SAUDI STUDENTS' SOCIAL IDENTITY AND THEIR IDENTITY IN ACADEMIC WRITING: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF SAUDI STUDENTS IN THE UK

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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with Saudi PhD students' construction of writer identity in academic writing in the context of British higher education. In response to a growing need to understand the process of students' intercultural adaptation and the approaches that can facilitate the students' learning experience in the UK (Gill, 2007), this study aims to explore if active social participation in their academic community can facilitate students' writer identity construction. The key argument of this study is that such active participation can be a process of learning the relevant conventions of writer identity.

The study draws on Wenger (1998a) emphasising the role of 'community' and active participation in learning. Thus, the study aims to uncover the students' expression of identity in academic writing (ID-AW), their enactment of social identity in their academic community (ID-AC), and the possible relationship between them. This study explores the ID-AC and ID-AW of four Saudi PhD students at UK universities. I conduct a qualitative case study utilising diaries of interaction, semi-structured interviews, the students' academic written drafts, and stimulated recalls.

Informed by Norton Pierce's (1995) and Norton's (2000) theory of social identity, the investigation of the Saudi students' ID-AC reveals how they use and avoid opportunities to interact presenting an interplay between power relations and the students' participation. The study exhibits that Saudi students' interactions in their academic community can be directed by their desire for success, desire for mutual identification, desire to exhibit knowledge, cultural dispositions, feelings of foreignness, language disadvantage, and imagined future goals.

Drawing upon Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model of keys of academic interaction and Svalberg and Gieve (2010) content types, the investigation of the Saudi students' ID-AW reveals how the students interpret, adapt and fail to adapt conventions of academic English writing. It is shown that the students have different level of awareness to their constructed ID-AW. The students' ID-AW results from several factors that appear to have a more powerful impact on their ID-AW than their active participation in their academic community.

The findings of the study draw attention to the need to explicitly bring issues of ID-AW to the students' attention. Starting from addressing the students' initial beliefs about writer identity, deconstructing expert texts, and enabling them to take a more autonomous role in their learning.

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Abbreviations

CoP	**Community of Practice**
DI	**Diary interview**
ESL	**English as a second language**
ID-AC	**Identity in academic community**
ID-AW	**Identity in academic writing**
SR	**Stimulated recall**

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This first chapter presents an introduction of the study. It consists of six sections. The first section presents the main purpose of the study. The second section is the background of the study. It presents a discussion of the Saudi students' general educational and cultural background. Then, the context picturing the setting of the study is discussed. Followed by that is a section on the significance of the study. It addresses the importance and the potential benefits of the study. Then, the research questions are presented. Finally, an overview of the coming chapters and organisation of the thesis provided.

1.1 Purpose of the study

The present study is concerned with the construction of writer's identity in academic writing (ID-AW), specifically that of Saudi PhD students in the UK. It aims to explore these students' construction of identity to gain a better understanding of their academic experience and of the different dynamics impacting it.

The study focuses on these students' participation in the academic community, more specifically on them as social identities. To capture their active social participation in their academic community, the study seeks to reveal their interactions with fellow students, instructors, supervisors and other faculty members. In fact, any interaction is considered of interest as long as it is related to the students' academic community. The study also seeks to discover what mediates these interactions, and how this is done.

Since learning is considered an aspect of students' active social participation in the academic community, the study hypothesises that there is a strong relationship between the students' writer identity as revealed in their academic writing and their social identity in the academic community (ID-AC).

1.2 Background of the study

The study investigates the identity construction of Saudi doctoral students at UK universities through their academic writing. The students typically come from a cultural and educational background that is very different from that in the UK.

The Saudi educational system has administered public educational institutions since 1954. The main method implemented is rote learning which is characterised by memorisation and rejection of independent reasoning (Shahi, 2013). This shared corporate identity may have played a role in the system's rote learning method. Hyland (2012a) suggests:

> Conceptual systems which tend to assert individual responsibility versus those which lean towards the nurturing responsibilities of the collective have been identified across a range of cultures and are seen to have discourse implications.

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In a popular Arabic book "How to write a research paper", Shalaby (1968) instructs students to avoid unnecessary argument about others' ideas and to avoid discussing topics that may initiate controversy. Unfortunately, such instructions can develop in the students an appropriation of conformity rather than individuality. Much of what Shalaby (1968) and Shahi (2013) describe is very true to what I experienced as a school as well as a university student in the Saudi educational system. I was not encouraged to express my opinions. Students were graded on how much they had memorized and not on their thoughts about what they had learned. When we were tempted to take a critical stance, we were limited to what was socially acceptable and agreed with the shared beliefs and values.

Saudi students see the teacher as a guide, role model and source of knowledge (Algamdi and Abdaljawad, 2005). In a study of Saudi students at university level (Taj, 2009), the majority of the participants revealed their dependence on the teacher and a tendency to follow instructions faithfully. Thus, the teacher's knowledge is perceived as unquestionable, leaving little space for students to take a personal stance in their writing.

In the context of British higher education, Saudi Arabian students are classified as 'international students'. International students, as described by Carroll and Ryan (2005), are those who travel to another country for tertiary study where most of their previous experience is of other educational systems, in cultural contexts and sometimes in a different language. In the UK, international students can refer to students other than those from Great Britain and the EU.

Since the early 1990s, international students have been welcomed and their number in UK higher education has increased radically (Gill, 2007). Within the global context, the UK is a major player in the provision of courses for overseas students, hosting 17% of the total overseas student population (McNamara and Harris, 1997). British universities have benefitted greatly from international students' fee income. It has enabled colleges and universities to invest in additional, enhanced or expanded facilities, and offer specialist courses. International students are also considered to have helped sustain the UK's research base (UKCISA, 2015).

