USING ACTIVITY THEORY TO UNDERSTAND TEACHERS' ACADEMIC WRITING IDENTITY AND EAP PRACTICE

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USING ACTIVITY THEORY TO UNDERSTAND TEACHERS'ACADEMIC WRITING IDENTITY AND EAP PRACTICE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Educational Sciences

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ABSTRACT

USING ACTIVITY THEORY TO UNDERSTAND
TEACHERS'ACADEMIC WRITING IDENTITY AND EAP PRACTICE

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This research focuses on the specific identities of teachers of academic writing. Although recent research has expanded in the direction of teacher identity and writing teacher identity, there seems little attention to academic writing teacher identity. Using CHAT as the theoretical background, this case study examines the identities of four teachers' of academic writing, and particularly, their writing identity. The data in this qualitative study were three interviews and three lesson observations for each of the four participants. The thematic analysis revealed that none of the participants had well-established academic writing identities, and this resulted in rather conservative and normative views of academic writing. In the analysis, the teachers' academic writing identities were found to be based on four conceptions: the authoritarian nature of writing teaching, a language accuracy focus, a generalized view of academic writing, and a strong focus on text structure

Although the four participants largely shared the same conceptions of academic writing, there were found to be differences in their approach to teaching, and their potential for developing their academic writing teacher through professional development. One participant with a background in L2 learning and teaching, a post-graduate degree and some, although limited, experience of academic writing, was found to have greater potential for developing her identity as an academic writing teacher than teachers without this experience. Implications for development of academic writing teacher identity development are discussed.

Keywords: Conceptions of Academic literacy, Academic Writing Development, EAP Teacher Development, Native-speaker Teachers

ÖZ

ÖĞRETMENLERİN AKADEMİK YAZIM KİMLİĞİNİ VE AKADEMİK İNGİLİZCE UYGULAMALARINI KÜLTÜREL-TARIHSEL AKTİVİTE TEORİSİ ARACILIĞIYLA ANLAMDIRMA

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Doktora, İngiliz Dili Eğitimi Doktora Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof Dr.Kenan Dikiltaş

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200 sayfa

Bu araştırma, öğretmenlerin akademik yazım kimliğini irdelemektedir. Öğretmen kimliği ve öğretmen yazım kimliği alanlarındaki çalışmalarda son zamanlarda artış olmasına karşın, öğretmen akademik yazım alanında çok az çalışma olduğu görülmektedir. Bu vaka çalışması, kültürel-tarihsel aktivite teorisini (CHAT) kullanarak dört öğretmenin akademik yazım ve yazım kimliklerini incelemektedir. Dört katılımcının her biri ile yapılan üç mülakat ve üç ders gözlemi bu nitel çalışmanın verilerini oluşturmaktadır. Tematik analiz sonucunda katılımcıların hiç birinin köklü akademik yazım kimliğine sahip olmadığı ve bu bağlamda oldukça basmakalıp ve sıradan akademik yazım görüşüne sahip oldukları ortaya çıkmıştır. Gerçekleştirilen analizde öğretmenlerin akademik yazım kimliklerinin dört kavram üzerine kurulu olduğu tespit edilmiştir: yazım öğretiminin otoriter doğası, dilin doğru kullanılmasına odaklanma, akademik yazıma dair genel bir bakış açısı ve metin yapısına ağırlık verme. Dört katılımcı akademik yazım konusunda büyük oranda ortak kavramlara sahip olsalar da öğretim yaklaşımları ve mesleki gelişim aracılığıyla akademik yazım öğretmeni olabilme potansiyelleri açısından aralarında

farklılıklar olduğu saptanmıştır. İkinci bir dil öğrenme ve öğretme geçmişinsahip, her ne kadar sınırlı olsa da akademik yazım deneyimi olan ve lisansüstü eğitim derecesi bulunan bir katılımcının, bu deneyime sahip olmayan öğretmenlere kıyasla akademik yazım kimliğini geliştirme konusunda daha yüksek bir potansiyele sahip olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Akademik yazım öğretmen kimliğini geliştirmeye dair çıkarımlar ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Akademik Okuryazarlık Anlayışları, Akademik Yazımı Geliştirme, Öğretmen Mesleki Gelişimi, Ana Dil Konuşmacısı Öğretmenler

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This research was born out of my own interest in writing, and long-term experience as an English for Academic Purposes (EAP) teacher. It also emerged out of my adoption of the identity as writer and researcher. Like many teachers, I moved from general purpose language teaching to EAP teaching without formal training, but acquired an identity as a writing teacher through experience over time. The background to this research is:

- The increasing academic interest in teacher identity and writing identity (Ivanic, 1998)
- The growth and ongoing development of EAP as a field in its own right, and the failure of teacher education to keep up with this growth, often resulting in 'minimally qualified' teachers (Hamp-Lyons, 2011, p. 100)
- The debate in the literature over whether writing teachers should be writers themselves (Cremin & Oliver, 2017)
- My own interest in academic writing and EAP teaching, and my growing identity as a researcher and writer (Mumford & Dikilitaş, 2020)

EAP writing teachers are essentially teaching academic literacy, and for this purpose, they will need to be academically literate themselves, and knowledge of academic language forms is only the beginning of this process. To teach academic writing, teachers will need to understand the writing process, recognise various genres, and understand that academic writing is a flexible and changing concept, and that it is locally situated. In addition, academic writing has precise meanings, so is a key medium for their own reflection on practice.

There have been attempts to create universal theories of writing, for example, Grabe and Kaplan (1996) aimed to describe all aspects of writing and show how these interact with each other. In any approach to writing, a number of theoretical aspects will be relevant. Flower and Hayes (1981) note that writers have a range of goals that change during the creative process. Good writers switch back and forward between long and short-term goals, modifying each as they go along. Thus, writing is a conscious process in which many goals are formulated, rather than being a mysterious subconscious one reserved for intellectually-oriented experts. Flower and Hayes (1981) state that writing emerges as a result of interactions between three goals: the writer's purpose, the writer's knowledge, and the text itself. It is important to understand that writing, in terms of goal setting and achievement, is conscious process that can be understood and improved.

Other academics have taken a more locally-situated approach to writing. Miller (1992) emphasizes the local circumstances in theories of composition, arguing that, rather than looking for a universal theory, the focus should rather be on local differences. This approach focuses the local discourse community rather than 'master writers' or authorities. EAP writing teachers are dispersed all over the world, and so writing involves local variants of English, and with their own norms and constraints, which accords with a World Englishes approach (Björkman, 2011).

Genre knowledge is another important area of writing theory. As writers learn, they become integrated into a discourse community (Ramandathan & Kaplan, 2000), and any (foreign language) writing instruction should highlight the awareness of genre, which is a key component of a discourse community. Genre is socially-constructed; therefore an understanding of the social relations that influence writing is of key importance. Ignoring the role of genre could disadvantage those students not familiar with genre conventions; nevertheless, it is also important to acknowledge minority genres, as well as mainstream ones. This has important implications for teaching; to support students' efforts to join a discourse community, the teachers need genre knowledge, i.e., they should ideally be aiming to become members of the discourse community themselves.

Writing can show evidence of learning, but it can also cause learning. According to the genre hypothesis, writing according to a genre involves restructuring knowledge, bringing new insights into the knowledge itself (Klein, 1999). Another theory is that writers generate knowledge in the act of writing; Berthoff (1987) argues that Teacher Research needs the writing stage to turn experience into knowledge through deeper awareness and understanding. By taking language off-line, it becomes rather divorced from its original context, and can be reflected on to create different types of thinking (Olson & Oatley, 2014). This has direct consequences for teacher identity, as writing allows ideas to be transported between contexts, and reflected on in different ways. Academic writing, not reflective writing, is the focus of this study, but writing about student writing can directly benefit the instruction of writing by helping teachers to understand the writing process (Shin, 2003).

An important area of research is the distinction between *academic literacy* and *academic literacies*. The former assumes a single, prescribed form of literacy, while the latter allows for local variation (Turner, 2011). *Academic literacies* can act as a framework for understanding complexity of the field of EAP, which is increasingly becoming an 'eclectic and pragmatic discipline', with many different practices and multiple literacies (Hamp-Lyons, 2011). The complexity of academic writing is embodied in the plural term *academic literacies* (Lea, 2004), which should take into account factors such as the influence of technology in shaping literacy. This approach also recognises that there are different cultural practices, and that particular knowledge is given value in particular contexts (Lea & Street 2006). Also connected with location are political aspects; academic literacy may have different meanings depending on location and culture; as with EFL, academic English is likely to be better-resourced in native-speaker contexts such as US and UK compared to non-native contexts, e.g. Turkey (Lillis & Curry, 2010). The term *academic literacies* does not simply imply formal, impersonal writing, rather, it provides for a degree of creativity, e.g., different options for portraying oneself (Hyland, 2002). When it comes to dealing with this complexity, teachers of academic writing will be

influenced by their identity, including previous experience of both writing and teaching, and by social context.

Similar to the growth in the area of academic literacies, the discipline of EAP draws on an ever-widening body of research (Ding & Campion, 2016), implying multiple dimensions rather than a monolithic concept. Casanave (2015) takes a broader approach to academic literacy, seeing writing as a 'game', in the sense of a situation with rules, but these can also allow room for creativity. There is flexibility, so that when the rules are learnt, it provides a voice for the powerless. A socially-situated approach focuses on what students can, rather than what they cannot do (Lillis, Harrington, Lea & Mitchell, 2015). This focus on diversity sees different approaches as a resource, rather than a problem.

According to Lillis (2003), academic writing, currently regarded as monologic, should become more dialogic, in line with Bakhtin (1981), citing an example of a student who abandoned a psychology degree after being prevented from relating her studies to her religious beliefs. This approach implies that academic writing is not merely for information transfer, but is also a vehicle for self-expression. Similarly, for Archer (2006), academic literacy means more than being able to encode ideas, it reflects the social practices of the culture; thus literacy can be 'multimodal', and she argues that academic literacy can embrace visual images, spoken language and even humour.

Thus, while academic writing has rules, it is far from being a fixed, impersonal style. Being academically literate implies knowledge of all of the above: the role of genre, writing as a conscious process that can be improved, the scope for creativity within the rules of academic writing, and its increasingly eclectic and socially-situated nature. To be academically literate requires an identity that involves the understanding of academic writing for self-expression, and this, in turn, implies the active use of the medium.

1.1 Theoretical Framework

A socio-cultural approach is considered suitable for tracing the professional development of teachers, in that it accounts for historical factors such as personal experience, as well as formal development activities (Feryok, 2012). In particular, the main analytical approach of this study is Cultural–Historical Activity Theory (hereafter, CHAT). CHAT emerged from the work of Vygotsky and followers in the 1920s and 30s, is based on his thinking about the purpose of activity (Roth & Lee 2007), and has been used in various contexts in understanding teacher-student interactions (e.g., Patchen & Smithenry, 2014). CHAT can bring emerging insight from the cultural and historical context in understanding teachers' processes (Mak & Lee, 2014). CHAT has also been used to explore the role of writing in higher education (Russell, 1997), revealing how more experienced writers were much more flexible than less experienced writers in their approaches, and were able to appropriate genres for themselves. CHAT is therefore a suitable framework for analysing EAP teacher identity, and in particular, the role of writing in education.

CHAT was expanded by Engeström (2001), who built on Vygotsky's model, introducing a matrix of principles and questions to understand negotiation and change at different levels in a work context. The work of Engeström (2001) is particularly relevant to the current context because his four key questions apply equally to teacher and student learning:

1. Who are the subjects of learning?
2. Why do they learn?
3. What do they learn?
4. How do they learn?

Thus, this approach highlights role of academic writing as a learning tool for teachers of writing, both for reflection on their own practice, and for understanding the processes of writing itself. This research focuses mainly on teacher learning, but as this directly affects student learning, there is interaction between teacher learning

and student learning activity systems, in line with Engeström's (2001) third generation of activity theory, and contradictions between these systems have the potential to create new learning through their resolution.

In CHAT, the resolutions to contradictions are key moments in the evolution of new practices. Using the example of health services, Foot (2014) discusses how activity systems can influence each other, and how changes can trigger contradictions at different levels, and that, through efforts to reconcile these conflicts, stronger systems can emerge. This also has implications for the current study, because influences in a teacher's *writing* practice could bring contradictions with *teaching* practice that will require various context-dependent resolutions. The changes in teacher practice could be voluntary (writing motivated by personal interest), or mandatory (externally-imposed motivation). The resulting changes in the activity system may have important implications; a teacher's own academic writing could be considered a culturally-mediated tool influencing mental functions (Vygotsky, 1987), and thus, teaching practice and teachers' identity as academic writing teachers. Writing and identity formation is a continuous cognitive process, intertwined with motivation and emotions, which are intrinsically linked to cognition (Vygotsky, 1986). According to Roth (2007), emotions are closely related with identity, and have a key role in the workplace, and a person's level of professional knowledge.

In CHAT, teaching is regarded as a mediated activity; the relationship between teachers (subject) and students/learning (object) are mediated by aspects of systems, such as tools, rules and division of labour (See Figure 1). Tools here can refer to mental as well as physical tools. The strength of CHAT in regard to the teaching of academic writing is the positioning of writing as an activity that takes place with an activity system. Levine (2010) states that contradictions can create change in an individual's mental tools previously acquired from historical and cultural processes, thus creating new learning. Teacher academic writing, this research emphasises, is potentially a key mental tool, guiding teachers' concepts of both student learning and their own teaching, which can be considered the objects of different activity systems.

Tools may be in conflict; for example, the tools of course syllabuses and grading criteria may contradict a teacher's own experience of public and private writing. The resolution of contradictions may have a positive outcome, leading to resolution, and, ultimately, to teacher learning.

CHAT has been used in the theorization of both academic writing itself and the teaching of it. Russell (1997) points out that CHAT can help to theorise writing, which should not be seen as a single generalisable skill. He argued that writing consists of different genres, and these play important roles not only in education, but also in the world of work. Such knowledge and insights into the nature of writing have the potential to inform teaching, and emphasize that academic writing is not just the content of teaching, but a professional activity in its own right. Activity systems are dialectical, i.e., they communicate and influence each other, just as academic disciplines can (Russell, 1995).

Teachers' practice will be influence by their experience. Cumming (2006, p. 9) states that investigations of writing teachers should involve:

> the studies of people's long-term engagement with tasks to determine the development of their behaviours in naturally occurring social contexts. According to activity theory, people act in reference to the knowledge they bring to the task and the perceived objects needed to achieve their goals.

The focus of this study is therefore the teachers' knowledge of academic writing and the potential for cross-influences from teaching writing and writing as a teacher activity, i.e., teachers in one activity system (as writers) may borrow terminology, ideas, and actions from another (as teachers), and vice versa. Classrooms cannot be studied divorced from the cultural context, of which teachers' writing practices will constitute a part; i.e., writing emerges from the relationship between teacher, student and the cultural context, which involves both socio-cultural and individual aspects (Fisher, 2012). I argue here that these factors influence the way academic writing is conceived and taught, for example, the danger of contradiction between teachers' short term actions in the classroom e.g., to prepare

for exams, and their long-term goals. Fisher (2012) reports on the contradictions between teachers' own conceptions of academic writing, and external pressures, e.g. a teacher may be more concerned with creativity, but the institution may be more concerned with spelling and handwriting. These contradictions are likely to be exacerbated where teachers have strong convictions about academic writing gained through personal experience, showing divergence between personal and institutional activity, with implications for resolution and identity-building. Başturkmen and Lewis (2002) used CHAT to understand teachers' and students' differing perceptions of EAP writing success, pointing out that, in the activity system of teaching EAP writing, success can be interpreted in different ways, e.g. in terms of personal achievement, social acceptance, growing confidence or technical expertise. Lesson observation is an important means of understanding such classroom processes, but it should be remembered that the observation itself takes place within a context, so both the teaching and the observation, and the interpretation of the observations are culturally and socially situated (Lahiff, 2017).

Table 1

Components of the Activity System (Lee & Mak, 2014)

Components	
Subject	The participating teachers
Mediating artefacts	Tools such as teaching strategies, teachers' beliefs and knowledge
Object	Insights into teaching of academic writing, potentially leading to improvement
Community	Administrators, teachers and students
Rules	Explicit: rules set by the School of Foreign Languages Implicit: the values and culture of the school
Division of labour	Administrators, teachers, students

These components are connected to each other in the activity system shown as the CHAT matrix, seen below in Figure 1.

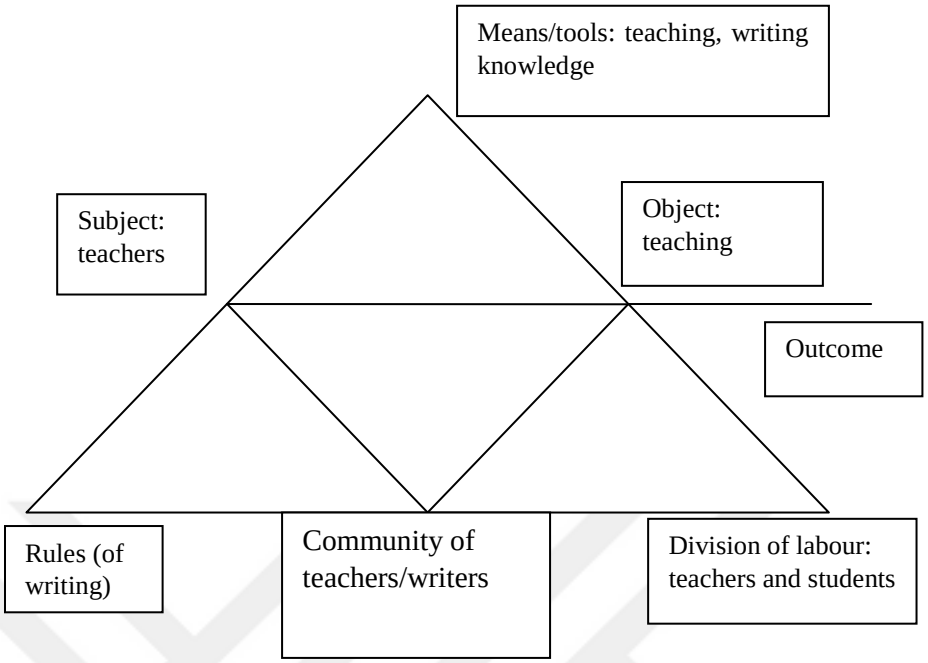

Figure 1. CHAT matrix for the current context

Figure 1 represents the context of the teaching of academic writing. In this activity system, the teachers are the subject, the students are the object, learning is the outcome, and the rules come from the institution, with a clear division of labour between the teachers, students, and administration. The community is the classroom/staffroom, and the tools are lessons, classrooms, computers, exams, syllabus and textbooks, but also teacher knowledge.

The relationship between the subject and object will depend on historical and cultural features (Foot, 2014). Some students, and indeed, teachers, will resist academic writing. Voluntary writing, in contrast is a self-motivated activity. Thus, the knowledge of academic writing can be a tool for the object to produce texts, but also the same knowledge can be used as a rule to force academic writing on an unwilling student (or teacher). Thus, any particular feature of the system can be a

tool (for voluntary use) or a rule (for forced obedience), depending on the context (Foot, 2014).

Systems develop through contradictions, and this can involve an intervention which triggers change in a system (an obvious contradiction in the current context is that the EAP writing teachers are not necessarily (academic) writers themselves). Thus, there is a potential contradiction between teachers' roles as experts in academic writing lessons, and their actual experience as writers. Teaching academic writing involves teaching about research and citation, and teachers are cast in the role of experts in the activity system of teaching, but may have little personal experience of these skills in the activity system of academic writing. Wardle (2014) argues that, in terms of Communities of Practice (Wenger, 1998), newcomers may reject some writing practices of their community if these are not aligned with their own identities; in this case, the process of academic writing itself may be alien to some teachers.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This thesis focuses on the issue of teachers as academic writers, teachers' attitudes to academic writing, and the possible benefits of teacher academic writing to themselves and their students. The idea that all writing teachers should also be writers has long been discussed, but with no definite conclusions. Gleeson and Prain (1996) found no clear link between teachers who wrote and quality of teaching, and argued that the relationship was complicated by many factors, and that teachers themselves often doubted whether their own writing made them better teachers. Although other scholars have emphasized a number of benefits for writing (Grainger, 2005; Morgan, 2010), Cremin and Baker (2014) note that there is little research to show that teachers' writing ability affects their students' performance. The research, they state, is anecdotal, and lacks rigour. However, research on the benefits of teacher writing is growing, especially in the secondary L1 sector; Wells and Lyon (2020) document a range of research that points to practical benefits of writing for

secondary school writing teachers: an understanding of the learning process (Graves, 1983), an insider perspective that supports teachers' pedagogy, and the ability to take the role of the 'writer leader' for students, leading to richer writing experience (Daffern & Mackenzie, 2015). The challenge is now to move this body of research in the direction of L2 writing in general, and EAP in particular.

The literature focuses on various aspects of teacher writing; as language practice for preservice EFL teachers (Atay & Kurt, 2006), as increasing creativity for primary teachers (Cremin, 2006) and creating empathy with students at secondary level (Howell, Hunt-Barron, Kaminski & Sanders, 2018). Other work focuses on the issue of teacher research writing, e.g. Berthoff (1987). However, none of these focus specifically on academic writing. Furthermore Berthoff (1987), notes that the whole area of writing teacher identity is very under-researched, and she suggests a qualitative approach to exploring experienced and novice teachers' identities.

A number of barriers to teacher writing have been discussed. Cremin and Oliver (2017) point to issues with confidence in writing and negative experiences. Xu (2014) lists the barriers to teachers publishing research, including lack of time, lack of support from their institutions, and lack of journals to publish in, and notes that the failure to publish undermines the motivation to research, leading to a negative feedback loop. Thus, some academics, as well as teachers themselves, feel that publication is not a necessary or even realistic goal for teachers. Cremin & Oliver (2017) note that some teachers believe that writing could divert energy from teaching and related tasks, such as giving feedback. Furthermore, writing may not be particularly useful if just undisciplined personal reflection, with no expert supervision or intended audience (Akbari, 2007).

Thus, there is a general lack of clarity over the benefits of writing for teachers, and also a lack of understanding of how writing identities and teacher identities interact, and of how this interaction might affect students. The academic writing literature has focused mainly on student writing needs, rather than teacher needs (Lee, 2010), and there seems little research specifically on the writing of EAP

teachers. EAP writing teachers could benefit from writing themselves in many ways, e.g. in the production of model texts for students which can be used to explain composing processes (Wette, 2014). Interestingly, while the skills needed to teach EAP writing are discussed by teachers themselves in Campion (2016), teachers' own academic writing was not mentioned by any of the participants. However, teachers' engagement with writing could contribute to a more uniform understanding of teaching writing. Atai and Fatahi-Majd (2014) found important differences between the cognitions of EAP reading teachers, leading to differences in cognitions and practice between content and ELT reading teachers working in the same institution. This suggests a similar diversity of practice in academic writing teaching within institutions is also possible. The aim of this research, therefore is to identify how teachers' academic writing identity influences their teaching practice, by regarding teaching and academic writing as interacting activity systems.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

The study aims to explore the writing identity of EAP teachers in relation to academic literacy, through an understanding of their history and personal stories of private and public writing, and their current approaches and attitudes to teaching academic writing. Taking a historical and cultural approach, it traces the links between teachers' past and present experience of writing, their conceptions of academic literacy and their writing identity, and these influences on their current teaching practices.

1.4 Research Questions

In case studies, research questions can be informed by theory, either explicitly or implicitly, as this will help to shape and delimit the cases (Agee, 2009). In the current research, the research questions are informed by CHAT, i.e., there is an emphasis both on participants' academic writing teaching activities, and their teaching and writing history, representing a micro and macro approach (Jaworki &

Potari, 2009), respectively. Given the lack of research on the relationship between teacher writing and the teaching of writing in general, and the lack of agreement over the need for teachers to write, this thesis addresses the following questions.

1) What are the effects of participants' past experiences (if any) in, and attitudes to academic writing on their conceptions of EAP writing?
2) What are the emerging EAP teacher identities in relation to these conceptions?
3) How do these identities influence their practice?
4) How is the formation of EAP teacher identity reflected by CHAT?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Studies focus on L2 student academic writing, exploring areas such as correction, language, and composing processes, but there are far fewer studies on writing teachers as (academic) writers themselves. The research highlights the need for a specific focus on EAP teachers as writers, to provide a basis for training, and better define their roles. Morgan (2009) stresses the need for EAP teachers to become more than simply technicians who apply a uniform, neutral language to content areas that are outside their field of expertise.

Ding (2019) enumerated the problems facing EAP practitioners; their identity is not well formed in relation to other areas of ELT; they are inadequately socialized through lack of specific training; they are not encouraged to research or publish because they spend their time teaching to produce profit for their employers; and research in EAP tends to focus on students rather than teachers. Thus, the teaching and technicist roles are emphasised at the expense of researching, creative and critical roles, in a discipline that generally has low status and lack of recognition in universities (Hyland, 2018). The lack of clear training pathway from EFL teachers to EAP teachers is a handicap, because teachers may be using techniques gained in general English teaching that are not suitable for EAP, and even those with higher

qualifications may find it hard to break past EFL training habits (Martin, 2014). In other words, EAP teachers' identity may not be fully aligned with their role. Macdonald (2016) argues for the need for the professionalization of EAP teachers to overcome marginalization, and suggests a range of behaviours and approaches. He discusses the need for teachers to engage with research and presentations, but interestingly, fails to consider engagement with writing. In the context of Iran, Ataia and Taherkhani (2018) argue for the need for teacher training in EAP focused on academic writing, and call for ethnographic research on EAP teachers' cognitions and pedagogical knowledge.

One way to address both the lack of research on teacher writing, and the problems related to EAP teacher socialization and identity, is to explore teacher academic writing practices as a key part of their identity. Like Lee (2013), this study takes a CHAT approach to teacher academic writing identity; however, it differs in that the participants were not undergoing formal training in becoming writing teachers. This study focuses instead on the relationship among teachers' voluntary (academic) writing practices, writing identity, and their conceptions of academic literacy. In other words, it explores how teacher writing may help to create academic writing teacher identity in a context where, like many others, comprehensive training for this is lacking.

1.6 Definitions

Academic Literacy(s) The conception of academic ability as either a single monolithic entity (literacy) or a multidimensional, ill-defined and socially constructed phenomenon (literacies).

Academic Writing teacher identity (AWTI) An extension of writing teacher identity applied to EAP contexts.

Cultural Historical Activity theory (CHAT). A theory of human activity based on the work of Vygotsky, which consists of multiple interrelated aspects.

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) teaching academic language, usually carried out at universities in pre-sessional or freshmen courses, with a particular emphasis on formal language.

English for General Purposes (EGP) Teaching of English with a focus on less formal, spoken language.

Professional Development (PD) Any activity carried out to improve practice, eg training or research.

English Medium of Instruction (EMI). The teaching of academic subjects in English, particularly at university.

Language teacher identity (LTI). A broader conception of teacher identity, from which more specialised conceptions of writing teacher identity, second language writing teacher identity have emerged.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This study focuses on two key concepts, *teacher identity* and *teacher writing*, and their intersection in the form of *teacher writer identity*. The literature review therefore consists of two main parts: the first focuses on aspects identity related to EAP teaching and writing, and the second on different types of teacher writing, and its purposes, whether to communicate, promote teacher learning, improve language, or boost confidence. Thus, writing and teaching are seen as different aspects of identity that influence each other, and as activity systems that interact to create *teacher writer identity* (TWI).

In the 2000s, *language teacher identity* (LTI) began to emerge as a separate research field (e.g., Pavlenko, 2003; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). This has since diversified into identity research in various areas, including teachers as practitioners, as researchers (Nunan, 2017), and as teacher educators (Williams, Ritter & Bullock, 2012). Other relevant concepts are *writing teacher identity* (Ivanic, 1998), and *second language writer identity*, which considers students' identity as L2 writers (Starfield, 2002).

There has been a body of research on the transition from general purpose to EAP teacher; Lee (2013) traces teachers' identity shift from language teacher to writing teacher, in which the focus of teaching shifts away from grammar and vocabulary towards genre and purpose. Alexander (2012) emphasizes the difficulties

in making this transition, which requires reflection on beliefs, discussion of teaching narratives, and a shift in focus from language to key academic writing concepts such as genre.

Writing as a teacher activity has the potential to influence identity. Past writing experience, whether positive or negative, will impact identity, and thus teaching practice. Similarly, current opportunities and support for teacher writing, if available, can have a variety of benefits. Thus, it is important to understand how writing brings benefits and influences identity.

