tommi's previous studies at a University of Applied Sciences were in communication studies, specializing in video game marketing. He explained that his previous academic writing experience had mainly involved group-written reflective reports on practical project work, which he described as being *more free* in style and aimed at generating *new ideas*. Like Kimiko and Mei, therefore, he too seemed unfamiliar with cultural studies discourse.

3.1.4. Stephanie

Stephanie is an example of a student whose textual voice seemed to resonate with teachers' expectations, and her work received the most praise from teachers in evaluation (*excellent, brilliant, fantastic, exemplary*). Her voice is consistent across the three texts, suggesting that she is imagining a different type of reader than those associated with classroom and teacher. Of the four students, she used the fewest explicit expressions overall of stance and reader engagement (184), together with the most evidentials (125). Her writing is mostly author-removed and in fact the only three references to Stephanie herself in all three papers are in the context of framing the paper, two of which explicitly perform the role of an academic arguer, *the basic structure for my argument is...*, *In my argumentation, I will draw on...*

The explicit affective and epistemic evaluations that Stephanie does make in her texts are also recognizably academic discourse. She uses far fewer attitude markers than other students (38 in total, compared to 159 in Tommi's papers), and these mainly refer to importance and success: *of importance, of relevance, they have certainly been successful*. Her boosters are also familiarly academic, with numerous uses of the phrase *not only..., but also...* and adverbs such as *certainly, highly, especially, quite the reverse, exactly, it becomes obvious that*. And her hedges include for example, *to some extent, to some degree, rather, can be considered, tend to*. This typical academic vocabulary combines to give her texts a voice that is summarized by Anita as *sophisticated and essayist*.

The majority of Stephanie's explicit evaluations, moreover, are of arguments explaining and elements construing cultural meaning, e.g., *This chain of signifiers is especially important in regard to the cultural code embedded in a particular society*. Stephanie's fluency in the discourse of the discipline is clear – its approach, its *ways of talking* and *the words they use* are familiar to her. In interview, Stephanie in fact had difficulty self-evaluating her texts, commenting that academic writing in English simply came naturally to her having written many long course papers in British and American studies during her undergraduate degree in Germany.

On the other hand, Stephanie's texts were the most difficult to analyze in distinguishing explicit evaluation markers from text that was ostensibly neutral. So much in her text was expressed through evidentials, using passive voice or simply stated as fact that it was difficult to discern when Stephanie was herself directly owning an attitude. The following extract is a typical example of this:

Snowboarding is a popular sport, but extreme snowboarders take it to new dimensions, creating their own elitist circle with highly valued performances. The assumption that sport does not express anything, unlike art which contains meaning, is deconstructed by Welsch who claims it to be “profoundly mistaken”.

Here, Stephanie expresses attitude (*popular, elitist, highly valued, mistaken*) through the eyes of her subjects (*snowboarders*), through a generic perspective not attributable to any particular agent (*the assumption that*), and through another writer’s words (*deconstructed by Welsch*). In that sense, the voice of the text is neutral but authoritative – without the writer’s own voice as evaluator, the propositions can be taken as a straightforward, objective report and only the writers she quotes can be considered subjective and possibly mistaken. The reader, rather than being addressed directly or explicitly, is instead positioned as an insider who takes the existence of this *assumption* of sport’s lack of artistic meaning for granted. At the same time, the reader is subtly aligned with Welsch’s very audible and emphatic viewpoint.

Stephanie also has a particular way of conveying aesthetic evaluations in her texts without appearing to involve her own attitudes or her autobiographical self. When describing the aesthetic appeal or cultural meaning of objects and places, she mainly uses abstractions, positioning the evaluations as properties or effects as opposed to her own affective judgements:

the setting itself *presents* a mixture of man-made perfection and natural beauty
Mountains *contain* a fascination and beauty of their own
These rough but simultaneously smooth acting lines... *create associations with beauty*...
white *stands for* purity, innocence, and beauty

Here, rather than directly calling something *beautiful, pure or innocent* herself, she nominalizes *beauty, purity and innocence* as abstract and apparently neutral analytical categories. Her voice is hence again that of a detached analyst examining how aesthetics operate – how places or objects *present, contain, create, and stand for* beauty, etc. – rather than that of someone who herself experiences that aesthetic appeal outside the world of the text.

