Rethinking English for Academic Purposes
Towards a Performance-Centred Pedagogy

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The Word is An Act of The Body

(Merleau-Ponty)
ABSTRACT

The term 'performance' has been applied to such a wide variety of human activity and deployed across so many disciplines that it was probably only a matter of time before scholars would start to describe one of their defining activities, namely academic writing, as yet another kind of 'performance'. But what kind of performance exactly? For what audiences? In what settings? Shaped by what kinds of constraining and enabling factors? And, perhaps most importantly, is it a mode of performance to which all members of an academic 'discourse community' can have equal access?

This thesis approaches such questions by bringing key concepts of performance theory into dialogue with scholarship on genre theory, applied linguistics and academic literacy. At the core of the thesis is an analysis of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programmes, typically offered to international students as a pathway into university study. The arguments of the thesis are based on ethnographic participant-observation of classroom practice at three different (de-identified) institutions: Dawkin University in Australia, Oldton University in the USA and Claxted University in the UK. The selection of these sites for fieldwork is based on the fact that they represent, broadly speaking, three of the main theoretical traditions that currently inform the way genres of academic writing are taught in EAP programs: Systemic Functional Linguistics (most prominent in Australian practice), The New Rhetoric (most closely associated with university writing programs in the USA) and English for Specific Purposes (a strong influence on academic and professional writing programs in the UK).

At a fundamental level, this thesis explores the potential for performance, rather than, say, genre, to be the central organising principle of an academic writing pedagogy for students who are learning how to participate in the writing practices of an academic discourse community. The case for academic writing to be reconceptualised in terms of performance is developed as follows: academic writing is an embodied practice that is performatively accomplished. Genre is one aspect of this performative quality in academic writing. Borrowing from
Butler, I conceive of genre as a 'reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established,' which are accomplished through a 'stylized repetition of acts.' Taken in this sense, genre is a means by which the writer establishes their authority and thus performs a socially sanctioned identity. When the embodied, performative nature of academic writing is taken into consideration by those who teach writing programs, the interpersonal aspects of written texts—in particular, the creation of 'writer identity'—come into sharper focus, in ways that make them more 'teachable'. Furthermore, a better understanding of the interplay between writer identity and some other performative aspects of academic writing (such as context, conventions and audience appraisal) makes clearer the relationship between the knower and the known in the emergence of academic knowledge. This leads to my final claim, namely that this inter-relationship between knower and known tends to be occluded within current commodity discourses of knowledge and the increasingly commoditised higher education sector.

Hence, while this thesis sketches an optimistic outline of the potential for a performance-centred writing pedagogy, it also recognises the extent to which classroom practices are constrained by the performativity frameworks that are so much a feature of contemporary university governance, with its rapidly intensifying 'audit culture'. This commodification of knowledge diminishes the significance of the inter-relationship between the knower and the known in knowledge creation, as well as the relational aspects of pedagogical practice. The labour and creativity of students and their teachers becomes reified, offering a rather thin story of how learning takes place. By contrast, a performance-centred writing pedagogy seeks to move beyond a narrowly instrumentalist approach to learning, requiring the retrieval and reinstatement of the embodied knower as a creative agent.
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A NOTE ON SOURCES

The work presented in this thesis is my own. Where I have drawn on the work of individuals and institutions, I have done so in accordance with the required citation conventions. Quotations attributed to participants in my fieldwork observations at different academic institutions have been de-identified and are included with their consent as per the requirements of a research protocol approved by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee.
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Chapter One

From Practice To Theory
The Performance

"Standby." The red light flashes. The cameras roll. It is Friday afternoon and under the blaze of the studio lights, a young man, dressed in jeans, running shoes and a navy polo shirt emblazoned with ENGLAND is sitting in a chair directly facing the cameras, his legs twitchily shaking as he text messages. Off screen, his wife announces her return. She enters the living room, holding a newspaper. She is also dressed in jeans but her white summer cardigan and long, loosely knotted summer scarf create a more dressed up effect. The wife hands her husband the newspaper. He opens it and begins to read. This provokes an emotional tug-of-war as the wife seeks her husband's approval of her new hairstyle and the husband longs for peace and quiet so that he can read his newspaper.

Pam: Well, what do you think?

John: What do I think about what?

Pam: Haven't you noticed?

John: (Looking at his wife for the first time) Oh, you mean your hair.

Pam: Well? Do you like it?

John: Very nice.

Pam: Oh, so you don't like it?

John: I said I liked it.

Pam: No you didn't, you said 'very nice', which means you don't.

John: What do you want me to say?

Pam: Just tell me the truth.

John: I think your hair looks very nice.

The performance is going well. The husband and wife deliver their lines with ease and are convincing as John and Pam. Then, in an unrehearsed move, Pam, in an effort to get John's undivided attention, takes his newspaper. Without the
cover of his newspaper, the young man playing John is left clutching his script, in full view of the cameras. For an instant, his face registers surprise and slight unease but he regains his stride and continues to read from the script. He then makes a move to sit down again and as he does so, he mutters to himself, improvising while in role, "Please I want to read my newspaper," bringing the performance to a close. There is laughter and applause from the gallery. The husband and wife leave the studio as another couple prepare for their performance.

Behind The Scenes

This performance took place in the penultimate lesson of a Pronunciation Through Drama course that I have taught for a number of years, as part of a pre-sessional English for Academic Purposes (EAP) course at a university in the UK. As the name of the course suggests, it is designed to improve the pronunciation of the students through their practice and performance of a variety of short scripts (The Party, The Invitation, The Complaint, Home Truths, In The Driver's Seat), all of which revolve around relational tensions or conflicts between couples. The students select one of these scripts to perform as their final non-assessable assignment. The performance is recorded in the university recording studio and then viewed in the final lesson.

During the preparation and rehearsals for the performance, there is inevitably a class when there are either more male students than female students or more female than male students or an uneven number of students, meaning that the students cannot always be paired as per the requirements of the script. The groups are generally comprised of students from many cultural backgrounds, yet regardless of background, they opt or volunteer for cross-gender roles when the occasion demands or they skilfully adapt the script to account for the fact that there are uneven numbers. Despite the high stakes for these students, the limited time available and other demands on that time (an assessable research essay is due the same day), I am always struck by their high level of commitment, their

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1 The scripts are co-authored by Trevor Clare and Michael Foot who were inspired by a number of English language texts that recognise the value of drama in the language learning classroom.
creative adaptations of the scripts and their highly polished performances, often without the aid of the script or the autocue. In short, they confound all the typical representations of international students - shy, passive, overly dependent, unwilling to express their own views. Observing the students in this light has prompted me to ask what it is about this process that allows the students to respond in a confident and assured manner. What could a closer examination reveal that might offer some resolution to one of the central tensions that exists in teaching EAP? On the one hand, we are meant to be preparing the students to be part of an academic discourse community by helping them to embody an authoritative voice. On the other hand, as I will argue in my ethnographically informed accounts of EAP practice, the institutional architectures of this practice and the pedagogy tend to infantilise the students and compromise the role of the teacher.

**Genesis of My Thesis**

Further reflection on the processes of preparation and rehearsal and the final performance has lead me to conclude that this display of confidence and assurance in completing the assigned task is as important as any improved pronunciation that might occur. Accordingly, I have considered the role that the design of the course might play in fostering this commitment and engagement by the students. Each lesson, during the preparation stage, has both a language focus and a drama focus. The language focus, however, is directed towards the students exploring how they might interpret their script and how they might better realise the communicative intent of their performance, rather than towards 'knowledge about language' (KAL). In other words, the emphasis is on the interpersonal dimension of communication and there is an unstated assumption that the students are competent language users. Thinking of how this drama course might relate to other components of the EAP pre-sessional course, leads to the first question that guides my research: *What type of English for Academic Purposes pedagogy might emerge if 'the Academic' rather than 'the English' were foregrounded?*
Taking the experiences of students in a drama workshop as the point of departure for this study of academic writing pedagogy may appear somewhat quixotic. Initially, the boundaries between a live drama performance and the supposedly lifeless artefacts of academic writing seem unlikely to yield. Yet, on closer examination of the processes involved in working from a written script through to a live performance, these boundaries appear less fixed and more permeable. During the course of rehearsals for their final performance, the students deliberate on how to begin their performance so that the opening scene situates the action spatially and temporally, as well as drawing in the audience. The judgements and decisions involved in determining this opening scene, while different, do bear some similarity to choices they must make when deliberating on the introduction of an academic essay. As the students decide on how to signal important shifts in the action of their drama performances, they consider closely the perspective of their audience, emulating the interactive and interpersonal aspects of meaning-making, which are also important in academic writing, but generally less accessible as an idea in a writing class. Throughout the course, the students have the opportunity to perform a range of different characters which helps them to understand identity as, at least in part, a discursive, malleable construct. Finally, the students are encouraged to modify their scripts to meet their own dramatic purposes; in so doing, they engage in considerations of the interplay between the verbal, vocal and non-verbal elements of language and how they can enact different meanings through changes in this interplay. In rhetorical terms, the students engage in an exploration of the rhetorical appeals of logos, ethos and pathos and how alterations to their performance can alter the relationship between these appeals and therefore affect the overall dramatic impact on the audience. Viewing the Pronunciation Through Drama course from this perspective, I began to see more of an overlap between a drama class and an academic writing class in the shared notions of situating a text, intertextuality, audience and identity.

From this point, it is a relatively small step to ask in what sense writing itself, including academic writing, might also be considered a 'performance' and what the implications of such an understanding might be for EAP writing pedagogy. At
a fundamental level, therefore, this thesis explores the potential for performance to be the central organising principle of an academic writing pedagogy for students who are learning how to participate in the writing practices of an academic discourse community. In other words, it takes seriously Andrea Lunsford's claim that "all writing is a performance", putting forward a theoretical account of how this claim might be substantiated and an ethnographically informed account of why it might be necessary.

**The Theatrical Metaphor and Academic Writing**

Analogies between classroom practice and theatre are not new and the use of drama activities and techniques in language learning (Almond, 2004; Maley & Duff, 1978, 2005; Royka, 2002) is now fairly standard even though the use of drama can be seen as retrograde, given the shift in English language teaching towards an emphasis on 'authentic' texts. In her review of the foreign language learning literature, Sonia Cunico (2005) identifies six main ways in which drama is used in the language classroom. These range from an examination of a drama text for its cultural rather than linguistic value, a stylistic analysis of a literary text as a means of developing systematic awareness of the linguistic system, the creation of a learning atmosphere of trust and community through the use of physical and linguistic drama activities in order to encourage a more spontaneous use of the foreign language being learnt, staging a play in the foreign language or setting up 'a global simulation.' A 'global simulation' involves creating "elaborate communicative situations thematically coherent in terms of setting, characters and events" (Cunico, 2005, p. 22). The value of drama for Clare and Foot (2008) relates more to what Cunico identifies as a 'language in use' approach. They feel that the emphasis on everyday language in the scripts could be of value to the students in out of class interactions, during the course of their studies, but they are also interested in how drama "offers students the opportunity of looking at language through a magnifying glass and paying attention to conversational details," and how this "close scrutiny of the language of drama increases students' awareness of how our perception of people/characters is built upon linguistic choices and styles..." (Cunico, 2005, p. 22).
Cunico has extended the possibilities for drama in the language classroom through adopting an ethnographic approach based on an understanding of "culture" more in terms of 'practices' than knowledge," and an understanding of the foreign language learner as "a ‘cultural mediator’, an ‘intercultural speaker’, and as an ‘ethnographer’", through her focus on inter-cultural learning (Cunico, 2005, p. 22). Gerd Bräuer (2002) has also broadened understandings of drama beyond the artistic and the pedagogical. As editor of the book, *Body and Language: Intercultural Learning Through Drama*, he has assembled a number of scholars to put forward a view of drama as "the interplay between body and language in general that leads to doubts, questions and insights for learners interacting with themselves and others and their linguistic and cultural identity" (Bräuer, 2002, pp. ix-x). Thus, in their investigations of inter-cultural learning, both Cunico and Bräuer highlight the more complex learning that occurs in a drama class.

Of more relevance to my concerns, however, are the variety of theatre metaphors used to describe academic writing. Carluccio views writing as "the shy person’s version of acting" (2010, p. 7) while Chanock sees academic authors as "... actors blinded by the footlights but nonetheless acutely conscious of the audience seated around, academic authors acknowledge their readers - the other members of their discipline - in a number of ways, all of them indirect" (2003, p. 54). Such metaphors point to ways of thinking that might reconcile the apparent 'lifelessness' of the written text conceived as artefact or product and the 'liveness' that the theatrical metaphor implies. Bringing together my experiences in the classroom and the literature on the theatre metaphor, I conceptualise academic writing as a multi-vocal performance (accomplished through various processes of authorship) that resides in the text, as a dynamic entity that is momentarily stilled, awaiting interaction with an audience, whereby its dynamic qualities are once again released through the re-embodiment of the text by the reader(s) and open to appraisal by the reader(s). My earlier research question establishes academe as the locus of my research but now the focus of my research is also guided by my second research question: *What sort of EAP*
pedagogy might emerge if academic writing were conceived as the performance of knowledge for an academic discourse community?

EAP draws on research and theories from Linguistics and Applied Linguistics and more particularly, from the theory and practice of Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Thus, employing a performance-oriented approach to understanding academic writing and academic writing pedagogy may not immediately appear relevant. Suresh Canagarajah, writing in a special edition of the *TESOL Journal* to mark the organisation’s 40th year, noted that there are now “a rich array of realizations and perspectives” that can guide TESOL (2006, p. 29). He believes that the dominant metaphors of “... growth, solution, and stability,” that were evident in Silberstein’s account of TESOL at 25, no longer hold. He puts forward the notion that, “... it is not the comfort of solutions that matters but the vigilance of the search, not the neat product but the messy practice of crossing boundaries, mixing identities, and negotiating epistemologies...” and invites his readers to consider the metaphorical shifts that this notion entails (2006, p. 30). In much the same way, performance theorists such as Phelan, Schneider and Harris have been engaging in the “messy practice of crossing boundaries.” They point to the “power and scope of performance” and its “capacity to challenge the solid world beyond its borders” and thus question the, “apparent obviousness of the ways in which those borders are characterized” (Loxley, 2007, p. 145). The performance studies literature is therefore an important source for the theoretical framework on which I base my conceptualisation of academic writing as a performance and my elaboration of how it might relate to established academic writing pedagogies.

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2 Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)
Performing The Text: Key Concepts

What is Performance?

Our everyday lives are increasingly framed within discourses of performance. Entering the term performance in a web concordancer provides 388 entries, related to music and theatre, to sport, educational achievement and motorcars but nearly half of the entries refer to performance in relation to an institution or organisation (VLC, 2009). In view of the many and varied understandings of performance, even within performance studies, I will briefly outline how I use the term performance in this thesis. I mainly draw on the work of the folklorist and anthropologist Richard Bauman, for two main reasons. Firstly, his engagement with the research of Dell Hymes is particularly relevant, as the work of Hymes has had a profound and widespread influence on English Language Teaching (ELT). It was Hymes (1972b) who first used the term communicative competence, which is the basis of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (or the Communicative Approach) and, in many instances, the goal of English language teaching. CLT is viewed as “the beginning of a major paradigm shift within language teaching in the twentieth century” and its “ramifications continue to be felt today,” despite certain questions being raised as to its appropriateness, educationally and culturally, in certain contexts (Richards and Rogers as cited in Tanaka, 2009, pp. 1-2).

The second reason why Bauman’s understanding of performance is relevant to the purposes of my thesis is that his work shifts the focus from “special usages or patterning of formal features within texts,” to the “nature of performance, per se, conceived of and defined as a mode of communication” (1974, p. 292). In making this shift from a text-centred approach, he expands the conceptual content of the term performance, beyond the sense of action and beyond the sense of the event. Performance is more than ‘doing’ and the performance situation is more than the event, comprising as it does, the “performer, art form, audience and setting” (1974, p. 290). In expanding the concept in this way, he captures “the emergent quality of performance” that “resides in the interplay between communicative resources, individual competence, and the goals of the participants, within the
context of particular situations” (Bauman, 1974, p. 302). My particular interest in this interplay is how Bauman, writing with Briggs, draws on Hymes's formulation of performance as, “the authoritative display of communicative competence,” to emphasise the importance of the authority of the performer and therefore the identity of the performer (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). This risks overplaying the significance of the performer. However, Bauman’s work offers a counter to a possible over-emphasis on the individual performer with the further elaboration on performance as the “assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out,” thus emphasising the social nature of performance and the significance of the interaction between the performer and the audience (1974, p. 293).

While broad, Bauman’s understanding of performance is more tightly focused than several other commonly cited definitions, including Kaprow’s notion of performance as “an attitude that might be taken up at any point in ordinary life” (1993, p. 87). Defining performance exclusively in relation to the attitude of the audience, as Kaprow does, overstates the role of the audience as it does not adequately attend to the nuances of the inter-relationship between context, performer and audience. In preferring Bauman’s model to looser formulations such as Kaprow’s, I do not, however, wish to deny the importance of the audience in the various inter-relationships from which performance emerges, nor do I want to suggest that the audience is drawn into the performance solely by the performer, thereby undervaluing the significance of the conventions and formal elements of performance. Academic writing is highly conventionalised and highly formalised and the conventions and formal elements that constitute different academic genres can vary according to, for instance, the lecturer, discipline, institution and country. Genre is important because as Burke observes “many formal patterns can readily awaken an attitude of collaborative expectancy in us” and “once you grasp the trend of the form, it invites participation” and this “yielding to the form prepares for assent to the matter identified with it” (1969, p. 58).
One final point in relation to performance, at this stage, relates to Dwight Conquergood’s conception of knowledge as understood within a performance community. He writes that:

> The dominant way of knowing in the academy is that of empirical observation and critical analysis from a distanced perspective: ‘knowing that,’ and ‘knowing about.’ This is a view from above the object of inquiry: knowledge that is anchored in paradigm and secured in print. This propositional knowledge is shadowed by another way of knowing that is grounded in active, intimate, hands-on participation and personal connection: ‘knowing how,’ and ‘knowing who.’ This is a view from ground level, in the thick of things. This is knowledge that is anchored in practice and circulated within a performance community, but is ephemeral. (Conquergood, 2002, p. 146)

I am very much in sympathy with Conquergood’s general point that embodied ways of knowing are a crucial part of knowledge-making despite being largely unrecognised, even repressed or marginalised, in the Western academic tradition. However, in contrast to Conquergood, I view the distanced perspective to propositional knowledge that he describes as a particular kind of performed identity within certain academic texts that accords with some, but not all, of the disciplinary values of particular discourse communities. In other words, using the concept of performance, I argue that a distanced perspective may in fact be part of the writer’s “assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out” (Bauman 1974, p. 293).

**Embodiment and Performed Identity**

While the academic writing literature uses theatre metaphors to conceptualise academic writing, I draw on certain concepts from the performance studies literature to determine whether a conceptualisation of academic writing as a performance can be sustained. This engagement with the performance studies literature has shaped the nature of my enquiry, in theoretical and methodological terms. The notion of embodiment not only confirms my way of thinking of academic writing and hence academic writing pedagogy as embodied practices, but also suggests that the research design be informed by ethnography. Closely inter-related with a view of academic writing as an
embodied practice is a foregrounding of the notion of writer identity, particularly writer identity as understood from a disciplinary perspective. Drawing on Judith Butler's idea of gender being performed, I transfer some of her characterisations of the performative quality of gender, namely, "a stylized repetition of acts" that involves "a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established" to an understanding of genre (1988, p. 526). The writer's negotiation of the constraints that derive from the cultural force of the genre creates tensions between the individual agency of the writer and the social authority accorded the genre and these tensions inform how the writer's identity is performed on the page. Drawing on the notions of academic writing as embodied and Butler's notion of identity as performed, my reconceptualisation of academic writing pedagogy is now guided by my third research question: What might academic writing pedagogy look like if language were to be conceived as embodied and identity construed as dynamic, shifting and multiple?

The Pragmatic Scene of Teaching

Institutional Context

Readings has argued that, "In order to open up the question of pedagogy we do not need . . . to recenter teaching but to decenter it. . . . Decentering teaching begins with an attention to the pragmatic scene of teaching . . . pedagogy cannot be understood apart from a reflection on the institutional context of education" (1996, p. 153). This call to decenter teaching accords with Butler's reminder that identity is performed within the constraints of social structures and forces, contrary to the voluntarist assumptions that underpin the dominant neo-liberal discourses (Olssen & Peters, 2005, pp. 314-315). These discourses have been deployed to initiate and establish the profound structural changes in higher education in Australia since the early 1990s and to convince "... students and

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3 Neo-liberalism draws on classical economic liberalism (the self-interested individual, the free market, a laissez-faire approach, free trade) but in addition, governments attempt to create conditions conducive to the development of the neo-liberal subject who, according to the theory, is an enterprising individual and a competitive entrepreneur.
workers that there is no choice at a systemic level. Instead, their power lies in their individual choices to become appropriate and successful within that (inevitable) system" (Davies, 2006, p. 436). This means that rather than viewing EAP practice in isolation, it is important to consider not only the institutional context of EAP and how it is positioned in the university but also how higher education is conceived more generally, as this can determine, “Who learns to do what? Why? Who benefits?” (Raimes, 1991, pp. 422-423). Fundamental to understanding the contexts in which EAP operates is an acknowledgement of how changes in higher education have been informed by ‘global’ theories, discourses, ideologies and trends that are predicated on a view of education as a commodity. A commodity view of education prioritises the economic value of higher education as part of the broader discourses of consumerism and commodification that have continued to spread, “into more domains of life” (Coupland, 2003, p. 470).

Susan Starfield has used the term the corporatizing university to emphasise the ongoing process of corporatisation of Australian higher education and to identify it as a “site in which, in the global economy, knowledge is marketised as a commodity, where English language degrees are part of the competitive advantage the institution has when competing globally to attract international students and where discourses on quality and flexibility begin to restructure institutional practices and identities” (2004, p. 155). As Starfield suggests, the commodification of education is not simply related to a different and expanded role for universities or a different management structure but is an agent of, and an agent in, the changing nature of the learning experience at university and the identities of academics and students.

A number of researchers in Australia and the UK have turned their attention to the impacts of marketisation on higher education so there is now more than anecdotal evidence that the nature of academic work and student learning have been altered as a result of the shift to a market-oriented institution (Marginson, 2006; Molesworth, Nixon, & Scullion, 2009; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Sappey, 2006; Strachan, Whitehouse, Peetz, Bailey, & Broadbent, 2008; Thornton, 2008). Marketisation leads to both academics and students being implicated in a
commodity discourse, with academic work represented in terms of exchange value and students constituted as customers (Strachan et al., 2008, p. 3). In my ethnographic accounts, I draw attention to how the impact of marketisation is in part influenced by the history and the reputation of individual higher education institutions, both nationally and internationally, so that the nature of this exchange and the impact that this can have on pedagogy varies according to the institution.

Most attempts to explain the significant changes in higher education in Australia and the concomitant changes in English language education tend to attribute these changes to globalisation, a term which I feel does not offer the most useful line of enquiry for my thesis. Rather, I see understanding the assumptions and discourses of neo-liberalism and its associated governance technologies as more fruitful. However, I do want to draw attention to the themes of change and the rapid pace of change that are celebrated in globalisation discourses. The scale and nature of changes to English language education in Australia are illustrative of this global trend towards accelerated change. In 1986, English language education was a 'cottage industry.' By 2007, it was described as a 'major export industry' and accordingly viewed as a 'success' (Blundell, 2008). The statistics on which the 'success' of English language education are based have been challenged by demographers such as Birrell who feel that they grossly inflate the monetary value of the 'industry.' In his view, the growth in the number of international students was distorted by the introduction of the policy to link and the graduation of international students from an Australian higher education institution (Birrell, 2006, p. 55).

Regardless of the actual earning capacity of English language education and regardless of whether English language education is seen as a 'cottage industry' or a 'major export industry', EAP was conceived as an industry rather than a field of study in the higher education sector. EAP courses were established as part of the shift in government policy in the 1980s when it “became convinced that higher education had a high potential as an export commodity” (Lazenby &

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4 Changes were announced to this policy in February 2010. After a transitional period until the end of 2012, the policy will be discontinued.
In 1985, the Minister of Trade announced the marketing of Australian tertiary education to international students on a full fee basis, marking a change from 'aid' to 'trade' for the International Development Programme (IDP). According to Lazenby and Blight, this also meant that "the commercial instincts of universities and bureaucracies gradually came to predominate over the more scholarly considerations that had been uppermost in earlier years" when the Australia-Asian Universities Cooperation Scheme (AAUCS) had essentially worked as "...a cooperative activity between academics and their institutions" (Lazenby & Blight, 1999, p. 77). Speaking to an international conference of university administrators in The Hague in 1984, the Executive Director of IDP at that time, Professor Derek Tribe counselled that "when recruiting staff to work internationally those whose primary interests are pecuniary or 'doing good' are best avoided" (Lazenby & Blight, 1999, p. 78). Senior representatives of Austrade were of a different view. They assured IDP staff that "...there was nothing special about exporting tertiary education – 'it is just the same as any other commodity – like cars or breakfast cereal" (Lazenby & Blight, 1999, p. 78). The government attitude appears to have prevailed because the efforts of Professor Tribe to explain to the Minister of Trade that "the preparation and marketing of undergraduate and postgraduate courses to international students inevitably involved a range of academic problems" met with the blunt reply "to inform Vice-Chancellors that if they did not do it the Government would cut funding" (Lazenby & Blight, 1999, p. 78). This commercial orientation has meant that the EAP industry is under the aegis of English Language Intensive Courses (ELICOS), which according to the ELICOS website, offer an "excellent introduction to English studies for academic studies, business, or recreation" (ELICOS, 2011).

Joan Turner (1999) recognises how EAP in the UK has been shaped by commercial imperatives from the outset. She argues that the "maximum throughput of students with minimum attainment levels in the language in the shortest possible time was the conceptual framework with which EAP was

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5 In 1985, IDP was an official public entity and most directly affected by the change in policy. It is now the private entity, IDP Education Australia.
conceived" (1999, p. 97). According to Coffey, "the student's needs may be the quick and economical use of the English language to pursue a course of academic study, in which case we have English for Academic Purposes" (Coffey as cited in J. Turner, 1999, p. 97). Turner's concern is that the acceptance in EAP of time restrictions and of Dhaif's 'financial short cut' criterion that was in evidence when ESP projects were being decided in developing countries, has additionally "implanted ... an intellectual short-cut mentality" (1999, p. 97). She believes that this has led to an undervaluing of the role of language in academic performance and thus requires that EAP "re-think its own self-understanding" (1999, p. 97).

While my focus is different from Turner's, I agree that a rethinking of EAP is vital and that part of that rethinking is to consider how to shift away from a 'maximum throughput' in the 'shortest possible time' framework. This partly involves foregrounding the inter-relatedness of language and knowledge and the need for this inter-relationship to inform EAP pedagogy. In my fieldwork accounts in Chapter Five and Chapter Six, I draw attention to the impacts of a 'fast throughput' approach to EAP and I return to the theme of the inter-relationship of language and knowledge.

Globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education are often elided with the suggestion that globalisation, as represented by the increased number of international students enrolled in Australian higher education, leads to a richer educational experience for both local students and international students. This expectation is not always fully realised for both groups of students, in part, due to the lack of diversity of the international student population, in terms of the country of origin (over 80% from Asia), the field of study (over half study management and commerce) and the level of study (59% undergraduate, 28% masters by coursework, 3.6% a research higher degree) (Bradley, Noonan, Nugent, & Scales, 2008, p. 92). While surveys indicate that overall, international students are satisfied with their study experience, a conclusion of a 2006 report was that there was "room for improvement," in "the quality of education and course content; involvement with, and commitment to, international students by staff; the cost of courses; and opportunities for more interaction with
Australians,” to name the particular areas that were highlighted (Bradley et al., 2008, p. 93).

However, ‘improvement’ is difficult within the marketised model of higher education in Australia with its emphasis on cost effectiveness. As Ken Hyland points out in noting the regressive trend away from discipline-specific courses to generic courses in EAP, university administrators tend to endorse generic EAP courses because they are, “often cheaper, logistically undemanding, and require less skilled staff to implement” (2002b, p. 387). This suggests that there are tensions between what university administrators believe is the primary function of EAP and what researchers and EAP practitioners consider to be the role of EAP. Marketisation of higher education in the UK and in Australia has reinforced the view that generic EAP courses are preferable because international students are principally regarded as a source of revenue to offset the proportional decreases in public funding of universities. In order to benefit from the revenue generated by international students, university administrators tend to look for ways to decrease costs, predisposing them to the generic EAP course. The terms of debate in discussions of EAP in a marketised context are therefore often determined by what appear to be the competing demands of the educational aims of EAP and the commercial nature of EAP. However, with education marketised in this way, there needs to be a different discussion, as rather than the educational aims of EAP being in competition with its commercial aims, the educational is subsumed into the commercial enterprise of EAP.

The transferable key skills discourse now dominant in higher education is also used to justify generic EAP courses. Proponents of this view argue that there are key skills that are transferrable across all disciplines. Thus, it is standard for a generic EAP class to comprise students from a range of linguistic and academic backgrounds who are intending to study in a range of different disciplines. Yet, this diversity is not acknowledged as it is assumed that despite their diverse backgrounds, their language learning ‘needs’ are similar. The marketised model of higher education challenges the diversity of the university experience in other ways. The rise of a competitive, global higher education market has meant that global ranking systems can exert pressure on the higher education environment.
Marginson believes that, "Ranking strengthens and reproduces the domination of the English language university systems. It installs the mode of the top American research university (more particularly the idealised private university, the Ivy League) as the dominant template for higher education on a worldwide basis..." and "by relegating all but the leading science universities to a subordinate position, it sharply bears down on diversity within and between nations" (Marginson, 2010, p. 31). My fourth research question derives from a consideration of these homogenising trends and asks: What kind of pedagogy might emerge if difference and diversity were acknowledged and valued?

**English for Academic Purposes (EAP): The View From ‘Within’**

As editors of the inaugural *Journal of English for Academic Purposes (JEAP)* in 2002, Hyland and Hamp-Lyons used the occasion to reflect on the development of EAP during the preceding 25 years, from its early foundations in the broader field of ESP. Referring to the work of influential figures in the development of EAP, Flowerdew and Peacock (2001) and Jordan (1997), they provide a general definition of EAP as "... teaching English with the aim of facilitating learners' study or research in that language" (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002, p. 2). This definition reflects the early years of EAP, when facilitating study or research was premised on the view that resolving 'language problems' would address any associated study or research problems. Generally, EAP was offered on an ad hoc, unsystematic basis which reinforced the characterisation of EAP as a remedial support service for foreign students studying in Britain, in Australia and the USA.6

Reminding readers of the development of EAP from ESP, which was founded on the view that instruction should be dedicated to 'specific purposes' rather than 'general purposes,' Hyland and Hamp-Lyons (2002) offer their understanding of EAP. They believe that EAP refers "to language research and instruction that

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6 As my fieldwork is limited to Australia, the UK and the USA, I only make reference to these three countries while acknowledging that similar developments may have occurred in other countries.
focuses on the specific communicative needs and practices of particular groups in academic contexts," requiring instruction that is grounded in an understanding of the "cognitive, social and linguistic demands of specific academic disciplines," taking "practitioners beyond preparing learners for study in English to developing new kinds of literacy: equipping students with the communicative skills to participate in particular academic and cultural contexts" (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002, p. 2). This view challenges the predominant Pragmatic Pedagogy of EAP that supports the teaching of study skills and general English to argue for a pedagogy based on the communicative practices of academic discourse communities.

Despite such views, the majority of EAP courses tend to be more general than specific. In fact, writing in the same year in a different journal, Hyland observes that in many universities "there have been moves away from specificity in university ESP classes towards teaching more 'generic' skills and language" (2002b, p. 387). James, writing of the situation in the US, cites Petraglia who points out that "discipline-general approaches (or general writing skills instruction [GWSI]) are reflected in almost every textbook and are used by the majority of instructors" (2010, p. 184). As James notes, even though Petraglia was referring to composition courses in US higher education which are generally for L1 writers, there are also many ESL courses on offer in this context. Petraglia was writing in 1995, yet as recently as 2009 Wardle concludes that "little has changed (James, 2010, p. 184). The calls for discipline-specificity remain largely ignored while the generic skills course, or what Blue terms English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) prevails (Blue as cited in Hyland 2002b, p. 387). I refer to the EGAP course as a generic EAP course and use the term EAP when referring to the field and to research and researchers in the field.

The same trend away from specificity and towards the general, identified by Hyland, is evident in Australia. A 2003 overview of EAP practice in Australia,

7 The abbreviations L1 and L2 are used in the literature by many researchers to distinguish between the 'mother tongue' language and the 'second language.' In the US, L1 writing is often synonymous with the composition classes.
based on information available from “university websites, professional lists and personal communication” indicates a wide range of EAP provision in terms of the nature of the course, the status of the course and the status of the EAP staff in the university” (Melles, Millar, Morton, & Fegan, 2005, p. 291). It was found that there was a range of pre-entry and post-entry language and academic support programmes (both ESL and EAP) at most Australian universities that have a significant number of international students. The support offered to students once they have started their study varies in terms of delivery and content. There are “workshops in a range of academic subjects, individual consultations with students, lectures and drop-in sessions” (Melles et al., 2005, pp. 290-291). The researchers who conducted this overview conclude that while there has been notable progress in achieving degree status for ESL subjects, with over half of Australia’s 40 universities offering credit-bearing ESL subjects, most do not appear to be discipline-specific, offering instead “common core language skills, content, and some discipline specific genres” (Melles et al., 2005, p. 291).

Since 2002, there has been substantial research to validate Hyland’s claim that “The discourses of the academy do not form an undifferentiated, unitary mass but a variety of subject-specific literacies. Disciplines have different views of knowledge, different research practices, and different ways of seeing the world, and as a result, investigating the practices of those disciplines will inevitably take us to greater specificity” (2002b, p. 389). I support Hyland’s view that the significant differences between disciplines challenge the idea of generic academic skills, language forms and features that can be transferred across disciplines. Moreover, as I will detail in Chapter Six, it is not simply a matter of what is taught and how it is taught but also, as Hyland mentions, who teaches EAP. Generic EAP courses continue to be mainly taught by English language teachers who mainly draw on TESOL theories to inform their classroom practice.
On The Periphery of the Academy

Statistics such as those cited by Blundell in her account of the trajectory of English language education from a ‘cottage industry’ to a ‘major export industry’ are often used as an endorsement of the commodification of English language education as part of the competitive and entrepreneurial international marketisation of Australian higher education. While the public discourses related to this ‘major export industry’ have at times verged on triumphalism, with their reference to the dramatic growth of the industry and the ability of Australia to compete with countries such as the USA and the UK in the globalised higher education market, the views of EAP practitioners are generally more measured. The tensions between the public positioning of EAP and the practitioners’ experience are clear in the discrepancy between the public vaunting of the economic value of the industry and the status of EAP in higher education. Many practitioners view themselves as on the periphery of the university and there is the perception that EAP is the ‘handmaiden’ of the academic disciplines. These concerns are evident in the case that Melles, Millar, Morton & Fegan outline for credit-bearing discipline specific EAP courses. Firstly, they argue that credit-bearing discipline-specific EAP courses can challenge the positioning of ESL as a remedial service in the university and secondly, they believe that such courses can be a “key element in revitalizing a profession on the periphery of the institution” (Melles et al., 2005, p. 283).

It is not simply changing the peripheral status of EAP which is key to the revitalisation of the profession. The ethos of pragmatism which has shaped EAP practice from its inception has led to a ‘nuts and bolts’ approach to academic work and largely left unchallenged the view that the spread of English has occurred because it is ‘natural, neutral and beneficial’ (Phillipson, 1992). More importantly, pragmatism tends to be regarded as “the only rational choice and therefore ‘non-ideological’” (Chua, 1985, p. 37). As Chua also notes, pragmatism “... admits no ‘in principle’ arguments and tends to trivialise principled arguments” (1985, p. 39). Cherryholmes (1988) draws a distinction between vulgar pragmatism and critical pragmatism. Vulgar pragmatism he writes,
values functional efficiency... premised on unreflective acceptance of explicit and implicit standards, conventions, rules, and discourse-practices... is socially reproductive, instrumentally and functionally reproducing accepted meanings and conventional organizations, institutions, and ways of doing things for good or ill. (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 151)

Efficiency, as part of a drive towards economic competitiveness has become an important aspect of higher education policy in Australia, the UK and the USA since the 1980s and 1990s. Policies in these three countries have been directed towards “product and process innovation, channeling students and resources into curricula that meet the needs of a global marketplace, preparing more students for the postindustrial workplace at lower costs, and managing faculty and institutional work more effectively and efficiently” (Slaughter & Leslie, 1999, p. 55). Despite being peripheral to the academy, EAP courses are also subject to efficiency measures to ensure that the maximum number of international students possible proceed to their university study at a minimum cost. It therefore seems reasonable for Pennycook to conclude that “the pragmatism of EAP... is almost always a vulgar rather than a critical pragmatism” (1997, p. 256). In the analysis of my fieldwork, I investigate the extent to which EAP is shaped by ‘vulgar pragmatism.’

**Finding A ‘Voice’**

Having decentred teaching, I return in my thesis to an examination of pedagogical practices in the classroom, based on ethnographic accounts of different classrooms at three different institutions. The influences of English Language Teaching (ELT) on English for Academic Purposes pedagogy has meant that EAP, like ELT, has adopted a number of different theoretical approaches to the teaching of academic writing. There are undoubtedly shared characteristics across the approaches and there is sufficient research to suggest that while an approach may be dominant theoretically, it does not mean that this will translate into the consistent adoption of this approach in classroom practice. Genre-based pedagogies, however, continue to be important in EAP, regardless of the theoretical framework that underpins the practice (Bhatia, 2001; Dudley-Evans,
1997; Hyland, 2002a, 2003; Martin, 1997, 2009; Perez-Llantada, 2004). Perhaps this is not surprising because it is now widely recognised that in academic contexts members of academic discourse communities communicate with each other through genres and that these genres function “to instantiate the norms, values, epistemologies, and ideological assumptions of academic cultures” (Berkenkotter & Huckin, 1995, p. 22). In fact, a commitment to genre theory is seen by some as the basis of EAP pedagogy and more recently Hyland has made a case for genre-based pedagogies, arguing that they can complement process theories of writing because they emphasise “the role of language in written communication” (2003, p. 17).

While genre continues to be a powerful way of considering academic texts, as I alluded to earlier, the value of the construct extends beyond ‘the role of language’ to the role that genre plays in writer identity. Genre as part of a performative accomplishment is one way of reinterpreting academic writing pedagogy in a broader framework. Hyon (1996), in what Martin (2009) has referred to as a canonical text, identifies genre in three important theoretical traditions related to academic writing – English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and The New Rhetoric. In identifying these traditions, she notes that they have had most influence in the UK, Australia and the US respectively. My fieldwork is therefore directed towards three different institutions, in each of the three different countries, that ostensibly adopt one of these frameworks. This is not intended as an endorsement of a genre-based pedagogy but rather an acknowledgement of the central importance of genre-based theorising and practice in three diverse areas of scholarship over the past three decades. Viewing genre as related to writer identity, my final research question asks: What pedagogy might emerge if agency were fostered and emphasis were placed on international students finding a ‘voice’ in their prospective discourse communities?
Mapping The Thesis

Research Questions

Recapping, the key research questions that have guided my inquiry are as follows:

What type of English for Academic Purposes pedagogy might emerge if 'the Academic' rather than 'the English' were foregrounded?

If the locus were Academe and the focus the performance of knowledge for an academic discourse community?

If language were to be conceived as embodied and identity construed as dynamic, shifting and multiple?

If difference and diversity were acknowledged and valued?

If agency were fostered and emphasis were placed on international students finding a 'voice' in their prospective discourse communities?

I use Performance Studies as an analytical lens to address these questions, drawing on understandings of performance in relation to the key concepts of embodiment and 'liveness', the performative and performativity, in order to interrogate current EAP pedagogy. Performance Studies does not offer a totalising or universalising framework which means that I am not attempting to replace or displace linguistics or applied linguistics or other disciplines as sources of theoretical frameworks. I would advocate, however, drawing more on sociolinguistics than psycholinguistics, in seeking to understand the nature of academic writing and in broadening conceptions of the social "to examine the social, cultural, political, and historical factors that contextualize teaching, and influence how it takes place" (Ellis as cited in Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p. 73). I also seek to unsettle the continuing assumption that a focus on language and language description is sufficient for EAP practice, a view which leaves the generic skills EAP course unchallenged. In order to do this, I retrieve the embodied academic writer and investigate the implications of an embodied EAP writing pedagogy.
Guiding Arguments

My thesis uses the concept of performance to investigate and understand the nature of academic writing (the performance), to explore and understand how it is accomplished from a theoretical perspective (the performative) and to reveal and understand the institutional and ideological constraints that are operating (performativity). Thus the university provides a site for an encounter between ‘the performance’, ‘the performative’ and ‘performativity’ which may have broader implications than classroom EAP pedagogy.

The unfolding of my research, based on critical engagement with the academic writing literature and Performance Studies literature in association with a critical analysis of my ethnographic accounts, uncovers inter-related themes which I develop as three main arguments in this thesis. The first argument centres on academic writing being understood as a performance. I argue for a conception of academic writing as an embodied practice in which the performed identity of the writer assumes significance, while acknowledging that academic texts emerge from the dynamic interplay between the co-constituents (writer, other ‘voices’, reader(s), material text, genre and ‘content’) of the text. The inter-relationship between writer identity and genre is developed in the second argument which proposes that genre be understood as a performatively staged, audience-oriented, social process. In examining some of the different terms assigned to writer identity, namely discoursal identity, voice, persona and ethos, I believe that it is useful to preserve the distinction between persona and ethos because in the contested arena of academic debate and discussion, admission to participate in an academic discourse community rests in large part on the consilience between the persona and ethos, performed by the writer on ‘the page’ and the disciplinary values, meaning that the knower can not be divorced from the known. This inter-relationship between the knower and the known leads into my final argument which concludes that this inter-relationship is effaced in current commodity discourses of knowledge and Higher Education and that the performativity frameworks implemented in university governance as part of the commodification of knowledge compromise the relational aspects of the “element of partnership between teacher and taught” which “introduces
students to a world of intellectual responsibility and intellectual discovery in which they are to play their part" (Robbins as cited in Collini, 2011, p. 14). Making this case illustrates how a performance studies oriented analysis of EAP offers a critique, not only of classroom practice but of the system of higher education in which it operates, thus suggesting that this thesis may have implications beyond the EAP classroom.

**Thesis Outline**

The above introductory section of this chapter has served to introduce the motivation for my research, outline my main focus and the direction of my research and to present the principal theoretical concepts and methodological choices, as well as to clarify my use of the term performance which is central to my arguments. In Chapter Two, I outline changing conceptions of academic writing that I have broadly categorised into five main categories: a skill, a cognitive process, an expressive process, goal-oriented social action and a socially constituted and constituting practice. These changes in theoretical understandings of written academic discourse have been accompanied by different understandings of the nature of this discourse, initiating changes in academic writing pedagogy. I provide an overview of these changes before bringing this research on academic writing into dialogue with the field of Performance Studies. The chapter concludes by considering how to proceed in conceiving academic writing pedagogy, given the potentially conflicting approaches suggested by the multiplicity of theories and influences.

Chapter Two therefore serves as a departure for Chapter Three in which, taking up the ideas of embodiment and identity performed on 'the page,' I elaborate my theoretical framework for a conception of academic writing as a performance, accomplished through the performative. This involves further clarifying the distinctions between the terms performance, the performative and performativity. My methodological choices are outlined in Chapter Four. I refer to the disciplinary sources on which I have drawn and the theory which underpins my methodology, before outlining the methodology more fully.
Chapter Five marks a shift from my theoretical discussion of the nature of academic writing to an empirical investigation of academic writing pedagogy in the classroom. In Chapter Five, I draw on the fieldwork outlined in Chapter Four, offering ethnographically informed accounts related to my three main fieldwork sites (fictionally referred to as Dawkin University, Claxted University and Oldton University to deidentify persons and places), as the basis for a critique of the institutional context of EAP pedagogy. This will involve an analysis of the corporatising process and its accompanying discourses, in addition to certain material constraints that can have an impact on pedagogy. Continuing the focus on academic writing pedagogy, in Chapter Six, I provide an analysis of the classroom practice that I observed at the above fieldwork sites. Recalling that my choice of fieldwork sites was based on a reasonable expectation that I might be able to observe the teaching of each of the three main genre traditions, I examine the theoretical basis for the curriculum and the pedagogy, in addition to the pedagogical practices, and how the architectures of practice, referred to in Chapter Five, constrain and enable classroom practice.

In Chapter Seven, I address the research questions outlined in the introduction and review the guiding arguments, before outlining some of the implications for EAP pedagogy of viewing academic writing as a 'performance.' While the genesis of my thesis was grounded in my EAP practice, the scope of my investigation extends beyond EAP classroom practice and the possible relevance of drama, to raise broader issues in relation to EAP that are under review in this thesis.
Chapter Two

Contextualising My Arguments
The Interpersonal Aspects of Making Meaning

Participation in a disciplinary discourse community involves a range of spoken and written discourses, however, my focus is on written academic discourse. In providing an overview of different approaches to academic writing pedagogy, my interest is in both undergraduate and postgraduate student writing. My overview encompasses research related to 'pre-entry' EAP academic writing courses designed for international students and 'post-entry' EAP academic writing courses, offered to both local and international students, generally under the rubric of academic literacy and learning. It also includes composition studies research related to the composition classes that are compulsory for the majority of first year students in many American universities and colleges. There is a degree of overlap between the theories and practices in both domains of EAP and to a certain extent in composition research, even if ostensibly the aims may be different.

Locating my thesis in the area of academic writing scholarship more generally, rather than restricting the focus to the EAP literature, serves two purposes. Firstly, it shifts the focus from the primarily linguistic and textual orientations of many of the ESP and EAP theoretical frameworks and methodologies, and secondly, it opens up to review the extensive US scholarship in academic writing related to Freshman composition courses and writing across the disciplines (WAC). This includes research in The New Rhetoric, a scholarship tradition that has had little impact on EAP outside of the USA, although some EAP practitioners in Australia such as Chanock (2003) do draw on this theoretical framework. A conference themed What is the New Rhetoric?, convened at University of Sydney in 2005, by Dr Susan Thomas, attracted a number of Australian scholars from different universities and different fields, suggesting that there is growing interest in The New Rhetoric in Australia. By examining academic writing more generally, I do not want to deny that there are differences between the academic writing experiences of overseas students, in comparison to local students. Silva

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8 I use overseas students and international students interchangeably to distinguish these students from local students and to avoid use of the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker.' I elaborate on this later in this chapter.
suggests that research comparing the writing of local students and international students reveals differences in "numerous and important ways" (Silva, 1997, p. 88). Regardless of background however, all students are required to engage in academic writing at university. Thus, understanding the nature of academic writing is a prerequisite to conceiving an academic writing pedagogy. The different backgrounds of the students can then be considered, in light of how academic writing is conceptualised. For this reason, I do not engage directly at this point with the literature related to the debates as to what constitutes a viable EAP pedagogy. These debates tend to circulate around the ethos of pragmatism in EAP, with certain researchers, for example, Johns (1993) and Allison (1996), advocating a Pragmatic EAP pedagogy, while others such as Benesch (2001), Canagarajah (2002) and Pennycook (2001) propose a Critical EAP pedagogy. More recently, attempts to find 'the middle ground' have lead to Harwood and Hadley (2004) and Agosti and Green (2011), among others, to argue for a Critical Pragmatic EAP pedagogy. I situate these pedagogies within the scholarship on academic writing.