2.2 Academic Literacy

Arguably, the central aim of going to university is to acquire *academic literacy*, described by Leki (2007) as 'the activity of interpretation and production of academic and discipline-based texts'. Inculcating academic literacy is the aim of academic writing classes at university, although it is difficult to show that teaching leads to direct improvement. Wingate (2015) points out the narrow definition of academic literacy that is applied to international students in the US, which focuses on language accuracy and rhetorical skills, and contrasts it with a wider definition, which focuses on communicative competence in a Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998) for second language writers. She argues that the restricted definition of academic literacy may in fact be harmful if it prevents wider achievement.

Academic literacy is not gained purely in language classes. It is also gained in through content classes, and through other less formal interactions at the university via the networks of individual students (Zappa-Hollman & Duff, 2015). Academic literacy is different from literacy learned at secondary school; advanced academic literacy implies the ability to persuade readers, is acquired over time, and requires an explicit and sophisticated knowledge (Tardy, 2005). Thus, the acquisition of academic literacy is the key to many aspects discussed in this section: the ability to

transform knowledge through academic writing, to adopt writer identity, and gain recognition as an authority.

2.3 Benefits of Writing in Teacher Education

Much has been written on the benefits of writing for teachers, covering a wide range, from to more personal, such as improved language skills, to the more social, such as gaining recognition in the community of writers. Thus, writing has the potential to support teacher education beyond language skills, increasing teachers' status, and deepening their knowledge of composition processes.

2.3.1 Writing as a tool for teacher learning. In the US, the National Writing Project (NWP) was an approach to teacher development that emphasized teacher-oriented, bottom-up approaches rather than (generally less successful) top-down approaches, and recognised the value of teachers' experience in their development through writing (Liebermann & Wood, 2003). It is suggested writing was a growing trend in teacher development, but still a minority activity, more common among those with post-graduate degrees in the tertiary sector. Tedrow (2016) argues that the emphasis on writing in the title of the NWP may be confusing because it points to language arts as being the main benefit. In contrast, she emphasizes writing as a tool to deepen learning, and integrate writing into teachers' discussion of practice. Thus it is important to emphasise writing as a tool for learning, rather than an end in itself, while acknowledging that the final product can have a great motivating potential, especially if published.

There is no equivalent to the NWP in such a culturally diverse and geographically distributed profession as English Language Teaching; however, interest in teacher writing in the sector is growing. Rathert and Okan (2015) report a number of immediate and long-term benefits. Immediate benefits are the ability to reflect, the exchange of ideas, and reshaping classroom practice, and longer term benefits are joining a Community of Practice, gaining authority, greater empowerment and satisfaction, and a possible new career direction.

Writing can shape knowledge, especially dialogic writing. This can be done face-to-face or online, at conferences, at school, or anywhere where people meet. Collaborative writing can be especially effective, as peers can learn from each other. Peer feedback is mainly associated with student learning, but it is equally applicable to teacher learning. Vygotsky highlights the role of peers in mediating learning in the Zone of Proximal Development, i.e., areas of learning that are in the process of development (Villamil & de Guerrero, 2006). Peer feedback can promote informal teacher learning, which will be important where mentor support may be limited or non-existent. Collaboration between peers can take the form of writing up teacher research (Dikilitaş & Mumford, 2016), amongst many other types. Through collaboration, non-native speakers can reap the benefits that L2 learners enjoy, including consolidating existing knowledge through talking about language, creating more accurate texts, and even learning new language items (Storch, 2011).

Writing allows for deeper thinking, and intellectual creation of new meaning. There are clear parallels between the development of teachers' and students' creative abilities. Teachers face similar challenges in writing as their students (Cremin, 2006); however, all teachers can learn to develop creativity, and writing about teaching experiences can lead to new understandings of pedagogical issues, and the identification of solutions.

Professional development at workshops and meetings has traditionally involved speaking and listening activities, but writing has the potential to provide different benefits because it allows *knowledge transforming* (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987). A more complex form of writing than *knowledge telling*, knowledge transforming allows for the constant growth of knowledge through the interaction between writer and text. Furthermore, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1987, p. 12) point out that, although a complex process, *knowledge transforming* needs no special training, just effort and motivation. Other models of writing similarly emphasize the complexity of the process, and the benefits. Hayes and Flower (1980) highlight that writing requires a much deeper level of processing than speaking; writing involves

three main stages: planning, translating and reviewing, and constant interaction is need between these, especially the planning and translating stages.

2.3.2 Writing for publication. Writing itself is seen as having multiple benefits, beyond those relating to directly to improvements in the use of language or the understanding of the process of text creation. According to Wong (2014), there are three benefits of teachers' writing for publication: making knowlege explicit, a better understanding of learning, and becoming recognised as writers. Writing for reflection can be used to improve all aspects of teaching, not just of writing. Most teachers will have to do some form of writing. Any new position applied for will potentially involve writing, whether filling in an application form, or writing about teaching beliefs. As the profession becomes more competitive, the benefits of writing, especially writing for publication, are becoming clearer. As well as intrinsic motivations, such as increased satisfaction and knowledge, writing has the potential to bring extrinsic benefits, such as improved appraisal performance, promotion, status, financial rewards, and other benefits, such as conference sponsorship (Rathert & Okan, 2015). Academic publication reflects well on the author's institution in university rankings, and therefore is in the institution's interest to promote it.

It might be thought that with such benefits, more teachers would be writers. Unfortunately, currently, the lack of publication opportunities can result in writers giving up if faced with repeated rejection from journals (Xu, 2014). It may be particularly difficult for practitioners in the competitive world of academic publishing. However, there are currently efforts to increase opportunities, particularly through local and institution initiatives, sometimes published by international teacher organisations such as IATEFL (Dikilitaş, Wyatt, Hanks & Bullock, 2016; Burns, Dikilitaş, Smith & Wyatt, 2017; Barkhuizen, Burns, Dikilitaş & Wyatt, 2018), and sometimes through mainstream publishers (Dikilitaş & Hanks, 2018). The internet has also brought website publishing and personal websites and blogs. More outlets mean more opportunities to publish, but teachers need support in this process. While all writing is potentially beneficial, writing for publication has greater benefits, in terms of motivation, recognition and status. It can develop

teachers' views of themselves as writers, and thus, as authorities, contributing to the formation of teacher writing identity.

2.3.3 Other benefits of writing. The connection between L1 teachers' writing and their performance as (L1) writing teachers is well-established (Grainger, 2005). Morgan (2010, p. 352) directly states that 'teachers need to write in order to become effective writing teachers', and suggests that teachers who have poor self-images as writers will be disadvantaged. While all teachers should learn how to write formally, structure and edit pieces of writing, for non-native speaker teachers, improvement in the target language itself will be an additional aim.

Cremin (2015) proposes two models, teacher-writers, who write texts and tasks for their students, and writer-teachers, who write to explore their own attitudes. Cremin (2015) concluded that being a writer has the potential to give teachers insights into the challenges faced by student writers, and the ability to reflect on the writing process, but notes that many pre-service and practicing teachers are reluctant to write even in L1, and have negative experiences and self-image in this area. Thus, to improve their practice, writing teachers should be encouraged to carry out the tasks they set their students, to gain insight into composition processes. Howell, Hunt-Barron, Kaminski, and Sanders (2018) emphasize the benefits of teachers' struggle with argumentative writing in terms of empathy with students, and the motivation gained as a result of seeing consequent improvement in their students.

2.4 Writing and Teacher Identity

Pennington (2015) describes identity as those characteristics which define a person, which are internal to the individual, but situated in a social context, and teacher identity additionally concerns the kind of knowledge acquired, and one's view of oneself in relation to students and administrators. Studies on teacher identity have focused on Lave and Wenger's Community of Practice (CoP) approach (Cobb, Harlow & Clark, 2018; Yazan, 2018), which propose that identity is formed through

long-term engagement with a community, i.e., a group working towards a common goal. Identity is a key issue in learning; learning takes place through negotiation of meaning in a CoP, which leads to identity formation. This approach to identity draws not just on professional experience, but also personal life experiences (Bukor, 2015). In this view, teachers' attitudes to writing, and their writing identity originate not only from their professional experience, but other influences, including education and family background. Racelis and Matsuda (2015), and Matsuda (2017) underline increasing academic interest in L2 writing teacher identity, which occurs at the intersection of two identities, language teacher identity (LTI), and writing teacher identity. As the field of L2 writing has emerged, teacher knowledge in the area has become a research topic. Leki, Cumming and Silva (2006) note the growing research into the process of teaching writing and the education of writers, with a focus on how to teach writing processes and text forms.

Against this background, this thesis aims to investigate teacher attitudes to EAP writing, and explore the interactions between academic writer identity and teacher identity, aiming to shed light on the identity of L2 academic writing teachers. Teacher identity is highly complex (Varghese, Morgan, Johnson & Johnson 2005; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). In the current context, it is further complicated by its interaction with writer identity (Ivanic, 1998) and in L2 contexts, second language writer identity (Starfield, 2002).

Identity, including writing identity, is not a static or single concept, but contains multiple identities within it. Park (2013) argues that writing identity contains an autobiographical self and a discoursal self; discoursal self refers the self that is presented to the reader, and therefore changes according to context, while the autobiographical self will be influenced by first/second language interactions, and individuals' own L1 writing instruction at school (Uysal, 2008). From the English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) perspective, if students are using English specifically for academic writing for international communication, it is important to consider norms other than native speakers (Bjorkmann, 2011). Thus, writing identity of EAP teachers will be affected by their first language, as well as the wider cultural context.

Identity as a teacher will also be influenced by the local academic culture, and its native language, in this case of this study, Turkish. Thus, the native language is likely to have some effect on attitudes to teaching and (academic) writing (Duszak, 1997). As well as native language, academic writing teacher identity is also influenced by educational background, current writing practices and local context. In addition, identity can be further divided into *narrated* and *enacted* identity, corresponding to what teachers say about themselves and what they do: in line with calls for the investigation of both (Lee, 2013), this thesis investigates teachers reports of themselves (interviews) and their teaching behaviour lesson (observations).

2.4.1 Constructing a teacher writing identity. There is a difference between teacher writing identity and writing teacher identity. Writing teacher identity focuses on the identity as writing teacher as separate from teacher identity, with its own features, but which does not necessarily imply that the teacher is a writer. In this view, writing teachers are seen as having an identity emerging from their beliefs and training, and the adoption of a specific language style (Lee, 2013). On the other hand, in teacher writing identity, the focus of this section, considers the teacher as writer. Rathert and Okan (2015) found benefits such as increased satisfaction, feeling part of a community of practitioners, and developing reflective and research skills. They emphasized that teachers reported that the aim of writing for teachers was not to become full time writers, but to inform peers of what they learnt, bringing benefits both to colleagues and the wider community. Thus, teachers may form identities as writers which exist separately but in parallel to their teacher identities, and these identities may influence each other.

Writing, and publishing in particular, can give teachers a sense of authority, an exercise their fundamental right to be heard and recognised as authorities; Whitney, Zuidema and Fredericksen (2014), state that “teachers who may not have imagined themselves as writers, as public speakers, or as professionals with something to say came to understand that they can speak and write with authority about their work.”(p. 70). However, teachers may be reluctant to write because they perceive themselves as lacking authority. Compared to academic researchers, they may feel that their

experience and impressions lack value. This raises the issue of promoting academic writing as a teacher development strategy. As a professional development activity, it would meet the criteria for teacher development argued by Desimone (2009): (a) *content focus*, (b) *active learning*, (c) *coherence*, (d) *duration*, and (e) *collective participation*. Collaboration is desirable, but even on an individual basis, public writing and publication can lead to a sense of being part of a community. Writing is empowering, leading to dissemination, potentially leading to integration into a community, bringing the opportunity to participate in ongoing discussions and emerging ideas and perspectives. Thus, despite the difficulties, teacher writing is emerging as a form of professional development.

Another aspect of teacher writing that has received less attention is 'everyday professional writing', i.e., writing carried out as part of the job. Lea and Stierer (2009) argue that this is also identity work, contributes to teachers' reflections of themselves, and that resulting documents are important to the development of academics' identities. In the current study, these will include writing testing and teaching materials, but also emails and meeting reports.

2.4.2 Student writer identity. This section addresses the issue of student writing, but much will be relevant to writing teachers, many of who themselves will be novice academic writers, and thus, students of writing. It is important to understand how students construct their identity as writers (Ivanic, 1998). Recent scholarship on academic writing has shifted the emphasis away from a deficit model to an analysis of the process of gaining academic literacies. It is considered important to gain insights from students, the key stakeholders in academic writing instruction, who are often overlooked in the process of designing programs (Benzie, Pryce & Smith, 2017).

Written self-expression is a highly desirable asset in the view of employers but it is not clear how far students are aware of this, or how far it is a factor in motivation towards writing in their early academic career (Krause, 2001). There are many

influences on students' attitude to writing. Fernsten and Reda (2011), contend that "writer self-awareness provides students with a better understanding of the writing process, additional tools with which to attempt writing assignments, and greater confidence to move through the multiple literacy tasks of the academy and beyond" (p. 181). According to Fernsten and Reda (2011, p.177), every writer has the power to change their self-perception, identities are not fixed. Rather than dismissing themselves as merely 'bad writers', students should learn to see themselves as writers undergoing struggle and conflict. Motivation will play a key role in how successfully students manage this process. Motivation, in turn, will also be affected by cognitive abilities, and also the value given to writing in particular social, cultural and educational setting (Kormos, 2012). Thus, the adoption of a student academic writing identity will depend on the educational context, and how far this supports their confidence and self-awareness as writers, but also their understanding of the value of writing for the future. This underlines the importance of the link between students' and teachers' writing identities, due to the latter's position as role model, i.e., students are likely to adopt the teacher's conceptions of academic literacy.

Another relevant strand in the literature is research into the freshmen year at English Medium Instruction (EMI) universities, which is seen as a key stage in the development of academic writing ability. Crostwaite (2016) found significant improvement in academic writing in the course of one semester in freshmen students in Hong Kong, suggesting that progress is possible even when students are additionally engaged in their departmental studies. He also found that this is a key period for the adjustment from the demands of secondary academic writing to the demands of university. Also in Hong Kong, Evans and Morrison (2011) found that writing was the greatest challenge in EAP for freshmen students. A major challenge was producing specific genres for which their previous education had not prepared them, but that these goals were achievable in the first term. Especially relevant to the current study, in the context of Turkey, Kırkgöz (2015) reported progress in moving a freshmen academic writing course towards integration into a discourse community in the field of Economics, through students providing written answers to questions that paralleled those in the target discourse community. Understanding academic

writing as a social process, connected with cultural aspects and integration into the L2 community is likely to be important for especially highly motivated students in the freshmen year (Suzuki, 2014). EMI in Turkey and elsewhere requires faculty staff with language skills, but also subject and pedagogical content knowledge (Selvi, 2014) and the capacity to publish in English (Koç, 2020). This thesis addresses the issue of how far these competencies need to be extended to EAP lecturers, bearing in mind their status as staff of the School of Foreign Languages, rather than faculty staff.

2.4.3 The role of EAP teacher writing identity. Most teachers enter EAP from the field of English as a Foreign Language/English for General Purposes (EFL/EGP). Two main factors will influence an EAP teacher's practice: their past experience and their present conceptions of EAP. First, the length and quality of their pre-EAP (i.e., EGP) teaching will affect a teacher's identity (Li & Wang, 2018); the longer the experience of EGP, with its strong emphasis on speaking, the more difficult it will be to make the transition to EAP identity. Second, EAP teachers are likely to perceive their roles in different ways. Ascribed roles are 1) teachers who see their role as purely inducting students into the academic world, 2) teachers who regard EAP itself as a research discipline (Ding & Bruce, 2017). The latter group are more likely to regard themselves as researchers and have post-graduate degrees. A research background naturally leads to a more developed academic writing identity, with implications for both teacher and writer identity.

Writing is the key academic skill, at the heart of university life, and it is important to understand its complexity, rather than seeing it as a generic skill (Hyland, 2013). Many of the characteristics of student academic writers discussed above will also apply to teachers, in terms of how they regard academic writing, and their perceptions of themselves as (in)effective writers. Without a well-developed writing identity, when faced with this complexity, teachers may focus on surface features, and thus not be able to offer realistic insights into the nature of academic writing.

2.5 Current Issues in EAP writing affecting identity

As noted, EAP in an emerging field, and there is a lack of agreement over many aspects. It is important to consider these, as a teachers' response to these issues will be determined by their academic writing identity. This section considers three themes in the literature, the debate over the need for a focus on language over content, the issue of voice in academic writing, and finally, the need for a greater focus on methodology.

Current issues in EAP include the issue of focus on form versus content. Cumming (2001) distinguishes between ESP-oriented teachers, who are more narrowly focused on the content, and General EAP-oriented teachers, who are focused on diverse aspects of language, including general communication improvement. Language has been considered a rather neglected issue, and some have called for a return to a focus on language accuracy, seeing it as a key aspect of communication in academic writing (Turner, 2004). More recently the issue of correct grammar in EAP writing has been emphasize by Romano (2019), who argues for language work targeting specific structures causing problems due to L1 transfer.

Another issue affecting the teaching of EAP writing is a teacher's identification as a native English speaker teacher (NEST) or non-native English speaker (NNEST), and this identity is related to societal power norms, with NESTs benefiting from 'the myth of the native speaker', in which they are often seen as inherently superior (Reeves, 2018). Despite their linguistic advantages, NESTs abroad often have disadvantages, such as lack of integration into the local culture and language (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). Relationships between the two groups are hindered by NESTs' lack of the language of the country. In contrast, NNESTs can speak English, but they may have anxiety about using English with NESTs, who may perceive their language as inadequate. Relations may be further strained by the perception that NESTs lack teaching qualifications (Yim & Hwang, 2019). Arva and Medgyes (2000) note that NESTs may be more suited to teaching speaking, rather than other skills, but their focus is on relatively inexperienced NESTs, and they note the lack of

experienced NESTs in the research context, i.e., Hungarian secondary schools. Despite NESTs' assumed superior knowledge of the language, their writing assessment knowledge and range of practices may be more limited than NNESTs, due to lack of training. Finally, there is the myth of native-speaker norms, which may be unrealistic and undesirable in many EIL (English as an International Language) contexts, as well as unfair on NNEST teachers and students alike (Selvi, 2016).

Voice is another area of concern. In a study comparing British and Turkish PhD theses, Can and Cangir (2019) found that the authors of British theses were much more likely to use personal pronouns to address the reader. This could have implications for teaching and teacher identity; should academic writing be impersonal, or should the author be visible? This issue of author visibility has been explored by Hyland (2002), who found that experienced academic writers use many more personal pronouns to express opinions than student writers. Both cultural background and previous experience of academic writing influence teachers' views of voice in writing.

Research in EAP is beginning to focus on wider issues of methodology (Todd, 2003) and beyond. Some researchers have noted the influence of social and political forces on EAP teachers, and the context in which EAP is taught. In Iran, for example, Tavakolia and Tavakol (2018) cite political control and a narrowly focused, anti-western attitude as damaging EAP teaching. Some academics seem to advocate a more overt political stance in EAP, arguing that teaching should reflect real world issues, and Chun (2019) in particular, focuses on Islam and democracy. As EAP is a global phenomenon, such political issues are likely to have an increasing influence on teacher identity.

Finally, there is a literature about EAP, including academic writing, specifically within Turkey. Turkey is an interesting context in the expanding circle, with a generally conservative education system that seems to be undergoing reform. The university that is the research site has undergone curriculum renewal to align EAP teaching with the expectation of students' subject lecturers (Yurekli, 2011).

Writing is a neglected skill in Turkey, both in L1 and L2, in secondary education, and also in teacher training, and university lecturers need to make allowances for this (Altinmakas & Bayyurt, 2019). Writing teachers, like students themselves, are affected by the lack of focus on critical thinking and lack of writing opportunities in the educational system (Unaldı, Seloni, Yalçın & Aptoula, 2020). In a survey of language teaching research in Turkey, Alptekin and Tatar (2011) note that writing is less researched than reading, and that the research tends to focus on superficial features of writing rather than the process of text construction.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Research design: Case study

The substantive scope of the study (Richards & Morse, 2013) emerged from my interest in the role of teacher writing for publication in teacher learning (Dikilitaş & Mumford, 2016), and my own adoption of researcher identity, which inevitably entailed writing and personal growth (Mumford & Dikilitaş, 2020). As with my previous work on teacher identity, researcher identity and writer identity, this study will take a qualitative approach. Norton (2010) argues that qualitative approaches are suited to research on identity, e.g., through observation notes and video recordings, but acknowledges that this data is 'messy', and difficult to analyse, and the conceptual framework should allow for this messiness. Identity research in language education can draw on different types of qualitative research methods, such as narrative inquiry, ethnography, interviewing, questionnaires, and diary keeping (Rezeai, 2017). Case study methodology is a contested and evolving area (Yazan, 2015), and therefore it is important to describe the design in detail.

There are three main aspects of the current study design; it has an emergent design, it is based on narrative inquiry, and it seeks to build theory. First, all comparative case studies have some extent an emergent design, because the possible differences between cases cannot be predicted, leading to a continual reassessment of the research data collection and interpretation (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017). In line with Stake (1995), case study research evolves from certain key questions. The research evolves through a constant switch of focus between theory-building and data

analysis, ensuring that substantial theory can be produced (Charmaz, 2011; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). It employs constant comparative analysis (Merriam, 1998).

Secondly, the study has a narrative focus. Narrative inquiry can be used to capture teacher identity, via analyzing teachers' *short stories* (Barkhuizen, 2011, 2016). *Narrative knowledging* is a socio-constructivist approach to the interpretation of continually-changing experience in a social context. A narrative approach creates unity and through a chronological approach, retains the integration of data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2004).

According to Barkhuizen (2011), the analysis of narratives by researchers leads to a 're-storying', making the narratives available for a wider audience; anything that the participants say or write can be considered narratives (Shkedi, 2005).These contribute to 'thick description' (Merriam 1985) and thus, to trustworthiness.

3.1.1 Validity. Richards and Morse (2013) note that validity emerges through the alignment of method, research questions, and data. In this case, there is an alignment between case study, narrative inquiry and the semi-structured interview method. The study aims at uncovering the historical and cultural background of participants through semi-structured interviews. This fits with narrative inquiry, which has a chronological basis. CHAT provides a lens for interpreting the findings, based on a historical and cultural approach to participants' current practices. Thus the three interviews focused on participants past, present and view of the future, respectively, to provide relevant data for the research questions.

The current research is in the constructivist paradigm, (Creswell & Miller, 2000). In this paradigm, validity is achieved in the following ways: the researcher seeks disconfirming evidence for the themes arrived at, recognising the complexity of the research situation. The understanding of the participants comes from prolonged engagement in the field. In this case, data was collected over 4 months from late September 2020 to late January 2021, but the researcher has been working

in the context for at least 10 years. Finally, validity is conveyed to the external world through thick description. This is achieved through the depth of detail regarding participants past and present practices through the interviews, and descriptions of their teaching practices.

Table 2

Validity in the Constructivist Paradigm (Creswell & Miller, 2000)

Assumption/Lens	Constructivist paradigm
Lens of the researcher	Disconfirming evidence
Lens of the study participants	Prolonged engagement in the field
Lens of the people external to the study (reviewers, readers)	Thick, rich description

Geertz (1973) popularised the term 'thick description', and according to Ponterotto (2006), its aim is not just to describe but to allow interpretations of action which are convincing to the reader. Denzin (1989) expanded Geertz's definition to a process that not only brings insight into feelings and emotions, but gives participants a voice. Thick description can be found not only in participant data, but in discussion sections of research articles. Two types of thick description are *biographical* and *historical* (Denzin, 1989). These will be particularly important in the current research, where the emphasis is on the teachers understanding of teaching writing based on their own past experiences and also, cultural understandings of academic writing.

Another aspect of validity is the search for disconfirming evidence. Creswell and Miller (2000) point out the complexity of reality, which implies that any data are likely to contain contradictory evidence. Disconfirming evidence was in fact found, but this does not represent a considerable proportion when compared to the confirming evidence (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Contradictions occurred between what participants said and what they did in class, and between individual participants' statements in different interviews, and between the initial written interviews and practice. Although there were clearly differences in emphases across

cases, there was no obvious outlier; all subscribed to a similar conception of the form of academic writing, although there was wide variation in views on many other issues, including the materials, the usefulness and purpose of academic writing, and ways of teaching it.

3.1.2 Grounded theory. Finally, the study aims to create new theory, i.e., grounded theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011), in the absence of theory on the influences of teachers' public and private writing on practice. The narratives or stories are the basis for grounded theories (Shkedi, 2005), and categories are expected to emerge from the data, and these are compared to the literature to produce theoretical categories. The categorisation of the data leads to the development of theory. Creswell (2007) distinguishes two approaches to Grounded Theory, as illustrated by Charmaz (2006), and Strauss and Corbin (1990), respectively. While Charmaz (2006) focuses on the flexibility of the research process, and the inevitably inconclusive nature of grounded theory, Strauss and Corbin are much more systematic in their approach, and set out a clear process for research, involving open, axial and selective coding, with a logical progression.

For Charmaz (2011), the process is less well defined, and is iterative and interactive, i.e., there is no straightforward relationship between the different stages. It is also comparative, and the comparison between the cases and categories leads to the formation of theory, which is defined as the understanding of relationships between phenomena (Charmaz, 2011). Charmaz's approach emphasizes constructivism, and the research is seen as located in a particular context, with limited application to other contexts. This approach also acknowledges the researcher as a participant in the research, and the need for researcher reflexivity. Another implication for the current research is the number of participants; in grounded theory, Corbin and Strauss argue for 20-30 participants (Creswell 2007), whereas Charmaz (2011) cites Stern (2007), arguing that amount of data is more important than sample size, and suggests a small sample size may be enough to reach saturation in the data. For case studies, Creswell (2013) recommends 4-5 cases maximum, so as this study

draws on both case study and grounded theory, a sample size of four, each providing up to six hours worth of data (three interviews and three lesson observations) combined with research journal and other observations on site should provide sufficient richness of data. The use of larger sample sizes risks trying to make data 'objective', while small sample size allows for the deeper interpretation of participants' data, as the overt meaning may hide deeper meanings which need to be uncovered (Charmaz, 2011), i.e., depth is more important than breadth in qualitative research.

The case is clearly bounded (Merriam, 1998), i.e., it refers to a single context, a particular language program within a particular university. However, although not generalizable in the positivistic sense, the study may be comparable to other contexts, and be meaningful to readers through the thick description provided (Stake, 1995).

3.2 Setting and Participants

This section first describes the setting, a foundation (i.e., private) EMI university in Turkey, with a compulsory academic skills course for freshmen students, and then the participants, who are all long-term members of the staff.

3.2.1. The setting. The academic skills course takes place in two semesters, Fall (ENG101), focusing on academic writing, and Spring (ENG 102), focusing on speaking. The data was collected during the Fall semester 2020, in the ENG 101 academic writing course. In this course, students produce three in-class writing assignments, collectively worth 30 percent of the term grade.

The course is taught by about 15 teachers, a mix of Turkish, and British and American native-speakers, although it is important to recognize that the distinction between native and non-native speakers becoming less relevant. These teachers have a variety of backgrounds. Some have been in the program for many years; others are

more recent arrivals, either from the university Preparatory Program, or from other institutions. A few are ‘part-time’, i.e., employed on an as-needed basis.

In the current context, the administration is attempting to engage the teachers in the role of researcher for professional development purposes by encouraging personal research projects rather than traditional workshop and seminar activities. The aim seems to be to expand teachers’ roles and create a community of teacher researchers. Thus, through Teacher Research, teachers are becoming presenters, and to a lesser extent, writers (the required output was a presentation), as well as researchers.

Other changes are visible at the university; there seems to be a shift in emphasis in EAP teaching from a focus on reading and writing, to more realistic outcomes for university students, e.g., the use of students’ own surveys in their assessed academic presentations for ENG102, the closer connection of reading and writing through the teaching of citation, and a move towards real world tasks, e.g. writing formal emails. This repositions the teacher from language expert to academic writing skills expert, which implies active engagement with those skills, i.e., EAP teaching is moving beyond language. This may reflect wider changes in the perceptions of EAP teachers’ roles, and the expansion of the activity system of EAP. This increasing complexity brings more opportunity for contradictions and, potentially, resolutions, although resistance to new ways of working may also be encountered. A CHAT approach seems particularly relevant to this changing context.