In particular, Stephanie’s use of evidentials is praised by her teachers. She is described on the one hand as putting the sources *to use* and on the other hand as putting the sources *into a dialogue*, with conclusions seeming to emerge through this dialogue. Mikko put it like this:

Mikko	and in her thinking, the background is there because she’s extremely good or much, much better than the average of bringing the different authors that we introduce back together
Interviewer	okay yeah
Mikko	that must be the German system, so Hans said that and (?) said this, and so what do we think about these? So that kind of thinking. But then in the same time, it’s always a pleasure to read a text where I can feel that you have actually understood what you read and then that you bring them together and make them discuss- you put them into a dialogue

This image of academic writing as discussion was in fact frequently evoked by the teachers, along with the notion of recreating or representing a disciplinary dialogue on the basis of reading. It again suggests that students are expected to imagine and position themselves as participants in a global scale disciplinary discussion, drawing on the voices of the field, rather than positioning themselves as part of a local, classroom discussion, drawing on classroom voices.

4. Conclusion

To summarize, the principle that both students and teachers discussed of arguing *one’s own point of view* in academic writing is complex when it comes to discursive practice. In analyzing what students actually did in their texts and how their practices were interpreted, a general observation can be made that overall teachers seemed to prefer and reward the voice of a detached cultural analyst, rather than for example that of a cautious learner, a polemic arguer or a literary enthusiast. Discursive practices for achieving this preferred voice can be divided into two components: construing detachment and construing cultural analysis.

Detachment or distance was construed in Stephanie’s writing through the practice of cloaking her voice in the voices of others and through her use of disciplinary discourse that allowed for evaluations to be conveyed more neutrally as abilities and properties. For example, Tommi’s comment *here are eight basic myths about video games that just won’t do*, for which he referred to a source called Jenkins, could be rephrased in Stephanie’s terms as *Jenkins (xxxx) identifies eight common assumptions regarding video games that can be deconstructed*, appearing to refer only to analytic ability, although in fact conveying the same stance. Similarly, rather than giving her affective judgements as an experiential of aesthetic appeal, as Mei did in her texts, Stephanie presented aesthetic traits as properties that are created or presented by objects and places – snowboarding, for example, *creates associations with beauty*, as opposed to being beautiful. These more detached strategies for describing aesthetic appeal are also clearly related to the particular epistemology and ontology of the field – e.g., the notion that beauty is culturally constructed, as opposed to being an essential quality or the experience of the individual.

The voice of a cultural analyst, moreover, was construed through the target and type of evaluation, as well as through the writer’s representation of a disciplinary discussion. In particular, students seemed expected to evaluate theories of cultural

interpretation, with evaluations of objects and places interpreted as description rather than analysis, and with face-threatening evaluations of people's thinking interpreted as subjective rhetoric. Restrained evaluations, moreover, using typically academic vocabulary and commenting on the significance, interest, and validity of a theory, also seemed to be preferred to evaluations that conveyed the writer's incredulity, enthusiasm or enjoyment. Representation of a disciplinary discussion, on the other hand, which Bartholomae (1986) referred to as 'inventing the university', was achieved by Stephanie for example by appropriating the discourse and sources used in class without referring to the class itself and by explicitly performing the role of academic analyst and arguer through her self-mentions.

These norms for writing on the programme were somewhat ambiguous, however, and confusing for some of the students. In particular, principles of academic writing as arguing one's own viewpoint proved to be misleading in practice. All of the students I interviewed were very familiar with the notion of English academic writing as arguing one's own point of view and as demonstrating critical thinking. Mei and Kimiko, for example, tried hard to express their own views in their texts as they believed they should, but were interpreted as being subjective and/or descriptive, whereas Stephanie, who cloaked her own voice and made more use of others' authoritative voices, was evaluated highly. Stephanie's practices mirror an observation made by one of Casanave's (2002) focal students, who pointed out "You have to know how to present your argument and write with a certain level of detachedness. Not say, well, I think that such and such, you have to say it like you're not there" (p.87).