In the Introduction, I referred to the Pronunciation Through Drama course that I have taught as part of a pre-sessional EAP course, outlining the inter-relationship between 'the language focus' and the 'drama focus' of the course. The 'language focus' centres on the prosodic features of spoken English, principally sentence rhythm and intonation, and how meaning can be conveyed through those features and altered by changing, for example, the intonation pattern or by placing extra stress on a certain word while the 'drama focus' of the lessons introduces various techniques that students can use to engage with their audience, in order to realise their dramatic purpose. These drama techniques include the use of tableau, thinking of space and movement according to Laban principles,9 'fronting' (where the actor speaks directly to the audience 'out of character') and shaping or 'tightening' the arc of the narrative. In other words, the students principally explore the interpersonal dimensions of making meaning, as they consider what is available to them to convey an idea and how

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9 Rudolf Laban devised a system of human movement analysis that is used by dancers, actors, athletes and by therapists such as physiotherapists and occupational therapists. It describes human movement in terms of the body, effort, shape and space.
they might attempt to 'secure' that meaning with the audience. It is in this area of the interpersonal that I feel an understanding of academic writing as a performance has the most to offer. It therefore inflects my reading of the academic writing literature.

Interestingly, Roz Ivanič and David Camps have noted that "One of the characteristics of writing is that it does not carry the phonetic and prosodic qualities of speech," however, they argue that "the lexical, syntactic, organizational, and even the material aspects of writing construct identity just as much as do the phonetic and prosodic aspects of speech ..." (2001, p. 3). Ivanič (1994, 1998) has made valuable contributions to understanding the significance of identity in academic writing. Her use of student writing, rather than the writing of experts, has been invaluable in drawing attention to the role that identity plays in student academic writing. Working from a Halliday inspired view of language, she has used student texts as the basis for an empirical enquiry into the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language.

More recently, Ivanič (2004) has provided a comprehensive framework of writing pedagogy that synthesises different elements from different pedagogical approaches to writing. She establishes her framework by drawing on what she considers the six main discourses related to writing: a skills discourse, a creativity discourse, a process discourse, a genre discourse, a social practices discourse and a socio-political discourse (Ivanič, 2004, p. 225). She argues that the view of language on which she bases this synthesis "... implies a more comprehensive and integrated view of the nature of writing and learning to write which has the capacity to generate a writing pedagogy which combines elements from all the approaches to the teaching of writing ..." (2004, p. 221). Other researchers (Badger & White, 2000; Flowerdew, 1993; Hyland, 2003) have also begun to consider whether there may be complementarity among the different approaches. My rethinking of academic writing as a performance aligns with these efforts to a certain extent because a performance conceptualisation of academic writing acknowledges the emergence of the text from the interplay of the co-constituents. I believe that regardless of approach, all of these co-constituents need to be held in view.
**Changing Approaches to Academic Writing**

Writing from a TESOL perspective, Ann Raimes (1991, p. 408), charts four main approaches to the teaching of writing, from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s, by delineating what she considers the distinctive focus of each approach: the focus on rhetorical and linguistic form of the text, focus on the writer, focus on the content of writing and finally, a focus on the demands of the reader. Canagarajah (2002, p. 31) questions this representation of the dominant approaches of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) writing pedagogy, pointing out that ESOL has tended to 'import' these approaches from L1 composition theory, with the research endorsing the relevance to ESOL retrospectively conducted, after the introduction of the approach. He uses the same classification as Raimes, however, he emphasises the L1 tradition on which each approach is based. Therefore, according to Canagarajah, the focus on form is derived from current-traditional rhetoric, the focus on the writer is a response to cognitive process theory, while the content focus shows the influence of the Writing Across The Curriculum (WAC) movement and the focus on the reader follows the turn to the view of writing as a social process (2002, p. 40). The clear influence of L1 research on ESOL is yet another reason why the composition studies literature is relevant to the field of EAP. Caroline Coffin's (2001) approach to providing a TESOL perspective on approaches to written language is to outline five theoretical approaches to the analysis of discourse which she considers to be of particular relevance to educational contexts. She includes Systemic Functional Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Literacy Studies (including Critical Literacy and the "New Literacy Studies"), Genre Approaches (including the "New Rhetoric") and finally Contrastive Rhetoric. She emphasises the shared characteristics of these various frameworks (Coffin, 2001, pp. 93-94). This different emphasis is possibly related to the fact that Raimes and Canagarajah are writing from a USA perspective, while Coffin writes from a UK perspective and her contributing co-editor, Anne Burns from an Australian context.

Ulla Connor (1996), in tracing the various influences on the development of Contrastive Rhetoric, makes a clear distinction between the fields of what she refers to as textual linguistics (or alternatively, written discourse analysis or
discourse linguistics) and the field of rhetoric and composition. She points to three major schools of thought in text linguistics - the Prague School developed by Danes and Firbas in the 1950s and 1960s, Systemic Linguistics which developed in the 1960s through the work of Halliday and later Hasan and Martin, and prominent in "the new school of discourse analysis" in the 1970s and 1980s were Enkvist, van Dijk and Beaugrande (Connor, 1996, pp. 80-83). All three schools employ quantitative, text-centred empirical research methodologies, however, while the Prague School and Systemic Linguistics have a primarily linguistic focus, "the new school of discourse analysis" is more interdisciplinary, with the status given to theories from psychology and education equal to linguistic theories (Connor, 1996, pp. 82-83).

Her classification of the field of rhetoric and composition is similar to that of Raimes and Canagarajah, although she does not refer to a focus on form. Her four part classification includes Classical Rhetoric, further subdivided into Aristotellean Rhetoric and the "new rhetoric," the expressionist approach, the cognitive approach and the social constructivist approach. Acknowledging Berlin's observation of many competing "rhetorics" as the basis of writing pedagogy, she summarises the approaches to rhetoric identified by Berlin from 1960 to 1975, indicating the main advocates. Connor (1996, p. 61) lists objective rhetoric (Bloom and Bloom 1967), subjective rhetoric (Elbow 1968, Murray 1970) and transactional rhetoric, with transactional rhetoric developing along three main lines: classical rhetoric (Corbett 1965), rhetoric of cognitive psychology (Emig 1971) and epistemic rhetoric (Bruffee 1973). Cross-referencing her four approaches to composition pedagogy with Berlin's categories of rhetoric, she sees direct links between "subjective rhetoric" and the expressivist approach and the clear influence of "epistemic rhetoric" on the social constructivist approach. Objective rhetoric is no longer regarded as a distinct school of thought, while the "rhetoric of cognitive psychology" has evolved into a major approach since the 1970s (Connor, 1996, p. 62). Connor's classifications are interesting in the way that they demonstrate the influence of research methodologies on how writing is conceived and the associated pedagogical approaches. The research methodologies of rhetoric and
composition have extended beyond the text to include ethnographic research and to focus on non-linguistic aspects of discourse (sociological and philosophical), as well as the linguistic aspects. In a more recent article that deals directly with EAP, Connor argues that although quantitative textual analyses are important, there is also a need for "deeper analyses of processes, contexts and purposes of discourse" and she proposes "text analysis, genre analysis, and corpus analysis" which is sensitive to "processes, contexts, and particular situations," and finally, ethnographic approaches (2004, pp. 292-293).

There is a tendency in the TESOL literature to view changes in terms of oppositional developments, simplifying the complex socio-political history of academic writing pedagogy. As Moore suggests, the main developments in academic writing pedagogy have been "products of their socio-historical moment" (2004, p. 98). Raimes acknowledges that the "four approaches are all widely used and by no means discrete and sequential" however, she adds that the last three "appear to operate more on a principle of critical reaction to a previous approach than on cumulative development" (Raimes, 1991, p. 412). In emphasising a change in pedagogy as a corrective to the preceding approach, such accounts not only underestimate the effects of broader social and political forces and the influences of inter-disciplinary philosophies and theories, they also suggest unified approaches, rather than a multiplicity of theories and pedagogies (Matsuda, 2003, p. 65). In spite of these limitations, it is important to incorporate TESOL perspectives into an overview of academic writing as they have been highly influential in pre-entry EAP academic writing courses.

Post-entry EAP tends to draw more on literacy theory, which in contrast to TESOL theory, recounts changes in approaches to writing as cumulative. For example, Lea and Street identify three main approaches to literacy in higher education in the UK: Study Skills, Academic Socialisation and Academic Literacies with the latter incorporating "both of the other models into a more encompassing understanding of the nature of student writing within institutional practices, power relations and identities ..." (1998, p. 158). Starfield (2004) has identified similar shifts in approaches to literacy in the 'post-entry' EAP context in Australia however, rather than a Skills Approach, she refers to a
Remedial Approach with a focus on the English language. The focus of the Socialisation Approach, also referred to as the Anthropological Approach, is broader than the Remedial Approach, as it includes the development of the communicative skills required for participation in specific academic disciplines. The Academic Literacies approach, as understood in the Australian context, aims to develop the communicative behaviours required in academic contexts, based on an acknowledgement of the constraints placed on these behaviours by the inter-relationships between academic texts and academic contexts (Starfield, 2004).

Although composition classes had been a feature of the American university since the late nineteenth century, it was not until the mid 1970s that composition studies gained disciplinary status (Graham, Birmingham, & Zachry, 1997, p. 21). Part of gaining the status of a discipline involved moving towards a more research-oriented basis for composition courses and formulating an intellectual basis for the discipline. The three main disciplinary possibilities were literature, linguistics and rhetoric, with rhetoric becoming the main disciplinary influence. However, as Berlin points out,

the study of linguistics in the English department during the twentieth century has been one of the most formative influences in the study of both literature and rhetoric - so much so that today language itself has become, in one guise or another, the central focus of nearly all scholars in the English department, regardless of their speciality. (1987, p. 135)

Theories and research methodologies from other disciplines continue to influence composition studies with Lauer referring to composition as a "multimodal discipline" (as cited in Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 8).

The different research focus of composition studies, in comparison to academic literacy and EAP research reflects, in part, the longer history of composition studies and its status as a first year undergraduate course, while the fields of academic literacy and EAP are more recent developments and have not fully divested themselves of the 'remedial' basis on which they were founded. Notably, there is more attention in the composition studies research to the different
epistemologies on which different rhetorical theories are based. Berlin includes "the ways in which each theory conceives the nature of the real" as one element of the rhetorical situation that inter-relates with the theory's conception of the other elements - "the interlocutor, the audience, and the function of language" - to categorise the three main rhetorical theories outlined above (1987, pp. 6-7). Despite the longer history of composition studies and its disciplinary status, the discipline is "especially vulnerable to restructuring and reinvention" which has been occurring in universities and colleges in the USA, as they absorb "the values of corporate America" and adjust "to the post-cold war mentality" (Graham et al., 1997, p. 19). In this way, composition scholars in certain US universities and colleges are subject to similar constraints to those working in the fields of academic literacy and EAP in both the UK and Australia.

In order to contextualise my arguments, I have synthesised TESOL research on academic writing with the work of various scholars in academic literacies and the composition studies literature (Berlin, 1987; Canagarajah, 2002; Coffin, 2001; Connor, 1996; Costino & Hyon, 2011; Hyon, 1996; Ivanč, 2004; Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008; Paltridge, 2002; Raimes, 1991; Starfield, 2004). From this synthesis, I have identified five main ways that the nature of academic writing is understood: as a skill, an expressive process, a cognitive process, a goal-oriented social process and a socio-politically constituted and constituting practice. I use these terms as an entry point into outlining the different pedagogical approaches, rather than using the focus of the approach. I do this to highlight how the particular conception of the nature of academic writing tends to prioritise a certain constituent of the writing practice, thereby positioning the teacher and the student writer in particular ways in classroom practice. Thus, I draw attention to how the roles of teacher and the student are understood in each approach, as well as indicating the linguistic theories and rhetorical theories that inform the academic writing pedagogy. As an approach may also be a response to prevailing theories or research methodologies in other influential disciplines, I refer to these where relevant. In tracing the significant changes in how academic writing is conceived, I place the approach in the time frame in which it emerged however, I also refer to the approach in a general fashion,
rather than a time bound fashion as all of these approaches or aspects of the approach continue to be employed in some academic writing classrooms. Rather than offering a chronological sweep, I pause at certain moments to consider in more detail an aspect of an approach that is relevant to my purposes.

A Skill

By the time that EAP was established in the mid-1970s, the composition courses in the USA already had a history of over fifty years. During that time, contrary to many of the conventional narratives of composition, there were a number of pedagogical approaches employed (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 10). However, by the 1960s and early 1970s, the predominant conceptualisation of writing was as a skill. This conceptualisation underpinned the current-traditional paradigm of rhetoric employed in composition courses in the USA and was the basis of the early literacy and EAP courses in the UK and Australia. The main linguistic theories that inform a skills pedagogy are structuralism and behaviourism. Using Berlin’s epistemological categories, the current-traditional paradigm of rhetoric is an objective theory, in that reality is located in “the external world, in the material objects of experience” (1987, p. 6). Thus, knowledge is understood as pre-existing and neutral, with language simply reflective of thought and knowledge, that is, a tool used as a ‘conduit’ for knowledge. This conception of language has been referred to as ‘the conduit metaphor,’ as it views language as a transparent medium that mediates between thoughts and their representation, excluding all the ‘social work’ that is required to reach shared understandings (J. Turner, 1999, p. 59). It suggests that language and knowledge can be separated, rather than understanding that language is constitutive of knowledge. Importantly, Turner believes that the ‘conduit metaphor’ has been the dominant metaphor of language used in the institutional discourses in which EAP is embedded, despite this conceptualisation of language having been challenged by a number of linguists (1999, pp. 59-60).

Although the number of international students studying at universities in the UK, Australia and the US during the 1960s and 1970s was relatively small, compared to the number of international students now studying in these countries,
students at this time did encounter difficulties and the universities felt compelled to respond. However, they did so in a reactive and often non-systematic fashion, designating any problem that the student might have as a 'language' problem that required remediation. This positioning of EAP as remedial has worked in many instances to perpetuate the separation of 'language' and 'content,' thus sustaining the 'conduit' view of language and validating non-discipline-specific EAP courses.

Based on this view of language, an academic text is understood as 'a product' that requires mechanical skills to express knowledge in abstract terms. When academic writing is understood as a skill, it is thought of as a cognitive ability that is not implicated in any ideology and that once acquired remains stable and can be transferred across contexts. Such a view does not engage with the issues of power and privilege that are embedded in prestigious and valued literacies. Classroom practices associated with this approach centre on the explicit teaching of grammatical and rhetorical structures and the completion of decontextualised exercises aimed at improving grammatical accuracy, with little or no regard for meaning. The following example of a decontextualised grammar exercise from a commercial book has been incorporated into an 'in house' materials booklet, used on a generic EAP course which I observed as part of my fieldwork.
Exercise S-53

Objective: To distinguish between simple sentences and complex sentences, and to determine what element is missing.

Directions: As in the previous exercise, one or more words have been omitted from each of the sentences. In the first blank, write S if the sentence, when completed, will be a simple sentence containing only one main clause. Write CX if the completed sentence will be a complex sentence containing one main clause and one subordinate clause. In the second blank, write the number that tells what has been omitted from the sentence: 1 = main subject; 2 = main verb; 3 = subordinating signal; 4 = subordinate verb.

1. Tigers - - - - - - the largest members of the cat family.
   - - - - - - With their strong legs and claws, - - - - - - catch and hold their prey.
   - - - - - - Tigers can eat over 50 pounds of meat at one time, they can go without food for over a week.
   - - - - - - Tigers eat hoofed animals which - - - - - - sheep and cattle.
   - - - - - - Men turn forests into fields for crops, they destroy the tiger's home.
   - - - - - - Without large hunting areas, - - - - - - cannot catch enough food to survive.
   - - - - - - Siberian tigers, which once existed in great numbers in the Soviet Far East, - - - - - - a current population of only 110.
   - - - - - - Now only about twelve Javan tigers, - - - - - - used to exist in great numbers, are still alive.
   - - - - - - Laws against trade in tiger skins - - - - - - the lives of many tigers.
   - - - - - - The danger which tigers - - - - - - to man is much less than most people realize.
   - - - - - - Man's population increases, the tiger population decreases.
   - - - - - - Men usually - - - - - - tigers by shooting or poisoning them.
   - - - - - - Contrary to popular belief, a man rarely has to kill a tiger - - - - - - a human life is in danger.
   - - - - - - Men may understand the true value of tigers only when the last tiger - - - - - - dead.
   - - - - - - Zoos - - - - - - an important part in keeping tigers alive.

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The above exercise, taken from the book *Building Skills for the TOEFL* by King and Stanley (1989, p. 191), bears no relationship thematically, nor lexicogrammatically, to the focus of the class. The students were writing a Research Report on the topic of drinking water preferences. The exercise appears to have been designed for ease of marking as much as for assisting the students which, given the labour intensive nature of commenting on student's written work, may be "little short of a survival technique" (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 11).

Other exercises might include sentence combining and the development of paragraphs but they generally do not include extended writing practice. Regardless of the nature of the exercise, the type of writing that is encouraged is largely mechanical and formulaic. The agency of the student writer is effaced with the automaticity of skills favoured over reflexivity, thus reinforcing the idea that academic writing is removed from issues of power and privilege. While the 'product' approach has been largely discredited, practices associated with the approach persist to some degree. The use of the term skills, indicating a product approach to writing is prevalent in EAP, not only in Australia but also in the UK and US where the term skill might be used to refer to academic reading, writing, listening and speaking skills or study skills or critical thinking skills. The term tends to be employed with little thought given to how the conception of language as a skill is based on a structuralist approach to language and a behaviourist approach to learning which support a pedagogy which is largely prescriptive, designed to develop 'good habits' and concerned with eradicating errors. This emphasis on inculcating 'good habits' is evident in the book *Building Skills for the TOEFL*, referred to above. Under the heading, TOEFL Tactics: Posture and Performance in the section, the students are advised that, "when you practice and when you take a real TOEFL, sit up straight, lean forward slightly, and keep both feet on the floor. Never lean back in the chair," and "sit in a straight chair at a table or desk when you practice. Do not lie on the floor or the bed, or lean back in a comfortable chair when you practice," because "a position which is too comfortable will not help you learn: when you sit in a studious position, you can

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10 TOEFL is the most well known test used to determine if students have met the English Language Requirement for entering university in the United States. IELTS is more commonly used in Australia and the UK, however, individual institutions may accept a TOEFL score.
concentrate better” (King & Stanley, 1989, pp. x-xi). As these ‘tactics’ suggest, a behaviourist perspective views any problems that appear in students’ writing as the result of certain failings or ‘poor habits’ of the student such as a lack of discipline or a lack of logic in thinking. Pedagogical strategies such as imitation and repeated practice are then employed to remedy such failings. This sets up a monologic, transmission model of pedagogy with the student positioned as a passive learner.

Research on writing in the skills approach tends to be text based and to focus on forms, both structural and rhetorical, with science-oriented empirical research designs preferred. As will be seen in later approaches, a focus on form is not in itself problematic but how form is understood and the research methods used can have a major influence on how academic writing pedagogy is conceived. Empiricism based on scientific principles supports a view of disinterested knowledge and if used to investigate writing as simply a ‘product’, it further reinforces the positioning of the student writer as a passive subject. It is therefore not surprising that in literacy terms, the skills approach is viewed as enacting an instrumental ideology which views human activities as motivated by pragmatic and utilitarian concerns. The main implications for classroom practice are that teaching and learning are understood as pragmatic and utilitarian, divesting both teachers and learners of responsibility beyond the immediate concerns of the classroom. The Academic Skills approach to literacy is influenced by this conception of writing and, to a degree, informs the stance of those who advocate a Pragmatic EAP pedagogy. A number of researchers in EAP such as Hyland (2006) Turner (2004) and Pennycook (1997) have drawn attention to the limitations of the skills approach yet discourse around skills continues to predominate in the field of EAP.

A Cognitive Process

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was increasing interest in techniques such as incorporating feedback on multiple drafts from peers and the teacher in the final submission for assessment and developing writing portfolios that provide documentation of a student’s writing processes and development as a
writer. These were not necessarily new techniques, as there is evidence that similar techniques were employed in the early composition courses at Harvard University however, they were seen as offering a means for teachers to assist students to become better writers through their intervention in the student's writing process. Donald Murray's call to "Teach writing as a process, not a product" was heeded by many in what was referred to as the process movement. As with many movements, the process movement was not unified (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 11). Faigley indicates the development of three quite distinct perspectives:

Commentators on the process movement (e.g., Berlin, Writing Instruction) now assume at least two major perspectives on composing, an expressive view including the work of "authentic voice" proponents such as William Coles, Peter Elbow, Ken Macrorie, and Donald Stewart, and a cognitive view including the research of those who analyze composing processes such as Linda Flower, Barry Kroll, and Andrea Lunsford. More recently, a third perspective on composing has emerged, one that contends processes of writing are social in character instead of originating within individual writers. Statements on composing from the third perspective, which I call the social view, have come from Patricia Bizzell, Kenneth Bruffee, Marilyn Cooper, Shirley Brice Heath, James Reither, and authors of several essays collected in Writing in Non-Academic Settings edited by Lee Odell and Dixie Goswami. (1986, pp. 527-528)

Quoting Faigley at length provides an opportunity to introduce some of the influential figures associated with Composition Studies research and theorising, in addition to suggesting distinctions in the way that researchers and practitioners adopted a process view of writing. There appears to be general agreement as to demarcations between the expressive approach and cognitive approach and so I will use these terms, while placing what Faigley calls the social view in the fifth approach to writing that I review, the socially constituted and constituting practice.

In the late 1970s, Emig's pioneering use of 'think aloud' protocols with eight senior high school student writers formed the basis for investigating "what is involved in the act of writing and what skills are required" (Connor, 1996, p. 74). 'Think Aloud' protocols were part of controlled empirical procedures designed to determine what distinguishes 'skilled' writers from 'unskilled' writers. In studies
conducted by Flower and Hayes, both 'skilled' and 'unskilled' mature, college-
level writers were recorded 'thinking aloud' about problems they encountered,
decisions they had to make and the reasons for their choices, while they were
writing (Connor, 1996, p. 75). The research found that 'skilled' writers engaged
in a recursive, exploratory process which involved various stages such as
brainstorming, planning, outlining, drafting and revising. During the early stages,
the 'skilled writers' tended to focus on content and meaning as they revised,
delaying attention to mechanics such as spelling, punctuation and grammatical
accuracy until the final stage, in contrast to 'unskilled writers' who tended to be
concerned with mechanics in the early stages (Connor, 1996, p. 75). The
cognitive process approach draws on insights from this type of research, in
addition to the work of psychologists such as Piaget and Bruner who
acknowledge the importance of social context in cognitive development. Thus,
while highly focused on the individual writer, the "individual is conceived as
inherently transactional, arriving at truth through engaging the surrounding
material and social environment" (Berlin, 1987, p. 16).

Flower and Hayes (1981), published "A Cognitive Process Theory of Writing" in
College Composition and Communication, the leading journal for Composition
Studies in the USA which continues to remain influential, judging by the number
of citations and number of times it has been accessed. In June 2012, it was the
most cited article in the journal for the past three years and the most accessed in
the past three months. This illustrates Conor's view that the rhetoric of cognitive
psychology has become a major approach. In outlining their theory, they
developed four main points related to understanding the process of writing.
Firstly, they saw writing as "a set of distinctive thinking processes which writers
orchestrate or organise during the act of composing" (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p.
366). They described these processes as having "a hierarchical, highly embedded
organization" and the act of composing as "a goal-directed thinking process,
guided by the writer's own growing network of goals" which they create in two
main ways "by generating both high-level goals and supporting sub-goals which
embody the writer's developing sense of purpose and . . . at times, changing
major goals or even establishing entirely new ones based on what has been
learned in the act of writing” (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p. 366). Over time, the cognitive approach has often been reduced to a focus on the stages of composing which is very different from the conception of writing that Flower and Hayes envisaged when they outlined their theory. They concluded their now highly cited article with the claim that, “By placing emphasis on the inventive power of the writer, who is able to explore ideas, to develop, act on, test, and regenerate his or her own goals, we are putting an important part of creativity where it belongs – in the hands of the working, thinking writer” (Flower & Hayes, 1981, p. 386). It is possibly this focus on the writer and the emphasis on creativity that has lead to the conflating of the expressive approach and the cognitive approach.

Similar to the ‘skill’ approach, science-oriented empirical research methods were often used. However, as Flower and Hayes’ theory suggests, more attention was given to the writer, rather than simply the text, resulting in a distinctively different understanding of writing. Rather than the static conception of writing as a ‘product’ engendered by understanding writing as a skill, writing was conceived as a complex active ‘process,’ comprising a number of composing stages and involving a variety of cognitive strategies. Raimes recounts that TESOL was influenced by the research in composition studies, reacting against the prescriptive, product oriented and form focused approach that had predominated in the 1960s and early 1970s, in favour of investigating what ESL writers actually do in the writing process (1991, p. 409). She herself conducted writing process research using think-aloud protocols, in addition to the analysis of ESL student essays. She describes the composing processes of the ESL students and compares these with research on ‘native speaker’ student writers because of her concern that differences between ESL student writers and ‘native speaker’ writers had not been adequately addressed (Raimes, 1987, p. 439).

Both process approaches, cognitive and expressive, were also influenced by Chomsky’s theory of transformational generative grammar, which put forward the idea of a universal grammar. Chomsky’s universal grammar made it easier for advocates of these different approaches to process to argue that the cognitive strategies involved in writing are also universal. In terms of EAP, another significant legacy of Chomsky’s theorising is the notion of the idealised native
speaker. The idealised native speaker is somewhat vaguely defined as someone who knows the language 'perfectly,' yet despite this vagueness, the 'native speaker' has come to be a standard against which the success of the international student can be measured. Regardless of the achievements of the international student, if they do not reach native speaker fluency and accuracy then they are often regarded as deficient native speakers. Chomsky did not introduce the term native speaker into English language education but his notion of the idealised native speaker has continued to have currency as a largely unchallenged foundation of EAP theorising. Cook has made a compelling case for viewing international students as "multicompetent language users rather than as deficient native speakers" but the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' persist (1999, p. 185).

In Australia, there have been efforts to acknowledge the limitations of the term 'non-native speaker' with the substitution of other terms such as Languages Other Than English (LOTE) or Non-English Speaking Background (NESB). These terms tend to be used for administrative purposes while the EAP literature continues to make a distinction between the 'native' and 'non-native' speaker of English. According to Holliday, underlying "all aspects of the teaching and learning of English" is "the perceived superiority of the 'native English speaker'" (as cited in Phan Le Ha, 2009, p. 137). Researchers in the UK investigating the notion of 'native speaker' in TESOL in the schooling sector point out that the term is based on the assumption that the students and teachers are 'outsiders,' both linguistically and socially and it assumes that there is a one-to-one correspondence between language and ethnicity (Leung, Harris, Rampton 1997, p. 543). It ignores the backgrounds, linguistic and otherwise, of the students and the teachers. In view of this, Leung, Harris and Rampton, believe the use of the term 'native speaker' should be discontinued so that concern shifts to consideration of language expertise, language inheritance and language affiliation (1997, p. 543). At the very least, without some reconsideration of the term 'non-native speaker', it is difficult for EAP to argue that it serves more than a remedial function. I address the significance of identification in Chapter Three, in outlining the notion of identity that I employ in the thesis.
The expressive process approach views writing as a cognitive process. However, in comparison to the cognitive process approach, there is less emphasis on the composing stages and more emphasis placed on the highly individualistic nature of the thought processes (Elbow, 1998; Graves, 1983). The culmination of the composing stages and thought processes is the rendering of the writer's individual, internal monologue onto 'the page.' This places the approach in Berlin's category of subjective rhetoric which "locates truth either within the individual or within a realm that is accessible only through the individual's internal apprehension, apart from the empirically verifiable sensory world" (Berlin, 1987, p. 11). Strongly influenced by developmental psychology, the approach was also influenced by the rise in humanist psychology, with its emphasis on creativity, originality and authenticity. This led to writing being viewed as a dynamic activity which can allow students to find their individual, authentic voice. 'Creativity, originality and authenticity' are encouraged through students writing on topics that they find of interest. Both the cognitive process approach and the expressive process approach centre on the writer, however the writer is a disembodied writer and the writing tends to be decontextualised from the environing institutional setting. The focus on 'individual voice' had a dramatic impact on classroom practice, in particular the marked change from a teacher-centred classroom to a student-centred classroom (Elbow, 1998). The impact of this pedagogical shift was widespread with certain aspects of the approach adopted in classrooms from the primary through to the tertiary level. In a student-centred classroom, students are encouraged to engage in the stages of writing used by 'skilled' writers with teachers acting more as facilitators. Teachers tend to intervene in the later stages of the writing process, often assuming an 'editing' role. In EAP, this has led to debate as to whether accuracy is being sacrificed for fluency. There has, however, been less discussion as to whether a student-centred classroom is tantamount to a learning-centred classroom.

In literacy terms, both the "composing process" approach and the "creative process" approach are premised on an interaction ideology, that is, literacy is
understood as a goal-oriented, cognitive activity that uses language to negotiate knowledge. While both the cognitive process approach and the creative process approach emphasise the agency of the writer, the research methods are dominated by scientifically oriented controlled empirical procedures. As literacy is understood as a cognitive activity, the research does not tend to take into account the embodied and contextual aspects of writing. Both approaches overstate the agency of the writer suggesting that the writer can achieve power through acting on their situatedness with skill, intelligence and creativity. As in the ‘product’ approach, this means that the writer must assume full responsibility for lack of success.

The expressive process approach has been widely influential in primary and secondary schooling in Australia and the composing stages of the cognitive process approach have been adopted in generic EAP courses. In addition to the idea of staging and multiple drafts, aspects of student-centred learning related to the expressive process approach such as peer review, teacher-student conferencing and learner responsibility have been incorporated into academic writing pedagogy. To varying degrees, attention to grammatical forms and structures arises from the student’s writing rather than being a pre-determined item on the syllabus, leading to the criticism that the systematic and explicit teaching of grammar is neglected in generic EAP courses. The term student-centred learning does however, need to be adopted with caution as it can mask a displacement of responsibility from the institution or teacher on to the student. During the course of an intensive ten week programme, it is not uncommon to hear learner responsibility invoked, when a teacher, for example, may not want to become involved in what appears to be an intractable problem, or they may feel under pressure due to lack of time or a heavy workload. In other words, the shortcomings of the institution can become the responsibility of the student.
**Goal-Oriented Social Action**

In the late 1980s, a group of Australian linguists referred to in the US as 'The Sydney School,' advocated the explicit teaching of genres within subject areas as a response to what they felt were the discriminatory aspects of the creative process approach. In their view, the 'invisible pedagogy' of the creative process approach further disadvantages those students who are already marginalised from powerful discourses, while favouring students from privileged socio-economic backgrounds. Students from more privileged backgrounds generally have access to the prestigious genres by virtue of their social environment, allowing them to negotiate the inductive, exploratory nature of the creative process approach. Christie and Martin’s work in primary education in Australia is often cited as an example of genre-based pedagogy which has developed from Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics. (Christie & Martin, 1997). Originally a literary studies construct, genre has become highly influential as the basis for EAP courses in Australia and migrant English language programmes (usually referred to as English in The Workplace), as well as ESP in the UK and composition classes in the US.

In her research of genre-based pedagogy, Hyon (1996) identifies three prominent genre scholarship traditions, ESP, SFL and The New Rhetoric, associated most closely with the UK, Australia and the US respectively and operating across educational contexts from primary schools through to tertiary settings. Similar to Coffin (2001), Hyon (1996) notes that generally speaking, there are important similarities across these three traditions. Each tradition views written texts as culturally and socially embedded and all three traditions inform approaches to writing in educational contexts. Genres are seen as probabilistic rather than deterministic because of the recognition of context and culture and as open to contestation. Rhetorical Genre Studies scholars “emphasize the dynamism of genres” through Schryer’s notion that “genres are stabilized for now, or stabilized enough sites of social and ideological action” (Schryer, 1994, p. 108). The emphasis on the social nature of texts effected a shift in focus to the importance of appropriacy in writing, moving away from the emphasis on accuracy as in the skills approach and the privileging of interest.
value in the expressive approach. Genre researchers in each of the three traditions share a concern for theoretical integrity and classroom practice that demonstrates commitment to the development of a critical engagement with language and discourse. In SFL, at the level of context, Martin explains that "genre represents the system of staged goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives," thereby uniting form, function and context (1997, p. 13).

However, Ivanič distinguishes genre approaches from previous approaches to writing by their focus "on writing as a product," while at the same time paying "attention to the way in which the product is shaped by the event of which it is a part" (2004, p. 232). Contrary to this 'product' orientation, in common with the social constructivist approach, SFL is based on a view of language as having a role in the social construction of experience (Christie, 1999; Christie & Martin, 1997). Drawing on Lemke, Martin writes of how "social context and language metaredound . . . which is to say that social context comprises patterns of language patterns. Realization also entails that language construes, is construed by and (over time) reconstrues social context (1997, p. 4). Freedman's (1999) commentary on Rhetorical Genre Studies, entitled Beyond the Text: Towards Understanding the Teaching and Learning of Genres provides an indication of why SFL genre approaches are often viewed as 'product' oriented. An important distinction between SFL and Rhetorical Genre Studies is that, as Freedman's title suggests, there is a focus on genre as action as opposed to a text type. This view of genre draws on Miller who argues that "a rhetorically sound definition of genre must be centred not on the substance of the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish" (1984, p. 151). Thus in Rhetorical Genre Studies, it is held that "genres are best understood not so much as text types, to be defined by their textual regularities, but rather as typified actions in response to recurring social contexts" (Freedman, 1999, p. 764).

In fact, a key point of difference between The New Rhetoric and the other traditions is that there has been resistance by some US scholars to the explicit teaching of genre forms and associated lexico-grammatical patterns, a feature of SFL and to some extent ESP/EAP genre pedagogy (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p.
11). Freedman argues that possibly a very limited use of the explicit teaching of textual regularities may assist students to acquire these genres (1999, p. 766). There is also a difference among the traditions as to what it means to have 'knowledge about language.' In SFL and ESP/EAP, knowledge about language is primarily linguistic, whereas in The New Rhetoric it is primarily rhetorical. However, scholars working in The New Rhetoric have followed different paths, with some New Rhetoric scholars taking up the idea of a SFL genre based pedagogy and others placing less emphasis on an explication of textual features and more emphasis on promoting an understanding of the complex interrelationships of context and text that allow for participation in a discourse community. Another important difference between The New Rhetoric and SFL and ESP/EAP is that in the New Rhetoric tradition, texts are analysed ethnographically as opposed to linguistically, whereas SFL and ESP/EAP tend to use quantitative empirical textual analysis. Ethnographic descriptions afford an understanding of the academic contexts in which genres function and the actions they accomplish within those contexts.

Genre research in ESP/EAP tends to have a similar focus to SFL genre research, however cultural context is generally understood in terms of a 'discourse community' because ESP/EAP is primarily in a university setting, in contrast to SFL which has primarily examined genres in primary and secondary schooling, as well as the non-professional workplace (Coffin, 2001). This means that in ESP/EAP, the focus is on more specific genres such as the research report, the research essay and the critical literature review, while SFL looks at broader categories of genre that are considered elemental in primary and secondary schooling, for example, procedure, report, explanation, discussion, exposition, recount and narrative (Hyon, 1996). The specific genres of ESP/EAP research vary in degree of specificity because generic EAP courses are not discipline-specific. There is a slight difference in emphasis, with SFL considering the writer's overall purpose as shaping the schematic structure of the text, whereas in ESP/EAP, it is the communicative purpose which is seen to define the genre. While both approaches use explicit teaching of text features at the level of text structure, there is more pedagogical emphasis on revealing the features of texts.
at the sentence-level in SFL than in ESP/EAP (Coffin, 2001). In SFL, detailed attention is given to the features of register in relation to field, tenor and mode at the sentence-level, in comparison to ESP and EAP, where the grammatical focus tends to be on frequently occurring features such as passive voice and hedges. As Coffin observes, SFL genre-based pedagogies tend “to reach greater degrees of grammatical delicacy than analyses carried out within the ESP tradition” (2001, p. 110). Despite SFL and ESP/EAP research being based on an understanding of the social work of genre, neither approach offers descriptions and explanations of the contexts in which genres are used nor do they offer understandings of more specialised uses of texts.

Another important distinction between the expressive process approach and a genre-based pedagogy is the focus on content in the genre approach. The work of The Sydney School in primary schools was conducted in subject areas so that students were learning genres associated with different subjects. However, genre-based academic writing approaches are not necessarily subject related. There are some who argue for discipline-specific academic writing courses because of their view that academic writing and disciplinary knowledge are inter-related (Hyland, 2002b). They understand writing as a ‘way of knowing’ and as such any pedagogy must promote meaningful and communicative academic writing that is contextualised in the knowledge claims and discourse and genre conventions of specific academic discourse communities. Others support the ‘common core hypothesis’ whereby certain generic academic skills and lexis are believed to be transferrable across disciplines. It is this belief in transferable generic skills that underpins generic EAP courses in Australia.

An important consequence of the ‘genre’ approach was the move from the customary practice in ESP and EAP to organise classes around what are considered the four main skills, that is, listening and speaking and reading and writing to an integration of reading and writing in EAP and ESP. This was a consequence of the understanding in genre-based pedagogy of the inter-relationship of ‘content’ and genre. However, the use of reading texts for genre analysis in generic EAP courses tends to be for identification of the structure of a genre - the various stages and the ‘moves’ within those stages - rather than for
understanding the writer's rhetorical purpose and how that is achieved. Another impact on EAP was the idea of 'needs analysis' to inform the curriculum. 'Needs Analysis,' from an EAP perspective, involves a study of the central types of assignments and genres of the future disciplines in which students will be studying. While commendable in some respects, the use of 'needs analysis' in generic EAP courses has tended to remove the curriculum from the actual 'needs' of the students as all students are considered to have the same needs, regardless of their prior academic background, their prospective level of study or their discipline.

There still tends to be a focus on textual analysis in the research on genre, particularly in the SFL and ESP conception of genre, although as mentioned earlier, ethnography has been more widely used in genre approaches based on The New Rhetoric. Despite influences from sociolinguistics and a shift to the notion of communicative competence in linguistics, genre pedagogy can be viewed as 'product-oriented', as Ivanić suggests, if the focus on genre analysis simply involves attention to genre conventions, register and textual features. Although the importance of grounding academic writing pedagogy in a disciplinary context is recognised in the 'content' approach, knowledge is not treated as interested. Thus from a literacy perspective, the pedagogy reflects a reproductive ideology as students are encouraged to reproduce genres without necessarily engaging in an examination of the power and ideology of academic discourses and genres. This means that whilst the context is considered and the nature of the discourse community is understood as critical, these dimensions of writing may still be approached in a utilitarian and pragmatic manner.

**A Socio-Politically Constituted and Constituting Practice**

It was not simply a critique of genre as over-reliant on a static and unitary view of text types that promoted further change in the mid 1980s. The rise of the 'social constructionist' view of disciplinary knowledge in the social sciences was beginning to influence how academic writing researchers viewed the very nature of academic writing. Referred to as 'the social turn,' those who support this view of knowledge "locate reality at the point of interaction of subject and object, with
audience and language as mediating agencies," and thus adopt a transactional approach, in terms of Berlin's theories of rhetoric, or, more specifically, an epistemic transactional approach (1987, p. 6). According to Berlin, epistemic rhetoric "posits a transaction that involves all elements of the rhetorical situation: interlocutor, audience, material reality, and language" (1987, p. 16).

The influence of 'the social turn' further developed the work of genre theorists who had drawn attention to how the writer's purpose and context shaped the text. Working from a broader conception of the social, proponents of the 'social construction' of knowledge also used a broader conception of text, moving beyond the primarily linguistic view to a multimodal view of text (Iedema, 2003).

The composing processes were not discounted, however investigations of these processes, in both literacy and composition research, began to draw increasingly on ethnographic studies to provide more detailed understandings of the contexts in which these composing practices occur. A number of composition researchers in the USA conducted ethnographic research to uncover the literacy demands on students entering an academic discipline. According to Berkenkotter, Huckin and Ackerman, "achieving disciplinary literacy requires that the writer be able to integrate procedural with substantive/declarative knowledge, in this case the student's knowledge of appropriate discourse conventions with his developing knowledge of a disciplinary community's issues and research methodologies" (as cited in Connor, 1996, pp. 77-78). Although not the intention of many working in the field of genre studies, a rather static view of texts had become established in pedagogical practice. Ethnographic studies provided a more dynamic interpretation of texts with 'the reader' understood as integral to the writing process, giving rise to the concept of a 'discourse community.' Findings from this research suggest that incorporating the 'discourse community' into academic writing pedagogy entails engaging with the values and expectations of the discourse community, understanding the nature and methods of enquiry involved in knowledge making in the discipline and becoming aware of the types of interactions that tend to occur in that discourse community, rather than simply rendering the discourse conventions of that community explicit.
As with any profound shift in thinking, the response to ‘the social turn’ was not uniformly accepted, nor was it uniformly interpreted in the academic writing research. Literacy theorists follow genre theorists in viewing writing as “purpose-driven communication in a social context,” however theorists in New Literacy Studies, influenced by anthropology and sociolinguistics, have used ethnographic studies of literacy in everyday life to draw attention to “the social practices in which the writing event is embedded”, including “the social meanings and values of writing, and issues of power,” (Ivanic, 2004, p. 234). Viewing literacy as a set of social practices draws on the earlier ethnographic work of researchers such as Hymes (1972a) and extends this work by introducing the political and ideological dimensions of writing practices. As a result, classroom practice foregrounds the explicit teaching of the historical and socio-political factors involved in knowledge creation and writing. With this shift in focus from the text to the social practice and with the broadening of thinking on text beyond the linguistic, the incorporation of learning theories related to Lave and Wenger's concept of 'communities of practice' began to highlight the importance of identification in writing. Lave and Wenger's research, further elaborated by Wenger, shows that “people learn by apprenticeship, by 'peripheral participation' in literacy events, and by taking on the identity of community membership among those who use literacy in particular ways” (as cited in Ivanic, 1998, p. 235). This view can be seen in composition studies among those that Faigley refers to as adopting a social process approach. For instance, Bartholomae argues that “There is no better way to investigate the transmission of power, tradition and authority than by asking students to do what academics do: work with the past, with key texts . . . ; struggling with other's terms . . . ; struggling with the problems of quotation, citation and paraphrase . . .” (Bartholomae, 1995, p. 66). While Bartholomae acknowledges the “power, tradition and authority” associated with academic writing, other researchers were making this the object of their enquiry and the focus of their classroom practice.

Informed by ideas from sociology, educational philosophy and cultural theory, critical approaches to writing such as Critical Literacy, Critical Language
Awareness and Critical Pedagogy are based on the view that language and situated writing practices are shaped by the broader sociopolitical forces which impact on the contexts in which writing practices take place, whilst recognising that, in turn, writing also has socio-political consequences. Gee, Hull and Lankshear distinguish their work from traditional views of literacy by noting that "... literacy is seen as a largely psychological ability – something to do with our 'heads.' We, on the other hand, see literacy as a matter of social practices – something to do with social, institutional, and cultural relationships" (1996, p. 1).

Following Foucault, central to critical literacy theory is the notion that "discourse defines, constructs and positions human subjects," meaning that "there is a relationship between social power, identity and discourse types" (Coffin, 2001, p. 103). A critical reading of texts involves analysis directed at scrutinising the power relations implicated in writing through discourses that set up a particular way of representing the world and through genres that represent the social conventions appropriate for different writing practices (Ivanić, 2004, pp. 237-238). Attention is given to the linguistic features of texts, however, from a discourse analysis perspective, rather than from a linguistic perspective. Noting that "many sociolinguistic and linguistic analyses of text pay close attention to patterns of language in use but stop short of explicating how discourses evidenced in local contexts have political and ideological consequences," Luke proposes that a "central task of contemporary approaches to discourse analysis is to theorize and study the micropolitics of discourse, to examine actual patterns of language use with some degree of detail and explicitness but in ways that reconnect instances of local discourse with salient political, economic, and cultural formations" (1995, p. 11). There is a tendency in Critical Literacy to focus on critical reading rather than writing, however Pennycook has suggested that this approach could be of value in EFL education and is part of his call for a Critical EAP pedagogy.

Critical approaches encourage understanding the consequences of the inter-relationship of 'social power, identity and discourse types.' For those influenced by the work of Freire, Giroux and Shor, the classroom is a site for "liberatory politics" and for preparation for democratic citizenship (Knoblauch & Matsuda,
2008, p. 18). The work of cultural studies research emanating from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, also attends to the social and political contexts of writing, drawing attention to issues of power and social justice in a broader social context, in addition to the classroom. Although the difference in approaches informed by cultural studies as opposed to critical pedagogy is mainly one of emphasis, the cultural studies approach does tend to focus more on collapsing the distinction between literary texts and popular texts. A cultural studies influence in the composition classroom is likely to lead to a focus on “the individual in a social context,” with the context more likely to be one of “everyday lived experiences and artifacts of the common people” (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 18).

Returning to rhetorical pedagogy based on Berlin’s category of transactional epistemic rhetoric, those who advocate this approach share similar concerns to those who advocate critical approaches to literacy. The New Rhetoric reinstates “the broader educational goals of civic discourse inherent in a rhetorical approach” that had been disregarded in the more formulaic conception of current—traditional rhetoric with its emphasis on grammar and accuracy (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 17). There is an explicit commitment to an ethics of communication in The New Rhetoric which, as Ward (2007) points out, has become increasingly important at a time when marketing and advertising exert a powerful influence through the techniques of persuasion, without necessarily incorporating the ethical and moral imperatives that are central to the writing of the great rhetoricians of the past such as Aristotle, Cicero and Quintillian. He argues that writers today should be familiar with all of the techniques of oral and written persuasion that were commonly employed by the early rhetoricians because “…in an age of propaganda, the most important thing for the survival of democracy is the existence of communicators who know how to present their message clearly and fairly, coupled with an informed electorate that knows the difference between a fair presentation and a con job” (Pratkanis and Aronson as cited in Ward, 2007, p. xii). As Thomas notes, regardless of the medium, “…rhetoric remains a pillar of ethical and meaningful communication” (2007, p. 3). Drawing on Aristotle’s Rhetoric, theorists and practitioners of rhetorical
pedagogy incorporate Aristotle’s triangle of speaker, audience and content of argument in the teaching of composition with a focus on “the means or sources of persuasion, the language, and the arrangement of the various parts of the treatment” as a way of students learning how to create a ‘fair presentation’ and identify a ‘con job’ (Connor, 1996, p. 64).