Ideally, EAP courses should be created with content teachers, focused on students working with texts from their specific disciplinary areas, lending themselves to student-centred Problem Based Learning (Jiang & Zhang, 2017). However, EAP contexts like Turkey face problems including low level of English on arrival at university, the difficulties of moving from EGP to EAP, and the issue of EAP teacher training (O’Dwyer & Atlı, 2018). The approach to academic writing used can be loosely described as a genre approach, rather than a process approach, in which

students produce different writing genres (e.g., process, argumentation), based on the analysis of expert texts which broadly conform to native-speaker norms, rather than considering the English as Lingua Franca Academic (ELFA) approach (Trimble, 2017). The approach in the current context is heavily skills based, which has been found to be inadequate for preparing students for all dimensions of academic study, including the focus on induction into a specific discourse community (Kırkgöz, 2009). Çelik, Stavicka & Odina (2018) note that in Turkey, ESP instruction is hampered by institutional factors, such as class size, mixed ability classes and teacher training issues, meaning that ESP courses may function as basic rather than advanced English courses. In non-western contexts, elements of Western EAP are often combined with EGP practices (Gao & Bartlett, 2014), e.g., with the use of gap-fill in the current context. Thus, the specific context, like many others worldwide, has a range of issues that could lessen the effectiveness of instruction.

Table 3

Participant Details

Teacher	Professional background Nationality/ Gender/Age	Qualification	Professional roles	Writing experience/ future ambitions
John	electronic engineering, management, teaching British M 60	engineering qualifications, teaching certificate	administration, materials development	none
Helen	teaching British F 52	MA in Applied Linguistics	testing, materials development	stories and poems, novel in future? 2 ELT publications
Erica	accounting business teaching British F 55	degree in History & Government, Teaching certificate	materials development, administration	interested in learning more about academic writing
Nur	teaching Turkish F 54	BA in ELT, MA Curriculum and Instruction	materials development, administration	2 ELT articles in academic journals in English, and 2 papers with husband (education in design)

3.2.2 Research Participants. The three English native speaker participants were long-term residents in Turkey, all married to locals, while the Turkish teacher was married to a foreign national. Table 3 shows the information revealed by the initial written interview. At the time of this research, there were teachers who had begun their employment before the requirement for teachers to have higher degrees or qualifications in Education and related fields, when professional qualifications in other fields were accepted as credentials, when accompanied by a teaching certificate. In the current context, the terms for employment of native-speaker teachers has changed, and in byelaws introduced in 2009 and 2014, the Turkish Higher Education Council has stipulated that relevant subjects are required work in the education sector.

A possible weakness of this study is the imbalance between native-speakers and Turkish national teachers. However, the distinction between is increasingly less relevant, for two reasons. First, the privileged position of native speakers is being increasingly challenged by the term "expert-user", referring to a fluent speaker whose language use is (almost) indistinguishable from a native speaker (Reis, 2011). Second, all native speakers were long-term residents in Turkey, married to Turkish nationals, and in one case, holder of dual nationality. The Turkish national was married to a foreigner, so that none can be considered a typical representative of their original nationality.

3.2.2.1 Professional background and demographics. An interesting distinction between the participants is their background. First, regarding NESTs and NNESTs, there may be differences in formality in relations with students, and attitudes to grades and textbooks; in Hungary, non-native speakers were found to have a more 'autocratic' attitude (Arva & Megdyes 2000). Another factor is previous experience. Teachers Helen and Nur have education/teaching backgrounds. John and Erica have non-education backgrounds, i.e., they came to teaching after careers in other sectors. In this case, John's written interview consists mainly of details of his

past employment, which shows an extensive background in the electronics industry, most recently as a design engineer, but with many positions of responsibility, although he does not clarify the role that writing (presumably) played in these posts. Erica has an accounting/management background. These non-education backgrounds can have both positive and negative effects; Zuzovsky & Donitsa-Schmidt (2017) point out that those who come to teaching later often bring a better informed decision on their career, and thus greater commitment, and also that experience of other types of work can be utilized in teaching. On the other hand, such teachers may be asked to teach in areas that they have not studied, affecting quality. This latter point is particularly relevant to the current context, where teachers may not have had relevant academic writing experience. Thus, there is the possibility that the native/non-native distinction may interact with the second career/first career distinction; native speakers may choose teaching as a way to change their lifestyle by moving abroad, and may have complex motivations which include lifestyle choices, as well as professional motivations. These could influence attitudes and abilities in both writing and teaching.

It is important also to acknowledge possible teaching differences in terms of gender. Tuck (2018) argues that academic writing instruction consists of both intellectual and emotional/caring aspects, and the latter are associated with a feminised discourse. This leads to the possibility of differences in gender according to the emphasis on caring, and highlighting the need to make caring a key part of instruction, rather than simply left to teachers to deal with (or not) at their own discretion. This includes aspects such as the provision of individualised support for struggling students.

3.2.2.2 Academic and other writing experience. Based on their initial interviews, the researcher determined the following classifications: previously-engaged (Nur), partially-engaged (Helen), non-engaged (John) and potentially-engaged (Erica) in academic writing. These terms are introduced in this study, and reflect positions adopted in Communities of Practice; reflecting participants'

engagement in Legitimate Peripheral Participation; specific practices may be in development, abandoned or never started (Wenger, 1998). Helen and Nur have a small number of academic publications, while only Helen expresses a definite aspiration to engage in academic writing in the future in the initial interview. Erica expressed a tentative interest, and commented on the secretive nature of academic writing for publication in the freshmen group, noting that publication is not a collective activity, i.e., writing and teaching are completely separate, and thus, implies a power difference between practitioners and researchers in EAP (Ding, 2019). John expressed no intention to write, and seems to be demotivated as a writer by his role in the context; he regards teaching of writing as exam preparation, rather than having any real communicative purpose, and underlines the students lack motivation for any other purpose.

Only Helen expresses interest in non-academic writing, in the form of poems and stories, and a tentative interest in writing novels in the future, as well as academic writing. This is potentially valuable writing experience, since the skill of academic writing is considered a development of general writing. Nur has published two articles on her own and two articles with her husband in a different field, but expresses no future intention to write, perhaps regarding it as part of her completed formal academic (i.e., Master's) study.

Thus, Helen seems to be currently the most engaged in writing, and, John and Erica the least, while Nur has the most experience. One further issue relates to collaboration between the researcher and Helen. Helen published a paper about academic writing in an online journal, as second author, with an academic from the School of Foreign Languages. This paper was proofread by the researcher in his capacity as writing centre advisor at the university. Helen also consulted the researcher on style, as the introduction (written by her co-author) seemed to her rather informal, although later published online. This may have increased Helen's awareness, potentially narrowing the gap between EAP and more flexible approaches to academic literacies (Lillis & Tuck, 2016). It can be said to represent an example of

researcher-teacher collaboration, as the first author was an academic and researcher within the School of Foreign Languages. It perhaps represents a hybrid teacher research/academic research paper, in which a classroom intervention in the form of free writing was presented as a control group/experimental group study. Working with academics is a way for teachers to become researchers, reducing the damaging power gap between EAP teachers and EAP researchers (Stewart, 2006). These varying interests are indications of their academic writing identities, which will inevitably be reflected in their academic writing teacher identities. The aim of this research is to determine how far these identities influence their teaching, with implications for the relationship between the activity systems of academic writing and teaching.

3.2.2.3 Attitudes towards teaching writing. In the initial written questionnaire, Helen and Nur both cite their experience in material production as a key reason for the need for academic writing skills, for example, by selecting and adapting articles for producing in-house course books. Nur underlines the need to know the basics, including citation and formal language for teaching, while Helen goes much further, she describes academic writing as 'an educational journey' for the reader, and argues that the skills needed for teaching academic writing can only come from a teacher's engagement in academic writing, emphasizing empathy with the students.

In the initial interview, Erica has a slightly different approach in that she emphasizes the critical and even creative thinking aspects. Thus, rather than focus on the formal aspects, such as citation, she considers a need to focus on content rather than form, while expressing a desire for more training in this area. Thus, like Helen, she focuses more on the self-expression aspects.

Interestingly, while Helen, and to some extent, Erica, focus on the teachers' ability to write academically as supporting the students' ability, Nur takes the opposite view: dealing with student's efforts at academic writing undermines her own ability to write, because she has to spend time and energy focusing on a very

inexpert form of academic writing. This seems to reveal contradictory approaches: for John and Nur, students' attitudes and lack of expertise seem to undermine their own motivation to write, whereas Helen and Erica see their own efforts as potentially contributing to the inspiration of students. This suggests that the relationship between academic writing and teaching is a complex one, with no clear relationship between personal writing experience and motivation to teach writing, because one (former) writer seems demotivated to write, while one non-writer expresses interest in creative aspects. The differences in attitudes to academic writing and students may have interactions stemming from teachers beliefs, rooted in their cultural backgrounds. Personal writing may bring empathy with student struggle to write (Helen), or it may be a standard against which to judge student academic writing, as inferior (Nur). Similarly, lack of engagement in writing may stem from lack of interest (John) or a (perceived) lack of opportunity (Erica), as summarised by the diagram below.

Table 4

Attitudes to Personal Academic Writing

	Writing experienced	Non-writer
Potential intention for personal academic writing	Helen Writing brings empathy. Academic writing is a journey not just a language exercise. Her writing focuses on student writing, so identities of writer teacher identity and teacher writer identity coincide.	Erica Creative and critical aspects of academic writing are important. Writing identity blocked by lack of training and power imbalances between academics and teachers.
No intention for personal academic writing	Nur Academic writing identity abandoned, as not compatible with EAP teaching due to time constraints. Writing useful for utilitarian purposes.	John Academic writing identity unnecessary as teaching writing means inducting students into academic world, i.e., a generic skill. Students are only aiming to pass exams, and teachers, to train them for this.

3.2.2.4 Ethical issues. Before the interviews, an informed consent form was signed by the participants, which dealt with the relevant sections of Seidman's (2006) sections related to informed consent, namely introduction, risks, rights, benefits, confidentiality, dissemination and contact information. From the perspective of ethics, it is important to obtain informed consent (Rallis & Rossman, 2009). Consent forms (See Appendix B) were presented for signing before the initial interviews.

Another ethical issue involves the researcher's relationship with the participants. As colleagues, there is a danger of undue influence. Although easy access to interview participants has disadvantages, it is important to note that interviewees' relationship with the researcher was professional, rather than very close, thus, helping to limit bias (Seidman, 2006). The aim was to carry out the data collection process with the least possible disruption to the participants' lives (Creswell, 2014). For example, the initial written interview was sent electronically to the four participants, with no strict timeframe for completion, and the presence of the researcher in the office help as a reminder to complete the form, reducing the need for a written reminder. Kvale (2006) recognizes that interviews in themselves are not intrinsically ethical or unethical, it depends on how they are used; seemingly dialogic interviews can be used to hide inequalities in the relationship between interviewee and interviewer. However, in the current study there is a degree of equality in terms of age and status, as the researcher was also the participants' long-term colleague. While this is not without dangers, it ensures a degree of equality between the roles.

3.3 Procedures

The sources of data (written interviews, spoken interviews, lesson observations and research journal) represent a combination of interpretive data, i.e., data provided directly by the participants, and aggregated data, from my own observations of participants, both in and outside the class (Stake, 2010). Recognising the socially-embedded nature of literacy practices, and the relationship between writing and

speaking, the research focuses on social, historical and cultural contexts (Shultz, 2006). Thus, the data collection focuses on documenting practices around academic writing, rather than the actual texts produced by teachers and learners.

The research structure has three main stages. (See Appendix A)

- An initial stage, consisting of selection of participants, and analysis of their written interview.
- The lesson observations, and three rounds of interviews focused on education and writing background; becoming an academic writing teacher; and reflection on being academic writing teacher.
- The data analysis. This will determine the sub-themes and main themes emerging from the data.

3.3.1 Data collection instruments. This section describes the three main data collection instruments, namely, the written interviews, the three rounds of spoken interviews and the lesson observations.

3.3.1.1 Written interviews. Questionnaires have previously been used to collect information on teachers' attitudes to writing. The form developed in Daisey (2009) was the inspiration for the current questionnaire, adapted for attitudes to EAP. The open-ended questionnaire aims to understand teachers' attitudes to writing, including their understanding of academic writing, their interest in and experience of writing (See Appendix C).

3.3.1.2 Lesson observation. Videos have come to play an important role in qualitative research. The role of videography is to understand and interpret behaviour in the qualitative research tradition, rather than label and count behaviours (Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2011). The recording of teacher–student interaction in lessons allows insight into aspects of teaching such as the scaffolding of L2 learners, and teachers' responsiveness to student understanding (Koolea & Elbers, 2014).

Farrell and Yang (2017) used non-participatory lesson observations to compare the beliefs and practices of an EAP teacher on teaching speaking, and observing the process of teaching academic writing should reveal similar insights.

The use of video recordings of lessons is particularly suited to studies based on CHAT. According to Doyle and Carter (1984), students and teachers negotiate learning activities in the classroom, and classroom academic writing is a situated activity realised through talking and thinking. Video allows the capturing of this process, and incidents can be chosen to highlight this process, representing theoretical sampling (Thompson, 2015), highlighting the importance of a focus on language and the underlying cultural conditions in CHAT.

3.3.1.3 Semi-structured narrative interviews. This research adopts a series of three interviews for each participant. Interviewing is a way of hearing others' stories and understanding how they make sense of these stories (Shkedi, 2005). Moreover, it is "a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other important social issues" from those who experienced them (Seidman, 2006, p. 14). Semi-structured interviews provide flexibility, allowing both parties to respond more naturally, and with greater equality (Qu & Dumay, 2011). Seidman (2006) favoured a three-step interview model; the first sets out the context, the second creates a picture of participants' experience within the context, and third allows a deeper reflection on experience. Multiple interviews can increase the rapport between the two sides and allow reflection over time on issues under discussion (Earthy, Cuncev & Cronin, 2008).

Galletta (2013) recommends dividing each interview into three stages; open-ended questions, questions that pick up and explore issues arising in the first section in more detail, and finally, more theoretically oriented questions; therefore interview protocols were divided into three sections accordingly. It was decided to use semi-structured interviews as representing a compromise between rigid structure and natural conversation. Semi-structured interviews are complex and challenging for

relatively inexperienced researchers; such interviews need to consider many aspects including the interviewer's appearance, relationship with interviewees, creating an atmosphere of trust and openness, knowing how much information to divulge about oneself, showing genuine interest, showing humility and valuing interviewees' stories, showing empathy through gestures, and acknowledging their contributions without necessarily endorsing their views (Brown & Danaher, 2019).

Semi-structured interviews are based on a list of questions, but allow for explorations of these questions based on the interviewee's response. This involves specific techniques: following up on generalities to get specific details, asking for clarification, exploring without being intrusive, asking genuine questions, i.e., where the answer is not already known, focusing on concrete details, and avoiding interruption and reinforcing mechanisms (Seidman, 2006). These approaches allow maximum data within a predefined structure, as it is important that interviews in a series do not go over the same ground.

At the time of writing, due to the pandemic, all lessons for the ENG 101 course were online, and the interviews were also conducted online. This has advantages and disadvantages; the disadvantages involve the loss of rapport and fullness of interaction; on the other hand, video interviews can make participants feel more relaxed, as long periods of close proximity are avoided, and both interviewer and interviewee are in a safe environment, i.e., their own homes (Iacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016). It is therefore not considered that this mode of interview will have any detrimental effect.

The questions in the three interviews focus respectively on participants' background, their teaching practice, and their vision of academic writing for the future (see Appendix D).

3.3.1.4 Recording and transcription. Due to the pandemic situation, all interviews and observations were be done over the internet. Zoom was used for interviews. Tessier (2012) recommends using a combination of the recording itself,

transcripts and field notes taken during the interview. Transcriptions can be in full or just parts that seem relevant. Lapadat (2000) notes that there are no specific methods for transcription, and that the approach taken will depend on factors such as the researcher's paradigm. As the current research is focused on participants' attitude to academic language, the formality of the language used and use of technical terminology related to writing might be important, and this is a consideration specific to this research. Lapadat (2000) also emphasizes that transcription is an interpretivist act, and reflexivity is important in the process.

3.3.1.5 Research journal and documents. The audit trail (Creswell & Miller, 2000) in this thesis consists mainly of the research journal. This documents the researcher's thoughts, but also reports on meetings with the supervisor. The audit trail can also consist of other documents, e.g. of staff meeting notes, records of which form part of the research journal.

3.3.2 Data collection procedures. The data analysis will be based on finding emerging themes in the data. Thematic analysis involves the researcher's interpretation of the data, and emphasises that the themes emerge from the interpretation, rather than the data itself, so my position as a researcher is not merely 'giving voice', but interpreting based on my own experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This fits well with Barkhuizen's (2011) interpretive approach to narratives; the researcher is intrinsically involved in the meaning making through his role as engaging in the discussion and interpretation of the narratives with the participants.

Table 5

Research questions

RQs	Type of data	Sources of data	Data analysis
1. What are the effects of participants' experience in, and attitude to academic writing on their conception of EAP writing?	written & Face-to-face Interview	preliminary interview, 3 face to face interviews	thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), thick description (Geertz, 1973)
2. What are teachers emerging EAP teacher identity in relation to these conceptions?	written & Face-to-face Interview	preliminary interview, 3 face to face interviews, 3 lesson observations	thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), thick description (Geertz, 1973)
3. How do these identities influence their practice?	Interviews and lesson observation	preliminary interview, 3 face to face interviews, 3 lesson observations	videography, ethnographic & social-constructive approaches to lesson observation (Knoblauch & Schnettler, 2011)
4. How is the formation of EAP identity reflected by CHAT?	Interviews and lesson observations	preliminary interview, 3 face to face interviews, 3 lesson observations	thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), thick description (Geertz, 1973)

Figure 2 reflects the structure of the research. Teacher academic writing identity is conceived of as four different elements: Culture, History, Activity and Theory. The interviews aim to understand the cultural and historic aspects of identity, while the lesson observations target understanding the teacher's in-class activity. The theory in this sense refers teachers' theories and beliefs about teaching, which are evident from observations of their activity, and is represented with a lowercase 't' to distinguish it from Cultural Historical Activity Theory. This underlines the importance of teachers' own personal theories, as well as theory in the wider sense.

Interviews and observations influence each other, for example, an event noted in a lesson could influence the questions in the next interview. The research journal provides for reflection on interviews and observations, and these reflections are in turn fed by the data collection. Documents such as meeting notes can reflect both the culture of the institution and teaching as an activity, and can explain aspects of identity.

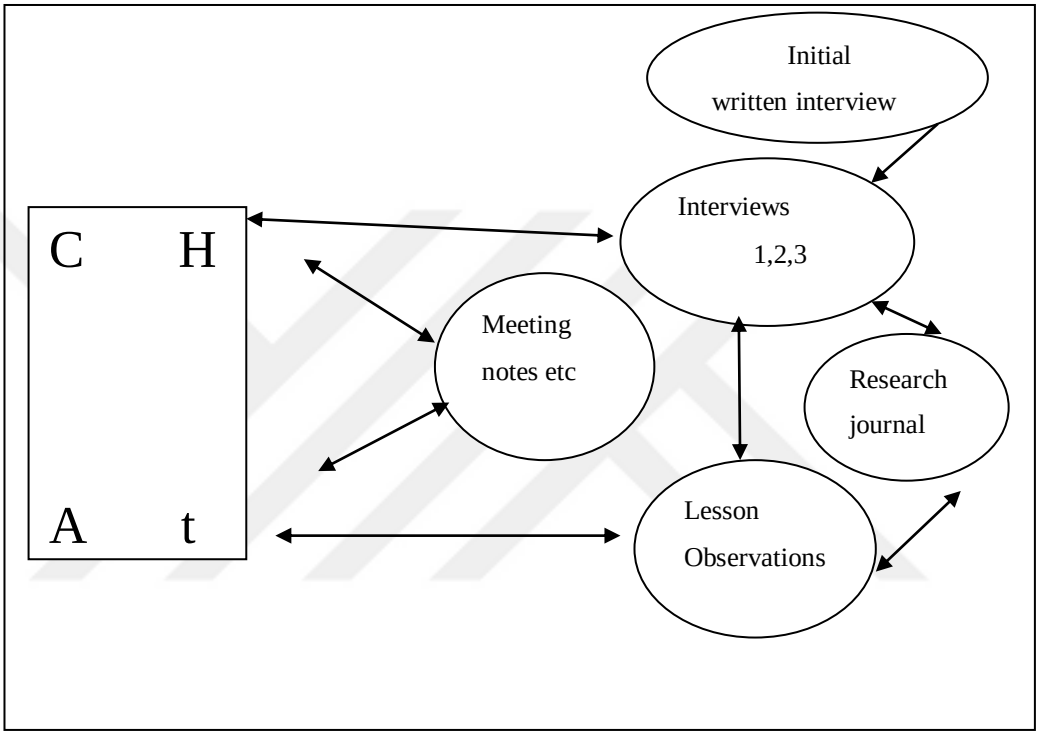

Figure 2. Research structure

3.3.3 Data analysis procedures. According to Stake (1995, p. 136), data analysis in qualitative research is a process of 'regeneration through progressive focusing'. The data analysis stages were overlapping and involved frequent reiteration. For example, the construction of the cases was simultaneous with the final interviews and the observations, and the interview-coding was ongoing while the observations were carried out. Thus, the themes emerged in an organic way, in a flexible, exploratory process, in which codes were divided and recombined in the

process (Clarke, Braun & Hayfield, 2015). The process is described in terms of Braun and Clarke's (2006) phases of thematic analysis below.

Table 6

Thematic Analysis

Phases of thematic analysis from Braun and Clarke (2006)	How this was realised in the research
1 Familiarizing yourself with your data	Conducting and transcribing interviews
2. Generating initial codes	Working with data alone and with supervisor, adding the supervisor's perspectives
3. Searching for themes	Analysing codes through discussion with the supervisor, and through mind-maps and writing the cases, and initial analysis of the observations.
4. Reviewing themes	Rewriting the cases in the light of further analysis and data, i.e., the deeper analysis of the observations.
5. Defining and naming themes	Writing the discussion, which involved cross-case analysis. This allowed visualisation of the overall story, and clarification of the major themes, and the overarching theme.
6. Producing the report	The final writing, reviewing the research questions, the data presentation and methodology.

As the analysis progressed, the cases crystallized, and the meanings given to the stories of the participants deepened. The process has parallels with Barkhuizen's (2016) 'small story' analysis at micro, meso and macro levels. The initial coding, carried out by the researcher alone, tended to focus on the micro-level and was interpreted in terms of the immediate educational environment. The next stage, with the supervisor's input, the interpretations expanded the scope of identity, placing the contents of the short stories (Barkhuizen, 2016) firmly into the social context, which in this case, was particularly focused on the role of native speakers in EFL contexts. This represents a winnowing process, as the supervisor drew attention to the most interesting and relevant extracts from the interviews (Seidman, 2006), resulting in a meso-level focus.

As more data became available from the observations, and with further meetings with the supervisor, and a peer, the researcher was able to interpret the participants' comments in terms of identity at the macro level. This occurred during the writing up of the cases, and later, the Discussion. Writing led to the uncovering of patterns for individual cases (the Findings) and across the cases (the Discussion), comparing similarities and differences, looking for co-occurrences and sequences (Lecompte, 2000). In this stage, the researcher was able to relate specific teaching incidents to macro-level factors such as past experience and world views; Helen's highly supportive teaching approach, for example, was interpreted as being related to her own unsupportive environments at school and university, and her conviction that her job was to protect students from the difficulties that she herself had faced. The data analysis was conducted at progressively wider levels of interpretation, and insight was gained that led to inferences and conclusions (Hood, 2009).

3.3.4 Trustworthiness. The researcher was personally involved in the program being researched. While his role as an insider can have benefits, it also risks bias. To overcome this, I considered both formal and tacit theories (LeCompte, 2000), i.e., both the theories I was aware of through reading and the literature review, and my biases due to the familiarity with the context. Thus, it is important to engage in constant consideration of whether my interpretations of data match those of the participants. To increase reflexivity, I monitored my role carefully, through keeping a reflective research journal, which also provides data for the study. Thus, through 'writing to (un)learn' (Kleinsasser, 2000), I was able, through my own identity as a writer, to engage in meta-cognitive thinking to gain multiple perspectives on the research, supporting reflexivity and awareness of bias. This is important in the current case, where my role as a published writer may lead me to exaggerate the benefits of writing for teachers.

The participants for interviews were selected according to the points stated by Robinson (2014); a) defining the population universe, i.e., teachers in an academic

skills course, b) determining a sample size, based on balancing ideal and practical considerations when recruiting participants. The sample was based on convenience, but I made efforts to achieve a balance in terms of background and teaching experience. The small sample size will allow for a detailed focus, linking participants' actions and viewpoints to their historical, educational, technological and social experience (Fleer, 2016), representing a truly holistic approach. Thus, this study takes a broad view of participants' background, beliefs, and practices. To secure trustworthiness, I adopted four of Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria: *credibility* is assured by the time devoted to data collection which was possible, due to my role as a member of the population from which the participants were drawn; *transferability* is attained by providing thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the context, in this case, detailed description is important in highlighting to other researchers which aspects of the context resemble their own, and what implications it might have for them; *dependability* and *confirmability* is provided by documenting the research procedures, including procedures of data collection, analysis and interpretation.

3.4 Limitations

The main strength of CHAT is the breadth of its scope; the theory began to be applied to writing in the 1990s to expand the area of research beyond textual and psychological issues to social and historical perspectives, recognizing writing's role beyond the classroom, in professional life (Russell, 1997). However, CHAT has been criticized for its view of individuals as passive in the face of activity systems, related to its time and place of origin of the theory in the early days of the Soviet Union (Lectorsky, 1999). Activity Theory has been adjusted to contemporary conditions, but there is concern that it underemphasizes creativity and agency, and other theories of identity (e.g., Norton, 2010) are included to achieve multiple perspectives.

Chapter 4

The Cases

In this section the four cases are presented individually. Teachers are referred to by pseudonyms. Each case has a conclusion in which the teacher's identity is summarised. These points are compared and expanded on in the discussion. The sources of data are coded as follows: Int 1= interview 1 etc, Obs 1= observation 1, etc.

4.1 Case: John

John is a well-experienced, British ELT teacher in his early 60's, and has taught EFL in Turkey for the last 20 years. He has a background in electronic engineering and held positions of responsibility in UK before moving to Turkey about 20 years ago. His father was a carpenter and his mother worked in a supermarket check-out, and formal writing background emerged from his profession rather than his education.

4.1.1 Writing background. He has only vague memories of his writing education, although he remembers writing paragraphs in French. At 16, he started an apprenticeship in electronics, rising via a Bachelors degree to management level in the industry, during which he learned to write reports by imitating examples. This was a practice-based, rather than taught education.

His academic writing teacher identity is constructed based on three main pillars, his native speaker status, his expertise in business and electronics and his background in technical report writing. The latter dominates his understanding of

academic literacy. His main, if not only, personal reading is from technical textbooks and academic articles about computers, technology, and electronics. He reports no personal writing.

His focus on a need for accuracy and precision in academic writing leads to a focus on grammatical correctness and vocabulary use, while he denies the need for what he sees as “free writing”, which he sees as incompatible with academic writing.

4.1.2. Attitudes to EAP writing instruction. This section considers John’s positioning of himself regarding the students in the class, and his role as teacher in the classroom hierarchy, and his view of academic writing.

4.1.2.1. Academic writing as a solitary activity. For John, writing itself is a solitary activity, although he sees the advantages of collective preparation. He cannot conceive of academic writing as a group activity, based on his own experience of writing as information transfer.

> When do you ever write as a group?... I have never written as a group, and if someone writes an introduction, me taking over is difficult if I read someone's introduction and the couple of paragraphs (i.e., passing a piece of writing from one person to another), me continuing it is difficult. I can understand a group laying out an outline of the piece of writing, and then students individually doing the writing, but group writing, I've never done because I don't like it. (Int 2)

However, he regards group work as beneficial for correction. He seems to confuse the term ‘error’ i.e., systematic mistake due to lack of knowledge with ‘slip’, meaning a mistake caused by carelessness. His focus of peer learning is mistakes, rather than positive transfer, emphasizing a deficit model.

> One of your questions was attitude to peer teaching, I don't like pairwork in writing because I think you have to be able to write for yourself and on your own, so I don't agree with the group work,... I do agree with peer correction, so

students can recognize errors in writing and if they recognize that other students are making those errors it boosts their confidence, they are not the only one making the error. (Int 2)

4.1.2.2 Teacher's control: constant supervision. John's view of academic writing as a system of rules based on text structure is accompanied by a focus on correctness of language, stemming from his past experience, and his native speaker status. This leads to a 'gate-keeping' approach based on to a deficit model, and students are positioned as failing due to their language deficiency. This approach seems to allow little room for autonomy or critical thinking, and the book seems to be an instruction manual, applied word for word, i.e., the focus on a rigid structure implies a rigid teaching approach based on imparting the all-important rules. A focus on mistakes and structure is at the expense of meaning and critical thinking, discussion of which is notably absent from his interviews.

