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Representation of burka banning in France as represented in British and Persian Newspapers

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Abstract

The study of Burka and hijab banning in France have become the topic of major interest in recent years (see Moore, Mason and Lewis, 2008; Al Hejin ,2007; Posetti 2006; Scott, 2007). This paper, traces the histories and discourses supporting and neglecting the representation of burka banning in three British newspapers and tabloids (*The Guardian, The Times, The Sun*) and three Persian newspapers (*Resaalat, Shargh* and *Tehran Times*) during a nine month period from January to September 2010; following the event of French burka banning proposal by the then French president Nicolas Sarkozy, which was eventually passed on and approved by the senate on 14th of September 2010; I will be using Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) and the strategic discursive devices within this approach in order to familiarise the readers to the notion of 'burka' for women from two separate ideological background (i.e. Christian / Islamic). Besides, this paper aims to focus on how veiled women are represented in British and Persian newspapers following the controversies on Hijab and burka banning issues. The findings show that while newspapers have different strategies in their way of representation due to their political trend, they all tend to contribute to similar constructions towards women who wear the burka.
Key words: veil-banning, hijab, burka, Muslim women, Media, Discourse Historical Approach, discursive strategies

1. Introduction

Both sex and religion are considered as important issues in broadcasting media and press. Over the past century, there have been numerous debates on veil banning. It has especially attracted increased press attention within the past few decades especially since 1989 following "the event that became known as the ' affaires des foulards' began on October 3, 1989, when three Muslim girls who refused to remove their headscarves were expelled from their middle school in the town of Creil, about thirty miles outside of Paris (Scott, 2007:22-23)".

In this paper, I will trace the histories and discourses supporting and neglecting the representation of full-face (henceforth, burka) banning in three British newspapers and tabloids and three Persian newspapers during a nine month period from January to September 2010 following the event of president Nicolas Sarkozy's burka banning proposal which was then passed on and approved by the senate on 14th of September 2010; using the discourse historical approach (DHA) and the strategic devices in order to show the representation of the notion of 'burka' for women in both Islamic and Christian ideologies. I shall be answering the following questions:

1. How are veiled women represented in British and Persian newspapers and what are the potential differences among these newspapers?

2. Which discursive strategies tend to appear more in such discourses?

A large number of news stories about the notion of the term 'veil' and 'hijab' have been triggered by politicians bringing the matter into the public consideration. Over the past decade, the appropriateness of Muslim women's dressing, particularly the burka has been the focus of often controversial media debates. As many scholars believe (e.g. Scott, 2007; Vaarakallio, 2010, Vorster, 2011) the burka debate has come to symbolise the clash of cultures: To be more precise, between the French secular interests and the Muslim religious beliefs. There are conflicting claims on this issue that regard it as a symbol of both oppression and freedom of expression. As Posetti (2006:2) argues in her report that "the media cannot be held solely responsible for the construction of national identity not blamed for social attitudes towards", what she considers as "minority cultures and religions ". On the other hand, she seems to support the claim that while the Western media usually sees itself as a democratic institution it still is biased against religious communities especially the Muslims. However, as stated previously, there have been some

negative issues towards the notion of 'hijab' and especially towards ' burka' in the western press. Having a brief look at the headlines of newspapers, which were related to such topics during the past decade, I have found that most fears of burka and niqab have their roots in the events following September 11, 2001 terror attacks and the suicide bombings and hostage takings in different parts of the world. For example the heart-breaking event of 'Beslan School Siege' on 3rd of September 2004 which was about Chechen Islamic extremists who murdered 344 people after taking 1200 hostage during just one day and among the hostage-takers were "female suicide bombers wearing the burka and niqab".[1] Moreover, this is only one of the many articles, which understandably lead to fear towards the women who wear the full-face covering garment 'the burka'. That is why the media are believed to have a strong impact on people. They do have great power over people's beliefs and assessments. Hence, with power comes great responsibility and that is the reason why the headlines of newspapers are of utmost importance.

This research also attempts to show that while newspapers have different strategies in the representation of veil banning due to their political standpoints, in some important ways they all contribute similar construction of the In-groups versus the Out-groups. I hope that this essay and its results shall help to highlight some significant and challenging issues regarding the representation of full- veil banning in France from the point of view of two different countries (UK and Iran) with diverse ideologies.

1.1. Definition of key terms

Veil is a cover term, which refers to all forms of the Islamic veil (either headscarf or full-face veil). Because of confusions of the terms related to Islamic veils, in this section I shall define each type of Muslim women's veil, which is stated in this essay along with a pictorial

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[1] . http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/world/04/russian_s/html/1.stm

example, which I collected from BBC website <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10611398>
(Accessed: 5 April 2011).

1.1.1. Different types of Muslim women's veils

1.1.1.1. Hijab: The word 'Hijab' is usually a term used for covering the hair. It is an Arabic term meaning 'barrier' or 'partition'. According to Bardan (1995c,P.22) "the word 'Hijab' or 'veil' signified covering the face and was used as a generic term in nineteenth and early twentieth century Egypt". The type most commonly worn in the West is a square scarf that covers the head and neck but leaves the face clear.

Figure 1. Hijab

1.1.1.2. Burka is the most concealing of all Islamic veils. It covers the entire face and body, leaving only a mesh screen to see through.

Figure 2. Burka (Burqa)

1.1.1.3. Niqab refers to a full-face veil that does not cover the eyes. i.e. it is a veil for the face, which leaves the area around the eyes clear. However, it may be worn with a separate eye veil. It may also be worn with an accompanying headscarf.

Figure 3. Niqab

1.2.   Significance of study

The significant effect of the 'affaires des foulards' in France was to make the headscarves an emblem of a difference that could be integrated. France with its long traditions of secularism had called for the outlawing all 'conspicuous' signs of religious affiliation in public schools. Consequently, such discriminations tend to marginalize Muslims, which is highly likely to make them isolated. This seems to be a great problem facing both sides either French government or Muslim populations living in France. Interestingly, they both share the idea that there is a political reason behind this debate and they may both be right if one is looking at the whole situation without biase.

2.   Data Collection and Methodology

2.1. Data Collection

As a first step, I retrieved the stories related to burka banning issues in British newspapers from Lexis Nexis database, using the key words veil / burka banning in France. Among the UK broad sheets and tabloids, I chose one liberal quality newspaper *the Guardian*, one conservative quality newspaper *the Times* and one tabloid newspaper *the Sun* for my analysis. I chose these newspapers due to their different political stances. I did almost the same procedure for Persian newspapers by searching the same key terms in both Persian and English language in Magiran.com, which is considered to be one of the databases for Persian language news documents. I chose a traditional conservative right-winged newspaper called *Resaalat* (= 'the Prophecy') and a reformist or left-winged party newspaper *Shargh* (=' the East') along with an

English language daily newspaper *Tehran Times* whose general policy was based on the late Ayatollah Beheshti's statement: " The Tehran Times is not the newspaper of the government; it must be a loud voice of the Islamic Revolution and the loudspeaker of the oppressed people of the world."[2]

2.2. Methodology

My analysis is largely based on Wodak's (2001) Discourse Historical Approach (henceforth, DHA). The sample data was based on a 9-month period from January 2010 through to 15th September 2010. The following table shows the name of the newspapers as well as the frequency of the numbers of articles relevant to my analysis plus the publishing dates.

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[2] . http://www.tehrantimes.com/Index_info.asp?I=A

Table 1. Data collection information

	Names of the newspapers used in the data	Political Stance	Published Date(s)
British Newspapers	The Guardian	Centre-left Liberal quality newspaper	January 26, 2010 April 22, 2010 September 15, 2010
	The Times	Centre-right conservative quality newspaper	May 19, 2010 July 14 , 2010
	The Sun	Right-wing populist tabloid	July 21, 2010 July 29, 2010
Persian Newspapers	Tehran Times	Centre-right conservative	January 26, 2010 April 22, 2010 May 20, 2010 July 21, 2010
	Resaalat	Conservative-right winged	April 27, 2010
	Shargh	Reformist/left-winged	July 15, 2010

As can be seen in the table, the British newspapers allocated 7 articles (3 belong to the Guardian, 2 to the Times and 2 to the Sun) related to burka banning while the Persian newspapers allocate 6 articles (4 belong to Tehran Times, 1 in Resaalat and 1 in Shargh).

The five-level analytical method of DHA approach consists of: 1) referential strategies (naming) 2) predication strategies 3) argumentative strategies 4) perspectivisation 5) mitigation and intensification strategies. However, because of space restrictions, I shall focus only on two of the most salient strategies which occurred more frequently in my analysis: the referential and predicational strategies[3].

3.　　The historical events prior to burka banning in France

According to Scott (2007:22) the debates about whether girls should wear Islamic hijab in public schools in France, erupted at three separate chronological sequences: in 1989, 1994 and 2003. I shall describe these events briefly: In 1989, three Muslim girls were expelled from their school because they refused to remove their headscarves. Following that event, the minister of education, Farnçois Bayrou, decreed on September 20, 1994 that any 'ostentatious' signs of religious affiliation would henceforth be prohibited in all schools (Scott, 2007: 26). Finally, in 2003, the question of headscarves was first brought to national attention by the then minister of interior, Nicolas Sarkozy, who recommended headscarf banning which was approved by French MPs in the next year, leading to President Jacques Chirac's call for the prohibition of headscarves in 2004. Furthermore, during this time concerns about terrorism after the attacks of September 11, 2001 in the US was one of the justifications for this ruling and hijab banning proposals (Scott, 2007: 30). Such decisions were mostly because of the fact that French public consider hijab as *the problem of Islam* due to their secular system (*Ibid*). What the chronological sequence reflects is a hardening of the government's position in reaction to the steady growing political influence of the anti-immigrant far right. Scott (2007) argues that headscarves are dangerously political in their challenge to the principles of the secular republic of which France is a part. Such views are claimed to be in association with Islamism and terrorism and therefore,

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[3] . NB. Other strategies were also noticed which can be discussed in a separate article.

they might create Islamophobia. Accordingly, the years between 1989 and 2003 have raised a dramatic increase in international attention towards political Islam. Some French Political leaders relate France's social problems to 'immigrants' and therefore refuse to accept them in their schools if they (i.e.the 'immigrants') did not dress in conformity with the secular standards. In fact, they are made to embrace the values and identity of the French (Scott: 2007, 36-39). With that said, there are different factors in veil banning in France, which are based on issues like: 1) Racism 2) secularism 3) individualism and 4) sexuality (Scott, 2007: 45). Each of these factors was the salient elements emphasized in all my data while exploring the implications of burka banning in France. For example in the Guardian (September 15, 2010) we can see the significance of such bases (secularity and individuality) in the president's speech as underlined below:

*The president said the burqa had no place in a **secular society** committed to **women's rights.***

4. The representation of 'women'

Much of the recent work on the representation of women in the media points to their misinterpretation (cf. Booth 1980). Some studies (see Scott, 2007; Moore, Mason and Lewis, 2008), however, venture further to show how women have been incorporated and represented into journalism. I will point out to the representation of women and burka banning in France, which has become a controversial issue in the media recently. The French Senate passed the bill, which prohibited face-covering in public places, on September 14, 2010. It should be noted that it was previously passed by the National Assembly of France on 13 July the same year. What is more salient about this proposal is that, first of all burkas prevent the ability to identify someone; as it is explicitly stated in the Times (July 14, 2010) by a Muslim woman who says that: *"I felt comfortable knowing that my face would not be known"*. Secondly, it is inconsistent with

France's values i.e. French secular system and is against women's rights. As it is believed covering the face is a symbol of 'extremism' and ignoring 'individual identity'. Additionally, it is considered a threat towards the French society, which leads to the concept of Islamophobia and more specifically terrorism. As of the beginning of the year 2010 the bill, which proposed burka banning had been debated for several months. At first partial bans were proposed and later on it was turned to a total face veil banning which was approved by the Senate. The law was enforced as of 11 April, 2011.

Furthermore, as Posseti (2006: 3) points out negative stereotyping and reactionary reporting tend to historically typify coverage of Islam and Muslims. She further indicates that "Muslim women are almost invariably portrayed as oppressed and veiled, a terrorist threat or exotic, sexualized beings". In similar vein, Lambert and Githens-Mazer (2010: 64) in a section on *Media portrayal of Muslim women* report that media stories, in a Muslim woman's view, have nearly always been negative surrounding scandal, abuse or focus on oppression of those who wear it. They further stress that despite the fact that there are many extraordinary individuals who are strong-minded, courageous and beautiful Muslim women who proudly wear Islamic dress, none of them are portrayed in the media as such (Ibid: 67). Thus, positive stories or portrayals of Muslim women are not considered as newsworthy which apparently shows bias of media in portraying them. In the next section, I shall discuss the burka banning discourses from a DHA point of view.

5. DHA analysis of ' discourses about burka banning in France'

My analysis on media coverage of both British and Persian newspapers is based upon two complementary pieces of research from DHA perspective. The results of the text analysis and the discourse topics of the headlines of newspapers can be grouped in terms of different periods and

events on the one hand and as I stated earlier in the methodology section, there are differences in the political stances of newspapers for example, the tabloids vs. broadsheets; conservatives vs. liberals on the other hand. Hence, there could also be questions formulating the representations of burka banning in France as reflected in UK liberal and conservative newspapers during a nine-month period which lead to the Senate's approval of Burka banning in France. What follows then in terms of overall conclusions, however, is a tribute of some of the general discursive strategies of burka banning based on the text analysis.

In an overview analysis of the UK newspapers, we can observe that for example MPs and Nikolas Sarkozy are the major social actors in French burka banning debates, which are considered as Self in the French context. Women who wear burka on the other hand, are mostly assumed to belong to other social groups and hence, are different social actors (i.e.Others). This matter is also related to 'power' as an asymmetric relationship among social actors with different social positions. The major CDA studies on the Self and Other representation within Wodak's (2001) DHA have developed as salient methodologies and at the same time proposed several analytical categories through which the representation of these in-groups and out-groups in discourse are accounted for.

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 90), the DHA considers intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres and discourses as well as extra-linguistic social / sociological variables, the history of an organization or institution and situational frames. Intertextuality means that texts are linked to each other, as in veil banning issue which started in 1989 and which was then lead to burka banning in September 2010 all the texts are linked to each other. They are connected both in the past and in the present. Such connections according to Resigl and Wodak (2009) are established through different references

either via references to the same events or by allusions or evocations to some other texts and events.

5.1. Naming and Referential Strategy

5.1.1. British Newspapers

In this section, I shall discuss the ways in which people are named in news discourses that according to Richardson (2007: 49) can have significant impact on the ways they are viewed. Furthermore, he argues that we all simultaneously process a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurate but not with the same meaning (*ibid*). The manner in which social actors are named identifies not only the groups that they are associated with (or at least the groups that the reader / writer want them to be associated with) it can also signal the relationship between the manner and the named. Reisigl and Wodak (2009) have called these naming options 'the referential strategies' of a text. According to them, choosing to describe Self and Others is likely to serve different psychological, social or political purposes on the side of both readers and writers. The following is a simple example of naming strategy used in the Guardian newspaper:

Nicolas Sarkozy *has ordered the French government to prepare legislation…*

(The Guardian, April 22, 2010)

In this example 'Nicolas Sarkozy' is the social actor as highlighted in bold. He does the act of '*ordering*'. Hence, we may understand that he is the one who has power over the French government even if we do not know his role as the (then) French president.

Furthermore, by looking at all three articles, I observed that this newspaper tends to use more quotations, which means that the author(s) [4] of the articles are in fact trying to distance

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[4] . NB. The same person (Lizzy Davies) was the author of all three articles I have found about this particular topic in the Guardian newspaper. Therefore, we may not be able to conclude 100% that this is the strategy of the newspaper

themselves from what had already been said. I counted 23 instances of such quotations in all the articles found in *the Guardian* during the mentioned period. An example of such cases can be detected as follows in a section of an article entitled as (**Senate in France votes for Muslim face veil ban,** The Guardian, September 15, 2010):

*After six months of **"mediation"** and a period during which police are likely to be given detailed instructions on how to apply the law, the first penalties are expected to be seen early next year. They will consist of fines of euros 150 for those found wearing a face-covering veil as well as, or instead of, a **"citizenship course".***

*[…]Supporters of the ban - including Nicolas Sarkozy, who has said the full Islamic veil **"is not welcome"** on French soil - say it is a move made primarily in defence of women's rights and secularism.*

Furthermore, *the Guardian* focuses more frequently on the banning of burka with 31 cases supporting it and the controversies it raises. While in two articles from *the Times* and *the Sun* there are 5 and 7 cases respectively which support the banning of burka.

Another important keyword which is highly associated with 'burka' is the word 'Women'. It appears that *the Guardian* and *the Times* tend to use more unmarked 'women' (with 12 and 8 cases respectively) rather than the marked 'Muslim women' which appears 5 times in *the Sun* but only 3 times in *the Guardian* and twice in *the Times*. As an illustration, women in an article written by Houriya Ahmed in *the Times* (July 14, 2010) are represented as unmarked 'women' and not as 'Muslim women' which is being marked in another article from the same newspaper, written by Charles Bremner in the same newspaper, entitled as (**'Burka rage' scuffle as cabinet**

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itself. We definitely need a larger corpus with different authors in the same newspaper to come across such a conclusion.

debates veil ban, May 19, 2010). The term 'Burka rage' in the title already insinuates violence. Although this article is a very short one, the sense of 'rage' and 'disrespect' about those who wear the 'burka' is being evoked. The writer's disparaging remarks by mentioning the story of 'a Muslim woman' explicitly shows the emotional 'anger' and 'violence' against such women in France. Moreover, as it is believed by some religious leaders the anti-Muslim feelings is being incited by the government. The other interesting fact about this article is that, on the one hand, 'the Muslim woman' [5] is referred to by her name, three times in the text as ' Zlodie' and thus suggests the assaulted woman's identity as a foreigner perhaps and displays her remarkable difference from the 'two passers-by'. Moreover, the ones who had assaulted her were referred to as 'mother and daughter', which identifies these two social actors' kinship. Thus, I think this kind of relationship tends to show Self- strength and unity of French nationals whereas the reference to the Muslim woman's name appears to emphasise on her Other-ness and solitude state. As Richardson (2007: 49) indicates such naming options tend to choose and describe the individual's identity and in this case, it might mean the social value of French kinship, which is of utmost importance in France's secular system than any other kinship. Another interesting point here is that the mother is described as a lawyer, hence, it can be said that she might be thinking that she had the right to take the law into her own hands. Also a reference to her job could insinuate that she is well-educated while as we can see, there is no reference to the Muslim woman's job which can indicate that she is either jobless or not educated.

 The Muslim woman, *named only as* ***Zlodie,*** *told reporters that she had been leaving a shoe store in Trignac, near St Nazaire, when two passers-by, apparently* ***mother and daughter****, made derogatory remarks before telling her: "Go back to your own country."* ***The mother****,* ***a***

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[5] . NB. the use of definite article

__lawyer,__ allegedly tried to tear off the niqab worn by __Zlodie__-at which point the two began trading slaps before being separated by shop assistants, __Zlodie__ said. "Things got nasty," she added. "__The older woman__ grabbed my veil to the point of ripping it off." ('Burka rage' scuffle as cabinet debates veil ban, The Times, May 19, 2010).

Additionally, there is a remarkably high frequency of references to 'war' metaphors in the account of burka banning event. For example, *the Sun* (July 29, 2010) writes:

Militant Ayman al-Zawahri described a move by France to outlaw the hijab head-dress as one of __"shameless war"__...__"You are mujahedat (female __holy warriors__) in the most important __battlefield.__ "Every single woman who defends her veil is a __holy warrior__ in the face of the secular Western __crusade__."

Again, several issues might be provoked from such metaphors in this example, one of which could be 'hostility' towards French secularity. The other issue could be the extreme religious ideologies of some Muslims about the holiness of war against western beliefs. In the following section, I will discuss the same strategies used in a Muslim country's beliefs and in particular I will focus on three Persian language newspapers as mentioned in section (2.1).

5.1.2. Persian Newspapers

With respect to Persian data, however, we can see that critics of the veil are regarded as 'extremists and 'radicals', in essence. The discursive construction in such data includes various strategies. 'Women' are represented most frequently as 'women', and to a lesser extent 'Muslim women' and the least as 'French Muslims'. Figure 4 shows the frequency of the representation of women in a corpus of 5154 words[6] in both British and Persian newspapers.

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[6] . I already had the word count of the articles, so I was able to calculate the whole number of words in the corpus I used.
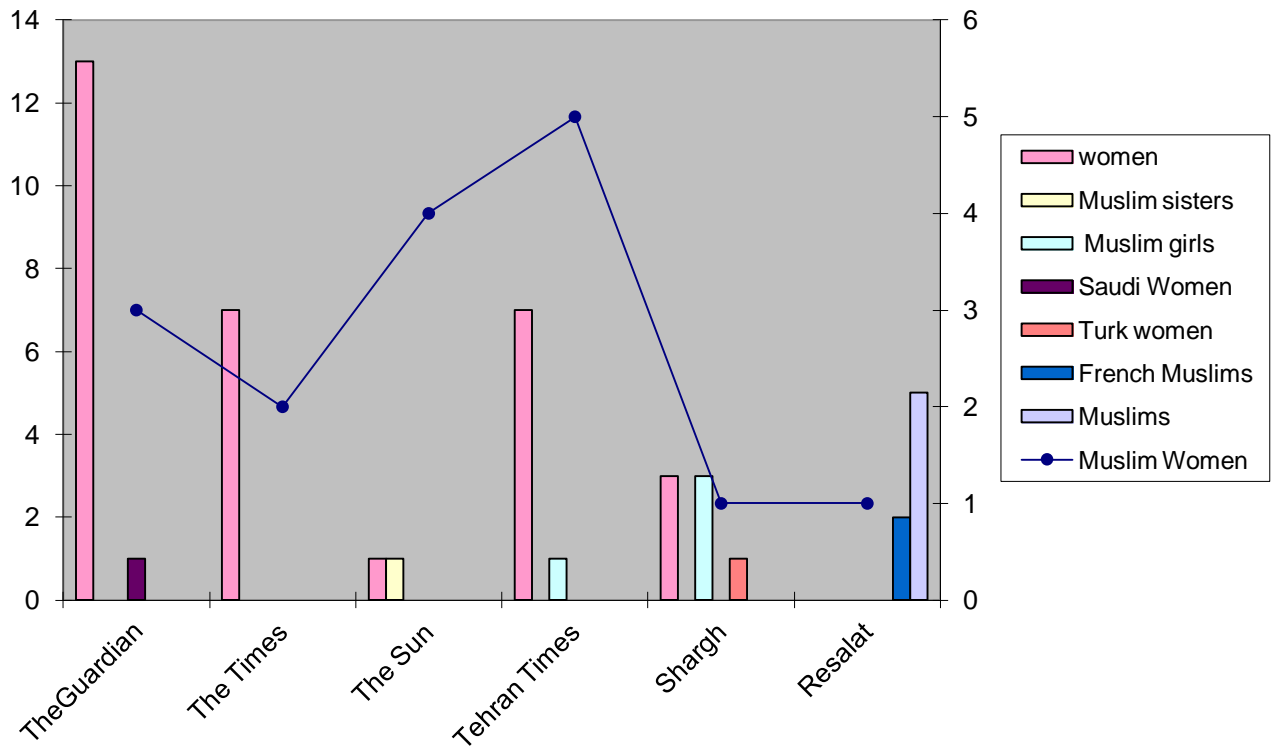
Figure 4. The representation of 'women' in British and Persian newspapers (The Guardian, The Times, The Sun, Tehran Times, Shargh, Resaalat)

As can be seen in the graph (Figure 4), *the Guardian* newspaper shows a high increase in the use of 'women' while in *Resaalat* newspaper we cannot see any traces of 'women' and interestingly it appears that *Resaalat* tends to use the plural noun 'Muslims' as a cover term, for both men and women in an article entitled as " **Élysée Palace[7] against the Islamic hijab (veil)".** The Persian newspapers tend to use more marked adjectives with women wearing the burka such as 'Muslim girls/women', also with their national identities like' Turk women', 'French Muslims', and even more interestingly generalize them with the religious term 'Muslims' regardless of their sex[8]. It might be the case here that being a Muslim is more important than being a woman. i.e.

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[7] . Here a metonym ' Élysée Palace 'is used to refer to the French government. In fact, a metonymy is a figure of speech used in rhetoric in which a thing or concept is not called by its own name but by the name of something intimately associated with that thing or concept.

[8] . As discussed in section 1.3.1.of this paper, the veil is utilized mostly by women.

men and women are equal in the eyes of the Lord according to the Koran. Besides, it should be noted that the Koran does not always emphasis on gender discrimination when it describes the followers of Islam (the Muslims). Therefore, this might be one reason for using the plural noun 'Muslims' here. Another reason, at the same time might be this issue that in Islamic ideology and according to the holy Koran, 'women' are under the protection of men[9]. Hence, the women are not mentioned frequently because they are under men's control and protection.

Another equally important point about the graph is that the marked 'Muslim women' tends to appear more in *Tehran Times* among the Persian newspapers and then in *the Sun* among the British newspapers. As can be seen in the graph, there is a steady increase in the use of 'Muslim women' in *Tehran Times*, which interestingly has a sudden fall in *Resaalat* and *Shargh.*

As for referencing, in Persian newspapers, we can notice 'sleep' related metaphors. Such as' *France falsely considers itself as the **cradle** of democracy and freedom'* (Resaalat, April 27, 2010)

The metaphors (e.g. cradle of democracy) and metonymies (e.g. Élysée Palace) that are referred to in here are usually sarcastic and negative towards the French government. In the following section, I shall discuss the predicational strategies used in both British and Persian newspapers.

5.2. Predicational strategy

5.2.1. British Newspapers

As discussed in the previous section, referential strategies as described by Resigl and Wodak (2001,2009) bear the outline of value judgements. Also such strategies are what Richardson (2007: 52) considers as relevant to the analysis of newspapers and the choice of words they use

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[9] . (4:34)"Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. "

to represent more directly the values and characteristics of social actors. Richardson (2004:90) [c.f. Al-Hejin (2007:11)] argues that the social position of Muslim women is often associated with negative predication such as being 'oppressed ' and ' backward '. In his view then predication might be a physical predicate, which is typical of the way tabloids describe people. For example in (**War on veil ban**, *The Sun*, July 29, 2010) the article shows numerous predications, which are mostly connecting terrorism and women to one another i.e. it implies that Muslim women have ties to the Al-Qaeda terrorist group:

   TERROR group al-Qaeda's second in command *has called on* **Muslim women** *to become*

   "holy warriors" and fight the ban on face veils.