I would like to briefly elaborate on what scholars of rhetoric view as ‘the means or sources of persuasion,’ as this introduces the notion of identity in writing, and thereby expands Ivanič’s account of the interest in the representation of writer identity which she attributes to certain scholars who view writing as a sociopolitically constructed practice (2004, p. 238). As mentioned earlier, rhetoricians who understand writing from a transactional epistemic perspective hold similar views to this group, however rhetoricians who may not be of this view but understand writing as transactional include ‘the means or sources of persuasion’ in their pedagogy and this relates to learning “invention strategies for making three appeals . . . ethos, pathos, and logos” (Connor, 1996, p. 64). According to a composition studies course textbook, “Ethos is an appeal to authority or character . . . Pathos refers to the appeal to the emotions . . . and Logos entails rational argument” and each appeal can be used independently or in combination with the other appeals in argumentation which is central to rhetoric (Alfano & O’Brien, 2008, p. 43). Alfano and O’Brien write that “To approach texts rhetorically means to ask questions about how the text conveys a persuasive message or argument” (2008, p. 3).

New Rhetoric scholars have drawn on both Toulmin’s theory of argumentation and Perelman’s “new rhetoric” to extend the understanding of how to develop an argument, beyond ideas of formal logic. Toulmin’s model comprises three obligatory elements, namely claim, data and warrant and three optional elements - backing, rebuttal and qualifier (Connor, 1996, p. 67). The claim is “the statement put forward”, the data is “designed to support the claim and counter any possible challenges to the claim” and the warrant “shows the “relation of claim and data by means of justification” (Connor, 1996, p. 67). Backing refers to “generalizations making explicit the body of experience relied on to establish the trustworthiness of the way of arguing in any particular case,” while rebuttals are
"the extraordinary circumstances that might undermine the force of supporting arguments" and qualifiers refer to the "strength or weakness, conditions, and/or limitations with which the claim is advanced" (Toulmin, Rieke and Janik as cited in Connor, 1996, p. 67). Backing reveals a direct relationship with the rhetorical appeal of ethos, while rebuttal and qualifiers can be viewed as indirectly linked as they could demonstrate the authority and character of the writer to the audience. More importantly, the rhetorical notion of ethos and Toulmin's conception of argument points to a non-essentialised authorial identity in the text.

A non-essentialised writer identity is more explicitly developed by the work of Perelman who develops the notion of ethos beyond the "standard techniques for ethotic argument such as the need to gain the respect, goodwill, and sympathy of the audience," to include "specific performative considerations - e.g., the quality of a speaker's argument influences the audience's perception of the speaker; the speaker should conciliate the audience by demonstrating trust in its judgment; the speaker . . . should take care not stir [sic] up hostility toward himself by treating the audience as though it is inferior; and the speaker should display a proper attitude toward hearers by exercising restraint, discretion, and brevity and by avoiding arrogant displays of knowledge" (Leff, 2009, p. 306). As Leff notes, these performative elements relate to "the situated conduct of an arguer and his or her interaction with a specific audience," suggesting the limitations of employing propositional analysis or abstract norms as the criteria for the assessment of ethotic arguments, as they offer no insight into how speakers establish a rapport with an audience (2009, p. 306). It is the performative nature of argumentation, Perelman claims, as illustrated through the critical importance of the interaction between the speaker and the audience, that distinguishes argumentation from formal logic (Leff, 2009, p. 306).

In her account, Ivanič explains how writers draw on socially constructed discourses and genres in their writing which have consequences for the identity of the writer in the writing. While acknowledging that writers are constrained by the sociopolitical context in which they write, in relation to "how to represent the world, how to represent themselves, what social role to take, and how to
address their readers when they write," she also addresses the deterministic implications of this view, by recognising that writers can be social agents who are able "to challenge and subvert norms and conventions," (Ivanić, 2004, p. 238). However, Ivanić does not offer a clear explication of how these two views of identity – deterministic and agentive – might be reconciled. In view of the work on identity in The New Rhetoric referred to above, I turn to the work of certain scholars in The New Rhetoric who have started a conversation about the possible nexus between The New Rhetoric and Performance Studies that may offer ways of thinking about how to address the nature of identity in academic texts.

**The 'New' in The New Rhetoric**

When 'new' is attached to a term, this can be viewed sceptically as an attempt to rehabilitate a theory or framework that has possibly outlived its usefulness. Scholars of the New Rhetoric are aware of the 'new' as a provocation but affix the 'New' to highlight the plasticity of rhetoric (Lunsford, 2007, p. 7). The origins of rhetoric are generally attributed to the Greeks of the fifth century BCE, however studies by those such as Kennedy and Mao have shown that the Greeks were not unique in their use of rhetoric, nor were they the first to employ rhetoric (Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 3). In relation to the Western academic and rhetorical tradition, since fifth century BCE Greece rhetoric has continued to be rediscovered over the course of Western cultural history and accordingly modified, in response to changing times and changing contexts and in the case of writing, to changing technologies. Lunsford refers to the newest 'new' rhetoric as "deeply mediated" and "deeply technologised" (Lunsford, 2007, p. 7). The plethora of new technologies are, in her view, instances of broader socio-economic forces which herald a change from a consumption model of texts to a production model. In the production model, texts tend to be multi-modal and there seems to be a return to prominence of one of the canons of classical rhetoric – delivery. With the importance now ascribed to delivery, New Rhetoricians see evolving opportunities for Rhetoric to reconnect with its early Greek traditions, when knowledge and discourse were embodied practices. This has prompted some scholars of The New Rhetoric to explore how Performance
Studies might be an area through which to understand and theorise the embodied and performed aspects of texts.

In an essay reporting on the Stanford Study of Writing, co-authored by two scholars of The New Rhetoric and two of their students, the authors argue that composition studies and performance studies share a number of similar concerns such as "relationships between language and the body, individuals and communities, and social norms and forms of resistance" and they see the notion of performance, grounded as it is in the body, as a way of addressing these concerns (Fishman, Lunsford, McGregor, & Otuteye, 2005). Drawing on her experiences teaching theatre and performance studies and studio-based acting, Ohlandt, another New Rhetoric scholar, has drawn attention to the parallels between academic writing and acting. In view of this, she proposes a course that blends "critical reading, classroom discussion, script analysis, and studio exercises in equal measure" as a powerful means of addressing the notion of voice, which she argues, "is central to teaching both acting and academic writing" (Ohlandt, 2007, p. 92). She believes that The New Rhetoric as now taught in contemporary universities recognises the centrality of the notion of voice and that "in theatre and performance studies, physical voices and present bodies are as much a focus of analysis as are the ethereal notions of voice as style and body as identity" (Ohlandt, 2007, p. 84). The interest in Performance Studies, on the part of New Rhetoric scholars raises the possibility of Performance Studies scholars being interested in The New Rhetoric or other theoretical frameworks that explore the inter-relationship of academic writing and performance.

**Performance Studies**

**Beyond The Theatre Metaphor**

In most accounts of the entry of Performance Studies into the academy, the focus tends to be on New York University, where an inter-disciplinary understanding of performance has been developed through a co-working of concepts and ideas, principally from anthropology and theatre studies (Jackson, 2004). Although I am interested in the use of the theatre metaphor in relation to academic writing,
it is the strand of Performance Studies that has emanated from Northwestern University’s School of Speech (including Communication Studies, Radio/TV/Film and theatre) that is of interest for the purposes of this thesis. At Northwestern, the early work in Performance Studies drew on oral poetry’s classical traditions to argue for a performance oriented study and analysis of cultural texts. From early on, there has also been a focus on understanding communication, with anthropology being particularly influential. In view of this, it is not surprising that performance scholars working in the academy have turned to performance as a way of approaching academic writing.

Performance Studies Scholars Writing In The Academy

However, there is no uniformity in the ways that performance scholars have considered writing as performance. Della Pollock, for instance, maintains that “performative writing is not a genre or a fixed form (as a textual model might suggest) but a way of describing what some good writing does” (1998, p. 75). She acknowledges that good writing is not necessarily performative writing and that writers whose writing she considers to be performative may not view their own writing as such. For her, the term performativity “describes a fundamentally material practice,” however she notes that similar to the term performance, performativity “is also an analytic, a way of framing and underscoring aspects of writing/life” (Pollock, 1998, p. 75). Pollock’s interest lies in offering an alternative to “writing that threatens to dehydrate performance or that subordinates performative temporalities to the spatial and alien(ating) conventions of the (scholarly) ‘text’” (1998, p. 79), while at the same time avoiding writing that is simply “stylish, trendy, clever, avant-garde” which only serves to establish a “new formalism” (1998, p. 75). Yet rather than engaging with the notion of the performative conceptually, Pollock enlists a set of six descriptors - evocative, metonymic, subjective, nervous, citational and consequential - to provide what she considers a suggestive framework for performative writing, directed towards expanding “the realm of scholarly representation” (1998, p. 80). Taking up the efforts of other scholars “to revive the first person in scholarly writing,” she also employs the term performative more specifically, in her appeal for the performative “I” in lieu of the modernist
"I" (2007, p. 239), attributing to this performative first person "a politics and an ethics" (2007, p. 252). The authority and privileged status of academic writing means that acknowledging the political and ethical dimensions of academic writing are critical, however the power of the performative to be political and ethical rests in the notion of the performative as a speech act, an idea that Sedgwick (1998) has explored in her experimental critical writing classes.

In contrast to Pollock, Sedgwick draws on the performative conceptually, introducing Austin's concept of 'performative utterances' as the basis of the first assignment included in the end of semester assessment portfolio (1998, p. 104). As part of this assignment, the students are asked to find more examples of performative utterances and to explore "the social and discursive preconditions" for these utterances, as well as considering "address, community, and efficacy in performative utterances" (Sedgwick, 1998, p. 107). The final assignment returns to the performative utterance with students asked to work collaboratively to document and perform a public speech act that might actually lead to change. Sedgwick notes how a performance by a performance artist invited to lead a "Performance 101" class and practicum "dramatized many issues of space and address more graphically and memorably than any amount of jawboning" (1998, p. 106). Her observation resonates with my experiences in the Pronunciation Through Drama classes where the students' experiences of the interpersonal aspects of communication in the preparation and rehearsal for their performances have proved more effective than 'jawboning' about these aspects of meaning-making.

While the kind of writing Pollock calls performative raises important issues in relation to writing about performance according to scholarly conventions, I follow more closely the lead of Sedgwick in keeping the Austinian notion of the performative very much to the fore. Like Sedgwick, a number of performance scholars have engaged quite extensively with Austin's work, although there is a great deal of slippage in the way that the terms 'performance,' 'performative' and 'performativity' are mobilised, a concern that I will address more fully in Chapter Three below. Thus, I will conclude this chapter with a brief reference to some of the current thinking on academic writing.
Beyond Eclecticism

As my overview of different approaches to the teaching of academic writing relies on what is written about academic writing research, rather than extensive empirical evidence, it can only, as Knoblauch and Masuda suggest, "help us imagine the shape of our discipline" (2008, p. 20). It is generally agreed that each approach to writing has not been erased to allow for the uptake of a 'new and improved' approach. While some composition scholars felt that the 'social turn' marked the beginning of a 'post-process' era, there is not broad agreement, with many supporting Berlin's claim that "everyone teaches the process of writing, but everyone does not teach the same process" (as cited in Knoblauch & Matsuda, 2008, p. 12). In the case of current EAP approaches to academic writing, there are traces of all the different approaches. As Paltridge concedes, these approaches may "have occurred in more or less historical progression" but "none of them have completely faded away as another approach has emerged" (2002, p. 94). Many academic writing courses, he believes, do not subscribe to one single approach but tend to draw on aspects of the different approaches (2002, p. 94). Knoblauch and Matsuda arrive at a similar conclusion in relation to first year composition practitioners in the USA, who they believe "draw on multiple theories and pedagogies, constructing their own approach out of the appropriate practices present throughout the field" (2008, pp. 20-21). However, the review of the literature also reveals that academic writing courses face challenges not simply as a result of competing theories and approaches as to what is taught and how it is taught but also across the fields of EAP, ESP and composition studies, there is concern about who teaches or more particularly, the discourses related to the various types of writing classes.

Insights from the various philosophies, theories and ideologies that underpin approaches to academic writing have been understood in different ways leading to further issues and debates arising within EAP. There does however, appear to be a consensus emerging among some EAP researchers that despite certain weaknesses, genre-based pedagogies have offered a far more textured understanding of what is required for student academic writers than the other approaches. Hyland has suggested that while an ESP genre-based pedagogy has
been the most widely influential, the SFL or 'Sydney School' genre-based pedagogy, with its attention to genre forms and lexico-grammatical features is the more sophisticated (2003, p. 22). He characterises the 'Sydney School' as working from a commitment to language and literacy education through an understanding of genre, underpinned by a complex understanding of language as a social process, as purposeful and interactive (Hyland, 2003, p. 22).

Each of the main genre traditions merits consideration, even though there are limitations in each, as a basis for an EAP academic writing pedagogy. While the contributions of the 'Sydney School' to literacy education and advocacy in Australia have been profound, as Martin (2009, p. 19) has suggested, there has not been a comprehensive investigation into whether the genre-based model may have the same practical power if employed in L2 learning contexts. He also suggests that the pedagogy may require renovation and while I agree with his recommendations, the model could also be renovated in terms of the interpersonal dimensions of academic writing. Ivanić's (2004) work on academic writing pedagogy that draws on SFL theory attests to the viability of this development. The SFL model of genre was developed with a view to primary and secondary school literacy which has different demands in terms of authorship. Apart from the later years of high school, there is not the same expectation of developing a convincing and authoritative authorial identity, in relation to other texts using sophisticated ideas and concepts, as there is in a higher education context. Even in the final years of secondary schooling, the expectations of the reader differ significantly from the expectations at tertiary level.

These different expectations mean that the interpersonal aspects of writing are achieved quite differently. In tertiary academic writing, citation and citational practices, level of commitment to knowledge claims, alignments with certain researchers and authors and critique of other research, all start to assume far more importance and to become more nuanced. In addition, the differences with regard to these aspects of academic writing begin to become increasingly differentiated between disciplines. Within these disciplines students are learning to write with authority but also at times with the more nuanced authority of being "confidently uncertain" as Skelton describes it (1988, p. 39). Thus an SFL
genre-based pedagogy of academic writing requires more in terms of the interpersonal dimensions of tertiary academic writing, particularly in relation to writer identity.

One of the tensions that needs to be considered when examining academic writing pedagogies is that between ‘invisible pedagogy’ and ‘teachability’ and this is particularly important with regard to genre-based pedagogies. Claims can be made for learning without thorough explication as to how this learning will occur. Generally, such claims understand learning as occurring if the appropriate context is established, with the teacher operating almost in an ancillary role. This has been the case in the expressive process approach to writing as adopted in primary and secondary schools in Australia. An ‘invisible pedagogy’ in this sense means that teaching is, for the most part, not explicit. Although the two are not necessarily inter-related, an ‘invisible pedagogy’ can also support a ‘hidden curriculum.’ This has sometimes been recognised in ESP and EAP where classroom practices and approaches to academic writing tend to promote ‘Western’ notions of individualism and democratic decision-making, without making this explicit. In fact, the ways that institutional ideologies, along with the values, beliefs and ideologies of teachers can significantly shape classroom practice remain largely unexamined. Given the current discourses of transparency and accountability, with their associated demands for documentation, the ‘teachability’ of an approach can make it an attractive option. A ‘teachable’ approach is more amenable to curriculum description and to listing in the syllabus and more easily and seemingly more transparently assessed. This is therefore, one of the attractions of a genre-based pedagogy. Devising an assessment task related to genre forms, for example, can be relatively straightforward. These three considerations – ‘invisible pedagogy’, ‘hidden curriculum’ and ‘teachability’ are investigated in my fieldwork accounts in Chapter Six.

While Martin (2009, p. 10) believes Hyon’s article on genre traditions to be significant, the article that she co-authored with Costino (2011), arguing for genre as a ‘possible bridge’ to improve communication between teachers of L1 and L2 composition is of equal significance in the way that it examines how the
values, beliefs and ideologies of teachers influence classroom practice. Costino and Hyon explain that the philosophical differences between L1 and L2 as manifested in the lexicons of each field have obstructed productive communication between the fields (2011, p. 24). The words 'ideology', 'power' and 'critical,' as used in L1 composition, are 'scare' words (their term and their scare quotes) for L2 compositionists, while the words 'skills' and 'practice' are the L2 scare words for L1 compositionists (Costino & Hyon, 2011, pp. 26-27).

Hyon admits hesitation and unease with regard to the terms 'ideology', 'power' and 'critical', suggesting that the characterisation of the differences between the L1 composition teacher and the L2 composition teacher, provided by Santos (1992) still holds. Comparing the L1 composition field to the L2 composition field, he finds critical theories more prevalent in L1 than L2 composition which draws predominantly on scientific theories and has positioned itself in the field of applied linguistics, whereas the L1 field tends to be associated with rhetoric. As a result, he sees that while L1 composition theorists and practitioners tend to be radical and ideological in their approach, the L2 composition field is marked by conservatism and pragmatism (Santos, 1992, pp. 1-15). Admittedly, such a polarised representation of two broad fields is reductive, however it is indicative of the different ethos of each field and as Costino and Hyon illustrate in their article, while both fields are preparing students for participation in academic discourse communities, the differences in ethos have a significant bearing on how academic writing is understood and thus how it is taught.

Despite the efforts of some in ESP and EAP, the representation of L2 composition teachers in the US does appear to capture the general tendencies of mainstream teachers of ESP and EAP in both the UK and Australia. One explanation that is given for this apolitical and pragmatic stance in US L2 composition approaches is that the diverse social, cultural and political backgrounds of those that comprise the L2 composition class necessitate a sensitivity that can translate into apolitical conservatism. Another reason given for the adoption of a pragmatic rather than an ideological approach in EAP is that EAP students themselves are pragmatic, as their interest is in how to meet the required academic standards of the discourse community. Both explanations, however, suggest an abrogation of
educational responsibility. The first explanation assumes that the students are not aware of the differences and it is in direct contradiction to the insistence that students need to think critically. It also makes the mistake of equating ideology and being critical with being disrespectful. If genre is understood in ESP/EAP to be defined by communicative purpose and if the university context is one where knowledge is understood as contested, then learning how to navigate diverse and contentious viewpoints would seem to be at the core of an academic writing course. In the increasingly corporatised university, the 'sensitivity' which breeds apolitical conservatism is more likely to be related to not offending the 'customer.' With regard to the explanation that EAP writing courses aim to fulfil the students’ pragmatic expectations, it is not only in variance with the professed focus on 'student needs' in terms of the expectations of discourse communities and their genre requirements but it too seems related to 'respecting consumer sovereignty,' rather than adhering to educational responsibilities, a point I return to when I examine the institutional contexts of EAP in Chapter Five.

The explanations proffered by EAP practitioners in Australia and the UK overlook the diversity of students' political, social and cultural backgrounds in composition classes in the US and the fact that those teaching The New Rhetoric in composition classes also have to contend with the expectations of their students, which may be instrumental and pragmatic. Lunsford points out that the growing realization in the field of how writers differ significantly means that the recognition of difference 'of all kinds' is central to teaching writing (Lunsford, 2007, p. 14). Engagement with the broader implications of power in relation to communication and elucidating to students how it can be distorted to serve unethical ends is as much a responsibility for teachers of academic writing, as ensuring that the curriculum is not insensitive. I am not arguing that it is acceptable to be insensitive but rather that if this concern results in the erasure of the ideological nature of communication and its relationship with power, then the students are being denied access to understanding knowledge and to participation in discourses, regardless of whether their expectations are pragmatic or educational.
Eclecticism with its heterogeneous array of theories and practices may be sustainable for institutions and practical for teachers to maintain, however it can be confusing and unhelpful for the students when conflicting theories co-exist as a result of the underlying assumptions remaining largely unexamined. This tends to be the case, particularly when utilitarian and pragmatic concerns override other concerns.

In Table 1 below, I have summarised the main aspects of the academic writing literature that I have reviewed above, in order to illustrate the diverse range of theories and practices related to teaching academic writing. It is clear that drawing on different conceptions of academic writing that understand the nature of written academic discourse in very different ways can lead to incoherent pedagogical practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptualisation of Academic Writing</th>
<th>Nature of Academic Writing</th>
<th>Linguistic &amp; Rhetorical Theories</th>
<th>Philosophical Influences</th>
<th>Research Methodologies</th>
<th>Nature of Knowledge</th>
<th>Pedagogy</th>
<th>Performance Element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>A Creative Process</td>
<td>Individual Authentic Creative Voice Composing Stages</td>
<td>Subjective Rhetoric</td>
<td>Humanist Psychology</td>
<td>Developmental Psychology Methods</td>
<td>'Individual Genius'</td>
<td>Free writing Teacher as facilitator Creative Implicit</td>
<td>Performer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Socio-politically Construed and Construing Practice</td>
<td>Socio-political Audience-Oriented</td>
<td>Transactional Epistemic Rhetoric Social Theories Discourse Theories</td>
<td>Social Constructionism Cultural Studies Discourse Theories</td>
<td>Discourse Analysis</td>
<td>Socially Constructed</td>
<td>Critical Reading Focus Liberatory Explicit</td>
<td>Context Audience Performance</td>
</tr>
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Table 1: Pedagogical Implications of Different Conceptions of Academic Writing
Although the advocacy of genre as the most promising pedagogical path for EAP may result in greater conceptual and theoretical clarity, there needs to be a commitment to research that explores the interplay between form, writer, content, and reader and how this interplay emerges in academic texts, so that informed heterogeneity can displace eclecticism. In this regard, the notion of academic writing as a performance is highly persuasive as it views the text as dynamic and accommodates the significance of the interactional nature of the writer and audience in argument, as proposed by The New Rhetoric. Working with the concept of performance allows for a reconceptualisation of academic writing rather than another approach and while it is fluid in its conception, it can foster a more coherent pedagogy, offering a less fragmented and ad hoc understanding of the nature of academic writing, to the benefit of both teachers and students.

Embracing the possibilities of The New Rhetoric needs to be tempered by acknowledging that the context out of which The New Rhetoric has emerged is dramatically different from the scene of EAP in Australia and the ESP context in the UK, which I describe in accounts based on my fieldwork. While I agree with scholars of The New Rhetoric that Performance Studies has much to offer a revised understanding of academic writing which can respond to current technologies and writing practices, some work by Performance scholars seems to overly simplify the task. The notion of the performative 'I' might be more usefully understood through a closer engagement with the notion of the performative as understood by Austin and an understanding of the lineage of the term performativity may assist in determining how that term may be gainfully deployed in rethinking academic writing pedagogy. It is to that task that I now turn in Chapter Three.
Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework
The Story of Performativity

Up until this point, I have been reviewing academic writing in the context of disciplines such as linguistics, applied linguistics, composition studies and rhetoric, rather than the broader context of higher education. However, approaching the field of education from a performance studies perspective is not straightforward. In his account of the concept of performativity, Loxley notes that since the time of Austin, the history of the "'performative' and the 'performativity' that it is held to embody" has been "both meandering and chequered" and that in recent decades, the term has been invoked in ways that are at times "perfunctory or incompatible" (2007, p. 1). This seems to be the case when comparing the use of performativity in the education and social policy literature with the use of the term in performance studies. Since the mid-1990s, education scholars have tended to draw on Lyotard's notion of performativity to chart the changes in higher education, whereas performance studies theorists tend to invoke Judith Butler's theorisation of performativity, with its debt to Austin's concept of the performative. As I am employing the terms performance, performative and performativity as three distinct, yet inter-related terms, I further develop the notion of performance that I am using in this thesis, contextualising it with respect to the way different usages of the term performativity have entered into their respective literatures. A clarification of the terms performance, performative and performativity provides the context for outlining the theoretical concepts of embodiment and performed identity that are central to my argument that academic writing is a performance.

More on Performance

The insights that can be gained through conceiving of academic writing as a performance become clearer when Hymes's earlier formulation of performance as "the authoritative display of communicative competence" is more fully considered. Bauman and Briggs note that this formulation has led to the authority of the performer assuming central importance in performance-oriented analyses (1990, p. 77). This is important in rethinking written academic discourses, given the dominant focus on texts. However, of equal importance, is
the consideration given to factors such as “access, legitimacy, competence and values” that Bauman and Briggs see as central “in the construction and assumption of authority” that allows the performer to assume an authoritative voice (1990, pp. 76-77). Drawing in these factors is a reminder that the authority of the performer is co-constituted with the audience and in thinking of these factors, it becomes clear that the role of an academic assessing a student’s written work is not dissimilar from that of an audience appraising a performance. Rather than thinking simply in terms of ‘good writing,’ written academic work is assessed on the basis that it should be authoritative in relation to “access, legitimacy, competence and values” which are determined and understood according to the discipline and the university.

The interpersonal dimensions of performance as a social practice are further evident in the claim that “Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content” (Bauman, 1974, p. 293). Expanding on what “above and beyond its referential content,” entails, Bauman and Briggs point to how the authoritative voice of the performer is also grounded in the “knowledge, ability, and right to control the recentering of valued texts,” (1990, p. 77). Knowledge and ability in this context mean “the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways” (Bauman 1974, p. 293). The importance of speaking in ‘socially appropriate ways’ underscores the significance of the inter-relationship between performer, audience and context, emphasising the social nature of this inter-relationship. The participation of the audience, however, is of a particular nature. “From the point of view of the audience,” writes Bauman, “the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence” (1974, p. 293). Audience appraisal therefore takes into account the relative skill of the performer and the social appropriacy of the performance rather than determining if the performance is performed to a standard that can be reduced to a measure, a number or a statistic. This suggests that efforts to standardise marking in EAP may be misguided and challenges the commonly held view in
EAP that a piece of written work can be assessed with no regard for the ‘content’ of the piece. It also raises broader questions with regard to appraising the work of academics or departments through metric measures.

**Boundary Riding and Performance**

While the conception of performance that I employ in this thesis is broader than is generally understood in an everyday sense, I do not extend the use of the term as far as performance scholar Jon McKenzie has suggested in his book, *perform or else*. McKenzie advocates a general theory of performance that incorporates organizational performance (Performance Management), cultural performance (Performance Studies) and technological performance (Techno-Performance) (2001, p. 20). McKenzie’s argument gains some credibility from the fact that the term performance is now often used across these three broad domains. However, given the conception of performance I outlined in the preceding paragraph, a conception that does not see performance as ‘measurable’, the use of the term in relation to technology and performance management can also be misleading. The appropriation of the term performance by the domains of technology and management requires closer scrutiny because information communication technologies, along with performance management policies and practice, increasingly shape the architectures of practice within which EAP pedagogy occurs.  

In examining organisational, cultural and technological performances, McKenzie notes that not only has the term ‘performance’ been “radically reinscribed, reinstalled, and redeployed in uncanny and powerful ways,” the extension of the term performance has occurred rapidly and within the context of “geo-political, economic, technological, and cultural changes” that collectively are referred to as “globalization” (2001, p. 13). He views the appropriation of the term by technology and management as indicative of a singular meaning of performance which, in his view, can be used to “describe, measure, manage, or assess people,

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11 Drawing on Kemmis and Grootenboer’s concept of ‘practice architectures,’ Hardy writes that this concept “frames the social world as comprising interacting socio-political, material-economic and cultural-discursive dimensions, which collectively influence and are influenced by those who constitute any social setting” (2010, p. 391).
objects, machines or systems” (McKenzie, 2001, p. 21). Contrary to this view, I would suggest that the reinscription of the attributes of an embodied practice onto technologies and systems of monitoring and control diminishes the relational nature of performance and confuses practices of appraisal with practices of testing and accounting. Moreover, to accept this appropriation unquestioningly ignores the powerful discourses in performance management which deploy the term performance in relation to info-normative technologies. These technologies are designed to improve efficiency, in part through surveillance and control and, in part through measurement and ranking exercises.

In relation to technology, McKenzie acknowledges that the appropriation of the term performance arose in ‘the American Cold War apparatus’ that Eisenhower referred to as the ‘military-industrial-complex’ and that Fulbright presciently, given current university governance practice, called the ‘military-industrial-academic complex’ (2001, p. 12). McKenzie does not, however, draw out the relationship between certain assumptions about human behaviour that underpin the Cold War inspired ‘military-industrial complex’ and Performance Management. Cold War theorising understands human behaviour as strategic and opportunistic and as such not governed by trust. A similar devaluing of trust as an operational principle in the governance of universities partly explains the highly elaborate bureaucracies of auditing that constrain contemporary university interpersonal relations. In fact, Performance Management operates very much through the imperative perform or else, the caption on the cover of an issue of Forbes Magazine, that McKenzie uses as the title of his book (McKenzie, 2001). The injunction perform or else captures the undercurrent of exhortation and threat which informs Performance Management. While the strategies employed may be legitimised by liberal discourses, the tactics used can at the same time be authoritarian. Thus, it is not a contradiction to view the ideology of neoliberalism underpinning the current conception of the university as being implemented into university governance by the authoritarian disciplinary apparatuses of managerialism. While such apparatuses are based on an
understanding of performance, it is an understanding which thinks of performance as performing up to a standard which can be measured.

Performance Studies intersects with the other domains mainly due to the incursions of neo-liberal ideology into most spheres of life, both public and private, to a large extent through Techno-Performance and Performance Management. Techno-Performance links performance to efficiency testing while Performance Management uses performance as an efficiency measure. These uses of the term postulate a disembodied, asocial view of performance. Theorists of cultural performance, on the other hand, tend to view performance as a collaborative social endeavour, a position which is in stark contrast to the competitive, efficient, profit-oriented performance of technology and the statistical interpretation of performance, premised on ideas about competition between individuals, acting out of self-interest to meet efficiency demands, as understood in Performance Management. In my view, extending the use of the term to the operational testing of machines and technologies and to the measurement and management of individuals diminishes the explanatory power of the concept of performance and masks, rather than reveals, the nature of these efficiency measures. Most importantly, in the context of higher education, the prescription to ‘perform up to a standard,’ rather than learning to assume ‘responsibility to an audience,’ can result in dehumanising policies and practices.

In short, rather than seeing Performance Studies as simply interweaving with the other matrices of performance, I see it as a counterpoint to the disembodied and asocial conceptions deployed in Techno-Management and Performance Management. In making these distinctions between the various uses of the term performance and marking out boundaries in relation to its use, I am also making a case for the terms performance, the performative and performativity to be understood as distinct yet inter-related, rather than employing the terms interchangeably. In order to clarify these distinctions further, I draw upon the notions of embodiment and performed identity, in conjunction with Austin’s notion of the performative.
Performative and Performativity: Peregrinations and Border Crossings

Loxley advises a close reading of Austin's own formulations of the performative in order to be able to "map any of the more oblique peregrinations" of the term (2007, p. 7). This is sound advice as Austin's performative has not always been imbued with the subtlety and complexity that Austin uncovered and re-reading Austin is a reminder that while he introduced the term performative into the philosophy of language, he did not himself use the term performativity. Other theorists, drawing on his work, have introduced notions of performativity into a number of diverse theoretical domains such as language, law, performance and economic sociology and so the 'peregrinations' have been numerous, as well as oblique. I chart below the usages that are most relevant to my purposes and engage more closely with Austin's notion of the performative in outlining my theoretical approach to identity.

Drawing an analogy with cultural studies, Pennycook (2004c), canvasses the idea of rethinking language within a language studies framework that employs the concept of performativity, rather than within the disciplinary boundaries of linguistics and applied linguistics. He feels that areas such as language education, translation and language policy might be better served by a framework in which the concept of performativity offers a means of rethinking language, particularly in providing insights into "the social operation of language" (Pennycook, 2004c, p. 2). Pennycook's concern is that linguistics, in seeking "to exclude . . . to disqualify . . . all those non-scientific, interpretive, exploratory, open-ended questions about language and life," has narrowed understandings of language and thus approaches to research (2004c, p. 5). Consequently, he is interested in considering a new and broader theoretical space in which "to understand language in diverse contexts" and feels that an inter-disciplinary approach drawing on disciplines such as cultural studies, literary theory, postcolonial studies and sociology is more suited to the task than linguistics or applied linguistics (2004c, p. 2). Similar to Pennycook, I want to foreground 'the social operation of language' but rather than proceed from a language studies framework, I use the lens of performance studies. Performance studies is also inter-disciplinary in its approach and deploys the concept of performativity to
investigate a diverse range of practices. I agree with Pennycook that Butler's account of performativity does provide a way of thinking of identity in non-essentialist terms. However, in this thesis, I want to reserve the term 'performativity' for describing social phenomena first identified in Lyotard's use of the term. With reference to Butler's work, I prefer to turn to her earliest formulations that drew on Austin's notion of 'performative' utterances and her conceptualisation of identity as "a performative accomplishment." Given that many other performance scholars use the term 'performativity' more in relation to Butler's work than to Lyotard, these different theoretical lineages are worth drawing out in a little more detail.

As noted above, the term performativity has been used in a Lyotardian sense in the education and social policy literature (Ball, 2000, 2003; Marshall, 1999; E. McWilliam, 2002, 2004; Usher, 2006). These uses appear difficult to reconcile with Butler's version of performativity, as deployed in the performance studies literature. In the education literature, performativity refers to a technology deployed through audit and control measures, that is now a feature of university governance. For instance, Marshall draws on both Lyotard and Foucault, bringing their work into dialogue with the work of Searle and Austin, however he bypasses the work of Butler. He recognises the critical role that discourse plays in the constitution of "the normalized and governable individuals," required when education is subsumed in the performativity demands of the broader social system and yet does not draw on Butler's work which has provided significant insights into the discursive constitution of subjects (1999, p. 309). One way of addressing this seeming incompatibility is simply to acknowledge the different usages in relation to different contexts and different discourse communities. However, such an attitude of theoretical agnosticism can lead to confusion. As Shannon Jackson reports, describing her experience of a conference panel of theatre scholars and practitioners, a free-floating concept invites scepticism or derision: "'Isn't 'performativity' the latest thing in 'English' theory?' ... 'Yes, it's actually pretty trendy'" (2004, p. 1).

For reasons explained above, I do not adopt McKenzie's approach of attempting to unify the different usages into a general theory of performance. However, his
identification of the main domains where the term performance is used helps to clarify the different paths that Lyotard and Butler follow. Both Lyotard and Butler are basing their notion of performativity on an idea of performance. However, in McKenzie's terms, Lyotard's performativity is based on a transference of techno-performance to the domain of performance management. Butler, by contrast, remains interested in theories of cultural performance as used in performance studies.

Lyotard's (1984) purpose in *The Post-Modern Condition* is to understand the status of knowledge in the post-modern age, an age that he saw as increasingly dominated by the language of science and technology. By this time, the term performance had a long history of use in relation to the operation of machines and technology, however it had not entered the managerial lexicon. In particular, it was not a common feature of university governance discourse. According to Lyotard, the increasing importance of technology in the legitimation of knowledge was preceded by an "imperative of performance improvement," motivated by the relationship between technology and increased profits (1984, p. 45). Tracing the incursion of techno-performance into the university domain, Lyotard argues that science has responded to a crisis in the legitimation of knowledge by deploying technologies in accordance with a principle of optimal performance. In his view, it is "through the mediation of a generalized spirit of performativity," that technology begins to assume a more influential role in the legitimation of knowledge (1984, p. 45). He explains that "the true goal of the system, the reason it programs itself like a computer, is the optimisation of the global relationship between input and output, in other words, performativity" (Lyotard, 1984, p. 11). Optimal performance, in this context, involves maximising output, while simultaneously minimising inputs, that is, the amount of energy used to achieve the output, with optimal performance equated to efficiency. This relationship between techno-performance and performance management provides a way of understanding how the term performativity became equated with what Usher designates as "exclusively a cost-benefit analysis" (Usher, 2006, p. 280).

In contrast, Butler's early conception of performativity explicitly references
theatrical performance. She opens her seminal 1988 essay, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution” with the statement that “Philosophers rarely think about acting in the theatrical sense, but they do have a discourse of ‘acts’ that maintains associative semantic meanings with theories of performance and acting” (1988, p. 519). Her theory of performativity has a different purpose and a different object of enquiry from that of Lyotard. Whereas it could be said that Lyotard offers more of a diagnosis of the status of knowledge in the ‘post-modern condition,’ Butler offers a view of identity that can be understood within a politics of resistance. She draws on Althusser’s notion of interpellation which understands ideology as a “discursive apparatus through which persons of authority ‘interpellate’ and, in so doing, subject other persons to authority” (Althusser, 1971, pp. 170-178). For Butler, the processes of interpellation are “social performatives, ritualized and sedimented through time,” meaning that the social constitution of the subject is inter-twined with the discursive constitution of the subject (1999, p. 120). The performative nature of interpellation means that authority may be diminished or even neutralised if the performative is not felicitous, allowing a greater degree of agency on behalf of individuals or groups that have been ‘interpellated,’ and thus altering understandings of power. In her theoretical work on subjection, Butler sets out her view of power, explaining that:

We are used to thinking of power as what presses on the subject from the outside, as what subordinates, sets underneath, and relegates to a lower order. This is surely a fair description of part of what power does. But if, following Foucault, we understand power as forming the subject as well, as providing the very condition of its existence and the trajectory of its desire, then power is not simply what we oppose but also, in a strong sense, what we depend on for our existence and what we harbor and preserve in the beings that we are. (1997, p. 2)

Butler’s conception of power is in marked contrast to power as understood in neo-liberal ideology. The economic theories on which neo-liberalism draws claim to know in advance who people are, what they want and how they comport themselves, whereas Butler’s notion of identity disrupts this idea of the neo-liberal subject, suggesting a more unstable conception of identity.
Lyotard and Butler both understand language to be critical in performativity, however Lyotard, unlike Butler, does not use a close reading of Austin’s performative to expound on language, although his emphasis is on the pragmatic aspect of language, the focus of Austin’s work. Instead, he draws on Wittgenstein’s idea of language games, suggesting that “every utterance should be thought of as a ‘move’ in a game” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 10). This view of language being deployed tactically seems appropriate to ‘the spirit of performativity’ that Lyotard attempts to elucidate. Without referring directly to Lyotard, Loxley suggests that “the thinking of the performative from Austin onwards is inflected by a sense of language as somehow machine-like” (2007, p. 91). Admittedly, ‘game-like’ is not the same as ‘machine-like’ but both games and machines are highly regulated—games by rules and procedures and machines by operational procedures and programming—which both induce a form of automaticity. While conceding that it might be “a little strained or outlandish” to suggest that “the speech act considered in its conventional aspect might claim some affinity with the machine,” Loxley does preface this with a view of machines as not only “tools of human purposes but as means for producing standardised outputs according to repeatable and regular sequences of operations or moves” (2007, p. 91). This technicist interpretation resonates with Lyotard’s formulation of performativity, however the reference to ‘repeatable and regular sequences of operations or moves’ also calls to mind Butler’s emphasis on the ‘repetition of acts,’ the iterability of the performative.

Lyotard’s influence is evident in Ball’s characterisation of performativity as, a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change—based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects or organizations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of ‘quality’, or ‘moments’ of promotion or inspection. (2003, p. 216)

In this characterisation, it is possible to see the system as programmed like a computer and to see how such an organisation might promote the automaticity of Loxley’s machine. When Loxley talks of the robots and computers of science
fiction that "develop a life of their own," he describes that "life" as "empty, a semblance or image of what it is to be alive" and it is this semblance or image which I feel is captured in the term performativity (2007, p. 91). The performance is no longer a performance animated by an embodied actor but a semblance of a performance, an image of a performance - a residue from the performance that imbues it with a quality of a performance without being a performance. As such, the term seems useful in reference to the regulatory technologies designed to control the context as a means to improve and to measure productivity. Performativity, understood in this way, also helps to explain how a performativity framework can give rise to the commodification of knowledge. Lyotard writes of how performativity is related to "a thorough exteriorisation of knowledge with respect to the 'knower' at whatever point he or she may occupy in the knowledge process" (1984, p. 4).

Lyotard's peformativity therefore offers a way of analysing a type of institutional performativity where social relations are diminished, while Butler's performativity opens up ways of understanding how individual identities are constituted in social interactions and how the discursive practices of an institution can be inscribed on subjects. Their respective notions of peformativity could be viewed on a continuum, ranging from Lyotard's system-centred, asocial institutional performativity at one end, to the inter-twined individual and society, social discursive performativity of Butler at the other end. I do not want to suggest however, that Lyotard's work is only of value in relation to understanding performance management and techno-performance and that Butler's work is only relevant to Performance Studies. I reference these domains to highlight the fact that performance is understood very differently in those domains, thus the concept of performativity that develops out of the different understandings of performance is likely to be different. I see this as a way of understanding how a term could accrete such distinctly different meanings.

In fact, there is some work being done in the area of Economic Sociology that draws on Butler's notion of performativity. Aspers credits Callon with bringing together ideas about the economy and performativity through the development, in collaboration with Bruno Latour, of the Actor-Network-Theory approach for
sociology of science studies (2005, p. 33). Callon has used this theory to investigate the economy and maintains that “economics, in the broad sense of the term, performs, shapes and formats the economy, rather than observing how it functions” (as cited in Aspers, 2005, p. 33). Interestingly, in a footnote, Aspers advises readers to refer to Mackenzie (2004) where he outlines what he considers to be “the two poles of Callon’s notion of performativity: the generic, which simply means that categories (such as gender) are not given by nature, but created by actors who perform them, and the ‘Austinian’ (after J.L Austin), which refers to a relation between discourse (for example an economic theory or model) and practice” (Mackenzie as cited in Aspers, 2005, p. 33). Aspers comments in this footnote “that I fully agree with Mackenzie that the first is almost self-evident” (2005, p. 33). This seems to oversimplify the notion of gender as performed and ignores the fact that Butler does draw on Austin’s conception of the performative in her account of gender as performed, although this was at a later stage in her work. Given the significant impact of Butler’s reworking of the concept of performativity on the theory of identity in a number of different disciplines, this assessment of her work seems perfunctorily dismissive. Aspers adds that “the Austinian form is more interesting, and refers to sociology of knowledge in a more problematic way: what is the relation between theories of the world and the world the theories are about?” (2005, p. 33) and yet Austin did not use the term performativity. Perhaps Callon’s interpretation and Aspers comments are simply further evidence of the “meandering and chequered” history of performativity and its perfunctory uses, referred to by Loxley.

There have been other criticisms of Butler’s work from a number of different writers. Boucher (2006) identifies a methodological flaw in her work. He believes that despite her claims to work within the matrices of agency and structural constraints, her focus on individualism reduces the social “to the classical opposition between the individual and society” (Boucher, 2006, p. 26). Boucher’s assessment seems to be a retreat to a fixed and static view of both the individual and of society which is very different from the socially co-constitutive and contingent view of performed identity outlined in Butler’s work. Rather than
the oppositional dynamic that Boucher attributes to Butler's understanding of the individual and society, the dynamic is more, as Pennycook suggests, "a form of circular, self-producing activity" (2004c, p. 8).

Vasterling juxtaposes the viewpoints of Butler, Merleau-Ponty and Lyotard on the body and language as she believes that the respective poststructuralist, phenomenological and postmodernist viewpoints are supplementary in providing "a conception of the speaking embodied subject" (2003, p. 205). Despite some reservations about Butler's work in relation to her linguistic epistemology, embodiment and her treatment of intentionality and agency, Vasterling recognises Butler's affiliation with Foucault in her notion of power as discursive, "that is, located in the conventions that constitute and regulate discourses and discursive practices. Discursive power is productive and exclusionary" (2003, p. 220). This notion of power as discursive, says Vasterling, introduces a more sophisticated view than the customary attribution of power to "people, individuals or groups" and the association of power with "the effects of prohibition and regression" (2003, p. 220). It is this discursive power that brings Butler's work on performativity into dialogue with Lyotard's performativity. If as Lyotard suggests, education in the post-modern age is subsumed into the efficient operation of the social system, then a certain type of individual is required for such a system to operate efficiently and as Marshall notes, it is "not Kantian autonomous persons but Foucault's normalized and governable individuals" that the system requires (1999, p. 309). It is Butler's work that offers a way of considering how "normalized and governable individuals" are constituted.

At the end of his book on performativity, Loxley concludes that the history of the performative is not reducible to a singular concept as "the theoretical work on performativity has not simply added up to a single, easily assimilable idea" (2007, pp. 165-166). This is certainly the case with regard to performativity as understood by Lyotard and Butler, who are simply two of the many theorists who employ the term. While their conceptions of performativity can be reconciled to some extent as noted above, I believe the term performativity is better used in a Lyotardian sense, to suggest the spirit of efficiency that
measures outputs against inputs. This is partly because the term suggests a performance quality, however, this quality is as an abstracted condition or state and unlike the term performance, it is difficult “to trace to particular human stories” (Ivanič, 1998, pp. 162-163). As for Butler's work, I will use instead the phrase ‘performative accomplishment’ or refer to performed identity in reference to her notion of identity. This places her work clearly in an Austinian lineage and thus brings to the fore the importance of language in the constitution of identity. However, another important aspect of Butler's work is her reinstatement of the body into the discursive frame and it is this concept that I now elaborate, before elaborating on identity as a performative accomplishment and the Lyotardian ‘spirit of performativity’ that haunts the contemporary university.

Main Theoretical Concepts

**Embodiment**

Outside of academe, written academic discourse is often characterised as ‘impenetrable and dry,’ partly because of the highly specialised knowledge and specialised terminology required for understanding disciplinary discourses. This means that even within the academy, the writing within one discipline may appear ‘impenetrable’ and possibly also ‘dry’ to specialists from another discipline. However, this rather pessimistic view of academic writing also results from the tendency, both outside academe and inside academe, to subscribe to the notion of ‘good writing’ rather than to the notion of rhetorical persuasiveness or argumentation, the primary rhetorical purpose of academic writing. As Mauranen writes:

> academic discourse is rhetorical in that it is discourse with persuasive intentions, though not in the sense of displaying exemplary eloquence. The rhetorical purpose of academic discourse is to convince readers that the author is making a valid claim; thus writers of academic papers try to persuade their readers, usually other members of the academic community, to accept their point, whether the point is presented as an argument or as a fact. (1993, p. 1)
In the US, increasing support for Writing Across The Curriculum (WAC) challenges the previous dominance of Composition Studies and English Departments in determining what is considered 'good writing' and emphasises the importance of the discipline in understanding the nature of academic writing. WAC adopts a Learning to Write approach which means "learning to and writing in the language of the student's discipline with its own values, purposes, and forms for writing" (Waldo, 2004, p. 11). This has involved rethinking the nature of academic writing and is an attempt to demystify the "institutional practice of mystery" that constitutes essayist literacy (Lillis, 1999, p. 142).