Sometimes this very controlling approach leads to frustration, which has been increased by the pandemic.

> ...oh it's awful sometimes, it's soul destroying because I have to enjoy my lessons as well, sometimes I don't, at the minute, over the Internet because I can't go around watching, I'm limited in what I can get students to do, we have a white board (on the LMS) and make sentences, and they can use the CHAT box and that's it, it's very difficult at the minute. (Int 2)

In his view of the activity system, the teacher is cast as the all-knower, and the students need constant supervision, and this has been disrupted by the move to online teaching. The view of academic writing is as an individual activity, mediated by the teacher alone, whose job it is to see that the rules are being followed. Thus, through a new tool, the computer, the old tools of pen and paper correction are being replaced. He regrets this move online, which he admits has had the effect of turning him into a 'lecturer'.

> I think certainly on the internet... in the classroom, I'm a teacher... but on the internet, I'm turned into a kind of lecturer, I think the two animals (i.e., the two types of teaching) are different, in the classroom, I can lecture, but I can give hands on teaching at the same time, on the internet I think we're pure lecturers, because the connection between students is missing, teachers will admit it, and I admit it. (Int 2)

This is borne out in his lessons (Obs 1 and 2), which involve long monologues with very little student participation, even though tools are available (microphone, online pencils, CHAT box, text tool, etc.). Thus, online teaching seems to have exaggerated his dominance, leaving students as passive listeners.

His online lessons are very assessment focused, and he spent considerable time going over the exam rules, grading criteria, and procedures for online lessons (Obs 2), while his example paragraphs were glossed over quite quickly. He endeavoured to maintain interest by modulating his voice and humour. One interesting aspect was the complete absence of silence in the lesson. At one point, he asks a question, and gives time for students to answer the question, counting down from 5 to 0, i.e., students have 5 seconds to answer. Even the time for thinking is filled with the teacher's voice.

4.1.3 Academic writing: a tool for information transfer. John has a background in electronic engineering, and held positions of responsibility in UK before moving to Turkey about 20 years ago. He is a long-term member of the freshmen programme, and is currently the coordinator of ENG 101. His involvement with computers is clearly beneficial to the university in maintaining the freshmen academic skills learning management system. His computer skills have become more valuable since all aspects of the course moved online due to the pandemic in the academic year 2019-2020, when this research was conducted.

4.1.3.1 Need for precision. John's education was entirely through his apprenticeship in electronic engineering and his learning 'on the job'. He has few memories of his education, but remembers reading some classical literature, but not his school education in writing. His former writing experience involved reports about his company's products. Thus, his view of academic writing is rather instrumental, a tool for information transfer.

> Oh yes. ... products would be... manufacture would stop, products would be returned from customers, millions of dollars would be lost every day, the company managers would read them and act on what the suggestions were, you know, so most people read them from the head, the top of the company. They went everywhere. A lot of responsibility. (Int 1)

This seemed to have heavily influenced his view of academic writing as a system for delivering information with extreme precision, with no room for ambiguity, as so much was riding on the message.

> They must be precise. I mean, you know, there are lots of ways to write things, but when you're dealing with problems like that, the one thing you'd write has to be understood the same by everybody. So it's quite important. (Int 1)

4.1.3.2 Free vs structured writing. A major concept in his view of writing is the structured nature of academic writing in contrast to free writing, and the incompatibility of the two.

> ...but I always focus on structure, logic, layout, consistency, exactness of vocabulary. You know, I treat writing very technically. I mean, the free writing part, I think in free writing, the logic and the structure goes (away), sometimes (Int 2).

This view seemed to be underlined by the lack of any other background in academic writing, apparently including in his schooling. "My education, my writing was purely

technical: risk reports, design specifications, test specifications, failure analysis reports. There was no kind of standard paragraph, essay, letter writing". (Int 1)

His focus on one particular type of writing in his professional life technical writing, combined with a lack of educational background in more general types of writing, seems to have led to a particular view of the purpose and form of formal writing, which shaped his view on EAP writing instruction. Emerging from this view, John's focus is very much on writing structure. When describing the course books, he states:

> In the end, the books, in the course books, up to now, that's what has been required. Right? You must have a topic sentence. You must have first, second, third (points), you must have a paraphrase. Everything you say here must relate to something before, that's a paragraph. We must have three paragraphs. This must be an introduction, funnel format, conclusion, reverse funnel. It's all very prescriptive. (Int 1)

He seems to focus particularly on writing structure sections in the course book, although, in fact, there is a variety of content. His own experience of formal writing, particularly technical report writing, clearly shaped his views of academic writing, which leaves little room for anything beyond information transfer:

> ...my (view of) academic writing is following a structure using this kind of vocabulary for this meaning, and it's report writing, this kind of stuff, this is article writing this kind of stuff is academic writing, I don't think you should be creative in that kind of writing (Int 2).

John is critical of the Ph.D. theses he has come across in his experience of proofreading, because they do not conform to his idea of academic writing, he compares the Ph.D. to fiction:

> ...nothing is related to each other, it's like a storybook, nothing seems to be tied together, different chapters use different conventions, and it's thrown together haphazardly. I don't think it's been taught how to do it properly, and

> you can see language changing as well, using tenses in one chapter is not the same as in other chapters, there's no continuity from beginning to end. (Int 3)

4.1.3.3 The essay as academic writing. In interview three, he becomes more explicit in his attitude towards the overwhelming importance of structure, and he regards the switch from essays to paragraphs in the freshmen program as regressive. He regards 'academic' (i.e., highly structured) writing as incompatible with 'free' (i.e., relatively unstructured) writing. He frequently uses terms such as *skeleton, template, structure*, and length becomes a criterion for measuring quality.

> We don't teach writing, in my opinion what we're teaching them to write is free writing, but we're not teaching them (academic) writing: I think possibly Hazırlık (the preparatory school) are, because students are complaining in freshman "why are we writing silly paragraphs and we were taught how to write essays in Hazırlık?". We're going backwards but we don't teach them how to write. (Int 3)

His view that free writing is opposed to academic writing seems prevent an understanding that academic writing involves creative meaning making. Also, his positioning of paragraph writing as 'baby writing' in the interview highlights his tendency to exaggerate, criticise and generalise. He is also critical of teaching the writing of formal emails, in line with his association of academic writing exclusively with essays and report writing.

> No, I don't see this (writing formal emails) as academic at all. I think it's a sad state for me to say I spent two weeks in the Freshman English class teaching them how to write an email, when surely, I can do it in 10 minutes, if a freshman student can't write an acceptable email to a professor, there's something wrong. (Int 2)

4.1.4 Position of EAP teachers at the university. In contrast to the teacher-student relationship, where the teacher seems all powerful, he sees EAP teachers as lacking power in the university generally, which he regrets. This lack of power is

seen in changes imposed on the freshmen program by demands of the university, e.g. the demands for paragraphs instead of essays.

4.1.4.1 University division of labour. The low status of EAP teaching derives, in his view, from the lack of regard for academic writing in general, and its low standard, as he sees it. Related to this is the low standards demanded of students in freshmen 101 and 102 courses, which are dictated by the faculty. He relates how material writers changed the course after consulting the faculty staff.

> They (faculty staff) don't want academic writing. Do you remember years ago we used to teach students how to write 4 or 5 different types of essay and then we had academic essays that they had to write during the term, and we went through essays and everything in the book? Now, we don't. The book writers went to see the heads of Department and asked them what they wanted. They didn't want essays they didn't want structure, they just wanted to kind of response to a question, it was more of content than quality how it was how was written down, they wanted to know what the student knew. (Int 3)

John has a very pessimistic view of the status of EAP writing teachers in the university, based on his experience of exam scheduling, underlining that English teachers are looked down on:

> We don't have any status in this University. We don't have any in my opinion. When it comes to having exams we choose our exam times and dates early on, anyone else wants an exams, they choose our times when we get asked to move they choose exam times when we are meant to be giving scheduled lesson, if a student have a choice of an English exam or a maths exam they will always take the Maths exam. Because they know we will get them a makeup, we're treated like kicking stones, we're not treated with respect whatsoever, "oh don't worry, it's English they'll change because of us." (Int 3)

John associates academic writing with essays, which he regards as academic because they have a rigid structure, whereas paragraphs are seen as less academic, since they focus on content rather than structure. He is not happy with the new system: he favours longer pieces, which fit with his view of academic writing based on technical report writing, which he refers to as “the type of writing I like”.

4.1.4.2 From content to language expert. Another way in which his preferences were overlooked is the move from faculty specific writing courses, to generalised courses. During the time of faculty specific courses, he was responsible for the Computer Faculty EAP course book, and was able to draw on his electronics background:

> I'm not saying it doesn't now because we have an English 101 book. (Before) We didn’t have an (single) English 101 book in the past. We had English 101 for business, English 101 for IT(computers) English 101 for ....when you are writing specific books, then you have to take account of the (content) competency of the instructor, knowing the subject the students are writing about, but nowadays we don't have to, because any student in any department, is just writing a little paragraph, content is general. Yes, it's (his expertise) gone, it’s lost and I'm back to, you could say, struggling with the bit I don't like. But that's what the institution wants. And of course we're all flexible enough to do it, you know, we'd have to be, like or not. (Int 3)

Before, his expertise derived from his knowledge of computers. Now this has gone, he is left with his native speaker status as the main basis of his authority. His competency as instructor was his content knowledge, rather than expertise in academic writing.

4.1.5. Academic writing at the university and beyond. John had strong views on the role of academic writing at the university and in society in general, and saw declining standards in writing for most, with writing increasingly the preserve of the academic elite.

4.1.5.1 Inadequate standards at the university. In his view, the activity system is biased in favour of students, and the rules are overlooked or inadequately enforced, leading to low standards. He considers that EAP writing was not, in fact, being taught at all at the university, but rather, an inferior imitation. He cited the low standards, demotivated academic writing teachers, the brevity of the writing assignments, and the lack of time devoted to writing in the ENG 101 course, as opposed to listening, reading and vocabulary. This attitude is confirmed in his experience of more advanced academic writing. He relates an incident:

> Behind where I sit in the office, there is a cupboard which is open (his office is shared with the Design dept.) which has a lot of hard copy books, which I am assuming are final projects, the final thesis a previous students, and I have taken them out and had a skim through them, and the quality of what I read is abysmal, I think I think a 10 year old could do better, and sadly the English is rubbish, cobbling something together, the quality of the language it's not thesis quality, I think. (Int 3)

Thus, the failure to learn academic writing in freshmen he regards as continuing throughout the university, leading to final year students who are unable to write. His comments point to the lack of maturity of the academic writing, a point raised in earlier interviews, when he points to the undemanding nature of tasks, the overprotective attitude towards students, and the prevalence of plagiarism, which, in his view is common, and unpunished.

4.1.5.2 Academic writing in the wider society. John has a rather pessimistic view of the future of EAP writing teaching. Underlying his views are highly generalised ideas about the usefulness of academic writing. Students are, in his opinion, unmotivated, and will not write unless required to do it. He sees the causes as existing in wider society.

> Engineers don't need to write. Mathematicians don't need to write, TV and possibly, public relations advertising, these are departments that don't need academic writing, they need to be able to speak, they need to be able to get ideas over, they need to be able to take notes, but they don't need to formulate it into a piece of writing, it's not required. If the student doesn't see it being required, why should they learn how to do it? (Int 3)

His assertion that most students don't need to write academically underpins his thinking. This leads him to conclude that writing itself is becoming obsolete, undermined by technology, and part of an archaic world. He broadens the argument, again generalising his view to the rest of the world.

> It's all kind of token gestures, I think. That might be our place (i.e. the university), I can't say for a lot of other places, I think writing even in Britain isn't taken as seriously as it should be, and it's just a skill that is dying, I believe, it is dying. I think this is international, is not just here, I think it's a skill that is dying. Speaking will never die, reading will probably never die, everybody needs to read on a computer or a whatever, but writing can be circumvented, it's a dying art I believe. (Int 3)

His theme is declining standard at the level of freshmen students, the university, and the world as a whole, based on a very idiosyncratic view of formal writing as information transfer, which he acquired through his own professional experiences. His orientation towards technology also leads him to conclude that the skill of writing is declining because handwriting is dying, due to keyboard technology; thus, writing is conceived as the physical act of writing, rather than the process of constructing a text. This reveals his understanding of academic writing as the embodiment of preconceived ideas, i.e., thinking and writing are divorced, rather than writing being a creative process of knowledge construction

4.1.6 Conclusion: Changes in the Activity System. John's position in the EAP writing activity system has been substantially altered by three major recent

changes. First of all, his expertise in computers has been made obsolete by the switch to EGAP (English for General Academic Purposes), in which students are no longer taught in their faculty groups. Second, the move from essay to a slightly more expressive type of writing at paragraph level has shifted teaching away from text structure, to a certain extent, towards expression. As structure is what he is most familiar with through his past experience of report writing, this is another disappointment. Finally, the move to online teaching has greatly deprived him of his supervisory role, forcing him, as he sees it, to become a lecturer.

As a result, his professional satisfaction has been greatly reduced. His complaints are aimed at the university administration, the faculties, the freshmen department and other teachers, as well as the unmotivated students. He has made efforts to adapt to the situation, but admits that he does not enjoy teaching under the new regime. His identity as a native speaker is left intact, however, and seems to be the focus of his attacks on what he sees as low standards of academic writing. He also sees plagiarism and cheating as ingrained in the system.

His views seem to originate from a misunderstanding of academic writing based on his own experience. His own lack of academic writing habits, his reading focused entirely on technical writing, and his lack of training for EAP writing teaching all combine to create a conflict between his views and the current system. His identity as a teacher seems rooted in his professional past, which he projects onto his present context. The lack of flexibility in his approach means that the conflict between the systems of his own teaching and the demands of an English medium university are unlikely ever to be resolved.

4.2 Case 2: Helen

Helen is a native speaker, teacher and teacher trainer, and well as being a former joint course book writer and former course coordinator. She is a very active member of the freshmen teacher group.

4.2.1 Cultural and Social background. Helen is a teacher in her early 50s. She studied Chemistry at university, she moved to Turkey after completing a Master's degree in TESOL. She is a long-term member of the freshmen programme, and provides input sessions for induction weeks, and does lesson observations as a university teacher trainer.

4.2.1.1 Reading/ writing experience. In her student days, Helen mentions being supported by her mother, who helped her proofread her undergraduate dissertation. Her mother was well-read, and encouraged her to write, but an early enthusiasm for creative writing aged 11 was crushed by excessive criticism from a teacher. Helen enjoys writing poems and stories, and reads widely, as well as bringing up two children and her full-time job. She has recently published two articles, one describing the work of the freshmen program, and the other, a co-authored study of a journal writing project with three of her classes. These emerged from her positions as former course coordinator and teacher trainer respectively.

4.2.1.2 Her own experience as a student writer. In her view, students are positioned as immature and intellectually underdeveloped, which leads to a highly supportive teaching approach.

> I think intellectually, most of our students are only 18 years old, and intellectually, are they ready for that? We need to hold their hands a bit with that. When I was 18, I read research at University and I was studying different sources but I'm not sure that I was intellectually at a level where I could put everything together (Int 2).

She advocates 'hand-holding' for her students, perhaps due to her own experience of learning academic writing, which was much less structured, and she seems concerned by the lack of support in her own writing process.

> Yes I had a couple of classmates who helped. They helped more with the content than the style of the writing... I don't think any of us really knew what

> we were doing. In terms of content, I had a couple of friends who I bounced ideas off, but not really on how to do the writing itself: I think were given a couple of examples and told to get on with it. (Int 1)

It seems that her own experiential learning experience led her to believe that students need a highly guided education in academic writing. However, her own learning as negative experiences reflects the reality of most academic writing learning, i.e., individual struggle and peer support. Her negative evaluation of her own experience seems to suggest to her students should be protected from discomfort at all costs, without considering that, in fact, this may be necessary for learning.

4.2.2 Developing teaching/learning tools. Helen has a view of academic writing teaching based on breaking the process down into manageable concepts. Her view focus on plagiarism, and a view of creativity which involves matching citation and writer's opinions.

4.2.2.1 Breaking the process down. Helen's understanding of the difficulty of academic writing seems to emerge from her own undergraduate experiences, and from her role as course book writer. She describes her long process to understanding the role of an EAP writing teacher, and the importance of course book writing. She admits that most new freshmen teachers, including herself, have little idea about how to teach academic writing, and she describes her growing understanding as a revelation.

> If I hadn't been involved in book writing, I think I would have come to this point through preparing material, so if people prepare materials before lesson themselves, I think you can get to this revelation, but I think it is just starting questioning the objectives, "how do we get to the objectives?", "what is the most effective way?", "what steps are involved in this journey to get to be a competent academic writer or speaker?" I think you start picking the process apart and until you do that, if you don't start questioning the process, and the

journey that students have to go on, then I don't think you can understand what you are supposed to be doing. (Int 1)

4.2.2.2 Focus on teaching: simple rules and tools. Helen focuses on simplicity in teaching, emphasising breaking down complexity into component parts. Thus, the students are shielded from complexity, but there seems to be a conflict between simplifying, and equipping students to do assignments, which presumably requires complexity.

> I think, like I said before, it (the freshmen EAP course) lays the background for how about how they go about their assignments in later years, and if you show them an academic way of preparing an assignment, you're actually helping them to reduce plagiarism that way, make them feel like... because you're breaking it down, it's kind of simplifies things for them, it makes some more equipped to be able to fulfil the assignments they need to do. (Int 3)

One of the techniques Helen uses is personalisation to relate to students' own experience. She used students' own comments on the time of the lesson (8.30 am) as examples and used their surnames and reported what they said. (eg "surname (2020) argues that 8.30 is too early for a lesson" (Obs 1) . This use of students' everyday comments for citation suggests an attempt to mitigate the threatening nature of academic that she referred to in the interviews, at the risk of creating sentences in which the form and content are at odds.

Another strategy is pattern practice, where students are asked to fill blanks with different reporting verbs, as in a general purposes class. Another activity borrowed from EGP, a warmer at the beginning of the lesson, was a pronunciation activity discriminating between different "u" sounds, which seemed not directly related to the following content, although it was effective as a warmer (Obs 3). Her slides are adorned with smiley faces, hearts and images from the internet such as a gold star, big red A+, the logo "Well Done!" in eye-catching font. Her lessons are frequently punctuated with "Well done, amazing, perfect" and similar adjectives. These seem to

be her strategies for protecting students' 'face' against the complexities of academic writing.

4.2.2.3 Research Language: teaching and writing. In contrast to the simplification of content, Helen's own brief experience of research writing seems to have unsettled her views, as she considered that her co-author's writing lacked formality. At one point she asked for advice from the researcher in his capacity as writing centre advisor. (Int 2)

> Remember, I even got advice from you because I was very confused to ...the level of formality that is required in a (less formal) educational magazine, and then, and in a journal, they are completely different. That made me struggle as well, because there was, sometimes, there is not a lot of clarity as to how academic you are (i.e., how academic should you be). (Int 2)

This led her to question her own assumptions about teaching, and she questioned the need to be 'clinical' in her descriptions of academic writing, i.e., to be specific about rules. She questioned the aspects of language, such as the need to use structures such as passive or avoid first person pronouns. However, these doubts were generalized, unrelated to discourse structure or semantics.

4.2.2.4 Academic writing as opinions. In Helen's view of academic writing, opinions supported by the use of sources plays a key role. This allows for a kind of creativity in the selection of argument. The conception of academic writing focuses on the strong supporting of opinions, i.e., thesis-driven writing, which sources are used to support. Creativity emerges from the interaction of the thesis and sources.

> What we call creativity in writing.... I think if you can get the students to express their opinion and then prove their opinion ...then that's creativity in academic writing, isn't it? You might not be able to have the same flair that you have with creative writing, but at the end of the day, you can forcefully express your opinion and select sources that will back that up. And you can also select sources totally opposite to that, and you can refute them, so that's

> ...I think that's where the same kind of creativity, but it's more like freedom maybe, freedom to express their own opinions. (Int 2)

Thus, the focus is clearly on the assertion of (strong) opinions, rather than research itself or other aspects of writing, and opinions are equated with critical thinking. In this view, the key to academic writing is the assertion of some opinions and the refutation of others, and the challenge is finding the support from other writers. Thus, a simplified view of writing emerges that focuses on opinions, which can be considered an activity system that is related to, but not synonymous with actual academic writing, as a research genre. In fact, academic writing is more likely to reverse the process, as opinions or conclusions emerge from data, rather than being the starting point.

4.2.2.5 The role of opinions. Helen's concern to encourage opinions as the central theme of academic is further illustrated below, when she introduces the concept to Medical students.

> I can give you an example from my medical students last year, actually. In the Medical Faculty, students are encouraged to read lots of research, and just summarize what the research says, but they are not encouraged, maybe because of the nature of Medicine, you can't really just off the top of your head come to a different conclusion, but they weren't encouraged to put their own opinion in that writing, so when we did the first writing last year, even though my medical students from a language perspective, were probably much higher than my other students, they scored lower points because they couldn't put their ideas at the forefront of their answer, so it was only in the feedback session, when I said to them that your ideas are important as well, you have to state your ideas first, and then you can select ideas that will support what you have said, they didn't really realize that.(Int 2)

As she points out, medical students do not need to express opinions in academic writing, but for the ENG 101 course, they do. For these students, perhaps more than for the others, the inauthenticity of the task in highlighted. Equating academic

writing with the expressing of opinions may be considered a “literacy task” (Irvin, 2010), more suited to the social sciences.

Thus, there is clearly conflict between the academic writing that the students need, and that which they are taught. The encouragement to “state your ideas first” represents a particular view of writing, the object of this particular teaching activity system, but not of these students’ own system, in which academic writing is a tool for accumulating knowledge rather than expressing opinions. Helen is convinced that these students were deficient in being able to express opinions, and that they needed to be instructed in rules for writing, aligned with her perceptions.

4.2.3 Division of labour: teacher as knower. In the division of labour, the teacher is positioned as dominant over the student, but Helen is excluded from actual academic writing, i.e., she is positioned as expert in one system, but novice in another. This leads to a dilemma, as the teacher needs to appear knowledgeable to the students, but under the current power structure, she lacks knowledge. Thus, the teacher falls back on ‘academic’ writing knowledge that draws on general English teaching, combined with essay structure, and surface aspects of academic conventions, e.g. use of sources.

4.2.3.1 Teacher as knower. In this view, attitudes to academic writing depend on the teacher, whose job it is to engage them in writing. Students are generalised as reluctant writers whose attitudes can be changed, i.e., the journal writing research was perceived as changing students’ attitude, rather than developing an interest may have been already latent.

> I think in general, this came out in the study that (name) and I did last year, so we did a study where we asked students to do journal writing in the classroom, and ...we saw that students attitude, just to the action of writing itself, was quite negative to begin with, but the more they did it, and the more we interacted together... their attitudes kind of changed, and then there was more of an uptake of what we were doing in the class. So I think writing is a

> difficult task, and it's something that we don't do anymore, even in daily life, the writing that we do is really quite simplistic, so I think that's a general tendency to go for whatever is easier, and it's usually sort of spoken, very basic communication, I think that plays a huge role, so if you can't change your students attitudes towards writing in general, then I think it's very difficult to get them to engage in academic writing because they just don't like it. (Int 2)

Helen bluntly stated that students dislike academic writing, suggesting that it is intimidating for students and teachers alike: "You're supporting your own point of view using other people, ... that's much scarier... even for us (teachers) that's much scarier". (Int 1)

Thus, she sees the teachers' role as helping students to overcome this fear, as she did through the journal writing project. She said "the focus was not on grammar, not on vocabulary, it was just getting the meaning of across. I think I kind of broke the stigma that academic writing has to be perfect, so it had a huge effect on them." (Int 2).Thus, in her view, an important role of an EAP writing teacher was to provide psycho-social support to overcome what she sees as students' natural antipathy to academic writing. Despite the focus on meaning rather than language, the aim of her research seemed to be relationship development rather than academic writing development.

Although in Helen's view, teachers are seen as the knowers, and as role models, she never talks about her own writing experiences, the basis of her knowledge, with the class, whether through modesty, or whether because of a feeling that the personal should be kept out of writing.

> ... but at the end of the day, they don't want to hear about us all the time, ...(they say) "OK our teacher did that, but how does that affect me?", you know. I think maybe with the book, they already know that I was one of the writers of the book maybe that kind of stops me from talking about, I don't

know, other writing things. I take it for granted that they already know.... I don't want to sort of (say)...Oh! I did this and I did that! (Int 3)

4.2.3.2 EAP Teachers as novice researchers. Helen has worked with an academic from her department on a paper, but this experience had the effect of increasing her awareness of the divisions between researchers and teachers.

> On an academic level, I don't think, even though I see her as a close friend, when it comes to the academic world, I didn't feel as comfortable with her asking for help to be honest with you, and it is seen over here (in Turkey) as a kind of weakness, if you ask, (they say) "how do you not *know* that", whereas it should not be like that. But unfortunately... if I had gone her maybe she wouldn't have done that (i.e., taken that attitude), but that (possibility) was just in my head as a kind of hierarchy thing. (Int 1)

She contrasts this with her experience of contact with a well-known academic in her field. Thus, she compares her institution's culture with a Western approach. She sees approachability as a key characteristic that is needed for the support of those aiming at becoming academic writers.

> You know the writer of the academic word list, Averil Coxhead. I had some contact with her after one of her webinars and was blown away by how down-to-earth she was and how friendly and so approachable she was. So maybe that if she were in Turkey she would probably sitting in an ivory tower somewhere and everyone around her saying "hocam, hocam"(*teacher, teacher*), but she was very down-to-earth and offered to help and gave encouragement and I think that affected me, if you do wanna impact other people, then you have to be approachable. Maybe because we don't see a lot of that in the institutions over here you know? (Int 2)

She feels excluded from the writer/researcher community in her institution, and in general. This feeling of lack of support in her own writing activity system, and her own unsupported struggles with writing as an undergraduate seems to manifest itself

in an extremely protective and supportive attitude towards her own students. Thus, approachability is equated with softening the threat at all costs, leading to perhaps lowered expectations of the students.

4.2.4 Outcomes: the purpose of academic writing. Helen has a lot of professional and some academic writing experience as a result of her long engagement with education. However her view of writing for students seems exam oriented, and she seems to see her own experience as separate from that of her students.

4.2.4.1 Purpose for students. Helen's view of academic writing as thesis driven opinion pieces is confirmed by a single episode in which a student benefits from this conception of academic writing while taking an IELTS writing exam.

> I mean if they're going to continue with an academic career, then I think, yes it does affect them, even if they're going out into the world, things like even doing an IELTS exam. I've got an old student of mine who contacted me last week and he needed to do IELTS, and the more you tell him what he needs to do, it goes back to it goes back to everything that we did in ENG 101 and 102, so I found myself reminding him of all the things that we did, higher-level language exams that they might have to take would link back to what we've done in freshmen. (Int 3)

This incident seems to confirm her view of academic writing as a tool for success within the exam system. Discussing the long-term benefits, she also mentions that academic writing can make students better communicators, acknowledging some cognitive benefits, although not mentioning academic writing as a tool for cognitive growth. Thus, despite her own academic writing experience, her frame of reference seems to be limited to exams, university assignments, and IELTS.

Her view that academic writing has only instrumental purpose seems to fit with her view of the local educational culture, which she regards as stifling of creativity and critical thinking.

> I mean the Turkish education system doesn't really encourage kids to write, which is very sad. So you know, if they do have to write something, it is usually short. And it is probably memorised, not creative writing, unfortunately. (Int 1)

Her view of students as unmotivated and the local culture as stifling creativity means that academic writing is seen as a requirement for exams, with benefits in communication, but hardly as a tool for critical thinking. Although she seems not to approve this situation, she offers no alternative vision for the role of academic writing in students' lives.

4.2.4.2 Her own outcomes. Helen has a wide variety of writing experience, although limited research writing:

> Professional writing, I have done a couple of articles. I wrote my MA dissertation which seemed to go on forever. Yes, since then I have done a lot of different kinds of writing, helped with writing exams, done a lot of materials writing, given a lot of (written) feedback to people (on their teaching). (Int 1)

Her own example reveals multiple writing skills, yet she seems not to make the connection between her broad professional writing enabled by her own academic writing background, and the potential benefits for students. Instead, she focuses on academic writing for passing exams or higher degrees, rather than an intrinsically beneficial skill.

4.2.5 Conclusion. Helen focuses on breaking down complex processes, i.e., simplification, but this leads to a protective attitude, leading to a view of academic writing that is rather close to EGP writing. While her own writing experience has

given her the beginnings of insight into the complexities surrounding academic literacies, this experience has been limited by her role as an outsider in the research activity system.