Furthermore, according to Richardson (2007: 53) "Predication is also used to criticise, undermine and vilify certain social actors". In *the Guardian* we can see negative predications such as 'recalcitrant', 'denounced', 'walking prison', 'debasement', 'stigmatised', 'isolation' ,'reprimanded' against those who wear the burka. In the Times, however, 'oppressing',' outraged', ' disparaging remarks' and 'punished' are more notable. Therefore, it could be concluded that British newspapers seem to agree more or less with the French position on veil banning issues as one of headlines clearly shows their position: MPs playing **silly** burkas (*The Sun*, July 21, 2010). The predication 'silly' in this headline could definitely be considered as a very offensive remark towards both women who wear it in particular as well as to Muslims in general. We may also take this very interesting example in an article entitled (**A Niqab is a Symbol of misogyny. It should not be banned Houriya Ahmed,** *The Times*, July 14, 2010) reporting a Muslim woman's [10] personal experience of wearing a 'niqab' and her change of mind towards it. When at first I read this headline, I was quite confused. To me this headline was a bit ambiguous and I

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[10] . the writer of the article

will illustrate why. The term 'misogyny' means 'the hatred of women' [From Greek miso- (hate) + gyne (woman)]. And according to the writer of this article "A Niqab is a symbol of misogyny" and hence a sign of oppression and hatred towards women who wear it. The second sentence of the headline, however, says that " It [the niqab] *shouldn't be* banned Houriya Ahmed". The readers might have the same impression as I had here 'why something which causes hatred of women, *shouldn't be banned*?' The answer could be discovered within the text itself. It seems that the writer agrees more or less to a partial ban of the garment. Yet, she considers a 'total ban' as a 'plain draconian' in other words too harsh and severe. She adds that the French lawmakers are making a 'terrible mistake' by voting to the ban of such face covering Islamic veils. As she argues ' it is not the business of governments to enforce women to wear the veil or not'. Interestingly, in the same article we can see several contradictions one of which has just been stated and the other is that in the first few lines of the article, the writer considers hijab (headscarf) as 'a symbol of modesty' as it is represented in Islamic beliefs on the one hand and regards 'niqab' (which is also a type of hijab but not a religious requirement) as 'a symbol of misogyny' on the other. The word 'Islamophobic' also suggests that the writer whose name apparently shows that she belongs to an Islamic background, believes implicitly that wearing a 'niqab' might understandably create 'Islamophobia' in the western societies. Consequently, the chosen referential strategies perform a function within the current text. In other words, not only do they project meaning and social values onto the referent, which in here is 'Houriya Ahmed', but also they might employ that other social actors (e.g. Women) are referred to and represented as well. On the whole, Houriya Ahmed, the writer of the Niqab article, emphasizes that her early 'ideological square', as Van Dijk (1997) puts it especially with regard to 'niqab' and more precisely the women who wear this garment, is characterised by a positive self-representation

since she also used to wear it. However, at the same time it is not clear from her account why she herself decided not to wear it when she came to Britain. At the beginning of the article she clearly says that ' *I grew up in a liberal household in the Middle East where religious practice was never forced on me. But when I was 17 I made the choice to wear the hijab* ' Here is the conflicting point, in the first sentence she says that she came from a liberal family background who did not force her to wear the garment yet at the age of 17 she is forced to wear the hijab. Who forced her is not mentioned. Moreover, it is not clear that how she decided not to wear the hijab when she came to Britain; whether it was the society's influence or her own choice is not explicitly mentioned.

5.2.2. Persian Newspapers

In the Persian data, as can be expected there are more traces of negative attitude towards those who *ban* the burka and more positive attitude towards burka wearing despite the fact that Iranian women rarely wear burka. In *Shargh* newspaper I found only three subtle examples of predication in a 980-word article while in *Resaalat* newspaper I detected 11 peculiar examples within a 483-word article, which was quite remarkable. Some of them are as follows:

 Nicolas Sarkozy, **_the racist_** *President of France, still refuses to allow Islamic hijab in French Schools. Meanwhile, France* **_'falsly'_** *considers itself as the cradle of democracy and freedom.*

(Resaalat, April 27, 2010)

Another example from the same newspaper comes as follows:

A claim, which is **_apparently absurd…_**

The use of predications ' falsly' and 'absurd' seem to condense prejudices in a very specific way considering the fact that the latter is an offensive remark.

Overall, *Resaalat* tends to insinuate a negative position towards the social actors by using the predications I have underlined above. Finally, in *Tehran Times*, I noted some interesting examples of both positive and negative implications of predication. Such as:

*Gerin stressed the need to move 'progressively' toward a law banning the **attire**[11]. (Tehran Times, January 26, 2010)* (Positive)

[…] *they consider such **drastic** step unnecessary (Tehran Times, January 26, 2010).* (Negative)

Hence, we may conclude that *Tehran Times* seems to be more or less moderate in using predicational strategies among other two newspapers.

6.   Summary and concluding remarks

This essay was a DHA investigation into the representation of 'women wearing burka' and 'burka banning in France' during a 9-month period from January to September 2010. The findings show that while newspapers have different strategies in their way of representation due to their political trend, in essence, they all tend to contribute to similar constructions towards women who wear the burka and the controversies that banning this garment causes within British and Persian Newspapers. As it was expected, the construction of 'women wearing burka' in the structure of newspapers in Iran, namely *Tehran Times* and *Resaalat,* highlights similar discursive strategies of negativisation towards the banning issue whereas the British newspapers especially *the Sun* tends to have a positive attitude towards it. The selected Persian newspapers despite their epistemological trends tend to use more of marked adjectives with women than the British newspapers. Overall, the data would seem to suggest that: the burka signifies both religious and cultural incompatibilities in different ideologies. With that said, I do not claim that this could be regarded as a generalised fact, far from it, because the number of articles is not equally

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[11] . 'Attire' means clothes, especially fine or formal ones.

distributed. Yet, what I intended to clarify in this paper is to show the differences between two

rather distinctive ideologies which are reflected in these newspapers.

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Saudi EFL teachers' and students' perceptions of motivational strategies

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Abstract

This paper considers Saudi EFL teachers' and students' understandings of the motivational strategies used by EFL teachers to promote their students' motivation for L2 learning. Previous studies of motivational strategies focus on either EFL teachers or students, and the relationship between teachers' use of motivational strategies and students' L2 achievements (for example, Cheng and Dörnyei 2007; Bernaus and Gardner 2008; Deniz 2010). Little research has, however, investigated both teachers' and students' perceptions of these strategies. The purpose of this study is to examine the potential mismatches in viewpoint between students and teachers regarding motivational strategies in the Saudi context. This paper intends to discuss the findings of one data set, which is a part of a larger doctoral study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six EFL teachers and five EFL students in three higher education institutions in Saudi Arabia. The resulting data was thematically analysed. The analysis shows that although certain similarities exist between teacher and student perceptions, there are also many significant differences between the views of the two groups.
Keywords: L2 motivation, motivational strategies, EFL Saudi context

1. Introduction

L2 motivation is an effective factor in second language acquisition (Gardener and Lambert 1972; Crookes and Schmidt 1991; and Dörnyei 1994). Dörnyei (2005, p.65) states that "…without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long terms goals, and neither are appropriate curricula and good teaching enough on their own to ensure student achievement". Therefore, it is important for English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers to use motivational strategies to promote their students' motivation in the L2 classroom as this might lead to better second language (L2) learning. To better understand the effective motivational strategies that should be used in the English language classrooms, this study will examine the views of EFL teachers and students about the importance of motivational strategies which EFL teachers used/ should use during English classes.

2. Literature review

A number of research studied L2 motivation to explore its complex nature and the way in which it affects the L2 learning process. During the 1960s, 70s, and 80s, the social psychological approach (which was influenced by the work of Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) dominated L2 motivation research. This approach integrated social and individual psychology to describe L2 motivation which plays a key role in mastering a target language. They viewed L2 motivation as a primary force to improve or hinder L2 learning. In the 1990s, there was a shift from a social psychological view of motivation to a more educational and cognitive one. This shift can be attributed to the need to expand L2 motivation research to incorporate classroom-oriented variables and motivational factors that are more relevant to language teachers (Crookes and Schmidt 1991; Dörnyei 1994; Oxford and Shearin 1994). These studies stress the importance of learning environment as an L2 motivational factor. As a result of the new research approach of L2 motivation, studies were more relevant to teaching practice and the L2 classroom, and incorporated more classroom-oriented variables and factors relevant to language teachers.

The development in L2 motivational theories led to the introduction of "the process model of L2 motivation" by Dörnyei and Ottó (1998) which was later elaborated upon by Dörnyei (2000, 2001a). This model of L2 motivation attempts to account for the dynamic and fluctuating nature of L2 motivation in the classroom whether during one class, or over a period of time (Dörnyei 2000 and 2001a). In addition, it aims to synthesize in a unified framework the previous approaches investigating L2 motivation. Despite the strengths of the process model of L2 motivation, it has some limitations such as the difficulty in identifying accurate boundaries of each actional stage, and therefore, the difficulty in isolating an individual's actions which are preceded and followed by actions (Dörnyei 2005). These

limitations lead to the development of a new theory to understand L2 motivation which is "L2 Motivational Self System", proposed by Dörnyei 2005. This theory aims to increase the understanding of individual variations in L2 learning.

As L2 motivation is recognized as one of the main factors of L2 learning success, strategies that are used to motivate L2 learners were viewed as an important aspect of L2 motivation. Motivational strategies (sometimes referred to as motivational teaching practices) are techniques used by EFL teachers to promote and maintain students' motivation to learn English. They are defined as "those motivational influences that are consciously exerted to achieve some systematic and enduring positive effect" (Dörnyei 2001b, p.28). The importance of L2 motivational strategies has been highlighted by many researchers such as Dörnyei (1994), Oxford and Shearin (1994) and William and Burden (1997). Dörnyei (2001a, p.52) pointed out that studying what motivates students in language classrooms might be "the most pressing question related to motivation". This assumes a need for studying the motivational strategies that should be used by EFL teachers in the language classroom. Many researchers, such as Dörnyei and Csizér (1998), Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) and Deniz (2010), have answered this call by studying the way in which L2 learners can be motivated, In addition, there are studies that have investigated the relationship between the use of motivational strategies by teachers and L2 learners' achievements. Examples of such studies are those by Bernaus and Gardner (2008), Bernaus, Wilson and Gardner (2009), Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) and Papi and Abdollahzadeh (2011). The previous studies suggest a number of motivational strategies that should be used by EFL teachers, and show that the motivational strategies used by L2 teachers can increase students' motivation which leads to a positive effect on their L2 achievement.

It is important to highlight that although previous studies point to the importance of a number of motivational teaching practices, these studies are conducted in specific contexts, such as Hungary, and Taiwan, and their findings might be valid in their contexts. Dörnyei and Csizér (1998, p.224) assert: "we cannot say with certainty that the ten commandments [motivational strategies] are valid in every cultural, ethnolinguistic and institutional setting. There is clearly much room for further research in this respect." Indeed, teaching practices which might be motivational in one context might be seen as less useful in another context. Each context has its own variables, such as learning environments, learning resources, teaching materials and ideologies. These variables play a key role in affecting participants' beliefs about the importance of motivational strategies. Furthermore, previous studies have elicited data from either EFL teachers or EFL students. However, it is believed that researchers would gain better understanding of motivational strategies when examining both EFL teachers and students' opinion. Therefore, this study will address this issue by examining the importance of motivational strategies from the perspective of both, EFL teachers and students. In particular, the current study addresses the following research questions:

- What teaching practices do students find motivational in EFL classrooms?
- What teaching practices do EFL teachers believe are motivating for students?

3. Methods

3.1. The context of the study

This study will be conducted at three higher education institutions (HEIs) in Saudi Arabia. These HEIs establish a Preparatory Year Programme (PYP) as part of their degree curriculum; this programme is the first obligatory year for all students who are admitted to study at such universities. One of the major aims of this programme is improving the English skills of students; therefore, students receive an intensive general English language course

ranging from 17 to 19 hours per week. The level of the students when they first start studying in the PYP is between beginner and pre-intermediate, and students have to achieve at least intermediate level in English by the end of the PYP.

3.2. Participants

The participants of the study were EFL teachers and EFL students who are studying in the preparatory year, in the three participating universities. The total number of participants is eleven female[12] participants, including six EFL teachers and five EFL students. The native language of all the participants is Arabic.

3.3. Instrument

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants to gain information about the motivational strategies which are or should be used in the language classroom, in the context of Saudi Arabia. The aim of these exploratory interviews is to investigate the motivational strategies which are or should be used during the teaching and learning processes within an English language classroom. Interview guidelines are attached in appendix A.

3.4. Procedures

The interviews were conducted in the participants' place of education or employment. Interviews were conducted individually; they were face to face and recorded. In addition, they were conducted in Arabic to allow the interviewees to express themselves more clearly, but two teachers preferred to be interviewed in English. The purpose of the interviews was explained to participants and they signed a consent form prior to the commencement of the interview – see appendix B. The average length of each interview was about 30 minutes and the following table shows the duration of each interview.

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[12] Single sex education is adopted in all schools and universities in Saudi Arabia.

Table 1: Interview duration:

University name	Participants	Interview's duration
University A	Student	28:54
	Teacher	21:23
	Teacher	27:36
University B	Student	23:43
	Student	50:39
	Teacher	25:43
	Teacher	37:14
College C	Student	37:10
	Student	14:28
	Teacher	35:13
	Teachers	37:17
Total	5 students 6 teachers	5:39:20

3.5.Analysis

The interviews were transcribed, coded, and translated. Then, the qualitative data were thematically analysed, and the themes related to the motivational strategies used in the language classroom were grouped and then classified. Dörnyei's (2001b and 2008) conceptualisation of motivational strategies was used as a framework when analysing the motivational strategies which were discussed during the interviews.

4. Result

This section is structured according to 13 broad themes that emerged from the qualitative data analysis. Eleven themes were discussed by both EFL teachers and students about motivating teaching practices and two themes were discussed by EFL teachers. It should be noted that there is some overlap between the different themes, although each theme is discussed separately to make it easier to follow. For example, the use of some strategies discussed in the theme 'Task' might be related to the theme 'Classroom atmosphere' since using motivating tasks resulted in a pleasant classroom environment which promoted student motivation. The next table shows the themes of motivating teaching practices perceived by EFL teachers and students. After the table, discussion will follow.

Table 2: Themes that emerged from the data

Themes of motivating teaching practices discussed by EFL teachers and students
- Teacher behaviour   - Classroom atmosphere   - Tasks   - Group work   - Teaching materials   - L2 integrative and instrumental values   - Goal setting   - Learner strategies   - Encouragement   - Feedback   - L2 ideal self
Themes of motivating teaching practices discussed by EFL teachers
Learner autonomy   Rewards

● Teacher behaviour

Motivational strategies related to 'teacher behaviour' were highly regarded by both EFL teachers and students. Teachers spoke about being a role model for their students, building a

good relationship with their students, sharing personal experiences with students and building

a mutual respect. Teacher 3 talked about this in a general way; she stated:

> *I focus on establishing a good relationship with students as I feel this*
> *strategy helps to motivate them.* (Teacher 3)

She also pointed to the importance of mutual respect between teachers and students:

> *I think teachers should respect students…she should think of herself as*
> *their role model. After I start teaching, I pay more attention to my*
> *attitudes and lifestyles, you know, I feel I become a role model for my*
> *students, therefore I pay attention to everything I do.* (Teacher 3)

EFL students agreed with this and also acknowledged the importance of 'teacher behaviour'

in motivating them to learn English. They emphasised several points which go under the

umbrella 'teacher behaviour'. They described the positive effect of having a kind English

teacher; for example, Student 1 explained how her English teacher motivated them by being

kind:

> *My teacher is kind. When we do a mistake in class, she says:*
> *'It is ok, if you cannot do it now, you can do it next time with*
> *practice'. By doing that, she always motivates us.* (Student 1)

Furthermore, students pointed out that teachers should recognise the weaknesses and the

strengths of her students in English, and she should also show her enthusiasm for English

teaching, should act as a role model, and she should be ready to answer students' academic

questions. Students also highlighted the importance of having a good relationship with their

teachers. They mentioned some examples of how teachers build a good rapport with students,

such as by greeting them, and listening to their problems. Student 2 commented:

> *When a teacher comes to class, she should say, for example, 'Good*
> *morning' and 'How was your weekend?' and by the end of the class*
> *'Have a nice weekend' and 'See you tomorrow'. I mean, the*

> *relationship between a teacher and a student can be as friends but
> with respect…teacher should encourage students to speak with her if
> they are facing problems, whether these problems relate to studying
> or personal.* (Student 2)

From the above account of the EFL teachers' and students' views regarding the role of 'teacher behaviour', it appears that both groups stress the importance of this strategy in motivating students. The teachers and students acknowledged that teachers should have a good relationship with their students, be role models, and respect each other. However, students elaborated by expressing that having a 'kind' teacher motivates them, and that the teachers should care about their academic and personal problems. According to the survey conducted by Dörnyei and Csizér (1998), teacher behaviour appeared to be the most important motivational strategy for EFL teachers. The results of the interviews clearly mirror these findings. A classroom environment based on respect and consideration of the students' personal needs is clearly one of the strongest motivational strategies in EFL learning.

- Pleasant atmosphere in the classroom

The teachers and students recognised the significance of creating a 'pleasant classroom atmosphere' to promote students' motivation during English classes. The teachers appeared to be more aware of the importance of this strategy than students and they expressed in more detail the way in which they create an enjoyable teaching environment. For example, they explained that they use interesting exercises at the beginning of the class such as puzzles and games. During the class and to break the routine of the class, they discussed topics related to students, used learning technologies, used different kinds of tasks and gave students a break for five to ten minutes. Teacher 7 commented on using several tasks during the class:

> *I try to use different tasks during the class, as there are students who
> prefer to write the answers on their notebooks, and other students
> prefer to write the answers on the boards.* (Teacher 7)

One of the teachers stated that she occasionally does classes outside the classroom to create a pleasant teaching environment:

> *I try to take their opinion about where we should take classes.*
> *Students sometimes ask to have classes outside their classroom, so we*
> *take our class in the university courtyard.* (Teacher 4)

As for the students, they talked about the 'creating pleasant classroom' as a motivating strategy; however, they did not speak about this point in detail. Basically, they spoke about some of the strategies mentioned previously by teachers such as starting the lesson by using interesting activities and breaking the class routine by showing a part of a movie related to the lesson and doing some listening exercises. Student 1 explained the reasons why EFL teachers use interesting opening activities:

> *A teacher must start the lesson by using funny things. One of our*
> *teachers uses this technique and it was really interesting…and I felt it*
> *was useful and we were active in that class.* (Student 1)

It is interesting to note that the teachers give more importance to creating a pleasant classroom atmosphere which they are in control of, and plan lesson activities to motivate the students. Students often take this for granted as they are not aware of the planning the teacher has undertaken. Both the students and teachers agreed it is important as a motivating strategy, but the teachers were more aware of the importance of such strategy. The students focus on the amusing start to a lesson which is designed to attract their attention and make the lesson fun, whereas the teachers focus on the class as a whole, creating activities to motivate the students throughout. This finding is in line with the results achieved by previous researchers, such as Dörnyei and Csizér (1998) and Cheng and Dörnyei (2007), who found that the

importance of the classroom climate as a motivational strategy was placed highly by EFL teachers.

- Tasks

EFL teachers and students pointed to the positive effect of strategies related to the theme 'Task' on students' motivation. However, teachers appeared more interested in this theme as they spoke strongly about its impact on their students' motivation. Teachers indicated the use of different types of tasks during classes to promote and maintain students' motivation. For example, they used games, puzzles, role plays, and using authentic materials such as films and videos in English. Teacher 4 commented on using puzzles:

> *To motivate students, I try to use motivating tasks…for example, I bought some puzzles related to English language…I can see them motivated while trying to solve the puzzles.* (Teacher 4)

Furthermore, one teacher stated that she encouraged students to share their writing on Twitter and Facebook. She also asserted that she explained to the students the reasons behind doing some tasks in the class in order to motivate them.

The students agreed with the teacher about the use of authentic tasks in class such as films, as then a teacher can ask the students to write the words that they do not understand. Student 8 stated:

> *She can play a film in the class, she can ask us to write any unclear word, or she can ask us to write a summary of the film.* (Student 8)

In summary, it is clear that the teachers view the tasks as a strong motivator for the students, and it is understandable that teachers give more importance to the tasks set as they have an active role in the delivery of the task topic, whereas students appeared to be more passive as they only do the tasks they are given. For students it is more important to do something that

is enjoyable, such as watching a film, perhaps without the same understanding of the purpose of the task and its learning outcome.

- Group work

All the participants mentioned the role of 'group work' in motivating students during English classes. However, the teachers and students appeared to perceive 'group work' differently. The teachers focused on group work during activities such as doing posters, competitions, and role plays. The students, on the other hand, gave more examples of strategies involved in group work, such as going on trips and joining extracurricular clubs.

Teachers 3 and 11 agreed that using group work had some advantages, Teacher 3 stated:

> *Group work helps students with a low level of English. Groups should consist of an excellent student, average student, and weak student. The excellent student will help the weak and the average students will go in between. Teachers should monitor students when working in a group to make sure that not only one student does the whole work.*
> (Teacher 3)

From the above quotations, it can be concluded that the main advantages of using group work are to help weak students, and to promote cooperation between groups. As mentioned earlier, the students talked about group work strategies including organising class trips, joining extracurricular clubs, and performing group work during activities. Students also explained some of the benefits of doing group work in English classes:

> *To motivate students, the teacher can divide the class into groups. When you work in a group it is better than working individually, because if I have the wrong information, my friend might correct it…so, I get the correct information and I learn more.* (Student 5)

However, one of the students argued that group work has a drawback:

> *The group work depends on the students. Sometimes when a teacher puts an excellent student with a weak student, the excellent student carries out the whole work. So, the good group work depends mainly on the students who work with you.* (Student 8)

The students agreed with the teachers that group work has advantages such as sharing information. At the same time, one student pointed to one of the disadvantages of group work which is that the student with the highest level of L2 in the group will have to do the whole task.

It is clear that group work is seen as a motivational tool by the teacher, but this may not be the case for the student, as the more confident students may take over and leave the weaker student feeling demotivated.

- Teaching materials

All teachers noted the importance of using relevant curricula in motivating their students. To achieve this strategy, they used different methods, such as building the curriculum based on the students' needs and including extra teaching materials relating to students' everyday experience. Teacher 4 summarised:

> *The books, which are used in teaching, do not help sometimes because they include old topics which are not suitable and attractive for this generation. Therefore, I use extra materials in teaching, such as a newspaper article about something that happened recently.* (Teacher 4)

As for students, only one student discussed the importance of relating the teaching materials to students' experiences. She argued:

> *They should give us examples from our everyday experiences. For example, when we study a new word…to know how to use this word…the teacher should give us an example from our everyday life.* (Student 2)

Here we see that the teachers give more importance to the planning of the class keeping the students' needs in mind. For learning to take place, the teaching materials should be relevant to the students' interests and needs. Chambers (1999, p.37) confirmed this point: "If the teacher is to motivate pupils to learn, then relevance has to be the red thread permeating activities". The students' focus is more on the practicality of using the given language than in the setting. For example, as it appears in the previous quotation of student 2, the student wants to know how a word is used in a natural way. Understanding the use of a word in context is extremely important for motivation because if a student learns a new word, but not how to use it then this is pointless. McCombs and Whisler (1997, p.38) pointed out that "Educators think students do not care, while the students tell us they do care about learning but are not getting what they need".

- Integrative and instrumental values of L2

During the interviews, the EFL teachers and students suggested some motivational strategies related to the 'integrative and instrumental values of L2'. The teachers included authentic teaching materials such as songs and movies. In addition, they insisted on using L2 during the class and they explained the practical benefits of L2 learning to the students:

> *We are doing this because we need to… we need all the resources and all the information that is coming up in English. So, um, we are studying the language in order to be up to date, know what's going on.* (Teacher 6)

The students agreed that teachers should remind students of the benefits of L2 and should avoid using L1 in the English classroom. They also added two important strategies which are encouraging students to read English newspapers and watch English channels, as well as

inviting L2 speakers to the class. In the following quotation, Student 5 outlined the importance of watching English channels and the use of L2 by the teacher:

> *Because we have limited contact with L2 speakers, we will need to improve our language using other methods. For example, if we read something related to geography, the teacher can encourage students to watch something on the National Geographic channel, they should watch this in English. Also, the teacher should speak only in English in the classroom, because when she is using Arabic, the students will know that they will have to use English.* (Student 5)

Both students and teachers also agreed that introducing the integrative and instrumental values of L2 is beneficial to learning English. Using authentic texts in teaching such as songs and TV programmes is important to both as language learning is more than simply acquiring the language itself, it is also cultural. Authentic texts help with introducing L2 culture and also appeal to the students as they can see the language in a "real" setting. Students also mentioned inviting a speaker so they can interact with someone from the L2 culture as a motivational strategy. These findings are, therefore, in line with Gardner's notion (1985) that language learners' disposition towards L2 people and culture has a positive effect on their learning achievements.

- Goal setting

Both teachers and students appeared to be aware of the importance of 'setting student' goals' in order to motivate students to learn English. Teacher 10 stated that she tried to help students identify their goals in learning English at the beginning of each academic term. She explained:

> *At the beginning of the term, I ask students to write down what they are expecting to study, and why they are studying English, because students*

usually do not know why they are studying English, and when they do
not know, they got lost. (Teacher 10)

The students agreed with Teacher 10 as they expressed their need to identify their goal of learning English. Student 1 elaborated:

One of the important strategies that a teacher should use is to get
students to set their goal of teaching English, because most of the
students do not have goals. They should know what their goal of learning
English is ...the most important thing is that they will need English in
their future work……and when they travel abroad. (Student 1)

It is clear that both, the teachers and the students agreed that 'goal setting' is a good motivator. As the teacher said, the students can get lost without knowing their goal. Without goals for an activity, students will become demotivated as they will not be able to work towards achieving their goals. Here the teachers are aware of the usefulness of goal setting but this is not always the case. Dörnyei (2001b, p.59) stated that "most students do not really understand (or accept) why they are involved in a learning activity", and a study by Cheng and Dörnyei (2007, p.163) showed that teachers demonstrated "a lack of recognition of the utility of goal setting".