In arguing for a critical orientation to academic writing, Canagarajah lists "objective, detached, disinterested, pragmatic, formalistic and abstract" as alternative approaches that have come to define how academic writing is understood (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 2). Closer examination of these terms reveals that they express the Enlightenment values of the seventeenth century which found their most influential expression in the scientific approach, an approach based firmly on rational and systematic inquiry. As science became an increasingly dominant discourse, other disciplines adopted a scientific approach, in part, in the belief that such an approach confers authority and legitimacy. Bräuer points out that in addition to the valuing of rationality and systematicity, another legacy of the Enlightenment is "its central idea of the individual genius" (2002, p. 3). This Enlightenment legacy is one way of understanding the centrality of 'individual voice' in the 'creative process' approach to academic writing. All of these Enlightenment values have had a major impact on written academic discourses across disciplines and also on the scholarship in relation to writing pedagogies. Scientific discourse, as a highly valued 'voice,' has led to a view in some academic writing pedagogies that objectivity is the mark of 'good writing.' Hence, the advice commonly offered to students is that they should remove the personal pronoun 'I' from their scholarly writing. At the same time however, great value is placed on originality in research, resulting in vigorous policing of student's work for plagiarism and the persistence of the image of the individual genius capable of making research breakthroughs. Hence, it is hardly
surprising that writers who are unfamiliar with academic discourse struggle to reconcile tensions between the values associated with *objectivity* and *originality*.

According to Canagarajah, structuralism, the theory underpinning the *product* approach to writing, further encouraged the view that engagement with a text, from both an authorial and reader perspective, should be disinterested in order to allow the text to "speak for itself" (2002, p. 3). This has lead to academic writing research attempting to uncover "the text's universal laws of production and reception," leading to an increasingly abstract and formalist approach to literacy (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 3). This influence can be seen in the "formalistic, skill driven, and product oriented" approach that continues to be adopted in various writing pedagogies from "the New Criticism in literature, text linguistics in discourse analysis and the "current traditional paradigm in rhetoric" rendering the text "static, passive and one-dimensional" (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 3).

However, there are other reasons why the image of academic writing as "*objective, detached, disinterested, pragmatic, formalistic* and *abstract*" has proved so enduring (Canagarajah, 2002, p. 2). For one thing, it fits with the logic of what Leder, writing from a phenomenological perspective, identifies as "a certain *telos* toward disembodiment" evident in the Western history of ideas and also as part of a general social trend towards a "disembodied" lifestyle, a "decorporealized" existence in which "incorporeal reason is valorized" (1990, p. 3). What this trend means for education has also been discussed by Koch, Naumann and Vaßen who argue that when learning is "seen as a phenomenon of the mind alone" it "is stripped of half of its medium and learning potential" (Koch, Naumann and Vaßen as cited in Bräuer, 2002, p. x). More recently, Atkinson (2010) has drawn attention to the dominance of cognitivism in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research and the limitations that this has imposed. Given that cognitive scientists now question certain premises on which their field rests, he feels that it is time for SLA researchers to acknowledge that "the mind is in the body and the world" and to respond to the implications of what he refers to as extended, embodied cognition (2010, p. 619).
While Koch, Naumann and Vaßen's recognition of the need to reinstate the body into learning and Atkinson's call to consider extended, embodied cognition do highlight the importance of the body in education and scholarship, their positions do not challenge the dualistic conception of mind-versus-body. Leder's phenomenological account of the lived body is more persuasive in this respect insofar as he traces the appeal of the dualist Cartesian paradigm back to certain aspects of lived experience. In other words, he argues that while Cartesian dualism might be 'wrong,' it can still often feel 'right' because of what he refers to as "experiences of bodily absence" (Leder, 1990, p. 3). Through his attention to lived experience, Leder uncovers the paradoxical nature of the body which can be seemingly absent while being present. This paradox occurs, he explains, because in general, the body recedes from the perceptual field when an individual is engaged in an activity. It is principally in moments of disease, discomfort or illness that the body is thematised. For example, in learning a new physical skill such as using a keyboard, the body is present or perception is directed 'to the body' because of the physical discomfort or unease that is experienced in learning the skill. When the skill is mastered, it is incorporated, meaning that an individual's attentional focus moves 'from the body' to the activity, giving rise to the sense that the body is absent, despite its continued presence. Thus even while engaged in deep thought, contrary to the cognitive conception of a disembodied mind, it is the lived body which is "the seat of intellectual thought" (1990, p. 7).

Drawing on Leder's work, I maintain that academic writing understood as embodied points to the potential 'liveness' of a text and to the recognition that the body is present in academic writing at inception (writing) and in reception (reading). It therefore follows that academic writing is an embodied practice and that knowledge is embodied. Academic writing understood in this way means that academic writing pedagogy needs to acknowledge the presence of the writer in the text and thus attend to subjectivity and the interpersonal aspects of academic discourse. The importance of the interpersonal in academic writing has received substantial attention from a number of researchers, however they do not examine the interpersonal from an embodied perspective, therefore
sustaining the view of academic writing as a solely cognitive and therefore disembodied practice.

Although the embodied nature of academic writing has not been directly addressed in the academic writing literature, it could be said that it is implicitly recognised in the ethnographic work of Lillis. In arguing for the value of ethnography, she identifies the tendency in academic writing research to be text-focused with far less attention given to the writer and writing contexts (Lillis, 2008). While some academic writing research does adopt a writer focus, Lillis believes that a research methodology that can recognise that “the participants’ analytic lens and perspectives are central to establishing what may be significant and important in any specific context” is of great value (2008, p. 359). In making her case for the value of ethnography, Lillis provides an implicit endorsement of academic writing viewed as an embodied practice.

The nuance in Leder’s work is important beyond his explanation of the experiential basis of Cartesian dualism and its consequences for the Western intellectual tradition. His understanding of embodiment extends the insights that Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) phenomenology provides in its challenge to the body being primarily understood in scientific terms, that is, from an external, third person perspective. Rather than the body being simply another material object to be described according to general scientific laws, it is through the body that our world is brought into being (Leder, 1990, p. 5). Thus the body as object and the body as subject are intertwined. That is, embodiment from the third person perspective of an external gaze is inter-related with the first person perspective of embodiment understood from a lived-from-within experience. It is, in fact, this notion of embodiment that Butler deploys in her understanding of the performative nature of gender identity.

**The Performative**

Scholars of performance studies, no less than scholars in other disciplines, can be inconsistent in their use of the term ‘performative.’ On the one hand, the term can denote, following Austin, the illocutionary force of an utterance or following Butler, the force of gestures and stylised repetitions of corporeal acts. On the
other hand, the term is used in a more general way, to ease the burden of descriptive work: actions are deemed ‘performative’ if they exhibit certain stylistic (‘performance-like’) features (Bollen, 1997, p. 109). While using ‘performative’ interchangeably with adjectives such as ‘dramatic’ or ‘theatrical’ may offer lexical variety, this usage diminishes the conceptual force of the performative as proposed by Austin. Austin’s concept of the performative reveals the dynamic aspects of language with its power to intervene in the world and the contingencies of communication that result from the illocutionary and perlocutionary force of utterances. When the term performative is used in a descriptive sense, the idea of contingency is weakened, as it assumes a likely or agreed upon interpretation. This weakening of the contingency of the performative makes it more amenable to measurement, as used in the domains of technology and performance management. Retaining Austin’s conception of the performative helps to uncover certain key aspects of academic writing, in particular the tensions between the highly contested and contingent nature of academic knowledge and the normative nature of academic writing. In view of this, I feel that there is much to be gained by returning to Austin’s introduction of the notion of the performative, before turning to how Butler has developed this notion in a way that means that gender and more broadly, identity, can be understood as performed.

Austin’s analysis of speech acts lays the foundation for an understanding of discourse as action, of language being a way of acting in the world (Freedman & Medway, 1994, p. 6). As the performance theorist Jackson writes “... words are not purely reflective ... linguistic acts don’t simply reflect a world ... speech actually has the power to make a world” (2004, p. 2). In other words, according to Austin, we do not just ‘say’ words, we ‘do things with words.’ In coining a new word, performative, to conceptualise this feature of language, he judges it to be an ‘ugly word.’ It may be ‘ugly’ but it seems apt when considered in relation to Bauman’s understanding of performance. Both Austin’s performative and Bauman’s performance elucidate the interplay of the performer, the authority of the performer, the importance of circumstance and convention and the evaluative role of the audience. Austin first introduces the term performative to
distinguish those speech acts which cannot be evaluated in terms of being ‘true’ or ‘false’, that is constatives, because the actual saying, the utterance, makes it so. In his exploration of constatives and performatives, Austin argues that language does not simply report or describe the world but intervenes in the world. However, Austin nuances this idea of the performative by introducing the notion of felicity, that is, an utterance is deemed felicitous when what we ‘do’ is mediated by the appropriate circumstances, the following of conventional procedures, the required ‘authority’ of the ‘doer’ and the participation and appraisal by the audience. In addition, there are three inter-related elements of the speech act - the locutionary (what it means or refers to), the illocutionary (the function of the utterance) and the perlocutionary (the effect on the interlocutor) – which complicate the ‘doing’ and highlight the inter-relatedness of the ‘doer,’ the context and audience in the felicity of the performative.

The most cited example of a performative is Austin’s reference to the utterance, ‘I do,’ in a wedding ceremony, however of more salience to written academic discourse is the category that Austin calls the expositional performatives. He provides several examples of these expositional performatives, using the theme of ‘the backside of the moon.’ “I argue (or urge) that there is no backside to the moon. I conclude (or infer) that there is no backside to the moon. I admit (concede) that there is no backside to the moon” (Austin, 1975, p. 85). Although it was not Austin’s intention to expound on the nature of academic discourse, he does illuminate what academics ‘do.’ Academics ‘argue, conclude and admit,’ in addition to using other performatives, in both explicit and implicit ways, in their efforts to ‘secure’ their propositional knowledge with their readers and listeners. Deploying performatives appropriately and convincingly is, therefore, an important feature of academic writing. It is the felicity of performatives that determine if a text achieves its rhetorical purpose. This requires an appropriate use of performatives (both implicit and explicit) which is one way that a writer establishes a disciplinary identity in the text. In turn, this disciplinary identity is taken into consideration by the reader in appraising whether the performative has been felicitous.
Julian Barnes, in his fictional account of a courtroom scene in the book *Arthur & George*, provides a compelling example of how persona and ethos lend authority to a speaker, thereby enhancing the speaker’s power ‘to do things with words.’ Barnes writes:

The last part of the day was given up to Thomas Henry Gurrin, who agreed to the description of himself as an orthographical expert with nineteen years’ experience in the identification of feigned and anonymous handwriting. He confirmed that he had frequently been engaged by the Home Office, and that his most recent professional appearance had been as a witness in the Meat Farm murder trial. George did not know what he expected an orthographical expert to look like; perhaps dry and scholarly, with a voice like a scratchy pen. Mr Gurrin, with his ruddy face and muttonchop whiskers, could have been the brother of Mr Greensill, the butcher in Wyrley.

Regardless of physiognomy, Mr Gurrin then took over the court. Specimens of George’s handwriting were produced in enlarged photographic form. Specimens of the anonymous letters were also produced in enlarged photographic form. Original documents were described and passed across to members of the jury, who took what seemed to George an interminable time examining them, constantly breaking off to stare lengthily at the prisoner. Certain characteristic loops and hooks and crossings were indicated by Mr Gurrin with a wooden pointer; and somehow description moved to inference, then to theoretical probability and then to absolute certainty. It was, finally, Mr Gurrin’s considered professional and expert opinion that the prisoner was as responsible for the anonymous letters as he was for those manifestly in his own hand over his own signature. (Barnes, 2005, p. 128, my italics)

It is this *somehow* in Julian Barnes’s evocation of the court room performance of Thomas Henry Gurrin, in the case against George, that is the focus of my enquiry – a *somehow* that can prove troubling or mystifying for students as they learn to write for an academic discourse community. Mr Gurrin’s claims, as they move from “description . . . to inference, then to theoretical probability and then to absolute certainty” persuade the members of the court in the process, through Mr Gurrin’s observance of conventional procedures for the context of a court room and his assumption of authority. In other words, it is not simply what Mr Gurrin says that convinces the other members of the court, including the jury, that George is the writer of the anonymous letters. It is also the identity that Mr Gurrin performs. His persona as an orthographical expert with ‘nineteen years’ experience’ and his frequent work for the Home Office establishes him in the eyes of the court as a credible expert, however the way in which he performs his persona lends further weight to his claim that George is the writer of the
anonymous letters. Mr Gurrin performs an ethos of authority and reliability through his methodical manner, his careful examination of the evidence and his systematic construction of an argument to arrive at his conclusion that George is indeed the writer of the anonymous letters. It is not a matter of 'letting the facts speak for themselves;' the common sense view of knowledge, rather it is the inter-relationship between the 'knower' (Mr Gurrin) and the 'known' (George is the writer of the anonymous letters) that persuades the members of the court to accept Mr Gurrin's view.

In referring to Mr Gurrin's persona and ethos, I am drawing on Cherry's distinction between persona and ethos, with persona understood as "the role authors create for themselves in written discourse given their representation of audience, subject matter, and other elements of context," as distinct from ethos which is "a set of characteristics that, if attributed to a writer on the basis of textual evidence, will enhance the writer's credibility" (1988, pp. 268-269). In making a claim for the performed persona and ethos of Mr Gurrin as a way of explaining the somehow which advances his argument, I am drawing on Butler's notion of gender as performed.

**Performed Identity**

In her examination of gender, Butler's point of departure is de Beauvoir's claim that "one is not born, but, rather, becomes a woman" (as cited in Butler, 1988, p. 519). She sees this as an appropriation and a reinterpretation of the phenomenological theory of constituting acts whereby a social agent through language and gesture and other social signs is the object, as opposed to the subject of those acts that constitute social reality. She links this to Austin's understanding of the performative when she asserts that "gender identity is a performative accomplishment compelled by social sanction and taboo" (Butler, 1988, p. 524). Butler's idea of gender as performed opens up the possibility of identity being performed, rather than essential or constructed, and thus identity in written discourse as performed. Identity understood in this way is not a stable identity nor a "locus of agency" but rather a shifting, changing identity constituted in time through "a stylized repetition of acts" (Butler, 1988, p. 519).
Seen in this way, language does not express a fixed, essentialised, pre-discoursal identity, rather it allows the writer to perform an identity and genre can be understood as part of the performative accomplishment of identity.

In other words, genre can be construed as "a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established" that are accomplished through "a stylised repetition of acts" (Butler, 1988, p. 526). A performed disciplinary identity is thus constituted by enabling and constraining local interactions and broader social constraints. A student author therefore needs to learn how to navigate the inter-relationships of authorial agency and the cultural force of the genre. Martin’s definition of genre as a staged, goal oriented social process genre could be re-conceived as a performatively staged, audience-oriented, social process. Writer identity can then be understood as co-performed by the writer(s), the source texts, the reader(s), the socio-cultural context including the genre, in addition to the available discourses and linguistic control. Thinking of genre as part of the performative accomplishment of written academic discourse is one way of reinterpreting academic writing pedagogy in a broader framework that reinstates some of the aspects of writing expunged by text-centred, formalist approaches to written academic discourse. This conception of genre also challenges the notion of disembodied rationality as central to academic work.

Academic writing understood as an embodied practice in which identity is performed complicates the idea of objectivity in academic writing. While it has been recognised for some time that objectivity is perhaps better understood as an aspiration rather than fully realisable, this has not resulted in subjectivity in academic texts being fully addressed. The implication for academic writing pedagogy research of acknowledging academic writing as an embodied practice is a shift in focus from the formal properties and functions of texts in teaching academic writing to include how to perform “appropriate” disciplinary identities in written academic discourse. This entails a more comprehensive understanding of subjectivity and the performative than simply inserting I into academic texts. It means that exercises that commonly appear in EAP materials that ask students "to change the following piece of writing to a more
formal/academic style" by "Getting rid of all the personal pronouns, using the passive voice occasionally, using nominalisation where appropriate, avoiding slang/causal language and not using contractions," would be understood as promoting a simulacrum, a distortion of academic discourse. Addressing subjectivity also revises the notion of objectivity in academic writing. Rather than objectivity being automatically assigned authority, it can be understood as part of a disciplinary identity that is performed and as such not necessarily unassailable and 'closer to the truth.' The task of academic writing pedagogy is to uncover the values, beliefs and practices of a disciplinary community that valorises objectivity. This however, requires a more detailed explanation of what it means to perform a disciplinary identity.

Recognition of the importance of the interpersonal aspects of academic writing has led to research into the interplay between the writer and the reader from a number of different theoretical standpoints. For example, stance, appraisal, metadiscourse and voice are understood to fulfill an interpersonal function and researchers drawing on the work of Bakhtin view addressivity as constitutive of utterances (Booth, 1963; Charles, 1999; Ha, 2009; Ivanič, 1994, 1998; Ivanič & Camps, 2001; Lillis, 1997; Norton, 1997; Thesen, 1997). A substantial amount of work has been published on voice in academic writing, however as the special issue of the Journal of Second Language Writing on voice illustrated the term continues to be problematic. Scholars such as Hirvela and Belcher (2001, p. 83) raise concern with "conceptualizations that privilege a "Western" or a romantic or individualistic notion of voice in classroom situations" whereas Matsuda (2001, p. 35) believes that voice can be constructed in "collectivist cultures" and is thus not necessarily related to an ideology of individualism. Prior argues for a "third view in which voice is simultaneously personal and social because discourse is understood as fundamentally historical, situated, and indexical" (2001, p. 55). Lillis also argues for the value of indexicality which she sees can mediate between contextual understandings and textual analysis (2008, p. 381). Scholars working in a rhetorical tradition (Alfano & O'Brien, 2008; Carluccio, 2010) tend to focus on the significance of ethos whereas other researchers use the broader term identity (Chanock, 2003; Ivanič, 1994).
Common to these various theoretical views is an understanding that voice, identity or ethos is constructed or adopted rather than performed. In his work on discourse analysis, Paltridge (2006) works from the view of identity as performed however, he also refers to the way that individuals display, co-construct or negotiate their identities and he uses all of these terms interchangeably (2006, pp. 38-44). Hyland takes up the idea of a performed authorial identity and although he makes a brief reference to Butler, he places his work in line with Bakhtin rather than Butler, because he holds that “regular patterns of language choices help individuals to realize coherent and relatively consistent identities” (2010, p. 161). Harwood and Petrie also raise the possible relevance of Butler’s concept of performativity to performance in student citing behaviour (Harwood & Petrie, 2011, pp. 60-61). Following Ivanič, they draw on Goffman’s notion of performance that they view as more suitable for their purposes (2011, p. 61). While these approaches attend to discoursal and textual identity in their view of writing as a situated, social act they do not entirely resolve the problems of an “over-localised and under-theorised view of social relations” (Pennycook, 2004a, p. 18). For instance, Harwood and Petrie believe that “the task for student writers is to understand what is required of them by their lecturers who will be marking their work and then to create a desired image of themselves and cultivate it” (2011, p. 57). Using Cherry’s distinction between persona and ethos as referred to above, I argue that the ‘task for student writers’ is to learn to embody the persona and ethos of the disciplinary discourse community.

Institutional Performativity and The University

Co-opting The University Into The Efficiency Drive

According to Lyotard, universities still continue to respond to the same questions in relation to knowledge, that is, “Who transmits learning? What is transmitted? To whom? Through what medium? In what form? With what effect?”, however the policies devised by universities in response to these questions are now shaped by the imperatives of the economic system which uses the criterion of performativity (1984, p. 48). This has resulted in a realignment of
the university as it is subsumed into the economic system and begins to function in a way that sustains not simply the immediate university system but also the broader socio-economic system. This subordinate rather than autonomous role, understood in a competitive 'globalised' context, means that the university has to prioritise skills that give it a competitive advantage to enable it to compete globally, while at the same time prioritising the skills required by the local socio-economic system. In other words, the university and its practices are co-opted by governments to perform in a manner that meets the efficiency demands of the socio-economic system, thereby adding value to the system.

As such, the ethical systems of the university are reworked. As Ball points out, it is misleading to think of the technology of performativity as "objective and hyper-rational" with a focus "primarily upon systems and procedures" (2003, p. 217). He examines "the re-forming of relationships and subjectivities, and the forms of new or re-invented discipline to which this gives rise" as designed to change social identities and so reform what it means to be a teacher, scholar and researcher (Ball, 2003, p. 217). As Marshall notes, the harnessing of the university to "the efficient functioning of the social system" requires a certain type of individual - "not Kantian autonomous persons but Foucault's normalized and governable individuals" (1999, p. 309). This means that the autonomy of academics, their powers of judgement and discernment and their sense of responsibility to learning and their discourse communities are replaced by "institutional self-interest, pragmatics and performative worth" which promote competition rather than co-operation as part of the discursive construction of academics as enterprising subjects or entrepeneurs (Ball, 2003, p. 218). Pragmatics, in this instance, means being concerned with practical outcomes, rather than being understood in the linguistic sense, and encourages strategic and opportunistic calculations on behalf of academics as they seek to add value to themselves, improve their efficiency and productivity and strive for excellence, to use the language of performativity.

Thus the understanding of academics as professionals who discharge their duties through their own sense of accountability and responsibility is distrusted. As Bernstein remarks, "contract replaces convenant" (Bernstein as cited in Ball,
2003, p. 217). Elaborating on Bernstein, Ball writes that "'value added' replaces the values of independent critical inquiry, downgrading the worth of notions of commitment, service and professional judgement" (Ball, 2003, p. 217). Another consequence of an education system managed through the "three interrelated policy technologies of the market, managerialism and performativity" (Ball, 2003, p. 215) is that academics are subjected to research assessment frameworks, performance reviews and in some cases performance related pay, all of which Ball casts in Bernsteinian terms as "new invisible pedagogies of management" (2003, p. 219).

One impact of the technology of performativity on research has been the rise of research assessment with the demand to "show and tell" (Usher, 2006, p. 286). This has seen a change in who judges the value of research, resulting in 'stakeholders' outside the university and the disciplines, as well as within the university and the disciplines, making judgements that translate the highly "complex social processes and events" involved in academic research and publication "into simple figures or categories of judgement" (Ball, 2003, p. 217). Duncan (2007) illustrates this in his article that is at the same time critical of the Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) that forms part of the New Zealand government's Tertiary Education Strategy (TES), while also improving his "personal quality rating" in the PBRF assessment because the critical content is immaterial. The performativity requirements of the PBRF, says Duncan, are only concerned with "the appearance of 'quality' and not about content" (2007, p. 235). Tellingly, given the title of Mckenzie's book perform or else, Duncan believes that the PBRF individual quality scores are being used by university managers as a "perform or else" imperative as part of performance-management (2007, p. 235).

While I am in broad agreement with Usher's claim that Lyotard's The Post-Modern Condition "is itself a performance," I do not follow his view that the "concept of performativity is realised through the 'performance' of The Post-Modern Condition" nor that The Post-Modern Condition can be referred to as "performativa" because "it does things or performs actions" (2006, p. 287). To reiterate, I am arguing for a conceptual differentiation of performance,
performative and performativity. Bauman's conception of performance and Austin's account of the performative detail how these two concepts are more than simply 'doing things' and 'performing actions.' Bauman emphasises the interplay of factors from which performance emerges and Austin also draws attention to the interplay of various elements - the appropriate context, observance of procedures, the authority of the speaker, the appraisal of the audience - that determine if a performative is 'felicitous.' Thus, while recognising the influence of Austin in Lyotard's work, I think it is useful to retain Lyotard's designation of the spirit of performativity as directed towards maximising outputs while minimising inputs in the pursuit of efficiency and use the work of Butler in order to understand how the performative is related to the power of language to intervene in the world.

Finally, of particular salience to my thesis is the contention that performativity regimes in universities tend to lead to a functional approach to teaching and learning which removes responsibility from both academics and students, as part of what has been referred to as 'context control.' This control of the context is seen to improve performance and is thus used to justify the removal of responsibility, even though this may be at the expense of the very participants that constitute the context. The discourses deployed to enact these controls at the same time constitute both academics and students. Returning to Austin, it is the performative accomplishments of these discourses which begins to explain the rise of this 'spirit of performativity.' This understanding of performativity will be employed in the findings of Chapter Five which examines the contexts at the different fieldwork sites, while the notion of identity as a performative accomplishment will be brought to bear on my analysis of actual classroom practices, in Chapter Six.
Chapter Four

Selecting a Methodology
Inter-disciplinary Research and Methodology

The different research methodologies employed by different disciplines are related to the kinds of questions that the discipline seeks to answer and the 'object(s) of study' of the discipline. Disciplinary methodologies however, are subject to change as a result of new theoretical positions or frameworks and technological developments. Post-structuralism, for example, has led some sociologists to focus on local interactions and there has been an increasing use of computer modelling or simulations by scientists and other researchers. In some instances, a new sub-field might be formed as is the case with computational linguistics. The selection of a research methodology for this thesis presents certain challenges because Performance Studies, as an interdisciplinary field, does not align itself with one particular methodology and it is also responsive to new theories and to technological changes. Ethnography is commonly, but not invariably used, as a methodology. This is partly because of the influence of anthropology on some of the central concepts and theories of Performance Studies, most notably the work of Clifford Geertz (1973) and Victor Turner (1986) and partly due to the interest of Performance Studies scholars in 'liveness' and praxis. Therefore, in refining the research methodology for this thesis, I have given careful consideration to the possible use of ethnography. The fact that the concept of performance that I am employing derives from the work of anthropologists further supports the case for ethnography, however my main concern is the appropriateness of the methodology to my research aims. Thus, prior to providing a description of my research methodology and strategies, I discuss the considerations that inform my choice of methodology.

As I view academic writing as a social practice, it is clear that an investigation of this is not well served by a quantitative methodology which adopts an 'inputs' and 'outputs' approach. As the British sociologist David Silverman has observed, when dealing with social phenomena, a quantitative focus on 'inputs' and 'outputs' can ignore the social phenomenon itself and can ignore the social construction of the variables that the research seeks to correlate (2006, pp. 43-44). Nevertheless, he cautions against simply replacing 'inputs' and 'outputs' through an over-reliance on interviews which can yield 'perceptions' and
'responses,' rather than reveal how social phenomena are locally constituted (2006, pp. 44-45). Thus broadly speaking, a qualitative research methodology that focuses on what is happening and how it is happening does seem better placed than a quantitative methodology to capture the social processes implicated in the teaching and learning of academic writing. It also offers the potential for an alternative representation of EAP in Australia to the aforementioned 'multi-billion dollar export industry.' In contrast to my theoretical investigation which centres on the nature of academic writing, my empirical research focuses on academic writing pedagogy, particularly in an Australian EAP context. As alluded to in Chapter Two, I am interested in how academic writing is approached in other theoretical traditions, notably in the UK and the USA, which means that I also refer to empirical research drawn from those contexts while maintaining the Australian context as my primary focus.

In a sense, the choice of a qualitative research approach is inherent in another aspect of this enquiry. That is, I seek to align my research with the social sciences rather than the scientism that emanates from some schools of thought in linguistics and applied linguistics theory. This thinking has considerably influenced English for Academic Purposes pedagogy. Gillian Brown, an influential figure in applied linguistics, promotes research that draws on the sciences, in particular Artificial Intelligence, Philosophy of Science, Psychology and Linguistics. She expresses the view that "... there's a place for what I would call tight, clean research in Britain" (Brown, 1989, p. 169). There is undoubtedly value in science-oriented research that is 'tight' and 'clean' but such research can expunge much that is significant in classroom practice, particularly "... the messiness that is teaching. It is only by entering a classroom that one begins to understand what it means to be dancing 'on the edge of chaos'" (Fels, 2004, p. 88). Far from being perturbed by being 'on the edge of chaos,' Fels believes that "the exploratory spaces of performance bring participants to the 'edge of chaos' where new learning and insights emerge" (2004, p. 73). Her conception of teaching and learning makes a case for a methodology that is informed by the social rather than the scientific and that involves participation in 'the messy business' of classroom practice.
Other Considerations in the Selection of Methodology

While my main concerns in selecting a methodology were theoretical and practical, there are broader contextual factors that I need to acknowledge. Cheek refers to the 'politics of evidence' to describe the increasing intervention of the government in academic research in Australia (Cheek, 2007, p. 1051). This trend is not only evident in Australia, but also in the UK, USA and other OECD countries. Thornton argues that the effect of government pressure in Australia has meant that in the social sciences there is more emphasis on the 'science' than the 'social,' in a bid to align university research with "the values of neoliberalism" (2008, p. 6). In fact, the very existence of EAP courses offered by Australian universities is one aspect of the neo-liberal corporatisation of higher education. Universities increasingly rely on revenue generated by international students in response to the relative reduction in federal government funding to public universities. This has resulted in a highly contingent relationship between government policy and 'the health' of the EAP 'industry.' For example, changes in student visa requirements, IELTS entry scores, permanent residency eligibility and the strength of the Australian dollar can have a significant impact on the number of students enrolled in EAP courses.

Thus to fully explore the 'social' nature of academic writing, it is not only the immediate and local contexts of teaching and learning that need to be considered but also the broader social and political contexts. My choice of methodology therefore needs to be able to take into account these broader spheres of influence. Another important challenge is to avoid being over-deterministic in terms of social and material forces to the extent that there is no possibility of change. At the same time, it is important to avoid over-subscribing to a volitionist perspective which ascribes unfettered agency to the individual. In this regard, Butler in her account of performed identity, outlined in the preceding chapter, acknowledges individual agency while recognising that this agency can be circumscribed or enhanced by structural, systemic and material forces.

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12 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
An Exploration of Possible Methodologies

**Action Research**

Research in applied linguistics has generally followed an empirical tradition and up until the mid-1990s tended to favour a quantitative approach. The shift at this time towards qualitative approaches has been noted by scholars in the US, the UK and Australia, however the qualitative approaches that have tended to predominate appear to have varied in each country. In the US, the predominant qualitative approaches have been ethnography and conversation analysis, in the UK discourse analysis and classroom-based research, while in Australia there has been a focus on Action Research. Kurt Lewin, a German social psychologist, is generally credited with introducing the term Action Research in the 1940s (Adelman, 1993). As part of a qualitative methodological tradition that emphasises an ‘exploratory-interpretive’ approach, Action Research has been influenced by humanistic psychology, liberationist education, social constructionism and critical theory, it is seen. Since its introduction in Germany in the 1940s, it has been employed in a variety of different fields which tend to vary according to the national context. For example, in Europe it is used in vocational training and social work (Hutchinson & Bryson, 1997) and business and management in Europe (Somekh & Thaler, 1997), in health care professions in Hong Kong (Nichols, 1997), community activism in Brazil (Knijnik, 1997), organisational development in education and health services in the European Union (Blott, 1996) and in higher education in Australia (Zuber-Skerritt as cited in Burns, 2005, p. 57).

Action Research has been promoted as a research methodology in the field of applied linguistics and English language teaching in Australia because it addresses some of the concerns that teachers have expressed in relation to theoretical research. One concern is that research is disconnected from classroom practice and often too difficult to apply. If the research is applied, there is a view that in most cases there is little practical benefit. The advocacy of classroom-based research initiated by developments such as learner-centred language teaching, the student-centred curriculum and communicative language
teaching have led to the repositioning of the language teacher as a “reflective, enquiring and self-motivated practitioner” (Zeichner and Liston as cited in Burns, 2005, p. 60). As reflexive practitioners, teachers are encouraged to identify problems specific to their language classroom and through Action Research resolve those problems and thus improve the classroom experience to the mutual benefit of both teachers and students. The research involves a 'spiral' of activities related to planning, action and evaluation of the action as the basis for further action. As a mode of research, it is readily accessible to teachers and the significant growth in action research in the fields of education and applied linguistics in Australia has been attributed, in part, to this accessibility.

At another level, the rise in action research has been a response to theoretical claims for the local constitution of meaning. On the one hand, this understanding of meaning valorises a focus on EAP classroom practice in order to investigate the social processes involved in academic writing pedagogy. At the same time, this focus on local and situated classroom practice highlights a distinct problem with Action Research. As it is designed to investigate specific, situated problems, often there is little that can be generalised from the research. This has meant that while a significant amount of Action Research may have been conducted there is still relatively little Action Research by language teachers that has been published, despite being promoted by language educators and researchers.

Although the Action Research conducted by teachers in their own classrooms may resonate with other practitioners in the field, it is possible that such research is not deemed worthy of the more prestigious academic journals. There is also the view, proffered by teachers and researchers alike, that while there may be time to conduct the research there is little time for writing up the findings for publication. Perhaps the tendency not to publish is reinforced by Action Research being understood as professional development or the opportunity for personal growth for the teacher as a researcher, rather than offering a contribution to the field. Regardless of the reason for the lack of published Action Research, many researchers disqualify this work as research because they regard reporting as an essential aspect of all research.
In relation to my research, there are two main limitations of Action Research. Although it does have the approval of educators and researchers in applied linguistics and it does investigate pedagogy, I feel its rather pragmatic focus on the local situation, that is a problem-solution approach, is not suitable for research of an exploratory nature. If one considers that academic writing pedagogy includes the socialisation into 'the thinking and ways of being' appropriate to an academic discipline and its discourse community, then viewing the classroom as a site of problems to be solved is unlikely to provide the analytic stance necessary to understanding how this might occur or indeed if it does occur. Working in an academic discipline, according to the prominent anthropologist Geertz "is not just to take up a technical task but to take on a cultural frame that defines a great part of one's life" (as cited in Waldo, 2004, p. 49). Another limitation of Action Research is that it does not encourage analysis and critique of the assumptions underpinning classroom practice, nor does it encourage an examination of the broader influences on classroom practice.

By conceiving of learning difficulties as problems, as opposed to possible pedagogical moments, Action Research can further install the view that EAP is fundamentally remedial. The move in ESL and EAP to adopt a critical pedagogical approach as referred to earlier, has led to certain researchers promoting Critical Action Research which does consider the broader social and political contexts of teaching and is often conducted in a collaborative fashion rather than by an individual teacher. Despite these efforts, there is still a lack of publication in the area, meaning that it is difficult to place my work within an Action Research tradition. Due to the high profile of Action Research as a research methodology in applied linguistics in Australia, it was important to consider this methodology but I believe that it is not compatible with my research aims.

**Academic Writing Research Methodologies**

This leads to an investigation of the writing literature in order to examine the research methodologies that have been used. Two publications are of particular value as they provide overviews of writing research. The first is an article by Durst, which covers research for a five year period from December 1984 to May
1989 and the second is an article by Juzwik et al. for a six year period from 1999 to 2004 (Juzwik et al., 2006, pp. 451-476). As the second article makes comparative references to the first publication, I only refer to this article and focus on the summary that Juzwik et al. provide of the different types of methodology that have been used in writing research. Methodology is categorised under seven different headings: experimental and quasi-experimental group research, single subject research, correlational research, content analysis research, discourse analysis, other interpretive research and historical research. In a footnote, the authors point out that while discourse analysis is an interpretive methodology, they categorise it separately from the other interpretive research methods because of its high frequency in their sample. Collectively, discourse analysis is the most frequently employed methodology, followed by other interpretive methods (interviews, focus or discussion groups, observations, ethnographic research and error analysis). Content analysis, experimental or quasi-experimental group designs, correlational design are less frequently employed than other interpretive methods, with very few studies using historical research and single-subject design methodology.

Their analysis reveals that interpretive methods are most frequently employed and that the main focus of the research is on the social and contextual aspects of language and literacy. This is not entirely surprising because one of the implications of Durst's overview was that there was a need for more research into writing in context. Researchers may have responded to this perceived need which may account for the high frequency of interpretive methods. It may also explain the high incidence of interpretive methodologies in writing research, despite the US Department of Education 2005 mandate for more scientifically based research, with scientific research narrowly defined as experimental research using random assignment and quasi-experimental designs or single-subject design. As Lillis notes, pedagogic concern for understanding writing as a social practice in context has been engendered by the increasingly "complex communication situations" that teachers confront, while language and literacy debates in the public domain are increasingly simplified and often politicised.
The geopolitics of writing for academic publications in English has also drawn attention to the importance of context and of understanding academic writing as a social practice.

The use of interpretive methods in academic research writing is a recognition of the importance of context but this does not necessarily mean that the focus shifts away from the text. The most widely used interpretive method is the interview or what is referred to as 'talk about texts.' Lillis conceptualises academic writing research that uses 'talk about texts' along a text-writer continuum (2008, p. 359). From an examination of the important journals for publication of EAP research such as *English for Specific Purposes*, *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* and *Journal of Pragmatics*, she notes that particularly in EAP research, the text is central both as an object of research and a mode of analysis. This means that the data gathered through 'talk' is seen as supplementary to the textual data. This is the case, she says, irrespective of the theoretical framework (discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, rhetoric) in which the research is conducted. At the other end of the continuum from this formalist or text-focused end is the writer-focused end, where 'the talk around texts' tends to encompass more than the text and to allow for a more open and collaborative research process that gives prominence to the perspectives of the participants. She points to the academic writing research in the US associated with composition and writing courses and the UK work on academic literacies, as illustrative of writer-focused research that foregrounds an insider or emic point of view or as she refers to it, writer-emic research (Lillis, 2008, p. 359).

This type of research, according to Lillis, can provide a more productive notion of context, that is, contextualisation, a term used by the sociolinguist, Gumperz (2008, p. 360). Contextualisation refers to the specific activities of participants and their understandings which make particular aspects of a context relevant, in contrast to the researcher's potentially unbounded understanding of the context (Lillis, 2008, pp. 360-361). While 'talk around texts' with a writer-emic focus can be of value, this value is limited if the interviews are 'one-off.' 'One-off' interviews are unlikely to offer a detailed understanding of the context and of the participant's perspective and they cannot be seen as necessarily representative.
of the interviewee's behaviours and attitudes. This supports Silverman's caution that an over-reliance on interviews can yield 'perceptions' and 'responses' rather than the local constitution of social phenomena (2006, pp. 44-45).

**Ethnography As Methodology Rather Than Method**

**Methodology Versus Method**

Ethnography employed as a methodology, as opposed to a method, is one way of overcoming the limitations associated with research that employs 'talk around texts' from a writer-as-insider perspective. When ethnography is understood as a method, the rationale for employing ethnography is often not provided, meaning that there is generally little engagement with the principles of ethnography and only one method of data collection tends to be employed. When ethnography is construed as a methodology, Lillis explains, there is sustained involvement in the contexts and data is collected from a number of sources. In relation to academic writing research, this “enables the researcher to explore and track the dynamic and complex situated meanings and practices that are constituted in and by academic writing” (2008, p. 355). This distinction that Lillis draws between ethnography as a method and ethnography as a methodology could explain Watson-Gageo’s view that while ethnography is fashionable in educational and ESL research, much of this research does not qualify as ethnographic because it is 'impressionistic' and 'superficial,' rather than 'careful' and 'detailed' (1988, pp. 575-576). It could be that the term ethnography is used in ESL research to refer to a method as opposed to a methodology.

The 'impressionistic' and 'superficial' nature of ESL ethnography that Watson-Gageo identifies might also relate to demands for more 'rapid' research and 'results-oriented' research, as evidenced in the rise of methods such as Rapid Ethnographic Assessment and Rapid Ethnographic Procedures, collectively referred to as Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP) (Wolcott, 1999, p. 183). The rise of RAP, initially in the fields of agricultural development and health care, is not simply related to less time being spent in the field. The purpose of these procedures often diverges quite distinctly from a sustained ethnography. RAP is generally used to inform decisions, in contrast to an ethnographic report, which
is generally summative. Thus, the distinction between RAP and ethnography is not only a matter of the abbreviated engagement with the field but also the differences in purpose and possible applications of the investigation. A proliferation of a variety of procedures for a variety of purposes has generated alternative labels such as rapid marketing appraisals, community diagnoses, first-cut assessments and the procedure that is pertinent to this thesis because it is considered as the basis of EAP curriculum design, needs analyses (Wolcott, 1999, p. 183). Traditionally, a prolonged engagement with the field has been regarded as fundamental to ethnography. Hence, the appropriation of ethnography for ‘rapid’ research has raised the question as to whether any methodology that employs the two central ethnographic techniques of direct observation and interviewing should be called ethnography.

I do not want to overstate the importance of time as there is no absolute minimum amount of time required in the field, nor is there an absolute maximum time that is required. As Wolcott remarks, “Time alone cannot guarantee ethnographic accomplishment” (1999, p. 178). One view suggests that different terms be used to distinguish ethnography as a sustained engagement with the field from those studies which involve ‘rapid’ engagement. In this way, the advantages of ‘ethnographic thoroughness’ can be preserved, while acknowledging the limited time and the formative rather than the summative focus. The completion time for a PhD thesis in Australia is now three and half years, allowing only a limited time frame for conducting fieldwork. The limited time available for engagement in the field does not however, outweigh the ethnographic aims of my research which are related to the ‘everyday’ and ‘the routine,’ rather than the crisis, the dramatic event or the problem, often the focus of Action Research. Thus, in referring to my methodology, I generally describe it as research that is ‘ethnographically informed’, which is one way that Woolcott (1999) proposes to describe more short-term investigations.

**Ethnography But Where?**

Having selected an ethnographically informed research methodology, I use Hyon’s identification of three main research traditions in genre scholarship,
referred to in Chapter Two, as the starting point for my research design. Her view that genre-based pedagogy in English as a Second Language has been conceived differently in Australia (Systemic Functional Linguistics), the UK (English for Specific Purposes) and the US (The New Rhetoric) informs my decision to conduct fieldwork, at three different universities, ostensibly associated with these three different genre traditions, in these three different countries. The places and persons related to my fieldwork are de-identified, with the institutions referred to as Dawkin University (Australian site), Claxted University (UK site) and Oldton University (US site), with occasional reference to City University, an Australian university that has established writing classes in The New Rhetoric tradition. My interest is in the theoretical perspective in relation to classroom practice, particularly classroom practice related to the writing of an academic research essay, one of the more prestigious genres of university essayist literacy. It is also one of the most common genres in academic writing assignments. A study conducted into the writing requirements of students at an undergraduate and postgraduate level at Australian universities, in the disciplines where international student enrolments are higher, found that of the various genres and text types, the academic essay represented slightly less than 60% of all the writing assignments, for both undergraduate and postgraduate students. (Moore & Morton as cited in Paltridge, 2002, p. 87). Although I use three main sites, I do not suggest an equivalence between the investigations conducted at each site as the duration and type of fieldwork differed markedly, as did my relationship to the institutions, to the classroom teachers and the students who participated in the research.

**Research Strategies**

As with other methodologies, there are variations as to how ethnography is understood. I draw on Atkinson and Hammersley (1994, p. 248) who emphasise the exploratory nature of ethnography in relation to social phenomena, in contrast to methodologies that approach social phenomena from the perspective of a pre-determined hypothesis which is tested against the research findings. Given the exploratory emphasis, ethnographic data is collected in 'naturally occurring settings' and is 'unstructured' in that it has not been coded according
to closed analytic categories devised in advance. In an attempt to understand the events from the participants’ perspective, observation (experiencing) and informal conversations (enquiring) are the main sources of data, among a range of data sources. Additionally, the research focuses on a small scale, single setting or a number of small scale settings to allow for detailed investigation. Finally, quantification is generally subordinated to a ‘thick description’ of human actions and interpretation of the meanings and functions of these actions. The exploratory nature of ethnography, as understood by Atkinson and Hammersley, with a focus on a number of small scale, naturally occurring settings is consistent with my research aims. I therefore use participant observation, class materials and institutional documents and where possible, informal conversations, as the main sources of data for the descriptive and interpretive accounts that I provide in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

Another important clarification that Atkinson and Hammersley draw attention to is the nature of participant observation. They refer to a commonly used typology which distinguishes four types of participant observation: complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer and complete participant (1994, p. 248). This typification of different participant observers is held by some to gloss over important distinctions such as whether the researcher is identified as such by all or only some of those involved in the practice under investigation, the varying degrees of knowledge and understanding that the participants may have of the research and whether the researcher presents completely as an insider or outsider. I will address these differences in modes of participant observation as I outline the research strategies that I employ at each site.

Research Sites and Research Strategies

Site One: Dawkin University, Australia (SFL Genre Tradition)

Dawkin University is a public university in one of the capital cities of Australia, established in 1989 as one of the New Universities (Marginson, 1999, p. 17). It

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13 New Universities were formed through an amalgamation of Colleges of Advanced Education and Institutes of Higher Education as part of the unified national system, initiated by John Dawkins during his time as Minister for Education from 1987-1991.
is a multi-campus university and as is more common in Australia than in the UK and the USA, the EAP course is delivered on a small campus, separate from the main university campus. I observed a class of 16 international students from a variety of different countries, studying on an Advanced Reading and Writing EAP pathway course for six weeks, from January 4th 2010 through to February 10th 2010. At Dawkin University, pathway EAP courses are offered throughout the year (four times per year), with the peak periods prior to the start of the academic year. This modification to the academic year is to allow for student intakes in March and in August. A pathway EAP course is an alternative to IELTS\textsuperscript{14} for international students who need to meet the English language requirement for higher education studies in Australia. Passing the EAP course, however, is a pathway to the institution with which the EAP provider is affiliated, unlike IELTS which can be used to meet the English Language Requirement of any higher education institution. A student's IELTS score is also used to determine if a student is eligible for the EAP course. The stated aim of the EAP course is to prepare students for their future tertiary study, with an Advanced EAP course requiring a higher IELTS score as it is of six weeks duration, compared to the standard 10 weeks of an EAP pathway course.

While the focus of the course is not on learning English but on learning English for the purposes of academic study, EAP courses at Dawkin University are not discipline-specific but based on the 'common core' hypothesis of general academic skills that can be transferred across disciplines. The class that I observed comprised students intending to study in a range of disciplinary areas from a Masters in Interpreting and Translation through to a Masters in Accounting and a Masters in Property Development and Investment. Of the sixteen students, twelve were post-graduate and four were undergraduate students. In terms of theoretical traditions, there is no explicit reference to the theories that inform the curriculum, although an examination of the materials suggests that the curriculum designer has drawn on the work on genre by Swales and Feak and that the lexico-grammatical features which receive attention in the course are influenced by SFL. There is, however, an explicit commitment to the

\textsuperscript{14} International English Language Testing System (IELTS)
communicative approach to language teaching and learning which meets the National ELT Accreditation Scheme (NEAS) requirement for the course to be based on TESOL theory and practice.

The EAP course at Dawkin University is subordinate to the Australian government through NEAS, an English language industry body which works closely with the Australian government to maintain standards in the industry and through the Department of Immigration and Citizenship which stipulates, for example, attendance requirements as part of the student visa conditions, in addition to the maximum number of hours a student can engage in paid employment. Thus, in compliance with government regulations for twenty hours of instruction per week, classes were held from Monday to Friday, starting at 12:45pm and finishing at 5pm, to allow for a 15 minute break. A further government requirement is that teachers keep a register of attendance, with 80% attendance required in addition to the designated pass rate, in order to pass the course. Failure to meet the attendance requirement can result in the reporting of the student to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship and in some cases can lead to the cancellation of the student visa.

Using the typology of participant observation mentioned earlier, my status at Dawkin University is ‘observer as participant.’ This status is in part due to the fact that I was also teaching the class that I was observing. My co-teacher (who I will call Diane) taught the classes from Monday through to Wednesday and I taught the Thursday and Friday classes. I did however, formalise my status as a researcher with the students and with Diane, through an explanation of my research and through providing a participant information statement and consent form. As a participant observer, I took notes during the classes and made audio-recordings of research essay conferencing sessions, between the teacher and individual students. Four key informants who volunteered to be involved (Grace from China, Jack from China, Jasper from Germany and Orhan from Turkey) participated in follow-up semi-structured interviews (also audio-recorded), held in Weeks 4-8 of the first semester of the students’ university study. The audio-recordings were transcribed to supplement my field notes, rather than for conversation or discourse analysis. I also collected internal documents related to
the course and external documents from government sources and media reports related to the international education export industry. As I have worked at the university for over five years and was teaching the same class that I was observing, I classify my status as 'insider' and thus as an 'insider observer participant.'