This feeling of exclusion seems to have prompted a greater empathy with students, and she has used writing as a way of breaking down the barriers between students and teachers. This seems to have improved classroom relationships, but ironically, the student writing was not academic in nature, and the insights it revealed were not particularly relevant to academic literacy.

As a result, Helen's development seems to be in LTI, rather than AWTI. Her view of academic writing is focused on exam-type English, with supported opinions, rather than as a tool with multiple uses according to the context. Academic writing can make people better communicators, she believes, but seems less aware of the cognitive ability that this implies, i.e., academic writing leads to communication ability because it creates knowledge, rather than helping students express the knowledge they already have.

Her roles as course book writer which led her to the realization that the process needs to be simplified and broken down, ironically, may have hindered her identity development, keeping her within a more generalized general purposes sphere, while her academic writing experience seems to have had the same effect. Her overprotective view of her students, rooted in her perceptions of the local educational culture, and her students' ability, may also have left her with a view of academic literacy as EGP with the addition of essay structure and use of sources. Academic writing has its own rules and tools, and the goal of teaching academic writing is unlikely to be achieved with the rules and tools of general-purpose teaching.

4.3 Case 3 Erica

Erica has a professional background in accounts and business, and long-term experience in the prep school. These influences and her lack of academic writing experience have left her with a strong view of academic writing as structured writing, particularly focused on the five-paragraph essay.

4.3.1 Social and cultural background. Erica has a background in business and economics. After graduating with an Economics degree she worked in management with a finance company. She also has a graduate diploma in accountancy, which involved an extended piece of writing. She is a long-term employee at the university, but a more recent arrival in the freshmen program. However, her experience in the higher levels of the prep school means that she has similar teaching experience to the other teachers. She has also worked in testing and materials design in the prep school, but she currently holds no other role than that of teacher.

Erica learnt academic writing from her experience at university, supported by her sister. Another key family member was her mother, who encouraged her to write, and Erica thus emphasizes her credentials as a writer.

> I didn't really have much training for writing. But I had help from other people. My sister did the same degree at the same university as me, and she helped a lot with the thesis, and I got some help from my friends. My mother was an English teacher, and she was a big influence, I came from a very literate family, so that helped, but I didn't follow her example of being a writer, so I think that was a bit of a disappointment, but I have always had an interest in writing. (Int 1)

In interview three, she stresses her mother's view of the decline of standards, and the need to fight the "culture of mediocrity". This concern with falling standards

is a theme in her views on teaching, the dangers of plagiarism, and students' constant need for encouragement and direction.

Her own learning was related to her professional writing, which included reports on staff, which she learned by doing. This seems to be her only experience of formal writing.

> Yes, I was a line manager, responsible for 5 or 6 people, so I had to write appraisal reports on them every year. That was a bit difficult, because you had to be tactful. You cannot just criticise people directly, you have to write it in a way that is acceptable to the individual involved. So that is a skill I had to learn. (Int 1)

Erica has no personal writing interests, or academic reading interests. She did a professional development project in the previous academic year, but this had a spoken rather than written output. She is planning another PD project this year, which she plans a written output.

However, her professional background seems to dominate her approach to formal writing, and her mother's view of increasing mediocrity seems to dominate her philosophical views of academic writing. Other influences seem missing; by her own admission, her grasp of academic writing is in doubt:

> I'm sure I mentioned being at university and writing, we talked about this in our last interview, I don't think I was ever taught academic writing, so as a learner, I've never been in that position, how I picked it up, or whether I picked it up is another matter, but I do talk about being a student and my experiences, in that sense, it's a long time ago, I don't remember the details. (Int 2)

4.3.2. Students as deficient. Erica considers students as having utilitarian needs, e.g., to pass exams, and possibly for report writing in their professional life. As objects of the activity system of teaching, they are positioned as deficient,

passive, and often, lacking in motivation, while teachers are positioned as knowers, and enforcers of rules.

4.3.2.1 Positioning of students: writing needs. Erica sees report writing as a key need in any career, reflecting her own professional writing, although she doubts whether this is truly "academic" writing.

> The other question is, do I discuss the relevance of writing to their future career? I do that a lot, I do stress that that throughout the university careers, they will be asked to do this, but more than that, you know whatever job they go into, they going to they're going to be using writing probably in some form, while may not be seen as academic, you're going to be writing about these topics, so if you're studying engineering or you're studying business admin or whatever, chances are that in your working role at some point, you'll be asked to write a report, so I try and make it relevant, same with the speaking, you might have to make the presentation for your work, so I tried to take it through to their career as well. (Int 2)

Rather than other types of academic writing, such as research writing or self-expression, she highlights report writing as a universal need for all students. The suggestion that writing a report is not truly academic suggests a particular view and understanding that report writing is not synonymous with academic writing, i.e., she has some insight into the wider nature of academic writing.

4.3.2.2 View of Literacy: an innate talent. Rather than seeing academic writing as a skill emerging from a community, Erica sees it, at least partially, as an innate ability, and seems to equate opportunity with hereditary factors. Perhaps because of her own background as daughter of an English teacher, she sees herself as advantaged compared to many of her students.

> I think the process of writing is very difficult for students, but some students have more ability than others. Some students can learn quite quickly, but others will find the process much more difficult and take longer. I think it is

> partially hereditary. Family background is very influential and gives different opportunities. Some students will always be better writers than others. Not all students will be good academic writers. (Int 1)

She sees academic writing as a talent that only some have, in accordance with her view as writing as an individual activity. Individuals work on their own texts, and their performance is determined by their ability.

> What I mean is if you if you are talking, if you are speaking, if you are having a discussion, you're responding, you're getting input from other people, but with writing, it's kind of yeah,... I mean we can give him help but the actual sitting down and writing is generally done on their own, and I think in that sense, it's more personal. In a speaking activity something that everybody is producing the same piece of work, like if it's a gap fill or something they're all working on the same material, but if it's writing, it's kind of personal in the sense that the product that you produce is your own. (Int 2)

The focus on innate ability and the nature of academic writing as individual effort implies that teachers are not responsible for the students' work, since this is (at least partially) biologically as well as socially determined.

4.3.2.3 Students as immature. She considers that students at university are inadequately prepared for academic writing. "Students haven't experienced any academic background, other than school, which we know in Turkey isn't particularly academically focused" (Int 3). Thus, students are positioned as junior members of the classroom, a hierarchy dominated by the teacher. However, in the same interview, she states that students are already familiar with the conventions of academic writing after the prep school.

> ... it's a way for the students to mature the sense in a kind of academic sense, they're now focusing on the skills that they've been taught into a certain format, in a certain way, rather other than having a freedom to write as they want, and I must recognize here the work that is done in the prep school, I think that's underestimated as well, you're thinking about EAP as if it starts in

> the first year of the undergraduate program, that's not it at all. For two modules in the prep school, they are taught essay writing, and we are not even teaching them essay writing (in freshmen) that really needs to be recognized that they have got some academic skill in writing before they come to us. (Int 3)

Although students have some grasp of academic writing before starting the freshmen program, they are still seen as immature writers, and this immaturity manifests itself as 'free writing'. Thus, maturity is seen as the ability to comply with rules, and academic writing in this view, consists of abandoning freedom, and acquiring the discipline of the five-paragraph essay; the essay is equated with academic writing, even though essays are not in fact an academic genre in use outside the classroom.

4.3.2.4 Students need rules, not creative tools. Erica distinguishes free writing from academic writing, which she describes as "formatic". Perhaps because of her view that students are immature, she emphasizes the need to choose tasks that are not too challenging.

> I think it's obviously very important. I think the main role of the teacher is to help the students understand that, especially with academic writing, there's a certain structure, a certain way that things are done, I think they need to understand that it's kind of formatic (sic) in a way, it's not a free writing as they might have done in the past, there are certain rules that need to be followed, whether the teacher agrees with that or not is a different idea, but unfortunately within the academic setting, there are things we need to do, so we need to teach them those skills, while also giving them the confidence in the language that they have, which is another issue, many feel that they don't have tools in the box, shall we say, to be able to produce the piece of academic writing, so I think we have to balance the teaching of the formatic (sic) without making it sound impossible or too difficult or a challenging task

> that they might not be able to do, so I think we have to build slowly and let them see that they can do it. (Int 2)

Interestingly in observation 2, she emphasizes the need for planning in academic writing, rejecting one student's chatbox suggestion that *improvisation is a good strategy* for writing. She states that this strategy is suitable "for journal writing, creative writing and story writing, but not academic writing". Thus, anything that interferes with the rules and prescribed process of writing is rejected, even though it may in fact be a legitimate strategy. Thus, for students, academic writing is something that must be learned (i.e., a rule) rather than a resource that can be adapted (i.e., a tool).

4.3.2.5 Students are deficient in critical thinking. Erica distinguishes between "us" and "them", i.e., teachers and students, positioning teachers as the people who are asking ("we want") and the students as those being asked ("what we want them to"). In this view, critical thinking skills need to be learned before taking academic writing classes, rather than being part of the writing process. Students are therefore positioned as deficient in academic writing, critical thinking and research skills.

> I think what we're wanting in academic writing is a combination of lots of different things, we want them to think critically, we want them to analyse the question, we want them to go and find sources to back up their arguments, we want them to have ideas, which, even at that basic level, I'm not sure how much they actually analyse things on a daily basis, because everything's available to them, so finding the information, finding ideas is difficult for them. (Int 2)

Thus, students are positioned as needing to be able to perform certain critical thinking tasks in academic writing classes, although it is not specified how they are supposed to learn this, or even whether it is the teachers' responsibility to teach these.

> So I think when it comes to academic writing, we know critical thinking is important in the classroom, but how well it's been taught to them, how well they know how to use it is obviously an issue that we have to recognize. I think that's some major issue when it comes to suddenly being asked to write something academic and also I think especially when they're going through the Prep School, they are given information from sources, you know, we give them the source and we ask them to use that source in the writing, but when they are then left on their own to go and find information or sources or arguments to support what they want to say, they're kind of a bit lost, I'm not sure we teach them enough research skills. (Int 2)

In this extract teachers are positioned as 'we', as in "we want them to think critically", and students are positioned as deficient, as in "they are a bit lost". However, teachers seem not to be responsible for deficiencies, except for the statement "I am not sure we teach them enough research skills". Thus, teachers focus on structure, but students alone are responsible for their writing, and failure can be attributed to either a lack of talent or to laziness.

4.3.3. Contradictions between learning and teaching. In this section, Erica's roles as learner and teacher are compared. In the activity of learning she sees herself as autonomous and social, but in the teaching system, she positions learners as receivers of knowledge. This again reflects her views of her superiority over students based on her native speaker status, and the perceived deficiencies of the local educational system, mentioned previously.

4.3.3.1 Own learning style. Erica's own preferred learning style is through peer support, perhaps reflecting her own student years. She obviously enjoys collegial communication, and being part of a Community of Practice.

> Well, I think we had some seminars and workshops given by the trainers. But I mainly learned by talking to people. We are lucky, our university has a very open and friendly culture, so you can learn things just by talking over coffee

> and chatting in the breaks between lessons. We used to talk about our classes and what worked well for us and what didn't work, exchanging ideas with friends, and learning like that, it was a really good way to learn. I also joined the reading and writing group (i.e. group for teachers of reading and writing) as a materials producer. (Int 1)

4.3.3.2 Own teaching style. Erica's lessons were heavily-teacher centred, rule-focused, and many of her slides were grids showing processes and rules, e.g., paragraph planning processes and writing exam criteria. She gave lengthy explanations of these, with little opportunity for student input. Even when she used collaborative tools, e.g., Jamboard, she intervened in the process, taking control of exercises, e.g., ordering sentences herself, and giving rather than eliciting explanations (Obs 2). Her lessons were therefore lectures, although students were involved to a limited extent in the chatbox. Her explanations were occasionally hedged, but mainly focused on one (i.e., her own) interpretation of academic style.

Erica seems to justify her lengthy explanations in terms of her position as native speaker. She states:

> Academic language involves idiomatic language, so that if you were born in the country where the language is spoken, that is a big advantage. If you are not a native speaker, you may not be aware of all the subtle differences between words. So being a native speaker does not necessarily make you a better teacher, of course. As a non-native speaker you have to learn all the language, and that means you have a great awareness. (Int 1)

An example of this language focus is her elaborate explanation of language points, such as parallel structure in thesis statements, where all the main points are introduced as gerunds (Obs 1). Thus, her underlying belief is that native speakers are more knowledgeable, and required to give long explanations on language issues, but this expertise also extends to academic writing structure. The native speaker is seen as an expert on writing by default, even without significant writing experience. The equating of academic language with idiomatic language suggests emphasis on

advanced spoken language, rather than written language, in other words, academic and advanced English are idiomatic and need native speaker teachers, without mentioning that the idiomatic nature of academic writing is highly specific, and dealing with grammatical idiom.

4.3.3.3 Conflicts between learning and teaching. Erica sees a dichotomy between creative writing and academic writing. She enjoyed her (limited) experience of creative writing in materials development:

> I remember I learned a lot from (name) she helped me a lot. There were several people who gave me good advice, people who had more experience than me. I really enjoyed the materials writing because it gave me a chance to use my creative abilities, which I have not really had before. I remember we wrote a (fictional) book for students, which was about six students from different countries who were studying at this university. It was a book for students, a kind of story, to teach them English. Unfortunately, the book was not used for very long, but I really enjoyed being a part of the team that wrote it. (Int 2)

However, although she enjoys creativity in her own work, she sees no place for it in her view of academic writing, perhaps because of her own lack of academic writing experience, and her focus is on report writing, essay writing, and writing criteria. Thus, her own learning style and preferences are not offered to students.

> I don't think it's (five-paragraph essay) an ideal medium, I think overall EAP is too prescriptive. I hate the fact that EAP kills any kind of creativity, any kind of media it's too prescriptive, you should do this, you must do that, you have to do that, you must do this... it's something that either produces formatic (sic) writing with no creativity at all, it's not good for talented writers, it's a shame for people who are obviously talented in writing, it's not really teaching writing to the people who don't have a natural talent for it, it’s telling you to do that here and do this here, it's more like a mathematical

formula, I think we're actually restricting the autonomy I was talking about. (Int 3)

Thus, Erica associates EAP writing with formulaic writing and this affects both talented and non-talent writers, which, she implies, are definite and mutually exclusive categories. This also has implications for her view of the teaching material, which, although she follows closely, she regards as not suitable. It seems that her lack of experience of academic writing leaves her no choice but to follow the material, as she neither conceives of writing as a tool for thinking, or as a medium which is capable of adapting formulaic writing into personal expression, even within the limitations of the material and the assessment. This is evident in her teaching, which is generally teacher-centred, with emphasis on exam rules and writing structure; for example, in lessons before writing assignments, she devotes much time to explicit instructions on the exam procedures such as how to operate the software for online writing assignments which are illustrated with screen shots, the grading criteria, and behaviour expected during the writing process (Obs 1 and 2).

4.3.4 Attitudes to teaching materials. Erica is a relative newcomer to the freshmen group and was not involved with the material production. She compares the prep school, where she gained most of her experience, favourably with the freshmen group, and thus, takes the position of an outsider who is unable to influence the material, written by those who she sees as not wanting to make work for themselves. Thus, her relative outsider status in the community of teachers and her powerlessness is a source of potential conflict.

4.3.4.1 Views on five-paragraph essays. Erica regards the transition from the five-paragraph essays (in the prep school) to paragraph writing (in freshmen) as regressive, and less demanding of students. She implies a direct link between essays and academic writing in the students' minds, and the need to explain the reason for this shift to students.

> I think we have an issue to be perfectly honest about our Prep students coming into the undergraduate program in the writing, I think that is a major issue, because I think they may view it as a step backwards from writing a five-paragraph essay to a one paragraph answer, so I think that has to be handled in a way as well, because they may not understand why six months ago they were asked to write a five-paragraph essay, having been told "it's academic, this is going to be your future" and then suddenly we are saying "no you don't have to do that". I think you have to deal with that step backwards as well, or they may see that they're not actually making progress so I think it's very different, it's an area that you have to handle, and just explain you know that it's not always necessary to do a full essay, you can just answer a question. The situation has changed and I think that's an issue that needs to be addressed. (Int 2)

This reveals her view that essays are in a sense synonymous with academic writing, and that the move to paragraphs needs to be justified to students. The view that the move to paragraphs is regressive, however, seems misguided; she is defending a position supporting five-paragraph essays that is neither justified in theory nor practically useful to the university; the reason that they were abandoned is that they were not considered appropriate by the faculty.

4.3.4.2 Difficulty of material. Erica has strong views on the material and questions the need for material on a variety of topics, which in ENG 101 covers communication, the effect of colours, business, and social media. In her view, it is important that all material is of direct interest to the students. At times, her view is that the course should resemble a culturally focused general studies course, not necessarily aimed at academic writing.

> This word "academic" ....Why does it have to be academic? University students are open still quite intelligent to a certain level, why does it have to be academic? social media, for example the internet, the last unit, we cover things like fraud, bullying, social etiquette, netiquette, using internet for

> exams, online education could be something that could be discussed. They can relate to that. The internet could be a topic develop that through social media, problems of cyber-bullying, getting them to use articles about things that have happened, online education, advantages and disadvantages so much you could develop, and it's something that they can relate to. (Int 3)

She seems to regard the definition of academic writing being determined by the content, rather that the style. Her overall conclusion is that the current material is too difficult, not interesting to the students, and 'mind-numbing' for teachers. As a relatively new member of the freshmen teaching staff (4 years) she is critical of the lack of circulation of teachers, and the lack of coordination with the prep program, which she sees as much more open in terms of material change and feedback from teachers (Int 3). She states she would like the material to be more encouraging of creativity, yet she herself seems bound by the course, and an intense focus on the rules. One of her particular criticisms is the use of citations in very short pieces of writing, which she regards as inappropriate.

4.3.5 Motivating students. Because she sees students as deficient, they need to be constantly motivated. This occurs through various means, including making the material visually attractive, and constantly exhorting students. These are among her tools for teaching, with images exhorting students copied onto PowerPoint slides, i.e. the message is given both verbally and visually.

4.3.5.1 Visually attractive material. Erica emphasizes the need for visually attractive material. This was evidenced in her lesson slides, which she had taken a lot of care over (Obs 1 and 2). Thus, the slides themselves become part of the tools of teaching, a way to make the material more attractive.

> I always supplement for example we got the answer key in PowerPoint form, I always supplement them, I always try to make them colourful, more attractive, so they're always in the same form and the ones that we have got. I add pictures, I add greetings, menus and things to look more attractive, and I

> have in the past and I still do produce a PowerPoint about writing itself, which I show them at this point before they start, basically. I try to explain what we need and this time I include things like summarizing and reporting verbs, which is a difficult area for students to learn. (Int 2)

The implication here is that the teacher's responsibility is conveying information, rather than facilitating learning, and that this is done through attractive looking slides.

4.3.5.2 Encouragement and warning. This emphasis on visual attractiveness seems intended to compensate for the difficulty of the material, i.e., the students have something attractive to look at. It seems part of her "encouraging" strategy, where the emphasis is on visual messages exhorting, wishing students luck, and encouraging them to stay safe during the pandemic. Thus, she sees her role as involving the welfare of students, as evidenced by the pre-lesson greetings, (Obs 1 and 2) and the personal attention in terms of remembering details about students' lives.

While encouragement can be seen in the positive feedback, she also emphasizes negative aspects, when she highlights the consequences of plagiarism, the ability of university software to detect plagiarism, implying that students will get zero if caught, and comparing "hardworking" and "lazy" students. She also announces that she follows the attempts at cheating on social media, where some students offer money for help with exams (Obs 2). This is a key issue for her at administrative meetings, as well, when she frequently raises the issue of plagiarism (Research notes).

4.3.6 Conclusion. Erica's experience of professional writing seems to be mainly report writing, and these may have been highly structured, leading her to a particular view of academic writing. She dominates lessons as a native speaker/language expert, while students are positioned as deficient in academic knowledge, and immature.

Erica seems conflicted between her own preferences for creativity and peer learning, and the teaching technique she employs. This conflict seems to be between her own activity of learning and the activity system of teaching. At the heart of this conflict is her interpretation of academic writing as highly structured; without a clear understanding of its nature, academic writing is reduced to writing structure and formula, which she teaches through lecturing, although she suggests that she is not happy with the focus on structure at the expense of creativity. Her solution is to change the teaching tools, namely the course material, but she is not in a position to do this, due to her relatively recent arrival in the community. It seems that her solution would be to make the material less academic and more interesting to students. Thus, while rigidly enforcing a power structure in her own lessons, she is relatively powerless in the freshmen group, due to her relative recent arrival and lack of formal role other than teacher.

Her past experience leads her to certain views of the teachers, students, and materials, and she is at times quite critical of the local culture, colleagues and the university management. Her lack of training for EAP writing, and writing experience, combined with her native speaker world view and western orientation seems to leave her uncomfortable in an activity system that has emerged through compromise and accommodation (the book was a joint production between a Turkish and a British national). Thus, rather than adapting to the environment, aspects that cause conflict seem to reinforce the view that she is right in her criticism and reducing the chances of identity shift.

4.4 Case 4 Nur

Nur is rather different from the others in that she is a Turkish national, and a non-native speaker of English, with a life-long background in language learning, and is fluent in three languages.

4.4.1 Writing background. Nur studied English as a Foreign Language at school, and English Language Teaching as an undergraduate. She found the conservative educational practices surprisingly useful in noticing discoursal features.

> Secondary education, it was years ago, I don't remember a lot but the things that I remember in relation to writing, in one course we were asked to write actually the passages that we were reading in class, and it was just looking and writing, nothing creative, and also we had one reading book, and in that we book we answered questions, and we were also supposed to write summaries of the text. Those are the two tasks that I remember in relation to writing. Although at the time I found it a bit... not so nice, writing the passages part, I believe that helped us with spelling, use of transitions, because we were copying directly right sentences, right use of vocabulary structures transitions and everything. (Int 1)

Nur followed a traditional route in education from undergraduate to Master's degree, to writing academic papers, including one with her husband, but her writing career came to an end after her Master's degree.

> One was a part of my Master's thesis, and was published in Ankara in a (English language) Turkish journal, and at that time, my husband was, he is still in Interior Architecture, and he was also interested in the teaching of architecture, and I was in education, so we were brainstorming, thinking about what we can do together and then we ended up writing a paper, like creating an arch between theory and practice, how it can be possible, and then we wrote that paper together and that was published in a cited index journal. And then I think we had two conference papers that were in the proceedings, and one was in other journal, I don't remember, they were also a long time ago. (Int 1)

Part of her learning was reading other teachers' work. Her close attention to others' work seems reflected in her teaching, where she carefully considers student input and builds texts around this (Obs 1 and 2).

> Of course, because you see different styles, and when you see different styles, when you are reading and you also come up with (the idea that) “I might also use this in my own writing, I might also do this in later papers”. (Int 1)

Apart from her undergraduate writing, which seemed to focus on different types of essay, she enjoyed letters to friends in both her languages. Her background is academic and education focused, and she has a Master’s degree. She has also been involved with materials production in her current job.

Nur has more time now that her son has left home, but has no immediate plans to resume her academic writing career, although she does not rule it out, stating that she could become involved if the opportunity arose. Dealing with online teaching is cited as a barrier to writing, with the extra preparation that involves, so it seems her current status is one of past/potential rather than actual academic writer.

4.4.2 View of students. Drawing on her past role as a L2 student, she empathizes with students, and this leads her to value them as autonomous learners and as individuals in their own right.

4.4.2.1 Student autonomy. Nur sees students as having different roles at different times, playing more or less active roles, depending on the activity. The division of labour seems to vary according to the task, and students have varying degrees of autonomy, but this determined by the teacher.

> From the beginning of the unit to the end this is how we approach writing as a whole, roles change from time to time, doers, for example, they are the summary writers in this specific unit, and at the end of the unit they will be the ones writing again, they happen here and there, and when we are doing the discussion part, talking, discussing ideas the other ones discovering that, I don't know, and also when we are trying to link the summary is with ideas, the other ones who discovered the links between them but... then I am the one presenting the sources, how about should cite the sources and they are the

> acquirers of knowledge, it depends on what we are doing, sometimes they acquire, sometimes they discover and sometimes they do. (Int 2)

Nur emphasizes the need for students to reach beyond school level writing, but this is expressed in terms of content rather than language, and apparently without much guidance, as independence is emphasized.

> And then I say "you're university students, you don't just depend on opinions, you have to support ideas using research, you have read, to you have to listen to lectures you have to give more detailed information, and use those ideas to support yours, and trying to show them why they need to do certain things in a different way." (Int 2)

She stresses the need to build confidence; however, these efforts at encouragement do not explicitly explain how students should do things in a different way. She demonstrates the construction of a text, but during the actual process, she is largely silent, and the students watch her text appear on the screen (Obs 2). The teacher uses students' ideas, but during the writing process, her thought processes are hidden. This has the advantage of allowing students time to think. However, while students were able to observe the product of the writing process, the thinking and the way language emerges from this process was not explicitly described.

4.4.2.2 Co-learning. Nur stresses the importance of peer work, perhaps reflecting her own learning preference as a student. Peer learning is highly emphasized, although the process is expressed in rather vague terms, i.e., it is not exactly clear how this supports specifically academic writing; writing is 'checked' to see if it is 'OK'.

> With writing actually, when are we doing face-to-face teaching, pair work helped me a lot, especially, you know, the good student who could do the work well, and the ones who were weak, especially some problematic students who were overconfident. If you bring them together with another friend, they tend to learn more from them, I think that they think that teachers

always saying the same thing, but if they hear from their peers, what they should do, how they should acknowledge sources and so on. They tend to listen to them more than the teacher, so, especially if some students who are good and finish the work early, once they finish, I used to assign them to those students, saying that okay now you go and check students' writing together and see compare it to see if it's also okay, or you can show your writing to that friend, and that person sees also how it is done in what way, while some students were helping each other, I could also go around and answer questions in general. (Int 2)

4.4.2.3 Respect for students. As a result of her view of students, as autonomous learners, she seems to have a great deal of respect for her learners. Her lessons (Obs 1 and 2) involve working with student contributions, which she elicits in the chatbox. The teacher builds on the students' ideas, working them into texts. This means that the content of the lesson is unpredictable, and she makes efforts to match student contributions with the demands of the writing assignment, e.g., finding introductory sentences and sources to support the emerging points. Her constant use of the term "arkadaşlar" (*friends* in Turkish) suggests a degree of equality and approachability.

4.4.3 Value of academic writing to students. Nur seems to measure the value of academic writing in utilitarian terms, e.g. grades, and its usefulness to students at university, but also appreciates its affective value in some cases.

4.4.3.1 Utilitarian value of EAP writing. Academic writing is seen as having a utilitarian rather than intrinsic value. Despite her heavy emphasis on the use of sources, she does not envisage that the majority of students will do research beyond their undergraduate degree; however, they will need do to projects at university or write reports in their professional lives. It is not clear how a focus on using sources fits with the report writing, which suggests factual information rather than argument

and opinions. Her stress on ‘the market’ suggests a utilitarian view of academic writing, as adding value, but only in limited utilitarian professional use.

> Future careers, no, because we don't know really what they are going to become and they are from different departments, not from the same faculty, some might stay as researchers at University, doing that Master’s and PhDs, but some might just work in the market, may not do research, so I believe it's not for that professions, but I talk about this studies in the department, I say to them for example, they will be doing that practice, “staj”(internship) and then they are supposed to write practice reports, and there they have to use these academic writing skills in certain parts, and then they are going to write their graduation theses, and that they have to use these or whenever the lecturers assigned them projects. Or any type of research assignment I have to use these, so I basically focus on the departmental work not so much that professions when they graduate but beforehand. (Int 2)

This is also seen in her lesson, in which she talks about the value of citing sources in terms of assessment of paraphrasing, rather than seeing it as an inherently valuable practice. Thus, the value of academic writing is seen as being for further degrees, theses, university project work, internship reports, and professional report writing. However, its usefulness outside these genres is not emphasised because , she states, students’ future careers are not known, i.e., the usefulness of academic writing is expressed in terms of its value within particular activities, rather than its intrinsic value in terms of cognitive development or self-expression.

She sees attitudes to English at the university as being determined by the administration, which can change according to who is in charge, and that the value of English is not unshakable. Thus, she has insights into the local culture surrounding the teaching of academic writing.

> ...actually I believe (the importance given to English) changes with the general university administration. Beforehand, languages were really seen as a quality or characteristic that made us different from other universities.