- Learner strategies

One teacher and another student mentioned that teaching students' learner strategies motivates students to learn English. Teacher 10 noted that she encouraged students to read English books. She commented:

When we do a reading task, I encourage them to buy an English
book; I suggest a specific book which does not relate to what we
study. (Teacher 10)

Student 2 spoke favourably of the importance of teaching 'learner strategies' to students. She stated:

> *Teachers should give students advice on how they can improve their English during the day, and not only in the university; for example, watching TV without subtitles, reading short books, using mobiles…talking to your mum or sister in English, writing diaries in English...so, they should advise us of ways to develop our language.*
> (Student 2)

In general, little importance was paid to the teaching of learner strategies to students. What was mentioned was the importance of encouraging outside learning, particularly in Student 2's opinion as she was very emphatic about this point. Learning outside the classroom is very useful as it extends the learning beyond the classroom. Students can see the language used in an authentic way which will motivate them. In addition, this can help them to learn in their own way, as Dörnyei (2001b, p.95) asserts: 'the available evidence suggests that it is possible for teachers to help students to discover for themselves the ways in which they learn best'. However, neither teachers nor students focus on the importance of specific learning strategies; there are a variety of techniques (see, for example, Oxford 1990) that can be employed to help with EFL learning.

- Encouragement

Interviewees agreed on the importance of 'encouragement' to promote students' motivation. Both teachers and students spoke strongly about using two strategies relating to 'encouragement' which are using praising words such as 'well done' and 'you are a special group', and reducing students' anxiety when they are speaking in English. Teacher 4 described the way in which she dealt with anxious students. She stated:

> *A student who never participates in the class is afraid of making*
> *mistakes. I talk with them outside the classroom and tell them: 'If you*
> *do not make mistake you will not learn, English is not your first*
> *language and mistakes are chances to learn.* (Teacher 4)

The students agreed with the teachers that they should be encouraging them to overcome their anxiety, but they also added that teachers should allow students to use their L1 when they cannot express themselves in English. Student 5 commented:

> *'There are some students who become afraid when they speak in*
> *English. The teacher can give them the chance to speak in Arabic, and*
> *the teacher should give a student another attempt when her answer is*
> *not correct.'* (Student 5)

Both the students and the teachers agreed that anxiety should be overcome in the classroom to motivate students to learn; however, the teachers believe this should be done by encouraging the students to try and not worry about mistakes, whereas the students are apprehensive to do this for fear of looking incompetent. Praise is seen to be a big part of motivation, particularly by the teachers, and this directly affects motivation to participate during the lesson. The students also believe that not being able to use their L1 in the classroom is a demotivating factor as they cannot express themselves well in English and this causes them to avoid participation. The teachers try to overcome this problem by offering praise and encouraging students to make mistakes.

- Feedback

Although one teacher and another student talked about the influence of 'teacher feedback' on students' motivation, they spoke favourably about its positive impact on students' motivation. Teacher 10 explained the way in which she offered feedback to her students:

> *There is a technique I use; I do individual feedback with each student after correcting their assignment. Then I discuss their mistakes with them….I try to explain why these are mistakes. One of the students told how good the feedback session was for her.* (Teacher 10)

Student 2 described her motivation when she read her teacher's written feedback and when she noticed her improvement:

> *When our teacher returns our assignments and we see her feedback, and then we correct these mistakes, this helps us not to do the mistakes again…When we see how we have improved, and see the difference in our first assignment and our later assignment, this motivates us. (Student 2)*

Here both the teachers and students agreed that providing feedback is a motivational tool. Focusing on students' mistakes and how to improve their weaknesses is an important strategy, but this alone could be de-motivating if all the focus is on the mistakes. Therefore, it is equally important to focus on the students' strengths, as was mentioned above by Student 2 as she found the way the teacher monitors progress to compare now with past work and see the improvements as a strong motivating teaching practices. Another useful element in motivating students through feedback is the use of 'positive information feedback', where the students are encouraged to pay attention to and overcome their weaknesses (Raffini, 1993). Student 2 agreed with this as she said that correcting her own work following feedback from the teacher helped her to eliminate these mistakes in future work.

- L2 ideal self

As for 'L2 ideal self', a teacher and student acknowledged its significance in motivating students during English classes. Teacher 3 argued that drawing an attractive vision of the students' future motivates them to learn English:

> *I always try to speak about their future…for example, I explain to them why I ask them to do a presentation. I tell them that one day you might work in a company and you need to do a presentation to your clients….I now try to give you the basic of the presentation skill, because one day when you graduate and have a job, you will need to do presentations…I feel that students' vision about themselves in the future motivates them.* (Teacher 3)

In addition, Student 2 described how inviting an L2 speaker motivated her to learn English. She stated that some L2 speakers give lectures at her university; they usually speak about interesting topics, for example, 'How to be a leader'. Student 2 indicated that she must learn English in order to understand L2 speaker's lectures and to expand her knowledge.

L2 ideal self was not discussed as a motivating theme by many of the interviewees but for the teacher and student here, L2 ideal self is a motivational tool as the students can envision themselves and where they want to be, which is the ideal starting point to achieving goals. L2 ideal self is a relatively recent theory in L2 motivation so it is possible that the teachers are not yet trained to use these strategies related to this concept, but it is interesting that it was still mentioned and given importance by one of the teachers. The student who spoke about L2 ideal self said that she was motivated by L2 speakers and it helps her to expand her knowledge. Dörnyei (2008, p.3) states that 'if the person we would like to become speaks a L2, the ideal L2 self is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because we would like to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves.' The teacher too tries to help the student to construct their ideal L2 by giving scenarios of where they could be and how they could use their English, and this is considered to be the first step in constructing students' L2 ideal self according to Dörnyei 2008.

Themes mentioned by teachers only

- Learner autonomy

Two teachers talked about 'learner autonomy'. One teacher spoke about it in a positive way as it motivates her students. She stated that she thinks that her students become motivated when she asks them to search for some information, such as the meaning of some words. At the same time, another teacher stated that she tried to use this strategy with her students but she found out that the students do not cooperate, she said:

> *...but they [students] do not really respond because they are not*
> *used to do that...I told them...this time I want you to go and check*
> *what this means and I had only a few students who came up with*
> *things.* (Teacher 6)

Two out of the six teachers mentioned learner autonomy and while they both seemed to consider it important, Teacher 6, as appeared in the previous quotation, had a more negative view as she found it difficult to implement. Learner autonomy is something which needs to be created and this is done firstly by the teacher, which can be difficult in an environment where students are not used to having this autonomy. The split in opinion of these two teachers is interesting as it mirrors the dividing views on autonomy. Many researchers, such as Benson (2001), believe in its usefulness, but Sinclair (1999) argues that there is no evidence support the call for using learner autonomy in language learning.

- Rewards

All the teachers interviewed talked about the role of using 'rewards' in motivating their students during classes. Two types of rewards are mentioned: chocolates and bonuses. Some teachers explained that they sometimes give students chocolate after answering a challenging task. Other teachers argued that the offering bonuses is motivating for their students, and they

noticed an immediate effect of using rewards on the students' motivation. Teacher 11 commented:

> *One of the main things is [using] bonuses; once I say 'bonus' in class they are all with me…I try to bribe them with bonuses in class.*
> (Teacher 11)

It is very interesting that all six of the teachers believed in the importance to the role of rewards in motivating their students and yet none of the students did. This is reflected in Dörnyei (2001b, p.127): 'most teachers feel that it is a positive thing to reward their students' praiseworthy efforts and accomplishments'. Rewards appear to have an immediate positive effect on students' motivation, as the teachers mentioned. Rewards, however, can have the opposite impact to the desired effect. Deci and Ryan (1985) state that when students already have their own reasons for studying a language, the use of rewards might decrease the students' motivation.

5. Conclusion

The main aim of the study was to answer two research questions which are about the teacher and student beliefs of motivational teaching practices. To answer such questions, a qualitative data was collected including interviews with both teachers and students. From the results, it is clear that there are a variety of teaching practices which contribute to the motivation of students in the EFL classroom. As we have seen, there are many overlaps in the opinions of both the teachers and students as to what motivational teaching practices are important. Teacher behaviour appears to be a prominent motivational strategy to both EFL teachers and students. The classroom atmosphere was considered to be a highly motivating theme for the students, although they did not specifically focus on why. Group work was also seen as a motivating theme, although the teachers and students had a different idea of what group work

involved. A student also commented on how this could be demotivating, depending on the group members. Here we can see that the qualitative approach was useful as we can see how one strategy may be motivating for one student and not for another, as motivation can be very subjective.

One of the major differences seen between the teachers' and students' ideas about motivational strategies lies within the planning of the lesson and classroom activities when they talked about the two themes of 'classroom atmosphere' and 'task'. The teachers give much more importance to the motivating aspects of these themes. It can be assumed that this is due to the passive role of the students in this area. The teachers plan and organise the classroom and the delivery of tasks and their thoughts about it become evidence during the interviews. Students, being relatively inactive in organising classroom and in the delivery of tasks, are unlikely to realise the effect. Further investigation is needed here to understand the students' perception of classroom climate and task as motivating teaching practices. It is worth investigating in what way they believe the classroom atmosphere can become motivating, and also how a task can be motivating.

Another area of disagreement was that of rewards. The teachers believe rewards to be the most motivational of all strategies; however, the students do not seem to share this opinion as they did not speak about 'rewards' during the interviews. This may be due to the fact that rewards are the easiest, and therefore, most utilised strategy and so the students may now simply expect these rewards, therefore not realising their motivational effect. On the other hand, it may be the case that teachers wrongly give too much importance to rewards. Further investigation is needed into the use of rewards by showing the difference in classes where rewards are given and not given, and by looking at the difference in motivation between the

classes. The types of reward should also be investigated to find out which are the most effective.

Another area for further research is that of the L2 ideal self. As this is a relatively new concept in L2 motivation, neither teachers nor students in general are very familiar with it. Further investigation into how to inspire students using the L2 ideal and how motivational this will be should be undertaken.

From this study, it is shown that teachers and students agree that being motivated in the EFL classroom is important and there is a great deal of overlap between the two about what strategies are important, with some areas being more prominent for teachers and others for students. A combination of these strategies is therefore necessary to ensure each student is motivated, as all students are unique and require different techniques.

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Appendix A: Guidelines of exploratory interview

- **Teacher interview guidelines**

  1 How can you describe your students' motivation in the English language classrooms?

  2 Do you think it is important to use motivational strategies to develop students' motivation?

  3 In your opinion what is the motivational strategies that should be used in language classroom?

  4 At the beginning of the language class or task, how can you initiate your student's motivation?

  5 How can you keep your student motivated during the classroom, or during a task?

  6 At the end of the classroom or task, what strategies do you use to motivate your students?

  7 Tell me about a motivated classroom, what you do to keep them motivated?

  8 Now, tell me about a demotivated classroom, what do you do to encourage students' motivation?

  9 What do you think are the most important motivational strategies, especially in the context of Saudi Arabia?

  10 Do you have anything to add?

- **Student interview guidelines:**

  1 How can you describe your motivation in the English language classrooms?

  2 Do you think EFL teachers should use motivational strategies to develop students' motivation?

  3 In your opinion what is the motivational strategies that should be used in language classroom?

  4 At the beginning of the language class or task, how can EFL teacher initiate students' motivation?

  5 During English classroom or during doing a task, how can a teacher keep students motivated?

  6 At the end of the classroom or task, what strategies do a teacher should use to motivate her students?

7 Tell me about a motivated teacher, what does she do to keep you motivated?

8 What do you think are the most important motivational strategies, especially in the context of Saudi Arabia?

9 Do you have anything to add?

Appendix B: Consent form

Research Participant Consent Form

Title of study: Teachers' and students' perceptions about motivational strategies.

Name of Researcher: …..

● I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study.	**Yes**	**No**

● I have been given the opportunity to ask questions (face to face, via telephone and e-mail)	**Yes**	**No**

● I agree to take part in the interview	**Yes**	**No**

● I agree to the interview being tape recorded	**Yes**	**No**

● I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the research at any time **without giving any reason**	**Yes**	**No**

● **I agree to take part in the above study**	**Yes**	**No**

Name of participant	…………………………………………………………………… …

Signature	…………………………………………………………………… ….

Date	…………………………….

Name of researcher taking consent: ….

Researcher e-mail address: ………

Intersections between literacy beliefs and written texts produced by 7 to 10 years old Chilean children

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Abstract

The pilot study reported in this paper investigated Chilean children's meaning-making practices in written texts and their perceptions about literacy. This pilot study analyzed the relation between children's beliefs about literacy practices and the written text in terms of meaning making strategies. Participants in the study were 107 students in a rural school in Chile from second (N=53) and fourth grade (N=54). Participants were asked to answer one open elicitation task and a set of multiple choice questions about their home literacy practices. To investigate children's meaning-making strategies, each text was analyzed in terms of content, coherence, cohesion and structure. In addition, in constructing their meanings, some children used drawing to express themselves. The analyses considered variables as age and gender. The analysis suggests that, in general, gender is more significant than age. Results raised interesting issues in regard to how children perceived literacy. By analyzing the relation between the written text and home literacy experiences I demonstrate how children engage with these issues as empowered agents of their actions. This study shows the importance of including children's perspectives when investigating influences on their writing.

1. Introduction

The relevance of written text has been increasingly led by academic, political and social concerns. In the Chilean academic field, several studies have focused on writing texts (Concha & Paratore, 2011; Parodi, 2011; Peronard & Gómez Macker, 1985), which means an increasing amount of research. However, there is still little about children's perceptions about literacy and how these might be related to their meaning construction in writing.

This study analyzed the relation between children's beliefs about literacy practices and the written text in terms of meaning-making strategies. To do so, 107 participants were asked to answer one elicitation task where they were ask to write anything they like and a set of multiple choice questions about their beliefs about literacy and literacy practices (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). By analyzing the relation between the written text and their perceptions about literacy I would like to demonstrate how children engage with these issues as agents.

By making the distinction between written text and perception, I focus on the relevance of considering children's perspectives and influences on the study of their writing.

This research approaches the study of literacy from a social perspective, therefore, this reasearch will consider social practices and believes involved in the process of devoloping reading and writing (Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Street, 1995). Due to the social relevance of literacy, it raises the need to consider how social believes might be influencing the development of meaning construction and understanding. In this sense, the context, and the cultural values around literacy are extremely relevant to this study.

From a social point of view, as a developing country, in Chile there is a big difference between the resources availability at each socioeconomic level. In addition, Chile is the country with the worst income inequality in the world (OECD, 2011). The main place where the children can develop or improve their literacy and language skills is in schools. This issue becomes extremely meaningful if we consider economically disadvantaged children. Family literacy practices in this context, tend to be very difficult or poor, which means that the emergent literacy outside of formal education is very difficult (Strasser & Lissi, 2009). In this environment parents cannot provide support or do not have the confidence to encourage literacy activities at home.

In developing countries the family literacy practices are affected by parent's lack of time to spend with their kids and the paucity of resources that they can provide. In respect of parents, it has to be considered that in developing countries "(parents) reach lower literacy and an educational level is likely to influence the quality of the home literacy environment in the form of literacy practices and attitudes toward literacy" (Strasser, 2009, p. 178). In this sense, literacy has a different role and it is certainly a factor to considerer at the moment of studying this particular context.

In the case of this study, the lack of resources impacts on the literacy activities at home and school. Most of the participants in this study do not have computers or internet access at home, their parents do not own cellphones with internet, and the students only can use a computer in the library and with a very restricted access. Digital literacy practices are now a common descriptor when talking about literacy; however, in disadvantages environments children do not have access to technological devices very often.

All these particularities have a huge impact on everyday literacy practices. It is because of this awareness that one of the mains interests of this research is to contribute to an understanding of literacy in Chile.

2. Literature review

This section aims to provide a brief description that situates this study into some specific ways of thinking. I will concentrate on some of the fundamental concepts related to this study. In particular, I will explain what means to learn and then write from a sociocultural perspective. Then I will introduce the concept of meaning construction and link it to the linguistic coherence.

Learning and writing from a social perspective

This study is framed within a social perspective of cognitive development (Rogoff, 1990). This approach allows understanding cognitive development as a social process where peers and context play a fundamental role.

Learning in context is one of the important issues that this investigation considers. It not only to emphasizes the cultural differences but also how children engage with these issues: "the aim is to recognize the essential and inseparable roles of societal heritage, social engagement, and individual efforts." (Rogoff, 1990, pp. 25-26). In this sense, writing

practices are inscribed under a social perspective of knowledge and learning and this means that different issues are underlying writing and reading activities.

Under a social perspective of knowledge and learning children become a relevant part of the learning process. Children's experiences and perceptions have an important role in their learning process and in particular in how children developed their reading and writing. By acknowledging this perspective, Children are seen as agents that engage with several issues during their learning process. This perspective determines not only the way children learn, but also emphasizes the relevance of their own perspectives about the learning process.

In this context, writing is a practice that involves writing being situated and part of wider social practice: "Sociocultural theory argues that activity is situated in concrete interactions that are simultaneously improvised locally and mediated by prefabricated, historically provided tools and practices, which range from machines, made objects, semiotic means (e.g. languages, genres, iconographies), and institutions to structured environments, domesticated animals and plants, and, indeed people themselves." (Prior, 2006, p. 55). In this sense, writing involves all the practices in which students are located.

Writing represents the material means in which people distribute and mediate meaning (Prior, 2006). However, writing also involves dialogic processes of invention: "Sociocultural approaches to writing reject the simple equation of writing with material texts or acts of inscription, seeing writing as chain of short- and long-term production, representation, reception, and distribution." (Prior, 2006, p. 57). In this regard, writing becomes the centre of a bigger social and cognitive network that embeds these processes of invention.

Finally, within a sociocultural understanding of writing, written texts work as "artefacts-in-activity, and the inscription of linguistic signs in some medium are parts of

streams of mediated, distributed, and multimodal activity" (Prior, 2006, p. 58). In this sense, a text becomes a mediating artefact embedded in a social practice. In addition, it is important to point out that this definition considers the text as a multimodal activity. For this study this issue became relevant because some of the participants used drawings to illustrate, complement or construct their meanings. In relation with the multimodal aspect of this study, the work of Gunther Kress (1997, 2010) was used as guidance to understand the significance of drawing for children's meaning-making.

Meaning construction

In the context of this study, meaning construction emerges as a linguistic background to study a complex phenomenon from and through written text. For the purposes of this study, meaning construction is evaluated in relation to the way how people construct their own world. In Barton's (2007) words: "The approach here rests upon a constructivist view of language, as mentioned earlier when discussing metaphors and thought, which sees language as playing a central role in the mental models people construct of the world" (p. 73).

Because of this approach to language in general and meaning construction in particular, this particular strategy is seen has a way to analyse from a linguistic point of view how some Chilean children construct knowledge on written text. All in all, meaning construction will not be analysed as an isolated category, but as a part of a social context and also in relation with literacy perceptions and development. Meaning construction would be considered as a process that involves discourse strategies and the resources used by the children to build meaning in their writing text.

In respect of a linguistic background, meaning-making strategies are materialized as some of the discourse practices that build the macrostructure (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). According to Van Dijk and Kintsch, macrostructure is a coherent whole materialized by a

"network of interrelated propositions" (p. 52). At the same time, this macro structure is also related to strategies, which means that this concept involve a "goal - orientated, intentional, conscious, and controlled behaviour (Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983, p. 62). Meaning construction is understood as all the components and strategies that shape discourse. For this study, Coherence and Local Coherence related with Van Dijk and Kintsch's model are considered in order to analyse children's writing.

Coherence and Local Coherence are the specific discursive strategies related to meaning construction. These dimensions are part of the major knowledge network that involves meaning construction as a cognitive process: "Coherence is not merely a property of texts but rather the result of a complex interaction of semantic, pragmatic, and logical principles that both writer and reader activate in order to construct a coherent meaning for texts" (Concha & Paratore, 2011; Van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983).

In relation with Local Coherence, this concept gathers the more specific grammatical strategies. According to Halliday and Hassan the different connectors create the texture that characterizes cohesion. (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). In specific, this study focus on the uses of any types of conjunctives (additive, adversative, causal and temporal) (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) or any other different strategies that students might use to join their sentences.

Finally, it is important to point out that this study is situated in a Spanish language context. Therefore, Local Coherence is affected by the characteristics of Spanish academic writing. This means that different discursive conventions are taken into account. For example, it is important to consider that Spanish academic writing values complexity, subordination of clauses and longer paragraphs than English (Carlino, 2007; Concha & Paratore, 2011).

3. Data and Methods

The methodological design of this study combines quantitative and discursive methods to process the data.

The sample is composed of 107 children. They are students from an urban school in Chile and belong to four different classroom groups, two from the second grade (N=53) and two groups from the fourth grade (N=54). All the participants were Chilean, Spanish native speakers. The school is located in a small district in the centre of Chile. Students were recruited by convenience or nonprobability sampling, which means that the sample was selected at the convenience of the researcher (Kiess, 2002).

At this point, it is important to mention that there are some personal characteristics that allowed me to get access to the participants of this study. During my work as a consultant on the Vicaría de la Educación [Educational vicarage[13]], I was able to gather knowledge about and make connections with several schools in Chile. This work allowed me to know rural and disadvantaged schools and their childhood education. I participated and coordinated the evaluation of more than 1000 students, distributed in at least 6 diverse schools in different places in Chile. In these evaluations children are tested in different language and numeracy skills. This assessment is executed due to a government policy that requires the schools with the highest poverty rates to assess their students in Language and Maths. I worked there from 2008 to 2012.

During this period I made contact with the participant school for the first time and during 3 years I coordinate the evaluation to preschool levels at the school. Because of this, I already knew the organization and dynamics of the school and the authorities of the school

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[13] The Vicarage for Education is the institution representing the Church of Santiago, on matters relating to Education. It was created in July 1974 by the then Archbishop of Santiago, Cardinal Raul Silva Henríquez, in order to strengthen an ecclesial identity of Catholic schools of the Archdiocese. However, nowadays the Vicariate has expanded his work to any school that requires improving their educational level.

knew me. Due to these circumstances I was able to have easy access and support for the evaluation.

Some social characteristics of the school and participants are given by the records of the Chilean Government, which are online and in the public domain. At this respect, there is more information available for the fourth grade because of the standard test applied to this grade[14]. In this school, this grade is associated with a socioeconomically middle group, this means that most of the parents declared to have between 11 and 12 school years and an income between $245.001 (£310,817) $450.000 (£570,887) per month. In addition, a middle group means that between 28, 51% and 55, 00% of the students are considered vulnerable[15].

In addition, the school is classified as an urban place. However, the majority of the students come from surrounding rural areas. This is important to mention because some participants mentioned this in their texts and it is an important part of their life worlds.

Finally it is important to state that this research underwent the ethics approval process of Lancaster University. Furthermore, the data collection process was carried out in a way that fully respected the participants. In all cases informed consent was required and information sheets were given to parents.

Description of the data source

The students were asked to answer an activity on their own classrooms and within their school hours. The process was coordinated by me but the students were supervised inside the classroom by a trained examiner. We watched the children during the process in order to keep everything calm. The activity was planned for 45 minutes which corresponds to the duration of a lesson in Chile. The activity was designed as a series of multiple choice questions about

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[14] The standardized test is called SIMCE and is applied to 2nd (since 2012), 4th and 8th grade students all over the country. This test assesses Language and Communication and Maths.

[15] This condition is a sociological term used in diverse political and academic discourses to refer to people who are socially and economically disadvantaged. This could entail several characteristics related to the family's ability to control or counteract the forces that shape their own destiny. (Kaztman, 2000)

some home literacy practices and one elicitation task where the participants could write whatever they want.

The multiple choice questions were used to measure the children's beliefs and attitudes in relation to their home literacy practices and focused on covering the main aspects of children's perception about literacy development (Rodriguez, Tamis-Lemonada, Spellman, Pan, Raikes, Gil & Luze, 2009). The aspects to take into account are: Literacy activities (questions 2 and 3), provision of learning materials (questions 5 and 6) and parental or peer's engagement (questions 7 and 8)[16]. In addition, questions number 1 and 4 are related to perceptions and beliefs about reading. These two questions aim to know the children's opinions, especially for knowing if they have a positive perspective or not.

The elicitation task was developed to analyse the meaning construction on their writing within a social perspective of literacy (Barton, 2007; Street, 1995). This view is mentioned due to the question that the children should answer: Write something about you that you wish to tell anyone, could be about your hobbies, your family, your friends, your vacations or your school, etc. This question was written with the aim that children could have the chance to construct (a small part) of their own world (Barton, 2007).

In addition, and continuing with the same logic, the answer space was a white square without lines. This choice was made thinking in children's liberty regarding their own options to construct their knowledge. Allowing children's creativity and freedom for their writing was crucial for this study. In addition, an open question follows the idea that with more guided structures children tend to retrieve images from their memory without making a transformation of the content (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987).

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[16] The full set of questions can be found in section 4.

Finally and as a methodological note, I would like to mention that the translation of the texts is an important issue to take into account. Due to the scope of the study, the way in which children construct their meanings it is a very relevant issue. In this sense, for the examples used in this article, the translation of the texts was made trying to be faithful to all the choices the students made when constructing their texts. In practice this means that the translation took into account all the grammatical errors, misspellings and vocabulary selection.

Analysis Procedures

The multiple choice questions were analysed assigning a numerical value to each answer. This allowed me to analyse the responses in terms of their frequencies, correlations, and some other descriptive measures such as the mean, standard deviation, mode and averages.

To analyse the elicitation task I designed rubrics, also called scales, to measure 4 specific dimensions: Coherence, Local Coherence, Content and Structure. This method was chosen considering that through rubrics the researcher can elaborate a matrix that can be explained as a list of all the specific criteria that enable value learning, knowledge or skills gained by the students in a particular area (Martinez - Rojas, 2008). In this sense, the rubrics allowed me to describe the specific characteristics in each text. The rubrics were made in an inductive way. After reading all the texts I made a list with descriptors that pointed out some the common characteristics in each dimension. The descriptors were used to specify the characteristics of the performance level for each dimension.