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1.3 Context of the study

In 2013, according to the UK Council for International Student Affairs, the number of Saudi students in the UK reached 9,440 (UKCISA, 2015). There are even greater numbers studying in the USA, Canada and Australia. Coming from a different academic background, these students are newcomers to the conventions of academic English writing in their respective disciplines. International students bring with them values, beliefs, ways of learning, patterns of behaviour and thinking that may sharply contrast with other values, beliefs, etc., potentially causing major problems (Paige, 1990).

The presence of international students contributes to the multilingual and multicultural demography within the British university setting. Within this diversity, there exists a mismatch. Cortazzi and Jin (1997) suggest that cultural gaps occur between what is valued and expected in a British academic culture and the expectations students bring with them based on their educational experience elsewhere. According to Todd (1997), such differences in expectations can lead both lecturers and students to characterise the other as deficient and failing. Consequently, Leask (2005) emphasises the significance of developing students' international perspective to allow their understanding of how cultural dominance influences knowledge and practice in a discipline.

The British academic culture has an individual orientation where students' own opinions, independence of mind, creativity and originality are valued (Cortazzi and Jin, 1997; Hyland, 2012a). In academic English texts, academic writing is not just an act of conveying content but is also seen as an act of representation of the self (Hyland, 2012a). One of the central aspects of academic English writing is the presence of a writer identity that projects the conventions of disciplinary discourse. Ivanič (1998) explains that:

> Writers have to recognize that they are involved in the process of self-attribution: forging their own allegiances to particular traditions and sets of values by their language choices.

(Ivanič, 1998, p.3)

However, projecting an appropriate ID-AW is generally difficult for English as a Second Language (ESL) or English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students (Hyland, 2002a). It presents a challenge for most because they need to take on identities that are valued by coincide with their academic community. However, this identity can still be unfamiliar for them. Ouellette (2008) explains:

> Struggles over individual identity construction through writing are not the result of any inadequacy on the part of the writer; rather, such struggles are an inevitable consequence of the mismatch between the literacy practices he or she has successfully drawn upon before and those practices demanded by the academic writing task and valued within a specific community.

Ouellette (2008, p.259)

Given the contrast between the expectations of the more individualistic British academic community and the more collective Saudi academic community, Saudi students can be expected to encounter a mismatch between what they are used to and what they are now expected to conform to. In a study on Egyptian students who are very similar to Saudis, Abdelhamid (2010) refers to several reasons why Egyptian students face challenges in English academic writing. Most relevant to the focus of the study is the students' suppression of voice in their Arabic academic writing. He explains that, as in the Saudi educational system, a feature of the Egyptian educational system is memorisation. The more a student memorises the cleverer they are perceived to be. As a result, students' work lacks critical thinking and expression of their opinions.

My interest in this topic stems from my own, very similar experiences. On a personal level, I have struggled and still struggle to present the expected identity in academic work. I was taught in the Saudi educational system that focused attention on grammatical structure rather than rhetorical conventions of academic writing. As a teacher, I followed the same approach in teaching writing to my students. However, my perceptions of what qualifies as proper academic writing changed as I became more aware of rhetoric, conventions and genres of writing. Yet, it remains difficult to achieve the characteristics of academic writing I have become aware of. It is certainly

challenging to sound and write like the more established members of this discipline. I still tend to hesitate, observe, imitate and make an effort to take on an appropriate academic identity in my writing, and yet I do not necessarily succeed.

According to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of learning, human development results from a dynamic interaction between individuals and society (Van Lier, 2004). Vygotsky suggests that learning is a socially situated activity, stressing the role social interaction plays in the development of an individual, thus offering a more holistic perspective on developmental questions in second language learning (Ohta, 2000). The dialectical relation between discourse and social practice (Fairclough, 1992) assumes that the Saudi students' experience of constructing an appropriate ID-AW is an experience of becoming members of their academic community. Bartholomae (1986) argues that writers need to assume new value systems before they can take on identities that fit with the academic discourses of the university at which they are studying.

Studies of the social life of international students at higher education institutions have emphasised the academic and the associated social challenges that international students face as part of their educational experience (Rose-Redwood and Rose-Redwood, 2013). If the academic culture including its conventions of is aligned with certain values and beliefs of the society (Abasi et al., 2006; Cortazzi and Jin, 1997; Hyland, 2002b, 2012a; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999; Shen, 1989), the Saudi students' social identities in their academic communities can be associated with challenges as well. In order to understand the possible challenges a Saudi student may encounter, it is useful to understand the notion of Saudi identity.

1.4. The notion of Saudi Identity

Saudi people come from the heart of the Arabian Peninsula that has always been inhabited by Arab people and their ancient Arabic culture (Saudi Embassy, 2015). They speak Arabic as their mother tongue and English as a foreign language. The peculiarity of Saudi students is due to the ideological context in which these students' identities typically took place. To begin with, their Arabic culture, according to Doumato (1993), attaches great importance to the tribe as a large extended family as the welfare of the group comes first and is superior to that of any individual or any

other tribe's welfare. This collectiveness in a group-oriented society is valuable, as opposed to the values of an individualistic society where the individual's rights and voice are prominent (Hyland, 2012a). Doumato (1993) describes how the identity of Saudis is traditionally formed:

> Undergirding the patriarchal family were cultural and religious values that permeated the society as a whole, and that found their clearest expression in tribal values and practices. Families share a sense of corporate identity, and the esteem of the family was measured by the individual's capacity to live up to socially prescribed ideals of honour.

> (Doumato, 1993, p.67)

Within this collective orientation, Islam plays a central role in determining the practices, values, and attitudes of the society (Almunajjed, 1997). In fact, Saudi Arabia takes on a strict interpretation of Islam that promotes a culture of conservatism. Religious practices are evidently performed publicly such as the five daily prayers, constant reference to God's greatness in speech (Lipsky, 1959) and women's code of dress. This rather strict version of Islam is a central factor in Saudi Arabia's laws, education, and even television programs (Van Geel et al. 2012).