**Site Two: Claxted University, UK (ESP Genre Tradition)**

Claxted University, established in 1964, is a non-metropolitan, public university in the UK. It is a campus university although, since 2000 it has expanded with two additional off-site campuses. Similar to Australia, the EAP course (referred to in the UK context as a pre-sessional EAP course) is provided for international students who have an offer of entry into their university course that is conditional on their satisfactory completion of the pre-sessional EAP course, to meet the English Language requirement. In contrast to Dawkin University, a pre-sessional EAP course is also offered to students who have an unconditional offer from their Department but elect to take the course in preparation for their future study. Another difference with Dawkin University is that pre-sessional courses are offered as of April each year, in a series of five week courses that continue until late September, concluding before the academic year begins in early October. Prior to the commencement of the EAP course, two days are dedicated to staff briefing meetings for all the teachers - casual teachers employed on a short, fixed-term basis, teachers employed on continuing fixed-term contracts, lecturers with permanent positions, and lecturers on long-term, fixed term contracts. This preparation time is not available to the staff at Dawkin University where staffing often occurs at the 'last minute,' in response to 'the numbers.' The staffing is also quite different at Dawkin University with teachers on EAP courses either permanent three day or two day teachers or casual teachers. The preference for part-time staff rather than for full-time staff is in the interest of flexibility for the University.

During the staff briefing meeting, I explained my research and raised the possibility of observing a Project Class. One teacher (who I will call Lyla) volunteered, explaining that she was keen to support my research, however in
the interests of her students she wanted to set the terms of my presence in the classroom. I therefore agreed to be a 'complete observer' to the extent that I sat at a slight remove from the class to observe and take notes and I did not make any recordings (audio or visual), nor did I conduct interviews with Lyla or the students. I also collected class materials, the outline of the course, the timetable for classes and tutorials and the assessment rubric used for the marking of the first draft of the Research Essay and the final draft of the Research Essay. As at Dawkin University, I formalised my status as a researcher by explaining my research to the class and providing participant information and consent forms to Lyla and the students. As I have a long association with the university and I was also teaching on that pre-sessional EAP course, although not teaching that Project Class, I classify my status as an 'insider complete observer.'

The Project Class comprised six students from different countries, all studying at a post-graduate level in the broad area of science. These classes focus entirely on the writing of a research essay, the only assessable extended writing assignment in the five week course. Similar to Dawkin University, there is no explicit reference to a guiding theoretical tradition in relation to curriculum design. However, the fact that the students are grouped according to broad disciplinary areas such as Science, Language and Linguistics, Law, Accounting and Finance for their Project Classes and are asked to write a research essay related to their prospective discipline suggests that the course was established according to the ESP tradition. There were eight, two hour Project Classes, including a final class where students give an oral presentation based on their research essay to the class, teacher and invited department staff. In addition to the classes, there were four individual tutorial sessions of approximately 20 minutes per tutorial. Similar to Dawkin University, the classes are not discipline-specific but the individual tutorials are discipline-related because they centre on the student's research essay which is based on their disciplinary area. I observed tutorials with three different students that Lyla considered to be 'strong,' 'average' and 'weak.'

While the course is subjected to an inspection every four years as part of the British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes (BALEAP)
accreditation process, unlike NEAS in Australia, BALEAP is a professional body that was established by professionals working in EAP, rather than a government body designed to monitor standards. Attendance records are kept as at Dawkin University, however the information is for the student’s intended Department, rather than the Home Office. Being a single campus university, Claxted offers its EAP students the opportunity to have contact with their Department, unlike Dawkin University where they are off the main campus and the students are directed to the International Office, rather than to their department.

**Sites Three and Four: Oldton University, USA; City University, Australia**  
***(The New Rhetoric Genre Tradition)***

There are over two thousand and six hundred accredited higher education institutions, when four year colleges are added to the number of universities in the United States. This makes the selection of a university for research in the United States a complex exercise. My choice of Oldton University is based on its reputation as a preeminent exponent of The New Rhetoric and its highly regarded Writing Centre. Oldton University is a well-established, world renowned, private not ‘for profit’ research and teaching university.

In contrast to the classes I observed at Dawkin University and Claxted University, the classes are comprised of local students and rather than watch a series of classes related to the writing of a research essay, I observed first year and second year classes that focus on writing and oral presentations respectively. The Program in Writing and Rhetoric Courses (PWR) are taken by all first year (PWR1) and second year (PWR 2) students and both are worth four units. For consistency across classes, the basic structure of the course is the same for all classes in terms of assignment sequence, workload, grading and the focus on rhetorical knowledge and skill, however each teacher designs a class based on a theme with associated readings, class materials and activities. Thus, teachers have a certain autonomy in relation to the content of their classes and how they conduct their classes. My visit coincided with the “Open House,” or as I will refer to it ‘the fair,’ where the students gather in the evening to learn about the different themes on offer for the next quarter and to make their selection. At
Oldton University I had the status of a guest, as opposed to a researcher. Staff and students were aware that the purpose of my visit was to observe classes in The New Rhetoric as part of my thesis fieldwork, however my role was not formalised. In each instance, I was introduced and my presence briefly explained. My status in terms of participant observation varied according to the classes. In some classes and at The Writing Centre, I was a ‘complete observer’ while in other classes, I was a ‘complete participant.’ In all cases, I would classify my status as an ‘outsider’ in terms of my relationship with the institution, with the teachers and with the students. Thus, I refer to my status as both ‘outsider complete observer’ and ‘outsider complete participant.’ Where possible I wrote field notes, however in classes where I was a ‘complete participant’ this was not possible. I was provided with some documentation relevant to the classes and I was able to obtain two texts that are used by different teachers.

In line with the exploratory nature of my research, the sampling was flexible. Thus in addition to my visit to Oldton University to observe The New Rhetoric in practice, I took advantage of the offer to observe classes in The New Rhetoric in an Australian context. The lectures for first year undergraduate students in The New Rhetoric at City University are supplemented by tutorials where all classes use the same material and overall, which follow the same format. My decision to include this site, albeit minimally, relates to this unique opportunity, in view of my focus on pedagogy, to observe the same material being taught by three different teachers. In each lesson, I was a ‘complete observer.’ I had not met the teachers prior to the lesson and my presence was briefly explained to the students. As at Oldton University, I would describe my relationship to the institution, teachers and students as that of an ‘outsider,’ and thus my status as ‘outsider complete observer.’ The research material from City University is based on field notes taken whilst observing the classes. After the third class, I did have a brief, informal exchange with the teacher who is responsible for establishing the pedagogical principles that undergird the classes. The table below (Table 2) summarises the methodological details related to each of the four fieldwork sites.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METHODOLOGICAL DETAILS</th>
<th>DAWKIN UNIVERSITY</th>
<th>CLAXTED UNIVERSITY</th>
<th>OLDTON UNIVERSITY</th>
<th>CITY UNIVERSITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of University</strong></td>
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<td>Non-Metropolitan Campus Public</td>
<td>Non-Metropolitan Campus Private Not-for-Profit</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'Insider'</td>
<td>' Outsider'</td>
<td>' Outsider'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship with Teachers</strong></td>
<td>Colleague Co-teacher</td>
<td>Colleague</td>
<td>Guest</td>
<td>Guest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship with Students</strong></td>
<td>Co-teacher</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Research Status</strong></td>
<td>Formalised</td>
<td>Formalised</td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>Informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participants</strong></td>
<td>1 Class: 16 Under-graduate and Post-graduate International Students, 7 Different Nationalities</td>
<td>1 Class: 6 Post-graduate Students 3 Different Nationalities</td>
<td>5 Classes: 12-15 Under-graduate Local Students per class (Nationalities Unknown)</td>
<td>3 Classes: 10-12 Under-graduate Local students per class (Nationalities Unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Notional Genre Tradition</strong></td>
<td>SFL Genre Theory &amp; Practice</td>
<td>ESP Genre Theory &amp; Practice</td>
<td>The New Rhetoric Genre Theory &amp; Practice</td>
<td>The New Rhetoric Genre Theory &amp; Practice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Fieldwork Sites
Leaving The Field

Leaving the field is not necessarily a definitive moment and this has certainly been true in my case as I continue to have a relationship with Dawkin University and Claxted University. I have also attended seminars and workshops associated with City University subsequent to my classroom observations. In Chapters Five and Six, I render my observations into accounts based on themes that emerged from my research material. I acknowledge that the process of writing up field notes into ethnographically informed accounts is not a matter of "simply recording witnessed events" but a case of "actively creating realities and meanings" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 213) through the reordering and reframing of the actions and interactions of participants in the different stages of writing up field notes. The reflexivity of ethnographic research means that "the texts themselves are implicated in the work of reality-construction" (P. Atkinson, 1990, p. 7). Thus, I do not make a claim to impartiality nor do I claim that my research is value free.

My accounts are based on contemporaneously recorded field notes that were extended during close, systematic rereadings of the research material as part of the initial analytical process. In extending my field notes from Dawkin University and Claxted University, I elaborated on annotations made to class materials during my observations. Having full access to these materials and being familiar with the materials allowed me to focus on detailing the actions and interactions of the classroom participants and to attend to the features of the classroom setting in my contemporaneous field notes, including impressions that Emerson, Fretz & Shaw suggest are "available to the senses" (1995, p. 26). During this stage of writing, my stance shifted from a predominantly descriptive one to a more probing, selective and in-depth stance (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 100).

Drawing on Grounded Theory principles (Browne & Sullivan, 1999; Charmaz, 2006), I approached the material with a view to identifying emerging patterns and themes rather than working from pre-determined categories. As part of this process, I employed a number of strategies: asking questions of the material, comparing situations or the accounts of informants and compiling a
bibliographical file in order to compare my findings with the work of other researchers, in addition to the theoretical framework from which I proceeded. My questions ranged from the particular, for example "What are people doing? What are they trying to accomplish? What specific means and/or strategies do they use? What did I learn from these notes? Why did I include them?" (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 146) to the suggestion of Emerson, Fritz and Shaw to "step back from the particulars of the analysis to answer the question: What is the larger, more encompassing question(s) I am responding to?" (1995, p. 165). The analytical stage yielded themes that provide the basis for my interpretive accounts. The interpretation phase involved the identification of concepts and categories, followed by an investigation of the relationships between the various concepts and categories.

I use four main ways of representing the material – italicised terms, extended italicised text, the reproduction of commercial materials incorporated into class coursebooks and direct quotations. In Chapter Five, I have italicised key terms deployed in neo-liberal discourses which are now used in the higher education context, in particular on websites and in university documents related to institutional identity. As my purpose is to highlight this ‘crossover’ of terminology and in the interests of de-identification, I have not used direct quotations. The extended italicised text represents "visibly telling and consequential events" that I have identified as important "to preserve" and to "... suggest contexts ... and portray viewpoints" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 50). In Chapter Six, I use excerpts from the extended italicised text that opens the chapter as section sub-headings, in order to indicate that the commentary that follows is related to the extended italicised text of the opening. In certain instances, I also use the layout of the text, for example the presentation of classroom dialogue and the 'board work' of the teacher, as a way of recreating a sense of the classroom moment. Similarly, I have included reproduced commercial materials that appear in the coursebook used in the class. At other moments, particularly in Chapter Five, I draw on the work of other researchers which I interleave with extracts from my accounts. These extracts are mainly presented in the form of direct quotations.
Any comparison that I make between the various institutions and practices that I observed at the different sites needs to be understood in terms of the significant differences at each of the sites. While Dawkin University is the main focus, the similarities and contrasts with the other institutions and other practices bring into sharp relief aspects of the teaching and learning at Dawkin which I may not have attended to as a result of my familiarity with the institution, its curriculum and practices. My selection of aspects of the institutional context and certain aspects and moments of classroom practice at the other institutions is directed towards a better understanding of academic writing pedagogy. To this end, in Chapters Five and Six I provide accounts informed from my fieldwork as the basis for a consideration of the notional theoretical traditions as they are enacted in the classroom and an investigation of how classroom practice might accord with a view of academic writing as a performance. However, as this thesis proceeds from an exploratory basis there are other aspects of both the architectures of practice and the classroom practice and micro-practices that are included as they warrant particular attention.

There is one final point that I need to address in relation to the use of ethnographic material. I have been witness to marked changes in the provision of EAP in Higher Education in Australia over a period of approximately thirty years and in the UK for over ten years. During this time, I have become aware of the changes in the positioning of the teacher and the students and the increasing lack of autonomy for both, particularly in the Australian context. One of my motivations for writing this thesis has been to understand these changes and to reflect on what they might mean for the pedagogical possibilities of generic EAP programmes. Throughout my teaching career, I have observed the dedication and goodwill of my colleagues and a commitment to the 'purposes' of their English classes on behalf of their students. Therefore, it is not my aim to evaluate their efforts in my fieldwork accounts. Rather, my purpose is to try to understand what is happening in the classroom and how that might be constrained and enabled by the teacher, the students, the institutional context and the broader socio-political contexts.
Chapter Five

Architectures of Practice
"It's the verbal equivalent of meccano, lots of standardized bits put together in a few standardized ways . . . These cliché-agglutinations may not be the work of intelligence but they aren't the work of mere chance either..." (Maskell & Robinson, 2002, pp. 66-68).

The "cliché-agglutinations" of managerialism, once a feature of corporate boardrooms, now appear in government policy documents on higher education and increasingly in the discourses of public university management. Many management-speak terms such as intellectual capital, teamplayer, accountability, flexible, value-added, efficiency and best practice, to name some that are particularly relevant to the higher education context have entered into 'buzzword bingo,' played (not necessarily in a formal way) by those attending university meetings. While these stock phrases of management-speak may be easily recognisable, the performative nature of the discourse - what managers and those apprenticed to managerialism are trying to do with words - and how, in the context of this thesis, those doings can shape the micro-practices of the classroom, is less obvious. As Blommaert puts it, "what's actually constraining you in understanding the situation before your eyes is what is not before your eyes" (2007, p. 143). It becomes more critical to understand 'what is not before your eyes,' in view of neo-liberal discourses which promote highly individualistic conceptions of power, while naturalising the systems in which academics and students work.

As I follow Butler's view of power, I firstly outline the architectures of practice, that is, those conditions which "prefigure practices, enabling and constraining particular kinds of sayings, doings and relatings among people, within them, and in relation to others outside them" in order to contextualise an analysis of the micro-practices of the classroom to be presented in Chapter Six (Kemmis and

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15 In buzzword bingo or office bingo, words replace numbers. These words are regarded as 'empty or hollow' and used as a substitute for presenting ideas of value.
Grootenboer as cited in Hardy, 2010, p. 391). My attention to the architectures of practice is also predicated on the notion of knowledge as embodied as outlined in Chapter Three. The emphasis in the Western academic tradition on a disembodied rationality has favoured a cognitivist conception of knowledge, evident in the cognitive approaches to academic writing. Such a conception of knowledge, coupled with the rise in information and communication technologies, has led to a narrowing of the distinction between knowledge and information. Healy believes it is important to clarify the distinction and he makes reference to anthropological research which argues that:

... information may be communicated, in propositional or semi-propositional form, from generation to generation. But information, in itself, is not knowledge, nor do we become any more knowledgeable through its accumulation. Our knowledgeability consists, rather, in the capacity to situate such information, and understand its meaning, within the context of a direct perceptual engagement with our environments. (Ingold as cited in Healy 2007, p. 186)

Distinguishing between knowledge and information in this way, Healy sees knowledge-generating practices as “dynamic, situated, embodied, spatially and temporally extended alignments of people and things (skills, theories, interests, institutions, social networks, texts, equipment and so on) involved in the constitution of knowledge” (2007, p. 186). When knowledge is understood as dynamic, embodied, relational and situated, in other words as performatively accomplished, it becomes all the more important to recognise “the role of broader organisational factors, such as those of structure, process, procedure, culture and leadership in the generation, utilisation and communication of knowledge” (Healy, 2007, p. 186). It is these broader organisational factors that I have designated as the architectures of practice.

I focus on the notion of performativity, which I believe indicates how local architectures of practice, imbricated with broader national and global architectures, can come to bear on “the places in which and from which students, teachers and researchers speak and write” (Scott as cited in Blommaert et al., 2007, p. 148). An analysis of my fieldwork accounts suggested a relationship between the technologies of performativity and the subordination of the
university, as well as the subordination of academics, principally through the rise of an 'audit culture' and 'the student as consumer.' Thus, I am interested to examine more fully the degree to which the universities in my study are subordinate to the pressures of an audit culture and how performativity demands might impinge on the autonomy of academics, redefining both academic and student identities and in the process, altering the nature of the relationship between academics and students and the relationships among students. I am also interested to examine whether subordination reinforces a commodity view of knowledge, as opposed to an embodied conception of knowledge.

From the background information that I provided on Dawkin University, Claxted University and Oldton University in the previous chapter, it is clear that they are vastly different. Differences in history, size, purpose and the composition of the student body mean that the institutions vary in the very way that they constitute and enact the idea of a university. Admittedly, the disparities between the resources available for the support of teaching and research across these institutions are highly relevant to the classroom practices I have observed and analysed. By the same token, the differences in pedagogical approach are not all reducible to differences in resources. Regardless of these differences, all three institutions are part of the increasingly competitive global market in higher education and responsive to the global and national discourses that are reshaping universities generally and their relationship to society. This compels them to participate in ranking exercises such as the Times Higher Education World University Rankings, compiled by The Times newspaper in the UK and the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), compiled by Shanghai Jiao Tong University, as if they were operating on a level playing field.

Oldton University is placed in the top five in both The Times and Jiao Tong ranking systems, however neither Dawkin University nor Claxted University appear in the top 200 rankings of both systems. A similar picture emerges at the national level although Claxted fares better than it does in the international rankings. Dawkin University is placed in the lower tier of Australian universities while Claxted ranks in the top third of the total number of universities in the UK.
Unsurprisingly, given its international ranking, Oldton University is placed among the top 5 American universities, even according to different national ranking systems. Despite the marked differences in rankings of these three institutions, there is much to be gained from an investigation of the differing pedagogical micro-practices in the classroom and the architectures of practice that prefigure these classroom practices. The first is that participation in these ranking exercises is an instantiation of the ethos of performativity which is dominant in Higher Education globally and the associated discourses of performativity that inform the national socio-political and economic systems of Australia, the UK and the USA. The second reason is that while rankings are considered highly important, they do not actually take into account 'teaching quality' and 'learning quality.'

Starting with a consideration of the institution is important because the beliefs, practices, discourses and material resources of the institution constitute academics and students who at the same time enact and constitute the university. The relations between academics and students in the classroom are also part of the co-constitution of both the academic and student identity. While I have emphasised that my work is not a full-scale ethnography of whole institutions, but rather an 'ethnographically informed' account of certain practices within these institutions, my aim is still to harness some of the power of "... ethnography to uncover the gaps between external claims and internal realities, public rhetoric and private thought, ideology and practice" (Born, 1995, p. 7). In this chapter, the three main themes that are relevant to my purposes are: discourses ('sayings'), material circumstances ('doings') and relational interactions and activities ('relatings').
Neo-Liberal Discourses

"...a Discourse is a 'dance' that exists in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of words, deeds, values, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places and in the here-and-now as a performance that is recognizable as just such a coordination. Like a dance, the performance here-and-now is never exactly the same. It all comes down, often, to what the 'masters of the dance' (the people who inhabit the Discourse) will allow to be recognized or will be forced to recognize as a possible instantiation of the dance." (Gee, 2005, p. 19)

As Gee suggests, a discourse is more than language and a discourse can exclude as well as include what is deemed meaningful or significant. Further, what is deemed meaningful and significant is not fixed but mutable and open to change. The power of discourse to exclude and include has been significant in the four broad structural changes that have occurred in higher education internationally, from the late 1980s until the present day, as part of the changing mission of universities. These four changes are generally characterised as massification, marketisation, the commodification of knowledge and finally, the adoption of managerialism in university governance. While the process of massification of higher education changes who attends university and marketisation changes how this expansion is funded, ushering in the increased presence of international students on Anglosphere university campuses, managerialism and its attendant discourses works to change the relational dynamics of the university experience. However, these changes have been predicated on the commodification of knowledge, that is, an understanding of knowledge as a commodity with a value that can be traded in the marketplace. The more recent discourses in Australia, the UK and the USA circulate around the knowledge economy and knowledge capitalism. These discourses not only emphasise knowledge as a commodity but also configure higher education as central to the pursuit of national economic objectives. Dawkin University, Claxted University and Oldton University, all operate within the discourses of 'knowledge capitalism,' which foreground the value of higher education in the knowledge economy.
The fact that discourses are mutable and open to change allows governments and institutions to deploy certain overlapping discourses to prepare for changes and then to normalise and legitimise those changes. In relation to the four broad changes in Higher Education mentioned above, certain key terms are generally associated with the accompanying discourses, so that massification tends to be associated with access and equity, marketisation with reforms that value-add and that respect consumer sovereignty, commodification, as mentioned above, is associated with the knowledge economy and transportable skills while managerialism, is said to foster transparency and accountability. These terms can be recognised as "cliché-agglutinations" but they are also "significant, binding ... indicative words in certain forms of thought" (Williams as cited in Chun, 2009, p. 114). In order to understand the situated meanings of these 'indicative words' as employed in the discourses in higher education, it is necessary to consider not only "... their actual context of use, but also their historical context" (Chun, 2009, p. 114). In this way, it is possible to begin to understand how discourses can redefine words such as 'freedom', 'choice', 'democracy,' commonly used in the public domain, in order to change what individuals view as their material and cultural needs and thus contribute to processes of socio-cultural change. In turn, these processes can change "... the social identities or 'selves' associated with specific domains ..." meaning that "... institutions are redefined and reconstituted" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 137). The 'indicative words' used by neo-liberal discourses in higher education can be seen as directed towards redefining and reconstituting social identities in the university. However, the notion of identity as performed suggests that the way in which social identities might be redefined and reconstituted does not necessarily accord with the theories of change that animate higher education discourses.

Fairclough understands ethos as a concept that draws together "... the diverse features, not only of discourse but of behaviour more generally, that go towards constructing a particular version of the self" (1992, p. 167). Following Butler, there are many 'versions of the self' in response to social 'sanctions and taboos.' Thus the spaces in which teaching and learning occur and the way that those spaces are constituted discursively assume importance beyond being merely
background details. It is this broader understanding of ethos that I want to examine in this chapter as a precursor to examining how the ethos of an institution might influence the micro-practices of the classroom.

**Neo-liberal Discourses and Institutional Identity**

The increasing prominence of league tables as an indicator of a university's competitiveness in the global marketplace of higher education has resulted in institutions placing increased importance on establishing and preserving their 'brand' or institutional identity. Marketing is one means by which a university attempts to 'construct a particular version' of itself and to control how it is presented and identified. This often involves establishing an identity that appeals to a number of different and sometimes competing stakeholders including, for example, prospective students, both local and international, local communities, different tiers of government and employer groups. An institutional identity is performed by the many different actors involved in the institution and the various contexts in which they work, not simply the marketing department. These various discourses and the acts of the different actors constitute the ethos of the university. As an entry into a consideration of the ethos to which the different institutions subscribe, I have selected the welcome address by the Vice-Chancellor of the university (President in the case of the US) posted on the university website of each institution.

**Dawkin University**

At Dawkin University, neo-liberal discourses associated with structural changes in the university sector permeate the welcome address of the Vice-Chancellor both explicitly and implicitly. The use of terms such as *access* and *equity*, *enterprising*, *best practice* and *the knowledge economy* connect Dawkin university to the global and national higher education policy discourses of *massification*, *marketisation*, *managerialism* and *commodification*, but the address also works to position the university as local and connected and working with and for the local community. Referring to the local community as one of the *nation's economic powerhouses*, the Vice-Chancellor reassures prospective employers that the graduates will have the *skills* to meet *real world needs* and that the
education provided will be flexible and accommodate individual needs. The accommodation of individual needs is sufficiently vague to allow the different stakeholders - governments, policy-makers, employers and students - to all feel that the university will cater for them. The Vice-Chancellor remarks that industry feedback has praised both the practical approach and the flexibility of those who graduate from Dawkin University. Balancing this reassurance to employers, the Vice-Chancellor reminds students that the university is a friendly and welcoming place, with each campus creating a community with staff who are ready to go out of their way to help. The Vice-Chancellor expresses the hope that the student experience at Dawkin University is one that students will find positive, enjoyable and enriching.

This emphasis on friendliness is one way that the New Generation universities in Australia hoped that they might be able to gain a competitive advantage over the more established and prestigious universities. The geographic location of Dawkin University, as with many other universities in this category, makes it more difficult to attract those students who traditionally go on to Higher Education, meaning that Dawkin University compared to Go8 \(^{16} \) universities has a higher percentage of students from 'non-traditional backgrounds.' Highlighting friendliness is one way that Dawkin University can demystify the university in its efforts to attract students from 'non-traditional backgrounds'. The idea that knowledge is put to work at Dawkin University can appeal to both students and employers with the suggestion of strong employment prospects as a result of university study and the practical approach to education that employers are understood to demand.

Despite the frequent references to dynamic qualities such as being enterprising, flexible and forward-looking, the reliance on the neo-liberal discourses to address the concerns of the various stakeholders positions the University as subordinate to the demands of government policy-makers and business leaders and employers. Rather than providing vision and leadership, the Vice-Chancellor appears to be an agent for the more powerful stakeholders. The Vice-

\( ^{16} \) Go8 is an abbreviation of Group of Eight, a coalition of Australia’s eight leading universities.
Chancellor's claim that the University ethos is one that values both a critical and questioning enquiry and innovation is put into doubt against the emphasis on economic values and pragmatism and the conflating of education with acquiring the information and skills required for success. Admittedly, it is difficult to satisfactorily address all the 'stakeholders' in this brief welcome however, limiting direct reference to staff to simply that they will go out of their way to help, rather diminishes their academic role.

Schwab, the developer of the stakeholder theory for business, offers a reminder that in his theory the enterprise is viewed as a community and he explains the principle on which the approach is based, namely that “each individual is embedded in societal communities in which the common good can only be promoted through the interaction of all participants - and business success is also embedded in this interaction” (2010, p. 1). There is a tension between the communitarian spirit identified by Schwab and the competitive spirit encouraged in performativity frameworks. The Vice-Chancellor’s welcome, by placing more importance on certain stakeholders, namely, the government, employers, the local community and the students, with only a passing mention of the academic and general staff of the university suggests what Schwab refers to as a “purely functional enterprise philosophy.” What Schwab finds troubling with a functional philosophy is that any member of the institution is replaceable and “this has consequences for individual behaviour: one cannot expect anything but selfish thought and action from somebody who knows that he or she is replaceable at any time. Instead of a communitarian sense of duty, there is a rise of individualistic profit-seeking behaviour in which society plays only a secondary role” (2010, p. 2). From a Butlerian perspective, social structures and discourses are not as deterministic, although in a university context such a functional ethos may constrain the identities that are available to academics and students.

Claxted University

There is no welcome address by the Vice-Chancellor on the Claxted University website. There is a photo of the Vice-Chancellor, accompanied by a brief description of the hierarchy of positions at the university in relation to the Vice
Chancellor. Links are provided for the reader should they wish to view the profile of the Vice-Chancellor or refer to an organizational chart. Compared with Dawkin University and in particular, Oldton University, the role of the Vice-Chancellor is represented on the website in a more legalistic rather than leadership framework. Referring to the Statutes of the University, it is pointed out that the Vice-Chancellor is responsible to the Council of the University for “maintaining and promoting the efficiency and good order of the University.”

While there is no Vice-Chancellor’s address to provide an idea of how the university positions itself within global discourses, the influence of the national rankings was graphically illustrated at a graduation ceremony that I attended at Claxted University in 2009. In UK terms, it is a relatively new university. Nonetheless, the occasion was marked by ‘pomp and circumstance’: the formally decorated hall, striking flower arrangements, soaring classical music, formal academic robes, the doffing of mortar boards to the Vice-Chancellor before addressing the audience and the gravitas of an address by a Holocaust survivor.

In stark contrast to this acknowledgement of tradition, the heads of department, having doffed their mortarboards, delivered a public self-report card. Every speaker, except one, made reference to how their department had fared in the national rankings exercise, using all types of measures to highlight how the department was third ‘in this’ or second in the UK ‘for that’. In lieu of congratulating the graduands, the university appeared to be congratulating itself but to what end was not immediately clear.

It is possible that they were demonstrating that the students had value added to the university or perhaps the reverse, that the students had been given value added by the university, or it is possible that were they were illustrating to the students how they could present their university to prospective employers in order to gain a competitive advantage. Another possibility is that they were talking up the university brand so that the students would feel that they had made a sound investment in attending Claxted University or that their parents

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17 Established in the 1960s, Claxted University is not part of the newer generation of universities created through the upgrading of poly-technical colleges. In light of the long history of universities in England with, for example, Cambridge University over 800 years old, it can be regarded as relatively new.
might feel that their investment in Claxted University had been worthwhile. This might encourage parents, siblings or friends in attendance to consider Claxted University for study. The overall effect was one of a product placement exercise or an infocommercial. It did reveal the increasing subordination of UK universities to marketised Higher Education policies through the appeal of the various department heads to the national league tables to legitimate their department.

The graduation addresses by the various academic heads of department, with their focus on value adding and the Vice-Chancellor's positioning as a manager, as opposed to a leader, illustrate that the university is harnessed to market discourses, most notably around the calls for increased productivity. As Claxted University has been established since the 1960s, it is possible to see a distinct change in governance. When Claxted University was one of nine new universities established in the UK in the 1960s, one of the distinctive features of these new universities was the shift from control by the 'god professor' to a system of collegial governance. However, collegial control has now given way to control by what appears to be the 'god manager.'

*Oldton University*

Whereas the address by the Vice-Chancellor of Dawkin University makes explicit reference to its offerings being designed for the knowledge economy of the 21st century, the President of Oldton University cites the Founding Grant document of over a hundred years ago, which states that in addition to the university being designed for the "personal success" of its students and for them to engage in "direct usefulness" in their lives, the university charges its students to also "promote the public welfare." In outlining the opportunities for the students, the President refers to courses with high calibre professors, research opportunities, public service and a range of extracurricular activities. The focus is on participating in university life rather than reassuring students of their employability and there is no reassurance to employers as to the employability of Oldton University graduates. This is implicit in the rather understated reference to the University being "recognized as one of the world's leading
universities," allowing the President to make the claims that the university engages in "finding solutions" to the great contemporary challenges, prepares students to be the "next generation of leaders" and provides the opportunities for students to engage in research that is "advancing the frontier of knowledge." The President concludes with reference once again to the university's founders and, in particular, their pioneering spirit that is manifest in the "boldness" with which staff and students at Oldton University approach all that they do, regardless of whether that is in the classroom or the research laboratory, the theatre or on the sports field.

Being a private institution, Oldton University does not face the same imperatives of government policy as Dawkin University and Claxted University, but it does compete in the global higher education market and, as the rankings indicate, the university competes in the upper echelons of that global market. Despite this, not only is the address from the President entirely devoid of any of the language associated with the dominant neo-liberal discourses of global higher education policy, the address promotes university education as both a 'private good' and a 'public good,' in contradistinction to the neo-liberal view of education as essentially a 'private' good.

The President's address acknowledges the diverse reasons that might attract staff as well as students to the university. Unlike newer institutions such as Dawkin University and Claxted University, it is the staff and students who compete to gain employment at Oldton University or entry into the university. As Oldton is competing with other elite institutions, it is more likely that the university attracts 'high calibre' staff and students. Whereas new universities in Australia such as Dawkin University are narrowing course options, leading Osborne (2004) to warn of the shift to the functional university, Oldton university encourages multidisciplinary research across a range of fields from health to the environment and the arts.
The Myth of The Open Competitive Global Market

The comparison of these three addresses reveals, as one might suspect, that the discourse of an open and competitive higher education market is not enacted in how these institutions seek to identify themselves. Marginson's explanation of the impact of competition in higher education provides a compelling reason for why this is the case (1997, p. 8). He believes that the very nature of higher education as a 'positional commodity,' that is, a commodity that confers a relative advantage on students in their pursuit of employment, high income and social status means that the higher education market is segmented rather than being open and competitive (Marginson, 1997, p. 8). In other words, "some student places offer better social status and lifetime opportunities than others" (Marginson, 2006, p. 3).

Dawkin University, being in the lowest tier of the three institutions in the Higher Education rankings, is the institution that has to conform most strictly to the economic textbook version of neo-liberal higher education policies, meaning that it "competes on the basis of efficiency and consumer focus" and tends to spend more, in relative terms, on marketing than the elite institutions (Marginson, 1997, p. 8). Claxted University, once a 'hotbed' of political activity against government policy, now conforms to government policy through its display of competitiveness in terms of teaching and research. Institutions such as Oldton University that were already well placed when so-called global competition was installed have tended to retain their 'winning position' over other institutions and particularly those institutions that are relatively new in gaining university status. The identity of leading institutions such as Oldton University, therefore does not require the same degree of conformity to market dogma and being a private university, it is not subordinate to government policy, although it does need to comply with certain government regulations. The identity of these elite institutions can therefore continue to draw on their traditions whilst embracing and enacting change. Thus the low ranked institutions tend to act from a position of subordination while the higher and highest ranked institutions are able to act with greater degrees of autonomy. If, as many believe, league tables are here to stay then "as competitiveness is ratcheted upwards, the seller's market is
enhanced. The leading schools and university faculties have long waiting lists. These institutions choose the student-consumer, more than the student choosing them. They do not need to become cheaper, more efficient, or more responsive to gain support, and to expand would be to reduce their positional value" (Marginson, 1997, pp. 7-8). A comparison of the institutional identities of Dawkin University, Claxted University and Oldton University confirms Marginson's reading of the potential impacts of global competition in higher education and as "scarcity reproduces the prestige of the elite universities," this trend appears likely to continue (Marginson, 2006, p. 5).

**Academic Leader, Administrator or Managerialist**

The discourse of the Vice-Chancellor's address at Dawkin University reveals that Dawkin University as an institution that gained university status later, is one of the many non-elite institutions in the global market of Higher Education that "operate from a position of subordination," in contrast to the autonomy that older, established elite institutions such as Oldton University are able to exercise (Hardy, 2010, p. 392). This position of subordination to a number of external bodies and organisations means that the degree of autonomy that can be exercised by Dawkin University is curtailed as a result of having to accede to external standards and being less able to respond to situated demands. Claxted University is less subordinate to government policy than Dawkin University, however the UK government's 2011 White Paper with its knowledge economy and human capital discourse suggests that university autonomy will be lessened if the proposed changes pass into law. The open and competitive market may be a myth but the discourses, policies and practice deployed to sustain the myth can ultimately have an impact on what occurs in the classroom. Given the inter-

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18 Dawkin University, established as a federated network university in the late 1980s, initially, comprised firstly two former Colleges of Advanced Education until joined by a third member. A restructure in the mid-1990s led to the federated system. More recently, in 2001, there was another restructure, replacing the federation with a multi-campus single university structure.

19 Publication of the White Paper has been delayed but discussions about the proposed reforms suggest that the aim is to implement measures to increase the contribution of higher education to economic growth and to increase competition by allowing private colleges to enter the sector. Competition is viewed as a way of forcing universities to improve as failure to do so could result in a takeover of the university.
relationship between the "cultural-discursive" dimensions of the social world and the "socio-political" and the "material-economic" dimensions of the social world, it is important to consider how the ethos of the university can determine the degree of autonomy bestowed on the managers and staff of academic writing courses which, in turn, can shape classroom practice as much as the material circumstances of academic writing courses at the three institutions. Ianetta (2011), Director of Writing at the University of Delaware, contends that "to create a Writing Programme or Writing Centre is to argue for a definition of writing." Thus, it can be argued that the management of the writing programme and the positioning of academic writing in the university are inter-related with a 'definition of writing.'

The EAP courses at Dawkin University are provided by a College, a 'wholly owned entity' of the university, located on a small campus, off the main campus. Reflecting the shift to the hierarchical, monologic management structures of managerialism as a result of restructuring, the head of the College is a CEO and the head of English Language Programs is an Associate Director. The hierarchical management systems promote an individualist workplace environment and the emphasis on standardisation, germane to an audit culture, does not encourage personal initiative nor does it promote critical reflection (Lozano, 2006). The position of the Associate Director is directed more towards a managerialist administrative role, with little involvement in curriculum and pedagogy and no teaching and research requirement. The curriculum is audited by an external authority, The National ELT Accreditation Scheme (NEAS)\(^{20}\) responsible for the accreditation of ELT centres, the broad category in which these EAP courses are placed for auditing purposes. The organisational structures and procedures do not encourage a research culture, nor advocacy of curriculum and pedagogy changes in relation to the EAP course or to the field of EAP more generally. Rather, the constraints under which the Associate Director acts, by virtue of the externally imposed standards of NEAS and the internally, monologically directed policies and procedures of the CEO, reinforce the

\(^{20}\)NEAS, an industry-based organisation, runs on a non-profit basis and is self-funded. It is an independent body working co-operatively with industry ELT centres and government agencies.
positioning of EAP courses as simply serving a 'quality assurance' or 'gatekeeping' function. Academic writing, in this context, is understood as simply a measure of a student's preparedness for tertiary study, rather than central to the creation of knowledge. Given that EAP courses are offered as an alternative to university entry through an IELTS score, which also serves a 'gatekeeping' function, if EAP courses are not offering an academic course of study, then the validity of offering such courses is brought into question.

Differences in the management of EAP classes at Dawkin University, Australia and Claxted University are, to a certain extent, a result of the different higher education context in the UK, however the different history of EAP provision at the two universities is also important. Firstly, the EAP pre-sessional course at Claxted University is offered on-campus by a University Department rather than being offered by an off-campus College as at Dawkin University. This means that students and staff on the pre-sessional EAP courses at Claxted University do not suffer from marginalisation, due to geographical isolation, as at Dawkin University. However, the inter-relationships between the Department and other university departments, are not as highly developed as might be considered desirable. Another important difference is that, unlike Dawkin University, where EAP provision has been outsourced at various times to private entities, EAP provision at Claxted University has always been offered by a University Department. English courses have been offered for over 30 years. The pre-sessional EAP courses were originally designed with a focus on socialisation into university study in the UK, rather than simply serving a 'gatekeeping' function, thus academic writing tends to be positioned as preparation for disciplinary study, rather than simply serving a 'gate-keeping' function and providing general university preparation as at Dawkin University.

There is also an important difference in the frequency of provision of EAP programs for university entrance. At Claxted University, the pre-sessional EAP course is offered once a year, prior to the commencement of the academic year in October, not four to five times a year, as at Dawkin University. During the academic year, the Department offers a range of undergraduate and postgraduate courses, from foundations studies and certificate level to Masters level,
with a range of Pre-masters courses that lead to a Graduate Diploma in a discipline with English for Academic Purposes, for example a Graduate Diploma in Politics with English for Academic Purposes or a Graduate Diploma in Electronic Engineering with English for Academic Purposes. Despite the pre-sessional EAP being offered within a university Department, the Director of the Department is not involved in curriculum and pedagogy, and similar to Dawkin University, there is no research and teaching requirement. Devolution of curriculum and pedagogy responsibilities to three Assistant Directors in the Department limits the Director's contact with teaching staff and creates a managerialist role which does not place emphasis on encouraging a research culture.

Auditing of the pre-sessional EAP courses is conducted by an external professional body, The British Association of Lecturers in EAP (BALEAP), rather than an external industry-based body, as at Dawkin University. Whereas the focus of NEAS is firmly on standards, BALEAP "supports the professional development of those involved in learning, teaching, scholarship and research in EAP through its Accreditation Scheme, Professional Issues Meetings (PIMs) and biennial conference and through the work of its sub-committees and working parties" (BALEAP). Claxted University is one of the seventeen BALEAP accredited University institutions that offer EAP in the UK and one of the earlier directors of the Department was one of the early founders of the association that has come to be known as BALEAP. The difference in the external auditing bodies, with their different histories and different approaches, means that the performativity demands in terms of the audit culture and the pressures exerted on curriculum and pedagogy differ markedly between Claxted University and Dawkin University.

The model at Oldton University is dramatically different, reflecting collegial management structures more than managerialist structures. The director, a Professor in the English Department who is active in teaching and research has an academic leadership role, not only in terms of course design, but also in relation to advocacy on behalf of the staff. Under her leadership, the programme has expanded from a first year course, with an emphasis on writing, to include a
second year course, based on oral presentations, and there has been an increase in the number of staff. Despite the higher status of the writing courses, there is still a perception among university staff that writing classes are 'remedial' and perhaps similar to both Dawkin University and Claxted University, the staff feel vulnerable to funding cuts and staffing cuts. At the time of my visit, the effects of what is referred to as the 'Global Financial Crisis' (GFC) were still being felt, as the university had lost substantial sums in the share value of its investments, making the staff nervous as they felt they would be the early 'targets' of any staff reductions. The leadership role of the director and the director's participation in research and in curriculum design, encourages a critical approach to academic writing that seeks to serve an educational purpose, rather than simply a 'gatekeeping' or 'remedial' function.

**Positioning of Academic Writing in Higher Education**

Taking up Ianetta's claim, I want to outline how the provision of academic writing courses is to a certain degree a reflection of 'the definition of academic writing' and how the discourses outlined in the previous section shape the institutional identity and operation. Perhaps most telling in the Australian context is the view that it is difficult for those working within academic writing courses to effectively change "the discourse surrounding writing within the institution" because, in general, the area is not understood by "either those who use the service or those who manage it" (Stevenson & Kokkinn, 2007, p. 51). The question of staffing means that those who teach academic writing may themselves not fully understand the nature of academic writing. In both the UK and Australia, the 'status of writing' in higher education, says Bergstrom, is "reflected in the status of the staff who teach it: too often these are subject staff who take on additional duties of teaching student writing in isolation within their departments or casual staff hired on hourly-paid or fixed-term contracts" (as cited in Ganobcsik-Williams, 2004, p. 37). This means that "while many university staff seem willing to engage with students' writing, most institutions do not yet prioritise the need to teach writing explicitly" (Bergstrom

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21 This was the view of a staff member put forward in an informal interview.
as cited in Ganobcsik-Williams, 2004, p. 37). Staffing is pertinent in the case of EAP courses because there is a tendency to think that international students can be taught by English language teachers who “are less expensive to employ” (Stevenson & Kokkinn, 2007, p. 49). English language teaching, however, tends to focus on the lexico-grammatical features of texts rather than on academic literacies.

There is a marked difference in the institutional positioning of academic writing in the US, as compared with the UK and Australia. In the USA, there is near universal provision of composition classes in both public and private universities and there is a long and distinguished history of research and publications on academic writing. In contrast, the UK tradition, also followed in Australia, holds that learning to write in the academic disciplines occurs through a process of ‘osmosis.’ This can be one reason why both those who manage and those who use academic writing provision and assistance in Australian higher education do not understand the area well. This is changing, with some universities now offering explicit instruction in academic writing, however it is still generally regarded as an ‘invisible’ process that does not require explicit instruction, relying instead on the student learning the disciplinary knowledge, completing written assignments and receiving feedback either in the form of a grade or written comments. Any failure to do so on the part of the student is generally interpreted as a ‘deficit’ in the individual, which needs to be remedied, resulting in either the student deciding to seek assistance at a Learning Centre, or the lecturer advising and directing the student to seek assistance.

Once at a Learning Centre, another problem often presents itself. The staff who work in Learning Centres tend to have a background in linguistics and applied linguistics which is not the case for most students, nor for most academics. Chanock (2011, p. 50) has raised the issue of how it can be difficult to communicate with academic staff because Learning Centre staff tend to use the specialised language of linguistics. It is more likely in the USA that students and

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22 English language teachers can be employed as General Staff and therefore can be less expensive to employ than Academic Staff. There is no uniform requirement for a postgraduate degree with in general, an emphasis placed on a TESOL qualification.
staff, having been through a composition course, may understand the language of
the composition faculty or staff at a Writing Centre. Another possible reason for
the failure to effect a shift in thinking about academic writing pedagogy or
assistance as other than remedial, could be related to the more limited research
into academic writing, conducted in the UK and Australia in comparison with the
USA, mentioned above. The UK situation could also be influenced by the fact that
until 2008, the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) did not give equal weighting
to ‘pure’ research and applied research (Ganobcsik-Williams, 2004, p. 41).

Overall, although there have been attempts to reposition academic writing
instruction within Australian and UK Higher Education so that it is understood as
central, rather than marginal to the educational process, a number of factors,
mitigate against this change (Mitchell and Evans as cited in Ganobcsik-Williams,
2004, p. 33). The lack of understanding mentioned above further complicates
efforts to make the case for the link between academic writing and ‘thinking,
learning and disciplinary expertise,’ and the connections with other institutional
goals such as access and equity. If a shift in attitude were able to be effected,
there would still be the need to advocate for increased resources in order to
redesign the curriculum, which seems unlikely due to changes in the provision of
higher education funding, in both the UK and Australia. Increased student
numbers, at the same time that public funding has decreased as a proportion of
university revenue, mean that competition for funding increases is high and
more likely to flow to those areas of the university that can provide further
revenue streams. A university such as Dawkin University, operating as it does in
a performativity framework, is less likely to place emphasis on support and
assistance in academic writing. This further underscores the importance of EAP
courses to provide international students with the education in academic writing
that will allow them to participate in their discourse community and lessen their
likelihood of having to seek assistance with their writing.

There has been some success in establishing discipline-specific credit-bearing
EAP courses in Australia (Melles et al., 2005), the UK and the USA. It is felt that
this can change the ‘remedial’ tag that so often accompanies academic writing
courses or assistance. The hope is that by changing how EAP is viewed, that is, as
seeing it as a discipline rather than a predominantly remedial service, then the marginal status of EAP can be redressed. In view of the above examination of the 'sayings' that inform the architectures of practice in which EAP is offered, it is important to emphasise the lack of autonomy that can be exercised in relation to EAP courses and the ethos of 'vulgar pragmatism,' if the marginal status of EAP is to change. It is both the subordinate and marginal position of EAP that contributes to the ethos of 'vulgar pragmatism,' in addition to the institutional discourses in which EAP is implicated.