The rubrics were made considering the literature, the sample and the Chilean curriculum. Each dimension was designed with 4 levels of performance being 4 the highest. These levels aim to provide a general description of the characteristics of the text. It was not the main concern to assess the students in respect of their level of achievement on their writing. It was

important to characterize the sample considering all the texts involved. In this context, the highest performance level was described in relation of the texts that show the better understanding of the rubric purpose. Nevertheless, because the rubrics considered the Chilean curriculum and the expected level of achievement for each dimension, the results did offer some information about the main difficulties the students were facing on their writing.

Below there is a description of each dimension:

Coherence

This dimension aims to describe to what extent students are constructing meanings that demonstrate an understanding of coherence and how this understanding is expressed. In this sense, this dimension focuses on the global meaning of the text. The performance is defined by the achievement or fail in providing a communicative purpose in the text.

Local coherence

This dimension refers to the use of mechanisms that contribute to the coherence of the text. In this sense, this dimension is related to the coherence of the full text as well, however, it's focussed on how the students used or did not use strategies to unite different meanings inside the text.

Content

This dimension aims to point out how the student constructed a meaning related to the task. Even though the question was very open, some students did not address the communicative purpose of the activity. This means that some students did not express anything about them or their lives; instead there is a very brief account of a fact like: "My teacher Isabel is nice". This example does not achieve the aim of the task that was to write something about them.

Structure:

This dimension is related to the structure of the text in the sense of the diverse units that composed a text. Paragraphs, sentences and punctuation are considered.

It is important to mention that the same rubrics were used for both grades, although this does not mean that the same expectations for each grade were applied. Each text was analysed in itself so this means that the goals reached in different levels did not meant to be exactly equal on each grade. These rubrics did not involve counting specific aspects or considering spelling mistakes to assign the scores.

In addition, an important issue that emerged was that a relevant group of the participants included a drawing, so this task was analyzed in both a textual and a multimodal way. The multimodal expression was considered as one of the meaning-making strategies.

4. Results

This section is organized to give an account about the main findings of the study including interesting issues in regards to how children construct their meanings. This account is given to cover the main aspects of the study.

Multiple choice questions

The multiple choice questions covered the most important aspects related to reading and writing at home and at school. The purpose of these questions was to measure a tendency about the students' perceptions about literacy. Since these results reflect children's perceptions they are not necessarily accurate in terms of objectivity. For example, for one pupil, *very often* could mean *every day* and for another *four times per week*. In consequence, these results need to be interpreted with caution. In addition, this sample does not claim representativeness; in consequence, the findings are not transferable to other students.

The table below shows the results in terms of frequency for each question:

	Question	Grade	No	Sometimes	Yes
Perceptions about reading	1. Did you enjoy learning how to read?	2nd	1.9 %	0.0 %	98.1 %
		4th	0.0 %	3.8 %	96.2 %
Perceptions about reading	4. Do you like it when people read to you?	2nd	24.1 %	13.0 %	63.0 %
		4th	11.3 %	18.9 %	69.8 %
Literacy activities	2. Do you read everything you see since you learned how to read?	2nd	7.4 %	14.8 %	77.8 %
		4th	1.9 %	56.6 %	41.5 %
			Never	**Rarely**	**Very often**
Literacy activities	3. How often do you read in your house?	2nd	11.1 %	27.8 %	61.1 %
		4th	0.0 %	54.7 %	45.3 %
			None	**A few**	**A lot**
Learning materials	5. How many books are there in your house?	2nd	7.4 %	18.5 %	74.1 %
		4th	0.0 %	13.2 %	86.8 %
			No	**It depends on the book**	**Yes**
Learning materials	6. Would you like it if somebody gave you a book for your birthday?	2nd	13.0 %	24.1 %	63.0 %
		4th	1.9 %	58.5 %	39.6 %
			Never	**Rarely**	**Very often**
Parental engagement	7. Do you learn new words at home?	2nd	0.0 %	31.5 %	68.5 %
		4th	0.0 %	20.8 %	79.2 %
			Only on weekends	**Some days**	**Every day**
Parental engagement	8. Do you speak with your parents about your day?	2nd	11.1 %	29.6 %	59.3 %
		4th	1.9 %	39.6 %	58.5 %

Table 1: "Multiple choice questions results"

In terms of **perceptions about reading**, there is a clear positive trend. The greater majority of students declare positive attitudes about reading. However, in the question related to perceptions about reading aloud, there is a major variability in the results.

For **literacy activities**, the results show a greater variability in the results. Fourth grade students report a greater reluctance to practice reading on a daily basis. This tendency shows that students have not developed habits that reinforce their learning in the classroom. In relation to **learning materials**, the tendency shows that most of the students believe they have enough books at home. On the other side their answers for receiving a book as a gift show they have already set some preferences about what they like to read in general. Finally,

parental engagement shows that the majority of the pupils acknowledge that they learn new words at home and talk with their parents.

In addition, the results of the multiple choice questions were analyzed considering variables as age and gender. Results show that the differences by gender are more significant than by age. Girls showed a more positive trend than boys toward literacy and this was also reflected by the results on the elicitation task in their level of performance. These results confirm previous findings in other cultural contexts such as the National Literacy Trust report about boys in England (Boys' Reading Commission, 2012), the US National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) scores (2009 and 2011) and the report of the Ontario Ministry of Education (2004), just to mention a few.

Considering that the results compared children aged 7 to 10, it is worth emphasizing that the gender difference plays a more significant role than the age variable. This could mean that the gender gap[17] remains over time. In terms of differences by age, the results are fairly equally distributed with some exception such as receiving a book as a gift, where oldest children proved to have more settled preferences about what to read than the youngest pupils.

Elicitation task

This question aimed to allow the students to construct meanings and knowledge. To do so, the most important aspects on meaning construction in written text were considered. The analysis with the rubrics produced the following results:

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[17] I am referring here to the thesis that explicates how girls are more likely to have better results in literacy related activities. This thesis is supported and encouraged for all the reports listed earlier.

Dimension	Grade	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Coherence	2nd	0.0 %	55.6 %	38.9 %	5.6 %
	4th	1.9 %	37.7 %	43.4 %	17.0 %
Local Coherence	2nd	24.1 %	72.2 %	3.7 %	0.0 %
	4th	0.0 %	79.2 %	20.8 %	0.0 %
Content	2nd	7.4 %	42.6 %	38.9 %	11.1 %
	4th	0.0 %	1.9 %	47.2 %	50.9 %
Structure	2nd	27.8 %	51.9 %	14.8 %	5.6 %
	4th	0.0 %	43.4 %	34.0 %	22.6 %

Table 2: "Elicitation task results per level"

The results show that most of the students are grouped around levels 2 and 3. This result is consistent with the expectations in this kind of evaluations. However, it is important to note that for the dimension of Local coherence the greater majority of students were ranked at level 2. This level of performance shows that for the students in the sample it was difficult to use connectors or any other way to gather their meanings.

In addition, one important issue that was tested was the relation between the multiple choice questions and the written text. This analysis aimed to determine the relation within the children's beliefs about literacy practices and their written texts. To do so, I applied a correlation test and a Kristal Wallace test to measure the relation between the elicitation task and the multiple choice questions. I also did a Partial correlation test to measure these 2 variables and their relation with age. Contrary to expectations, this study did not find a correlation between the results on the elicitation task and the multiple choice questions. Moreover, there is no partial correlation between these results and age.

A possible explanation for this might be that at this age children have not developed strong opinions about their practices and even though their perceptions are valid, they might be influenced by the educational curriculum promoted by the government. The current Chilean Spanish language curriculum for primary school education mentions that students

have to develop a positive approximation to reading. There is an emphasis on motivating and reinforcing good attitudes about reading (MINEDUC, 2012). In this sense, the curriculum has the expected outcome at least in this particular subject. This influence impacts on the results because the majority of the students have developed good perceptions about literacy, so this might be counteracting the different perceptions among the students.

In addition, the results show that both, the multiple choice question and the elicitation task have a correlation between themselves. In the elicitation task, Coherence is a measure that correlates with all the other variables. In the multiple choice questions, question number 2 (Do you read everything you see since you learn how to read?) correlates with all the other questions. These correlations validate the questionnaire because the variables are indeed related.

Multimodal expression

Another finding includes interesting issues in regard to how children represent themselves by constructing their meanings. In relation to this issue, one important matter that emerged was that a relevant group of the participants drew. The analysis focused on showing how drawings construct meaning in different ways. The results show different communicative purposes related with drawing. The analysis was made considering the features of the drawing in relation with the text. In this sense, 3 different purposes were identified:

1) **To illustrate previous meanings**. In these cases, the students use drawing to show some specific detail of the text such as the home they described, how their friends or pet looks like, etc. In this context, the drawing is an important part of the text, because it is part of the meaning they are constructing alongside the text.

   In the example showed below, the student drew the friend she was talking about: Scarlet.
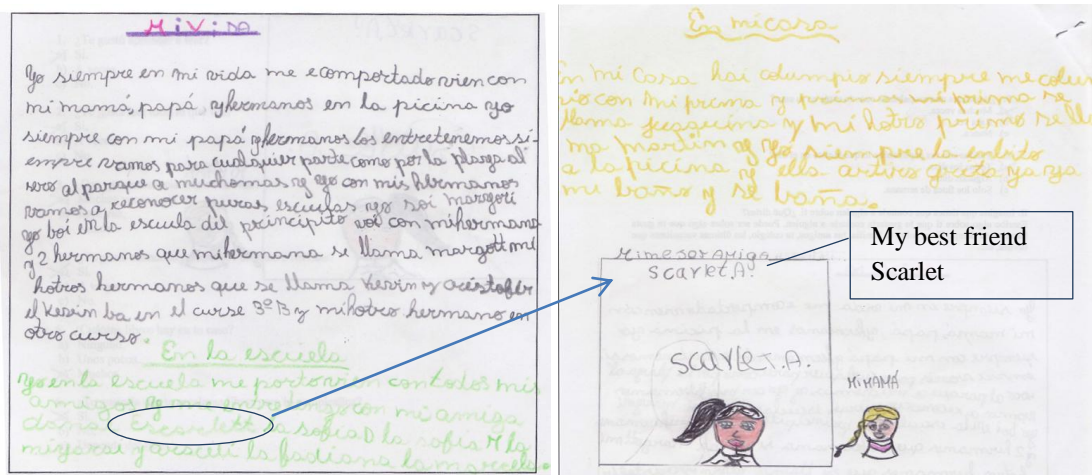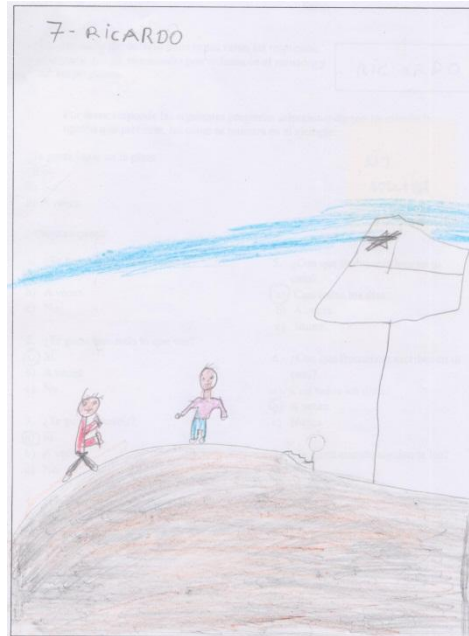
Text sample: Example 1.
4th grade.

The full transcription and translation of the text can be found in the appendix.

2) **To incorporate new meanings**. A typical example of this use of drawing was that some of the students draw their home or the area where they live. Because their homes or environment was not part of the text, they added new meanings that contribute to how they picture their world.

In the example showed below, the student incorporated all the meanings by drawing. The amount of meaning we can infer from the drawing is certainly

Text sample: Example 2.
2nd grade.

3) **Collaborative way of constructing new meaning**. In these texts, the pupils replaced

part of the sentence with the drawing itself. So the drawing was an irreplaceable part

of the meaning, and without it the meaning would have been incomplete.

In the case showed below, the student explained in the drawing *how* she played with

the dog.
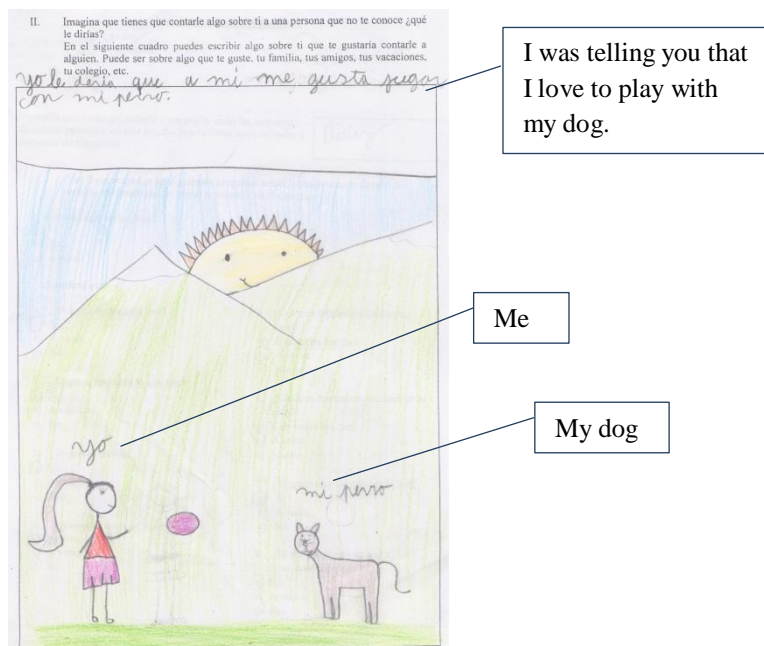
Text sample: Example 3.
2nd grade.

These examples showed the value of incorporating drawing as one of the relevant strategies to understand how children construct their meanings. Moreover, this analysis indicates the relevance of taking into account their preferences about how they construct their meaning. The drawings weren't random shapes, but meaningful contributions to their texts.

5. Conclusion

In relation with the multiple choice questions, even though modest, the present study provides additional evidence with respect to literacy beliefs. This study has found that there is a clear positive trend towards reading among these students. Even though rooted in the curriculum, these results can be considered as a good indicator for the implementation of further strategies that could impact positively on reading and writing.

However, it is noteworthy that students indicated a varied frequency in their activities. A significant number of students do not recognize their practices as something frequent. In this respect, it is important to point out that these students attend school every day, do homework, watch TV or see advertisements on their way home. Consequently, it is very likely that these pupils practice reading and writing activities on a daily bases. However, they do not recognize all their practices as worthy to mention or associated to reading and writing. This result support previous finding in literacy studies such as the studies carried out by Heath (1983).

In relation with the elicitation task, the results show the relevance of acknowledging the way in which children construct their meanings. In particular, the results show the relevance of the drawings. The task also identified some aspects that are most difficult for the students. In this respect, it is important to mention the stage of the school year in which they were evaluated (November, the end of the school year in Chile). In consequence, it would have been expected that a significant amount of children reach the higher levels of

performance. Students performing at Level 3 are on track to reach the optimal level. In this sense, the students achieving the Level 1 and 2 are at a disadvantage compared to the expected performance at the end of the year. Specifically, the dimensions of Coherence and Local coherence showed the greater number of students in these lower levels of achievement.

Another important finding was that gender was more significant than age. An implication of this finding is that gender has to be taken into account when teaching writing. To do so, a reasonable approach to contribute to this issue in Chile could be a further case study that focuses on gender differences based on literacy practices.

Even though these results showed some interesting issues, one of the limitations is that the questionnaire in itself could not capture the literacy practices. On the contrary, the results suggest that children are very influenced by the governmental curriculum in relation with their reading and writing motivation. These issues only can be addressed with a qualitative study.

All in all, by analyzing the relation between the written text and home literacy experiences this study showed how children engage with these issues as active agents. The student's meaning-making strategies when building a text proved to be valuable, constructive and worthy to consider when analyzing children's writing.

Appendix

Text sample: Example 1:

Original	*Translation*
<u>Mi vida</u> Yo siempre en mi vida me e comportado vien con mi mamá, papá y hermanos en la piscina yo siempre con mi papá y hermanos los entretenemos por la plaza al sero al parque a muchomas y yo con mis hermanos vamos a reconocer puras escuelas yo soi magali voy en la escuela del andes [18] voi con mihermana y 2 hermanos que mi hermana se llama maryorie my hotros hermanos que se llama Cris y el brian Cris ba en el curso 3ºB y mi hotro hermano en otro curso.	<u>My life</u> I always on my life had behave well with my mother, father and Brothers on the swimming pool I always have fun in the park and the montain and more with my father and brothers we go to know different schools I am magali I attend to the school of andes I attend with mysister and 2 brothers my sister is called maryorie and my other brothers are called Cris and brian Cris attend to 3ºB classroom and my other brother in a different class.
<u>En la escuela</u> Yo en la escuela me portovien con todos mis amigos y me entretengo con mi amiga danae Escarlett la silvya D la silvya M la miyarai y araceli la fabiana la marcela.	<u>In the school</u> I behave well in the school with my friends and play with my friend danae Esccarlett silvya D silvya M miyarai fabiana marcela.
<u>En mi casa</u> En mi casa hai columpio siempre mecolumpio con mi prima y primos mi prima se llama juaquina y mi hotro primo se llama diego y yo siempre la enbito a la picina y ella artiro grita yo ya me baño y se baña.	<u>At home</u> At home there is a swing I always swing with my cousins my cousin is called juaquina and my other cousin is called diego and I always invite her to the pool and she immediateli screams I will take a dip and she takes a dip.

Text transcript.

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[18] All the names were changed to protect the anonymity of the participants.

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Independent Women? Representations of gender-specific possession in two Shakespeare plays.

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Abstract

Social roles for men and women are often perceived to be pre-determined in the Early Modern period, and literary criticism is grounded within these assumptions. I suggest that literary representation of men and women are dependent upon underlying linguistic structures and patterns that would not necessarily be noticed by human readers. Computers are ideal for finding such patterns: traditional methods of literary analysis are often blind to such structures. Through a combination of multiple corpus-driven tools, I investigate grammatical possession (his/her +NP) in a comparative study of to contrastive Shakespeare plays: *Macbeth* and *The Merry Wives of Winsdor*.

Macbeth focuses heavily on issues of masculinity; it is presented in contrast to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, a play focused entirely on women. I suggest that specific collocational patterns for male and female characters are comparable across two very contrastive plays. The representation of men and women in these two plays are not always consistent with a literary critic's understanding of gender in these texts. I suggest that these grammatical structures inform the roles that men and women of these plays fulfill, which are then manifested in a literary understanding of the text.

1.Introduction

In this paper, I present a case study of gender-specific possession in two Shakespeare plays: *Macbeth* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*. I suggest that through several software packages – WordHoard[19], AntConc[20] and AlphaX[21] – specific patterns of grammatical possession can be identified. I identify specific ways that gender can be encoded in possessive pronouns in a literary text and select two plays for analysis – *Macbeth* and *Merry Wives of Windsor* - as both texts have strong female characters who are central to the action of the plays, but the representation of femininity in the two plays is very different. I ask if two

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[19] http://wordhoard.northwestern.edu
[20] http://antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/
[21] http://alphatcl.sourceforge.net/wiki/pmwiki.php/Software/AlphaX

highly-contrastive plays will be similar in their representations of gender-specific grammatical possession.

2. Gender and language

Gender can – but is not required to - be prototypically male or female in some sense. This is not true of all of the world's languages (Corbett 1991, Hellinger and Bußmann 2001, 2002, 2003). As Livia (2001, p. 12) alludes, gender is highly relevant to the process of characterization; the assignment of gender has a stronger relationship to form rather than meaning for the English language. However, gender is often categorized into binary categorical features [+ male] or [+ female]. These binary categories are primarily informed by a socio-cultural exploration of gender rather than a continuum of social, cultural and grammatical constructions.

Gender constructs ways people interpret the world around them. The continuum of identities available in English functions as "a fundamental social category which people use in making sense of others" (Livia 2001, p. 12). In Livia's discussion of 20th century French and English literature, she points out that "whether or not the author considers gender an important variable, the structure of language makes it required information. The same is not true of race [....] there is a [linguistic] category for gender which must be filled" (2001, p. 36-7). Avoiding gendered pronouns - especially in English - is awkward-sounding (Livia 2001, p. 38). Repetition of a character's name, lexical substitution (eg, "the man") and the use of deverbal noun phrases (eg, ellipsis) highlight the lack of pronouns (ibid, Chapter 3). This approach requires lots of effort on the part of the reader (Livia 2001, Chapter 2). A literary text can avoid explicitly discussing race or ethnicity without much difficulty, whereas gender is considered to be a fundamental fact of characterization for a modern reader.

2.1. Shakespeare and gender

Shakespeare is often considered the foremost representative of written language in the Early Modern period. Critical analyses of Shakespeare's plays and sonnets have generated a huge quantity of academic discourse. Though only recently have strictly "linguistically-inspired approaches" (Crystal 2003, p.62) to Shakespeare's works begun to appear, critics in the past have been especially interested in the "ways women are represented" (Demmen 2009, p. 1) in the plays. With regards to the social roles of men and women in the Early Modern Period, Shakespeare is widely regarded as proto-feminist: "The drama from 1590 to 1625 is feminist in sympathy. Shakespeare's modernity in his treatment of women has always attracted attention" (Dusinberre 1975, p. 5). Shakespeare's female characters are commonly noted for "challeng[ing] early modern (and even modern) conventions for female behavior [....]" (Kemp 2010, p. 173). Examples such as "courtship, illustrated by *Loves Labors Lost* and *The Taming of the Shrew*; sexuality, illustrated by *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and *A Winter's Tale*; and women of power, illustrated by the *Henry VI- Richard III* tetralogy and *Antony and Cleopatra*" (ibid. p. 173) are cited as illustrative of Shakespeare's feminism, presenting women in situations which would be perceived as radical in Early Modern society (Amussen 1993; Mendelson and Crawford, 1998; Erikson 1993). Claire McEarchern identifies the problem in feminist studies of Shakespeare, saying that

> advocates of a proto-feminist and a patriarchial Shakespeare have posited a mimetic/determiministic relationship between art and society – the text is either an innocent mirror of cultural processes or the no-less-idealized agenda of patriarchial ideology. Most proto-feminist advocates [...] of a play have found in Shakespeare's women, particularly in the comedies, evidence of his culture's incipient challenge to the patriarchy that, according to their reading, the text mirrors. Advocates of patriarchal

Shakespeare aligning themselves with the historical revisionism that ascribes to the renaissance an increased suppression of women (1988, p. 270)

Either Shakespeare is a feminist, and his works should be read to reflect this, or Shakespeare is a part of the patriarchal socio-political system, and his writing is reflective of the social realities of this doctrine. If Shakespeare is to be read as a feminist writer, we must disregard the social implications of giving women a voice on-stage or in a play-text. If Shakespeare is part of this privileging system, we have disregarded the importance of giving female characters a voice. Balancing these two conflicting schools of thought is difficult; many studies of Shakespearean feminist criticism ultimately have to choose one approach. I elect to use corpus methods to identify patterns from the texts themselves (cf Hunston and Francis: 2000, chapter 1) as evidence towards a more bipartisan interpretation.

2.2. Corpus Stylistic Studies of Shakespeare.

Previous corpus stylistic studies serve as paradigms for a quantitative and qualitative study of specific linguistic features as they appear in a literary text. Demmen's (2009) presents an analysis of key lexical bundles Shakespeare corpus, investigating linguistic features of male and female dialogue as they appear in clusters and collocational patterns. Her investigation of gender in Shakespeare is truly both quantitative and qualitative, contrasting key female lexical clusters and what they tell us about feminine language in the plays with male lexical clusters and what they tell us about masculine language to illustrate the stylistic features of characterization across the entire Shakespeare corpus.

Through an analytically-blind statistical keyword analysis, gender-specific dialogue is identified, isolated and analysed. Unlike Culpepper's (2009) study of keywords in *Romeo and Juliet*, which identifies concepts specifically relevant to male and female characters,

Demmen's study focuses on "frequency-based units identified automatically, and as such they are fragments" (2009, p.77). Arranging the characters into social categories of "male" and "female" she finds multiple characters from multiple play-texts using the same features. These collective features can be used to identify stylistic representations of men and women. A stylistic study of gender as it is represented in the play-texts is possible: male and female dialogue will produce different stylistic features, suggesting that male and female linguistic representation in the Shakespeare corpus is in some way measurable.

Busse (2002) presents a similar stylistic study in his investigation of second-person pronouns (you/thou, mine/thine) and their variation. Presenting a shift from pronominalization as represented in politeness theory to our modern conventions of second-person pronouns, this quantitative and qualitative study addresses issues of genre, compositional date, and the use of time-sensitive pronoun structures. Busse identifies a pattern of function words and presents them as a way to identify the lexical shift between the earlier and later plays. These studies suggest a corpus stylistic study of pronouns and gender can highlight relevant stylistic features.

3. Methodology

Where "tragedy ends in death", "comedy ends in marriage" (Whissle 2007, p. 178). Content words of tragedies are different than those of comedies; the lexical makeup of play-texts will reflect this. Lady Macbeth is often billed as a strong female character in tragedy; I wanted to know how she would be represented lexically. Function words such as pronouns with a major absence or remarkable presence are not especially noticeable, whereas thematic content words are very noticeable. A log-likelihood test in Wordhoard will show significant differences in the usage of function and content words to identify these patterns. The output

shows lemma and their part of speech which are significantly more or less likely to appear in

one text compared to a corpus (Mueller 2011) in the first few columns:

Comparing lemmata in "Macbeth" and "Shakespeare."

Comparing frequencies in "Macbeth" and "Shakespeare." 438 lemmata appeared at least 5 times in 1 work. "Macbeth" contains 2,634 distinct lemmata in 16,665 occurrences. "Shakespeare" contains 17,609 distinct lemmata in 865,185 occurrences. The significance levels for the log-likelihood values are adjusted for the number of comparisons.