Perhaps one of the most prominent influences of the strict religious interpretations is the gender segregation. In fact, this feature of segregation influences aspects of the public and social life in Saudi Arabia profoundly (Al-Saggaf and Williamson, 2004). Gender segregation is still required at all levels of public education and sometimes also in public areas (Doumato, 1993). Gender segregation as in not permitting women to mix with unrelated men has been a subject of continuous debate about its social imperative and its origins are constantly contested. In fact, many well-known religious Saudi scholars have declared that mixing of the genders is a natural thing that was not forbidden by any clear text in Islam; especially that Prophet Muhammad himself and his companions regularly mixed with women who were neither their wives nor their relatives (Van Geel et al. 2012). Nevertheless, gender ideologies, which can be attributed to traditional values, continue to gain power in Saudi society by being associated with strict Islamic teaching (Hamdan, 2005).

In this sense, the segregation of 'gender' is not mere shorthand for man or woman. But it can also be seen as an invitation to understand how some practices and values are shaped from the Saudi point of view (Sakr, 2008). The emphasis on segregation implies the view of women as bearers of culture and morality. In other words, segregation is to protect the chastity and the honour of the family (Almunajjed, 1997). As a consequence, women's access to public spaces and mobility are restricted is an act of defence consequent to the society's belief in family honour (Baki, 2004). For example with in the educational field, the teachings of Islam strongly assert the mandatory necessity of education for both men and women and further granted women's right to work (AlMunajjed, 1997). However, the strict interpretation of Islam in Saudi Arabia induced the circumstances of women's education, hence schools and universities are segregated at all levels of education. In cases where male instructors are necessary, videoconferencing, instruction without the teacher and the students' face-to-face meeting (Mackey, 2002), are utilised (Baki, 2004). The sensitivity of the family honour and gender segregation resulted a way of life that attends to these matters (Baki, 2004).

Most importantly, most women accept these circumstances and accept these rules as part of the Saudi cultural heritage (Van Geel et al. 2012). Evidently; Saudi women are granted higher levels of education including expansive opportunities to pursue education abroad by the government (Al Rawaf and Simmons, 1991); yet, issues regarding women's rights and responsibilities in the society have been controversial among in Saudi society (Hamdan, 2005). According to Altorki (1986), women are pushing for control in places where it is naturally fit for them to do so within this conservative context but do not wish to change these rules and do respect their culture. This implies that Saudi women endeavour to develop their own strategies to achieve social rights within a gender inequality perspective (Hamdan, 2005).

In relation to Saudi students in this study, understanding gender segregation not only reflects the uniqueness of the Saudi identity, but most importantly can suggest the roots to power distribution and mediate what may constitute power. As Doumato (2000) states,

> Girls were taught enough to buy into an assigned role, a role in which they were subordinate to men, but not enough to challenge it.

(Doumato, 2000, p.93)

According to the Saudi culture, power relations can be suggested by gender, more negatively affecting female students' interaction. For example, being used to gender roles may justify feelings of anxiety, frustration or uncertainty a female Saudi student studying in the UK may have when engaging in interaction with a male Canadian colleague, for example. In addition to feelings of anxiety emerging from being a non-native speaker of English compared to him, in her Saudi cultural perception, the fact that he is a male requires stepping out of the comfort gender segregation zone she is accustomed to in her home culture.

In addition to the issue of gender segregation, feelings of foreignness and alienation can emerge from other specific cultural perceptions. Given the strong religious influence on Saudi people's lives (Nevo; 1998), the Saudis generally possess a strong religious identity (Lipsky, 1959; Saudi Embassy, 2015). They come from a different religious background that obliges them to perform practices such as praying during the day, avoiding eating or drinking certain things, or dressing in a certain way and sometimes socialising with certain people. It can be argued the British society is a rather multicultural society with great minor cultures since official figures show the rapid transformation of Britain into a diverse multi-ethnic society (Julius, 2008). Nevertheless, Julius (2008) also highlights that the values of the Islamic community opposes that of Britain's dominant liberal Christian tradition. For example, within the academic community France et. al (2007) explain that young British people from a Pakistani background going to university revealed that the drinking culture of these institutions lead to cultural separation. Accordingly, there continues to be conflicting evidence regarding the state of diversity and multiculturalism in Britain (Julius, 2008). Tikly et al. (2006) claims that within education, issues of culture and diversity is critical for students' success and feelings of belonging. Therefore, the identity of Saudi students in the British culture where their practices are usually alien can cause them feelings of foreignness and separation.

Despite students' perceptions of who they are, power relations in particular social contexts make certain modes of subjectivity more or less available (Norton Peirce, 1995). For example, a number of Saudi students in the UK were teachers in their educational institutions back home. Although they identify themselves as qualified,

knowledgeable and confident, as newcomers in their UK academic community, they are forced to take other subject positions. Their understandings, knowledge and skills are become a matter of negotiation. Accordingly, at this point, their performance and investment in their community may not reflect who they believe they are. Their identity is better seen as an integration of their various experiences (Hyland, 2012a); the previous situation where they were knowledgeable teachers and the current one where they are newcomers to British academic culture. Thus, identity can be seen in terms of its relative status (McNamara, 1997), marking distinctiveness as well as similarity to the current group.

Nevertheless, it is important to consider these assumptions and the notion of Saudi identity with caution. Certainly, small symbolic and introspective changes have already occurred among Saudi people (Berger, 2013). In fact, while this description creates a specific picture of Saudi people's reality, the notion of 'one' culture that everyone acknowledges is always contested as there are small cultures within every social grouping (Holliday, 1999). Saudi students in the UK may come from different 'small cultures' within Saudi society and their values and priorities may differ as a consequence.

1.5. Significance of the study

The exploration of Saudi students' ID-AW offers an insight into the challenges and dynamics the students' identity construction entails. It contributes to similar previous studies by gaining a deeper understanding of the Saudi students' experience of constructing identity in their academic writing. Academic discourse is certainly problematic (Lillis, 1997). Issues such as linguistic proficiency, writing skill and cultural diversity present challenges for students as they intend to weave an acceptable writer identity through academic discourse (Ouellette, 2008). Thus, it needs to be problematised and investigated rather than taken for granted.