'Doings'

The Classroom

The classroom at Dawkin University is, in effect, one large room divided into two classrooms by a concertina door. It is quite bare with a few notices posted on the walls and minimalist in terms of equipment and facilities – a whiteboard, an Overhead Projector in one corner, a data projector, overhead fans and an air conditioning unit, in addition to the long tables and chairs lined up in rows that seat two students per table. On one occasion, Diane carries a portable DVD/cassette player to the classroom (the type commonly referred to as a 'ghetto blaster'), in order to do a listening exercise. She tells the students, "we will do this quickly," adding that "the recording is poor" and "the machine is poor" and then reassures them that, if they have difficulty, she will read the transcript. Transporting this poor quality 'ghetto blaster' adds to the slightly makeshift air of the classroom set up by the dividing concertina door and the fact that the switches for the lights and the fans are on 'the other side of the divide,' resulting in numerous exits and re-entries by Diane in the course of a lesson. On more than one occasion, the class would be under way and the lights would suddenly go out. The first time it occurred, it appeared to be an electricity failure, however we learnt that it was the result of the teacher in the adjoining room diligently turning off the lights at 2pm when her class ended, oblivious to the fact that there was a class next door. A seemingly trivial action but one that can reinforce the sense of being invisible and marginal expressed by Grace who said "We still feel that we are not here. We still feel like we don't belong."
From her comments, Diane had either used the materials on another occasion or trialled the materials and equipment before the class and found them 'wanting.' Yet in spite of this, she continues with the activity as per the programme, carrying the cumbersome DVD player to class, rather than simply electing to read the transcript or to change the activity. There are a number of different factors that influence Diane's decision to demonstrate her compliance with the 'daily timetable' rather than to act independently. One important consideration is the nature of her employment at Dawkin University. EAP courses in preparation for the 'start-year intake' and the 'mid-year intake' are generally peak periods for EAP teacher employment, leading to the employment of casual staff (dubbed 'the fruit pickers of academia' by a former colleague) to meet the increased demand for teaching staff in this cycle of seasonal employment. To improve their employment prospects for the next season, 'fruit pickers' tend to subordinate their practices in order to fulfil 'managerial staff' expectations. These expectations involve adhering to the curriculum, efficiently completing administrative tasks, recording the work completed and reducing the likelihood of student complaints to 'managerial staff.' Part of fulfilling 'student expectations' involves the students being persuaded that the teacher is assisting them to achieve the marks that will meet their English Language requirement. The student evaluations at the end of the course are one way that students can be understood to 'control' the classroom practice. Thus, both permanent and casual teachers can feel ensnared in a grid of curriculum and administrative demands and casual teachers, in particular, can also feel alert to the precariousness of their employment, resulting in teachers acting in accordance with the 'timetable' demands, despite this not always being of benefit to the students.

Part of the customer focus at Dawkin University, referred to by the Vice-Chancellor in her welcome address, is an emphasis on standardisation across classes. This involves ensuring that all of the students feel that they received the 'same' instruction, the same materials, the same level of assistance with their writing and, perhaps most importantly, the same standards applied to the marking of their assignments. Diane would need to forestall complaints that could ensue if the students from the different classes talk with her students, who
might then establish that another class has received instruction in an area not covered in their class or that another class has participated in an activity that was not provided in their class or, perhaps most importantly, the marks for assignments are noticeably higher in the other classes. It is not simply the students but also the management and teachers who participate, knowingly or otherwise, in this standardisation. Teachers participate by making claims of 'fairness,' to justify their view as to why something should or should not be done, when a change or a difference is brought to their attention. In this sense, the teachers accept being subordinate to the daily timetable demands, however inappropriate, in the interests of being 'fair' to the students. At the same time, this satisfies the need for a customer focus even though this is not generally invoked by teachers as a justification or explanation. This can mean that Diane might also comply with the timetable 'to the letter,' in order to forestall any complaints by a co-teacher or students. As Dawkin University operates according to key performance indicators, avoiding complaints from students and from colleagues is important for a teacher, meaning that at times, this may override pedagogical concerns, leading to a teacher's compliance with the 'timetable,' however inappropriate.

Having spent six weeks in Diane's classroom at Dawkin University, I left for my visit to Oldton University, to observe the classes of Ashley, Clara, Hayley and Clarissa. It was immediately apparent that the 'scene of teaching' at Oldton University was markedly different, simply in terms of the difference in material resources. Yet it would be a mistake to attribute the differences in classroom pedagogical practice, in comparison to Dawkin University, solely to differences in material resources.

**Aristotelian Rhetoric and The Video-Conference**

It is 9am, the first class of the day and the first class that I am observing at Oldton University. The mezzanine opens out into a loft-like space - exposed black steel struts and foil on the ceiling, an orange wall, grey tiles on the floor, a splash of colour from the four computers, on two adjoined tables (brown for South America, light blue for Europe, green for Africa, dark blue for Asia) - where the teacher,
Ashley, is seated at the computer hub with Clarissa (one of the more experienced teachers, assisting Ashley with her first video-conference) and two ‘techies’ who are also there to assist her. From this computer hub, Ashley can direct and oversee the cross-cultural rhetoric class being delivered via a video-conference with a university in Sweden.

The CCR Lounge (a virtual auditorium space) allows the students who are in four different rooms, in groups of three, to communicate as a whole group and from the computer hub, Ashley and Clarissa are able to intervene and talk directly to a group separately, if they feel that the students need guidance. The students have received handouts detailing the preparation they need to do prior to the class and before the start of the session, they have received a handout outlining how the session will proceed. In his opening remarks, the Swedish professor (Mats), explains that his students have been examining doxa, while Ashley explains how her students have been examining Aristotelian rhetoric. The students are reminded of the sequence of activities for the lesson and then set to work with “Have fun!”

Listening in on Group A, one of the Swedish girls asks “Do we sound like Donald Duck over at your end?” but the levity soon makes way for serious work as the Canadian in the American group asks “How does the video represent constructed social values?” From my vantage point, the group appears well organised, going through the worksheet in a systematic fashion. The other groups do not seem to be as ‘on target,’ prompting interventions by Ashley. After the 20 minutes allocated to devise an advertisement for the Winter Olympics, the groups have three minutes to present their work in the CCR lounge. After closing comments by both Mats and Ashley, the students are reminded that they are to write their comments (100 words) on the blog and are told that Facebook is also available.

Recalling the President’s reference to Oldton University as being “recognized as one of the world’s leading universities,” it is not surprising that the facilities and resources are world-class and superior to the facilities and resources at both Dawkin University and Claxted University. The superior, world-class facilities at Oldton University not only reflect the different international and national status

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23 Doxa is from the Greek for common belief or popular opinion.
of Oldton University, in relation to Dawkin University and Claxted University, but also the difference in the status of writing classes at Oldton University. Another important difference is the ethos of the university that is enacted 'in the classroom.' Drawing on the rhetorical traditions of Ancient Greece, the class is delivered in a virtual space, using up-to-date information and communication technologies (ICTs) to explore cross-cultural rhetoric, which is considered increasingly important in a globalising world. The classroom practice enacts the ethos of the university, implicit in the President's welcome address - an ethos that respects and upholds tradition, while embracing the changes that are needed to find solutions to contemporary problems and advance knowledge.

The staff to student ratio is also worth mentioning. I pointed out that there were two professors and two technical assistants, thus four staff members for a class of twelve students. This favourable staff to student ratio suggests that ICTs are not primarily viewed as a means of reducing costs, through staff reductions. As with the advent of any new technology, grand claims have been made for the revolutionary nature of the benefits of ICTs to Higher Education, principally enhanced accessibility, improved quality and cost effectiveness (West as cited in Snyder, Marginson, & Lewis, 2007, p. 187). In addition to these benefits there is often the expectation that teaching and learning will be 'more interesting and more exciting.' Yet as McWilliam argues, ICTs by themselves do not necessarily result in "a new or improved set of social dynamics" and in fact, "they may well be simply derivative or reproduce existing social relations" (2011, p. 263). Rather, it is "people" who make the changes and change occurs "amid dynamic social and cultural relationships and practices," (Lewis et al. as cited in Snyder et al., 2007, p. 188). The presence of the more experienced staff member to assist Ashley and the assistance of the two technical staff members suggest that ICTs are viewed as more than a cost-effect technology.

It is perhaps understandable that the marked differences in material resources at Oldton University, in comparison with Dawkin University and Claxted University, can reinforce the view that Oldton University can offer better and 'more exciting' learning possibilities. This overlooks the fact that material resources and facilities do not necessarily translate into more effective teaching
and learning. The theme of cultural stereotypes is one that is pertinent to the students, at both Dawkin University and Claxted University, where the classes were comprised of a number of students from different cultural backgrounds. Irrespective of the technological facilities available, broadly speaking, it is possible to conduct the same class at both Dawkin University and Claxted University. I do not want to suggest that conducting the class using video conferencing did not confer additional benefits but at this point, I would emphasise that the “dynamic social and cultural relationships and practices” of an institution are equally important, if not more so, to the material circumstances of teaching and learning.

**Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs)**

ICTs, in themselves, cannot be relied on to improve research, communication, course provision, technology management and student evaluations. They need to be employed to foster the “dynamic social and cultural relationships and practices” mentioned above. Enabling ICTs to be used effectively and therefore to advantage, involves “complementarity between innovations in different parts of institutional and inter-institutional systems” (Snyder et al., 2007, p. 200). This often means that managers need to “provide enabling work conditions” while academics need to “deploy autonomy creatively and productively” (Snyder et al., 2007, p. 200). Adapting the categories that Snyder et al. use, I consider e-management and e-learning, to refer to the use of ICTs in the organisational domain and in the educational domain respectively, while acknowledging that these two domains do overlap.

Broadly speaking, the deployment of ICTs in EAP classes at both Dawkin University and Claxted University displays the characteristics of e-management. That is, the use of ICTs tends to be related to the organisational aspects of the institution and to fulfilling some of the corporate goals, for example, the standardisation of systems, broadening modes of delivery, reducing costs and increasing personal accountability. In contrast, ICTs appear to be well integrated into the operational aspects of Oldton University, as well as the educational domain. ICTs are not used simply to reduce costs and increase efficiency. I
mentioned the favourable staff to teacher ratio in the video-conference but also the “fair” mentioned in Chapter Four, also illustrates that ICTs are not used as a substitute for staff face to face interactions with students. The process of selecting a section could in fact be completed online and yet ‘the fair’ is held in the evening to allow students to speak directly to the professors about the section that they offer. The professors prepare flyers and posters indicating the theme of their course and they provide a brief description of the course. The students circulate, asking the professors questions or for more information or engaging in conversations with former students, who have attended to assist the professor. It is important to note that Oldton University not only has enabling managers and creative professors but also the financial strength which Snyder et al. emphasise is critical to any attempt to fruitfully deploy ICTs in a manner that can achieve ‘complementarity.’

In relation to e-learning, at both Dawkin University and Claxted University the use of ICTs in EAP courses is superficial or what Snyder et al (2007, p. 189) refer to as ‘pedagogically lightweight’ in that the use of ICTs generally involves placing the course information and materials online and requiring assignments to be submitted online. Claxted University has not introduced matching software that helps detect plagiarism but this has been introduced at Dawkin University. The system can be used for learning as well as for detection, however this requires computer access and considerable time for the teacher and student to discuss the results from the software, neither of which are available. This means that the learning potential of the software is diminished and so it becomes more of a surveillance software than a pedagogical software.

**Powerpoint and The Power of Pedagogy**

There were two classes that I observed where the focus was on the use of powerpoint in oral presentations. The first class at Oldton University was taught by Hayley and the second at Claxted University was taught by Lyla. The differences in the two classes are instructive as they illustrate how pedagogical practice is constrained and enabled by more than the available material resources. In the following account, the focus of Hayley’s lesson is on
encouraging the students to critique the unquestioning use of PowerPoint and to consider how other visual aids might be more appropriate.

Hayley begins the lesson by pointing out that a PowerPoint presentation can be limiting because it is linear and chronological. To illustrate these limitations she shows the students three different presentations. The first presentation uses PowerPoint in an ‘echo’ style. That is, at a short interval after the speaker has spoken, the word or words appear on the screen. There are a minimal number of words and they are graphically centred in the slide, emphasising the key points of the presentation rather than dominating the presentation. The second is the more common type of PowerPoint presentation where the slides are more detailed and usually precede what the speaker says. The last presentation was the winning entry by the Colombian student Camacho Pablo in the global speaking competition, Davos Debates,24 on the topic, “Should company directors have a code of ethics similar to doctors and lawyers?” In this presentation, PowerPoint slides are used minimally but very effectively in an interactive manner. His main visual aid is a coffee cup that he uses to differentiate between doctors and lawyers (white coffee cup with an image of people) and CEOs (brown coffee cup with the $ to indicate profits). He argues for a standardised common ethical code for CEOs but one that is different from the ethical codes of doctors and lawyers.

Hayley asks the students to comment. Initially there is no response but then one student dismisses the idea of the coffee cups. In response to this, Hayley reminds them of the advice offered by one of the professors who gave a talk about ‘thinking outside of the box.’ She wants them to consider not only how to use PowerPoint but whether PowerPoint is always the most effective means of adding a visual dimension to a presentation. The students work in small groups of four students to prepare two short one minute presentations, one using PowerPoint as illustrated in the first video (the echo style) and the second without technology. The students can stay in the classroom using laptops and the video screen to look for material to add to their presentation (as the group I observed did) or they can leave the classroom

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24 The Davos Debates are organised by the World Economic Forum that meets in Davos-Klosters in Switzerland. The public compete by uploading a one minute video onto YouTube on the designated theme.
and work outside. After spending 15-20 minutes preparing, the students deliver their short presentations. In the class discussions following the presentations, it is agreed that in some cases, the presentations that did not use powerpoint were far more effective from an audience point of view. There is a perceptible shift from the earlier scepticism about the use of the coffee mugs and the students are now forthcoming in their comments. The lesson ends with one group (as seemed to be the custom), providing food (muffins and 'sticky buns') which sets the scene for informal conversations being struck up in various parts of the classroom.

Lyla's class on the use of powerpoint in oral presentations is markedly different. It is now near the end of the pre-sessional course at Claxted University and so the students are starting to prepare for their seminar presentation, based on the research essay that they have just completed. One of the lessons is dedicated to planning and preparation for the seminar presentation. Unlike Hayley, who has encouraged her students to think about why powerpoint is not always the most appropriate or effective visual aid, Lyla voices her objection to powerpoint because it is over-used.

It is now towards the end of the lesson. Lyla summarises what they have covered then remarks "so we've got some food for thought" before warning, "now my rant." Her rant is a criticism of the use of powerpoint in seminar presentations. One of the students intervenes, asking why teachers do not like powerpoint Lyla hesitates and then explains that perhaps the teachers "are tired of powerpoint." She then asks the students to turn to p.66 saying, "I don't want to spend too long on this as I have another exercise. OK, so a quick chat with your partner." The exercise is named 'Choosing and Using Visual Aids' and asks the students to list the Advantages and Disadvantages of using various visual aids - posters, overhead transparencies, videos, whiteboard, printed handouts and powerpoint slides. The students work in pairs and immediately launch into lively discussion. After five minutes, the teacher asks the class to name the disadvantages of the various visual aids. She says OHTs and the students respond in unison "old-fashioned;" blackboard elicits "depends on handwriting" but when Lyla says powerpoint, there is silence. The students then say that they cannot think of any disadvantages. Lyla reminds them of possible technical glitches and, on that note, the class ends.
Once again, distinct differences between the two universities in terms of material resources needs to be acknowledged and furthermore the differences in theoretical frameworks and student background (Hayley's are domestic students while Lyla's students are international students) are important. In this instance, however, it seems that teacher identity and the role associated with that identity are just as important. Hayley identifies as an academic whose responsibility is to encourage critical reflection, whereas Lyla identifies as a teacher who is responsible for covering the material. Hayley focuses on the idea of the appropriacy of visual aids, that is, she asks the students to consider the visual aids in terms of their effectiveness in communicating the rhetorical purpose. In doing so, she set up the class so that the student's embody 'the material' and then critically reflect on that material. Lyla's class remains a 'cognitive' exercise, despite the embodied nature of an oral presentation. The discussion of visual aids is confused with what people 'like,' as opposed to understanding how different visual aids can be more effective in terms of the effect on the audience.

Finally, there is an interest in incorporating ICTs into teaching and learning at Dawkin University and, to this end, professional development days are dedicated to understanding the technologies and reflecting on how they might be used. However, the necessary time to work with the curriculum and ICTs in order to determine how to effectively introduce ICTs into courses is not made available. Lack of continuity in staffing, with regular changes due to casualisation and the division of teaching between three day teachers and two day teachers, means that the lead-in time that is required to introduce ICTs and the opportunities and time to collaborate, often part of introducing ICTs into classroom practice, are not available. These are only some of the many factors that mitigate against the likelihood of ICTs being effectively incorporated into courses at Dawkin University. The performativity ethos of the university, with its focus on e-management, at the expense of e-learning, means that the 'complementarily' that Snyder et al. emphasise as important if benefits are to be gained from the implementation of ICTs is less likely to occur at Dawkin University.


'Relatings'

Recognition and Reciprocity

If academic writing is understood as a performance, then the intersubjective nature of the relations between academics and students cannot be underestimated. If academic writing is understood as performatively accomplished, this places further emphasis on understanding the relational aspects of pedagogy and the context in which it occurs. Thus the architectures of practice need to be examined in view of how they might shape the ‘relatings’ between academics and students.

While the ‘relatings’ between ‘professors’ and students at Dawkin University, Claxted University, Oldton University and City University could be characterised as ‘informal, natural, and normal,’ it is not clear whether this can be attributed to a more general shift in cultural values which has devalued professional elitism and placed a high value on “informality, naturalness, and normalness” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 147). Fairclough has observed that part of this reformulation of professional conduct has been to not only embrace “informality, naturalness and normalness” but to avoid overt demonstrations of “authority and expertise.” It is always difficult to assess what might count as ‘informal, natural and normal’ and even informality can vary according to a number of different factors, for example, the location of the university on the East Coast or West Coast of the USA or in the North or the South of England. Fairclough was writing from a UK perspective so it is possible that the change in professional conduct was more marked there in comparison with institutional changes in Australia and the USA as both cultures, broadly speaking, tend to be comparatively more informal.

However, students addressing teachers and professors on a first name basis, is one marker of informality that is common to the three institutions. It could be said that this use of first names imbues the relationship between the teacher and the student with a certain “informality, naturalness, and normalness” compared with the use of titles such as Dr or Professor. Whether “informality, naturalness, and normalness” in teacher and student relations can be seen to demonstrate the
dismantling of elitism is difficult to address because, as illustrated at Oldton University, being an elite institution does not mean that “informality, naturalness, and normalness” are not valued. Given the emphasis that Dawkin University, in particular, places on “informality, naturalness, and normalness” in its efforts to create a ‘friendly’ environment and given that it operates in a performativity framework, it might be argued that this also demonstrates that power has been shifted away from “the producers of goods and services towards the consumers or clients” (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 148-149).

From my observations, I believe that the notion of consumer sovereignty in educational contexts whereby the student as a consumer of the educational ‘good’ has power over the teacher can be overstated. That is not to deny that placing the teachers and students in a ‘service provider-customer dynamic’ affects how that dynamic is performed but it is not straightforward. According to theories of managerialism, “the world is populated by rational egoists who are bent on outsmarting one another to get something for nothing” (Kolsaker, 2008, p. 514). However, the ‘new’ academic and student identities are not as stable or as simple as managerialist ideology holds. To different degrees and in different ways, both academics and students are constrained and enabled by the institutional discourses and material conditions which shape classroom practice. It is also important not to overlook the relational nature of pedagogy which co-constitutes teacher and student identities. More realistically, Gale suggests that the teacher’s experiences are entangled with the student’s experiences and this accords with Butler’s understanding of the recognition and reciprocity involved in relational exchanges (as cited in Coldron & Smith, 1999, p. 712). She invites readers to:

Consider that the struggle for recognition in the Hegelian sense requires that each partner in the exchange recognize not only that the other needs and deserves recognition, but also that each, in a different way, is compelled by the same need, the same requirement. This means that we are not separate identities in the struggle for recognition but are already involved in reciprocal exchange, an exchange that dislocates us from our positions, our subject positions, and allows us to see that community itself requires the recognition that we are all, in different ways, striving for recognition. (Butler, 2004, pp. 43-44)
The more complex and nuanced view of power that Butler offers, and her emphasis on the relational nature of subjecthood, sets up a way of viewing the various identities of the teachers and students that are co-constituted by the institution. From a Butlerian perspective, teachers and students are not simply ‘rational egoists’ and students can identify as other than a consumer. What is problematic is that if the mode of university governance relies on the various actors in the institution fulfilling the roles ascribed to them by managerial discourses and the material circumstances of the university, then the various ‘actors’ are required to perform their ‘scripted’ roles. If they do not adhere to the ‘script,’ it may not necessarily be to the detriment of the actors themselves, however it does mean that the quality of the education offered may not be assured.

**The Teacher and The Institution**

Perhaps one of the most important ways that an institution displays its relationship with its teaching staff is the level of visibility of the teaching staff in informational or promotional materials. The material working conditions of staff members, their degree of autonomy and also their employment status are also indicative of the relationship between teachers and the institution. Overall, it can be said that all of these factors are to a certain degree, predicated on the positioning of academic writing courses in the institution and the type of leadership of these courses.

A web search for information about teaching staff on each institution’s website revealed quite distinctive differences in how teaching staff are profiled within the university. At both Dawkin University and Claxted University, information about staff can be found in the ‘About Us’ menu, whereas Oldton University adopts the more traditional approach, with staff listed under faculty profiles. At Dawkin University, staff are categorised as Academic Staff, Support Staff and Training and Education Staff with the ‘English Language Programs Team’ listed under Academic Staff, where they are described as “highly qualified” and as “dedicated to helping students achieve their study goals.” At Claxted University, the About Us menu leads to a general page headed Staff, where first the
management structure is outlined and staff categorised as Administrative Staff and Academic Staff, with an alphabetical list of Academic Staff in the Department. Under Faculty Profiles at Oldton University, there is an alphabetical list that provides a photo of the instructor, contact details (office location, telephone number and email address) and interests. For more details, a viewer can click on the name of the instructor which links to a full faculty profile, office hours, current courses, areas of specialisation, publications and other related websites. This is in marked contrast to Dawkin University, where there is no listing of the individual teachers with their position, responsibilities, research interests, contact details and consultation times. At Claxted University, the information about staff varies but at a minimum, details are provided of their position and contact details (email, telephone number, office location). A majority of the staff have a photo and those with doctorates tend to list their qualifications and their research interests.

The generic or even ‘bulk’ listing of staff at Dawkin University is problematic for both the teaching staff and prospective and current students. Staff are listed as Academic Staff, but they are in fact deemed General Staff for administrative purposes and so may be expected to act as academic staff, without enjoying any of the benefits. It is also slightly misleading for students, who might interpret the idea of Academic Staff as ‘staff who have a PhD,’ particularly as it is stated that they are “highly qualified” and it might also suggest that they are research active and thus familiar with current university practices. The anonymity of the staff means it is very difficult for students themselves to assess the quality of the teaching staff. Prior to their arrival and after their arrival, they need to ensure that they obtain information about how to contact a staff member and whether consultation times are available. If the institution makes claims for staff going out of their way, then it is important that staff are easy to contact and that students know when they can be contacted.

The level of visibility of the staff members, on the university website, points to other aspects of the teacher’s relationship with the institution. The higher visibility of the staff seems to be related to the employment status of staff members, their material working conditions and their degree of autonomy, with
Oldton University having a higher percentage of full-time, permanent staff members than either Claxted University or Dawkin University and as has been referred to above, more autonomy and superior material working conditions. This is not surprising given the fact that Oldton University is a private and highly prestigious university. The differences between Claxted University and Dawkin University are more instructive because they are both public universities, although as mentioned earlier, Claxted University is a more established university than Dawkin University.

**The Student and The Institution**

League tables are seen as one way that international students can have agency in their choice of university. However, the initial relationship between the student and the institution tends to be highly mediated, particularly for a lower tier university such as Dawkin. As with other low ranking universities, it relies substantially on marketing in order to attract international students. However, as Yang has argued, “the study of marketing international education is fragmented with little research into why students select the study destination and how they choose and evaluate their host institutions.” (Yang in Morley 2007 p. 240). In conducting my own websearch of the Dawkin University website for EAP courses in order to assess how directly a student can initiate a relationship with the university and what information about EAP is made available to students on the website, it was clear that the university itself does not provide comprehensive EAP information. Rather, it relies on agents in various countries, to market the institution to prospective students.

Contrary to the discourse of transparency, the role of agents in the relationship between the students and Dawkin University is not clear. The little research available suggests that the use of agents in recruiting international students is well-established in Australia, dating back to the early 1990s. A 2008 study revealed that it is also widespread, with 32 out of 37 universities reporting that their university had paid commissions to an agent for directing international students to their university. Apparently, 55% of students in the 32 universities had been recruited by an agent on a commission basis (Hagendorn & Zhang,
Research into the use of agents found that, in parts of China, being an educational agent is a lucrative business and as it is unregulated, there is a high likelihood of poor practice. Poor education agent practices were also identified in a 2009 Australian government report.

At a more personal level, one of my key informants, Jasper, had contact with an agent but after the initial contact he did not receive information from the agent, preferring to go directly to the University website. He felt that “It’s a little bit misleading . . .,” because he thought the EAP course was, “. . . something like IELTS,” and so he explained that, “I was a little bit surprised” when “. . . I . . . was aware of the fact that it’s just about academic writing.” Grace had not used an agent but sought information from a Chinese website because, in her words, she could not “find ‘real’ information,’ about the EAP course and the University courses from the website. This had left her with the feeling that enrolling in the EAP course was “a gamble.” Given the lack of research into the marketing of international education and the use of agents who are often unregulated, it could be said that the institution too seems to be ‘gambling’ in terms of its admission procedures.

Once the student is at Dawkin University, the nature of the ‘gamble’ changes, with the student entering into an ‘agreement’ with the university which despite the discourses of consumer sovereignty, appears to be weighted in favour of the institution, rather than the student. One page in the Orientation Handbook is dedicated to outlining this agreement. Agency is placed primarily with the institution, as it is the institution that decides what they will guarantee to the student and it is the institution which decides the rules that the students are required to abide by while studying at Dawkin University. This is not entirely unreasonable but it does illustrate how having a customer focus is easier to espouse than to enact, once a commercial agreement is established between the institution and the student.

It is also easier for the institution to espouse a commitment to “. . . an effective grievance procedure” that “gives students a voice” in the event that the institution ‘breaks the agreement’ than it is for the student to have a ‘voice’ in the
prescribed monologic Grievance Procedure. The individual student is responsible for ensuring that the grievance is dealt with appropriately by speaking to each person in the hierarchy if the matter is not resolved. That is, it is incumbent on the student to proceed to the next level of the hierarchy up to the CEO. If the matter is not resolved at this point, then the student is obliged to contact external organisations such as the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR), the NSW Office of Fair Trading or the NSW Ombudsman. The handbook explains that the principles that underlie this procedure are equity, fairness, openness and respect for the individual which are similar to what is required to foster social inclusion. Ironically, as a result of being involved in a grievance procedure, Jasper was excluded from the university for two weeks. The following account illustrates how Jasper found it difficult to have a ‘voice’ as a result of the monologic nature of the grievance procedure.

Jasper’s university place was conditional on his completing the four week advanced listening and speaking course. On the day of his arrival at Dawkin University to begin this course, he was advised that the course would not be offered as there were only two students enrolled. In other words, it would not be commercially viable. The Director strongly recommended that he take the six week advanced reading and writing course, to which Jasper agreed. In fact, he had little choice as his department had asked for him to take an EAP course and his visa was also conditional on his being a student enrolled in a course of study. When international students pay their course fees, they pay them in advance, meaning that Jasper had paid for his one year Masters Degree and his four weeks of EAP, as per his agreement with the university. Unbeknownst to Jasper, the English Language Programs took money from his account to pay for the additional two weeks of EAP which meant that there was a shortfall in his payment for his Masters Degree. Jasper says “I had to work six weeks on it honestly,” when he explains how difficult it was to try to find out the reason why he had been suspended from the university.

He expressed his frustration at trying to find ‘the right person’ to talk to, in order to resolve the problem and added that it was more complicated than it should
have been, because of the poor communication, between the International Office (which was meant to be assisting him) and his department and the English Language Programs. Eventually his suspension was lifted and he was assured that it had all been resolved and he was now re-enrolled, only to have the same experience ten days later. He found resistance from those to whom he spoke because they would indicate that they themselves did not have the authority to make a decision, thus resulting in his being referred to yet another person. At this point in recounting his story, Jasper expressed further frustration, saying 'I had to explain for about the fifth time to a completely new person' and there were more emails back and forth. If he knew the expression, he probably would have said that he felt he was being given the 'run around.' He was very good-natured in recounting this episode and although he admitted that he had been very angry and very upset, he did not direct this towards the university, nor at the people involved but at the impact on his study. "Maybe the only thing I was really angry about was the time because I had to write... the emails and it took me a lot of time to write them." When I ask if he is 'good' at emails now, he laughs and says, "I think I'm better." He concludes by saying, "So time was definitely a fact. I was thinking, Oh God, right now I have to write assignments but... ."

During Jasper's pause, Orhan, another key informant and also a good friend of Jasper interjects "he had a lot of assignments as well" and they both laugh. Orhan had obviously heard this story before and at different times would remind Jasper of key points and they would both laugh about the shared memory.

Jasper's account touches on a number of important aspects of the architectures of practice that are worth noting. There are many aspects but, in particular, I would like to draw attention to the priority given to commercial concerns over student requirements, the operational problems that can occur with e-management, a multi-campus university and part-time staff, as well as hierarchical management structures and the concept of line management which often does not authorise persons in direct contact with students to make decisions. All of these organisational features which disproportionately place responsibility for resolving problems onto the student further complicate the process of resolving any problems that might arise.
Jasper's case illustrates how commercial concerns can override educational concerns and how the procedures that are in place to resolve grievances appear to place procedural compliance above the need to assist the student. Placing Jasper in a course that was not a requirement of his conditional university offer and then charging him the full amount for this course may have been due to an administrative error. Regardless of the cause of the problem, the fact that English Language Programs did not accept responsibility for this and resolve the problem themselves was disrespectful to their former student who had accommodated their demands. From his telling of the story, the university seemed to place more importance on the impact on the accounting 'ledger', rather than on the individual student and the impact on his study.

It is not entirely surprising that operating over six campuses can present challenges for both the staff and students trying to resolve a problem. While e-management can reduce operating costs, it can also cause complications because automated systems can take precedence over a person who is dealing with an issue. All of the delays that Jasper experienced in trying to find out, firstly what the problem was and then, secondly who could resolve the problem would have involved a time lapse. During this time, the automated system would have been activated to block his account, even though he had been dealing with the issue and that finally, a person with authority to resolve the issue was now involved. There is also the other issue of staffing, because when it became clear who had the authority to deal with Jasper's suspension, that person was only on campus two days per week, so Jasper had to wait for him to be on the main campus before being able to speak about the issue with him. As a multi-campus university, there are also a number of management staff who are at different campuses on different days, further complicating the process. While IT systems can reduce costs, they can create difficulties for both staff and students when they come into force before an issue is addressed by the person with authority to make the decision needed to resolve the issue. Thus the cumulative effects of all of these factors - automated IT systems, a multi-campus university staffed by part-time employees, employees who are located at different campuses on different days - in combination with monologic management structures which
often do not confer authority on those lower in the hierarchy who are more likely to have direct contact with students, unduly complicate the resolving of problems.

It was not only Jasper who had to deal with certain problems with administration. When Jasper was recounting how it was difficult to "get the right person to talk to," Orhan chipped in saying that when he had a problem he would go to the International Office as advised but once there, "They say, you should go to Admissions. I went to Admissions and they say, you should go to the Student Office. I went to the Student Office and they say, you should go to the International Office." Both were also frank in their assessment of the course, concluding it was of very little benefit to them. Being on the point of completing his first term in Orhan's case and his first semester in Jasper's case, they both agreed that the EAP course was not relevant to their study. They acknowledged the value of understanding differences in the format of a Research Report compared to their previous university study, however overall, the only part of the course that was relevant and of value was learning the Harvard Referencing system.

Despite their difficulties and the irrelevance of the EAP course, neither student identified as a consumer in expressing their responses to difficulties or in offering their assessments of the EAP course. When recounting their various dealings and all the frustrations involved, it was clear that they did not invoke their 'customer status' in order to achieve their desired outcome. It is only towards the end of his dealings with a number of different staff members that Jasper finally refers to his status as an international student. When a staff member tells Jasper he has to contact yet another person, Jasper asks if "he is aware of the fact that I am an international student." Identifying as an international student does entail some measure of a customer appeal but at this point, it was more a plea for assistance and a reminder that the role of the International Office is to assist international students. I said earlier that the discourses of student consumer sovereignty may be overstated and I think that this can be the case, particularly with international students.
There can be a number of different reasons why international students do not invoke their consumer status when confronted with an unsatisfactory situation. It can be because their cultural background does not encourage a highly individualist attitude and that consumer rights activism and litigation are not common practice in their country. It can also be out of respect for elders and for teachers and other university staff. In many countries, respect for elders is still highly important and teachers have a high status. If a student is hoping to attain permanent residency, this might also rein in any desire to assert consumer rights. I did not have the opportunity to ask my key informants about their attitudes to consumer rights but in talking to Orhan and Jasper, in particular, it was clear that they identified more as students, than customers or consumers, even though they were highly aware of the commercial aspects of their education. At one point, Jasper describes the communication between The International Office and the English Language Programs as “everyone is saying I want to have money off this student,” suggesting his awareness of being identified as a ‘revenue stream.’ Jasper’s attitude and the attitudes of the other students in the class challenge the reliance on quality assurance mechanisms that depend to a certain extent, on students asserting their consumer rights in order to ensure quality of teaching and other services.

In his account, Jasper emphasised that his main concern was a sense of ‘losing time.’ Another important aspect of the student’s relationship with the institution relates to the time pressures that they feel from the outset of their EAP course. Students are often subjected to enormous time pressures but this can be amplified for the EAP students at Dawkin University because, unlike Claxted University and Oldton University, Dawkin University is not a residential campus and the EAP course is offered in a different location from where they will eventually be studying. Resolving accommodation is one of the many concerns preoccupying the students enrolled in this English for Academic Purposes course. If they are successful, they will commence their university studies in March, that is, in the ‘start-year intake.’ Based on their Academic Transcripts, the students will have been given a conditional offer for a university place contingent on their being able to meet The English Language Requirement,
which in this case means passing the course at the pass mark indicated in their conditional offer. Passing an EAP course not only involves meeting the prescribed pass rate for the course but also meeting the Immigration Department directive of 80 per cent class attendance and satisfactory performance throughout the course. Failure to satisfy the attendance requirement or evidence of poor performance can result in the student's study visa being cancelled. If the student studying at Dawkin University does not meet the English Language Requirement, visa requirements can mean enrolling in another language course entailing more fees and deferring university entry until the 'mid-year intake.' This can be a costly delay. Thus, in their efforts to secure university entry, students in the EAP course at Dawkin University can feel ensnared in a web of conditionality and alert to the urgency of their study. Both teachers and students are sensitive to the limited amount of time available which can result in 'a felt crisis of time' that insinuates itself into the fabric of classroom practices.

**The Teacher and The Student**

Kevin, Marilyn, Grace, Zoe, Frank, Natalia, Vera, Wendy, Ali, Vivien, Claire, Gita, Angela, Jasper, Yvonne, Orhan ...

By the third day of week three, a certain routine has been established. The students file in, taking the same position each day in the rows of tables and chairs facing the whiteboard and Diane assumes her position, standing at the front of the class. When most of the students are present (there are 16 students in the class), Diane calls the roll, her gaze searching the room after announcing a name, rather than being directed at a student as she does not know the names of most of the students. During classes, Diane nominates students by pointing to them, rather than addressing them by name. My intention in referring to this is to draw attention to one of the consequences of the intensive nature of the course which leaves little time for deviation from the timetable, even if that time is spent learning names. I also want to draw attention to the fact that Diane, like many casual teachers, was working at another institution at the same time, meaning that she could have had up to thirty to fifty names to recall across both
institutions. However, the impersonal nature of the 'no-names' basis on which most of the students are addressed, sits somewhat awkwardly with the personal nature of students addressing the teacher on a first name basis. The 'informality and friendliness' that is meant to be cultivated through addressing a teacher on a first name basis is, however, not straightforward. The majority of students in this class were from China, where there is a more formal relationship between the teacher and the student in their educational system. Hence, while the informal terms of address may be designed to create a relationship of "informality, naturalness and normalness" between the teacher and the student, the different backgrounds of the students in the class might mean that this creates instead, a sense of awkwardness.

Another consequence of not knowing the names of the students is that having called all the names on the roll, Diane asks who arrived late yesterday as she needs to note which students were late, having not done so yesterday. Unsurprisingly, none of the students volunteer this information, as most students are acutely aware of the Immigration Department's regulations regarding attendance. They know, for example, that a certain number of late arrivals are calculated as an absence, which can affect the Immigration Department's requirement of 80 per cent attendance. Calling the roll in this manner, coupled with the spatial arrangement of the classroom furniture and the teacher and student positions, introduces an infantile and regulatory tone into the relationship between the teacher and the students, that is at odds with 'the informal and friendly' first name basis on which the teacher and the students interact.

The relational aspects of classroom practice are now recognised as an important aspect of fostering social inclusion. International students are often neglected in discussions of social inclusion, but the research into social inclusion is as relevant to international students as other students from 'non-traditional backgrounds.' The discourses of access and equity emphasise an increase in the number of students attending university, particularly those from 'non-traditional' backgrounds, and an increase in retention rates. This is a rather mechanical interpretation of education or, in the words of Lee, it is a rather 'thin
story' (2011). Yet that is 'the story' of generic EAP courses for international students that aim simply to prepare students for university study from a 'gatekeeping' and 'quality assurance' perspective. If EAP can only offer this 'thin story' then its legitimacy, given that IELTS also has a 'gatekeeping' and 'quality assurance' function, is questionable. If however, EAP is able to offer preparation that increases the likelihood that students will not only successfully gain entry to university, but will be able to fully participate in their university experience and to engage in their disciplinary discourse community, then this increases its legitimacy as a university course. For this to occur, there needs to be more of a focus on the relational aspects of inclusion and what this entails in relation to classroom practice.

Researchers into the relational nature of social inclusion in higher education, draw attention to the importance of recognition and respect in staff relations with students. Furthermore, it has been emphasised that recognition and respect need to be enacted in order to be felt and persuasive. As Keevers (2011) points out, enacting respect requires detailed attention to the micro-practices of teaching and learning. In light of this, the lack of recognition of the students' previous studies and their prospective studies, as suggested by the non-disciplinary focus of the EAP course, in addition to the efforts to standardise classroom practice at Dawkin University, compromise the relations between the teacher and the student. Not only is the student's disciplinary identity not recognised but the student's identity as an EAP student is viewed as indistinguishable from that of any other student. If a teacher is actively encouraged to not acknowledge and account for difference, it is more difficult to enact respect and if a teacher does not know a student's name, it is also difficult to enact respect.

The emphasis on standardisation for quality assurance purposes also means that a teacher is constrained in terms of opportunities for students to discuss the student's work on an individual basis. Although the amount of time allocated for individual conferencing with students in class time is unrealistic, the time is allocated. Thus, a teacher who spends additional time with a student might be construed as unfairly advantaging that student in relation to the other students.
in the class and the students in the other classes. The idea of standardisation starts to exert an influence so that teachers often inadvertently discourage students seeking their assistance after classes. I want to draw attention to this because it illustrates how quite mundane aspects of a work environment can make it difficult and therefore less likely, for teachers to *go out of their way* to assist students, contrary to the promise of the Vice-Chancellor in her welcome address on the university website.

It is possible that the staff at Claxted University are not as preoccupied about standardisation across classes, because they are not as subordinate to external bodies. Another reason could be the fact that the students are grouped into broad disciplinary categories for their research essay classes and the numbers in the classes vary, so that the teachers are responsible for how they decide to offer the one-to-one tutorials. As one teacher is responsible for all of the research essay classes, unlike Dawkin University where this is shared, there is also less of a sense of being constrained by the expectations of colleagues. Less emphasis on standardisation and the public availability of teacher contact details (office location, telephone extension and email address) seems to promote an environment where teachers can *go out of their way* to assist students.

The higher degree of autonomy that professors at Oldton University are able to exercise in their teaching means that they are less constrained in their relations with their students. This does not necessarily mean that they are ‘informal, natural and normal,’ but certainly in all of the classes (12 -15 students per class) that I observed, there was an informal and friendly atmosphere and none of the classes were conducted with the students in rows and the teacher at the front. In fact, there were several different configurations, with at certain points the students working in breakout areas and one class was conducted outdoors. The teachers were on a first name basis with all of the students and the teacher nominated each student by name. If attendance was recorded, it was done so in a discreet fashion. As alluded to earlier, it would be hard to argue that the informality and friendliness of the classroom are part of dismantling elitism when Oldton University is one of the world’s elite universities. It is also important to note that the informal and friendly classroom atmosphere did not
exclude the professors from performing their disciplinary identity as rhetoricians. In fact, the expertise of the professors appeared to promote a sense of shared endeavour in the classroom, as the students, with the professor, worked to understand various themes from a rhetorical perspective.

There is a range of provisions for students to discuss their writing with professors outside of class time. Similar to Claxted University, one-on-one appointments are part of the writing course and as I mentioned earlier, the students have public access to the contact details of their professor, should they need to organise another meeting. Students can also make an appointment at the Writing Centre, but not necessarily with their own professor and they can also take advantage of the ‘drop in’ service, in the event of an unforeseen difficulty. The appointment takes place with a professor in a sound proof room that is equipped as a classroom. The ‘drop in’ service involves talking to the rostered staff member in the public space of the Writing Centre. Staffing the Writing Centre, for both appointments and the ‘drop in’ service, is a requirement for all the professors who teach on the writing course. Any student at Oldton University can seek assistance at the Writing Centre as it is not reserved solely for those students on the writing courses. These arrangements respect the nature of the writing process as the different types of assistance cater for the different difficulties that students can encounter in their writing, the different pace at which students write and the different attitudes to, when and how often, a student might seek assistance. It could be said that at Oldton University the staff do not have to go out of their way to assist students with their writing because priority is given to the provision of writing classes and to the type of assistance that the students might require.

**A Closer Look At The Classroom**

Although my initial interest had been in observing the different theoretical orientations towards genre in the three different universities, from my observations it became clear that in order to understand what is happening in a classroom, the architectures of practice which prefigure classroom practice are as important to consider as the theoretical framework informing classroom
pedagogy. In view of this, I have detailed certain aspects of the architectures of practice – the ‘sayings’, the ‘doings’ and ‘relatings’ at Dawkin University, Claxted University and Oldton University. This serves two main purposes. Firstly, “Decentering the subject . . .” removes “the assumption that the individual authors (controls) their own world” (Hey, 2006, p. 444). This challenges the discourses of “freedom, choice, competition and individual initiative” that accompany the neo-liberal conception of agency as an individual disposition. (Sappey, 2006, p. 116). Relating this to Butler’s performed identity, these architectures of practice can be seen as ‘pre-scriptings’:

The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again. (Butler as cited in Hey, 2006, p. 445)

Secondly, these architectures or ‘pre-scriptings,’ call in to view the ethos of the university. At the beginning of the chapter, I referred to Fairclough’s notion of ethos, where he referred to how discourses and behaviour create a ‘version of the self.’ In light of this, I want to emphasise how the commingling of ‘sayings’, ‘doings’ and ‘relatings’ perform the institution’s ‘version of itself,’ that is, the institutional ethos and how the staff and students embody that ethos. The university performs an ethos that it believes will establish credibility and authority and therefore, legitimacy with the various groups to which it is accountable. Therefore, what needs to be considered in the following chapter is the degree to which this institutional ethos ‘pre-scripts’ the ethos of the classroom. It is already clear that the performativity ethos at Dawkin University consigns EAP academic writing to a marginal status, however, the ways in which this might influence the micro-practices of the classroom are not immediately apparent. At Claxted University, it is important to recognise that the current, pragmatic ethos has been layered onto an earlier progressive ethos, which still has some currency. While not immune from performativity discourses, Oldton University is accountable to different ‘stakeholders,’ in comparison to Dawkin University and Claxted University, and as a ‘not-for-profit’ university, it is
accountable in different ways. As the President’s welcome address suggests, Oldton University continues to acknowledge its traditions, while participating in ground-breaking research and encouraging scholarship and so it maintains a multidisciplinary research and teaching ethos.

The performativity ethos at Dawkin University means that teachers tend to be constrained, by both external and internal pressures. This lack of autonomy in combination with low affiliation with the workplace can lead to classroom micro-practices being shaped by procedural compliance, rather than the relational aspects of pedagogy. In the following chapter, I turn to a consideration of whether the theory informing classroom practice and pedagogical acts and processes can mitigate against the potentially instrumental view of education that a performativity ethos suggests.
Chapter 6

Possible Pedagogies
My examination of the architectures of practice required a broad focus, even a global focus, however the theories that underpin writing as a social practice emphasise the importance of meaning as situated and local, suggesting a focus primarily on the classroom. Thus, in this chapter, I focus on the micro-practices of the classroom, while taking into consideration the architectures of practice discussed in the previous chapter. In this way, I use the broad sense of what theorists consider 'the social' when academic writing is understood as a 'social practice.' Taking into account the architectures of practice brings into view the social constraints to which both teachers and students respond in the classroom even though these constraints are not immediately apparent. Drawing attention to the inter-relationship between institutional settings and classroom practice opens up a discussion of how these settings are not inevitable, as may appear to be the case but are in fact open to challenge and to change.

"Port Arthur is a perfect one..." (Diane)

It is Wednesday. 12.45pm. Day three of week three. The class has just begun. Diane draws the students' attention to the distinctively pink resources booklet. She asks: "What do you need to do before selecting articles from the pink resources book?" No response. "It worries me that you are not thinking... just waiting to be fed... like seagulls," says Diane. Emboldened, the students start to offer some ideas. Diane rebuffs their ideas, "I wouldn't but that's just me." The students' next suggestions are barely audible but touch on the relevance of the articles to their research essay. In response to one student's idea, Diane clarifies, "Your purpose is not to persuade people... your purpose is to get good marks."

It's now 1.15pm. Diane changes tack. "What is the form of the essay?" Diane's question is left hanging. The students start to flip through their pink books. The silence mounts. Diane punctures the silence, "a persuasive analytical essay." She proceeds to write on the board "Persuasive Analytical." As she writes, she adds, "It is what you will be expected to use in most university essays." A slight pause, "We don't have time to do things that are just to fill in time." Still the students browse through their pink books, their gaze determinedly downwards. Now aware of this, Diane warns, "Don't read them now. You'll get totally confused." She admonishes...
the class in general, “Don’t think like a primary school kid,” then announces another change of focus. “Let’s look at Gun Control.”25

In groups of four, the students had spent 3 hours of Tuesday’s class, ‘brainstorming’ arguments, counter-arguments and refutations, in relation to the Gun Control essay. The ideas had been written on A3 butcher’s paper, transferred to an overhead transparency and presented by one of the group members to the class. Diane commented on their ideas. When all of the group’s representatives had presented, the students were asked to write a draft essay for homework.

Diane: Who did some work on planning?

Students (just over half the class) indicate they have completed their draft in a variety of ways: hands in the air, head nods, a muttered me or raising their drafts in an indicative manner towards Diane.

Diane: Sort the arguments into the very main ones . . . that’s what we are going to do today (and with that she writes on the board):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Diane: What do you think is one of the best arguments for getting rid of guns?

Student: Protection of human lives.

Diane: In what situations?

Student: Accidents

Diane: But, is that the most important?