Lemma	Word class	Relative use	Log likelihood	Analysis parts per 10,000	Reference parts per 10,000	A c
thane	n	+	156.1 ****	18.00	0.35	
hail	v	+	51.3 ****	10.20	0.82	
knock	v	+	49.8 ****	11.40	1.17	
cauldron	n	+	41.6 ****	4.80	0.09	
our	po	+	41.5 ****	71.41	36.76	
she	pn	−	41.3 ****	21.00	53.05	
the	dt	+	41.0 ****	421.84	327.07	
tyrant	n	+	40.2 ****	9.00	0.89	
sleep	n	+	33.3 ****	9.60	1.38	
weird	j	+	31.2 ****	3.60	0.07	
i	pn	−	28.6 ****	283.23	359.55	
trouble	n	+	27.4 ****	5.40	0.43	
dagger	n	+	26.3 ***	6.00	0.61	
wood	n 1	+	25.9 ***	6.60	0.80	
fear	n	+	24.5 ***	13.80	3.88	
nature	n	+	23.1 ***	15.60	5.00	
we	pn	+	20.5 **	98.41	67.30	
double	v	+	20.3 **	3.60	0.23	
horror	n	+	20.3 **	3.60	0.23	
you	pn	−	19.8 **	127.81	171.26	
which	crq	+	17.5 *	48.00	28.71	
upon	acp	+	17.5 *	37.80	21.07	
deed	n	+	17.0 *	10.80	3.32	
new	j	+	16.7 *	10.20	3.05	
castle	n	+	15.5 *	4.20	0.55	
air	n	+	15.0 *	8.40	2.36	
yet	av	+	14.9 *	34.20	19.41	
bloody	j	+	14.8	9.00	2.68	
time	n	+	14.8	28.80	15.50	
strange	j	+	14.5	10.20	3.36	
worthy	j	+	14.0	10.80	3.78	
love	v	−	13.7	4.20	13.15	
a	dt	−	13.5	144.01	181.24	

☑ Compress log-likelihood value range in tag clouds

(Cloud)

Other columns of this table show relative use (which lemma are significantly more or less likely to appear in the analysis text compared to the reference text) and log likelihood calculation itself (the more asterisks next to the calculation, the more statistically significant this calculation is). This output also gives normalized frequencies (parts per ten thousand) in the analysis and reference corpora as well as raw frequencies for the analysis and reference texts. We see a very different chart when we run a log-likelihood analysis on *Wives* compared to the rest of the Shakespeare corpus:

Comparing lemmata in "Merry Wives of Windsor" and "Shakespeare."

Comparing frequencies in "Merry Wives of Windsor" and "Shakespeare." 463 lemmata appeared at least 5 times in 1 work. "Merry Wives of Windsor" contains 2,669 distinct lemmata in 21,387 occurrences. "Shakespeare" contains 17,609 distinct lemmata in 865,185 occurrences. The significance levels for the log-likelihood values are adjusted for the number of comparisons.

Lemma	Word class	Relative use	Log likelihood	Analysis parts per 10,000	Reference parts per 10,000	A cc
master	n	+	384.7 ****	82.76	10.99	
mistress	n	+	200.2 ****	40.68	4.98	
brook	n	+	176.6 ****	19.64	0.71	
gar	uh	+	141.8 ****	14.03	0.35	
doctor	n	+	126.1 ****	16.37	0.88	
sir	n	+	120.5 ****	80.42	29.82	
i	pn	+	114.6 ****	509.19	359.55	
host	n 1	+	107.2 ****	12.62	0.53	
lord	n	−	100.5 ****	3.74	36.07	
woman	n	+	90.1 ****	30.86	6.97	
you	pn	+	80.7 ****	259.04	171.26	
basket	n	+	76.6 ****	7.95	0.23	
will	vm	+	73.6 ****	191.71	120.66	
thou	pn	−	66.8 ****	54.71	107.71	
fairy	n	+	62.0 ****	9.82	0.80	
husband	n	+	60.4 ****	19.64	4.22	
wife	n	+	56.1 ****	23.85	6.50	
she	pn	+	54.3 ****	94.45	53.05	
humour	n	+	52.4 ****	11.22	1.48	
thy	po	−	50.7 ****	21.51	52.99	
worship	n	+	50.0 ****	9.82	1.14	
de	fr	+	49.9 ****	10.75	1.43	
garter	n	+	49.2 ****	6.08	0.29	
forsooth	uh	+	45.4 ****	7.01	0.54	
knight	n	+	43.9 ****	11.69	2.03	
parson	n	+	39.7 ****	4.68	0.20	
good	j	+	39.2 ****	62.19	33.90	
bully	n	+	38.9 ****	4.21	0.14	
come	v	+	38.7 ****	75.28	43.77	
search	v	+	36.9 ****	6.08	0.53	
go	v	+	36.6 ****	56.58	30.56	
warrant	v	+	35.9 ****	9.82	1.76	
jealousy	n	+	34.7 ****	6.08	0.59	

☑ Compress log-likelihood value range in tag clouds

(Cloud)

Where feminine lemma were much statistically less likely to appear in *Macbeth* when compared to Shakespeare's entire corpus, we see that feminine lexical items are much more likely to appear in *Wives*. We see a pattern of both function and content words related to gender

– that is, pronouns and nouns – being marked as "relatively more frequent" in *Wives*. *She* appears in *Wives* in 94.45 parts per ten thousand, compared to the entire Shakespeare corpus - where *she* appears in 53.05 parts per ten thousand.

   Wives is fundamentally different than *Macbeth* in many ways, but where feminine lexical items were significantly less likely to appear in *Macbeth*, feminine lexical items were much more likely to appear in *Wives*. But most notably, one function word – *she* – appears significantly less frequently in *Macbeth* than compared to the rest of the Shakespeare corpus, and significantly *more* likely in *Wives*.

3.1. Selecting terms for analysis

   Gender-specific pronouns in English are very predictable as a semantic feature, showing membership in a specific community (Livia 2000, p. 29). Deviation from grammatically assigned case is not allowed; each pronoun retains specific lexical properties. Nominative case is ascribed to subjects, whereas accusatives, datives, and genitives are ascribed to different kinds of grammatical objects. There are three pronouns (Huddleston 1984, p. 256-298) which are considered as markers of possession which could be used:

   i   As a pronominal genitive (*his/her*)

   ii   As part of a D+N construction (*his/her* + noun)

   iii   As pronominal accusative form (*him/her*)

Her can function either as an accusative or as an attributive genitive. This construction of possession does not map perfectly across the gender binary. *His* can appear as either an attributive or as an absolute, as shown in (1a) or as part of a D+N construction, as shown in (1b):

(1a) The red hat is *his*

(1b) I called *his mother*

Hers cannot be part of a D+N construction in the same way. It appears to be ungrammatical, as shown in (1c), but is fine as a pronominal in (1d).

(1c) The red hat is *hers*

(1d) *I called *hers mother*

Because *hers* is strictly absolutive and *his* can be either attributive or absolute, (1a) and (1b) are acceptable; only (1c) is grammatical; (1d) is not.

Interestingly, *hers* did not appear at all in either play; I therefore cannot comment on the relationship between the general possessive *his* and the absolute possessive *hers*. The table below presents the overall usage of *hers* in the corpus:

|	Raw frequency in corpus[22]	Total words in corpus	Works appeared in (out of 47 total)	Percentage of works containing word
hers	55	884,429	23	53%

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[22] These numbers are taken from the Open Source Shakespeare concordance (http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/) which includes all of Shakespeare's poems and plays: 37 plays, 154 sonnets and 5 poems (and considered as 43 total works).

Hers appears more frequently in some plays compared to others.[23] *His/her* can function as determiners and will appear in a noun phrase as such. *His* has a second role of denoting possession in the sense of 'it is his'. *Her* has a separate sense 'the noun of her', the equivalent construction would be 'it is *hers*'. I focus exclusively on these D+N clusters representing a single semantic unit of possession.

3.2. Distributions

I begin by illustrating the distributions of *his* and *her* as linguistic features in *Macbeth* and *Wives*, using the corpus analysis software AntConc.[24] A distribution allows us to visualize the location of these lexical items in the text. These distributions included both *his/her* + N and independently. Each black line represents one instance chronologically. These visualizations show that the two gender-specific pronouns have entirely different distributional frequencies representing the broad usage of *his* and *her* in these two opposing play-texts, and corroborate the representations of these search terms initially identified with WordHoard. Below is the screenshot for *his* in both plays, followed by the screenshot for *her*:

Figure 1.

---
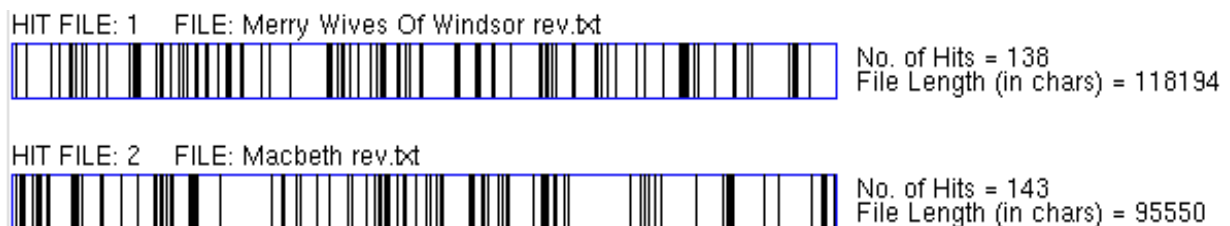
[23] *Cymbeline,* for example, has 11 instances of *hers* but *Titus Andronicus* only has one instance. Unfortunately the scope of this study does not allow for a full investigation of *hers* and its full representation in the Shakespeare corpus.

[24] These images are cropped from the full screenshots on AntConc for detail.

```
HIT FILE: 1    FILE: Merry Wives Of Windsor rev.txt
                                                            No. of Hits = 175
                                                            File Length (in chars) = 118194

HIT FILE: 2    FILE: Macbeth rev.txt
                                                            No. of Hits = 42
                                                            File Length (in chars) = 95550
```

The distribution for *her* in *Macbeth* looks quite different than the distribution for *her* in *Wives*. There are a total of 35 examples of *her* in *Macbeth;* these examples are visualized as small clumps, especially in Act 5, Scene I. Lady Macbeth's role as a tragic character is cemented in this scene: the Doctor and the Gentlewoman observe and comment upon her strange behavior. Lines 2126-2205[25] are full of examples of *her* and *she*. Based merely on the rapid-fire mentions of *her* in these lines, we see that a female character is the focus of others' attention for the duration of the scene. This is contrasted with many rapid exchanges of *his* throughout the entire play-text of *Macbeth*, and presented in further contrast to *Wives*, which shows a fairly even distribution of the search term throughout the play. *Her* is much more frequent in *Wives*: it is perhaps easier to see where women are not mentioned in the play-text rather than where they are.

4. Analysis.

Using a Regular Expression concordancing technique in AlphaX, I isolated each example of *his* and *her* in both plays within the context of the line the example was contained in.[26] A noun in the D+N constructions presented below will be syntactically ascribed to *his* or *her* through complement structures. I begin with examples of male possession in *Macbeth*:

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[25] These line numbers have been taken from Open Source Shakespeare (http://opensourceshakespeare.org/)
[26] Each example has been cross-referenced to the Open Source Shakespeare texts for act/scene/line references.

(1)   And fix'd *his head* upon our battlements (Sargeant, I.ii.42)

(2)   To *his home* before us (Duncan, I.vi.461)

(3)   Those of *his chamber*, as it seem'd, had done't (Lennox, II.iii.887)

(4)   Lays blame upon *his promise* (Ross, III.iv.1328)

(5)   Whether it was *his wisdom* or *his fear* (Ross, IV.ii.1745)

(6)   The devil to *his fellow* and delight (Macduff, IV.iii.1988)

(7)   Nothing in love now does he feel *his title* (Angus, V.ii.2229)

(8)   That struts and frets *his hour* upon the stage (Macbeth, V.v. 2383)

(9)   *His secret murderers* sticking on *his hands* (Angus, V.ii.2226)

Male characters in *Macbeth* retain possession of conceptual, external, and corporeal objects. *His home* and *his chamber* are examples of 'the property in which he lives'. *His hour* is his conceptual property; *his secret murderers* are a group of people that he is in charge of. *His wisdom, his promise* and *his fear* are all non-tangible qualities ascribed to him. They also retain ownership of their body parts, such as *his hands, his head, his eyes,* and *his heart*.

Much like the male characters of *Macbeth*, male characters of *Wives* also retain ownership of conceptual, physical and corporeal objects, as shown in examples (10) through (20):

(10)   In the manner of *his nurse* or *his dry nurse*, or *his cook*, or *his laundry*, *his washer*, and his wringer (Evans, I.ii.292-5)

(11)   It is a shallenge: I will cut *his troat [throat]* in de park (Caius I.iv.510)

(12)   Cut all *his two stones*, by gar he shall not have a stone (Caius, I.iv.513-514)

(13)   Were they *his men* (Ford, II.i.734)

(14)   Wives are a yoke of *his discarded men* very rouges now (Page, II.i.730)

(15)   He is not show *his face* (Caius, II.iii.1129-30)

(16)   The prologue of our comedy and at *his heels* a rabble of his companions (Falstaff,
III.v.1815-16)

(17)   Blessing of *his heart* (Mistress Quickly, IV.i.1903)

(18)   Methinks *his flesh* is punish'd (Evans, IV.iv. 2218)

(19)   And I will deliver *his wife* into your hand (Falstaff, V.i.2508-9)

(20)   *His horses* are arrested for it, Master Brook (Ford, V.v.2689-90)

An important man such as Falstaff in *Wives* will have a servant or two (Pistol and Nym),
while looking for a wife (which, by the Renaissance legal system, he will also be in
possession of). This should be unavailable to women in the same way: Judith Butler notes
that the legal identity of a single individual as the "property holder [....] is a figure of
disembodiment, but one which is nevertheless a figure of a body, a body forth of a
masculinized rationality, the figure of a male body", is in contrast with the "way that the
feminine is 'always' the outside, and the outside is 'always' the feminine" (Butler 1993, p.
48-9). Thus a female character in the play-texts would not retain the proprietary ownership of
another person in the same way that a male character in these play-texts would.

All men are not equal, however. Male characters embody a gradient system of
masculinity: while men do retain features of specific kinds of power which is inherently

unavailable to female characters, some men (such as Falstaff and Lennox) are considered by critics to be more masculine than others (Bardolph, Rugby, the Servant, Donalbain), creating a hierarchy of maleness based on a series of features:

> concepts of manhood coincided with patriarchal principles that both privileged males over females, and favoured particular men above others. Patriarchial manhood endorsed a gender hierarchy that exalted maleness as a cultural category by ranking men generally above women. This was patriarchy in a feminist sense. In its early modern sense, however, it most frequently served the interests of middle-aged, householding men [....] Strength, thrift, industry, self-sufficiency, honesty, authority, autonomy, self-government, moderation, reason, wisdom, and wit were all claimed for patriarchical manhood, either as the duties expected of men occupying patriarchal positions or as the justification for their associated privileges. (Shepard 2003, p. 247)

Self-sufficiency, autonomy, and self-government are all features of corporeal ownership - body parts in the Renaissance "have individuated functions, locations and differentiations to the body as a whole, they can become concentrated sites where meaning is invested" (Hillman & Mazzio 1997, p. xii). Hillman and Mazzio describe how the "influential natural philosophers [...] went so far as to argue that parts were individuated not only lexically and physiologically but also ontologically: to the isolated organs belonged what were termed ideae sigularum partium [...] imparting integrity and spiritual significance to each part of the body." (1997, p. xviii). Body parts are often ascribed symbolic status in literary studies; thus it is unsurprising that Caius refers to *his stones* as symbolic of another male character's masculine identity. The possession of one's own body parts constructs a specific kind of autonomous, inherent power: these are your corporeal objects which function differently than conceptual or external-to-the body objects.

If male characters are ascribed ownership of physical, conceptual, and corporeal nouns in D+N constructions, what are female characters ascribed? I now repeat my analysis for *her* +noun in *Macbeth*. Example (21) illustrates the difference between D+N clustering and pronominal D perfectly:

(21) Rise from *her bed* throw *her nightgown* upon *her* (Gentlewoman, V.i.2131)

Her bed and *her nightgown* are objects that are ascribed to Lady Macbeth. Nouns in the D+N constructions presented are syntactically ascribed to *her* through complement structures; these are objects that are syntactically possessed by a woman. *Her* also appears as a pronominal at the end of this line to further illustrate the semantic and syntactic differences between a pronominal and a D+N construction. The following pattern of a woman's body parts as the noun of a D+N construction begins to emerge:

(22) A sailor's wife had chestnuts in *her lap* (1st Witch, I.iii.101)

(23) By each at once *her choppy finger* laying (Banquo, I.iii.144)

(24) What is it that she does now? Look how she rubs *her hands* (Doctor, V.i.2152)

(25) Upon *her skinny lips*: you should be women (Banquo, I.iii.145)

(26) Remains in danger of *her former tooth* (Macbeth, III.ii.1312)

(27) You see, *her eyes* are open (Doctor, V.i.2150)

(28) Oftener upon *her knees* than on *her feet* (Macduff, IV.iii.1968)

Example (21) is a rare occurrence of a female character retaining ownership of something external to her own body. Many of the other examples found collocate to a body part (tooth, feet, eyes, hands). Female characters in *Macbeth* do not generally possess – or

own – anything outside of their own body. Butler's analysis of property ownership presents the masculine as "a figure in a crisis", whereas "the feminine, strictly speaking, has no morphe, no morphology, no contour [...] it is itself undifferentiated without boundary" (1993, p. 48-9). Butler's earlier (1990) framework for gender suggests "if sex does not limit gender, then perhaps there are genders, ways of culturally interpreting the sexed body that are in no way restricted by the apparent duality of sex [...] if gender is something that one becomes – but can never be –then gender is itself a kind of becoming or activity" (p. 153). Merely being ascribed a masculine character-role is not enough. One must enact maleness in order to fully inhabit a male identity. We can begin to construct feminine possession in *Macbeth* as a masculine feature: ownership of corporeal objects ascribed to female characters adheres to the masculine construction of ownership established above.

The distribution of *her* is already very limited; most of the examples of *her* +noun are cited above in examples (22)-(28). There are few instances of *her* in *Macbeth*; so very few examples of *her*+N are found within the play-text. Of these examples, almost all relevant constructions cited are in reference to Lady Macbeth, most often occurring in Act 5, Scene 1. Other female characters in *Macbeth*, such as the three Weird Sisters and Lady Macduff, are present on-stage and have lines, yet other characters rarely reference them in the same way.

The Weird Sisters are a supernatural phenomenon representing the Three Fates; they may not necessarily be female.[27] Banquo identifies this confusion for us: "Upon your skinny lips you should be women, and yet your beards forbid me to interpret so" (I.3.145). While the title 'witches' is socially feminine in connotation, "the link between bearded women and witchcraft seems to be firmly embedded into the cultural consciousness of Early Modern England" (Hirsch 2008, p. 94). A bearded woman is not inherently feminine – nor is such a

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[27] See http://hfroehlich.wordpress.com/2013/02/08/how-many-female-characters-are-there-in-shakespeare/ for an exploration of categorizing characters by gender.

figure inherently masculine. Will Fisher's study of beards in the Renaissance concludes, "the beard (or lack thereof) did not absolutely determine gendered identity" (2001, p. 190). Thus it is arguable that the witches of *Macbeth* are supernatural beings and therefore not exactly female, though they count as non-masculine entities.[28] This claim is furthered by other characters' reluctance to ascribe pronouns to the Witches, whereas other characters refer to Lady Macbeth and Lady Macduff as *she* and *her*.

However, male characters remain masculine even when their masculinity is called into question. Male characters are not occupying such a gender-flexible space: masculine identity is "constructed and constrained by a patriarchal culture – infused with patriarchal assumptions about power, privilege, sexual desire, the body". There is, continues Breitenberg, a "broad and powerful discourse that assumed a divinely ordained basis for authority based on gender and status" (1996: 1). Female characters such as Lady Macbeth can be ascribed a masculine identity in this way, thus moving "up" the social hierarchy, because of what Adelman calls "female's failed maleness, not in terms of male's originary femaleness" (1999, p. 40). Male characters, it seems, cannot move down the social hierarchy. Though they may be referred to as effeminate or appear otherwise emasculated, they are not ascribed the category of womanhood in the same way that Lady Macbeth can be ascribed masculinity. To have this social mobility afforded to them, female characters need to dress and act as men (like Viola in *Twelfth Night* and Portia in *Merchant of Venice*); male characters do not have the same need to present as female – it is for strictly comedic purposes.

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[28] The witches, or Weird Sisters, are in some way both feminine and masculine: As "sisters" and "[bearded] women" they are in some way feminine, but as "bearded women" they would also exist somewhere along the masculine spectrum.

Yet social gender-bending occurs in *Wives*: Falstaff disguises himself as "a woman [who] has a great beard" (IV.ii.2149). Falstaff will still be ascribed corporeal objects using D+N construction – a form of possession available to characters categorized as masculine. While dressed as a woman, Falstaff has the noun *woman* applied to him but still retains male pronouns (*he*, *his, him*) as illustrated in this exchange (IV.ii.2139-2169):

Ford. I'll prat her. [Beating him] Out of my door, you witch, you hag, you baggage, you polecat, you runyon! out, out! I'll conjure you, I'll fortune-tell you.

Mistress Page. Are you not ashamed? I think you have killed the poor woman.

Mistress Ford. Nay, he will do it. 'Tis a goodly credit for you. Ford. Hang her, witch!

Evans. By the yea and no, I think the 'oman is a witch indeed: I like not when a 'oman has a great peard; I spy a great peard under his muffler.

Ford. Will you follow, gentlemen? I beseech you, follow; see but the issue of my jealousy: if I cry out thus upon no trail, never trust me when I open again.

Page. Let's obey his humour a little further: come, gentlemen.

[Exeunt FORD, PAGE, SHALLOW, DOCTOR CAIUS, and SIR HUGH EVANS]

Mistress Page. Trust me, he beat him most pitifully.

Mistress Ford. Nay, by the mass, that he did not; he beat him most unpitifully, methought.

Mistress Page. I'll have the cudgel hallowed and hung o'er the altar; it hath done meritorious service.

Mistress Ford. What think you? may we, with the warrant of womanhood and the witness of a good conscience, pursue him with any further revenge?

Mistress Page. The spirit of wantonness is, sure, scared out of him: if the devil have him not in fee-simple, with fine and recovery, he will never, I think, in the way of waste, attempt us again.

Mistress Ford. Shall we tell our husbands how we have served him?

Only Ford uses a female pronoun to describe the effeminized Falstaff. Mistress Ford, Evans, and Page continue to ascribe male-specific pronouns to Falstaff. Mistress Page returns to

using male lexical items by line 2156. But Evans' line (2150) has a curious note in Melchiori's Arden Shakespeare edition of *Wives:* Melchiori notes that the Folio edition of *Wives* reads *his*, but the Quarto edition reads "*her* muffler". This line would have ascribed a feminine identity to Falstaff , but it is no longer read this way.

If we are to assume that *her* is the correct pronoun here, we see that there are two possibilities. This "may be Evans' confusion, but more likely Shakespeare's slip or a printer's misreading of 'hir', an alternative spelling of *her*" (2000, p. 253). Halliwell's edition (1854, reprinted 1970) reads "her muffler", but attaches the following note: "earlier editions read, by mistake, *his muffler*" (1970, p. 434). But turning to other critical editions of the text, including Wells, Taylor & Salmon 1986's Original Spelling edition (1986, p. 565), based upon the Folio edition, and Kokeritz's facsimile edition of the First Folio (1954, p. 55) both read *his muffler*. It seems less likely that *his muffler* is the mistake, but rather that *her muffler* is the error. This is an editorial decision upon which my entire argument can hang: If it is indeed *her muffler*, as Halliwell and the Quartos state, Falstaff has successfully constructed himself, albeit temporarily, as a female character. Furthermore, Evans is so convinced by this disguise, he can only refer to Falstaff as a woman. But Falstaff could not possibly be ascribed a feminine identity here; Evans himself is unconvinced of this, calling Falstaff "a witch". As established above in *Macbeth*, the gender of witches in the Early Modern period is questionable, but we can be certain from this passage that "a witch" and "a woman" are different social identities: "I think the woman is a witch" (line 2148). A witch is perhaps more likely to have masculine features (such as a beard, cf. Fisher 2001), but we will not mistake a witch for a man, either. A beard is a feature of masculinity; if Falstaff is to be perceived as a woman, his beard cannot be visible. But his beard is visible, and Falstaff is considered a witch rather than a 'true' woman, *her* is effectively removed as a conceivable

pronoun option in this scene. Repeated references to third-person male pronouns used to describe Falstaff in this passage (*his* honor, he beat *him*, pursue *him*, if the devil have *him, he will never*) continue refute the use of *her* as the appropriate pronoun under these circumstances.

Dressing Falstaff as a woman should effectively strip him of his patriarchical privileges, yet he retains maleness through other characters' application of male pronouns towards him. It is clear that the Folio emendation from *her* to *his* was necessary, and that *his* is in fact the correct pronoun to be using in this circumstance. Because the editorial decisions have already been made and applied prior to digitization and the emended Folio edition of the text is widely used as the basis for publications of *Wives*, most – if not all – digital editions will allow Falstaff to retain his male identity.   Thus biological, rather than social, constructions of sex are much more prevalent for the male characters of *Wives*.

I now shift my attention to issues of feminine representation. Male representation of possession was consistent across *Macbeth* and *Wives*. Assuming that *Macbeth* can be representative of feminine possession in the same way that it was for patterns of masculine possession, similar patterns of feminine ownership should be found in *Wives* – that is, women should have possession of their bodies and not much else. Instead, a different kind of possession is identified in examples (29) through (35):

(29) Did *her grandsire* leave her seven hundred pound (Shallow, I.i.54)

(30) *Her father* will be angry (Mrs Page, III.iv.1725)

(31) *Her husband* goes this morning a-birding (Mrs Quickly, III.v.1786-7)

(32) The jealous fool to *her husband* I suspect without cause (Mrs Ford IV.ii.2090)

(33) *Her husband* has a marvelous infection to the little page (Mrs Quickly, II.ii.905)

(34) *Her father* hath commanded her to slip (Fenton, IV.vi.2445)

(35) Poor old woman. That same knave Ford*, her husband*, hath (Falstaff, V.i.2495)

(36) *Her mother*, even strong against that match (Fenton, IV.vi.2448)

(37) Straight marry her. To this *her mother's* plot (Fenton, IV.vi.2453)

(38) She shall go with him *her mother* hath intended (Fenton, IV.vi.2459)

The recurring pattern of D+N constructions containing *her* in *Wives* is one of familial relationships: women in this play seem to be constantly in reference to their relationship(s) to other characters.