The conventions of academic English writing are not shared by all cultures (Hyland, 2002b). It is suggested that they have their roots in the culture and inherited ideologies (Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999). The exploration of Saudi students' identities offers an insight of how students from a different language culture and with different

ideologies come to apply, or fail to apply, conventions of academic English writing and how they adapt, or fail to adapt, to the requirements of their new educational setting.

The ways writers choose to express their ideas are the result of a variety of social and psychological factors (Hyland, 2002b), yet there is no previous study revealing the factors that influence how Saudi students construct their identities Hence, this is also an opportunity to recognise the different factors and influences from which their identity construction emerges.

The study stresses the role of 'community' in forming writer identity. The participants in the current study are students who encounter opportunities for participation in the activities of their academic community such as their participation in seminars, lectures, discussions, meetings, and so on. Thus, the study reveals the impact of a student's participation in such communal activities on their construction of writer identity. Since it has been shown that under certain circumstances participation can lead to change of one's mental system (Lantos, 2000), researchers have become more aware of the ways writing responds to individuals acting as members of social groups (Hyland, 2008). Studies of students' interaction have indicated unequal development in language skills (Milton and Meara, 1995; Segalowitz et al., 2004) but none has focussed on the construction of writer identity. Accordingly, this investigation assesses the impact of students' participation in the academic community on their construction of ID-AW.

The study is based in the UK higher education system which has its own academic conventions and practices. There has been a growing demand to understand the process of students' approaches and adaptation to their British academic culture. The British university setting features a large number of international students whose presence is an essential part of academic and social communities within universities (Russell, 2005). The quality of the international students' experience is important not only for the reputation of the university but also for the country in which they are studying (Ryan, 2005). British academic institutions can benefit from drawing on investigations that facilitate and support students' learning experience in the UK (Gill, 2007). There are a number of studies regarding international students in different universities. However, such research is mostly dominated by US academic institutions (Kinginger,

2009). Although these studies explore issues relevant to the international students' academic performance and cultural adjustments in Western academic culture, the extent to which such research can be applied to the UK context is limited as there are differences between UK and US academic cultures, and also between student communities in the two countries (Todd, 1997).

Learning outcomes can reflect the individual student characteristics, teaching approaches, and also the socio-cultural context in which learning takes place (McNamara and Harris, 1997). Segalowitz et al. (2004) suggest that the widely held belief, to the point of having taken on certain mythic proportions, that students learning in the target language community have extensive opportunity of interaction may be unrealistic. Focussed on students' participation, the current study presents a realistic view of the students' participation experience. The investigation of their participation, including how they resist, use and sometimes create opportunities to interact presents a more accurate view of the students' interaction in their academic community, and a greater awareness of the interplay between power relations and the students' participation.

According to Chen (1999), students' experience of frustration, anxiety and uncertainty may influence their interaction. Saudi students may experience some feelings of alienation due to the fact that they come from a different religious background. According to the Saudi Embassy website (2015) Saudis generally possess a strong religious identity based upon the tenets of Islam. For example, a Saudi student who studies in a shared study room will need to be excused to pray at least twice a day and they also have restrictions on what they may eat or drink. Such preferences and behaviours are likely to cause Saudi students at least initially to experience feelings of foreignness, which in turn is likely to influence their experience of participation.

Among Saudi students, there is however considerable individual variation. Although the study focuses on Saudi students as a group, it attends to the individuality of each student's case, for example, by considering the student's background. It does not adopt stereotypical views by which to understand international students' experience based only on their general cultural, linguistic or academic attributions. Some studies have explored international students' academic experience as uniform, rendering such studies not as useful as they might be to gain a deeper understanding. By contrast,

exploring the dynamics of their writer identity construction, including the power relations mediating their social participation, attends to the individuality and diversity of each student. The diversity found in the British university experience extends the variation of the cultural and linguistic background of students to include each student's individual characteristics. Approaching each case by respecting its individuality has the potential to produce more valuable insights into the students' academic experience regardless of their background.

The study addresses a gap in the existing body of literature by focusing on Saudi students in UK higher education. Given the cultural and linguistic background of the Saudi students, the study can present findings more relevant to other Middle Eastern students who share very similar backgrounds. There is hardly any similar research focussing on the experience of Saudi or Arab students' construction of writer identity and their participation in academic community. Similar studies can be useful but have limited relevance to Saudi students. Given the potential for conflict in the international students' academic orientations, we should be very cautious about their usefulness to all international students (Barker, 1997). For example, several factors are argued to have a great weight in students' identities in writing but their relevance to Saudi students not been investigated.

1.6. Research questions

The study aims to extend our understanding of the construction of writer identity by international students in English academic writing. It focuses on the experience of Saudi research students in British universities. Stressing the role of the students' active participation, it explores their interactions in their academic community. The study specifically intends to answer the following questions:

1. How do the Saudi students use or resist opportunities to interact in their academic community?
2. How do the Saudi students perceive themselves in their academic community?
3. How do the Saudi students construct their identity in academic writing?
4. Can the Saudi students' social identities in their academic community predict their identities in academic writing?

The research questions attend to the key points of inquiry which are shown below in Table 1.

Table 1.1: Research questions and key topics of inquiry

Research Question	Key Inquiry
1. How do the Saudi students perceive themselves in their academic community?	Students' participation in their academic community (Social identity in the academic community)
2. How do the Saudi students use or resist opportunities to interact in their academic community?	
3. How do the Saudi students construct their identity in academic writing?	Students' academic performance (Identity in academic writing)
4. Can the Saudi students' Social Identities in their Academic Community suggest their Identities in Academic Writing?	Influence of students' social identity in the academic community on their identity in academic writing

To answer the research questions, I needed to use more than one theoretical framework. First, to explore the students' ID-AW, the study draws upon Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model of key resources of academic interaction and his constructs of proximity and positioning. Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types along with the application of Zimmerman (2008) are developed to explore the students' identity roles writing.