On the other hand, although a detached voice seemed to be preferred, teachers also considered their impressions of the students as learners in evaluating their texts, considering for example their apparent thoughtfulness and understanding, as well as their individual progress. Anita, for example, recognized the usefulness of Kimiko's way of treating sources and way of displaying her learning for the teacher in paper C, and despite her critique of Kimiko's cautiousness, she gave the paper a high grade (grade 4 = *very good*). And indeed, from Kimiko's perspective, paper C seemed the most pedagogically useful, in that the course involved an induction into the subject's discourse through weekly readings and class discussion. There is hence an authenticity to Kimiko's paper C: rather than positioning herself as an authoritative expert participating in a global level of knowledge construction, she is able to negotiate meaning in her text and participate in a local classroom level of knowledge construction.

The pedagogical implications of this study, therefore, are three-fold: firstly, that students be made aware of the voice types that writers in their discipline tend to construe and why; secondly, that rather than simply being told to *argue their own point of view*, students be made aware of their discipline's textual practices for doing so, including not only how evaluations are expressed, but what they are expected to evaluate and why; and finally, that rather than expecting students to simply mimic the textual features of preferred voice types in their texts as products, pedagogically, students may benefit more from the use of academic literacies as part of a process of meaning negotiation and knowledge construction within the classroom community. This could also allow for some explicit decoding of *the words they use* – the field's *ways of talking* – with content teachers acting in fact as language teachers and avoiding a misleading separation between language and content.

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None

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Appendix 1

Principles of Text Analysis

My principles are listed below. For the sake of clarity, I illustrate my principles with model phrases (*e.g. X is an important form of art; in my view, X is a form of art; X is clearly a form of art*), rather than with text extracts. However, these models are based on phrases that students used.

Attitude Markers

- 1) In order to count as an explicit marker of the student's **own** attitude, an evaluation had to be directly attributable to the writer in the text (*e.g. X is important*). This excluded the following cases:
 - a. Evaluations that the writer attributes to someone else's viewpoint: *According to Smith, X is important*
 - b. Evaluations that the writer attributes to general opinion: *X is considered to be important; X is important in Asia.*
 - c. Evaluations that the writer attributes to him/herself in the past: *X was important to me.*
 - d. Hypothetical evaluations: *if X is important, then...; in cases where X is important, then...*
 - e. Evaluations that are abstracted to the point that the writer does not appear to be the evaluator: *X creates associations with beauty; X stands for beauty; X presents beauty; X gives the impression of beauty; X can be considered as aesthetic beauty*

- 2) Statements that seemed to me to be subjective (e.g. *X is a form of art*) but were represented as neutral or factual were not counted as attitude markers. However, if the statement included an evaluative adjective, adverb or noun, this was taken as an explicit assertion of the writer's attitude and counted as an attitude marker: *X is an important form of art; Importantly, X is a form of art; X is a form of art of great importance.*

NB. Evaluative was understood as conveying the writer's overt positive or negative value judgement, considering also the co-text. In this set of texts, this included judgements of goodness, correctness, importance, appropriateness or normality, effectiveness, success, aesthetic appeal, enjoyment, difficulty, utility, worthiness, logic, intelligence, maturity, threat, bravery, interest, taste, comfort, tranquility, authenticity and truth.

- 3) I also included lexical items as attitude markers if they were overtly positively or negatively loaded. Again, this was based on my own perception of the overtness of the writer's own evaluation. For example, I did not count terms like *claim*, *belief* and *assumption*, but I did include *myth*, *fault* and *mistake*. Although calling something an *assumption* suggests disagreement, calling it a *mistake* communicates that disagreement overtly. With *assumption* there is still a possibility that the writer agrees with what is assumed, whereas with *mistake* there is not.
- 4) If the writer explicitly marked a statement as his/her own opinion, I counted that as an attitude marker, as well as a self-mention: *In my view, X is a form of art*. Variations of this kind of statement were counted in the following way:
- In my view, X is a form of art*: counted as one attitude marker
 - X is an important form of art*: counted as one attitude marker
 - In my view, X is an important form of art*: counted as one attitude marker
 - In my view, X is an important and useful form of art*: counted as two attitude markers
- 5) Expressions of hopefulness (*hopefully, I hope to*), agreement (*I agree, this is true*), gratitude (*fortunately, thankfully*), and preference (*I prefer to, I would like to*) were also counted as attitude markers.
- 6) The modal (or semi-modal) verbs *should*, *must*, *have to*, *needs to*, *ought* and *cannot* were counted as attitude markers when the writer used them to refer to something that is the right or wrong thing to do or happen: *This should not happen; This cannot happen; This must not happen; This needs to happen; We have to improve this.*