Female characters in this play are correlated directly to a patrilineal system of husbands, fathers and grandfathers. Based on our understanding of Early Modern culture, we understand that women in *Wives* are the property of the men in their lives – their husbands, their fathers, and their grandfathers. This constructs a hierarchy of patriarchical possession of women within the social realm of the play-text. As Stallybrass notes, "'woman', unlike man, is produced as a property category. The conceptualization of woman as land or possession has, of course, a long history [....] In early modern England 'woman' was articulated as property not only in legal discourse but in economic and political discourse" (1986, p. 127). In examples (29)-(35), a second pattern of collocation is visible in the responses of Mrs Page, Mrs Quickly, and Mrs Ford: one of jealousy and anger. The response to feminine identity within this framework is concerned with how other male characters who are immediately connected to those being discussed, will respond to their actions. Words such as "jealous"

and "angry" imply that the male characters will be displeased with an errant female character that does not follow the patrilineal expectations set forward by Early Modern Society.

Wife and *woman* are synonymous in the Early Modern period.[29] It is not entirely surprising that the social relationships ascribed to women are accurate within the historical context of woman-as-property, as they are semantically constructed as the object of another person. A wife is the woman who belongs to a man; thus a male character would retain ownership over his wife and daughters; grandfathers would also retain power over their granddaughters. It is important to note that these D+N constructions in *Wives* using *her* do not exclusively refer to men. There are three examples of *her mother* in the play-text, all said by Fenton and found in the same speech in Act IV, scene 6:

(38) *Her mother*, even strong against that match (Fenton, IV.vi.2448)

(39) Straight marry her. To this *her mother's* plot (Fenton, IV.vi.2453)

(40) She shall go with him *her mother* hath intended (Fenton, IV.vi.2459)

Here, Fenton explains Anne Page and Slender's plan to elope. Mistress Page disapproves of this match, preferring Doctor Caius as a husband. Anne's mother, Mistress Page, is slightly elevated in the social hierarchy; Anne and Slender's elopement is an act of rebellion against this familial decree. As Fenton's speech illustrates, mothers in *Wives* retain a form of social mobility. While female characters are limited in their social identities, women retain power over their children that would be unavailable to single or unmarried women according to scholars of social order in the Renaissance. Female characters of *Wives* are ascribed a specific kind of ownership which appears to be unavailable to female characters of *Macbeth*. There is

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[29] See wife, n. 1a in the OED and HTOED under the category of the external world > the living world > people > person > woman.

a reversal of the pattern as seen in *Macbeth*: in *Wives,* it is the men – not the women - who are described in these D+N constructions as having possession of body parts; here the women are the possessed, not the possessor. A sufficient metaphor for familial relationships in the Early Modern period would be as follows: the patriarch of a family would be analogous to a king; the rest of the family could be considered his subjects, but with some agency (Amussen 1988: 60). The familial possessions presented by the semantic constructions of *her husband* and *her father* are not uncharacteristic of the social realities of the period.

5. Conclusions

Gender is a quantifiable and qualifiable construct in literary objects. Using a trio of digital tools for a multi-faceted analysis of gender representation, patterns of gender representation in *Macbeth* and *Merry Wives* do not always match the expectations set forth by feminist scholars and literary critics of Shakespeare and the early modern period. Male characters are represented consistently throughout both plays: agency and ownership of body parts, external objects, and conceptual things, whereas female characters are represented noticeably differently. In *Macbeth,* female characters are represented with regards to their body parts, whereas in *Merry Wives,* female characters are limited through their familial relationships. Aditi S. Muralidharan, a researcher at UC Berkeley, using different tools (her WordSeer toolset) was able to find the same pattern of grammatical possession manifested in a much larger dataset: the whole corpus of Shakespeare.[30] This suggests that these may be salient patterns of gender representation in the whole of Early Modern play corpus, and stress that feminist approaches to literature are only looking at the textual representation, and not

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[30] Please see http://mininghumanities.com/2012/01/24/men-and-women-in-shakespeare/ and Muralidharan, A and Hearst, M. "Supporting exploratory text analysis in literature study" (2013)

considering the social and legal realities of women within a relevant socio-historical

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Volunteer ESOL teaching: Local pedagogy or teaching without a theory?

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Abstract

In the UK, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is a domain of language learning and teaching where teaching strategy in mainstream, accredited provision is influenced not only by pedagogical and language learning theory but also by policy directives concerning citizenship, integration and employability. However, outside this mainstream provision, community and voluntary providers support informal and non-accredited ESOL classes which are not subject to external mandates of policy. This research is a case study of the volunteer teachers who practice in a community ESOL provider and an investigation of what influences their teaching strategy. The results show that in this context, not only is the influence of policy reduced in shaping their teaching strategy, but also mainstream pedagogical and language learning theory is de-emphasized in favor of immediate and individual teaching approaches. The implications of this for the learners are discussed, and a case for further research is presented.

1. Introduction

In the most immediate sense, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is simply a description of one of the conditions under which language learning occurs. However, in the UK, ESOL is a domain of activity not only concerned with language learning and teaching, but is also heavily laden with Government policy on citizenship, integration, and employability. Through policy, ESOL learners are defined as a specific demographic (of migrants) who can be identified socio-politically and economically, legally and linguistically. As a result, from simply being a condition under which language learning occurs, ESOL in the UK has become a complex teaching situation wherein a confluence of language and social policy permeates all activities, including classroom practice. Inherent to this complexity are a series of negotiations between agendas which shape teaching strategy. For example, teachers may disagree, for pedagogical, ideological or practical reasons with externally mandated

agendas, which Little has called a lack of "consilience" between teaching and policy aims (Little, 1995). If there is not "consilience", Ricento and Hornberger suggest that teachers have a moral duty to resist those policies which conflict with their own ethical beliefs and values (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996).

This research sought to investigate what pedagogies might emerge in circumstances where the problem of 'consilience' may be alleviated and where teachers are relatively free to develop their own teaching strategy. The opportunity to address this question arises from current UK policy itself. This is because running parallel with formal and accredited ESOL, UK Government policy on ESOL supports voluntary and community-based ESOL provision as remaining central to its plans for English language learning (Ifl, 2011, Dbis, 2010). Much of this provision is unaccredited and informal. The lack of accreditation means there may be no requirement on teachers working in such provision to include citizenship or integrative materials or indeed adhere to a curriculum.

This research is an intrinsic case study of the influences on teaching of five volunteer ESOL teachers in one such informal, non-accredited community setting. The project sought to investigate what contextual, theoretical or personal factors influenced the teachers' practice in the setting. Through semi-structured interviews the teachers were asked to talk about their teaching, with a focus on the following four questions:

1. What are the principal needs of the learners?

2. What teaching strategies do the teachers employ to address those needs?

3. What were the theoretical bases of the teachers' pedagogy?

4. How does the institutional or national policy environment affect teaching?

2. Literature review

Literature about the influences on language teachers' professional practice suggests that a complex interaction between theory, context and experience shape a teacher's practice. For example, Freeman and Freeman (2001) describe seven items which shape language teaching. These are

- how the teachers were taught languages themselves,

- how the teachers were trained to teach,

- the influence of colleagues,

- the degree of exposure to new ideas,

- the resources available,

- the type of students

- Teacher's personal views of learning and learners.

Freeman and Freeman conclude that a pivotal process in resolving these influences is interaction between theory and reflection, stating that "theory informs practice and reflection on practice can shape a teacher's working theory" (Freeman and Freeman, 2001 p30). Thus teachers may develop an individual working theory in any particular context and engage in a cycle of reflection as they practice. But the nature of teacher training in the UK means that context, experience, reflection and working theory all generally follow academic theory, at least chronologically, as influences in shaping teaching strategy. Language learning in particular is intensively theorized and researched (Hinkel, 2005) with courses designed to train teachers largely based on an 'application-of-theory' model, and even when one particular model is disputed and alternative approaches to training are proposed, those alternatives are also based on a theoretical approach to pedagogy, informed by research (Korthagen and Kessels, 1999).

In contemporary language teaching the dominant paradigm, derived from theory as described above, is Communicative Language Teaching (CLT). CLT is an approach where the expression and interpretation of meaning is prioritized above studying formal rules of grammar and syntax, with the principal aim being to develop the communicative competence of learner. CLT approaches are not a prescribed method of teaching: the aim is always on communicative competence, considered in context of the learner's needs (Savignon and Wang, 2003). CLT approaches emphasize learner autonomy (Oxford, 2003), authenticity (Roberts and Cooke, 2009) and draw on a socially mediated understanding of second language acquisition (Savignon, 1987) that provided the basis for the contemporary view that the four principal characteristics of a good language class are context, communication, autonomy and learner-centeredness. Within the framework of Communicative Language Teaching there are various approaches to curricula design including task based learning, process oriented and discovery curricula (Savignon, 2005). Discourse based approaches, also drawing on the communicative approach, may provide the framework for content-based, experiential and negotiated curricula (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain, 2005). Other CLT derived approaches are dialogic approaches to ESOL which underpin frameworks such as Reflect ESOL (see Reflect, 2009) and Dogme (Thornbury, 2009).

In addition to the fact that teachers may have been introduced to these frameworks through training, the internet provides unrestricted access to lesson plans, teaching materials and resources which draw on them, which further increases the range of potential influences on teaching. This proliferation of potential influences and available resources has coincided with more frameworks that teachers can draw on, such as the relatively new 'eclectic' approach to teaching English where teacher's planning is guided by the aims of a particular lesson, and teaching strategy draws on methods or strategies from a number of (previously discrete and

distinct) approaches. However, even if effective ESOL teachers are 'bricoleur' (Baynham et al., 2007) as a result, the literature suggests that the new eclecticism is not (and should not be) unbridled. Instead, Kumaravadivelu suggests a "principled pragmatism" should be guide the formulation of teaching strategy (Kumaravadivelu, 1994). The question of principle includes a consideration of the epistemological underpinnings of any given theoretical approach but also focuses attention on Crookes' observation that "Languages and language teaching are political, and language teachers are political actors (or instruments) whether they like it or not" (Crookes, 1997). Thus, the immediate context of teaching, shaped by a specific policy environment and the teacher's reaction to that environment, are necessarily influences on the teacher's practice.

Finally in review of possible influences, Lightbown acknowledges that theory and research influence practice but suggests that teachers draw principally on their own experience to inform their practice (Lightbown, 2000). Experience may be shared, but primarily, utilizing experience as an influence on teaching suggests reflection as an influence on professional practice. Schon is a prominent advocate for reflection, documenting reflection in action and reflection on action in a number of fields and advocating that processes of reflection should be privileged in professional development (Schon, 1983), however other researchers have questioned whether reflection is adequately understood or practised, especially by inexperienced teachers (Bengtsson, 1995, Mcgarr and Moody, 2010, Marcos and Tillema, 2006). Reflection and experience alone may therefore not be 'enough' in developing effective teaching (Day, 1993).

3. Methods

3.1. Methods: Overview

Interviews with teachers were considered the most appropriate research tool to investigate the themes of this study because this investigation was specifically about teachers' perceptions and opinions, and a semi-structured interview was considered a pragmatic way of maintaining focus, while still allowing individual, rich information to emerge (Drever, 1995). An initial interview schedule was devised consisting of questions grouped around each theme. This schedule was reviewed with a supervisor, amended and piloted with an ESOL teacher who works in a different setting, then amended again in light of the pilot. The final schedule consisted of questions which each teacher was asked, maintaining the focus on the three themes of learner needs, teaching strategy and institutional and social agendas.

There were five interviews, one with each teacher, lasting between thirty five and forty five minutes. Each interview was conducted in a quiet room in the setting with no other distractions. All interviews were digitally recorded.

3.2 Methods: Analysis

Once all interviews were completed, each one was listened to without note-taking three times. Notes were then taken of emerging themes in each teacher's responses. On completion of this note-taking process, it became apparent that there was a pattern of teacher responses and a consistency of themes began to emerge. A pragmatic decision was made to approach analysis of teacher's responses thematically, given this emergence, and in view of space allowed for the project. Interpretive analysis involving partial transcription (Drever, 1995 p.63) based around clustering of responses was chosen as the most succinct possibility for the overview presentation of results (Cohen et al., 2007 p368). Each teacher's identity was made anonymous and are referred to as A, B, C, D and E. The partial transcript has been coded numerically and where reference has been made to a specific statement made by the teachers, that reference is identified by teacher identifier – A, B, C, D or E – followed by a numerical

tag. For example the fourth statement made by teacher A is referenced as A1.4 and can be found in the appendix.

3.3 Methods: Validity and Reliability

As this research is an intrinsic case study, reliability and validity are primarily internal. Content validity is supported because all the teachers in the setting were involved in the research (Cohen et al., 2007 p137) and face validity was addressed by the piloting process. However, as this is interpretive research, the principle concerns here are congruency and cogency (Eisenhardt, 1989, Corbin and Strauss, 1990). In respect of this, the research methods are congruent with a qualitative, interpretive approach to research, and while the case for cogency is primarily a matter of judgment, it is proposed that the position that this is an interpretation, not *the* interpretation is been maintained throughout, and that there is thus a consistent internal logic to this study.

4. Results

4.1. Results: Overview

This research project sought a descriptive analysis of individual teacher's attitudes to their practice within a context that appears to allow a relatively free exercise of agency. It was originally conceived as a series of five case studies, with each teacher's position considered individually. Interview questions asked teachers to talk about their beliefs in three areas – learner needs, theoretical underpinnings of practice, and the influence of institutions on their work – and their actions in one area, namely their teaching strategy. However, when analysing the interviews, a number of themes began to emerge indicating that there were sufficient commonalities in teacher's attitudes and approaches to their work that a thematic approach to this section is both warranted and, pragmatically, more succinct. In respect of this, this section discusses the teacher's beliefs about learners' needs, their relationship to

theory and possible institutional influences in the classroom before describing how teacher's strategies emerge from these suggested influences.

4.2 Results: Teachers' beliefs about learners.

4.2.1 Teachers' beliefs about learners: Functional Language Needs

In terms of educational background, linguistic competence, age and gender teacher's descriptions of learners echoed the statistically derived portrait of recent overseas immigrants to Hull as heterogeneous. Some learners had no previous formal education, either in their mother tongue or English, while others were gap year students [A1.2,A1.9,B1.11, B1.13, C1.8, C1.13, D1.4, E1.3]

This heterogeneity was summarized by A:

"…. My understanding was that they would be fairly advanced in their knowledge of English, and some indeed have been. Others have been scarcely more than beginners" [A1.2].

Some teachers identified specific cultural groups as associated with particular structural English language learning needs [B1.12, C1.8]. Academic needs of syntax, grammar, vocabulary however were broadly de-emphasized with the majority view that the first priority was communication, primarily to do with functional verbal skills [A1.4, B1.12, C1.8, D1.5, E1.9].

4.2.2 Teachers' beliefs about learners: Confidence

While teachers believed there was little heterogeneity in the functional learning needs of learners, there was more convergence in their beliefs about the affective needs of learners, particularly the belief that for many learners self-confidence was low [A1.4, B1.12, D1.11].

B's view was that an apparent inability to speak English was sometimes a problem of confidence instead

> "It's [confidence] the main one. It's the confidence. I think because of the fact, of what's happened to them before they've got here, particularly if they've been held somewhere, their self esteem is rock bottom. Some of them are quite traumatized, particularly these young women are, you know…." [B1.12].

4.2.3. Teachers' beliefs about learners: Women

B described how she believed that [particularly] the young women had been traumatized, by life experience before arrival in the UK. She also gave an example where she had accompanied women to sexual health clinics, or rung up for contraceptive advice at the request of the women [B1.3, B1.12]. D characterized the classes as an expression of "independence" for women, and repeated B's belief that many learners – particularly women - had never been to school at all [D1.5, D1.6]. E noted how women might attend initially with male partners, but that the males then leave without visiting again [E1.3]. C noted that most of the women attending classes don't work [C1.13], while A noted an incident where a young woman had been confronted with a cultural dilemma specifically gender related [A1.6]. A theme emerged that all teachers' believed the classes were a site of special significance for women, and the principle significance was possibly not language learning, but that the classes possibly performed a social function, or were an expression of independence for the women.

4.2.4. Teachers beliefs about learners: Cultural, social and economic positioning of the learners

Teachers drew a vivid picture that some of the learners they inter-acted with were marginalized, traumatized and excluded, economically and socially [A1.9, B1.7, B1.11, B1.12, D1.3]. Teachers' perceptions of how learners positioned themselves in respect of this

marginalization varied. D's view was that learners want to 'fit in to a community' [D1.3] whereas C took the view that many people did not want to integrate [C1.11].

4.2.5. Summary of teacher's beliefs about learners

Although a language class, teachers' beliefs about learners needs were not based solely, or even primarily on academic language learning, but was that there were identifiable social needs that the classes addressed [B1.5, C1.11, D1.11, D1.5]. Some opinions were that these social needs were more significant than the language needs [B1.7]

4.3 Teachers and Theory

None of the teachers explicitly referred to theory in interview, indeed B's suggestion "There isn't a text book, is there, that tells you how to deal with that?" [B1.20] is indicative of ambivalence toward theory. C described how she had tried to employ role play techniques that had been recommended by her ESOL course and had rejected them, based on the reactions of her learners [C1.7]. A, despite twenty years experience, and having himself been taught three languages said:

> "As far as week by week activities go, they come out of my head. I was told really early when I was teaching that you need access to other resources; you can't do it all out of your head. Well I'm still doing it" [A1.10].

D was aware of AECC but rejected it [D1.14], with E preferring the resources developed with the teacher's group

> R: "What about the national curriculum?"

> D: "I also think between us, the resources we use are actually better" [E1.6].

4.3.1. Teachers and Theory Summary

In summary, teachers' beliefs about theory were that they reject the application of theory model, and were also not explicit in expressing support for possible alternative theoretical frameworks.

4.4. Teachers and Social and Institutional Agendas

Institutional influences are implicit or explicit agendas that position teachers or learners, such as curriculum, policies imposed by the provider and national and local social policy. Institutional agendas were posited as further potential influences on the teacher's practice, based on the researcher's own experience and understandings of literature.

The most immediate potential agenda is that of the provider, and here the unanimous opinion was that the provider had very little influence, verging on lack of interest, in classroom practice [B1.16, C1.12, D1.12]. While this strengthens the teachers' position to practice freely, there may be a sub-text here of disenchantment with the provider evident in E's response to the question about the provider which was "You're joking…no. Nothing…………..there seems to be no interest" [E1.11].

The second significant agenda considered was that represented by social policy and what the teacher's position might be in reaction against, or support for the political ideology underpinning national policy on immigration and language learning. Here the teacher's position was complex. Teachers were aware, as described, of issues of marginalization and for D, a significant motivation behind her practice was anti-racism [D1.13]. But there was no evidence in any interview that the teachers were politicized, or saw their work either in the context of a grand narrative of ideology or even that national policy agendas of social cohesion were relevant to their classes: the teacher's focus remained local and contextual. A described an encounter between two learners of apparently different cultures as an example of an integrative process at work in his class, but the emphasis was on the individuals

involved [A1.9]. C rejected the construct of social cohesion as irrelevant to her learners [C1.11]. E saw cohesion as a matter of integration into the community through individual social and personal processes that would be dependent on relationships [E1.8]. B while stating that ESOL had always been a "poor man" nationally was clear "I don't have any cause and I wouldn't try to influence anyone" [B1.21].

4.5. Teaching strategy

The understandings of teaching strategy that were sought in this study were not descriptions of specific techniques or methods, although descriptions of these were informative, but were principally focused on gaining an understanding of the aims of each teacher's classroom approach. A degree of coherence emerged through analysis, so that the teachers aims could be convergently categorized under two headings: communication and autonomy.

4.5.1. Teaching strategy: Communication.

Most teachers described functional communication, primarily developing verbal skills as a principal language aim of their classes [A1.4, B1.12, D1.5, E1.9]. For one teacher, the learners' lack of confidence was the most significant barrier towards this aim.

> B: "Language. If they're Eastern European, they're grammar and their writing is fantastic. Its spoken English. Across the board its spoken English. It's like pulling teeth getting them to speak in class"
>
> R; "How big an issue do you think confidence is, in this?"
>
> B; "It's the main one" [B1.12]

4.5.2. Teaching strategy: Autonomy

Another strategic aim that could be identified was that the teachers sought to develop autonomy in learners, albeit with a different range of approaches. A described his belief that "You know, in the end, they've got to learn for themselves" [A1.7]. C described how she

advised learners to use strategy in the form of notes round their houses identifying objects [C1.6]. D advised learners to use active listening on buses and in their daily lives [D1.10], while E sat inexperienced learners with more experienced ones, an approach which could help learners see themselves as not wholly dependent on their teacher [E1.10].

4.6. Reflection

In practice, the teachers substantially base their practice on learners needs as described, but further to that reflection- in-action and reflection-on- action are intrinsic to the work of teachers interviewed. For example, C reflected on action, used her own language learning experience to inform her work [C1.2], while D reflected in action, diverging from his prepared lesson plan to follow a naturalistic conversation, led by the learners [E1.9]. D talked about the "hands and on" nature of her approach [D1.9], and A constantly evaluated classroom incidents, noticing when things do and do not work [A1.7]. B talked reflectively about the need for flexibility in approach in a constantly changing context [B1.15, B1.20].

5. Discussion

This research suggests that to an extent, within the context, a similar set of beliefs about learners, relationship with external agendas and aims of teaching strategy emerged through interview: the teachers viewed the lessons not as just language classes, but also as sites of social focus, and the teaching strategies they use reflect this because the primary aim of those strategies is not to improve academic language skills but to encourage the learners to communicate. This does not mean that anomalies did not exist: given the complexity of data gathered, and the heterogeneity of age, experience and gender of the teachers, it would be surprising if there was complete uniformity.

However, this similarity within does not suggest that the beliefs and attitudes cohered to established or recognizable theoretical approaches to pedagogy which may form the basis of

practice elsewhere. Indeed, while there were some teaching approaches described that were consistent with Communicative Language Teaching (for example the encouragement of forms of autonomy, an emphasis on communication and some willingness to depart from prepared lesson planning), the teachers explicitly rejected the application of theory model and therefore the idea that theory, other than a locally derived or personal theory, was an influence on their teaching.

The emphasis on locally or personally derived theory also extended to the teachers' attitudes and beliefs about the social and policy context of their practice. Although the teachers recognized issues of marginalization, racism and gender as issues they were aware of, they either rejected the grand narratives of state level social policy (as irrelevant) or claimed to have no particular focus in their lessons as ways of addressing these contextual issues. Thus the teachers appeared to be aware of the contexts of their teaching but not influenced by those contexts in any focused way.

What appears to remain is that the teachers appear to rely on their experience which may, to some extent, be characterized as a reflective approach to teaching, albeit a reactive, individualistic reflection. There are two concerns if teachers do practice only reactively. The first of which is that teachers risk repeating the mistakes of the past. For example, in language learning, a number of approaches have arisen, which have later been found to be ineffective, or based on ideas that are inconsistent with what is known about language learning (Varvel, 1979, Richards and Rodgers, 2001). As some teachers draw on the internet (an indiscriminate data base) for resources the possibility arises that practice might be shaped by approaches which are out-dated or ineffective. The second concern is that some learners are, as the teachers have identified, vulnerable and marginalized, and research has drawn attention to the need to consider the effects of marginalization on learners in educational practice, because ill-

informed action 'on' marginalized people can have harmful effects, no matter the good intent (Thompson and Spacapan, 1991, Rose and Shevlin, 2004).

6. Conclusions

It is not clear, based on the available evidence from these interviews, why this research appears to contradict some models of what influences teaching strategy, or why, given the ready availability of theoretical frameworks, teachers in this context appear to believe that theory and/or political context are irrelevant to their practice. However, some indication of why this collective solipsism has apparently arisen may be derived from their responses when questioned about the ESOL provider for whom they volunteer. As reported, their responses indicated that the provider was not interested in what happened in the classroom. It appears that in this context, institutional support for the teachers may be minimal. If this is the case, then the teachers may be isolated, effectively removed from a wider ESOL community of practice, and therefore their exposure to new ideas may be limited.

A limitation of this report is that its conclusions rest solely on one research tool, the semi-structured interview. Thus there is no triangulation of the results which may affect the reliability of the results. To address this issue, observations of practice to assess whether the teacher's expressed opinions were congruent with their actions would represent an improvement in the design.

A further limitation arises from the context of the study, and provides the final conclusion, and recommendation for further study, of this investigation. It will be noted that the literature review did not include reference to previous studies of informal and community ESOL teaching. This is because, although major reviews of ESOL have been undertaken in the UK, little research into informal and community ESOL has been conducted. However, as previously noted, Government policy directly supports this provision, through funding and

ideologically, as intrinsic to its language and social policy goals despite this lack of research.

Further research in this area may provide some understanding of community and voluntary non-accredited ESOL, what learning and teaching actually occurs within classes, and therefore how and why, it is best supported.

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Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Schedule:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR TEACHERS.

Age

Gender

Ethnic background:

Do you speak more than one language?

Can you describe your role in the class, for example teacher, teaching assistant?

How long have you worked as a voluntary teacher?

Can you describe the type of learners who attend your classes?

What functional skills – reading, writing, listening, learning – cause learners the most difficulties?

What part of language – grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation – cause the learners the most difficulties?

How is curriculum developed in your class?

What do you think learners expect to gain from your class?

Why, in your opinion, do learners want to learn English?

What do you want learners to gain from your classes?

Is your teaching guided by a specific theoretical approach to language learning?

You may be aware that ESOL in the UK is the subject of Our Shared Future/New Approach/New Horizons policy initiatives. How much do you know about those initiatives and could you comment on whether it impacts on your classes or teaching?

Appendix B: Partial Transcripts of Interviews.

Teacher A.

A1.1: Background

Speaks French, Welsh, Latin. 13 months voluntary teacher in the setting . 5 yrs comprehensive school teaching. Ten years part time teaching at secondary and above.

A1.2: Beliefs about learners

A: "Some seem to be asylum seekers with various sorts of immigration statuses. I've had frankly gap year students. I've had long term residents in this country who have come here because they have married somebody from here. I've had people who have just been passing through, and I've had people, you know, whose reason for being here is completely unclear…..[Laughs]…..and sometimes that hasn't been by all means their only problem, but there you are…."

Researcher: "So as a starting point it's a very heterogenous……

A: Very

Researcher: …..set of people?

A: Very, very mixed indeed

A: I think all of them have some previous knowledge of English. My understanding was that they would be fairly advanced in their knowledge of English, and some indeed have been. Others have been scarcely more than beginners".

A1.3: Nature of Lessons

A: I cannot offer a coherent course. Every lesson is free standing.

A1.4: Language needs and confidence.