To investigate the students' ID-AC, Norton Peirce's view of social identity (1995, Norton, 2000) became a valuable framework for the study. Similar o the exploration of the students' ID-AW, Zimmerman (2008) is also utilised to explore the students' identity roles in their academic community.

Finally, to understand whether and how the students' ID-AW may predict their ID-AC, the study draws on Wenger's (1998a) concept of 'community of practice'. These frameworks and concepts are presented in more detail in Chapter Two.

1.7. Overview of the thesis

Chapter Two presents a literature review where the framework of the study is discussed in more detail. It mainly draws on literature on academic writing and the

perspectives that underpin, explicate and evaluate ID-AW. It also presents the notion of social identity and Norton's views of social identity and the concept of investment. Finally, it discusses Wenger's notions of 'community of practice' and learning as a social phenomenon.

Chapter Three describes and discusses the methodological framework of the study. It presents the rationale behind what is a qualitative study. It describes the research design, including research approach, participants, data collection procedures, pilot study and methods of data analysis. It ends with a discussion of validity and reliability of the study as well as ethical issues.

Chapter Four presents and discusses the findings and their analysis of investigating the students' ID-AC. The case of each participant is presented separately, offering a closer view of the practices of each participant. The data from each of the four participants is presented under recurring themes which provide a close view of the participants' social identities in the academic community.

Chapter Five presents and discusses the findings and their analysis of investigating the students' ID-AW. Similar to Chapter Four, the case of each participant is presented separately organised under recurring themes which provide a close view of the participants' identities in the academic writing.

Chapter Six revisits the themes presented in Chapter Four and Five to answer the fourth research questions of the study. It discusses how the students' social identities in their academic community came to influence (or not) their identities in academic writing.

Chapter Seven presents the conclusions of the thesis. Starting with a summary of thestudy then describing the contributions and implications of the study. It also presents the study limitations and presents other observations. It ends with recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of related literature. It is divided into three main sections. The first section focuses on the students' social identities in their academic community (ID-AC). Drawing on poststructural theory, it presents Norton Peirce's (1995) view of social identity. The following section focuses on the students' identity in academic writing (ID-AW). It first presents an overview of academic writing, followed by Hyland's (2005, 2012a) and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) views of writer's identity in academic writing. It finishes with an overview of existing research on students' writer identity. The final section focuses on an approach by which writer identity and social identity can be linked. Starting with an overview of sociocultural theory of learning, it then presents Wenger's (1998a) notion of community of practice, its perspective of learning as participation, and finally discusses how the academic community can impact students' learning.

2.1 Students' social identities

2.1.1 Identity and poststructural theory

Identity is defined in relation to what one is and what one is not; always defining difference in relation to others (Weedon, 2004). Differences as well as identifications become signifiers of whether or not someone belongs (Mirza, 1997). McNamara (1997) states that the relative status of social identity suggests the process of social comparison, as distinctiveness establishes terms for the comparison. For example, due to the relative status of social identity, a Saudi student studying in the UK can identify themselves as a foreign student only when compared to other 'home students'; it is no longer a valid identity when they are back in Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, among a group of international students in the UK, they may no longer experience the feelings of foreignness being in the UK but lean towards identifying him or herself as a member of a broad distinctive group of international students. Accordingly, identity can include one's differences, affiliations, beliefs, history, and feelings, including both the conscious and the unconscious sense of self. One's social identity is thus made up of cultural, ethnic or social group affiliations (Tajfel, 1981). In other words, different social contexts may prompt different levels of self of the individual, causing different acts of thinking, feeling, participating (Turner et al., 1987). As a result, a theory that can capture the forms of social organisation and address individual consciousness is required.

With the loss of a fixed notion of identities, poststructuralism emerged (Zaretsky, 1994). Poststructuralism is a group of theoretical positions which emerged in the second half of the 20th century doubting the existence of an objective reality (Weedon, 1987). It advocates the exploration of relations between the individual and the social (Lee, 1992). Given the focus of this study on understanding the students' ID-AC, the assumptions of poststructuralism regarding subjectivity, discourse and power relations are relevant. The fundamental value of adopting a poststructuralist perspective in educational research is that it attends to the complexity of human existence (Lee, 1992), as in the "daily struggle and muddle of education" (Donald, 1985, p.242). According to Weedon (1987),

> Different discourses provide for a range of modes of subjectivity and the ways in which particular discourses constitute subjectivity have implications for the process of reproducing or contesting power relations.
>
> (Weedon, 1987p.92)

Rather than seeing experience as being fixed, objective and pre-existing in isolation, poststructuralism came to understand experience by relating it to social power (Weedon, 2004). Replacing the terms 'individual', 'self' and 'ego' with 'subject' (Zaretsky, 1994), draws our attention to the subject positions an individual can take. Weedon, a feminist poststructuralist, uses 'subjectivity' to refer to "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, their sense of themselves and their ways of understanding their relation to the world" (Weedon, 1987. p.32). Identity on the other hand, captures the plural possibilities of subjectivity giving an individual a singular unified sense of who they are (Weedon, 2004).

Shaped by what Foucault first called 'power' (Calhoun, 1994), all poststructuralists refuse to hold power apart and assume that understanding identity can only be understood in relation to power (Zaretsky, 1994). Due to the lack of equality in the status and positioning of actors in social scenes, Foucault argues that power is present everywhere in human relations (Bourdieu, 1991). These forms of power relations govern the form of the individual's subjectivity (Weedon, 1987). They become evident in the struggle an individual encounters as they seek confidence, recognition, legitimacy or membership allowing for the reorganisation of one's identity, which is never complete. Accordingly, identity emerges from dialogic relations dependent upon power relations and the modes of subjectivity available (Marchenkova, 2005).