Hedging and Boosting

- 1) In identifying hedging and boosting, I primarily looked for the writer's commentary on the truth of a proposition, e.g. *X is probably a form of art, X might be a form of art, X is clearly a form of art, X is definitely a form of art, X is indeed a form of art*. This suggests that *X is a form of art*. This commentary is not seen as modifying the proposition - *X is a form of art* - but rather as explicitly communicating the writer's confidence in the proposition.
- 2) I also included frequency markers (e.g. *always, never, whole, sometimes, often*), quantity markers (e.g. *most, all, many, few*), and markers of degree (e.g. *very, quite, to an extent*), when they conveyed a strong sense of the writer's conviction rather than being an ostensibly neutral report on 'text external' circumstances. This was again a subjective distinction, but to ensure consistency, I considered the following:
- whether the marker was attached to another marker of the writer's attitude or certainty: *it is quite important; it is extremely clear; it is never a good thing*
 - whether the marker could be removed without removing vital information: *every single aspect/ every aspect; there are so many things/there are many things; this is just like/this is like*
 - whether the marker is clearly hyperbolic: *in all corners of the earth; there are tons of reasons; throughout the whole of human history; countless people have*
 - whether the marker is used to emphasise something surprising, extreme or incredulous: *people don't even know that they should*
 - whether the marker itself is vague and therefore hard to verify: *to a certain extent*
 - whether the marker is used to hedge or boost a generalisation that is the writer's own observation: *People never like..., Women tend to prefer..., Viewers always think...*
 - whether the marker is repeated for emphasis: *they never..., they never..., they never...* In cases like this, each use of *never* was counted as a booster
- 3) *Seems* and *appears* were sometimes difficult to analyse considering that some of the essays concerned aesthetics and literally referred to appearance. I therefore had to judge from the co-text whether the verb was expressing uncertainty.
- 4) *Could* and *can* were also difficult as they can refer literally to ability or can be used to convey uncertainty. They often seemed to be used as a way of reducing the force of a claim, while at the same time maintaining authorial distance and the appearance of objectivity. I only counted them as overt insertions of the writer's voice in the following cases:
- When combined with an evaluative adjective: *it can be important; it could be important*
 - When combined with a verb that denotes opinion or speculation: *it can be argued that X is art; we could consider X to be art*. These combinations, though still appealing to a sense of objectivity (after all, everything *can* be argued), nevertheless convey a strong sense of the writer's tentative voice.

- c. When used speculatively, with a similar meaning to ‘might’: *it can be the case that; it could be that; it might be the case; it might be that.*
- 5) In combinations, each marker was counted separately:
- To me, it seems quite important in some sense** = four hedges.
 - To me, it seems extremely important in every sense** = two hedges, two boosters
- 6) As with attitude markers, certainty markers (hedging, boosting) had to be attributable to the writer’s **own** voice, rather than being attributed to another party. So, for example, in the phrase, *Barthes suggests that...*, ‘suggests’ would not be counted as hedging because the action was attributed to Barthes – it is ostensibly Barthes who suggests, argues, or states. On the other hand, in the formulation *Barthes’ statement suggests that...*, ‘suggests’ would be counted as hedging because the writer directly owns the action, presenting it as his or her own tentative interpretation of Barthes’ statement.

Appendix 2

Below is a list of the initial issues that I noticed in the qualitative data (interviews, journals, instructions and feedback) and coded using Atlas-ti software. Some of these codes were recoded into subcategories, some extracts were added to several codes (as there was clear overlap), and only the most relevant issues to voice were then included in the article.

This coding was the initial stage of the analysis, as I then had to consider the extracts in context as part of each student’s trajectory.

Expressing one’s own... (opinion, point of view, thinking, ideas, purpose)
 Distancing one’s voice
 Objectivity
 Referring to oneself
 Argumentation versus opinion
 Analysis versus description
 Using appropriate language
 Using disciplinary language
 Representing disciplinary discussion
 Metadiscourse as a stage
 Cultural differences?
 Students’ intentions
 Impressions of the teacher
 Impressions of the student

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