Researcher : Is there a way of generalizing what language skills the learners want to learn?

A: The skill of understanding what is said to them. Its difficult to get into the flow of a conversation. They're frightened of getting into a conversation that they then get lost. Its not a matter of being unsure of what to say in order to initiate a conversation, it's a matter of being afraid of what will then be said to you. And I find that I do insist that every word that's spoken during the course of a lesson is English and I no ruthlessly split up people of the same language.

A1.5: Teaching strategy.

Do you have a specific theoretical or philosophical approach to teaching in this informal setting?

A: This may sound more practical than philosophical but I do try to ensure everyone is included. If you have a very wide range of ability in the class [talks about specific learners]….. you've got to be sure that you give everybody equal esteem in that kind of way and make them all feel included.

A1.6: Reflection on teaching strategy: context:

A: [While describing an exercise where learners question eachother]. Well I asked an Italian boy to ask a question of , er, an Iraqi, veiled girl. He was about 19. I say girl, she was about 21. And she was somebody who was very good on paper, and she was alright when she was talking to me. But she suddenly went as if she'd never heard a word of English in her life. She could'nt understand what [….] was saying to her, she got all embarrassed and started giggling, so we never got as far as person 3 and I thought 'ah', you know, ' I have just sort of set a cultural problem that she cannot cope with because I'm asking her to interact with a man who she's never been formally introduce to , who she's not married to, who as far as she knows doesn't know her father or her brothers and he could be anybody', even though its this perfectly safe room in Hull with me to keep order in it. There's a big taboo there"

A1.7: On learners having to learn for themselves: reflection: teaching strategy

Researcher: How do people react to your teaching strategy?

A; That is something else you've got to be aware of when you're teaching in contexts like these. At school, the aim is to get as much right as possible. And so the aim is that if the lesson consists of an exercise that everybody is doing for him or herself, then the aim is to get 10 out of 10. And you use all kinds of means to do that . If you need a bit of help you might look at a dictionary, or as people now have, sort of you know, sort of cyber dictionaries, settings on their mobile phones which seem to give them the answer to everything. But in the end with this, the aim isn't for everybody to get ten out of ten because they aren't all people that are starting from the same point and they're not in a sense comparable like a setted group in a school with the sort of top set where they can do the calculus or something and the bottom set, well they're still doing one and one makes three. THe aim is that everybody should learn something from the lesson, right, so you know, you have to wean them off asking their neighbours for help so they get it right, and wean them on to asking you - you know the teacher – if they dont understand something, and letting you sort of draw the right answer out of them if possible, or in the end you've got to tell them. But you know, in the end they've got to learn for themselves. They haven't got to, sort of get it right by getting help from their friends, because in the end that doesn't help them to learn the language. All that helps them to do is learn the right answer to a particular question. When they may not know why it is the right answer. So does that make sense?

A1.7: Assessment: Reflection in action

R: Given that we have no curriculum, no accreditation, how do you assess?

A: [Describes classroom incident based on teaching of the word trust. He could not convey the meaning of the word "trust". So he got out his wallet and described leaving it on the table while he left the classroom. When he returned his wallet was intact]. They got it! You can tell

really partly by the expression on the face. Also by if they then use the word in a particular way.

A1.8: Autonomy: teaching strategy aims: context

S; {Been talking about informal nature of the classes and what can and cannot bhe achieved] Given the circumstances, its inevitable, erm. I think it has to be made clear to them [learners] they cannot rely on learning any language on two continuous hours one day a week. Er. They have to try to read as much English, to listen to as much English, and if possible to speak as much English as they can outside the lesson, and they must not worry when they're doing that whether they're getting it right or not. They must just plough on because they will always, I try to say to them, absorb more English than they realize. They are surrounded by it all the time. The trouble is that a lot of them watch television that isn't English television, or they listen to radio that isn't English. And that's perfectly understandable – if they can pick up Radio Kurdistan, they want to find out what's happening in Turkey. But I try to say to them, you know, do try to listen to and expose yourself to as much English as possible. Now I know perfectly well that particularly the Muslim women get very little chance to do this. And they will go home and they may not hear another word of English until next Wednesday. And I think, you know, if you're talking about aims other than getting people to speak other than the Queen's English, one of the hidden aims here is to get people out of – well for want of a better word, its not a very nice word – but to get them out of whatever ghetto they're living in. And make them feel confident about interacting with people they don't actually know. But of course there are huge cultural problems about that in some cases.

A1.9: Teaching strategy: Social cohesion: theoretical approach; context:

A: I don't tend to think in grand terms, I think about how we are helping somebody who is otherwise quite isolated to do. And some of the people are here because they're quite happy to be here. I had a gay Mexican boy for a few months who was just a gap year student [Describes the boy's personal circumstances]. We had a tea break on his last day, and when we went back in there [the class]. I saw him sitting swinging his legs on the table next to a veiled Iraqi girl and she was writing the word [boy's name] for him as a sort of memento in Arabic script. And I thought 'If I've never broken down any other cultural barrier, I've broken down about five there, and I'd done nothing to bring it about' [Talks about the boy leaving and saying farewell being quite emotional]. I do get a huge kick out of the fact that in there [class] there are nationalities who if they were at home would actually be at each other's throats. [Gives another example of animosity between Greek and Turkish people in their home countries, but says that two learners of these nationalities work happily together in his class}. If we can do that in an upstairs room in Hull on a Wednesday afternoon, we're doing something.

A1.10: Theoretical approach.

A: [Describes a couple of text books he refers to for guidance]. As far as week by week activities go, they come out of my head. I was told really early when I was teaching that you need access to other resources, you cant do it all out of your head. Well I'm still doing it.

Teacher B.

B1.1: Background

Female, White British, 20 years ESOL teacher. 3 years in the setting.

B1.2: Position: context: learner needs

R: Can you describe your role in class?

B: Part teacher, part social worker, part…. erm…….confidante. But that's an age thing. That's because of my age in relation to the learners who are usually 20 yrs younger than I am. So that's where that final third comes in…

R: Can you expand on this?

B: I think its because their lives here are so disruptive, chaotic uncertain and so in me they see someone who would be a senior elderly person in their culture…………People do lean towards someone who is older.

R: Do you like that?

B: I do because I like interfering in people's lives. I like knowing what's going on, I'm just basically nosy.

B1.3: Women: Learner needs: context

R: So you would'nt brush aside people's personal problems?

B: Well no, I've sat with students from here in , erm, the sexual health clinic down at …………. I've sat with them , I've rung up for contraceptive advice for ladies who didn't want their husbands to know. ….. [Explains process]………and they could do this . It was just basic health. Because they would'nt be able to ask for help within their community. For that type of help. They would'nt ask a peer, they would'nt ask a tutor in their twenties…….

B1.4: Context: curriculum

R: Do you think this would happen if this was a formalized class??

E: No. No chance. I taught in L and it was national curriculum. It was "Yes miss, no Miss". There was no relationship at all other than teacher pupil, whereas here you're like, you know your grandma, your uncle……….

B1.5: Context: teaching strategy.

R: It seems from what you've said there's another dimension to your work with immigrants groups, a social dimension?

E: Oh yes, social, yes. I like that better than anything else. …………………..The teaching's secondary to me, I don't give a stuff about the teaching. I'd far rather teach somebody to teach because then you're bringing everybody on. ……………[Clarifies that what she means is she prefers helping new teachers to develop.]

B1.6: Learning: theoretical approach

E: Unless its enjoyable, unless its social, unless they can learn to trust you…….just teaching them, its just………its just a small part of it. Is a very small part, I think is the teaching.

B1.7: Learner needs: context:

R: Why do they [learners] come to these lessons?

B: I think the majority of it is social because they're not allowed to work, they don't have relatives her. If they're in accommodation its usually complete rubbish. In the winter they're sitting in the cold. A lot of the reasons they come here is because it's light, its nice, we're welcoming, we can make them coffee and they're warm. So that's one bit of it. They come here because it's a nice place to be. Another part is they come here because they feel safe. We're not going to ask any questions, nobody says where's your passport, where's your utility bill? They come here in the beginning because people say to them 'You must learn English because if you want to stay here you have to learn English'. So they come here originally because they're told to by the authorities. And when they get here they think "This is great. I can have some bourbon biscuits, I can make myself a coffee, erm I can chat the odd girl up". …….They see this as a safe place to learn. I think learning is secondary to them, unless they're really focused.

B1.8: Theoretical approach: attitude to formal curriculum

E: What people don't realize is settings like this, people learn by osmosis. Things might be going on, A_ might come up but they're learning al the time, they're picking stuff up and it's just simple things.…..[Gives example of culturally appropriate behavior in England.] …in a formal setting they would'nt learn anything like that, they'd just be taught, you know, tenses and grammar, and that sort of thing.

B1.9: Women: relationship to national agenda

R: Asks whether B knows if learners progress to accredited programmes ' Skills for lIfe' etc.

B: No, not really. I don't know whether the majority are women or not, but the majority [of women] just have a baby. [Talks about how lack of crèche facilities mean that once women have baby they do not return to lessons.].

B1.10: Social policy

B; English lessons are bottom of the heap. They're not high profile. Its not going to make headlines in the Daily Mail, is it?

R: So ESOL is still de-prioritised?

B: Oh, it's the real poor man of all these,erm, schemes, always has been.

R: Just locally, or nationally?

B: Nationally. I think nationally.

B1.11: Context: learner's position:

B: But you see, by the very nature of the people that come to the lessons its chaotic because they cant commit because they don't know when they've got to see a solicitor, an immigration officer, a job centre, do you know what I mean. This is always, always the

problem with ESOL. And people have said 'Well they don't – the students – don't value it because they don't pay'.

B1.12: Learner needs:confidence:

R: Can you talk about the functional skills, the language skills that cause the most difficulties?

B: Language. If they're eastern European, their grammar and their writing is fantastic. Its spoken English. Across the board its spoken English. Its like pulling teeth getting them to speak in class.

R; How big an issue do you think confidence is, in this?

B; It's the main one. It's the confidence. I think because of the fact, of what's happened to them before they've got here, particularly if they've been held somewhere, their self esteem is rock bottom. Some of them are quite traumatized, particularly these young women are, you know. And I think they're quite happy to just sit there to just listen. It takes weeks to get them to read a sentence. Even if you give them a sentence you know they can read. They wont say it out loud. They'll write it but they wont say the words.

B1.13: Learner needs: learner context

R; Do the learners come with an expectation of how they're going to learn?

B: I expect they come with an expectation that they'd learn the way they've always learnt, but there again, lots of the Kurdish lads, lots of the people from places like Latvia, they've never been to school. They've never had any education at all so they're illiterate in their own language….And - whats she called ? - [name] the [nationality] girl . She's, you know [describes learner], she's never had any education at all, ever. And she cant, because she just came with a bit of paper with her name on, that somebody had written for her. She could'nt write her own name in [….].

[Describes that this also has advantages because learners don't have to 'Unlearn anything".]

R: Blank slate?

B; Yeah.

B1.14: Teaching strategy: inclusion

R: How do you deal with the variation of levels of education?

E: What I try to do is, say L---. Just give her work to do, on her own, but in the class so she doesn't feel left out. [Talks about some specific teachniques involving flash cards].

B1.15: Reflection in action; reflection on action

R; Talks about own experience of how difficult it is to assess what to do. Talks about how it takes time to develop the 'knack' of spotting when learners are struggling.

E; You just get that as you go along. I've had people sit through a solid hour and you ask if they're ok, and they don't even know you've said "Hello". [Talks about use of three different

classes to 'stream' people]. We're managing it so much better, but its taken three years. [Talks about how you have to accommodate everyone]. You cant stop people learning. You cant say 'Piss off, you cant come, we don't have enough room'. They've had enough people saying that.

B1.16: Provider: social policy

R: Is the organization involved in management of the classes?

B: Oh no, the organization didn't know it was happening. It's evolved really.

R: Is the funding related to outcomes?

B: No. They [provider]just need to see nationalities going on a data base.

R: So it is a constant process of negotiation with the provider?

B: Yes.

R: Why do you think provider is involved?

B: I think it's a case of 'this is what we should be doing'. Its just PR really.

R: Any influences in the classroom from the organization?

B: No none at all. Each teacher is free to teach what they like?

B1.17: Theoretical approach

R: Can you describe your teaching strategy? Do you have a specific theoretical approach?

B; No. I just teach them what I think they need to learn. The beginning is to teach them what they need to get by so they can go to Sainsbury's they can get a bus ticket they can get a train ticket. Mine is just teach them really, just living skills basically. [Talks about her current class]. Basically its teaching living skills with teaching grammar tagged on. I think with our group you cant realy apply anything in a mainstream theory because they don't fit in to ……..

R: …the categories?

B: Yes.

B1.18: Theoretical approach: reflection in action; reflection on action; context

B: Because my background is nursing and social work and ..I'm quite happy for things to be random because I don't have a very orderly – if I have a lesson plan, I cant stick to it. I cant work in that way.

R: So you react to what happens in the classroom?

B: Yes, yes I do. And you tend to just respond to situations as they arise because you cant plan for them anyway. [Talks about an incident where a learner had turned up for lessons having been the victim of a robbery]. So the lesson really was based around how to keep yourself safe, how to go down to the police station, what you report, what you don't. You could have sat up all night preparing the lesson, and it you know, its just not relevant.

B1.19: Teaching strategy: context

R: How do you plan lessons?

B: I plan the lesson on Sunday, photocopy it on Monday and by Tuesday morning you're probably scrabbling for some thing in the cupboard because the people – you might ends up with ten people, there might be three of them just with their names on bits of paper, there might be one like [……] who could do a Masters. And it doesn't matter that you don't have a lesson plan, you don't need it. They're just not bothered.

B1.20: Teaching strategy: reflection in action:reflection on action: theoretical approach

R: Have you ever been just floored?

B: Oh weekly, weekly. You just think bloody hell what now [Laughs]. [Talks about incident where two learners turned up drunk at 10.oo am and were kissing etc, but she was uncertain of the gender of both] There isn't a text book is there, that tells you how to deal with that.

B1.21: Theoretical approach

R: Do you have a general philosophical approach to teaching?

B; I don't have any 'cause' and I would'nt try and influence anyone.

Teacher C

C1.1: Background:

White British woman. 2 yrs ESOL experience. Learning Kurdish.

C1.2: Reflection

R; Does your own language learning inform your teaching?

C: it does a lot. I've noticed the teaching I did before learning a language is different to the teaching I do now because my experience of what I'm learning and how I'm learning, I'm able to give them tips and advice on help, so I'm giving them a lot more practical advice on the teaching and trying to, you know, match it to their needs better.

C1.3: Learners heterogeneity

C: You don't have the same learners week on week. I never know who's coming, whether they're going to turn up.

C1.4: Social cohesion: Learner heterogeneity

R: In what sense do the class consider themselves individuals or as part of a group?

C: I don't think that they have that kind of feeling of group cohesion, not really. I think it tends to be….even in the way that they sit, you tend to get anybody that's European, they tend to sit together on one side and anybody who' of any Middle Eastern, erm ethnicity, they tend to sit on the other side, so there's quite a divide there.

But its different because a different class in the same organization when I was with erm, B's class, they do work as a team and there is more mixture, so I think it might be different if it's a big class than a smaller class.

C1.5: Teaching strategy

C: I do two to three different lesson plans every week: one in case I get my originals from the week before, then I'm doing another that is a very beginner, then another that's slightly more advanced.

C1.6: Teaching strategy: Autonomy

C: I don't think they practice enough at home, I think they do their lesson here and that's it.

R: Can you talk about assessment and your teaching strategy: Do you have any strategies for either?

C: I don't do this formally. I've given them a list of things to learn at home, the next week I'll go through it. I start off by just doing it as a class and then if I feel they're confident, I'll pinpoint them and just ask. Because I'm only dealing with a class of five, I know who does what, erm, and so if I know for instance with their colours. If one of them didn't know their colours and they still don't know them, then it could be their memory, it could be that they're having trouble or it could be that that just haven't practiced.

And the strategies are I do ask them to learn things at home, but I find that they don't do it, so I have dropped back a bit on that. I have asked them for instance – this is things I do with the Kurdish [her own language learning] – write names on a bit of paper and then just cut them out and stick them on the objects that you're trying to learn the names and that's so effective. Erm, colours? Just draw the colour, stick it on your bedroom wall, somewhere that you're going to go, upstairs whatever. I ask them to do that cos it does make an impact.

C1.7: Theoretical approach: context

[Conversation about her class not liking 'interactive' methods]. I've done a TEFAL course where we did lots of interactive things . We were taught obviously to teach it and then to try to get them to, you know repeat that and then to try to get them to produce something of their own and I've tried to implement that technique, but it just doesn't work, they want traditional teaching methods: Teacher at the front, they sit round the desk and just get on with it.

C1.8: Learner needs: context; heterogeneity of learners

C: Erm, for learners who have to learn a new alphabet i.e. coming from the Arabic Middle east and having to learn a whole new alphabet that kind of approach, definitely the reading and writing is a big struggle for them. I find learners from the Middle East section of the world, if you put it from there, including of course Iran, Kurdish, Arabic, all of that and even going to Pakistan as well, they tend not to have problems with pronunciation at all , its very east for them to pronounce the words, probably because they don't have anything different in their own language. Europeans pick up the reading and writing fantastically, but they struggle with the speaking a bit more, not the pronunciation , just the grammar of English and I'd say the Chinese have great reading and writing, great erm, sentence structure grammar, but I'd say the pronunciation is a huge difficulty for them.

R: What I'm picking up is a complex situation, even in a group of five people?

C: Yeah.

C1.9: Teaching strategy: theoretical approach

C: I do have an ESOL template for teaching, when you're learning a language you should follow 'that' structure, so I do try to go on that path of development, so its building slowly. So I would start with that then I would look for beginner level things form websites, then intermediate, and the intermediate I might just 'dumb it down slightly' or build up the beginner a bit more.

C1.10: Teaching strategy: theoretical approach; context

R: Is your own teaching guided by any theoretical approach to teaching or philosophical approach, more generally? You can break it down into two separate, if you want.

C: For language, obviously I use whatever, sort of resources are available really. Sometimes I can re-use erm, maybe a resource from [another provider locally] and vice versa. I find a lot of the stuff on the internet isn't that great really, so I tend to adapt it. It's very Americanised as well , which is not always appropriate for the English. So I use it, I guess its just a case of taking it as a template and building on it, but again, where I know for example, with my, erm language learning that's where that has helped a lot because I know , you know, I started off by learning lots of nouns, and just general names and things. You know [gives list of types of nouns] just the general basic stuff , and then you start to look at your pronouns, you just move up a step at a time. That's helped my teaching a lot. I can see where they're at just by asking them certain questions.

R: So your theoretical approach, if I can paraphrase is based on your own experiences?

C: A lot. A lot. Yeah. It is.

C1.11: Theoretical approach: social cohesion: learner needs

C: And even philosophical, is a bit more complicated, but erm, I just sort of …I don't go in for this, erm, you know 'they need to be cohesive and integrate into the community because I don't believe that they do anyway. [Gives example of personal experience]. They don't integrate. The women don't learn English and the men have enough to get by at work. They shop in Polish shops. They don't integrate. So I don't believe we teach English for that reason. I believe its because if you're living in a country you need essential English to get by. And that's what I tend to , you know, go by.

C1.12: Provider: institutional agenda

R: Given the agenda of [provider], which is a community cohesion agenda, do you feel the organisation intervenes in any way in the class?

C: I don't think so, although I have been told that I need to attend an induction. And I don't know what's in that induction, and I am due to attend this week, so I will let you know if there is anything influential, but on the whole I do feel that we have quite a lot of freedom to teach, sort of as and what we want. I don't think they're [the provider] that bothered really, they don't seem to check that much.

C1.13: Social policy: women:context

R: In the city wide context, [talks about BME population growth], is your work related to the change? How do you relate your work to the "demographic" changes in Hull?

C: It is badly needed[classes]. Especially unfortunately with the women. The women are very under-represented, erm, and they just don't tend to learn, erm, or as much, erm, or you know to be accessible or available for learning another language.

R: Across, you find this across, er, different cultures?

C: Erm, that's a difficult one to say. I would say across all there's and underrepresentation of women, definitely. It seems to be men that learn more English, but I'd say Chinese women seem to be very into studying, very into learning English, so not perhaps for them. But for European, erm, and especially Kurdish and Arabic, there are very few that tend to come out, to actively seek you know that chance, if you like.

I know EsOl comes under the skills for life, but most women that come into the UK, they don't work. They just don't work. I'm making a big generalization, I know, but based on my experience of people I know, they don't work, it's the men that work and they learn English practically anyway in the work place .

C1.14: Context: Teacher positioning

R: If you have any additional comments?

C: Something that is interesting is the fact that I'm Muslim, a lot of the ladies, erm and some of the other Muslim people, they do tend to see that as quite a bonus. And then we do also have a bank of shared experiences relating to Islam as well, and that does help me to sometimes communicate things because I have that shared interest. And of course a lot of the Islamic language is universal to all countries so that's helped a bit as well.

Teacher D

D1.1: Background

Woman. ESOL teacher one year.

D1.2: Learner heterogeneity: Learner needs

R: Can you describe what you do?

D: Teach basic English to students of all different ages, and all different backgrounds with all different circumstances why they're here.

D1.3: Teacher position: learner needs: context

R: Why did you enter ESOL teaching?

D: The more I got to know these people, you know, they're trying their best to make their own way in life, maybe they've been persecuted in their own country – which a lot have – bombs going off, and circumstances where they've had to come over here. And they're thinking, 'Well, to fit into a community, how're we going to do that if we cant get the

communities help?'. And just by simple sentences that you can make them understand and just get by by saying 'hello' and getting someone to say 'hello' back to them. It just helps them when they're going about doing their daily life.

R:Can you expand on what you think?

D: I just think everybody's the same. It doesn't matter where you come from – you cant help where you come from. Why should'nt one person get along with another person just because they're from a different place? They can bring ideas to you like you can to them.

D1.4: Learner heterogeneity: women: context

R: Can you describe the groups that come to your class?

D: I think that I teach Eastern European, Somalian, Kurdish, Iranian….

R: In one class??

D: Yeah. And they're all different levels, it's a case of getting to know that person.

D1.5: Learner needs: context: teaching strategy: women

R; Why, in your opinion do learners come to class?

D: I think there's many reasons, but one being that even if they cant write it, or read it, if they can speak it, at least they can communicate with people. ……[Discusses some cultural differences]. To me its communication, and then, we'll address the written skills after.

……..[Gap in conversation]

 Especially the women, I'd say, more than anything else, because they're at home all day. And when they come out, maybe its just an hour, or two hours when they're on their own, they don't have to be with their children. Their husbands are'nt telling them what to do, and its their little bit of independence.

D1.6: Women:

K; Some of the men, as well, but mainly the women, there's no schooling whatsoever. And the first time they've been to anything like a school is when they come here .

D1.7: Teaching strategy

D: We start just by basic ones, numbers, letters, days of the week, and build – a dog, a cat- and then just building up from there into a sentence. And then say 'You always finish a sentence with a full stop. You start it with a capital letter'. So that's bringing a little bit of grammar in. Then we'll do an audio, where they have to listen to something, and pick words out or sentences, and see who's speaking to somebody else and try and form sentences. And role play [describes other activities – scrabble, bingo, role play].

R: So in class, there's a mixture of teaching strategies?

D: There's a mixture of everything.

D1.8: Teaching strategy; curriculum; inclusion

D: We don't follow no curriculum, its just hands on – What do you think's going to work for this week? What do you think we could try to get them all taking part?

D1.9: Theoretical approach; teaching strategy;context

R: Do you follow any particular theory for your teaching?

D: Its mainly hands on. I haven't got a clue what I'm doing on Tuesday until Monday night – 'Oh that'll do' . Or even sometime Tuesday morning, you'll think 'Oh we'll do that this week'.

D: So you don't have a sort of ideological approach? You'll adapt to each group?

D: No. Really hands on. Because you don't know if you're going to get that same person back .

D1.10: Autonomy

D: A lot of it is when they first come, and they don't understand English, and I say' Just walk around and listen. Just sit there on the bus. Just drive round the city and listen to people talk, and then pick it up that way.

D1.11: Confidence: learner needs;women

R: Do you think the people that come to class think of themselves as a group or as individuals?

D: I think they like to be part of a group . I think they struggle as well sometimes, thinking that they're going to be isolated, but actually taking that step through the door, and actually coming and seeing what its like. A lot of people are scared just to come in. Cos I say to them, you know ' Just come in, try it and see how you like it, and if you don't , don't come back, and if you do, come again'. Especially with the women.

D1.12: Provider; Institutional agenda

R: How is the organization involved in your class?

D: There's not a lot of input at all. It's a case of you go there, you do it and they [the organization] say that you do it [teach classes]. But actually if one manager got in touch with the other one to try and refer say ESOL to basic skills, you could get a lot more done. And download a lot more funding. There's just so many opportunities that they seem to miss out on. Just cos they don't communicate together. That's what I find.

R: They don't communicate at their level? Do they give you feedback , or do they say you should teach this, or you should be doing that?

D: No. They don't tell you what to teach, it's a case of you decide what you want to teach and get on with it.

D1.13: Social policy: learner needs: context

R: The BME population has grown, as you know, in Hull. How do you think our service fit in, or relates to the city?

D: It's a meeting place. There isn't I would say a lot available in Hull. Very behind on it compared to other cities. We need bring up quite a lot more, because there's just so much racism here. And there's no need to be. Well I don't think so, everybody should just get on with what they're doing and should should'n care what anyone else does.

D1.14: Curriculum; social policy; teaching strategy

R: Do you refer to the national curriculum?

D: No, because there's no funding here or no certificate – if there's something I want to use, I'll use it but other wise, I'll just look and teach how I want to really.

Teacher E.

E1.1: Background

White British male. 1 year ESOL teacher.

Note; Interview was conducted in a busy café. Some indistinct parts.

E1.2: Teaching strategy:

E: Normally do a little bit of research the day before. And then get it off the internet. That is of course if I wasn't [indistinct] anything that E had given me. Which I've just finished. I've just finished 'The Community' which [indistinct] split into , I think ten modules, which was 'Shopping', 'Travel', 'Health' and that went on for about six months.

E1.3: Learners context; women

R: Can you give a brief description of a typical class?

E: I can have six, I can have five, but normally, they all know each other. Usually, they're Polish and Latvian.

R: Male or female?