By engaging with others, Bakhtin claims we routinely shape and reshape not only our sense of self but our expressions as well   (Bakhtin, 1981). Linguistic phenomena are social phenomena in the sense that they are socially derived and have social effects (Fairclough, 2001). According to Weedon (1987),

> Discourses represent political interests and in consequence are constantly vying for status and power. The site of this battle for power is the subjectivity of the individual and it is a battle in which the individual is active.

(Weedon, 1987, p. 41)

Discourse can thus capture the subjectivity modes an individual takes on in a particular site. This is made clear when power relations dictate who says what and what can and cannot be said in a certain situation (Baynham, 2006). Thus, one's identity is continually subject to change through different interactions (Bakhtin, 1984). According to Weedon (1997, p.21), "language is the place where our sense of ourselves and subjectivity is constructed". For example, within an academic seminar, when a student engages in interaction, they manifest a realisation of how they relate to others, express themselves among others and recognise their differences to others. Nevertheless, the modes of subjectivity fluctuate across various sites of discourse. Foucault produced the concept of discursive fields suggesting that social practices are structured by competing in different ways of giving meaning to the world (Bourdieu, 1991). How we do this forms and reforms our sense of self. How a student chooses to interact in one particular site where a certain topic or certain individuals are present is likely to determine how they experience struggles, opportunities, and choices in another site.

2.1.2 Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2000) theory of social identity

In theorising learners' social identities, Norton Peirce (1995) draws on poststructuralism and Weedon's (1987) theory of subjectivity. Instead of theories presenting learners' identities in binary terms suggesting a rather dichotomous distinction between the language learner and the social world, Norton Peirce (1995) proposes a notion of the language learner's identity that incorporates the language-learning context.

Some theories of identity and language learning present a view of the learner based on affective variables such as being inhibited or uninhibited and motivated or unmotivated (Gardner and Lambert, 1972), failing to capture the social aspects of these modes of subjectivity. On the other hand, there are other theories that define the learner in regards to social variables such Schumann's (1986) acculturation theory. These theories have been contested, as they do not address why learners may or may not be motivated and uninhibited or why under the same social conditions learners either

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learn or resist learning the language. Norton (1998) problematises a number of theoretical assumptions that Schumann's (1986) model of acculturation makes. She presents data from immigrant women in Canada, where Schumann's assumptions, that language learners will tend to resist the target language when their group is inferior to the target language group, or that positive attitudes between the target language group and second language group will enhance language learning, clearly do not apply.

Norton Peirce's (1995) understanding of the social identity of language learners stresses the importance of power relations among learners in constructing social identity. While some theories view identity in binary terms, Norton (2000) summarises three defining characteristics of subjectivity: it is contradictory and of a multiple nature; it is a site of struggle; and it changes over time. In describing identity she states:

> I use the term identity to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space and how the person understands possibilities for the future. I argue that SLA theory needs to develop a conception of identity that is understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable, social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction.

(Norton, 2000, p.5)

Accordingly, Norton's description indicates four main assumptions about social identity that are relevant to the focus of this study:

1. One's identity is conceptualised through power relations. Power relations indicate that identity exists in reference to the social world or the learning context and do not exist in isolation. Mediated by power relations, identity is a site of struggle.
2. One's identity is subject to change. Identity being constructed across time and space, changes within a social context and associated power relations cause one's identity to be a site of transformation and reorganisation.
3. One's identity is influenced by its possibilities in the future. One's identity is not influenced only by the immediate social context, but can also be

influenced by one's understanding of future relationships, affiliations and opportunities.

4. One's identity is reproduced in regular social interaction. Existing in social contexts that embed different sites of struggles and possibilities, identity negotiation and transformation take place in and through engagement in interaction.

If social identity is better understood in relation to certain contexts, it follows that it is multiple and not fixed as power relations and conditions are reproduced differently across different contexts. This view of social identity is appropriate to the current focus of exploring students' social identities in their academic communities, as it offers a more comprehensive perception.

I find it helpful not only as a researcher but also more realistic and close to what I myself have experienced as a language learner. Defining myself in binary terms does not correspond to the changing and always reproduced struggles I have encountered. My identity shifts over time and space in accordance with the changing social relations. While I can be characterised as inhibited, for example, in one site, I can be quite different in other sites with different power relations.

Norton and Toohey (2011) argue that as power relations in the social world affect learners' opportunity for interaction, language learners may claim alternative identities that enhance their interaction. Thus, learners can occupy multiple positions, enabling them to adopt a relatively powerless position in one discourse and a more powerful one in another (Baxter, 2003). Yet, despite the space for learners to renegotiate their identities, Norton (1997) claims that the possible identities language learners can negotiate in their community are mediated by the relations of power. In my own experience, this view of the language learner also explains why I sometimes, as a motivated ESL learner, initiate interaction with target language speakers while at other times I tend to completely avoid such interaction. I have apparently, according to Baxter (2003), adopted different positions across different discourses. It is not the learners' level of motivation that has varied or ought to be questioned, but it appears that when they are offered the opportunity to engage in social interaction, the power relations within the discourse may lead to resistance to this opportunity.

In order to capture the relationship between power, identity and interaction, Norton Peirce (1995) adopts the concept of 'investment', drawing on Bourdieu's (1997) notion of cultural capital which suggests that forms of cultural capital have an exchange value. She argues that when learners invest in interaction, they are not only exchanging knowledge or engaging in conversation with others; they do so with the understanding and expectation they will acquire a wider range of symbolic resources in return (Norton Peirce, 1995). Having acquired a return on their investment, the symbolic resources and distribution of power change and reorganise. As a result, an investment in interaction is an investment in the learner's own identity which is constantly changing across time and space (Norton, 2001). In other words, since interaction is not a mere exchange of information but a practice motivated by acquisition of symbolic resources, it can thus enable a reorganisation of one's identity.