> However, once I attended a seminar in which the new administration was a part, different professors from different universities attended. They looked at the importance of English in academic studies, what I figured out is that they don't see English as an important skill. They say “some students just use these nice grammatical structures in English, but they do not have the content”. They (the academics) believe that content is more important than English, and they think maybe that English should not be the medium of instruction at University, which I totally disagree with. I don't know if they really appreciate the role of academic writing teachers at University. (Int 3)

4.4.3.2 Measuring success: rules vs tools. Grades are seen as the main way in which success is measured, and the main measure of improvement. However, she also notes some affective aspects of success, which also seems to resonate with her own emotional reaction.

> I think they see that (i.e., improvement) with their grades, mainly, because the grades increase and also students, especially those who I said don't have confidence in writing at the beginning if they start seeing that they can do it and they could also get good grades, they feel very happy. I remember for example, one day this girl, one of my students, she put the writing up (i.e., held it up in her hand), she was one of those who said “I cannot write”, and she wrote me something for 300 words, and she put the paper up, and she was looking at it and she was smiling, and she was saying, "wow! I wrote this!" and that was also something very nice, I said “yes, you can do it, just trust yourself”, as long as you know how to do it, and so on, there is no way why you shouldn’t, so she was there, feeling proud of herself, because she could produce a 300-word writing. (Int 2)

The incident illustrates a success, with students growing in self-efficacy, but the focus seems to be on length. This shows that the teacher is the source of evaluation, and success is often expressed in quantitative terms (grade, length). However, another measure is also suggested here, student satisfaction, which is

beyond grades. Pride, achievement, overcoming feelings of helplessness can result from the different inputs, and students are positioned as those who are able to succeed. Nur also expresses her happiness at this event, underlining the teacher and student's joint role in creating success.

Nur has a university age son, and makes the following observation about academic writing, motivation and creativity which shows understanding of the effect of writing as self-expression vs. writing as learning rules.

> ... I have also my son, and when he just finished high school and during his high school what I observed that whenever he was given writing assignment, if it was about a certain topic he didn't enjoy doing it. He did it just for the sake of it, but one topic he was given was to write about his "dream room". And he wrote three pages long explaining everything he was so much into it, I think for students, some topics are relevant to their lives and they use their own ideas and use their own creativity, I think that motivates them to write more. (Int 3)

4.4.4 Teaching. Nur is a non-native speaker, whose education in the local context followed a path from learning English as Foreign Language, to undergraduate and postgraduate degrees in EMI universities.

4.4.4.1 The importance of the five-paragraph essay. Nur has a deep and long-term interest in teaching. Her earlier teaching of academic writing reflected her own undergraduate focus on essays, and this seems to be a feature of the local context.

> When I was working at Bilkent (University in Ankara), they were offering some courses and I attended this Curriculum Development course, and I became interested in it, and then I started working also for Curriculum and Testing Unit there, and then I was working there, I was preparing materials, but mainly materials for Prep. That's how I started it, and the mainly I was involved in preparing listening materials. There not so much writing, but of course I was also teaching writing there, but it was not very different from

> what I studied (at university), again just different types of essays, and we were first teaching the (essay) structures, of course thesis statement, topic sentences, how they should be, how an introduction, how to write a conclusion and then asking students, giving them topics and asking them to write the essay that was mainly in the upper level. In the lower level, more they were writing paragraphs, in the upper levels, different types of essay. (Int 1)

From her undergraduate days through to her current teaching, she focused on essay structure. While essays have been replaced by shorter pieces in the updated freshmen book (of which she was co-author), the thesis statement and topic sentence (or equivalent in paragraphs) is still a dominant theme in assessment, and in teaching. This is seen in her lessons (Obs 1) where she focuses on fitting student contributions into a paragraph framework with thesis statement and introductory sentences already prepared.

> Needs analysis for students department instructors and us, freshmen teachers, we collected data from everyone, and I remember mainly that the department instructors said very clearly that they don't want to read blah blah (i.e., unnecessary content), they just want the questions to be answer in the exam, they don't care about introductions and conclusions, they don't care about using very high level English as long as they can express themselves, that is fine, so keeping this in mind now, we are doing something similar to what they really need in their departments, like the type of questions, they give the main idea, the thesis statement, and then they just support it, we don't ask for long introductions or conclusions. (Int 2)

She has a pragmatic understanding of the context, and the usefulness of needs analysis. However, the thesis statement of the essay has become the thesis statement of the paragraph without introduction and conclusion, i.e., the association of academic writing with thesis followed by support remains unchanged. Thus, her ingrained view of academic writing as thesis (i.e., opinion) and support means that

for her, the main idea is the thesis statement, although this potentially conflicts with the aim of EAP writing in the institution to prepare students to answer fact-based exam questions.

4.4.4.2. Teaching writing: between EAP and EGP. Feedback is focused on correction. A very holistic approach to feedback is taken, i.e., "everything". However, in interview 3 she was at pains to emphasize a more targeted feedback policy, fearing she had given a misleading picture. She emphasised that she focused on specific aspects of correction on different occasions, and followed students across writing assignments, i.e., checking whether feedback in one assignment was followed up in a later assignment.

> Mainly I would say, everything, everything I make comments on the content they give me, on the organization, I make comments on uses sources, giving feedback on vocabulary, if they are correctly used or not. Or sometimes I just asked them, like, what would be a more academic word for that one, give them some questions for vocabulary. Because we are not teaching grammar much, I still underline the mistakes, and basically tell them, for example, I underline it and, say for example, "passive needed here". If I figure out that there are lots of passive mistakes, underneath that paper, I used to write, "please go on over passives in your free time, and if you have any questions, I can also help you", but not directly in class, but if I recognize a very common mistake in the class because generally, I was giving feedback in class, I used to take down notes on general mistakes and sometimes as a class like a feedback on the most general ones I always ask them if they have any specific questions related to the feedback I gave them, so basically everything but some of them is written on paper, some of them is written on the board, and shared with the students. (Int 2)

In the above extract, there is no discussion of the role passives play in discourse structure, so the focus is on form rather than its meaning in academic text.

Her feedback strategy on coherence in the next extract seems to be to ask students to imagine an audience with limited intelligence.

> the use of transitions, how they express themselves because sometimes they write something but I cannot see the link between ideas, and I say why do you say this first and then this one, what is the link there? and then they start telling me about their idea and how this happens, why is that, and I say, this middle part you didn't write. We do not have the same thought patterns, so I cannot see the link as you do. So I say to them "think of me as a stupid person that you need to say everything step by step because we don't have the same pattern of thought and then things might not be so understandable". (Int 2)

Her teaching focuses on simplicity rather than the complexity of academic writing. She emphasizes the need for clarity and expresses her views of teaching of academic writing in rather collegial, informal ways, mixed with more specialist terminology. Thus, the focus is on the general as well as the academic, and the teacher's identity reflects a limited experience of academic writing, rather than an academic literacies perspective, where, for example, in certain circumstances, simplicity may be justified in specific circumstances. Academic writing is thus seen as being generalised and universal, rather than context dependent.

In her teaching, however, she modelled fairly advanced sentence structure in the construction of her paragraph (Obs 2): "If there are already a lot of companies manufacturing the same product, or giving the same advice, they cannot make money." This sentence represents complex structure (e.g. double reduced relative clause 'that manufacture the same..' 'that give the same advice'), but contains informal language (e.g., a lot of, make money), perhaps reflecting a compromise between academic language and her expectation of students. Interestingly, students are exposed to advanced language, but no indication is given of how this sentence is appropriate, nor explanation of the underlying grammatical structures.

4.4.4.3 EAP writing teacher development. Nur sees potential for teacher development in the current project. She understands that the researcher's expertise may have potential benefits for her. Participants in this study send teaching videos to the researcher as data. She requests feedback on this as part of a professional development project.

> You asked us to send you the videos right? The recordings of all sessions. You wanted three recordings, one for each writing, and as you know because, we are supposed to do a type of professional development project, when I send you the videos, would you also give me feedback? Because I'm sure you did your background research about writing, most probably you will be looking for certain things. May I also get feedback, then maybe I can use this also as my professional development project? (Int 3)

She understands that the teaching of academic writing is different from general purposes teaching, and that, because the researcher has done the background reading, he will be in a position to give specific advice on EAP writing teaching. Thus, she positions the researcher as an expert in the activity of *teaching EAP writing*, rather than in *language teaching* or *general writing teaching*. Thus, arguably, she positions her own teaching as an object and researcher as subject in another activity system, namely, *the learning of EAP writing teaching*. Although at a relatively advanced stage of her career, her identity admits room for change, and a new position in an emerging PD activity system.

4.4.5 Conclusion. Nur has a long experience of working in the EAP sector, and is well qualified and experienced. However, her limited academic writing career is remote in time, and she seems not connect the benefits of writing in her own life (Master's degree, publications, career development) with similar potential benefits for her students, who, she assumes will need mainly report writing and assignment completion at undergraduate level.

In her teaching, she values students' contributions, positioning them as partners in the writing process, and potential peer collaborators. In the construction of texts, it is students' ideas, rather than their words, that are valued, as she is the one who encodes them. Students watch as she creates a text, although only limited explanation is provided on how the discourse is shaped, and language feedback on students work focuses on language accuracy, rather than appropriate discourse.

Thus, while positioning students as autonomous to some extent, students' academic writing needs are seen as strictly limited to passing exams and writing reports. In this regard, grades are seen as the main measure of success, and clarity and simplicity are emphasized over complexity. This approach, combined with a focus on writing consisting of thesis and support equates with a limited view of academic literacy(s). Nevertheless, she sees potential growth for herself for the future, not only in a possible renewal of her academic writing efforts, but in terms of PD learning from the current project.

Chapter 5

Discussion

In this section, the findings of the study are discussed and previous literature on writing teacher professional identity development is considered from the perspective of Cultural Historical Activity Theory. The focus is on teacher's cultural backgrounds, following how their early influences shaped their professional development as academic writing teachers. WTI is a relatively new concept, and AWTI, even newer; therefore, it is important to shed light on the different emphasises of this identity, showing how factors such as L1, educational background, and attitudes to teacher development can influence identity and teaching practice. This section addresses the four research questions in order, and the sections represent the main themes of the analysis; namely their past experience, how this influences their view of academic literacy, and thus, their academic writing teacher identity (AWTI). The final section shows how identity is reflected by CHAT, and assesses the potential for identity shift, based on factors including PD preferences.

5.1 The construction of AWTI

The discussion section covers the four main themes from this research: first, the difficulties in establishing a writing identity from a young age, independent of required school and university writing. Second, the failure of teachers to develop concepts of academic literacies, but rather, seeing academic writing as a monolithic form based on specific rules, and the effect of this on their AWTI. Thirdly, there is a discussion of teaching practices emerging from their ATWI. Finally, the prospects for the future are defined in terms of challenges to the activity system of teaching academic writing and the potential for these tensions to creating a shift in identities to bring about changes in conceptions of academic literacy and teaching practices

5.1.1 The effects of experience on EAP conceptions. This section addresses the first research question about participants past experience, and the effect of these on current academic writing (teacher) identity, in line with the Cultural Historical approach. Fisher (2012) points out that it is important to consider cultural factors in education at different levels, including the individual and the social levels. The findings in this section consider that conceptions of EAP writing emerge from three main sources: personal factors, including family background; educational experience, particularly covering secondary school and university education; and professional experience. These three contribute to academic writing identity, and to conceptions of EAP teaching.

5.1.1.1 Personal factors.Beliefs about academic writing can be traced back to their family and educational background, which have mainly failed to establish a strong writer identity in the teachers, seen in the very limited amount of any kind of writing activity for all except one teacher, and almost non-existent academic writing activity for all.

Erica and Helen both mention an influence of their mother on their views of literacy. Erica's mother was an English teacher, who instilled in her the idea of the need to 'fight declining standards'. Erica suggests that she was a bit of a disappointment to her mother, and never developed any personal writing interests. Helen says that her mother was very literate, and, although not a writer herself, encouraged Helen's writing ambitions. Helen laments her mother's lack of educational opportunity and seems to have made it her personal mission to compensate for this, and is the only participant with writing interests, including stories and poems, and an ambition to write a novel. In contrast, John's parents were working class, his father was a carpenter. John left formal schooling for an apprenticeship in electronics, progressing to a degree, and then worked his way up into management. Despite his achievement, it is possible that his lower socio-economic background influenced his view of academic writing and teaching; such teachers are likely to have more conservative and traditional educational views

(Aksu, Demir, Daloglu & Yildirim, 2010; Uibu & Kikas 2014). Nur, who followed a traditional route to education, studying English language teaching as an undergraduate, makes no mention of her family background, but she is the only one of the three parents in the participant group to mention the influence of her (university–age) son. In particular, she expressed her surprise at his ability to write when given choice, rather than a topic being prescribed, leading to conclusions about the role of motivation, creativity and freedom to write. Thus, Nur alone seems to benefit from her role as parent, gaining insight into how writing tasks can bring unexpected results for learners depending on their individual characteristics (Mosley, Hoffman, Roach & Russell, 2010).

5.1.1.2 Educational background. None report very positive experiences of writing in their early lives. John hardly remembers being taught writing at school except paragraphs in French, and Helen remembers being crushed by her writing teacher's destructive criticism, as a child when she was selected for a creative writing group. Erica had an English teacher mother, but admits struggling with writing at university, although benefited from her sister's help. Nur, on the other hand, enjoyed writing letters as a student in L1 and L2 (to penfriends), giving opportunities for writing development and the emergence of a literate identity (Moore & Seger, 2009), and intercultural communication. She found language education at school sometimes boring, as it involved, among other things, simply copying texts, although she admits this was, on hindsight, useful for her future academic writing. Formal education influences emerging writing identities, but in these cases, the lack of encouragement of creative writing in their schooling (Cremin, Lillis, Myhill & Eyres, 2016) seems to be a factor for all the participants.

John has no personal writing interests, although is an avid reader of technical text books, and sometimes, academic articles on technology. Helen's academic writing was learned as a Chemistry undergraduate, and continued with her Master's degree in English Language Teaching. Erica has a degree in Economics, and a post-graduate certificate in accountancy, both of which required extended writing outputs;

however, she has no current personal writing interests. She has done some materials writing, and is planning a PD project with a written output. Nur has four co-written academic articles but has no publications in the past decade. As a native Turkish speaker, she is the only L2 writer in the group. She enjoyed writing in English as an undergraduate, and reports exchanging papers with other students for proofreading purposes, and also regards this as helping her own writing.

As can be seen, despite their diverse backgrounds, none have a well-established academic writing identity as a result of their education; for John and Erica, academic writing engagement seems to have ended with undergraduate studies, while for Helen and Nur, it continued to post-graduate level, but with only very limited extensions in terms of article writing.

5.1.1.3 Professional roles. Among the participants, there is a wide variety of routes to EAP teacher. Helen states that "no one sets out in life to become an academic writing teacher"; one either stays in EGP teaching or moves on to a different role. The routes to academic writing teacher seem to be through English for General Purposes (EGP), although EAP experience dominates for all of them; indeed, Nur seems to have spent her whole career in EAP, while the other three have spent at least the last 15 years in EAP, with varying amounts of EGP preceding this. All have experience of professional writing as teachers, in the form of exams and material writing.

Helen seemed to convey the clearest sense of growing into the role. She states that, from a rather confused beginning, through a process of thinking about the objectives, writing material, picking the process apart, she understood the students' journey, 'where they needed to be'. As a course book writer, in particular, she describes her growing insight into academic literacy. However, this insight was limited by the restrictions on the course book template, i.e., study skills reading and listening, decontextualised vocabulary exercises and output tasks such as paragraph writing and short (5 min) presentations. Barnard and Zemach (2013) recommend that

EAP course books are prepared by a team of specialist teachers, considering the latest theoretical knowledge; under the current conditions, learning from materials production may have been superficial.

In addition, Helen has recently published two articles on teaching, as co-author, but does not have plans for further articles at the moment, suggesting the importance for her of a co-author who can guide the writing process.

Nur's route to EAP teacher can be thought of as a more typical, she has spent practically all her professional life working in EAP. She has a long-established identity as an ELL and L2 writing teacher. Before the current university she worked at two prestigious institutions in Ankara, the capital. She did her Master's, and was involved with teacher training, teaching practical courses on curriculum design, and also material writing in Ankara, and at the current university. Thus, her background in EAP extends from her undergraduate days to her current position. However, her view of academic writing seems dominated by essay structure and citing sources, associated with her experiences as an undergraduate and post graduate student, respectively. Her academic writing and teacher training career seem to have finished, and neither seems to have influenced her conception of academic writing away from the traditional; nevertheless, she understands the value of academic research, and was the only one to clearly learn from participation in this research.

Erica felt no shift in her role when she joined the freshmen programme a few years ago. She found the work very similar to the upper levels of prep school; in fact, she saw the move from teaching essays in prep to paragraphs in freshmen as a regressive step. Thus, her conceptions of EAP writing teacher seems to have been formed in the prep school, where she engaged in informal peer learning on "what works and what does not", i.e., action-oriented rather than meaning-oriented reflection, limiting her opportunity to bring about change in her teacher beliefs (Hoekstra & Korthagen, 2011). The prep school with its focus on essays seems to have been a major influence, and she is rather defensive towards the prep teachers,

and rather at odds with the freshmen group, who she sees as older, and thus more set in their ways.

Her previous work in management involved different type of writing, including letters to customers concerning the repayment of loans, and also, reports on subordinates, which required tact on her part. She had no training for this, stating that if you were reasonably intelligent, you could pick up these skills easily, although she took a typing course to help with layout, and found this useful to the present day. This ability to pick up writing skills seems to underline her view of academic writing as an inherent, if not inherited, ability.

John's journey resembles Erica's to some extent, but his focus as academic writing teacher seems based more directly on his past professional management roles, rather than his experiences of teaching, material and exam writing. He regards his past experience of high-powered, high value report writing as his main preparation for teaching writing, and forms the basis of his conception of academic writing. His focus is writing structure, and he highlights the close parallel between report and essay writing, and thus, the relevance of his past professional experience in teaching academic writing. He regards the course book as an instruction manual, which, he states, is all you need to teach academic writing, and that you should follow it in a step-by-step process.

John's route to teaching was through apprenticeship and hard work to management level in the electronics sector, and his own trajectory may not have left much time or sympathy for the kind of academic writing demanded by the social sciences. John sees his experience as complete and comprehensive, although it is, in fact, very narrow in terms of conceptions of writing genres and styles. Writing identity is derived from past experience, but the importance that the individual places on this experience is equally important as the experience itself (Ivanic, 1998); his overwhelming focus on his technical writing background leads him to believe that an

understanding of one type of text structure is the necessary and sufficient basis for teaching academic writing.

Mockler (2011) states that professional identity emerges at the intersection of personal experience, professional context, and the external political environment. These teachers have wide variations in personal experience and professional backgrounds, and also wider attitudes (political in a very general sense) formed during their professional lives, which determine their conception of EAP. An important aspect in the present study is career history, and teachers' sense of professional selves emerges from a background in either business or in education; business language may be superficially similar to academic writing (e.g., in vocabulary), but serves very different purposes, and this difference in emphasis is evident in the observations and interviews.

5.1.1.4 Factors influencing views of EAP writing. Despite their different backgrounds, all participants seem to have converged on a conception of academic writing as being determined by its structure, and vocabulary, with the addition of cited sources which are paraphrased. The focus on structure, especially the thesis statement and sentences introducing main ideas, are of great importance in all teachers' practices, and also are the focus of the assessed writing tasks, i.e., these views are reinforced by material and exam writing, which targets the thesis statement/three main idea structure. For John in particular, with a history of professional report writing, this seems to tie in with a structure that he is familiar with. His confidence in his view may also be a result of a combination of his status as male, a native speaker and the coordinator of the freshmen program. For Erica, essays were important in the prep school, where she formed her conceptions of academic literacy, building on her history of report and other business professional writing. Like John, she has a strongly focus on accuracy in EAP writing, based on her native speaker status, and she considers that many students will not be able to acquire the necessary skills. By contrast, Nur has considerable empathy with students as an L2 writer herself, and as a mother of an L2 writer. However, based on her own

background in EFL writing, she is strongly focused on essay structure, and the role of citation and paraphrasing as the distinguishing features of academic writing. Helen seems to adopt essay structure as her conception of academic writing in the absence of substantial writing experience. Her empathy with students seems to be based on her own struggles with creative writing as a child and academic writing as undergraduate; however, this has led her to the view that undergraduates are immature writers and need a great deal of support. She seems motivated by her own efforts at academic writing and creative writing, although it seems that these have only just begun to influence her own views of EAP writing teaching; there seems to be a divide between her personal and professional roles; for instance, she never discusses her own writing experience in class. Figure 3 below shows the background factors that, to varying degrees, influencing each participant.

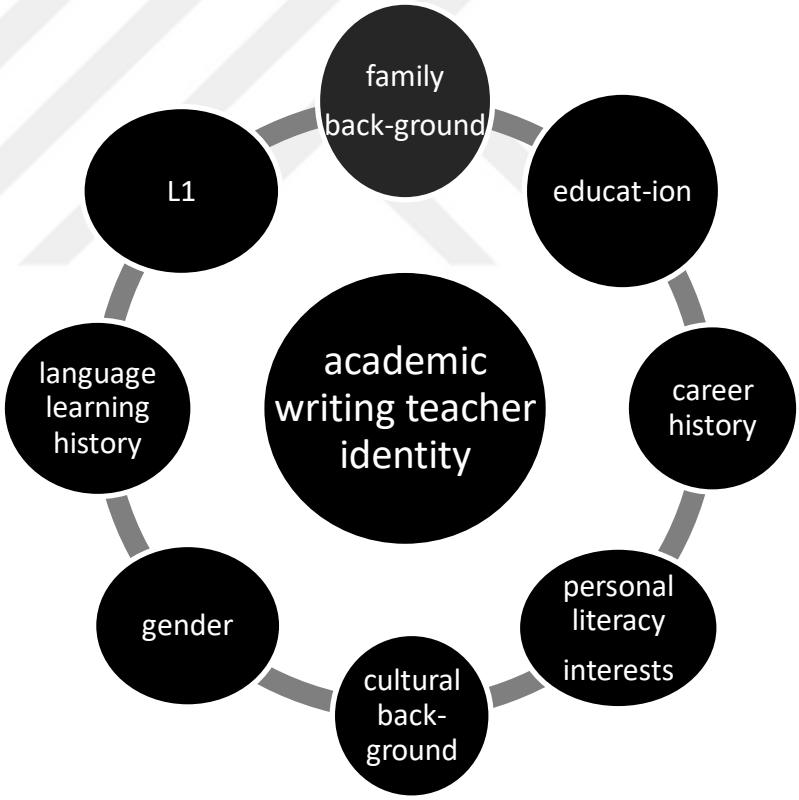

Figure 3. Influences on academic writing teacher identity

5.1.2 Emerging EAP teacher identities. Research question two focuses on conceptions of writing and in particular, participants' views of academic literacy.

The concept of academic literacies emerged from dissatisfaction with traditional academic literacy practices. Critical EAP emerged from a similar dissatisfaction, and there is considerable overlap between the two concepts (Lillis & Tuck, 2016). Academic literacy/Critical EAP has been conceptualised in various way by different writers (see table 7). The data in this study reveals generally conservative attitudes, including emphasis on language accuracy, pragmatic rather than critical EAP, and functional rather than expressive writing.

Table 7

Conceptions of Academic Literacies

Author	Conception of academic literacy/Critical EAP
Lea and Street (2006)	Three types of academic literacy, study skills, academic socialisation, academic literacies. The last subsumes the others and is socially constructed.
Lillis and Scott (2007).	Normative vs transformative literacy. Students are homogeneous, one way relationship teacher- students vs consulting student writers, locating practice in particular contexts
Blommaert, Street Turner and Scott (2007)	Academic writing is just seen as putting into words, a quick fix job, anyone who can think rationally can write, and if you can't, you are deficient. In fact academic writing is difficult, it involves much rewriting
Benesch (2009)	Critical EAP provides a chance for students' subversive use of language to challenge dominant approaches
Hamp Lyons (2011)	Pragmatic vs critical EAP ie preparing students to take part in their disciplines vs challenging the assumptions behind academic writing to empower students
Turner (2012)	Language as invisible, only mistakes are noticed. Academic literacies focus beyond disciplines, and is socially constructed. Micro strategies important for academic writing. Implied assumptions of academic writing, which teachers may not be able to articulate may create difficulties for students.
Hyland (2019)	Different approaches to second language writing • Structure: focus on lexis and grammar, • Function; focus on text organisation patterns in paragraphs, imitation of texts. • expressivist writing: emphasizes creativity
Sanchez and Dikilitaş (2019)	Academic literacy develops from tutor feedback in highly individual ways, and is mediated by students' needs, motivation, autonomy, self-efficacy, learning styles, perceptions and content knowledge.

Four main themes emerged in the analysis: authoritarian teaching style, a focus on language accuracy, a generalised view of writing, and a structure focus.

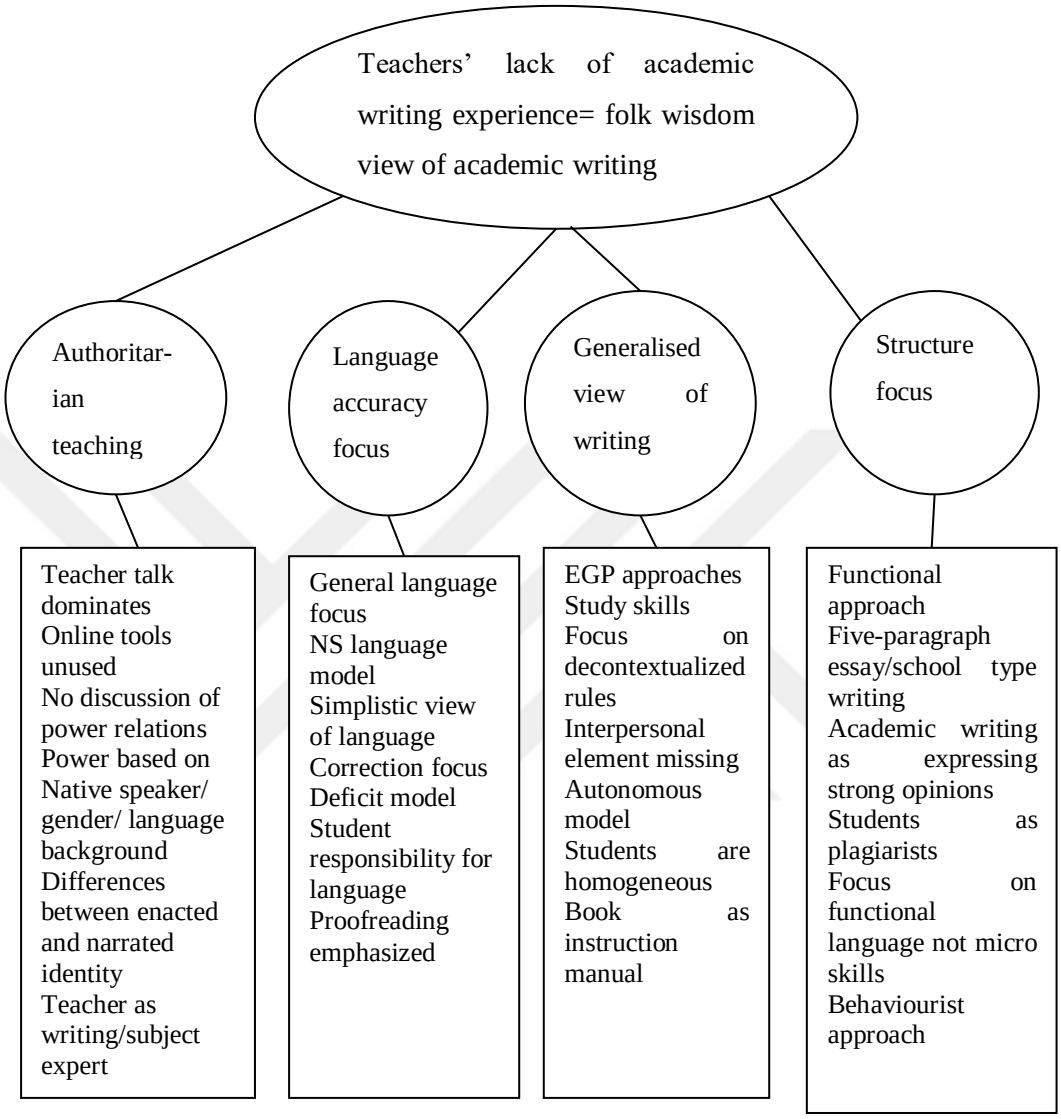

Figure 4. Overarching themes, major themes and sub-themes

5.1.2.1 Conservative and authoritarian teachers. In terms of conceptions of EAP, these teachers are conservative, 'traditional', or 'normative' (Lillis & Scott, 2007), in contrast to 'transformative' or 'critical'. This implies an authoritarian attitude to teaching, and pragmatic rather than critical views of EAP. The authoritarian practices emerge from conservative world views of teaching, with a

strict division of labour between teacher and student, and a conception of academic writing teaching as information transfer. Teachers have the power in the classroom, but there is no overt consideration of power relations, as there is in critical EAP (Benesch 2009).