Questioning continues in this vein until, in unison, the students reply: Massacres

The responses of the students in this series of exchanges earn a reminder from Diane: “You are not getting marks for finding interesting stuff,” warning that, “. . . by looking at the internet, you get confused.” She discourages them from

25 Gun Control is the title of their third homework assignment that is due the next day, Thursday. The assignment entails using a persuasive analytical essay structure (argument, counter-argument and refutation in the body paragraphs), in support of or against gun control. This is the structure that the students are also expected to use in their final assignment the Research Essay.
conducting any additional research, advocating that they use the material provided – the various citations, graphs and newspaper letters to the editor that are either in the materials booklet or provided as handouts. Diane then speaks at length about the Australian context and insists that Port Arthur needs to be mentioned because, “If you don’t mention that, you haven’t got your strongest argument.”

Diane now talks as she writes on the board the three arguments, counter-arguments and refutations, selected from the students’ responses, under For and Against and Refutation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For</th>
<th>Against</th>
<th>Refutation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protection – Lives</td>
<td>Instead of guns – other weapon</td>
<td>gun most lethal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Problems/Massacres/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Arthur 1996</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diane steps back from the board: O.K. We’ve got three quite good arguments here. Can anyone think of any others that should be included?

Students: Silence.

Diane: Think of arguments from yesterday.

Student: Lower the crime rate.

Student: Protection of animal species.

Students: Silence.

There is silence but not an empty silence. There is discomfort in the room. Students glance at each other. Diane seems not to have realised that she is going over work completed in class the day before and that most of the students have already completed a draft based on yesterday’s work in class. None of them however, seems prepared to take the lead and point this out to Diane. Puzzled looks are exchanged.

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26 A former prison colony, Port Arthur is now an open air museum and one of Australia’s most important heritage sites and tourist destinations. In 1996, Martin Bryant killed 35 people at this historic site, prompting the then Prime Minister, John Howard, to legislate new gun laws in Australia.
Vera gestures to Grace, holding up her draft and shrugging her shoulders. Diane forges ahead.

Diane: What are examples of arguments that could be the first argument presented?

Students (in chorus): Port Arthur.

Diane: Port Arthur is a perfect one.

This rather upbeat pronouncement diffuses the discomfiture that has been building. There is an inaudible sigh of relief that this repetition (for almost an hour and a half) of the work completed in yesterday’s class has now ended. The relief is short-lived.

Diane: So what are you going to put in an introduction? I am not saying you have to use that information.

Students: Silence.

It is nearly 2.30 pm. Diane has been talking for nearly two hours. She says she wants ‘to give her voice a rest.’ She asks a student to read the sample introduction in the materials booklet but then changes her mind when she realises that the sample essay is unrelated to Gun Control. Instead, she asks the students to form groups and write an introduction. Diane begins to talk again.

Diane: How could you start your essay?

Student: A definition of gun control.

Diane. Yes ... you could start by saying why it is an important issue in Australia.

It is now 2.30pm.

Diane: OK. Move furniture. Have a fifteen minute break.

After the break, Diane learns that the students have their draft essays. She sets the class some exercises from the materials booklet to complete while she conferences with a number students individually. Over the noise of the students, Diane can be heard encouraging Candy to change her position and argue in favour of gun
control. This is not an isolated incident as, in a later class Diane advises the students that "The sensible thing is to write the 'for,'" that is, to argue in support of the statement provided in the Research Essay topic.

When Candy returns to join Grace and Vera, I ask if she has decided to change her position.

Candy: Yes. Diane said that arguing against gun control was too difficult.

Grace: In the process of completing a task from teacher, it is better to choose a safe way to do what we can do best, not the real opinion in our heart.

It would be easy to dismiss what is happening in Diane's classroom as simply an example of 'poor' teaching, but that would ignore the fact that Diane has been given no scope by her employer other than to compel students to draw on the course materials, based on events in Port Arthur in 1995, and is attempting to ensure that the students "get good marks" for their essay. It would also be easy to dismiss the students as passive, instrumental learners but the majority had completed the draft of the essay as assigned and the fact that they did not challenge Diane was an active choice for some students. When I ask Grace and Vera why they had not been more assertive in indicating to Diane that they had completed their draft, they explain that initially they misunderstood what Diane was going to do. They thought she would simply summarise the main arguments from yesterday's class. When they did realise that she was essentially repeating the work completed in that class, they felt that it would be impolite to point this out to her. Orhan, on the other hand, says that he was aware that some of his fellow students had not completed their drafts and so did not raise the issue of repetition out of "solidarity" with his classmates. He also felt the repetition might be useful for them. Thus, the classroom practices are co-constituted by the relations between the teacher and the students and the relations among the students.

In order to understand more fully what is happening, from a pedagogical perspective, Diane's practices need to be viewed in relation to certain limitations in the curriculum and the instrumental view of education on which the curriculum is based. This does not entirely account for the fact that academic
argument and genre are treated in an overly simplified manner and that academic writing is presented in a limited, text-centred way. What I will refer to as Diane's protective pedagogy reinforces the limitations of the curriculum through the avoidance of possible pedagogical moments and is thus another factor which contributes to the infantilisation of the students. Drawing on the above account, I will elaborate on these inter-related points to reveal the constraints under which the EAP curriculum is designed and EAP pedagogy practised, at Dawkin University.

As I am arguing that academic writing is a performance, my interest is in those classroom practices and micro-practices that foster this conception of academic writing and those practices that work against academic writing being understood in this way. Proceeding from a performance view of academic writing means acknowledging academic writing as an embodied practice that requires a focus beyond the text. It also acknowledges the importance of the interpersonal dimensions of academic writing, in particular the performative nature of authorial identity. A performance conception of academic writing also places importance on student writers learning how to invite other authors into the text to achieve a rhetorical purpose, while negotiating the social constraints of disciplinary conventions and the values and beliefs of the readership of the disciplinary discourse community. The success or otherwise of the writing, that is, whether the audience appraises the writing as achieving its rhetorical purpose is in part dependent on the identity of the writer (the persona and ethos) being considered to embody the authority appropriate to performatively accomplishing the rhetorical purpose and in part dependent on the writer assuming responsibility towards an audience by engaging the readership in socially appropriate ways. Academic writing understood in this way requires a dialogic pedagogy that does not simply focus on or unduly prioritise the product (text), the writer, the context, the content (genre) or the reader but is attuned to the inter-relationships between all of these elements.

My analysis in the rest of this chapter centres on curriculum and pedagogy at Dawkin University while referencing Claxted University, Oldton University and City University in order to highlight a difference or where examining the practice
at those sites might offer a better understanding of what occurs at Dawkin. Alternatively, examination of what happens at the other sites may also offer a way of rethinking the academic writing course offered at Dawkin University. My interest in how the three genre traditions are enacted was complicated by the lack of clear theoretical coherence at both Dawkin University and Claxted University. While Oldton University and City University explicitly design their curriculum on the basis of a New Rhetoric theoretical framework, a hybrid of theoretical traditions implicitly inform the Dawkin University curriculum. At Claxted University, there is no explicit mention of the theoretical basis of the course but the manner in which the course is organised around disciplines denotes its origins in an ESP tradition. This has meant that my analysis moves beyond simply considering the different theoretical frameworks to a consideration of curriculum and pedagogy and in doing so, addresses the question as to whether pedagogical practice is constrained by a lack of theoretical coherence or whether sound pedagogical practice can overcome a slightly 'muddled' theoretical basis for curriculum and pedagogy.

**Curriculum: Revisiting Product and Process**

"...your purpose is to get good marks" (Diane)

"Your purpose is not to persuade people ... your purpose is to get good marks." (Diane)

Diane's bald endorsement of an instrumental view of education can be better understood in the context of the curriculum at Dawkin University. The curriculum and how it is designed, changed and developed is intrinsically linked to an institution's understanding of the purpose of education. As Cornbleth writes, "How we conceive of curriculum and curriculum making is important because our conceptions and ways of reasoning about curriculum reflect and shape how we see, think and talk about, study and act on the education made available to our students" (Cornbleth as cited in Fraser & Bosanquet, 2006, p. 282). In the case of Dawkin University, the EAP curriculum is based on the 'gatekeeping and quality assurance' purposes of the EAP course while also accounting for the stated aim of preparing students for tertiary study. Having to
reconcile various educational purposes is not uncommon in a university, but how that is done can vary according to the ethos of the institution. The performativity ethos of Dawkin University results in substantial external influences on the EAP curriculum, in addition to a number of internal influences from administrators and departments in the university.

Recalling Gee’s reference to the ‘masters of the dance,’ the performativity discourses of these ‘masters’ shape the curriculum. The external ‘masters’ include NEAS, referred to in Chapter Five, in its role of ensuring that the ‘high standards’ of the English Language Teaching ‘industry’ in Australia are maintained and also the government and immigration officials with their interest in regulating and sustaining one of Australia’s major export industries. The ‘masters’ internal to the university include the academics who want international students capable of completing their tertiary study and the university managers and administrators with their demand for international students to provide revenue for the university. More directly, the Director of English Language Programs must respond to the directives of the CEO specific to the university campus where EAP courses are offered and to the upper tiers of management who control operations in relation to the EAP courses. The curriculum designer may profess to prepare students for their university study based on ‘their needs,’ while adhering to the ‘gatekeeping and quality assurance’ function of the EAP course but the curriculum design and development and changes to the curriculum respond to the ‘masters,’ as well as to the students. This is particularly problematic with regard to NEAS compliance because the focus of NEAS is on English Language Teaching, whereas the EAP course is directed towards the preparation of international students for tertiary study in English. NEAS compliance requires that the curriculum is “clearly documented, relevant, based on TESOL theory and practice and designed to meet the English language needs of students” (NEAS, 2008, p. 13). The requirement for the course to be based on TESOL theory and practice is questionable when the focus of the course is on academic writing which requires more of an emphasis on academic literacy theory than English language learning as a basis for the curriculum. There is also a tension between NEAS’s focus on transparency and accountability
in their conception of curriculum and Dawkin University's focus on teaching and learning.

All of these influences are important, however equally important is the way that the curriculum is designed to keep the costs of delivery as minimal as possible. Despite the claim by Dawkin University that the EAP course is based on students' needs, suggesting that the curriculum is responsive to the diverse backgrounds of students and their different prospective areas of study, there is little material provided by the various university departments. For example, there is no provision of course outlines and reading lists with an indication of the main theorists and researchers, nor are any samples of student writing in a variety of genres and student presentations available. There may have been extensive consultations when the course was originally designed in the late 1990s but contact with academic staff is now rare apart from the occasional directive from academics to ensure, for example, the intelligibility of those students entering Nursing Courses. All of this means that once the curriculum designer had designed the curriculum to meet NEAS requirements it became "... external to the designer, with an authority of its own, and it can be taught by anyone who is sufficiently skilled" (Fraser & Bosanquet, 2006, p. 280). As the external approval of the curriculum (or 'program design' according to the NEAS website) is related to the accreditation of Dawkin University, this means that 'written' changes to the course need to be approved by the curriculum designer, to ensure that they meet NEAS requirements. Generally, any possible changes are 'trialed' in classes to gain feedback before possible incorporation into the course. This involves a certain commitment to the course and time and effort in consulting with other colleagues, as well as implementing trials of changes. This is 'curriculum renewal' on the cheap, as responsibility for curriculum change is displaced onto the teachers, rather than a curriculum expert and thus absorbed into their daily responsibilities with little, if any, recognition or remuneration.

Not surprisingly, there are very few changes made in the curriculum, which helps explain why Diane is working on the topic of 'Gun Control' using material based on the public response to events in Port Arthur in 1996, rather than material that is more appropriate for an academic context. Fifteen years after the
Port Arthur massacre, there have been many other high profile events, not to mention a substantial amount of more recent and relevant academic research, that could be used as the basis of the classroom work. This would need to be initiated by one of the teachers and would require a considerable amount of time to research the material, adapt it to the course outline and prepare it for trialing in classes. There would then need to be feedback and a discussion with the curriculum designer for any change to occur. Given that Diane has only been given six weeks of employment (as a casual, not on a short fixed-term contract), it is unlikely that she will commit to making these changes and instead works with the materials available, despite their inappropriacy.

Diane's practices are therefore informed by the conception of the curriculum and how it is designed and modified. The topic of 'Gun Control' is in itself questionable, given that for these international students mainly from China, it is not an issue with which they are familiar. In addition, the students are also unfamiliar with the history of Port Arthur which is needed in order to understand the resonance of the events with the Australian public evident in the letters to the editor that the students are asked to examine. Diane's classroom practices are in part directed at redressing the students' lack of background knowledge in order to enable them to address the essay topic. The inertia of the curriculum reflects what can occur when the curriculum becomes 'external to the designer' and develops 'an authority of its own.' Moreover, when there is no preparation time prior to the course for the teacher to become familiar with the curriculum, or during the course, for the teachers to meet and discuss certain aspects of the course and possible changes and how they might be implemented, 'the authority' of the curriculum can be based as much on ritual neglect as on educational purpose.

While a curriculum may have been documented at Dawkin University, it is only the course outline that is available to teachers. This outline is standard for all six week intensive reading and writing courses and it is standard across all the classes for each course. The course outline provides information as to the purpose of the course, entry level, aims, course content, classwork, assessment and assessment timetable. There is no reference to the theoretical underpinnings
of the course. Although the course outline does not explicitly refer to a genre-based pedagogy, it is organised principally around genre and certain grammatical and lexical items, ostensibly established through needs analyses, referred to in Chapter Four as one of the many 'rapid' versions of ethnography. The genres included are a Research Report, an Annotated Bibliography and a Research Essay and there are three short written assignments - a description of a graph, a description of a process and a short persuasive analytical essay on the specified topic of 'Gun Control.'

Using Fraser and Bosanquet's categories of a product conception of curriculum and a process conception of curriculum, I want to consider the implications for pedagogical practices of the conception that underpins curriculum. In their study of how the term curriculum is understood by academics at one Australian university, they identified four broad categories: “The structure and content of a unit (subject); . . . The structure and content of a programme of study; . . .The student’s experience of learning” and finally, “. . . A dynamic and interactive process of teaching and learning” (Fraser & Bosanquet, 2006, p. 272). Further analysis of these categories led them to categorise the above conceptions of curriculum into the product orientation (categories one and two) and the process orientation (categories three and four). The focus of a product orientation is on the course content and the mode of delivery whereas a process orientation focuses on student learning. The fourth category differs from the third category in that student learning is understood to occur as a collaborative process between the student and the teacher so that the “structure of the learning experience is not predetermined or defined; rather, it emerges from the needs of students and the interactions between students, teachers and colleagues” (Fraser & Bosanquet, 2006, p. 275).

The curriculum at Dawkin University is conceived as a ‘product’ principally because of the need for clear documentation for the external accreditation processes and to allow for it to be “taught by anyone who is sufficiently skilled” (Fraser & Bosanquet, 2006, p. 280). There is a focus on student learning, with the adoption of a Communicative Teaching Approach, however while this approach meets the NEAS requirement for a basis in TESOL theory and practice, it is not
adequate for an academic writing pedagogy. In reviewing approaches to academic writing, I found that that TESOL theory and practice tends towards a more linguistic and textual orientation, rather than engaging with the nature of academic writing and its relationship with the creation of knowledge. As for the inter-relationship between curriculum and pedagogy, Fraser and Bosanquet (2006, p. 277) propose that the product orientation to curriculum is more likely to be associated with a transmission model of teaching which is borne out in Diane’s classroom practice. They also suggest that the process categories of curriculum are more likely to be enacted through a dialogic pedagogy and this is evident at Claxted University and Oldton University where, despite distinct differences between the two institutions, the approach to curriculum could be categorised as more of a process approach.

At Claxted University, the teaching staff do not create and write the teaching materials, however the materials provided are referred to as ‘a compendium of texts and tasks’ and teachers are encouraged to use them as a resource file, selecting materials that are suitable in view of the abilities and needs of their group of students. Accordingly, teachers are advised that they may have to “prune or supplement” the materials. A ‘sample plan’ of a possible sequence for using the materials is provided in addition to a more detailed ‘sample plan’ which includes assignment submission dates, times and dates of lectures and other important dates such as the date of the university language test. Neither plan is prescriptive. Both plans are intended to serve as a guide, particularly for any teachers who are new to the course. This allows the teacher more autonomy in designing the course, in terms of the sequencing and pace that is considered appropriate for the class. Similar to Dawkin University, any additional effort that a teacher might make in redesigning curriculum materials is not recognised. There are sessions dedicated to the ‘standardisation’ of assignment marking, however in comparison to Dawkin University, there is significantly less emphasis on the standardisation of classroom practices.

At City University, the standardisation of the curriculum is related to the mode of delivery, rather than compliance with an organisation external to the university. The students attend the same lectures but attend different follow-up tutorials.
which elaborate on the lectures. This means that the tutorial material is to a degree determined by the lecture material. In observing three classes based on the same lecture material, but taught by three different teachers, it became apparent that a standardised curriculum is not a problem in itself. Of more importance is the purpose of the curriculum and the sense of autonomy that the teachers feel that allows them to respond to the students and modify the material accordingly. The classes at City University are academic writing classes with The New Rhetoric forming the basis of the curriculum, rather than a skills conception of academic writing as at Dawkin University and Claxted University. The purpose of the curriculum is for students to gain an understanding of rhetoric in relation to academic discourse and therefore to engage with the disciplinary knowledge of rhetoric. As a result, the teacher is not simply concerned with covering the material but engaging the students in an exploration of certain concepts related to rhetoric. This encounter with disciplinary knowledge means that there is a subtle shift from the written curriculum to the enacted curriculum that emerges from the interactions of the teacher and students and from interactions among the students.

This is also evident at Oldton University, where the assessment type and submission dates are prescribed but the pedagogical autonomy extends to selecting the content of the section and to deciding the sequencing and pace of the material, within a New Rhetoric theoretical framework. Earlier I referred to the 'fair,' where students gather information to select their section. The titles of the courses revolve around themes such as gender studies, ethnic studies, urban studies and popular culture through to activism and politics and global rhetoric. On the flyers that they have prepared, the professors provide their course title and other details including suggested reading, assignments and possible research topics. There is no conformity in the way that the different professors present their section, with significant variation in the style of presentation and the content included and in the manner in which the section is explained. Some professors simply provide a detailed description of the content and mode of engagement with materials, while others also include details of the assessment and possible research titles or research titles of previous students. I would argue
that this lack of emphasis on standardisation, in addition to teacher autonomy, allows the professors at Oldton University to engage in a more collaborative process of teaching and learning where learning emerges from classroom practices and interactions rather than being “predetermined or defined” (Fraser & Bosanquet, 2006, p. 275).

In reconsidering how academic writing might be taught in EAP courses, I have been employing the term pedagogy rather than teaching. In employing the term pedagogy, I am not making the distinction for “linguistic elegance,” or to change the perception of teaching as “a low status occupation” as Apple suggests (Apple, 1996, pp. 141-142). While both of these reasons do have merit, my purpose is to highlight the distinction between teaching as predominantly a monologic transmission of knowledge and pedagogy as a collaborative process of teaching and learning. Moreover, pedagogy “informs teaching by giving it meaning and purpose” and is “a broader term” which takes place at an educational institution “but does not end within its physical limits” (Guilherme, 2002, p. 18). A pedagogical approach to teaching and learning is therefore based on more than the content and structure of a subject. Pedagogy also includes a consideration of the purpose and nature of education and foregrounds the relational aspects of classroom practice rather than viewing this practice as a set of technical skills or as a science. Furthermore, a pedagogical approach acknowledges the Hidden Curriculum and the Informal Curriculum and with this awareness attempts to negotiate some of the constraining aspects of the ‘architectures of practice’ and the consequent limitations in the curriculum.

I will briefly touch on some aspects of both the hidden and informal curriculum, as the nature of my fieldwork does not allow for a fuller account of their impact, however I do want to acknowledge the significance of these two aspects of curriculum. The Hidden Curriculum generally refers to those unstated aspects of a curriculum that can reinforce power relations and reproduce existing inequalities. These unstated aspects can be incidental or even accidental, nonetheless they may still have detrimental effects. The Informal Curriculum can be understood in two different ways. The first relates to the efforts by the institution to foster a sense of affiliation or belonging to the institution and the
second relates to opportunities in the classroom to address public pedagogy. Public pedagogy refers to the values, beliefs and practices that are valorised by public culture as represented in, for instance, a film, video games, online news, reality television programmes or advertisements. Research has shown the powerful influence of public culture in shaping the values, beliefs and practices of students (Windle, 2010, pp. 253-255).

In the classes at both Dawkin University and Claxted University, there is no examination of the values, beliefs and practices of academic disciplines in relation to the nature of academic writing. This is in part because the classes are not based on disciplinary knowledge but a generic conception of academic writing. Lyla does attempt to engage with disciplinary practices in her one-to-one tutorials with the students at Claxted University, however in her classes there is no reference to disciplinary values, beliefs and practices. If attempts are not made to render explicit the values, beliefs and practices of disciplinary discourse communities and to attempt to explain their social nature, knowledge is not presented as socially constructed and open to contestation. Rather pedagogical practices support a view of knowledge whereby knowledge is created through academic writing, independent from the knower. I will deal with this more in the last section of this chapter but I want to make reference to it in this instance, to highlight the significance of the product approach to curriculum and academic writing at Dawkin University. Conceiving of curriculum as a product shapes the learning experience of the students and also presents the nature of knowledge in a certain way to the students.

Turning to the informal curriculum, one of the reasons that international students choose to study in Australia and the UK is that they believe 'immersion' in English in everyday life will help them to improve their ability to communicate in English. This means that many students are keen to seek out opportunities to speak English whether through part-time employment, activities such as sport or informal socialising. Therefore, the efforts of the institution to assist them in this regard are an important part of the students' university experience. At Dawkin University there are attempts to organise activities for students but they are limited and most of the socialising occurs during the break times when the
students might be having a coffee or a cigarette or heating up their lunch. This informal socialisation is invaluable for the students, particularly when they first arrive as they can, for example, exchange accommodation 'horror stories' or tips on where the best kim chi is sold or the best way to find employment.

The fact that it is a small campus seems to promote student interactions and one of the Student Services staff members makes a point of greeting the students first thing in the morning and of being highly visible if the students should they need assistance. In talking to my key informants (Jack, Grace, Orhan and Jasper), I learnt that on arrival their immediate concerns were finding suitable and affordable accommodation, understanding the transport system, learning where to shop, finding part-time employment, opening a bank account and learning what to do in the event of illness. In their view, this should be included in the course. When Diane enquires, "There’s a lot of talking going on ... is it useful?" perhaps the response of the students might be an emphatic, "Yes" because they are exchanging information about living in Sydney. They judge this to be more important than working on the exercises in the materials booklet assigned by Diane to allow her to conference with the students individually. The fact that English Language Programs are not provided on the main campus means that the students do not have easy access to all of the facilities available on the main campus, unless they are able to afford to stay in the university accommodation. Being in university accommodation also provides more opportunities to engage socially with students from a range of different backgrounds and contributes to feeling established before the start of university studies. All of my key informants indicated that 'feeling settled' and ready for study was important, and they all felt that there could have been more assistance in this regard from Dawkin University.

In contrast, Claxted University seems to recognise the value of the informal curriculum, by incorporating social events and activities as an aspect of the course. Despite these being scaled back over the past few years, these activities organised by the Activities Co-ordinator are still seen as integral to the course. The Activities Co-ordinator is employed to organise events, activities and travel during the week and the week-end so that the students can learn about the local
area. Travel further afield is organised to allow the students to experience, for example, the Edinburgh Festival or walking in the Lake District. As the students are offered on-campus accommodation and the majority of the students take up this offer, at least initially, it is easier to organise these activities than at Dawkin University. With the course located on campus, it also means that the students can begin to familiarise themselves with the campus facilities such as the library, the computer laboratories, the print shop, the post office and the laundrette. Familiarity with the campus assists them in feeling established in the place where they will be pursuing their studies. In general, this can foster a greater sense of affiliation and belonging than is possible at Dawkin University.

As an elite international institution, Oldton University offers residential on-campus accommodation and a wide range of extracurricular activities that can contribute to student affiliation and foster a sense of belonging. However, the research interests of the director of writing courses have lead to investigations of writing through exploring students' extracurricular experiences. With the students as co-authors, the director published an article on their experience illustrating how informal activities can provide the basis for teaching and learning for both teachers and students. This is not simply a matter of the superior resources at Oldton University, rather it reflects to a degree the affiliation of the teaching staff to the university and the autonomy that encourages them to pursue different research paths.

The other aspect of the informal curriculum that I want to mention is public pedagogy. As technologies proliferate, promoting social media and increasingly interconnecting our lives, the need to critically scrutinise the values, beliefs and practices valorised by such media becomes more important. At both Dawkin University and Claxted University, there is little critical reflection on the materials provided and there is no 'space' on the curriculum to engage in critical discussion of current issues or topics. Because Oldton University employs a theme based approach for its writing classes, there is more flexibility to respond to current events. For example, in one of the classes, the students examined the Winter Olympics that were taking place in Vancouver, Canada. Ashley raised the issue of lack of live coverage of the Winter Olympics as a result of some of the
NBC scheduling decisions and she also raised the way that NBC covered the luge accident that had resulted in the death of one of the competitors. In doing so, she made her viewpoint clear and the students were forthcoming in their critical evaluation of NBC's coverage, drawing on their knowledge of rhetoric in the discussion.

The focus of the writing course at Oldton University is not simply knowledge about rhetoric but also how to use this knowledge to examine texts (written, visual or auditory) in order to understand how the 'writer' has used certain appeals to achieve their rhetorical purpose. This is in contrast to the academic writing courses at Dawkin University and Claxted University where, despite the course being referred to as an English for Academic Purposes course, the purpose of the course is not for the students to gain knowledge about English. The purpose is rather the development of English language skills. The students do learn about language but not within a coherent theoretical framework such as that provided by The New Rhetoric. This means that, in general, students do not learn how to critically engage with topics and issues through an understanding of the language and discourse employed in texts. Whereas it can be argued that there is more likely to be an intersection between the Written Curriculum and the Informal Curriculum at Oldton University and also at City University, it is less likely at Dawkin University and Claxted University, although Claxted does provide more opportunities for students to develop an affiliation with the institution prior to the start of the academic year.
Argument and The Nature of Knowledge

Diane then speaks at length about the Australian context and insists that Port Arthur needs to be mentioned because, "If you don’t mention that, you haven’t got your strongest argument."

There are a number of limitations in the way that argument is being presented in Diane’s class. In part it stems from the curriculum which views argument as a genre, as opposed to being central to all academic work. It is also limited by Diane’s approach which suggests that arguments pre-exist rather than having to be performatively accomplished by the writer. She adopts a positivist approach, yet does not make this explicit to the students. In taking this view, argument is presented as closing down the examination and discussion rather than as Carluccio describes it, “... the process of sorting through an issue to arrive at a conclusion.” More importantly, as Carluccio adds “our obligation in academic arguments is not to ourselves, but to a broader community of people who are all trying to understand a phenomenon” (2010, p. 14). The notion of academic argument being presented in Diane’s class is based more on an ‘obligation to ourselves’ than to a discourse community as she focuses on ‘your strongest argument’ and ‘the best’ argument that the students can use. Diane does not make explicit the criteria she is using to evaluate these arguments and so it is not made clear how those arguments are ‘the strongest’ and ‘the best.’ She refers to Port Arthur as an argument, when this would depend on how a student might choose to discuss the events at Port Arthur in their essay. A student might elect to use the events at Port Arthur as background information to provide the context for discussing the issue of Gun Control or a student could use the events at Port Arthur as an example or possibly by referring to Port Arthur, the student writer could narrow the scope of the essay topic to refer to the Australian context. In other words, Port Arthur is not necessarily a ‘perfect’ argument.

The approach that Diane takes in relation to argument is further complicated by her referring to the various points raised by the students as ‘Arguments,’ ‘Counter-Arguments,’ and ‘Refutations’ and then adding, “I am not saying you have to use that information.” Conflating the idea of argument and information is
problematic because it misrepresents both the purpose and the nature of academic writing. It reveals a product approach to academic writing which centres on the text and ignores the importance of inter-textuality and writer identity (persona and ethos) in accomplishing the rhetorical purpose. It suggests that the purpose of academic writing is information, rather than argument for the purposes of creating knowledge. All of this is further complicated by the lack of a disciplinary context, meaning that there is no attention paid to the need for argument to be presented in ways that are socially appropriate to the intended discourse community.

These shortcomings are also evident in the approach to argument at Claxted University, where the assignment is described as a Research Essay, yet the idea of academic argument and what that entails is not fully addressed. However, the one-to-one tutorials, and the way that Lyla organises the tutorials and engages with the students, offer the opportunity for the students to begin to assume authorial responsibility. This results in Lyla's pedagogy moving beyond being a predominantly text-centred approach towards a performance conception of academic writing. Lyla provides the students with a timetable for the tutorials at the outset of the course and she indicates what the students are expected to do before each tutorial and what they are to bring to the tutorial. In doing so, she establishes a collaborative approach to the tutorial discussions. This approach is one reason why Lyla's pedagogical practice overcomes the slightly 'muddled' theoretical basis for EAP curriculum and pedagogy at Claxted University.

In her first tutorial, Sarah provides Lyla with copies of the three articles that she has selected to use in her research essay, prompting Lyla to ask if she feels that "the writers have done what they presented in the abstract of their article." When Lyla outlines the need for Sarah to paraphrase the articles and reflect on how she will incorporate the material and synthesise the different ideas and draw her own conclusions, Sarah (a PhD student in Mathematics) says that she wants to compare the three methods for the solution of the Eigen value problem, presented in the different articles. She goes to the board to explain the "Eigen value problem," using the symbols that represent the Eigen value. Lyla listens to what Sarah says and asks questions such as, "Does this approach represent what
you were thinking of?" and when Sarah mentions the most effective solution, Lyla picks up on this by saying, "So you said 'most effective.' Add 'effective' to the title, so that you have "most effective solution." Lyla engages in the disciplinary material, despite not being a disciplinary specialist, by encouraging Sarah to think of how she will resolve the various questions that arise during the writing process. In encouraging Sarah to assume authorial responsibility, Lyla’s pedagogy is more than simply controlling the reproduction of academic norms and conventions. Although she does not state it explicitly, in her discussions with Sarah, Lyla engages with the idea of academic writing as performatively accomplished.

The contrast with Diane’s classroom needs to be also understood in terms of the dedicated preparation time prior to the start of the Claxted course, where the teachers gather to go through the procedures and the nature of the course, and the greater autonomy that Lyla is able to exercise in terms of sequence and pace. The organisation of the course, whereby the students engage in discipline-specific knowledge and are able to engage in one-to-one tutorials, also influences how Lyla presents the engagement with academic knowledge. Diane, on the other hand, has to find time in her timetable to work with the students on an individual basis. Time is allocated for conferencing but given that classes generally comprise sixteen students, the time available is not realistic in terms of engaging fully with the students and their work. As a result, the classes tend to be directed towards controlling the reproduction of academic norms and conventions.

Although Claxted University does adopt a process approach to curriculum and there is an interpersonal focus and acknowledgement of authorial responsibility in Lyla’s one-to-one tutorials, in the group classes Lyla tends to retreat to a text-centred and mechanistic conception of academic writing, rather than an embodied and performative conception of academic writing. For example, when working on reference lists, she directs the students to the question, "What is the difference between a list of references and a bibliography?" As there is no response from the students, she explains "You show off a bit more with your bibliography" before declaring that "We'll stop there as I don't want to go on about
quotation marks and commas and brackets.” Although her dismissal of the difference between a list of references and a bibliography is light-hearted, Lyla does reduce intertextuality to the realm of “quotation marks and commas and brackets,” a very different approach from the one that she adopted with Sarah in the tutorial. Rather than develop her idea of ‘showing off’ with a bibliography, she chooses to end the work on referencing, thus providing a diminished notion of its importance in academic discourse. From a performance conception, ‘showing off’ could be the basis for an investigation of the values of academic discourse, possibly comparing the different disciplines represented in the class.

In contrast to a “quotation marks and commas and brackets” approach, at Oldton University, Clara presents intertextuality as embodied and interpersonal. Her lesson illustrates how The New Rhetoric, working as it does from a different conception of academic writing based on the rhetorical triangle (the relationship between author, audience and text) offers a way of presenting intertextuality that is not text-centred and mechanistic.

Clara explains to the students that they are going to participate in an exercise called the Elevator Pitch, reminding them that as ‘future world leaders’ they will need to be able to communicate their ideas in private situations, for example the elevator or the office or an interview, as well as in public academic situations. She instructs the students to find a conference that would be appropriate for the ideas that they are working on in their research essays. They are then to prepare a short 2-3 minute pitch that they will present to one of the organisers of that conference that they happen to run into in the elevator. While presenting their pitch, one of the student’s ‘sources’ enters the elevator. The student is to introduce the ‘source’ to the conference organiser and very briefly mention how the work of the ‘source’ is relevant to their research. I play the conference organiser and a different student volunteers to be the ‘source’ for each presenter. After each ‘pitch,’ Clara leads a brief class feedback session.

This exercise demonstrates a performance conception of academic discourse as it foregrounds the social aspects of knowledge and illustrates the embodied

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27 The theme of Clara’s section is Rhetoric and World Leaders.
nature of academic work. Rather than a conduit model of language, it centres on the interpersonal nature of academic discourse. Clara reminds her students that "... how you can build a relationship is the essence of rhetoric." Rather than argument being viewed as a genre, argument is presented as central to rhetoric and it is presented as performatively accomplished. Intertextuality is not understood as related to mechanistic academic conventions and the exercise reminds students that references are authors of texts, not simply disembodied ideas or information. By asking the students to make a case as to why his or her paper should be accepted for the conference, the students are reminded that although they are in the informal situation of an elevator, they are still engaged in an argument. Making argument the purpose of their rhetorical choices interleaves language and knowledge and situating that argument in a specific context and for a specific audience illustrates for the students the various considerations that are at play in their performance of their text. Thus, academic discourse is not simply a question of 'adopting a style,' as often referred to by both Diane and Lyla. Rather it is an embodied process of decision-making, with regard to all the constraining elements at play, for a specific rhetorical purpose.

Perhaps the centrality of argument in academic discourse, articulated in The New Rhetoric, provides the professors with a clearer foundation of how their work relates to disciplinary knowledge, even if the material in their courses is not strictly based on the students’ prospective disciplines. This clearer sense of relevance and purpose may translate into a more positive, creative and interactive approach to academic discourse. The fact that academic writing is a credit-bearing course at both Oldton University and City University may also engender a higher degree of affiliation with academic discourse for both the professors and students, encouraging more diverse and creative pedagogical approaches which foster participatory learning. In comparing both Dawkin University and Claxted University to Oldton University, it needs to be remembered that these universities do not share Oldton University's long tradition of writing courses as a requirement for all first year students. The status of academic writing courses at Dawkin University and Claxted University continues to be marginal, in particular when they are designed for international
students, and the focus continues in many cases to be on 'English,' as opposed to engaging with the nature of academic writing and its inter-relationship with knowledge.

'Desocialising' Genre

"What is the form of the essay?" (Diane)

The limited way that Diane presents the genre of a research essay does not show a disregard for the EAP curriculum at Dawkin University. In describing the EAP curriculum, I pointed out that there is no explicit mention of genre or of genre-based pedagogy in the course outline. NEAS's concern is that the course be based on TESOL theory and practice and to that end teachers are advised and reminded that Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) underpins the teaching, rather than genre-based pedagogy. Yet, different genres are referred to as 'assessable units' or 'assessed units of work' and when the students receive the Marking Scheme, the term genre is introduced into the course with the heading, 'Mastery of Genre' listed as one of the main marking criteria. Under 'Mastery of Genre,' for which a maximum of 10 marks is awarded, the main criteria used to assess if the genre has been mastered are listed. This comprises approximately half of the total 25 marks assigned to the research essay suggesting that it is a key aspect of the research essay. As it is used in other Marking Schemes for other assignments, it can be concluded that 'mastery of genre' is a central component of the course.

Recalling Hyon's work on the main theoretical traditions associated with genre, there is no direct mention of which theoretical tradition informs this use of genre in the curriculum. Through an examination of the materials, it is clear that research on the use of genre in graduate academic writing, particularly the work of Swales (Swales & Feak, 1994) has influenced the 'Macro Level' (as it is referred to in the Course Outline), while the 'Micro Level' with its focus on sentence and clause structure, academic vocabulary, nominalization and cohesion devices is influenced by SFL genre research. Swales is a highly regarded linguist in the field of EAP (Hyland, 2010, p. 159), most notably for his work on genre. Originally from the UK, he was involved in the establishment of one of the earliest Masters Courses dedicated to the teaching of ESP in the UK. In
a recent interview however, he attributes his understanding of genre to influences from literature and particularly, from anthropologists such as Malinowski and Geertz, rather than to an ESP tradition or to SFL (2004).

As for the influence of SFL at the 'Micro Level' of the curriculum, exercises related to the use of certain grammatical and lexical items appear at different stages of the course and they appear to reflect some of the concerns of SFL genre theory such as nominalisation and cohesion. There is no indication of the theoretical inter-connectedness of the different exercises and no direct acknowledgement of SFL theory, apart from a brief reference to Jim Martin, one of the leading proponents of SFL genre-based pedagogy in Australia. In providing a description of that exercise and how it was presented in the class, I want to illustrate the shallow engagement of the EAP course at Dawkin University with the insights available from SFL research on genre.

Although conferencing with the students on a one-to-one basis is listed in the daily timetable, as I have mentioned, the time allowed is not realistic. In order to conference with the students on their Annotated Bibliographies, Diane assigns the following exercise on nominalisation, reproduced from the students' book of *EAP Now* (Cox & Hill, 2004, pp. 186-187), into the students' materials booklet. She does not provide any introduction to the exercise, allowing the students to follow the instructions in the book. In addition to the exercises that the students were completing, I have included the corresponding page from the teacher's book of *EAP Now* (Cox & Hill, 2004, p. 169) which explains the understanding of nominalisation on which the exercises are based.
In English, there is a specialised grammar of writing. This is 'a grammar that has evolved over hundreds of years, with science at its cutting edge, to construct the world in different ways than talking does' (Martin, 1991:55).

**Task A: Nominalising verbs—changing verb forms to nouns**

Change the following verb forms to nouns. The first one is done for you.

1. To educate becomes: **education**
2. To inform becomes: ________________________________
3. To distribute: ________________________________
4. To cite: ________________________________
5. To solve: ________________________________
6. To predict: ________________________________
7. To communicate: ________________________________
8. To introduce: ________________________________
9. To transport: ________________________________
10. To produce: ________________________________
11. To pollute: ________________________________
12. To conserve: ________________________________
13. To govern: ________________________________
14. To develop: ________________________________
15. To detain: ________________________________

**Task B: Removing personae from writing—creating a more academic text**

1. Look now at how to remove personal pronouns from your writing to make it more academic. Do you use the word 'people' often in your writing? Do you use, 'I', 'we', 'us', 'them', 'they' in your writing? Read the text below and circle all the personals you find.

In my country, there are very rich people and very poor people. People in the government are corrupt because they take bribes. We cannot live a good life and feel free all the time. I love my country because it is mine and many people feel the same way. We just wish our government would make more jobs and people could be more equal in their lives.
2 Now, begin to rewrite without the words you circled, i.e. remove every: my, people, they, we, I, mine, their, etc.

For example: In my country becomes: In (the name of the country), there are the very rich and the very poor.

Do you see what happens when you remove the personals? Often the end of a sentence must become the beginning! Also, you must use higher lexis (vocabulary) to make the writing more academic. In academic writing, there are more nouns and noun groups than there are verbs and verb groups.

3 With the next exercise, you will learn how to move from spoken language to the passive and then to nominalisation.

Read the following table and complete the empty boxes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken language</th>
<th>Passive form</th>
<th>Nominalisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How we make paper</td>
<td>How paper is made</td>
<td>Paper making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First, people fell trees</td>
<td>First, trees are felled</td>
<td>Felling trees is the first step</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then they remove the branches and leaves</td>
<td>Then the branches and leaves are removed</td>
<td>The second step is the removal of branches and leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After that, they transport the logs to the sawmill</td>
<td>The logs are transported to the sawmill</td>
<td>The next step is the transportation of the logs to the sawmill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next people strip the bark from the trunks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw the trunks into logs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convey the logs to the paper mill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut into small strips</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix the strips with water and acid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean wood pulp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleach the pulp with chemicals to whiten and flatten with rollers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In English, there is a specialised grammar of writing. This is 'a grammar that has evolved over hundreds of years, with science at its cutting edge, to construct the world in different ways than talking does.' (Martin, 1991:55).

In this writer's opinion, the use of nominal groups and nominalisation is one of the most important aspects of academic writing that you can help students to master. In academic writing, the use of nominal forms is highly regarded. The following points are important:

- Nominalisation creates a higher level of abstraction in writing and nominal groups allow more information to be 'packed' into the themes.
- English nominalises rampantly and no academic essay is possible without the use of many nominal groups and nominalisations.
- Students at this level can move from non-academic to academic with your help and by following a few steps.
- This is an ongoing process to be repeated in every text they write.
- This can be achieved using multiple drafts incorporating one step at a time.

In a moment, you will read an example from a student essay. It is a fairly good English sentence, but it is non academic. There are three main steps in changing it from non-academic writing to academic writing:

**The three steps (for teachers to understand)**

1. Verb groups are changed to noun forms (or sometimes to passive voice).
2. Human participants which serve as the subject (or actor) of the sentence are changed to a non-human participant which then serves as the subject (actor). (I call this step removing the personals and often agency is shifted from a person to an abstract concept.)
3. The register (largely spoken) is changed to written by using higher lexis (words or vocabulary).

Remember to ask students to carry out three steps in their writing and to use multiple drafts.

**The three steps (for students to understand)**

1. **Bold** all the personals (the human agents and pronouns).
2. **Underline** the verb groups (in order to change to passive and noun groups).
3. **Italicise** vocabulary which is too simple (get, got, good, bad, big, we have to, I think, etc).

Then, when students begin to rewrite their texts, they know to:

1. Remove the bolded personals;
2. Examine the verb groups for what it is they really wish to say—changing many to nouns and noun groups (this often requires use of the passive voice);
3. Change the vocabulary from simple and spoken, to more complex and written register.
This introduction to nominalisation is problematic for a number of reasons, not least that 'they,' 'their' and 'people,' generally do not function as personal pronouns, however my concern is that it is a gross misrepresentation of an SFL perspective where context and situation are central to making meaning. In treating the lexico-grammatical features of a text, SFL genre-based pedagogy emphasises the relationship between these features and the genre and therefore as one aspect of genre as a social process. Of course, this social orientation could always be developed: I mentioned in Chapter Two that there has been critique of how SFL has tended to work from a limited conception of the social process and Swales more recently has gone further to suggest that "It is very hard to find a systemic linguist who pays more than lip service to the social conditions" (Swales as cited in Perez-Llantada, 2004, p. 142). However, despite some limitations in the understanding of the social nature of genre presented by SFL theory, it does offer an understanding of genre and lexico-grammatical features which moves well beyond the conduit model of language evident in the exercises. This model of language is also evident in Diane's classroom practice where language is seen as transmitting ideas and meaning unproblematically, rather than meaning being constructed and negotiated amongst participants. This essentialist view of language explains why decontextualised exercises still prevail in EAP materials and why there is not always a pedagogical intervention aimed at redressing the inadequacies of these exercises.

The above description of the exercise related to nominalisation illustrates the tendency in EAP materials to describe a lexico-grammatical feature of academic writing without any explanation as to why it tends to be more frequently employed in academic writing in comparison to other forms of writing. Despite acknowledging Martin, there is no attempt to understand what Martin's quotation might mean for student writers and there is no attempt to link nominalisation to the level of abstraction found in academic writing. Nominalisation can shift the emphasis of the writer away from the actor, agent or 'doer,' with important consequences for meaning and thus is an important linguistic feature, requiring detailed attention. There are also consequences for the way that identity is performed in a text. Both of these aspects of
nominalisation are inter-related and vary according to discipline. Thus, even though the theoretical insights into genre that might be offered by SFL genre theory are diminished in this curriculum, a more fundamental problem with the treatment of genre in the EAP curriculum at Dawkin University than the lack of theoretical clarity and coherence is the disconnection between the notion of genre and disciplinary knowledge.

The connection between genre and disciplinary knowledge is important because, as Frow points out, “before it is an explicit object of analysis, genre . . . is a medium of instruction” (2006, p. 140). This point reinforces the need for EAP classes to be based on discipline-specific texts as it is partly through reading that students learn what can later be taught explicitly. Frow refers to regimes of reading “. . . structured and sustained by social institutions . . .” as the way that “we acquire the background knowledges, and the knowledge of rules of use and relevance, that allow us to respond appropriately to different generic contexts” (Frow, 2006, pp. 139-140). Although the EAP course at Dawkin University is described as an advanced reading and writing class, there is little time devoted to the examination of academic texts. The reading aspects of the course mainly revolve around the students reading source texts for their assignments, even though these source texts are not necessarily academic texts. This lack of sustained and critical engagement with academic texts is important because understanding genre and the social force of genre is as important in reading as it is in writing. As Frow argues, “Genre is neither a property of (and located ‘in’) texts, nor a projection of (and located ‘in’) readers; it exists as a part of the relationship between texts and readers, and it has a systemic existence. It is a shared convention with a social force” (2006, p. 102). Without engagement with texts related to disciplinary knowledge, it is difficult to learn the social aspects of the shared conventions and more likely that the focus will become simply the formal structures of the text.
Frow is clear about what he regards as important in using genre as a pedagogical focus. He believes that:

"What we can teach is the values built into such genres: what counts as evidence and proof; how space and time, events and their actors, are organised; the structures of authority and plausibility carried by the genre. What can be taught is thus not just a set of formal structures but the backgrounded knowledges that inform and shape them; and not an amorphous body of knowledge or personal experience but the conventional forms they take in particular contexts. (Frow, 2006, p. 141)

This is in marked contrast to what is happening in Diane’s class, where she is the authority who transmits the form of the essay that the students are essentially encouraged to replicate and reproduce. The only explanation that the students are offered as to why this is ‘the form of the essay’ is that it is “what you will be expected to use in most university essays.” This reduced notion of genre is illustrative of the “pragmatic” and “decidedly ‘nuts and bolts’ approach to academic work” often evident in EAP teaching (Yazbeck, 2008, p. 39). Frow’s understanding of genre reveals how impoverished the notion of genre becomes when viewed as simply a set of formal structures and when the learning of genre is disconnected from disciplinary knowledge.

Protective Pedagogy

“... a safe way... not the real opinion...” (Grace)

“In the process of completing a task from teacher, it is better to choose a safe way to do what we can do best, not the real opinion in our heart” (Grace).

Grace, along with many other students, accommodates the expectations of the teacher despite the claims of Dawkin University’s marketing materials and the course description that EAP develops tertiary level critical and independent thinking skills. She is acutely aware that she needs to succeed, in order to gain entry to her university course, rather than have to spend more time and money on courses, simply to satisfy visa requirements, while waiting for the ‘mid-year’ university intake. The high stakes, in conjunction with the felt crisis of time, can mean that there is a high level of anxiety amongst students such as Grace, leading
them to adopt 'safe' and 'strategic' ways of dealing with assessment tasks. It is not uncommon for the teachers to be drawn into this anxiety and one way that teachers respond is to adopt a protective pedagogy. As illustrated in my 'Port Arthur is a perfect one' account, Diane discourages the students from doing further research and she expresses concern that they will "get confused." On other occasions, Diane abandons an exercise because she feels the students find it too difficult or she skims over an exercise in order to avoid the students becoming "confused."