Investment is different from but complements the construct of motivation. While motivation is a psychological construct that indicates the learners' desire to achieve a goal (Gardner 1985), investment is a sociological construct that takes into account the social context. Dörnyei's (2001) perception that motivation governs how hard and for how long people may pursue a goal does not take into consideration that there are certain power relations that function beyond learners' motivation level. Investment, on the other hand, seeks to capture the learner's desire to interact and their changing identities and power relation across different sites (Norton and Toohey, 2011). Investment can be seen as learners' engagement in the language, facilitating a deeper understanding of why they may appear motivated and taking on the opportunities of interaction in some sites, and unmotivated and resisting or avoiding an opportunity for interaction in others.

Investment in interaction thus helps learners reorganise and negotiate a sense of who they are. Norton (2000) also states that:

> When language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with the target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity.

In these terms, investment can be seen as both source and outcome of learners' identity. So while learners' views of their identity mediate their investment, investment in return alters existing identities and self-perceptions, enabling future investments. For example, when a rather hesitant student successfully invests in a discussion with a course instructor, their experience can cause a renegotiation of their sense of self. Such an investment can bring more confidence and legitimacy to a re-evaluated sense of self and can thus facilitate future investment.

Norton (2001) also emphasises the role of possibilities for the future in students' identity. In fact, Dörnyei (2009), drawing on Higgins' (1987) theory of possible selves developed in psychology, puts forward a learner's 'Ideal L2 self'. He proposes an 'L2 Motivational Self System', connecting the two concepts of motivation and identity. If the learner's ideal self aspires to speak the second language, this ideal L2 self acts as a powerful motivator to learn the second language, thus reducing the discrepancy between actual and ideal selves. Studies such as Al-Shehri (2009), Ryan (2009) and Dörnyei (2009) have confirm that the ideal L2 self has a strong, and in some cases the strongest, correlation with a learner's intended learning effort and behaviour.

In relation to the theory of possible selves, Norton (2001) draws attention to the role of the learner's imagined community and imagined self in mediating investment. Learners can have different aspirations for their future selves, so they become affiliated with different imagined communities. Imagination here is not impossible wishes but they are hopeful imaginations that inform the anticipation for a better future (Simon, 1992). They are imaginations about future possibilities not withdrawals from reality. They are identities constructed from imagination driven by trends and changes (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). These imagined communities transcend time and space, going beyond the realm of the immediate community. In fact, Norton (2001) argues that learners' investment in interaction grows stronger in imagined communities than in their current wider community. Therefore, attempting to understand learners' identity entails understanding their imagined community, not only the current existing one (Norton, 2001). The fact that the imagined community is open to possibilities extends the range of the possible selves available to the learners.

2.1.2.1 Norton Peirce's (1995; Norton, 2000) and Zimmerman's (1998) views of identity

Norton's view of social identity presents a helpful guide in exploring students' social identities, capturing the on-going dialogical relation between the different dynamics of power relations, future selves, and investments in day-to-day interactions. However, Zimmerman (1998) suggests a view of interaction that can illuminate the social identities beyond the instant situation of interaction. He states:

> To view the interaction order as furnishing the building blocks for a social world beyond the instant situation is not to say the larger social order is nothing but interaction; rather, that the interaction order provides the mechanisms that enable not only interaction between social actors but also larger formulations that arise from such activities. (p.88)

According to Zimmerman (1998), the day-to-day interactions and incidents of investment indicate what he refers to as a person's 'discourse identity'. Discourse identities are fundamental to the moment-by-moment organisation of interaction. When a participant invests, they can take on discourse identities such as advice giver, questioner, presentation giver, guidance recipient and interviewee. Thus, these identities are assumed by the action taking place in interaction. In relation to Norton, discourse identities can capture a student's mode of subjectivity in interaction and decisions of investment. Subjectivity being contradictory and changing (Weedon, 1987), discourse identities can be contradictory, unaligned and "shift turn by turn" (Zimmerman, 1998, p.94).

Zimmerman (1998) suggests that when discourse identities are sustained by their engagement in interaction, 'situated identities' emerge. Situated identities, according to Zimmerman, are brought into being by the alignment of particular discourse identity sets suggested by interaction. For example, a participant's discourse identities that include questioner, interviewer, advice recipient and information seeker sustain the participant's situated identity as an academic researcher. In other words, the participant's discourse identities are aligned with their agenda of being an academic researcher. Zimmerman also states that there are types of identity that transcend situations. They are identities that travel with individuals across situations and are

potentially relevant to any situation and interaction (Zimmerman, 1998). These types of identity are what Zimmerman refers to as 'transportable identities'. Transportable identities are not momentary like discourse identities but are more powerful than situated identities for they transport across situations. For example, a transportable identity can be one's identity as a female. This identity can entail discourse identities despite the situated identity one has. So, if a female Saudi student believes in the immorality of interacting with male students, she will most likely avoid interviewing a male student despite her situated identity as an academic researcher. Therefore, it appears that both situated and transported identities capture the power relations that make certain modes of subjectivity available. They both capture "the shape of these activities, the agendas they embody and the goals they pursue" (Zimmerman, 1998, p.105).

In relation to Norton's view of identity, both situated identities and transportable identities can better capture the influence of power relations on interaction. In fact, Price (1996) questions Norton's application of her view of identity. Price indicates that while Norton claims that identity is multiple and a site of struggle, one of Norton's participant appears to operate from one constant identity, being a mother, despite the way her discourse is constructed. Conveniently, Zimmerman's identity categories can capture both multiple and constant identities. The multiplicity and site of struggle that Norton Peirce (1995, Norton, 2000) argues for emerges in the discourse identities where a participant may struggle to take up one or another alternative identity. However, the more constant identities Price argues for such as being a mother, a migrant woman, and other identities presented as unitary are represented in Zimmerman's framework as situated and transportable identities.