All teachers, especially Nur and Helen, generally express some enlightened attitudes regarding autonomy, but lessons mainly reveal traditional roles for teachers and students. Benesch (2009) points out contradictions between teachers' professed interest in student autonomy and their actual practice, stressing that norms may be deeply entrenched and difficult to change, despite the collaborative potential that the online environment can bring to EAP writing. The lack of alignment between a teacher's narrated and enacted identity (Lee, 2013) can be positive or negative, depending on whether the mismatch produces a resolution or not, i.e., it has the potential to bring change, but without change, it will lead to negative results. It this case, such mismatch may not lead to change. Helen and Nur emphasise the different roles of students, sometimes active, and sometimes passive according to the demands of the course and teacher, yet the passive role is more visible in Helen's lessons. In one of Nur's observed lessons, students are given time to think and contribute via the chatbox, and she responds, picking up their answers to elicit further comments, i.e., a form of dialogic teaching (Sedova, 2017).

There was almost no evidence in any observations of the use of online tools that could empower students, e.g., breakout groups, the online whiteboard, student use of microphone, making students co-hosts, nor of the educational apps such as Jamboard. The interactive tools, i.e., the pencil and text boxes, were only used by teachers. This is surprising given the university's Teaching and Learning Centre emphasises Generation Z's need for active involvement.

Lessons are often dominated by teacher talk. Silence seems to be a sign of weakness for some teachers and must be filled; this is especially true for Erica and John, while Nur seems much happier with silence during the construction of a text.

This may relate to culture; silence can be seen as positive if it means thinking, but, as with the case of different perceptions of silence between Japanese students and their Australian teachers (Ellwood & Nakane, 2009), a British teacher may feel the need to fill silences by dominating the interaction. This may be linked to other native speaker issues; Üstünlüoglu (2007) argues that non-native speakers in Turkey may be better at classroom management through familiarity with the authoritarian system, and gain natural respect, whereas foreign teachers are expected to gain respect by providing entertaining and enjoyable lessons. This could lead to dominating the class through their wit and humour: furthermore, this authoritarian tendency may be exacerbated by their lack of academic writing knowledge, and they may fall back on techniques suitable for conversation lessons, such as providing entertainment and being a source of cultural knowledge (Arva & Medgyes 2002), which are less likely to be valuable in academic writing lessons.

Issues related to first language are likely to influence the powerfulness of teachers, and thus, their authoritarian tendencies. Native speakers of English are powerful because of their status. Factors such as "race, language and nationality and other categories interact in complex ways", according to Lawrence and Nagashima (2020), emphasizing in particular the power of the male native speaker ELT teacher. John has a powerful position in this respect, reinforced by his management role. In contrast, Nur is a female non-native speaker with no current management role. Nur is the only teacher with L2 academic writing experience; according to Yiğitoğlu and Belcher (2014), reflecting on one's own L2 writing, as well as L1 writing, has the power to inform practice; thus, Nur's previous writing experience allows empathy and creates a community in the classroom, leading to greater collaboration with students.

5.1.2.2 Accuracy-focused view of EAP writing. In relation to language, teachers' views are focused on the accurate production of one particular type of English, which leads teachers to take on a role of language expert. The focus on correctness, whether of spelling, grammar or essay structure, gives power to those

who know it, emphasising *academic literacy*, rather than *academic literacies*. For those focused on a single conception of academic literacy, a focus on accuracy enables them to confirm their own superiority at the expense of others (Blommaert, Street, Turner & Scott, 2007). Turner (2011) argues that teachers may make assumptions about language, that is, it is simply a matter of putting messages into words, with no consideration of context, and therefore, they underestimate the difficulty for students. Thus, in the deficit model, students are judged against (native speaker) standards, and considered to fail.

An important part of academic literacy is micro-strategies, the construction of academic text at the level of the phrase or clause (Turner, 2011). These are not explicitly mentioned by any of the teachers, although are more visible where students collaborate in creating a text with the teacher (Helen and Nur), and the teacher's use of language is seen in text construction during the lesson, rather than exposure to a prepared text (John and Erica). All teachers tended to gloss over or ignore academic language, with the exception of certain key language functions, such as thesis statement, and vocabulary items. Thus, there seems to be a lack of recognition of the fundamentally different nature of academic writing in that it focuses on "foregrounds events rather than actors and engages with meanings defined by the text rather than in the physical context" (Hyland, 2013). There is a complete failure to point out, for example, the focus on concepts rather than people. The language focus is similar to that of EGP, and thus, as in many EAP classes in the non-English speaking world, reflect basic language practice rather than academic English (Çelik, Stavicka & Odina, 2018).

Although teachers have slightly different emphases, their focus is on language rather than literacy(s). Students are given general advice on producing correct language, i.e., proofreading, and exposed to correction of specific sentences; however no reference is made to the specific nature of academic language, or the fact that different writers use language in different ways, e.g. World Englishes/English as

a Lingua Franca models. There is no conception that academic writing involves improving students' ability to use a range of literacies (Wette, 2014).

5.1.2.3 General approaches: EGP teachers.Teachers are focused on general approaches, which align more with an EGP approach, with added on academic features, such as vocabulary. The study skills approach is a generalist approach, and like the five-paragraph essay, is not essentially connected with academic language. This model has parallels with the 'autonomous model' in which literacy, and academic writing, is seen to be based entirely on an abstract notion of 'logical thinking', and divorced from the social context (Street, 1984). Thus, because academic writing is viewed simply as logic, there is no need to consider social context, leading to the belief that academic writing can easily be transferred from one context to another; thus, essay writing is seen as beneficial for report writing, regardless of the area of study.

As opposed to the 'academic literacies' approach, the 'study skills' approach (Lea & Street, 2006) focuses on generalised and decontextualised reading and writing, assuming that language is easy to transfer from one context to another. The teachers' conceptions of academic literacy seem similar to general literacy; students are encouraged to correct their grammar forms e.g., passive (Nur), without an understanding of the specific role of passives in academic discourse structure. Thus, exhortations to check language and avoid mistakes may not be particularly useful, without specific information about the use of language. In this regard, there seems to be little difference between the teachers who have Master's degrees and those who do not, reflecting the inadequacy of general qualifications, even at higher levels, as preparation for EAP teaching (Campion, 2016).

Another aspect of generalisation is the consideration of students as a homogenous group, which are generalised as being lacking maturity and in need of hand-holding (Helen), demotivated and prone to cheating (John), or being divided into those who can write and those who will never be able to (Erica). In fact, Sanchez

and Dikilitaş (2019) reveal that the development of academic literacy is highly idiosyncratic, and progress depends on many factors, related not just to language, but the personality of the student, their past experiences and general outlook. In other words, there is a tendency to generalise and stereotype students, when, in fact, individual differences are highly complex.

Thus teachers tend to see academic writing as a general concept that is not situated in a particular context, and therefore can be taught as a strict set of rules that always apply and can be justified as 'this is how it is'. In this view, these rules can be conveyed in check lists, dos and don'ts, and mnemonics, and need no justification or explanation. This outlook stems from teachers' lack of skills and knowledge, but also lack of attitudes and attributes, stemming from the lack of engagement with the context of EAP (Campion, 2016). Teachers see themselves as just the conduit, passing on information from a higher source, the academic world, to those below, the students; this means just transferring packaged information rather than engaging with the academic world.

Another consequence of a generalised approach is the elimination of the interpersonal element. In Structural Functional Linguistics, language is seen to consist of three components: ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday, 1973). In the current context, the participants' emphasis is on the ideational and textual, rather than the interpersonal, which is the aspect that deals with power relationships. As an example, Erica acknowledges that reporting verbs reflect the citing writer's attitude of the source and as well as the writer doing the citing, i.e., the word *asserts* could refer to the writer's strength of their own claim, but it also could reflect the citing writer's interpretation of the strength of the claim. Erica tells the students should focus on the former; i.e., text internal processes, rather than practices surrounding academic writing (Gardner, 2012).

All teacher discuss the (negative) influence of the administration on EAP teaching, which is generally ascribed to the low priority of English language lessons;

however, Nur comes closest to the academic literacies view in recognising local institutional factors' effect on academic writing instruction (Lea &Street, 2006). From her attendance of workshops at university, she concludes that the administration are concerned that students are focusing on language to the exclusion of content, and she sees changing attitudes particularly after a change in the upper university administration, as an inherent part of the context.

In terms of text, teachers are focused on structure, leading to an identity based on the student deficit model. In this model, academic writing is seen as the text, rather than the social practices behind it. The focus on the structure of five-paragraph essays, and the switch to paragraph writing, rather than being a catalyst for critical insights, is seen as an imposition on teachers, and a 'dumbing down'. In fact, five-paragraph essays are associated with behaviourist views of writing, the deficit model, and blaming the victim by focusing on students' alleged inability to 'structure' writing (Brannon et al., 2008). The focus is firmly on sentence templates and words for expressing various strengths of claims, rather than the 'micro-skills' (Li, Ma, Zhao & Hu, 2020) needed in academic writing.

For these teachers, academic writing is conceived of in terms of essay/paragraph structure; thesis statement/topic sentence/conclusion, and opinion combined with citation. These conceptions are based not on their own academic writing experience, but on their 'funds of knowledge' acquired in their personal and professional lives, including 'folk wisdom' (Hedges, 2012). An example of folk wisdom is seen in John's criticism of the Ph.D. theses that he has proofread, or come across at the university, which, according to his view, are not real academic writing, but 'storybooks'. In fact, advanced academic literacy may require 'telling a story', which shows the establishment of a writer identity beyond school-type of writing (Tardy, 2005). Folk wisdom can only be replaced by specialist knowledge (Bereiter, 2002), which is lacking in this case.

When the five-paragraph essay is equated with academic writing, other forms are regarded as irrelevant. John is particularly critical of students being asked to practice a formal email to their professors, which he regards as too simple for an academic writing course; however, as Lea and Street (2006), point out, the term academic literacies covers a wide range of genres and modes, including emails. The shift in focus from rigidly structured essays to less prescriptive paragraph writing and emails can be seen as reflecting the move in EAP away from text-based genre, and towards a more critical, more socially situated type of academic writing (Hamp-Lyons, 2011), since it is a response to the demands of the local situation. Nur shows the most understanding of the reasons for abandoning essays, because they are irrelevant to faculties needs.

Rather than working within Hylands' (2019) *expressivist* approach, with its emphasis on creativity, teachers adopt *structure* and *functional* approaches, focusing on text structure and grammatical accuracy. The course aim is to reproduce a model text, with a focus on the *function* of certain sentences, e.g., thesis statement, and also focuses on *structure*, in terms of grammatical accuracy. Helen's feedback session focuses on the key sentences; the thesis statement, the sentences introducing the main points and the concluding sentence; Nur, while constructing an example text, completes these key sentences, but lacks time to finish the rest of the paragraph, while John and Erica underline these three sentences in their example paragraph and spend very little time on the rest of the text. Erica and John provide their own texts with no discussion of how they were created; thus, students are not only excluded from contributing to a text, but even of seeing one being created; such a focus on text at the expense of practice is typical of normative, as opposed to transformative, EAP (Lillis & Scott, 2007).

5.1.3 Teacher identities' influence on practice. This section addresses research question three, concerning how identities influence practice. The four aspects of teacher identity revealed in the previous section are considered as producing specific teaching behaviours. Thus, this section consists of an analysis of

the teaching practices emerging from the identities teachers characterised by the following: authoritarian teaching, a focus on language accuracy rather than meaning, generalised conceptions of academic writing, and emphasising text structure.

5.1.3.1 Manifestations of authoritarian identity. The teachers have a generally authoritarian style; however, this authoritarianism is manifest in different ways. A key factor influencing identity is native speaker status, especially for John and Erica, but less so for Helen. The superiority of native speakers seems legitimated in the current context (Reeves, 2018), and the freshmen programme has a higher proportion of native speakers than the prep program, reflecting Erica's belief that native speaker teachers are more valuable at higher levels dealing with 'idiomatic language'. All three native speakers emphasise this status, seeing students as deficient, but it produces three different approaches.

John sees his role as to 'talk' students into academic writing, by a constant monologue, in which he goes through the stages of idea generation, planning and writing, and is often focused on content. One writing assignment covers starting one's own business, and with his professional background, he can play the role of content expert. Erica focuses more overtly on establishing her power, through emphasis, not only on the rules of academic writing, but on rules of assessment and course requirements.

There is a distinction between teachers with educational and other professional backgrounds in terms of the extent of student involvement in writing. The teachers with backgrounds in education seem to have a more democratic spirit, and a more flexible approach to writing, less reliant on rules, and more on critical thinking.

Helen's authoritarianism is more subtle, and focused on her caring role, but in being overprotective, she positions students as in need of strong support, and thus, subordinate. Thus, students are excessively praised and encouraged, but at the same time, not considered able to take a lead in the lessons. Helen seems the most

emotionally involved with the students, and creates a caring, rather feminised space; students seem to respond to this, but she risks patronising or even infantilising students (Tuck, 2018). Her aim seems to be to protect students from difficulty, rather than let them struggle with it, and she shows exaggerated enthusiasm when students get answers right, with the danger of reducing autonomy by setting herself up as the sole authority, and increasing student dependence (Crespo, 2002).

Erica focuses extensively on the requirements for assignments, producing list of rules rather than working on actual examples of texts. Her slides consist of mind maps, checklists, lists of dos and don'ts, and writing criteria, suggesting a simple and well-ordered process. The association of academic writing with rules is manifest in the lessons and interviews; lessons consist of lecturing, including reading aloud from slides, especially of the assessment criteria, giving long lists of examples, admonishing students regarding plagiarism, and explaining the importance of following rules.

This intense focus on student requirements seems to suggest a lack of pedagogic knowledge. John, and particularly Erica, stresses the application of rules in making language "academic". Casanave (2015) compares academic writing to a game, which has rules, but learners can learn to manipulate these, gaining empowerment; however, Erica allows no opportunity for flexibility, often using constrained modality "you have to, you must always be sure to..." and frequent "OK?" with question intonation, as if taking agreement for granted, and reinforcing the "one mythical kind of academic discourse" (Casanave, 2015, p. 5). This approach is incompatible with 'critical questioning', focusing on possibilities rather than certainties (Morgan, 2009). For instance, planning is stressed as a perquisite for academic writing, and students who suggest improvisation in writing are, at best, told that this means planning in one's head rather than on paper (Helen) , and at worst, quickly contradicted (Erica).

John and Erica's controlling and dominant approach, talking most of the time, is also reflected in their interviews, where any pause for thinking seems to be considered a weakness, and continual talking seems to reinforce power, even when it involved frequent repetition of points. These teachers often devote ten minutes or more solely to talk about administrative issues at beginning of lessons. John rarely asks questions, on one rare occasion, when no answer was forthcoming, he counted down from 5 to zero, as if indicating that students should answer, but actually creating the pressure that was unlikely to facilitate this.

Helen and Nur allow more time for thinking, both for their students in the lessons, and themselves in interviews. They seem to understand that academic writing is associated with thinking, and allow time for students to answer, often showing great patience and long wait times, which sometimes paid off. However, elicitation that works with EGP may not be transferable to EAP, for example, Helen attempted to elicit the label for the last sentence of a paragraph, 'final comment', but waited over a minute in vain for an answer, because the concept was unknown by the students. In one of Nur's lessons, there are periods of silence, as she considered students contributions, and writes them into a paragraph; the students are learning through watching the paragraph emerge rather than listening, and Helen similarly provides opportunities for students to contribute in the chatbox before recasting their contributions as example sentences on the lesson slide. Thus, academic writing is implicitly associated with silence and thoughtfulness in which students are encouraged to formulate their contributions. This shows that authoritarian approaches can differ, lessons can be completely dominated by the teacher, or simply controlled, the latter allows for some contribution from students.

5.1.3.2 Teacher as langauge corrector. The teachers' rather narrow conception of academic writing led them to a focus on accuracy. Thus, academic writing is conceived of as placing a high value on correctness, both in grammatical form and in the use of formulaic language such as thesis statements. The focus is on grammatical

accuracy rather than register appropriacy, and there is no mention of grammar specific to academic language.

This attitude is seen in approaches to correction. All four teachers describe a range of correction techniques, and for all, the focus is on the texts themselves, rather than socio-political aspects implied in their production (Turner, 2011). In other words, the texts, language and correction are generalised with no allowance for the particular context, which might be expected in a non-English speaking, expanding circle country such as Turkey.

Teachers seemed well informed on correction methods. John describes a technique where he covers the student text apart from one piece, and then does the same with another piece. He then asks the students to explain the connection, and highlights the need for coherence between the two, although it is not clear how this coherence is to be achieved.

Nur emphasises the need for simplicity, and describes a strategy of telling her students to imagine that the reader is 'stupid', and needs everything explaining very clearly. This misrepresents academic writing as simple rather than complex, and sacrifices sophistication for intelligibility, reflecting her statements that students are not ready for the rigours of academic language.

Nur reports makes an effort to give individualised feedback, telling students to work on areas that they need to practice by themselves, giving passives as an example that some may need. Erica reports using error codes, but admits she does not have time for individualised feedback. She encourages the students to tell her if they have areas that are of concern. John emphasises the need for targeted correction, focusing on different aspects at different times, e.g., grammar, content, and punctuation.

Only Helen selects errors for work in class and promotes these as learning experiences for their writers themselves, and the class, as a face-saving strategy for

the (anonymous) authors; however, she does not analyse the possible reasons for mistakes and there is no consideration of the contexts of the errors, or whether they are major problems or simply minor irritations which do not interfere with the message. Helen seems to have set out with the intention of eliciting correction but ends up doing most of the work herself. Her corrections are focused on thesis statements and other formulaic language, which are difficult for students precisely because they are so specific, representing "the institutional practice of mystery" (Lillis, 2001). She tells students that the reporting verbs (*suggest, state, emphasize* etc) make language formal, i.e., she gives the impression that language becomes formal through the use of certain words, rather than the concepts they express and the contexts they are part of.

All promote a focus on language accuracy, at the expense of other aspects of language, and all are working within in normative approach, where teachers provide the evaluation, rather than a collaborative one (Unlu & Wharton, 2015), where there is shared responsibility for choosing the sentences for correction, or determining the focus of correction. Correction is characterised by teacher dominated discourse, e.g., imperatives ("always proofread your work"), thus implying criticism that students do not do this, revealing the underlying power structures (Lillis & Tuck, 2016). This teacher-dominated approach also denies the possibility for student-internal factors and individual differences (Sanchez & Dikilitaş, 2019). While teachers may not be able to cater for all of these in terms of classroom logistics, this perspective may nevertheless benefit teachers' practises.

5.1.3.3 The teacher as transmitter of rules. This section covers teachers' generalised approaches, including generalisations concerning academic language, and its teaching. Without an established academic writer identity, academic writing is conceived of, and explained in very generalised terms. John's example paragraphs are rather informal in tone, and no attention is drawn to the text except for the focal sentences, while Nur's are much closer to academic style and she spends considerable effort recasting students' ideas into acceptable academic form. Also,

she allows students to watch her write a paragraph, positioning herself as an expert at work, i.e., she has, to certain degree, a sense of self as a writer, the know-how and the emotional involvement (Cameron, Nairn & Higgins, 2009). Despite this, there is no explanation of how she arrived at her text, partly due to her belief that students should not be (consciously) exposed to complex language, and partly because her focus is on the generic signal sentences in the paragraph, rather than those that deliver the content.

Another issue illustrates Nur's more explicit EAP methodology in contrast to Helen's more EGP focused approach. Nur's example paragraph involves eliciting ideas from students on the topic of the writing assignment, and then combining the ideas with supporting citations from the reading texts. One of Helen's activities involved eliciting students' own opinions for use as citations, using their surnames and date. This was an 8.30 morning lesson and the opinions concerned what students thought of the early start. The trivial context meant that students' comments were unsuited to this purpose, underlining the differences between EGP and EAP methodology (Campion, 2016). Personalisation is appropriate for EGP, but it is much more difficult to apply in EAP, because of the seriousness of the subject matter. Another example of non-specific teaching is Helen's use of grade records in class to show how students have improved across assignments; this purely morale boosting, and no explanations were given as to how students improved. Interestingly neither Nur nor Helen discussed their own academic writing experience with the class, preferring to focus on the general rather than the personal.

Generalisation applies not just to language. John is heavily invested in his expertise in technology, yet he makes little effort to use technological tools to enhance teaching; according to Koehler and Mishra (2007), a knowledge of technology alone will not be beneficial unless integrated with pedagogy, and content knowledge in a flexible way. Thus, teaching is generalised to lecturing, just as academic writing is generalised to a uniform structure. Lecturing is used to teach highly formulaic language under the guise of teaching academic writing. John and

Erica's focus on rules, decontextualised language and exercises contrasts with Nur's integration of rules of citation and language practice into class writing activities, revealing differences in expertise in teaching writing (Tsui, 2003). However, Nur's explanation of the reasons for citation to students are very much in line with the other teachers; for assessment of their ability to paraphrase and thus avoid plagiarism, for supporting opinions, and for practice for their own departmental work. Thus, her explanations are in terms of assessment requirements, rather than discussing text responsible writing and integration of sources as a key skill in moving away from self-referential secondary school writing (Leki & Carson, 1997). Nur has undoubted teaching expertise, yet her concept of writing remains limited, largely framed in reference to university assessment rather than the wider benefits.

Second career teachers are valued for their forthrightness and strength of opinion (Nielsen, 2016), shown by John and Erica's often blunt statements in the interviews, and their more strongly and confidently expressed ideas regarding academic writing in lessons. This kind of honest approach is valued in the business world. However, it may be less appropriate in regard to academic writing, which can be highly nuanced and where definite opinions about the rights and wrongs of academic writing are open to debate. Erica follows the "this is how we do it in English" approach with no options or negotiation, in which rules are presented as unassailable facts. In contrast, Helen elicits answers, discussing different possibilities, at least allowing for the possibility of negotiation over student contributions (McCambridge, 2016).

Focusing on content seems to be a strategy for John, as he discusses in great depth the issues surrounding setting up companies, the topic of one of the assignment. This has the effect of leaving little time is available for exploring the social issues related to education implied in academic writing (Morgan, 2016). By positioning themselves as business experts, especially when the content relates to business, as in writing assignment 2 of the ENG 101 course, Erica, and particularly

John, are able to focus on their perceived role as all-knowing content specialists, and thus minimise a focus on academic language.

5.1.3.4 Claimed academic writing expertise. The focus on structure and vocabulary allows teachers to position themselves as experts, and the students as deficient, seen as unable to structure academic writing, unskilled and needing close supervision. The common themes across all participants are the need for error-free language, avoidance of plagiarism, and use of academic vocabulary and transitions. However, there is little in the way of explanation of how academic text is created. The method is the imitation of texts, focused on particular functional language, rather than analysis of the language of the parts of the texts which exemplify academic writing.

Another factor influencing identity is native speaker status, especially for John and Erica, and to some extent, Helen. The superiority of native speakers seems legitimated in the current context (Reeves, 2018) , and the Freshmen programme has a higher proportion of native speakers than the prep program, reflecting Erica's belief that native speaker teachers are more valuable at higher levels dealing with 'idiomatic language'. In contrast, Nur, as a non-native speaker treats students with more equality respect despite her background in a more "conservative" educational culture, and is less likely to attribute negative characteristics. The 'authenticity' of native speaker language is generalised, not relating to particular contexts, while non-native speakers have 'authentication' (Creese, Blackledge & Takhi, 2014), i.e., their language and their practices may be more suited to the context; in this case Nur's approach is more suitable both in its academic language style, and its practices, which shows an understanding of the needs of L2 writers in the social context.

In contrast, the native-speaker teachers use their authenticity to claim educational and moral authority that they do not have (Doerr & Kumagai, 2009), in this case, the claim of expertise in academic writing. The native-speakerism view is summed up in the question "why aren't the students writing properly anymore?", is

simplistic, regarding language as needing only a quick technical fix (Blommart, Street, Turner & Scott, 2007), rather than seeing language as complex and socially situated.

This claim of moral authority is seen in issue of plagiarism highlighted by particularly by native-speakers John and Erica; Erica issues strong warnings in her lessons, and makes it clear to students she is aware of anonymous social media posts offering payment for the completion of ENG 101 writing assignments at the university. However, there is no evidence that her own students are involved, or that this is a particularly widespread problem. The implication is that students who are deficient in language are more likely to plagiarise. In fact, this perception might be a Western view of non-Western students, or possibly caused by different cultural conceptions of plagiarism, and student misunderstanding of what constitutes cheating (Phan Le Ha, 2006). The term 'plagiarism' makes no distinction between a deliberate cheating and 'patchwriting', strategies employed when students are faced with difficult texts in unfamiliar topics in introductory academic writing courses (Li & Casanave, 2012). An excessive focus on plagiarism may send a negative message, and perpetuate a negative self-image. A positive self-image is critical to establishing a writer identity, and most students do not see themselves as skilled in academic writing. In academic writing lessons in general, students cannot recall being encouraged as writers, and unfortunately, the emphasis is often on correctness rather than communication in writing lessons (Fernsten & Reda, 2011).

John and Erica, who have business backgrounds, seem more teacher-centred than Helen and Nur, who make more effort to involve students. A possible cause is the difference in background; business contexts are much more hierarchal that educational contexts, and business report writing is usually a subordinate's report to superiors, while academic writing is more associated with dissemination to peers.

Table 8

Participants' Teaching Focus and Style

Teacher	Experience	Focus	Teaching style
John (M)	20+ years in Universities	content focus, rules of writing, cultural focus	authoritarian, very dominant, humour, personal anecdotes
Helen (F)	25 years+ in universities	Writing practice, accuracy in language	dominant, focus on motivation, overprotection, praise. EGP/EAP teaching methods
Erica (F)	15 years+ in universities	focused on, assessment, examples, exercises, plagiarism	authoritarian, but with personal interest in students.
Nur (F)	25 years + in universities	text construction, text analysis, text structure	collaborative/authoritarian, involvement and acknowledgement of student contributions

Table 8 summarises the teaching practices. Thus, lack of recent experience of producing academic texts means that the teachers, as readers of student work, will likely be emphasising their language teacher role, rather than writer or academic writing teacher role, i.e., they will focus firstly on language accuracy, and consider meaning as secondary. In such circumstances, students are denied the opportunity for multiple identity positions, as they are never given the chance to position themselves as 'other' than their current (language student) role; students are seen as being demotivated, however, the issue may in fact be lack investment (Norton & Toohey, 2011), due to the dominance of the teacher, and the narrowness of the view of writing that is presented. Thus, the teachers' (mis)conception of academic writing may lead to reduced student interest, which the teacher may interpret as a lack of ability, or motivation, or both.

An alternative approach, represented by Nur's teaching, is shown in Figure 5. The teacher is the subject of the activity system on the left, the learners are the subject of the activity system on the right. As both activity systems have the same outcome, i.e., writing, the two are in harmony. The division of labour in the teaching system gives active roles to students, and creates a community in the learning system. Students are involved with contributions and questions, i.e., they mediate the writing output.

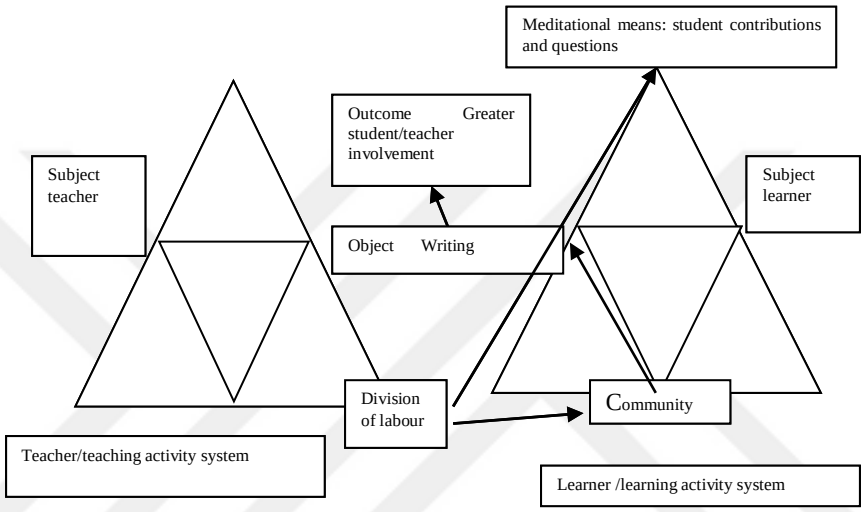

Figure 5. Teacher and Learner activity systems

5.1.4 Formation of EAP teacher identity. This section addresses the fourth research question regarding how teacher identities are interpreted in terms of CHAT. Changes occurs when contradictions emerge, caused by conflicts within the activity system, or between systems. Engeström (2001) defines contradictions as "the historically accumulating structural tensions within and between activity systems" (p. 137). However, these are only potential changes if resolved; if unacknowledged or unresolved, the conflicts will simply remain as obstacles to learning.