Although Diane's efforts are motivated by a desire to assist the students, a pedagogy that shields students from the difficulty and struggle entailed in understanding unfamiliar concepts risks infantilising the students. Difficulty and struggle are often part of the learning process and so it is ultimately unhelpful to protect students from these likely aspects of their university study. Another reason for the interactional dynamic of Diane's classroom practice is that Diane identifies as an English language teacher whose authority derives from being 'a native speaker,' rather than performing the identity of an academic whose authority rests on disciplinary expertise. This tendency to embody 'the native speaker' means that Diane arbitrates on what is 'right' or 'wrong' when 'correcting' exercises, rather than explaining the answers and exploring the students' difficulties. This further entrenches an authoritarian hierarchy which encourages passivity rather than critical engagement and promotes a strategic and instrumental approach to learning, rather than an educational and transformative approach.

Diane's accommodation of student demands and anxieties is, in another sense, an accommodation of institutional demands. By ensuring that the students are 'satisfied,' Diane is meeting the expressed desire of the institution that the number of student complaints be minimal. This is also to Diane's advantage because favourable student evaluations at the end of the course, in the performativity framework of Dawkin University reflect well on the teacher, improving future employment prospects. Accommodation of institutional demands also means that Diane is viewed as a 'team player' and not a 'trouble maker' which is also highly valued. There is another reason however, beyond
immediate and pragmatic concerns, that can explain Diane's protective pedagogy aimed at avoiding challenging the students and causing possible discomfort in learning. This relates to the assumptions, values and ideologies of TESOL theory and practice which underpin the EAP course. In Chapter Two, I referred to the work of Costino and Hyon who have explored how in TESOL, words such as “ideology, power, and critical” operate as ‘scare words’ (2011, p. 26). This ‘fear’ of words such as “ideology, power, and critical” points to a more general protective stance towards international students that is instantiated in classroom practice.

I want to use another instance of Diane’s protective pedagogy to illustrate how it reveals her concern for the students yet, at the same time, deprives them of the opportunity to explore and understand the central importance of the notion of academic writing as performatively accomplished.

On returning from the break, Diane reminds the students that it is important to ask questions. She then revises the steps involved in planning before introducing the next exercise, described in the Daily Timetable as language analysis. The exercise is based on an extract from an article in the Japan Association of Language Teaching Journal entitled "Support for the Stereotypes." Diane provides the students with the extract asking them "to identify what each sentence is doing." There is no response.

Drawing the students' attention to the second sentence, Diane asks "What's it doing, that second sentence?" Again, there is no response. Diane proceeds to write the following on the board, speaking as she writes:

Sentence 1: A general summary of another writer's idea;
Sentence 2: A statement about the other writer's specific idea;
Sentences 3&4: Explanation and definition of information in sentence 2;
Sentence 5: Further details;
Sentence 6: . . ;
Sentence 7: . . .

She turns and asks rhetorically, "Why are we doing this exercise?"
"There's a little bit of the language you can use."

One of the students asks for clarification of the exercise but Diane responds "I don't want to spend too much more time on it as I don't want you to be confused" and with that she moves on to another item on the timetable.

Despite encouraging the students to ask questions at the outset of the lesson, Diane deflects the student's request for clarification and abandons the exercise. At a meeting the following day, she raised her doubts about the suitability of this exercise saying that she felt that the text was too difficult for the students. As mentioned, the text was from an article in the Japan Association of Language Teaching Journal and thus in a very general sense, the type of text that a student might engage with at university. The topic of stereotypes is likely to be accessible to the students and might be particularly engaging for a class from a diverse range of cultural backgrounds. I alluded to this when suggesting that a Cross-Cultural Rhetoric class similar to the practice observed at Oldton University could be conducted at Dawkin University, despite the English Language Programs not having the same sophisticated Information and Communication Technologies.

When a text is considered too difficult for students, a common procedure in English language teaching is to use pre-reading exercises to provide background information on a topic and to ensure the students understand any unfamiliar lexical items. However, even with such preparation for the reading of the text it is unlikely that the students would have responded differently, as the course has not provided any introduction to the notion of language as performative, as presented in the question, "What's it doing, that second sentence?" The focus of the exercise is to determine the function of each sentence but given the description of the exercise in the Teacher's File as 'language analysis,' it is also possible that Diane, herself, was not clear as to the purpose of the exercise. There is no accompanying explanation of the underlying assumption of the performative nature of academic writing which is the basis of the exercise. The silence of the students is more likely to have stemmed from the fact that this was unfamiliar conceptual ground for them, rather than from the level of difficulty of
the text. In other words, it is likely that the students did not know what Diane meant when she asked, "What's it doing, that second sentence?" This was suggested when a student requested clarification of the purpose of the exercise.

Another possible cause of confusion for both the students and Diane is that when she follows the Answer Key provided in the Teacher's File by writing on the board noun phrases such as 'a general summary,' 'explanation and definition,' there is a disjunction between the question "What's it doing ...?" and these noun phrases. Perhaps if the question was formulated by directing attention to the writer, that is, "What is the writer doing?" as opposed to "What is the sentence doing?" this may have assisted the students and perhaps given Diane a clearer indication as to the purpose of the exercise. Instead, the exercise is abandoned and yet it is the basis for later work on the research essay, particularly in relation to intertextuality and identity in academic writing. While there is a comprehensive Teacher's File, it does not provide guidelines in terms of which exercises need to be given priority and there is little guidance as to the interrelationships between the various exercises and the assignments. This seems to further illustrate the difficulties that can ensue when the curriculum takes on an 'authority of its own' and when the teachers are not working from a shared and coherent theoretical understanding of academic writing and an associated pedagogy.

When Diane expressed concern at the level of difficulty of the text, the response of the curriculum designer was that she could substitute another text that could be used for the same purposes, rather than examining the exercise and determining if it could be presented in a clearer fashion for both the teachers and the students. Diane's assessment of the difficulty of the text may also have been a way of expressing the amount of time needed to engage with this exercise in a meaningful way. There were many instances when Diane seemed to be aware of the limited amount of time available to complete all the work listed in the Daily Timetable. When working through the Critical Literacy worksheet, another exercise that requires a substantial amount of time, Diane tells the students "Let's look at this fairly quickly" adding that the students should work in pairs or groups of three "To make it a little bit quicker." As an inducement, she tells the
students “If we get through this reasonably quickly, then you can spend the rest of the time on bibliographies.” Later, she reiterates “Let’s try to find this as quickly as we can.” At one point, she suggests that the word choice reveals the writer’s attitude. This is the first instance of an explicit recognition of the interpersonal aspects of making meaning and of writer identity but she moves on quickly, asking the students to consider the organisation of the text. She tells the class “In your groups, can you quickly discuss that.” When silence ensues and even a direct question to one of the groups does not elicit a response, Diane says “OK, put it away, we are going to work on your annotated bibliographies.” This was not unusual, as the students on a number of occasions tended to disengage from exercises, particularly decontextualised exercises, preferring to conference with Diane on their assessable assignment. Thus, Diane’s somewhat ‘rushed’ approach is in part an effort to assuage the students’ anxiety that there will not be sufficient time to talk to her about their work, yet it is also an instantiation of the ‘fast throughput’ framework on which EAP was established.

Another perspective is that this emphasis on coverage could be related to English language teacher training. Diane, herself, has been responsible for training English teachers in a number of countries, for example, South Korea and Japan. ‘Pedagogical moments’ do not tend to be the focus of teacher preparation courses in English Language Teaching, where time management and following a detailed and explicit lesson plan are highly valued even if a Communicative Language Approach is the institutional method of teaching. ELT teacher preparation courses generally entail, as do most teacher education courses, an observation of the teacher in the classroom. The teacher is required to submit a detailed lesson plan prior to the observation indicating not only the aim of the lesson and a description of the sequence and nature of activities but also a time frame for each activity. One of the important criteria for assessing teacher effectiveness is the ability of the teacher to remain ‘on schedule.’ That is, what is viewed as important is not simply completing an exercise but completing it in the designated time frame. There is also an expectation in English language classes that the class is dynamic and ‘fun’ and that the students are not ‘bored.’ Hence, Diane could be seen as modeling the teacher preparation practices by not
addressing student initiated concerns, in favour of ensuring that she covered all the daily timetable items within the allocated time.

Overall, Diane's practice needs to be seen in light of the many factors both immediate and visible and less immediate and less visible that coalesce to shape a pedagogy that encourages passivity rather than critical engagement and thus promotes a strategic and instrumental approach to learning, rather than an educational approach. Both the teacher and the students are to some degree complicit in this pedagogy but the architectures of practice also predispose both the teacher and the students to adopt an instrumental and pragmatic approach to classroom practice. Diane's concern to meet the institutional requirements as evident in her attempts to cover all the items listed in the daily programme generates an unrelenting pace. This, in combination with the institutional focus on 'ticking boxes' creates a 'factory-like' environment to which teachers and students respond not simply with pragmatism but, as Pennycook has suggested, with 'vulgar pragmatism.' A 'vulgar pragmatism' that values 'functional efficiency' and promotes 'unreflective acceptance' (Pennycook, 1997, p. 256).

Efforts by EAP practitioners to redress this 'unreflective acceptance' tend to centre mainly on the relationship between EAP and the university curriculum or 'the split' between 'language' and 'content.' As alluded to in Chapter Two, while there are those who accept a Pragmatic EAP pedagogy there are others who advocate for a Critical EAP pedagogy or a Critical EAP pedagogy. Those who focus on the 'language content split' tend to argue for EAP courses that are discipline-specific and in some cases that are also credit-bearing. In the following section, I bring my work into conversation with these views, arguing that reinvigorating EAP practice involves more than "the need to find a position between critique of and accommodation to discipline specific content" (Melles et al., 2005, p. 283).
'Recovering Knowledge'

Disrupting Public and Policy Discourses

Certain attitudes in relation to EAP which prevail in the public domain in Australia and certain assumptions that underpin Australian EAP practice have naturalised the industry characterisation of EAP. The ethos of 'vulgar pragmatism' referred to above has to a certain extent inured EAP practice from a critique of its role in the corporatising of the university and the concomitant industry and commodity discourses which have normalised the place of generic EAP courses in the university. As a result, there has not been a sustained critique of the 'fast throughput' framework of generic EAP courses in Australian universities. Nor has there been substantial critical debate within the field of EAP as to the implications for EAP curriculum and pedagogy of an industry conception of education and the broader implications that this might have in relation to the purpose and role of the university and attendant changes in conceptions of the nature of knowledge and learning. Thus, the architectures of practice that constitute generic EAP courses and the inter-relationship between these architectures and university policies and practices that affirm a commodity view of language and knowledge remain largely unscrutinised. This lack of scrutiny means that 'the deterministic conceptions of self and society' promoted in neo-liberal discourse and normalised through neo-liberal processes of governance and subjectivation in higher education continue to have the potential to "disable learning itself" (Amsler, 2011, p. 52).

Barnett, writing on higher education from a philosophical perspective has noted that in the UK knowledge is often absent in discussions of higher education. This has lead Young to propose that 'recovering knowledge' is an urgent research agenda (Young as cited in Barnett, 2009, p. 430). Such an agenda is salient to revitalising generic EAP courses. However, 'the recovery of knowledge' in EAP courses requires more than simply reinstating the disciplinary focus that was the basis of EAP when it was established as part of English for Specific Purposes or introducing 'content'. Discipline specific EAP courses have been established in different disciplines in different universities and colleges in Australia, the UK and
the USA and yet the field of EAP continues in the main to have peripheral status in the university. Despite the fact that in some cases these discipline specific EAP courses are credit-bearing, EAP has not entirely succeeded in disassociating itself from the view that it offers a remedial service. In light of this, there needs to be a shift towards consideration of disciplinary knowledge rather than the tendency to focus simply on disciplinary content.

Another reason for the failure to dislodge the view of EAP as remedial is the narrow focus of EAP discussion. As opposed to challenging the industry conception of EAP in public and policy discourses, there has been a tendency among EAP scholars to accept the industry status of EAP and to turn their efforts towards developing best practice, further entrenching a commodity conception of EAP. Despite EAP being implicated in the commodification of education and knowledge, generally speaking, apart from researchers such as Benesch (2001), Canagarajah (2002) and Pennycook (2004b), those in the field of EAP have not engaged in critical debates and discussions concerning these issues.

The public discourses surrounding higher education more generally and international students in particular has had a significant role in normalising the commodity conception of education. University educational practices are increasingly shaped by external and internal discourses related to changing the role of the university from "a centre of learning to being a business organization with productivity targets" thereby transferring "its allegiance from the academic to the operational" (McNair as cited in Lynch, 2006, p. 6). In a general sense, this has led to 'accountability' being conflated with 'accounting'. The implications of this shift in allegiance tend to be more keenly felt in those public higher education institutions such as Dawkin University and Claxted University that have less positional status to offer students. Institutions such as these are more likely to be subject to the imperatives of the neo-liberal model, leading them to privilege the operational role of the university over the academic role. In complying with demands for transparency and accountability, they tend to focus on efficiency, productivity and 'excellence.' In many instances, this privileging of

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28 Best Practice is part of benchmarking whereby a practice considered to produce the 'best results' is then standardised across a sector or an institution.
the operational role with its focus on the efficient operation of systems leads to the neglect, if not at times to the exclusion, of the interests and concerns of the principal actors in the system – the academics and the students. This is certainly the case for many EAP teachers and students in Australia where the industry demands tend to overshadow educational priorities through the subordination of the EAP programme to government bodies and the auditing control of external bodies and university administrators. This loss of autonomy limits pedagogical possibilities.

The way that international students are subjectivated in public discourses in Australia can also restrict pedagogical possibilities. The normalisation of education as an export has extended to commodifying the international students themselves and this reinforces the 'fast throughput’ EAP model. This commodification of the students is illustrated by the response of the public broadcaster, The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), to the 2009 attacks on international Indian students studying in Victoria. Protests by Indian students, concerned about the manner in which the attacks were handled, led to headlines in media outlets in both Australia and India. This led to Stateline Victoria reporting on June 5th that these protests are "... threatening Australia’s reputation abroad and its multi-billion dollar education industry . . .” (ABC, 2009c). Further concern was expressed on June 29th on Lateline because "fee-paying international students are a financial lifeblood for Melbourne’s universities” (ABC, 2009b). By July 24th 2009, Stateline Victoria concluded that "... its been a tough and tumultuous year for Victorias multi-billion dollar international education industry . . .” (ABC, 2009a). The focus of the reporting is not the grievances of the Indian students, but rather the threat that these grievances might pose to an important Australian export industry. A dehumanising discourse is further evident in the reporting of a visit by the then Victorian Premier, John Brumby, to St Stephen’s College in Delhi, India. Wearing the unmistakable 'emu and kangaroo crested' green and gold Australian cricket cap, Brumby was photographed bowling a ball. The caption declares that he "... opened his mission to save the state’s biggest export industry, international students . . .” (Nicholls & Dunn, 2009, p. 22). This subjectivation of the
international students as exports in the public domain is one example of how a commodity conception of knowledge, enacted in a performativity framework that focuses on measurable standards, encourages a dehumanised view of education. Yet these public discourses are not challenged by EAP practitioners.

Government policy discourses related to higher education continue to operate from a view of knowledge as a commodity. As recently as 2008, the Australian government conducted a review of higher education which drew on submissions that included a number of academics and students. The final report indicates that either those involved did not feel the need to question the assumption of knowledge as a commodity or this view was disregarded. The report clearly states that “the higher education sector is similar in many respects to other export industries” (Bradley et al., 2008, p. 95). In order to improve the education system, it is recommended that university administrators examine “export promotion in tourism and wine, two other highly competitive industries in which Australia has been successful” (Bradley et al., 2008, p. 95). Thus, public discourses and policy settings maintain a commodity conception of education with EAP simply one of the many products on offer.

A more fundamental reason for the lack of critical engagement with marketisation relates to the assumptions of “deficiency and need,” that underlie EAP courses. International students are designated as ‘non-native speakers’ and unfamiliar with academic discourse in the Australian university. While it is true that there are differences in written academic discourse according to different cultural intellectual traditions, the students tend to be regarded as tabulae rasae with no understanding of written academic discourse, as opposed to a different understanding. These designations which subjectivate international students as ‘deficient and in need’ articulate with a market logic which defines groups on the basis of “deficiency and need,” as a precursor to the provision of the commodity that can remedy this ‘deficiency and need’ (Kozinets, 2002, p. 24). EAP courses provide the commodity of English to remedy the language ‘deficiency’ and the commodity of generic academic skills to meet the ‘needs’ of international students, in relation to being able to succeed in their prospective university courses. This market conception of EAP encourages a product conception of the
EAP curriculum and policies and practices which tend to foster a product approach to academic writing and an instrumental approach to learning. Thus, disrupting the public and policy discourses that position EAP as a commodity is a necessary part of finding the means to disarticulate English for Academic Purposes pedagogy “from the rational efficiencies of the logic of the market” (Kozinets, 2002, p. 24).

Knowledge: The Knower and The Known

Lyotard’s concern that a ‘spirit of performativity’ would lead to “a thorough exteriorisation of knowledge with respect to the ‘knower’ . . .” continues to resonate. Bernstein has suggested that “knowledge as a commodity has become cut off from personal commitment” leading to a “dislocation of the knower and the known,” part of what he refers to as the dehumanising principle in contemporary universities (Bernstein as cited in Clegg, 2009, p. 406). Others, such as Gibbons et al., view changes in the conceptions of knowledge as the emergence of different forms of knowledge - Mode 1 and Mode 2 knowledge (Barnett, 2000, p. 414). Mode 1 knowledge refers to what is traditionally understood as disciplinary knowledge which is established through propositional claims that have been subject to systematic peer review and available in books and journals (Barnett, 2000, p. 414). In contrast, Mode 2 knowledge is characteristically inter-disciplinary, involving ‘problem solving’ and ‘knowledge-in-use’ so that knowledge “is what is worked out in real-time in the exigencies of the moment . . .” (Barnett, 2000, p. 414). EAP, with its skills focus, tends more towards a Mode 2 conception of knowledge. However, as Barnett points out, such categorisations present a partial view of knowledge, as they ignore a wealth of other modes of knowledge. More importantly, in his view, thinking of knowledge in this way is “educationally unhelpful” as it “is liable to reduce the forms of student being that come into view as pedagogic goals” (Barnett, 2009, p. 432).

However, Barnett’s appeal for ‘forms of student being . . . as pedagogic goals’ is complicated by the fact that some in the field of higher education see the marketisation of higher education resulting in a ‘good education’ being based on
the *having* mode of consumer culture, rather than the potential *being* of higher education (Molesworth et al., 2009). The view of those such as Molesworth et al. is further complicated by shifts in the field of marketing which have lead to the belief that “Marketing efforts need to be geared towards helping consumers achieve and maintain viable and rewarding states of being by providing the resources and technologies necessary to establish and support the continual process of identification and identity creation” (Fitchett & Shankar, 2002, p. 513). Thus, Fromm’s conception of consumer culture, on which Molesworth et al. base their *having and being* distinction in relation to higher education, no longer holds. It is possible that these shifts in the focus of marketing efforts have given rise to what Barnett terms as ‘the performative student’ who is:

... replete with ‘transferable skills’, contemplates with equanimity the prospect of multiple careers in the lifespan, is entrepreneurial and has an eye to the main chance, and possesses a breezy self-confidence in facing the unpredictability that characterizes contemporary life. (Barnett, 2009, p. 430)

However, Barnett’s characterisation of ‘the performative student,’ similar to neo-liberal discourses, works to “affirm deterministic conceptions of self and society” (Amsler, 2011, p. 52).

Far more instructive is Barnett’s consideration of the “... links between knowledge and student being and becoming ...” and the way in which pedagogical processes can enable a student’s “coming to know” as opposed to “knowing as such” (2009, p. 429). He contends that the acts and processes of “Coming to know brings forward desirable human qualities as distinct from knowing itself,” and that the pedagogical process is a critical aspect of the acts and processes of ‘coming to know’ which bring into view “the relationship between knowing and being” (Barnett, 2009, pp. 432-433). Barnett’s conceptual distinctions open up fruitful ways of thinking about curriculum and pedagogy in higher education. In particular, his idea that the pedagogical processes of ‘coming to know’ can lead to the development of what he terms “worthwhile dispositions and qualities, the worthwhileness arising through the formation of ‘epistemic virtues’,” as students engage with the challenges of disciplinary
knowledge highlights the importance of pedagogical practice in the academic writing classroom (Barnett, 2009, p. 429). Given the centrality of academic writing to engaging with disciplines, the development of Barnett’s “dispositions and qualities” could be recast as learning how to perform in writing the persona and ethos that mark a disciplinary identity. Barnett’s focus on acts that constitute ‘coming to know’ recalls Butler’s emphasis on the iterability of acts in performed identity. Furthermore, Barnett’s emphasis on ‘coming to know,’ as distinct from ‘knowing itself,’ highlights the importance of pedagogical practice because “the very process of coming to know has educational properties irrespective of actually reaching a position of knowing itself” (2009, p. 437). In other words, regardless of “any endpoint that the student may reach” there are ‘virtuous’ pedagogical possibilities (Barnett, 2009, p. 437).

The idea of ‘coming to know’ offers an explanation as to the value of the EAP course at Claxted University. The tutorials provide an opportunity for students to engage in disciplinary knowledge, despite Lyla not being a disciplinary specialist and therefore unqualified to gauge whether the students are at a point of ‘knowing itself.’ Barnett’s insights are helpful in understanding why a case can be made that the EAP course at Claxted University is more effective in preparing students to participate in their prospective discourse communities than the course at Dawkin University. While both courses are bereft of a curriculum engagement with disciplinary knowledge, allowing students to write their Research Essay in their disciplinary area in the course at Claxted University provides an opportunity for the students to engage in the disciplinary processes of knowing and thus to begin to embody a disciplinary persona and ethos. In part, this could be attributed to the ESP focus of the course but it can also be attributed to Lyla’s pedagogy which recognises and respects the different disciplinary identities of the students. In her one-on-one tutorials, Lyla creates a learning environment in which the students have the space to encounter and engage with knowledge and therefore the processes of knowing and the possible ‘virtuous’ educational effects that derive from those processes.
Enabling Learning

The positioning of EAP in the university and everyday practices also sustain the generic EAP model. EAP courses at Dawkin University are on 'the margins of the margins,' in terms of their positioning in the university. As such, the teaching staff are disconnected from their 'post-entry' EAP disciplinary colleagues and colleagues in other departments, reducing the opportunities to participate in discussions related to the changing nature of the university and the implications of this for the nature of education. Equally important, English Language Programs staff do not identify as a 'community of scholars' but rather as English language teachers. As mentioned previously, certain aspects of the architectures of practice in which EAP courses are embedded do not encourage a research culture and the part-time and casual status of the teaching staff presents logistical challenges, in terms of providing an environment where curriculum and pedagogy are questioned and open to change and development. Discussions of teaching are more likely to relate to a teaching method or a teaching approach as understood in English language teaching or efforts to standardise course delivery and assessment. The lack of a knowledge base in the course and the teachers' identification as English language teachers rather than academics or scholars means that despite the courses being presented as university preparation, the focus of discussion tends to be knowledge about language as opposed to questions about knowledge and the changing purpose and role of the university and the place of EAP within those changes.

A further inter-related reason relates to the 'common core' hypothesis which sustains the notion of a generic EAP course unrelated to disciplinary knowledge. Viewing international students as 'deficient' and 'in need' assumes that all of the students have the same deficiencies and the same needs, regardless of their background and their prospective studies. The 'common core' proposition that there are core, transferable academic skills, common across disciplines and that 'academic skills' can be taught without engagement with disciplinary knowledge, supports the disregard for the diversity of the international student cohort. At Dawkin University, it is not simply a matter of the lack of engagement with discipline-specific knowledge in generic EAP courses, but of not engaging with
any body of knowledge. This is in marked contrast to the academic writing courses at Oldton University and City University where The New Rhetoric is the body of knowledge which forms the basis of the classes. Thus, even though the writing classes at Oldton University are theme-based rather than relating to the disciplines, the students are engaging with rhetoric as a discipline and the professors identify as disciplinary scholars of rhetoric. They, therefore, use the discipline-specific lexis of rhetoric and engage the students with the key concepts of the field and the main theorists and writers involved in rhetoric related research. More importantly, The New Rhetoric courses engage with epistemological issues and concerns and embody the ethos and persona of a rhetorician.

Simply making a case for pedagogical attention to student identity in academic writing does not offer any alternative to the neo-liberal subject constituted by the discourses that have normalised and legitimised a performativity ethos at Dawkin University. Through student evaluations and student support, there is considerable attention paid to student 'satisfaction' in higher education so that in neo-liberal terms being is associated with being 'happy, gratified and satisfied.' This notion of 'being' is only one of many possibilities and does not exclude 'being' that embodies the values, beliefs and practices of a disciplinary community. The possibility of students experiencing disciplinary being is dependent on the acts and processes of the pedagogical context in which learning occurs.

A focus on identity and in particular Butler's conception of identity can start to humanise the conception of academic writing and hence academic writing pedagogy in a way that can "respond to neoliberal subjectivities without corresponding to or affirming them" (Amsler, 2011, p. 47). This is because thinking of identity and subjectivation from Butler's point of view involves a "... consideration of the processes through which the subject is constituted ..." and this consideration is able to "... maintain in view simultaneously a sense of the context of constraint in which these performatively constituted subjects are effected and the potential for these subjects to act and to act with intent" (Youdell, 2010, pp. 511-512). Contrary to the neo-liberal conception of
subjectivity, power does not simply reside in the individual but also at a systemic level. Thus while Barnett's 'performative student' is more likely within an educational context that places an emphasis on having and a neo-liberal version of being, rather than on coming to know, knowing and becoming, this is not necessarily the case. This raises the possibility of a Critical EAP pedagogy that I referred to in Chapter Two. Despite the sound intentions of those who argue for a critical pedagogy, it does not fully respond to the "deterministic conceptions of self and society" referred to by Amsler and therefore it has limitations in addressing the problems that I believe currently beset EAP pedagogy in Australia.

Despite the EAP courses at Dawkin University and Claxted University not being designed around a detailed engagement with disciplinary knowledge, the classroom practice could offer opportunities for 'coming to know.' At Dawkin University, the students engage to a minor degree with knowledge about language if not about their discipline. However, as illustrated in the previous sections, Diane's protective pedagogy often discounts pedagogical moments that would have allowed for students to gain a fuller understanding of certain aspects of academic discourse. The product orientation of the curriculum and a pedagogy that largely adopts a product approach to academic writing, coupled with the decontextualised exercises in the materials booklet, promotes a skills approach to academic writing and reinforces an instrumental attitude to learning. Diane's tendency to act as 'arbiter' when correcting exercises, rather than explaining why one answer might be 'right' and the other 'wrong,' means that the students are often left knowing that an answer might be 'right' or 'wrong' but not why this is the case. Rather than viewing a 'wrong' answer as a pedagogical moment, Diane tends to focus on completing the exercise in order to move onto the next item in a very packed teaching timetable. The overall consequence of this is that Diane remains the 'knower,' rather than the students experiencing the acts and processes of knowing, thereby infantilising the students and limiting their opportunity to at least benefit from 'coming to know' if not actually becoming the knower. In a broader framework, Diane's pedagogy can be seen as an attempt to ensure that the students are 'happy, gratified and satisfied.'
While the EAP course at Claxted University is not designed around disciplinary knowledge, the Project Classes that focus on academic writing provide an opportunity for the students to write about a discipline related topic and in the one-to-one tutorials that are part of the process of writing the essay, the students speak from a disciplinary perspective. Lyla, in her interactions with the students in these tutorials, guides them towards their own personal engagement with the disciplinary knowledge, providing a context in which they can perform their disciplinary identity. Lyla’s humanising pedagogy fosters a commitment to knowledge and learning, despite some of the performativity constraints that limit her practic. At Oldton University, the students do engage in ‘acting’ but, contrary to Barnett’s concern, these students have the opportunity to embody knowledge and to perform a persona and to embody the ethos of the institution and of the classroom. This occurs, in part from the opportunity to observe and interact with the professors who embody the academic discourse. The professors perform the disciplinary persona of a rhetorician in their embodiment of rhetorical knowledge and they enact the ethos of rhetoric through their pedagogical acts and processes. In other words, the persona and ethos are learned through the social processes of the classroom and learning.

My observations at the different institutions, in conjunction with my reflections on the nature of academic discourse and knowledge as presented in the literature, lead me to conclude that there is more to a conception of academic writing as a performance than adopting a genre-based pedagogy or adhering to another theoretical framework. From observing Oldton University where the pedagogy approximates a performance understanding of academic writing, it is clear that academic writing pedagogical practice needs to embody a disciplinary persona and ethos. Moreover, I would argue that in addition to disciplinary knowledge, pedagogical practice needs to be based on knowledge about knowing and the implications of pedagogical acts and processes in coming to know.
Chapter 7

From Theory Back To Practice
Returning to The Opening Scene

Returning to the scene with which I opened this thesis, I can see that my experiences in teaching the Pronunciation Through Drama course led me in two different, although ultimately inter-related directions. One direction was to consider the nexus between a drama class and an academic writing class, leading me to conclude that academic writing, understood as a performance, could be the central organising principle of academic writing pedagogy. The second direction was to consider how the pedagogical processes of this course seemed to encourage students to identify as independent, creative, assertive and self-assured, in contrast to the standard characterisation of international students as dependent, pragmatic, passive and anxious. The initial impetus for this thesis was therefore exploratory, prompting an examination of the literature on academic writing to determine whether a conceptualisation of academic writing as a performance could be sustained. My engagement with the performance studies literature shaped the nature of the enquiry, both in theoretical and methodological terms.

Drawing on the notion of embodiment, a central concept in the performance studies literature, I was able to confirm that rethinking academic writing as a performance was theoretically tenable. In view of this, a research design informed by ethnography was the most appropriate methodology for my thesis. My fieldwork entailed participant observation of classroom practices, thereby shifting the focus of my study from written student texts to the pedagogical practices of the classroom, related to the process of completing a research essay. This focus places my work at the writer-centred end of Lillis's (2008) hypothetical continuum, as opposed to the text-centred end, the 'end' which tends to receive more attention in EAP research into student academic writing.

Working from an embodied view of academic writing enters into the terrain of subjectivity in written academic discourse. This is highly problematic in generic EAP courses which tend to have a 'one size fits all' approach to academic writing, rather than acknowledging the different ways that subjectivity is accounted for in different disciplines. The standard treatment is to promote a so-called
'objective' style of writing. Premised on the idea that subjectivity can simply be written out of academic discourse, students are encouraged to achieve an 'objective' style principally through linguistic means, for example by removing 'personal pronouns' and using the passive voice and nominalisation. This is evident in the rather mechanical exercises common to many generic EAP courses. As these courses often do not engage with disciplinary knowledge, there is little attention given to the inter-relationship between the nature of academic writing and the nature of knowledge as it is understood in the disciplinary community. Consequently, the skills discourse that underpins the generic EAP course tends to promote a positivist view and yet there is no explicit acknowledgement of this theoretical understanding of the creation of knowledge.

Understanding a written text as a performance that emerges through the interaction of the writer and the disciplinary discourse community means that the interpersonal dimensions of academic writing are important. Subjectivity, in that case, cannot be simply written out of academic discourse and thus needs to be addressed. How to address this aspect of academic writing becomes clearer when it is recognised that the appraisal of the writer as authoritative by the discourse community is important in achieving the rhetorical purpose of the written text and that it is the values, beliefs and practices of that community that determine what (and ultimately who) is considered authoritative. Butler's account of identity as a performative accomplishment, rather than essentialised, brings into view how the acts that constitute identity are responses to the constraining and enabling facets of a social context. Thinking of identity in this way led me to consider how the architectures of practice that prefigure the acts and processes of classroom practice are also implicated in the constitution of teacher and student identities. By bringing the idea of academic writing as an embodied practice and the notion of identity as a performative accomplishment into dialogue with my understanding of academic writing as a performance, I was able to clarify the inter-relationship between what had appeared to be two divergent directions in my research.
Undoubtedly, there are many factors that bear on classroom practice, nevertheless, from my participant observations at the different institutions, it became increasingly clear that the material resources available for teaching and learning, while important, are only one aspect of the ‘scene of teaching.’ Less apparent are the broader socio-political discourses, in particular those of ‘neoliberalism,’ which have effected change in relation to the place and role of the university in society and ultimately the very nature of education and what constitutes knowledge. At an institutional level, the discourses deployed by the university to establish its legitimacy with its various ‘stakeholders’ and to assert its marketplace identity also constitute the institutional ethos. This ethos informs the policies and procedures of the university which are enacted by the staff and students even though it is the disciplinary ethos with which most academic staff identify. In general, there is complementarity between the institutional ethos and the disciplinary ethos, however tensions can arise when the institutional ethos is viewed by academics to be inconsistent with their disciplinary ethos, in terms of how they conduct research and how they teach.

This has been the case for many public universities in Australia, the UK and the USA where the ethos of performativity (as understood by Lyotard) has become dominant, changing the university experience to varying degrees for both academics and students. It has also entailed an increase in the number of international students studying at universities in these countries and the establishment of courses to provide a pathway by which students can meet the English Language requirement of the prospective department and prepare students for their university study. Various courses and services have also been established to assist international students during the course of their studies. This preparation and assistance is classified in different ways, according to the institution: credit-bearing, discipline-specific EAP courses; credit-bearing non-discipline-specific EAP courses; adjunct ESL courses; and generic EAP courses as a pathway to university study. While the latter has been the focus of my thesis, rethinking of academic writing as a performance is not restricted to international students as it reconsiders the very nature of academic writing.
In terms of pedagogical practice, initially my interest was in the theoretical framework underpinning the academic writing courses at my fieldwork sites. In particular, I was interested in genre-based pedagogy in relation to the theoretical frameworks of SFL, ESP and The New Rhetoric. However, there was a significant shift in my thinking as it became clear that fostering a disciplinary persona and ethos relies on more than a theoretically informed practice. In part, this can occur through classroom interactions where the teacher embodies the disciplinary persona ethos and it also occurs through the students' engagement with the acts and processes of pedagogical practice. In other words, a socially appropriate ethos and persona is not cognitively summoned, when a student is confronted by a screen or a page, rather it is embodied through the 're-enactment and re-experiencing' of socially sanctioned authorial acts and processes, performed as part of an academic writing course, or perhaps as part of the informal curriculum.

**Addressing My Research Questions**

My first question was related to exploring the type of English for Academic Purposes pedagogy that might emerge if the Academic rather than the English were foregrounded. Foregrounding the Academic proceeds from a view of international students as different from local students, not 'lesser than,' which is the assumption that currently underpins EAP practice. Accordingly, this broadens the focus of the course in the way that Hyland and Camp-Lyons had envisaged when they wrote for the inaugural *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*. Academic, in this sense, cannot be reduced to a set of transferable skills. Rather it relates to understanding the nature of academic discourse and how language is employed in socially established ways, according to the discourse community, in order to constitute knowledge. This requires a pedagogy that is informed by research into disciplinary literacies and disciplinary practices, rather than the current recourse to TESOL theory and practice. It also requires a pedagogy which is directed towards students feeling able to participate in their prospective discourse communities, rather than simply being granted entry by virtue of having met an English Language requirement. This leads to my second research question, which asked what it
would mean if the locus were Academia and the focus, the performance of
knowledge in academic writing for an academic discourse community. This
follows from the first question, because understanding the nature of academic
writing, involves understanding how argument is central to the constitution of
academic knowledge and thus how academic writing is performatively
accomplished. This points to the emergent quality of academic texts and
highlights the way that writer identity and writing for a discourse community in
'socially appropriate ways' is an important aspect of the contingent and
contested nature of academic knowledge.

Learning to perform the disciplinary identity that is socially sanctioned by a
discourse community is related to my third question which considered what the
impact on pedagogy might be if language were to be conceived as embodied and
identity construed as dynamic, shifting and multiple. There has been a tendency
for academic literacy pedagogy to be text-centred and thereby to neglect the
ways that a writer performs a disciplinary identity. This has lead to academic
texts being perceived as 'stable' artefacts, rather than 'dynamic entities,
momentarily stilled.' This, in addition to other factors, has encouraged 'a
product' view of academic literacy curriculum and pedagogy with a focus on the
formal properties and structure of texts and little attention given to the authorial
acts and processes required in academic writing. If these do receive attention,
there is a tendency to view academic writing as a matter of conforming to
conventions, in contrast to understanding how legitimacy as a discourse
community participant is contingent on writing in a socially appropriate manner.

Once again, this requires a subtle shift in emphasis in pedagogy, from students
learning how to reproduce conventions, to understanding how different aspects
of disciplinary writing are ways that they 'assume responsibility towards an
audience.' It also means that the synthesis of source texts into academic writing
is based on recognition of the embodied writers of texts and respect for their
work, rather than on the avoidance of the punitive consequences of 'plagiarism.'
An understanding of language as embodied is foundational to understanding
academic writing and knowledge as embodied, countering the tendency for
'product' views of academic literacy which rely on a 'conduit' model of language
and promote a transmission model of pedagogy and a commodity view of knowledge.

My fourth question, directed towards asking what might emerge if difference and diversity were acknowledged and valued, is inter-related with the previous question. When the student writer is brought into view in academic writing pedagogy, it becomes necessary to recognise the varied prior histories of the international students and their diverse cultural backgrounds, in addition to their different prospective university studies. Difference and diversity need to not only be acknowledged but also accounted for in classroom practice, reinforcing the need to read and engage with discipline-specific texts and to require discipline-specific writing assignments. This, of course, requires valuing difference and diversity at an institutional level and for those institutions that work within architectures of practice tied to performativity frameworks to challenge the trend towards standardisation and the emphasis on procedure at the expense of pedagogical priorities. Finally, I was interested to consider the type of pedagogy that might be able to foster agency and place an emphasis on international students finding a 'voice' in their prospective discourse communities. Answering this question draws on the previous questions to make a case for preparation courses to centre on disciplinary knowledge, allowing both teachers and students to perform a disciplinary identity in their engagement with disciplinary texts. Agency can be fostered through students understanding the nature of disciplinary academic writing, in a way that encourages them to understand how to recognise and respect other authors in their work and to understand the values, beliefs and practices that their prospective discourse communities admit as socially appropriate. This is not learnt through a series of 'cognitive' exercises but is part of the learning that occurs in the embodied acts and processes of coming to know, in classroom practices.

**A Review of My Arguments**

As the research unfolded, three overarching, inter-related arguments emerged. In summary, this thesis argues that when academic writing is conceived as an
embodied practice, performance in the sense that I have outlined, rather than genre, is a more powerful basis for organising academic writing pedagogy. The notion of performance does not privilege the material text or the writer and composing processes, the genre and content or the audience; rather, a performance view of academic writing fosters an understanding of the dynamic interplay between these co-constituents of the text. Employing performance as an organising concept around which to develop an academic writing curriculum and classroom pedagogy can bring more coherence to classroom practice than the tendency towards an eclectic approach to academic writing. Performance underscores the inter-relatedness of the various aspects of academic writing whereas an eclectic approach often promotes a fragmented assembly of different features of academic writing.

Of the three theoretical traditions associated with academic writing that I considered, The New Rhetoric has the strongest orientation towards writing as a performance, in both a theoretical sense and in classroom pedagogical practice. Its foundation in the embodied rhetoric of Ancient Greece means that the understanding of academic writing that it offers is more akin to a dynamic conception of academic writing and the use of ethnography as a research methodology means that classroom practice is informed by the values, beliefs and practices of discourse communities. I argue, however, for a revision of the rhetorical triangle, so that rather than the traditional configuration of author, audience and text on each of the points of the triangle, I would place text in the triangle, designating its emergent nature through the interplay between author, audience and other authors and sources. In academic writing, this latter point on the rhetorical triangle is critical to academic research and scholarship and to the inter-relationship between academic argument and writer identity.

In my guiding arguments, I proposed that genre be understood as a performatively staged, audience-oriented, social process. While I believe that the social and cultural force of genre is better understood as audience-oriented in contrast to goal-oriented, rather than attempting to redefine genre, I argue that it is more useful to view genre as part of the performative accomplishment of academic argument. Thinking of genre in terms of Butler’s ‘re-enactment and re-
experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established' places genre within a conception of academic writing as an embodied performance and the social sanction that can be accorded through genre is one aspect by which identity is performed. One way that meanings can be re-enacted and re-experienced is through the lexico-grammatical features, common to the genres of the disciplinary discourse community. How a writer decides to employ these features is part of performing a disciplinary persona. It is in this area that the detailed work of Systemic Functional Linguistics in understanding the contextual constraints on lexico-grammatical features can assist in understanding how different disciplinary personae are performed. Retaining the distinction between persona and ethos in writer identity means that the academic writer also has to perform the disciplinary ethos in order to establish the authority to participate in the disciplinary discourse community. In considering both the persona and ethos of the writer, it becomes clear that academic writing pedagogy needs to be discipline specific because it is through engaging with disciplinary knowledge, whether in reading academic texts or classroom practice, that the persona and ethos of the discipline are learnt. It is through the acts and processes of coming to know and knowing that students can learn to embody the disciplinary persona and ethos.

The argument for discipline-specific learning was the basis on which English for Specific Purposes was founded and the basis on which many in the field continue to argue against the pressure from university administrators to move to or retain a generic skills model. Recognising that disciplines vary in terms of, for example, what counts as evidence, how that evidence is presented and how the writer interacts with the discourse community, ESP scholars maintain the importance of understanding language in the context of the academic discipline. Their case for disciplinary specificity further advances the argument for the significance of the inter-relationship between the knower and the known. This inter-relationship between the knower and the known leads into my final argument, namely that this inter-relationship is occluded in current commodity discourses of knowledge and higher education. Performativity frameworks and the associated establishment of generic EAP courses in response to the
commoditising of knowledge diminish the significance of the inter-relationship of the knower and the known in knowledge creation, along with the relational aspects of pedagogical practice, through compromising the relationships between teachers and students and among students. A performance-centred pedagogy drawing on aspects of these three theoretical traditions can retrieve and reinstate the embodied actor, not only into academic texts but into the policies, procedures and pedagogical practices of higher education, thus offering a broader conception of academic writing as a social process and countering the rather 'thin story' offered by a commodity view of education.

Dismantling Generic EAP

Foregrounding the Academic, rather than the English in English for Academic Purposes highlights the shortcomings of generic EAP courses. In view of these shortcomings, I argue that such courses should be dismantled in favour of discipline-specific courses. This has implications for the education of teachers of academic writing courses. It is clear that the current expectation of teachers to have a background in TESOL is related to the positioning of generic EAP courses as a pre-University service industry and seems to be determined by market imperatives, rather than by pedagogical concerns. Language teachers are inexpensive to employ since, in the Australian context at least, they tend to be categorised as General Staff, not Academic Staff. The expectation that EAP teachers have knowledge about language, rather than disciplinary knowledge, perpetuates the disengagement with disciplinary knowledge in favour of skills that are deemed generic across the academic disciplinary spectrum. To focus on the Academic means that teacher education needs to prepare teachers to engage as academics and to understand the nature of academic writing in relation to the creation of knowledge, that is, the inter-relationship between the knower and the known, and to understand the pedagogical value of coming to know and knowing. A revised teacher education curriculum could provide teachers with the opportunity to engage in a range of research methodologies and to understand the value of different methodologies. The use of an ethnographically informed research design is a reminder that research into academic writing can profit from methodologies that are not simply text-centred. Considering the
pedagogical practices that inform the text and engaging with the writing processes of students can also be insightful.

The area of academic writing scholarship would benefit from theoretical inclusiveness. As outlined in the preceding paragraph, each of the three theoretical frameworks that were my main focus all have significant contributions to make to a performance-centred pedagogy. Rather than the tendency to seek a single approach or, as is common in TESOL, to advocate a single method, the field of academic writing would profit from more detailed investigations of disciplinary discourses. All three traditions, SFL, ESP and The New Rhetoric have made important contributions to understanding written academic discourses and yet they do not tend to incorporate aspects of other theoretical traditions.

My focus on the architectures of practice makes a small contribution to redress the lack of attention in the EAP literature devoted to understanding economic theories and how they are enacted in current higher education policies and practices. The importance of economic theories and discourses is particularly important in the case of EAP which despite having been conceived as an industry has not fully investigated how this shapes EAP practice. As other researchers have argued there is a need for a review of current generic EAP courses and the ethos of 'vulgar pragmatism' that seems to prevail. This requires an understanding of the constraints under which EAP is placed, both externally and internally, and how this positions generic EAP courses on the periphery of the university. In order to challenge this peripheral status, a strong case has to be made for academic writing as part of the creation of knowledge, rather than simply a set of transferable skills. Finally, a performance-centred approach to academic writing, with its foregrounding of knowledge as embodied, can serve as a counterpoint to market discourses, which tend to efface the embodied nature of teaching and learning, through their metric assessments and 'number-crunching' accounts of education. Rather than adopting a 'product' approach to curriculum and pedagogy, a performance-centred pedagogy can open up other possible ways of viewing classroom practice.
Concluding Remarks

The genesis of this thesis was a moment of curiosity in relation to what was occurring in my Pronunciation Through Drama classes, however my exploration of a performance-centred pedagogy went beyond the classroom to consider broader institutional and socio-political contexts. This revealed the highly constrained nature of EAP practice which is not always apparent in everyday classroom practice. In arguing for a performance-centred pedagogy, I am acutely aware that it is fanciful to imagine that it could be a panacea for the shortcomings of the EAP 'industry.' Drawing on my own experience, the subordination of Australian public universities to the demands of competing stakeholders and the lived precariousness of casualisation have instilled a sense of powerlessness among EAP teachers which makes change appear illusory. As Starfield puts it, we need to "expropriate a domain in which to work to lessen powerlessness - to take back words, discourses and social spaces" (2004, p. 154). This is true for all who work in higher education, not simply those in EAP. In the field of EAP, lessening 'powerlessness' requires understanding the constraints within which we work. Only by addressing our own sense of powerlessness can we then begin to address the sense of powerlessness that international students have "... within an institution that invited them in, without providing them with the grounds for success ..." (Starfield, 2004, p. 154). Offering the 'grounds for success' involves more than the provision of material resources and engaged and informed pedagogy. It also requires understanding how neoliberalism, when operationalised in a higher university context, can not only influence what is learnt but how it is learnt and to what purpose. When higher education is seen as the equivalent of 'breakfast cereal,' the dehumanising consequences of this view greatly diminish the experience of teaching and learning. The understanding of performance that I have employed in this thesis provides insights into the nature of academic writing by bringing into view the interpersonal dimensions of academic discourses. It is these interpersonal aspects that create the social spaces in which discourse communities meet to interact and exchange ideas. 'Re-humanising' the educational process means promoting these social spaces and directly
challenging the view that education is like 'any other commodity.' It involves moving beyond commodity conceptions of education to retrieve and reinstate embodied academics and students and to recognise the relational nature of education.
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Rethinking English for academic purposes