E: Mainly female, I would say. The males don't seem to stay. Ah, the males seem to come with their partner, stay a bit and then go again. Just to keep them happy.

R: So you think that's to settle them in, settle their partner in?

E: Yeah

R: Any idea what the males are doing?

E: Working

R: Working?

E: A lot of them are

R: When you see these guys come in, how are their language skills

E: Good, I would say quite good. If I had to I would say better than females.

R: Age groups?

E: I would say twenty to fifty?

E1.4: Teaching strategy;curriculum: reflection

R: How are you finding it getting resources?

E: Well, as luck would have it, I've got a friend who works in ESOL, as well as working in ESOL [indistinct]. I've got a friend who works in London doing ESOL as a full time job…..

R: Yeah?

E : …..and he's given me the whole website – thousands out there[indistinct]. We don't follow curriculum, do we?

E1.5: Teaching strategy: context: learner needs

R: As you say, we don't follow curriculum. How do you filter it, good/bad, what do you do?

E: I look at it first, and I think 'Would my learners be able to do this?'

R: Right, yeah?

E: And I think if they would, I give I a go.

R: So its related to your experience of your learners in class?

D; Absolutely.

E1.6: Teaching strategy: curriculum; context

R: What about the national curriculum?

E: I also think between us, the resources we use are actually better.

R: Why, because they're shared?

E: I looked at the ones form Hull college, because I do have some learners who are going to Hull College. They brought them in, and I thought 'That is rather difficult'. It was ESOL entry level, and I thought 'That is worded too difficult' . If it was worded in a different way, they would understand that.

E1.7: Teaching strategy: communication

E: [Talking about the details of the ten module unit he has been doing. Then E introduces the subject of accents]. Its one of my styles of teaching, I always make them introduce themselves and where they've come from.

R: Ok, yeah.

E: I say 'Where do you live now'. And the majority will go ' Ull'. [Laughs]. I say 'Hold on. Its got an haitch in it'.

[Laughter].

E1.8: Teaching strategy; autonomy; social cohesion

R: Do you speak to them at all about activities to do outside the classroom?

E: Yeah. I try and integrate them into the community. I say 'What is your hobbies?'…and….I've come to know Hull quite well now – I've been out of Hull for God knows how long, just come back, but I know it quite well. So I know what's going on….and………so I can signpost [indistinct]…swimming, do you know _____ Baths, swimming building, they don't know where the swimming pool is, but if we're doing a reading class and it comes up, I'll research it and let them know.

E1.9: Theoretical approach: communication; autonomy

R: Why do you do it ?[teaching].

E: Because I get satisfaction. …………I absolutely love it.

R: Do you approach it from any sort of theoretical perspective on teaching?

E: Conversation and chat is the way I go.

R: Right yeah?

D: Sometimes we go off on a tangent when we're talking and we'll talk between ourselves…………………..and while we're not concentrating on what we should be, we're getting more out of conversation and talking between ourselves.

E1.10: Teaching strategy: theoretical approach

R: How do you deal with the complexity of having different levels of learners in class? Do you plan, do you think on your feet?

E: No, I don't. I get one of my experienced learners to mentor them. I get an experienced learner to sit with them and help them .

R: Do you need some sort of framework?

E: I need something to work to…………

R: Like a platform to go off?

E: ………For my own benefit, as well as theirs. I need to have that prompt….then I can go off on tangents.

E1.11: Provider

R: Do you get any suggestions of the organization at all what to teach, or how to teach?

E: Off the organization?

R: This organization?

E: [Laughs]

R: [Laughs] Yes or no's fine

E: You're joking….no. Nothing. ………………..[Talks about a named individual manager]………There seems to be no interest.

The use of a case study approach to examine the construction of identity in an undergraduate dissertation written in a foreign language

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Abstract

My study reports on a case study of a Spanish native speaker's academic writing in English regarding his identity expression. I use Ivanic's (1998) framework on writer's 'discoursal identity'. I also included the writer's mini-autobiography and a semi-structured Skype-interview for an in-depth analysis of the writer's authorial representation and autobiographical self. This triangulation of data shed light on the writer's identity construction. I therefore also reflect on the use of a case study approach when analysing a writer's 'identity construction'.
Key Terms Case Study, Identity, Undergraduate Academic Writing

1. Introduction

The study of the self in social and academic contexts is a current issue in studies on identity. However, identity has different conceptualisations and can be approached from different perspectives. Its study has usually been approached either from an 'individualistic view' (Taylor, 1989), i.e. the essence, unique of each individual having a personal story; a 'social view' (Harris 1997), i.e. the individual's expression of the self using language constructed according to (a) social context(s); or a 'personal-social view' i.e. the expression of the self socially constructed but based on individual choices (Prior, 2001; Ivanic 1998; Benwell & Stokoe 2006). In a recent interview (March 22, 2012), Ivanic notes that many researchers tend to take a socio-cultural perspective on language without paying attention to the individuality of the 'self' as for them everything is socially constructed; however, she stresses that "every individual brings something different from their own experience even though the experience in itself has been socially constructed". I certainly believe in the self-representation of the person in his/her writing as being shaped by social practice. That is, as I

write this paper, I am representing myself while following the social-academic conventions of this academic community; my individuality is being (re)shaped and constructed by the academic practices I am involved in. Thus, I am confident that approaching identity as a personal-social construction will provide a portrait of the writer's discoursal construction in an academic context.

Identity, as understood in this paper, then, is the expression of the self in interpersonal relations; it involves an understanding of the self and relationship(s) as in part socially constructed, then expressed in the particular manifestations of a particular genre and in a particular social context (Ivanic, 1998). The analysis of the writer's identity in terms of 'self representation' is encompassed in four dimensions: *autobiographical self*, *discoursal self, self as author*, and (possibilities for) *self–hood* (Ivanic, 1998) (see section 2.2). Academic identity may be part of someone's multiple (fluctuating) identities. In their search for academic identity, writers need to master *academic literacy skills* as well as the *academic writing skills* outlined by the institutional conventions in relation to the particular genre they write in (Clark and Ivanic, 1997). To have a deep understanding of the writer's self-representation in an academic context, I consider pertinent to approach its analysis with a case study approach. Thus, the value of the present study lies in the outcomes of the methodology used and the depth of the study itself.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of my paper is to illustrate the value of using a case study approach to examine the construction of identity in the literature review and methodology chapters of an undergraduate dissertation written in English as a Foreign Language (EFL).

For the purpose of my study it is important to first understand how a case study works in analysing a writer's identity. The depth of the study can point to unrevealed non-apparent

identity features in academic undergraduate writing which can be later explored in detail in the same context or in other contexts by researchers interested in the area of academic writing, identity and a case study approach in relation to writing identity.

For a clear understanding of the situation and purposes of the present study, I divide the paper into four major sections. The first section presents a theoretical account of case study research aligned to studies in academic writing research. It closes with a summary of a case study devoted to the analysis of identity. In the second section, I briefly describe my case study and the data collection methods. Section three discusses the results as well as possible limitations. In part four, I conclude with a reflection on the method, its usefulness for analysing a writer's identity construction and pointing to implications for case studies in this area.

2. The Notions of 'Case Study' and 'Case'

Case study research has been referred to as a research tradition (Creswell, 2007), a method (Dörnyei, 2007), a methodology (Johansson, 2003), a research strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, Yin, 2003), and an approach (Creswell, 2007; Casanave, 2010a), and is usually placed in the field of qualitative inquiry (Silverman 2005; Stake 1995, 2003). I first explain my own understanding of what 'case study' is. In this respect, I share Casanave's (2010a) ideas. She convincingly dismisses the notions of 'method' and 'merely qualitative inquiry' on the grounds that many methods – both quantitative and qualitative – can be used in conducting a 'case study'; she then, suggests that a 'case study' "more accurately refers to a research *tradition* [italics in original] or an approach in which the object of inquiry is unique (in the sense of singular) and bounded and in which the researcher's interest is in the particular rather than in the general" (p.66). In sum, 'case study' is an approach to study an entity with clear defined boundaries (case and context are delimited and delineated).

2.1. Case Studies in Writing and Academic Writing Research

Approaching writing as part of literacy practices and with the aim of exploring textual identity(ies) in computer mediated communication, Lam (2000) presents a case study research looking at the internet literacy practices of a non-native English speaker. Her purpose in using 'case study' was to expand and suggest alternative visions of literacy development by probing deeply into one case and using ethnographic and textual analysis. By analysing electronic textual experiences, she concludes that identity(ies) is a social and generated construction of the self(selves) in social media network as the writer creates his/her identity in that media.

Case studies have been used to approach diverse concerns of academic writing (Tardy & Matsuda, 2009; Roca de Larios, et al., 1999; Casanave, 2010b). In relation to identity, Walkó (2009) illustrates the use of case study approach in combination with text analysis. She shows how case study and textual analysis can be combined to inquire into the writer's self-representation in the contexts they research. On the one hand, she uses case study principles to gain insights into the perceptions of two undergraduate teacher trainees in their research contexts looking at them from three angles: their 'classroom practices', 'research', and thesis 'writing'. On the other hand, she uses Van Leeuwen's (1995, 1996) framework to carry out the textual analysis. Her chapter vividly illustrates how these two ways of inquiring can work together to explore the writers' choices in terms of 'voice(s)', and subject 'positioning(s)' in their writing.

2.2. Identity as Self Representation

As noted above, identity has become a key construct in the social sciences as in writing (Block, 2009). Prior (2001) suggests that identity as a construct has had three 'moments', the individual, social, and individual-social. However, as Ivanic (2012) claims,

nowadays attention is still mostly given to the social. Indeed, Walkó, despite (apparently) considering both the individual and the social aspects of identity, devotes more attention to the social by using Van Leeuwen's (1995) social action model and exploring the participants in their researcher, teacher trainee and writer identities. Her study has shown how a case study or studies can be combined with textual analysis to explore identity in undergraduate writing. It is now my turn to see how useful case study can be when considering writer's identity as *self- representation*.

To begin with, I shall first clarify my understanding of identity in terms of 'self representation'. In 'self-representation' (or 'discoursal self' as it is named by Ivanic (2012)), "the writer has to deal with the interface between what they bring themselves and what the culture offers them and they make the unique choice". In other words, the individuality of the writer is present in the choices he/she makes when writing which are shaped by the social practice being carried out (e.g. the writing of a dissertation).

Addressing this individual-social view of writing, Ivanic (1998) presents her 'discoursal self' framework, which, as mentioned, encompasses four dimensions: autobiographical, discoursal, self as author and possibilities for self-hood. Autobiographical self is "associated with the writer's sense of their roots (…) the way of representing [writer's] experiences" (*ibid*. p. 24) in their writing which is socially and discursively constructed and in a process of continuous change. The discoursal self, refers to "the impression – often multiple, sometimes contradictory - which [writers] consciously or unconsciously convey of themsel[ves] in a particular written text" (p.25). It relates to the author's voice in the sense of how they want to sound and the image they project. 'Self as author' concerns the writer's voice as well, but in "the sense of the writer's position, opinions and beliefs" (p.26). It refers to how the author claims or rejects their authority in the text and establishes their presence.

Lastly, the concept 'possibilities for self-hood' is "concerned with prototypical possibilities for self-hood (…): 'social' identities" (p. 27) which depend on any institutional context, and in a way we can claim these are the impersonal possibilities for the individual since they depend on the social (discourse community). These four dimensions of identity are summarised in the framework proposed by Ivanic and Camps (2001), which points to linguistic realisations for carrying textual analysis. This framework (Figure 1 below) also corresponds to the three language functions proposed by Halliday (1994), *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*.

TYPES OF POSITIONING	IN RELATION TO	LINGUISTIC REALISATIONS	
Ideational positioning	•different interests, objects of study, methodologies;	(i)	Lexical choice in noun phrases.
	•different stances towards topics: values, beliefs and preferences;	(i) (ii) (iii) (iv)	classificatory lexis, generic reference, evaluative lexis, syntactic choice.
	•different views of knowledge-making.	(i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v)	verb tense, verb type, reference to human agency, generic or specific reference, first person reference.
Interpersonal positioning	• different degrees of self-assurance and certainty;	(i) (ii) (iii)	evaluation, modality, first person reference.
	• different power relationships between the writer and the reader.	(i) (ii)	mood, first person reference.
Textual positioning	• different views of how a written text should be constructed.	(i) (ii) (iii) (iv)	noun phrase length, mono- vs. multisyllabic words, linking devices, semiotic mode.

Figure 1: Three Simultaneous Types of Subject Positioning

Because I assume the reader is familiar with Halliday's terminology and approach, I shall explain the three types of positioning only briefly. The ideational positioning of

language "is concerned with representing: talking or writing about something" (Ivanic & Camps, 2001:11). The interpersonal positioning relates to the interaction between the writer and the reader, while the textual positioning refers to the construction of the text: "making the meanings hang together" (Ivanic, 1998:40). As the figure shows, the 'discoursal' construction of a writer's identity can be realised linguistically in a variety of ways. It is, however, worth mentioning that although this framework has been criticized and questioned for assuming a profoundly social view of identity (Atkinson, 2001), it provides "a theoretical basis and some practical tools for doing […] discourse analysis related to [identity] and self representation on student texts" (p.116).

Constructing a writer's identity in a Foreign Language (FL) context is a challenging task. As pointed out by Schoonen et al. (2003) and Kroll (1990), writing academically in a FL is a complex process due to the fact that writers need to master L2 communicative competence as well as respect academic writing conventions. Since thesis writing is seen as one of the most challenging tasks which integrates content knowledge, academic writing, researching skills, and the arguments of the writer to express their position (Bunton, 2005; Bitchener & Basturkmen, 2006), a thesis is an ideal piece of writing for analysing the expression of the student's identity. For this particular work, I worked only with the *literature review* and *methodology* chapters of the undergraduate dissertation. I chose these chapters as their communicative purposes have different functions, and ideally, the methodology emerges out of the literature review. That is, the Literature Review is meant to justify the value of the research and show what is documented in the literature (Kwan, 2006) whereas the Methodology chapter aims to describe the data identification, selection, delimitation, collection, and analytical framework adopted in the research (Nwogu, 1997). These chapters then differ from each other in the sense that one deals with the existent literature while the

other with the rational for a whole range of decisions of the study in the particular research context of the researcher.

3. The Case of an Undergraduate EFL Writer: Methodology

To analyse the writer's 'discoursal' identity in depth, I devote special attention to the study of a case: a dissertation[31] written by a Mexican EFL undergraduate writer. Below I describe the case and the methods used for data collection and analysis.

3.1. The Case

Ian (pseudonym) is a 24-year-old male from a rural area from the North of Puebla State. He moved to the city pursuing his BA degree in EFL and TESOL/AL at a public University in central Mexico. He is a second generation to complete a BA degree, i.e. his mother (and brother) hold BA degrees as well. He has a GPA of 8.96 and did not have to defend his dissertation[32]; however, defending his dissertation was actually something he wanted to experience after the long process of writing it.

For further background as regards Ian's 'autobiographical self', it is relevant to note that his decision to study languages was taken because he succeeded in his pre-university English courses, and he claims that the value of knowing languages is that it enables him to understand different views of reality. Despite his unsuccessful childhood earliest literacy practices (understood in this context as the learning to read and write) in Spanish, he recognises his early adolescence literacy practices in English to be rewarding. His autobiography reveals that the transition between his unsuccessful practices to satisfactory ones occurred because of the vast reading of literature (in Spanish) and the listening of music (English). His love for literature and music in English made him change his feelings towards

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[31] The Mexican context uses the word 'thesis' for undergraduate level, yet as I am writing in the European context, I am referring to it as a 'dissertation'.

[32] Students with a GPA of 8.5 or above and having not failed nor re-taken any subject can graduate by writing, but not defending a dissertation; if one of these two requirements is not fulfilled, the student must write *and* defend the dissertation.

writing. Currently, when it comes to writing academically, he claims he prefers to do it in English. In fact, writing his dissertation in English was a major source of motivation for him. His research topic was on exploring perceptions of literature by university students; a topic which already reveals something of his 'autobiographical self'. Ian demonstrated to be a strong student in his BA studies; in his viva, he indeed received recognition for his research and writing.

3.2. Data Collection

This case is taken from my larger, doctoral study. The data collection involved Ian sending me the electronic file of his dissertation, writing a 'mini writer autobiography/ and being interviewed by skype. Ian sent me his dissertation at the same time as the instructions for writing the autobiography (Appendix A) were sent to him; after a one-month-period, we scheduled the interview time. I sent him the interview questions (Appendix B) and a day later the interview took place.

I approach the discoursal construction analysis of his dissertation using the framework of Ivanic and Camps (2001) described above. This framework details the linguistic realizations of Ivanic's (1998) initial framework for the discoursal self analysis where *manifest intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity* are also considered. The mini-autobiography and interview complemented the analysis. Below I discuss these three sources of data in terms of self-representation.

3.3. Limitations of the Study

Although the methods used in my 'case study', i.e. textual analysis, an interview and a mini-autobiography, provided a comprehensive picture of the case, I am aware of their limitations. I discussed Ivanic and Camps' (2001) framework for the textual analysis, yet a

more thorough description of the other two is needed. Here I just point to their most obvious and discussed strengths/limitations.

For mini-autobiographies (which in this case, interestingly, Ian wrote in Spanish), personal 'voice' is valorised (MacLure, 2003), yet because it implies retrospection of the writer's early literacy practices, what the participant remembers and/or chooses to recognise as relevant is subjective. Retrospection also applies in the case of the interview; both the interview and autobiography were recently written, and as it has been four years since the 'case' went through his viva, his impressions might not be as strong or clear as they once were.

The interview I carried out falls into the category of 'semi-structured online interview'. Skype proved to be a useful research tool here (Booth, 2008), yet there are economic costs in purchasing the software to record the interview and/or a secondary recording device. A second limitation could be the stilted character of the on-line interaction compared to face-to-face conversation.

4. Findings

In the discoursal analysis (*ideational positioning*) of Ian's dissertation, Ian positions himself as a knower of his topic (literature) and research methodology (descriptive). This is noted in the familiarity with which he chose his lexis within his research topic in the dissertation itself, e.g. *literature, genre, text, knowledge, schemata, survey, Likert,* and evaluative lexis and/or statements such as this in his literature review chapter.

"[t]he main issue with the word "literature" is that people in a way is "scared" by the word "literature" due to the fact that they consider that literature is only in the scope of intellectuals but that is not true (...)"

The overall impression of Ian's writing is that he wants to show his knowledge. He expresses no modesty in hiding his views and his competence when writing. This was confirmed in his autobiography when he evaluates himself as a *competent* writer, but acknowledges not being a *good* writer. However, the analysis of the chapters' linguistic realisations (*interpersonal positioning*) show that he is more a 'knowledge teller' than a contributor to the field, that is, his writing is more expository than argumentative, which is probably expected in the literature and review methods. The degree of certainty and assurance is midlevel, that is, he just points to, but does not make strong claims. This has some implications for the study of 'voice' – a component of identity which refers to the expression of the self – at undergraduate level in the sense of 'authoritativeness'. Stapleton (2002) claims that undergraduate writing has no expression of 'voice'. Nonetheless, Ian's expression of 'self as author' in terms of self-representation (as conceptualised in this study) is evident in the way he incorporates his world view, culture and experiences within the topic of literature.

It then seems that Ian's most 'personal' identity characteristics are exposed in his writing without any concern; yet the 'possibilities for self-hood' seemed to be limited for him. Features of academic writing, such as impersonal writing, genre and institutional conventions, e.g. dissertation layout, seem to have had a negative effect on his dissertation since it was structured in a very conventional way. This is, though, the impression I got from the dissertation, knowing the dissertation genre conventions and knowing the institutional requirements[33]. To really appreciate whether these conventions put constraints on Ian's identity expression, I addressed the issue in an interview with him. He claimed to be in total agreement with the writing being impersonal, since he considers the dissertation as a formal

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[33] I am a member of the academic staff in the former's university. The structure of a dissertation in this context is pre-established by the institution. Students just satisfy the requirements.

piece of work, and academic conventions as rules which allow him to enter the academic community. Indeed, the textual analysis points him to be a well-established member of his academic community. At this point, I must refer to Casanave's (2010b) observation: a case study can entail personal involvement between the researcher and the participant(s), so Ian's interview responses might have been influenced by his perception of my expectations and convictions regarding academic writing (as a member of academia). When dealing with the genre conventions, despite Ian's overall satisfaction with his work, he expressed some non-conformity in his literature review structure. He felt the need of including more theoretical concepts than the ones he did. In the interview, then, he mainly points to a rather excluding/including and reorganization of relevant concepts in his literature review.

In the light of these findings, it is thus challenging to include in addition to a study of his dissertation as a genre where the surface organisation and text structure (Swales, 1990) are considered, individual factors such as lexis, linguistic patterns, rhetorical choices that reflect and construct the writer's identity Hence, analysing identity in thesis writing may reveal the interface between what the individual brings from his/her own, i.e. his personal choices and his/her choices made from what is permissible in this genre (understood as the conventions –academic and institutional - of an undergraduate dissertation).

4.1. Implications of my Case Study for EFL Writing

As reported above, it seems that this EFL undergraduate has positioned himself as an established member of his academic community. Carrying out an in-depth study of his case has shown how his EFL discoursal identity is constructed in this particular institution. The 'case' has pointed to the strengths and weaknesses of his study programme regarding academic writing practices. Certainly, the programme appears to be strong in providing students with ways of positioning themselves as knowledge makers; however, an evaluation

of the conventions is needed so that the students can empower themselves through their writing by making their own choices of organisation among other choices. I signal this as a call for attention to the institutional instances, yet considering the 'representativeness' of the 'case study' of a 'case', I also point to the need to analyse more 'cases' in order to test the wider applicability of these formulations. If these findings are evidenced with more dissertations, then major considerations regarding the writing of undergraduate dissertations in this context could take place which can benefit not only this particular institution but also other possible institutions which share similar characteristics of EFL contexts and undergraduate dissertations writing.

5. Conclusions and Reflections on the Usefulness of Case Study for Analysing Identity

I close this paper with reflection on Stake's (1995) words:

> "the in-depth study of cases helps illuminate the situated nature of learning to read and write, and the complexity of individual persons and the practices of literacy. It holds the potential to destabilise conceptual boundaries and contribute to new understandings of the concepts under study".

This quote addresses my research question regarding the usefulness of case study to investigate identity in writing. Indeed, as my study shows, the in-depth character of 'case study' in analysing EFL writer's identity sheds light on the particularities of the 'case' under study. The achievements of 'case study' in researching identity is the exploration and description of how a writer develops his/her writing discoursal self, paying attention to its four dimensions approached from different angles. The study has certainly challenged the analysis of the boundaries between thesis genre, academic writing and identity. However, something that case studies in identity need to achieve is 'objectivity', in this particular study in the sense of achieving the targeted communicative function of the dissertation despite the

individual characteristics of the writer. On the one hand, the objectivity of the framework(s) and the interpretations i.e. determining how a particular linguistic item should or not be placed in any of the positioning must be ensured with clarity; secondly, the personal relationship between the researcher and the participant (i.e. the 'case') might create some bias.

Certainly case studies permit the in-depth analysis of a 'case', the textual analysis carried out on one dissertation (i.e. case), despite being time-consuming, was manageable considering that I only looked at two chapters of the text. Textual analysis and case study can be perfectly combined; however, their combination may not be the most convenient when for purposes of representativeness the study is a collective case (several cases) type. The length of the dissertation as a target text, the complexity of identity analysis as self representation and the inclusion of several dissertations may suggest that case study is not the most suitable methodology and/or may need supplementary methods such as corpus linguistics. Hence, case studies may be best seen as only *part* of the much larger enterprise of researching identity.

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Appendix A: Writer Mini-Autobiography

Writer Mini-Autobiography

Write the story of your development as a writer - in both your native and second or foreign language(s). Consider your entire life, including pre-school years, and do not limit yourself to school experiences. Below are some areas of your experience to consider:

- People who influenced your writing
- Memories of successes and failures in writing
- Your feelings about writing (whether a particular text e.g. essay, thesis, is easy or difficult for you to write and why)
- Your strengths and weaknesses in writing

You need **not** write about all of these areas nor follow this order in your account. The purpose of thinking about these topics is to help you recover and arrange relevant memories.

Although the task asks you to focus on your writing history, you feel free to include certain experiences that relate indirectly to writing but provide a context for those experiences.

Before you start to write, think about the basic action of your 'story' and the events you want to include, the people you want to talk about in your text, and the *setting* (the place your story is located in). And finally, an autobiography becomes more interesting if you can show tensions; old vs. new writing practices, changing points of view, or interpersonal differences, e.g. family, school.

Feel free to choose the language of your preference.

Appendix B: Interview with the Participant (case)

The purpose of this interview is to gather information about the participant's perceptions regarding his identity particularly in the writing of his undergraduate dissertation.

I. General Questions: writing of his thesis

   1   What was your thesis topic?

   2   Why did you choose this thesis topic?

   3   Do you think you are personally invested in your research area/ topic? If so, how or in what way?

   4   What was the most difficult challenge that you faced when writing your thesis? Why?

   5   How do you feel about the fact that you had to write the thesis in English?

   6   Do you think writing your thesis project helped you to develop your academic writing? If so, how?

   7   Do you think writing made you grow professionally? If so, how?

   8   Do you think your thesis reflects a part of yourself? If so, which, or which ones? Why do you think so?

   9   Do you consciously and intentionally use any particular language strategy to express your own personality in your academic writing?

  10 Do you include your point of view in your academic writing? How often? Is there any particular chapter of the thesis in which you feel you do this more than any other? If so, how? If you do not include your point of view in your academic writing, why not?

  11 Do you feel any limitation when expressing yourself in your academic writing? If so, what sort?

  12 During your studies in general did you ever feel you couldn't include your point of view while respecting academic writing rules? If so, do you remember when it happened? Why did you decide to do?

Questions regarding writing in general

  13 What do you consider are your weaknesses/strengths in academic writing?

  14 In your writing, do? you write in *impersonal/first person/ third person –they*?, Why did you do so? Were you aware of what you were doing here?

15 Your thesis is mostly written in an impersonal way, for example what was found in the studies. Did you have any special reason for doing so*?* How did you feel about it? Are you happy with that kind of writing?

16 How do you feel about the use of passive voice in your writing, for example: two instruments were used… instead of **I** used two instruments…?

17 Are you satisfied with your thesis?

18 Which was the easiest chapter for you to write? Why?

19 Which was the most difficult chapter for you to write? Why?

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