The activity system up to now has been fairly stable. The course book is regularly updated, but, although content has changed, the books have been essentially in the same format for many years. Online components are growing, but these generally support the current material with its focus on highly-structured academic writing. Thus, as far as material tools are concerned, little has changed, and this also influences cognitive resources of the teachers. The same is true for other elements of the activity system, the community; the core teacher group has remained the same for many years, although is affected by retirement and the occasional new member.

Beijaard and Meijer (2017) propose that beliefs are the filter which all teaching knowledge passes through. For later career teachers, such as in this study, beliefs may be entrenched, as teachers tend to rely on past experience to guide teaching, rather than administration or colleagues, and views of self-efficacy may be formed in isolation from others (Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk Hoy, 2001). The object of the activity system, the teaching, tends to be neglected. The content gets updated, but tasks consists of traditional reading and listening with multiple choice questions and vocabulary exercises; there is no teacher's manual as such, just an answer key with brief teaching suggestions. This underlines that EAP methodology is neglected at the expense of content (Todd, 2003). There are few training activities to support EAP teaching, as most department staff meetings focus on assessment and administrative issues.

In terms of rules, these are also stable, regarding the rules of academic writing and assessment that are taught, and the rules for teaching; the teaching is strictly regulated by the syllabus, although interpretation of syllabus is left to the individual teacher. The division of labour has remained stable; the course coordinator has changed several times in recent years, but this has not brought major change in terms of attitudes; the current coordinator, John, has no plans or even opportunity to make changes.

There is little in the background of the teachers to trigger identity change. Any kind of writing activity is minimal, and teacher training has traditionally focused on EGP, rather than EAP; teachers attend workshops and talks within the School of Foreign Languages, but these relate generally to non-EAP issues like classroom management. There has been no reason for teachers to do research because this has not been seen as part of the job. However, all activity systems have inherent contradictions, particularly between individuals and the wider society (Roth, 2004). This study has revealed three macro-level factors that are causing conflicts within the activity system. These have the potential to trigger identity change, although it is by no means certain that they will do so. The first is the mandatory PD projects that teachers have been required to do for the last 3 years. The second is changes in attitude towards EAP teaching within the university, particularly the abandoning of the five-paragraph essay, and the final one is the switch to online teaching during the pandemic. These represent changes within the university and the wider society.

5.1.4.1 PD projects. According to Buğra and Wyatt (2020), professional development communities can be activity systems that interact with teaching activity systems, which can sustain development over time, providing a cultural/ historical aspect. PD projects represent a potential source of identity change. The introduction of mandatory PD projects by the management of the school of foreign languages has moved the emphasis from passive PD, e.g., workshop attendance, to research projects or at least, reflective projects.

When considering PD activities chosen by teachers, it is important to consider their current beliefs, and the personal, family and school influences on these (Bukor 2015). Helen reported receiving criticism on her creative writing at the age of 11 or 12, and then struggled without much help at university as a writer, and this led her to becoming rather protective of students; her PD therefore focuses on understanding and changing students' attitudes to academic writing, seeing students as intrinsically demotivated and challenged by it. Erica's positioning of student writers as deficient and her rather elitist view of academic writing can be traced back to her mothers'

worldview and her native speaker status; accordingly, her current PD seems focused on teachers and teaching, rather than students. John's trajectory from a working-class background to management in the electronics sector may be responsible for his eschewing of creative writing in favour of utilitarian forms, and also his lack of interest in PD, as he regards himself as being equipped to teach academic writing, without the need for further effort.

Nur's background in language learning, teaching and academic writing means that she is most able to benefit from the PD opportunity. Her professional development project, focused on academic writing instruction over a semester, and involves a small community of two others, the current researcher and a teacher trainer. This project involved peer observation, which led to learning opportunities. In response to Nur's suggesting that the researcher had not fully prepared students for writing, he raised the issue of student knowledge, in line with the need for "considering the resources that (student) writers bring to the academy" (Lillis & Scott, 2007). Nur's response was that the interviews and observations and subsequent reading had raised her awareness on issues such as student knowledge, the need for personalisation of material, and an academic language focus. This small community allowed her to increase her engagement with inquiry into teaching academic writing, with the possibility of a spoken or written output (Kaivanpanah, Alavi, Bruce & Hejazi, 2021). The project also benefited the researcher, focusing him on his own learning from observing Nur's lessons. He particularly focused on Nur's involvement of the class in creating a written output as a potential influence on his own practice.

As Ding and Bruce (2017) recommend, the project directly built on a teacher's existing roles, in this case Nur's roles as teacher and materials writer, and she reported the intention to change the materials as a result of her learning. However, she stopped short of a written output; although her focus was on EAP writing, she focused on her role as teacher to the exclusion of her writer role. EAP teachers may have their own, non-EAP, interests to follow; none of the participants chose a focus on academic discourse for their PD projects, a key issue for EAP writing teachers

(Bahrami, Hosseini & Atai, 2019). This is a concern, because EAP PD should focus on, for example, phrases or collocation, or concepts such as register or rhetorical purposes of language (Li, Ma, Zhao & Hu, 2020) and giving teachers a theoretical perspective on academic writing issues such as proofreading (Teng, 2016).

5.1.4.2 Changing university demands. Another activity system that interacts with the EAP teaching activity system is the university system. The School of Foreign Languages exists to support the faculties. After consulting with the faculties, the ENG 101 was modified to exclude essay writing, as this was not considered relevant. The university required students to be able to write paragraph-length answers to exam questions, without long introductions and conclusions.

This has caused contradictions for John and Erica, whose conception of academic writing rests strongly on the five-paragraph essay. Both see this as a regression due to the reduction in length, rather than considering the form, and are highly resistant to the change. Nur seems also attached to the essay form, but she has a better understanding of the need to consider the university needs, i.e., she sees academic writing is socially situated within the university. Writing teachers' expertise can be seen as adaptive or routine (Lee & Yuan, 2020). Nur's is more adaptive, marked by flexibility, the willingness to learn and self-agency. Adaptive expertise refers to attitudes to learning in the face of changes in the future, both for teachers themselves and their students, and the flexibility of their expertise is reflected in their visions for the future.

5.1.4.3 Move to online teaching. The final important change is the move to online teaching due to the pandemic. This is cited as a drawback by all teachers; it interferes with teacher–student communication, and prevents teachers monitoring students' academic writing. All observed lessons were online lessons, and this may have led to a distorted picture in terms of actual in class practices; as John points out, he felt more in the role of a lecturer. Only Erica tentatively suggested, perhaps rather

uncharacteristically, that the lack of supervision may have benefits in allowing students more freedom.

The move to online has the potential to disrupt current practices; however, this is not always the case. Across the 12 observations, the students used the microphone once, and an online tool (Google Jamboard) once, and no other online tools except the chatbox, suggesting that although the teaching tools have changed, the practices seem not to have, and face-to-face practices are being used in an online environment (Blin & Munro, 2008).

The move online represents a loss of power to teachers because it takes away their ability to supervise students (student cameras were not used for technical reasons). Most teachers report that supervising students while they were writing in class was a key role, and that this was now impossible. A possible advantage is a greater focus on collective writing; academic writing can be done in breakout groups online; with students working together on texts, this would represent a considerable move towards a more democratic and student-centred approach. By shifting the tools from paper and pencil to online tools, students can be given more control over their academic writing, although more training for teachers may be needed. However, it is by no means clear that this change will take place in the current context.

5.1.4.4 Teachers' reactions to the changes. The changes occurring in the teaching activity system are being driven by the wider activity system of university itself. Change does not occur through individual efforts alone but through people working together, and changing in their Zone of Proximal Development (Russell, 1995). The university is providing opportunities for change and the appropriate tools; personal PD projects aimed at teacher change supported by teacher trainers, a shift in focus of the academic writing taught to more socially appropriate forms, and an online environment, supported by development opportunities from the university Teaching and Learning Centre.

However, there is evidence that such changes may not be having much effect. At best, there is adoption of relevant PD, and recognition of the need for change (Nur), at worst, there is resistance to all change, and especially that which means surrendering of power to students or university (John). The process is highly complex, and how teachers react to such interventions depends on their understanding of academic writing, which in turn, depends on their historical and cultural background (Fisher, 2012). Improving work means expansive education (Engeström, 2000), and crossing boundaries, in this case, this involves working with students, the university administration, colleagues, the School of Foreign Languages, teacher trainers, and researchers, and Teaching and Learning Centre. These groups form activity system networks (Engeström, 2001) between the teacher and learner. All these are potentially available in the current context, but what is missing is the possibility of teachers and students influencing each other as writers, since the teachers themselves are not academic writers in a true sense; i.e without an understanding of academic writing, other stakeholders and resources may be ineffective.

The following figures represent summaries of the four participants in terms of their professional, academic writing and educational background, conceptions of academic literacy (ac lit), academic writing teacher identity (AWTI) and the prospects for identity change (prospects). There is a vertical causal influence, i.e., background influences ac lit, ac lit influences AWTI, and AWTI influences prospects.

Prospects: identity fixed, change unlikely
AWTI: content focused, native speakerism, authoritarian
Ac lit: writing is structure, accuracy important, students are deficient
Background: scientific/professional texts, no writing interests, manager role important

Figure 6. John's AWTI

John’s conception of writing emerges from his scientific writing background, which leaves him heavily focused on text structure. Students are positioned as deficient, leading to an authoritarian AWTI, reinforced by a strong content focus and native-speakerism attitude. With no interest in researched-focused PD, his prospects for identity change seem limited.

Prospects: Identity change depends on support for her academic writing
AWTI: native-speakerism, protective/authoritarian, utilitarian
Ac lit: writing is structure, accuracy important, students are demotivated, but writing can be liberating
Background: some personal writing, MA in ELT, very limited academic writing experience

Figure 7. Helen’s AWTI

Helen has a background in education and personal writing interests. Although she has experienced that journal writing can be liberating, her conception of academic writing remains tethered to language accuracy and structure. Her academic writing teacher identity is authoritarian, stemming from a protective rather than a disciplinarian attitude. She has potential for identity change through future (academic) writing projects, but this depends on finding supportive co-authors.

Prospects: identity rather fixed, interest in PD, but not academic writing
AWTI: rule focused, native-speakerism, authoritarian
Ac lit: accuracy important, five paragraph essay is basis of AW
Background: social science degree, professional writing experience, no personal writing interests, 'misconceptions' from family

Figure 8. Erica's AWTI

Erica has no personal writing interests, and a limited range of professional writing in the past. As a result she is very focused on accuracy and five-paragraph essays in her conception of academic writing. Her identity is strongly based on her native speaker status, and her knowledge of the 'rules' of academic writing. Her identity seems rather fixed, but she has plans for a written output for PD. This is not related to academic writing.

Prospects: PD is a potential way forward
AWTI: student focused, L2 writer perspective collaborative/authoritarian
Ac lit: structure is important, accuracy is important, students are growing as writers
Background: MA, academic writing in past, mother of university aged son

Figure 9. Nur's AWTI

Nur has a background in ELT education, and has extensive L2 academic writing experience, including four published articles, although none recently. Although she conceives of academic writing mainly in terms of structure and accuracy, she has a strong conception of students growing as writers through the experience of writing. Her authoritarian focus on rules is balanced by her view of

writing as collaborative. She is the only participant to clearly benefit from being a research participant, with a related PD project. This seems to have resulted in learning, but with no academic written output.

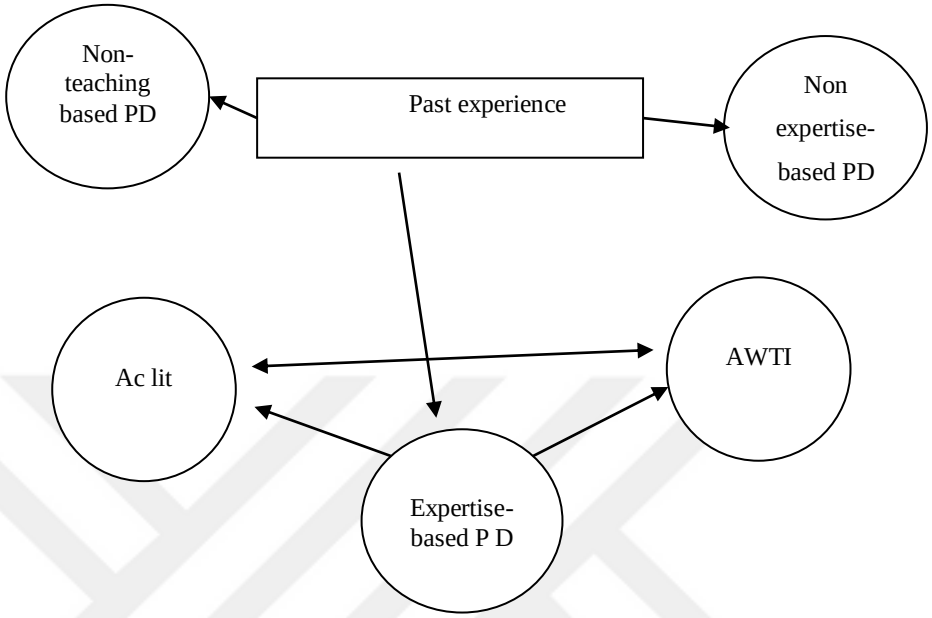

Figure 10. Effect of past on PD choices

The figure above shows how past experience influences professional development. Past experience influences PD choices, so that without extensive academic writing experience, teachers may choose PD that is general in nature (Erica) or even PD that does not focus on their teacher role (John). Those with tendencies towards academic writing, such as Helen and Nur, through previous academic writing experience and higher degrees, are more open to opportunities with academic writing experts. This has the potential to influence their identity and their conceptions of academic writing, which are closely linked. However, these may be unsustainable without guidance.

5.1.4.5 The emerging theoretical understanding. From the grounded theory perspective, the results of this study reveal that, while none of the teachers had a clear academic writing identity, or even a strong writing identity, the teachers can be

divided into two groups, those with academic writing experience beyond undergraduate level, and those without. Of the two with, there is another division, with and without L2 writing experience.

This suggests that for teachers with no experience of academic writing, conceptions of writing will be influenced by previous professional writing experience, which in this case, was in business, and was conceived largely as a service provided by subordinates for communicating information about products and clients. This was transferred into an interpretation of academic writing as an extremely writing structure-focused, accuracy-focused genre, in line with the needs of the accurate transfer of information in a highly stylised way, and this was conveyed through authoritarian teaching styles.

In contrast, the two teachers with Master's degrees allowed more student involvement, were less dogmatic about the nature of academic writing, and focused more on text creation and less on rules. The teacher with L2 writing experience in particular, was more open to working with students to create texts. However, the influences of academic writing experience in these two were not sufficient to challenge conceptions of the nature of academic writing; merely the degree of severity with which rules were imposed and applied, and the means by which they were to be inculcated.

This suggests that professional writing and academic writing in the teachers' backgrounds are competing influences on teaching. Professional writing experience may not be a beneficial experience in AWTI, in fact, it may even be harmful. This links to other aspects of the teachers' background; the hierarchical nature of their previous work environments, and their use of their positions as native speakers to reinforce their authority may also combine with their view of academic writing to create a narrow-focused and rigid view of academic writing and how it should be taught. This tendency to authoritarianism may be accompanied by discourses of declining standards and student deficiency.

Unfortunately, such conceptions seem to be compounded by an attitude of forthrightness which, while valued in business settings, may be less suited to academic writing instruction. As seen in the interviews and observations, discussing academic writing implies a need for thoughtfulness, and sometimes, silent consideration, and acceptance of uncertainty, but these characteristics may be seen as weakness in the management-oriented teachers.

As well as affecting teaching, background will also affect PD choices. Teachers without a background in academic writing are more likely to choose PD that focuses on supporting their current identity. For those with an identity more open to the concept of academic literacy as ill-defined and mutable, opportunities become available for shifting identities through partnerships and projects, and yet, without a specific academic writing focus, these will be of limited value, and may be difficult to sustain.

The qualities needed to be an academic writing teacher are in many ways the qualities of an academic in other fields: an open and inquiring mind, respect for learning and learners, critical thinking abilities and the ability to conceptualise complex topics. These are the same qualities that can be developed though academic writing. Such qualities may be possible to foster through PD, but as this research shows, attitudes to PD, like attitudes to academic writing, emerge from the individuals' cultural background. Simply applying academic writing PD to those without the inclination or understanding will be unlikely to be successful.

Thus, it is important that academic writing teachers have at least some personal experience of the subject they are teaching. While a case can be made for some advantages for native speakers in teaching speaking, the same cannot be said for writing, which is likely better taught by those who have faced the challenges of L2 writing. The myth of the native-speaker EAP writing teacher is, if anything, less sustainable that the myth of the native-speaker EGP teacher.

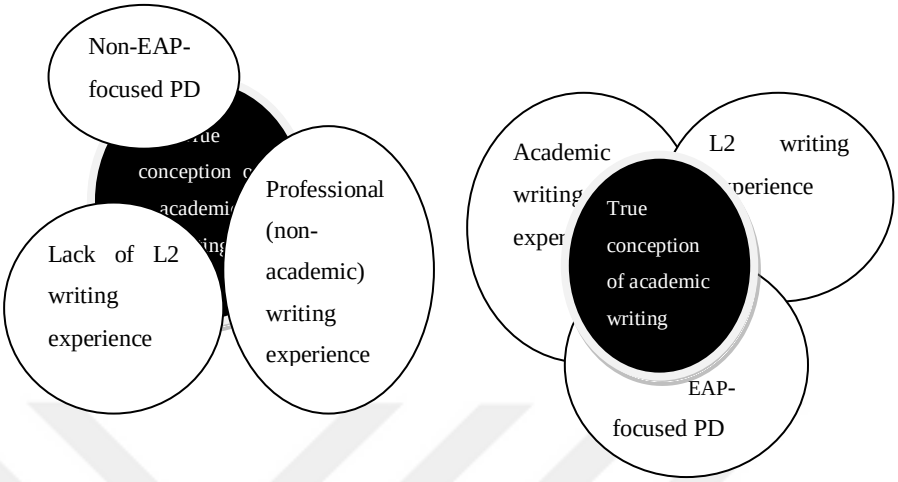

Figure 11. Conceptions of Academic Writing

Figure 11 shows how past experience can affect conceptions of academic writing. Experience of non-academic professional writing e.g. report writing, may lead to an eclipse of true conceptions of academic writing, acting as a barrier to the realisation of its nature. The lack of L2 writing and non-EAP PD have the same effect. These factors obscure the nature of academic writing. In contrast, past experience of academic writing can support the conception of writing, enlightening and nurturing its teaching, and is further supported by L2 writing experience and PD focused on academic writing. All these support the true conceptions of academic writing.

5.2 Pedagogical Implications

Academic writing teachers need to develop their writing skills through personal academic writing; they need to adopt the identity of academic writers to understand the process. This means they need knowledge of academic micro-strategies in terms

of language, and at the macro level, an understanding of the relationship between thinking and writing. Writing focused PD would give a motivation for the macro-level, and the micro-level could develop from this, by teachers working with their own academic texts as outputs. Teachers would experience first-hand the tasks that students are expected to do, such as paraphrasing and citation. PD projects such as teacher research, which involve literature reviews and data collection, should therefore be encouraged.

Support should be provided for teachers who have already taken their first steps in academic writing to continue or restart these efforts. For those who have never written, opportunities can be provided by researchers involving teachers as collaborators rather than research participants, as happened with Helen. Efforts at academic writing should be supported by other PD activities that support a "fundamental philosophical change in their approach to teaching writing" (Coxhead & Byrd, 2007), through an understanding of the nature of academic vocabulary and grammar. Reflective writing on practice could be the way to reach such language. Good reflective writing in academic contexts may be considered an academic genre in itself, if recognised as a complex form, and includes aspects such as a focus on academic grammar, e.g., nominalisation (Ryan, 2011).

Just as it is important to understand the factors determining teachers PD preferences, it is also important to understand the origins of teachers' attitudes to writing, and even help teachers to understand their own sense of self as a writer (Cremin & Oliver, 2017). Although not the aim of this research, the data has the potential to allow this, by disseminating the results of the research among the participants.

One contradiction has emerged in this study: teachers see themselves as being authorities on academic writing, yet they lack the experience in the skill and thus the authority that they are regarded as experts in. Perhaps their view of themselves as authorities would be increased by engagement in academic writing; all teachers have

experience of preparing their own material, exercises and examples; thus, they are somewhere between the two extremes of researchers and mere implementers of prepared materials (Ding, 2019). The design of materials and writing about this is another possible approach.

All this will require time and training. Two teachers cited family commitments as obstacles. All the EAP teachers in this study were late career teachers, three with a child or children, all were in full time employment, and two were in roles that involved other duties. Teachers may need to be given the time, as well as the support for professional development.

Finally, late career teachers are a rather neglected group. They have plenty of experience, but may need special treatment in terms guidance in making best use of this experience (Mumford & Dikilitaş, 2020). Thus, PD needs to take into account their past achievements that potentially promote their academic writing, as well as the factors that may hinder this.

5.3 Conclusions

This study points to a number of conclusions which are important to redressing the balance between the actual demands of academic writing itself, rather than the perceived demands of exams, essay structure and deficient students.

First of all, it is important to realise that attitudes to academic writing may be rooted in personal and professional experiences that do not directly relate to academic writing, especially when there is a lack of academic writing experience. As seen in the study, these views can shape identity, positioning students as deficient, reinforcing a teacher centred approach, which does not encourage students to expand their roles in academic writing classes.

Second, academic writing experience, more than any other single factor, is the key aspect in differentiating the EAP and EGP teacher. Thus, although a Master's degree and academic writing experience can help teachers realise the limitations of five-paragraph essays and look for alternatives (Altınmakas & Bayyurt, 2019), this research shows that a Master's degree and general writing experience are no substitute for *academic* writing experience. This points to the difference between EGP and EAP teacher identity; identity is constructed from different roles as teacher, assessor, leader, curriculum developer, and researcher (Barkhuizen & Mendieta, 2020). All these identities are present to some degree in the participants, except for researcher identity, which is only minimally held by two; yet this is likely to be a key identity for EAP teachers as researcher is synonymous with academic writer; the lack of researcher identity may be critical.

The third aspect of the current context is the deficit model, which all teachers apply to some extent, although this is expressed in different ways, as students' lack of capability, lack of motivation, propensity to cheat, or immaturity. In this view, students need constant supervision. All participants to varying degrees show attitudes that reveal students as deficient. This is based on attitudes such as EGP approaches, where students are positioned as purely language learners rather than learners of academic writing, and as the native speaker as a model, where students are positioned as linguistically deficient.

The fourth aspect is that teachers without experience of L2 academic writing themselves may not be well equipped to teach L2 academic writing. Discussing feedback, Ferris (2014) notes a general type of university writing teacher which she describes as "outsiders", i.e., from backgrounds other than composition and language teaching, who tend be cynical about students, and ignore research and best practices. This seems to fit John, and perhaps Erica, too, both teachers with strong beliefs about academic writing, but little, if any, exposure to writing theory, and little interest in it. In other words, they seemed to have evolved their own philosophy of writing independent of the reality of academic writing practices. Helen and Nur have writing

experience, their teaching is rather different from the non-writer participants, yet their conceptions of writing are framed in the same rule-based, extrinsically-motivated terms as John and Erica; without a well-established writing identity themselves, it may be difficult for teachers to instil writer identity in the students.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, teachers who are not academic writers themselves may lack the critical thinking skills that they may perceive that their students lack. A key finding was that teachers in this study mainly considered academic writing a utilitarian skill, for passing exams, writing assignments at university and reports in their professional lives. Although critical thinking was mentioned, none of the teachers emphasized its intrinsic value, as a key 21st century skill. Ding (2019) emphasizes that due to the nature of EAP, without specific training, teachers may experience a lack of socialisation, and thus remain dependent on EGP methods. The participants seemed unaware of critical EAP, and attitudes on the whole were unreflective, if not of teaching, at least of the role of EAP and academic language in plays in the university and world in terms of producing creative and critical thinkers.

Teachers who have not developed critical thinking skills themselves through academic writing are unlikely to be able to pass it on to others. Erica considered that the planning stage was when ideas were formulated, and regarded academic writing as simply the encoding of these ideas, and John emphasized the need for students to be taught critical thinking skills before starting on an academic writing course. The perceived divorce between academic writing and thinking seems reflect the role of academic writing as a static form, rather than creative process that allows ideas to unfold, i.e., writing up existing knowledge rather than exploring ideas. This is tantamount to the denial of the creative aspect in academic writing (Yoo, 2017). Thus, the consequence is that rather than teaching writing as a collaborative endeavour among the class as a community, the teachers tend to lecture students about a specific form of academic writing, in which the focus is on supporting opinions with sources. The conceptualisation of academic writing as opinion-driven

seems at odds with research-driven writing in the real world and mirrors the problem; teachers are happy to express their opinions of what (they think) academic writing is, yet often this bears little resemblance to research-driven conception of academic writing.

Thus, the lack of recent or extensive academic writing experience underpins these teachers' attitudes to the different aspects of the activity system, to the students as objects, to the teaching material as a tool, and to the student-teacher relations, as the division of labour, and to teachers' relatively lowly status in the wider community of the university. Academic writing can support cognitive development of teachers, thus, adding an important tool to the teaching activity system. Academic writing can be a tool to understand one's own (academic writing) identity, in the face of contradictions and conflicts that are inevitable in the activity system of EAP writing teaching. Academic writing can lead to an understanding of one's autobiographical self and one's discoursal self (Burgess & Ivanic, 2010), i.e., it can help teachers understand different aspects of their own identity. However, as this research shows, there are multiple barriers to research writing, including lack of time, support and opportunities for publication (Xu, 2014).

This reflects typical problems faced by many EAP teachers; opportunities for academic writing are limited, and the course has emerged with a focus on a particular interpretation of academic writing, focused on superficial aspects. At present, the PD activity system is focused on teaching, rather than writing. Of the three participants who express interest in academic writing, two feel 'excluded' from the academic writing activities carried out by academics within the School of Foreign Language, and another cites workload and personal responsibilities for her lack of academic writing. These are legitimate concerns which have been cited in many other contexts. The task of the university will be to build a PD system that allows teachers the time and energy to gain an awareness of the value of academic writing as a system of personal cognitive development, and focus less on the creation of texts that fulfil criteria on checklists.

5.4 Recommendations and Further Research

Further research should focus on the involvement of teachers in research as collaborators. For example, the four research participants in this study were not involved in the design or writing up of this research, but this is a possible direction for further research. Research involvement implies academic writing involvement, and CHAT approaches could focus on the academic writing, teaching, and research activity systems. Involving teachers in all three systems would be a possible direction for further research.

Other possibilities include longitudinal studies (Cremin & Oliver, 2017); these would enable a view of the effectiveness of PD interventions and the online environment, especially for the two participants, Nur and Helen, involved in projects related to academic writing or its teaching. It is important to understand whether these will be sustained or not, given that the partnerships that encouraged them seem to have ended with the completion the projects.

One strength, in terms of depth, but at the same time, drawback in terms of range, of the current research is the small number of participants. A larger number of participants would allow a wider view of the reasons behind the differences in approaches. Nur's extensive L2 academic writing practice as a student and pre-service teacher emerged as a key historical/cultural factor influencing the opportunities to engage students in EAP writing in class. Research with a more equal balance between participants of different language backgrounds would help to confirm this. In a context where native speakers are privileged, it is important to understand what they bring to EAP writing, compared to their non-native counterparts.

Participants from different backgrounds would widen the study; both teachers with non-education professional backgrounds were from business, although one was focused on technology and the other, finance. In view of the limited research on second career teachers (Nielsen, 2016), it would be interesting to explore how former professions influence conceptions of academic writing for both native and non-native English speaker teachers.

All research was carried out online, including the interviews and observations, due to the pandemic. This may have influenced the state of mind of the participants, and may have affected the observations, because neither the teacher nor the researcher was able to see the students in observed lessons. A similar study with face-to-face interviews/classes would allow comparison, although it is by no means certain that a full return to the pre-pandemic situation is inevitable in this context. Finally, a comparison with other contexts is desirable both within the country, and across countries. This would help to understand how far the late-career, native-speaker EAP writing teacher is a local or more widespread phenomenon. If widespread, this will increase the urgency for research on this specific profile.

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