2.1.3 International students' social identity in the academic community

Norton Peirce's (1995, Norton, 2000) perspective of social identity along with Zimmerman's (1998) categories of identity complement each other. They form the fundamentals of exploring Saudi students' social identity in this study. It enables the study to attend to the individuality of each student, explore the dynamics of the power relations mediating their social interaction and avoid the general stereotypical

perspective of students based only on their general cultural, linguistic or academic attributions.

The Saudi students' specific identity (see section 1.4) can be relevant in understanding their interaction in their academic community. It is suggested that students' cultural background can be a crucial aspect that cannot be marginalised in their social interactions. Chen (1999) suggests that several researchers found that feelings of anxiety and alienation limit social interaction. Sources of struggle causing students' feeling of alienation and separation from others can vary among individuals and can be suggested by their background. According to Paige, (1990), students bring with them values, beliefs, ways of learning, patterns of behaviour and thinking that may sharply contrast with those of others and cause interaction problems. For example, a British graduate student studying in their hometown university where they earned their first degree would have a different view of the power relations in their academic community than an international graduate student who is experiencing studying abroad for the first time. Coming from a different cultural background, speaking another language and holding a different culture of education can suggest sources of struggle which may be non-existent to the British graduate student.

Jackson (2008) suggests that students' approaches to interaction may vary considering how they chose to engage with the target community and how they achieve acculturation. Schumann (1986) draws great emphasis on acculturation arguing that the degree to which the learner acculturates controls the degree to which the learner learns and uses the language. He views acculturation as a social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group suggesting a learner can be placed on a continuum that ranges from social and psychological distance to a social and psychological proximity with speakers of the target language. Berry (2005) further suggests that individuals usually have four strategies regarding their acculturation. First is an individual's assimilation, where individuals do not seek to preserve their cultural identity and become absorbed into the target society. Second is the individual's choice of separation, where individuals place a value on their original culture and avoid interaction with the target culture. Next strategy is the individual's marginalization, where an individual has little interest in both preserving their own heritage culture and having relations with the others. The final strategy is integration

where the individual is interested in maintaining his or her own culture while still seeking daily interaction as an integral part of the social network.

Despite acculturation being widely mentioned in the literature, it has received limited empirical support (Barjesteh and Vaseghi, 2012). Schumann's (1986) social variables of acculturation were disputed by other views. For example, it has been disputed by views considering the model deliberately excluding cognitive and instructional variables (Farhady, 1981), views considering the model better applied to second language settings but not to foreign language setting (Doughty and Long, 2003), and arguments that the model is problematic and too complex to be operationally defined and experimentally tested (Saville-Troike, 2006).

The debate over Schumann's view of acculturation does not devalue the influence of residing in a new culture on students' interaction. Certainly, when people move into a new culture, as the Saudi students' studying in the UK, they may experience some challenges that can influence their sense of identity. According to Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009), moving overseas may entail numerous changes involving living conditions, recreational activities, social circle, daily routine and so on; all of which may result in distress and frustration. Under such circumstances, students may vary in how they adapt. For example, some may easily adapt while others may adjust by withdrawing from interactions or restrict interactions to fellow nationals (Spencer-Oatey and Franklin, 2009).

Taking into account the learner's decisions to communicate or not in the target language over time and across situations, Macintyre et al. (1998) describe learner's willingness to communicate (WTC) as the "readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using a L2" (Macintyre et al. 1998; p.547). In contrast to McCroskey and Baer's (1985) original trait-like description, Macintyre et al.'s description stresses a dynamic variable concept. They present a range of potential influences on learners' WTC in a comprehensive multi-layered pyramid model. The model consists of six layers of variables that involve twelve different constructs that can influence a learner's willingness to communicate. Macintyre et al. (1998) notice almost thirty different variables that may have potential impact on learners' L2 WTC. The model demonstrates variables that not only incorporate the learner's L2 proficiency level but also include the learner's personality,

their familiarity with the topic, their desire to communicate with a specific person, their confidence in their competence, their desire to affiliate with the interlocutor or the L2 group and even one's fear of assimilation.

While the WTC model offers a practical and realistic view to why learners are willing to talk at one time and not another, a variety of unpredictable background, social, and individual dynamics can yet complicate a learner's L2 use (Gallagher, 2012). In fact, Macintyre (2007) highlights the complexity of the processes involved in creating WTC and stresses the importance of further investigating the variables in different learning contexts. Furthermore, De Saint Le'ger and Storch (2009) emphasise that studies on WTC have tended to be either small scale or relying on data usually collected via a single instrument offering mainly quantitative findings.

In fact, understanding that learners will not necessarily interact in every opportunity that is likely to present itself not only stresses the complex relationship between the variety of individual and social influences, but can also indicate an advantage of Norton Pierce's construct of investment over WTC. Interactions occur in a specific time with specific people on specific topics and learners carry a repertoire of unique beliefs, skills, values, expectations, objectives, and strategies (Folkman et al.; 1986) that it cannot be granted WTC model is bindingly valid. In addition, WTC variables influencing interaction can lend sensitivity to the learner's different cultural expectations.

At the heart of the complexity of WTC, there are two areas that overlap with Norton Pierce's (1995) power relations and can inform our understanding of the Saudi students' ID-AC. First of all, in a cross-cultural communication where learners are using L2, it can be found that learners' choice to interact is rather transactional; or as Norton suggests (see section 2.1.2) is seen as an investment in their identity. While Norton emphasizes that learners interact with the expectation of acquiring a wider range of symbolic resources in return, WTC model stresses the importance of contextual variables and the enduring persistent variables. As Gallagher (2012) describes, one's communication is an exchange between a person and the context in which one encounters environmental expectations. In other words, if one is stressed to communicate, it is due to the imbalance between their own resources and demands of the context (Kim, 2001). Second, WTC and Norton Pierce's (1995) construct of

investment are not trait like concepts; but are rather captured in the specific context of interaction taking into account the importance and the peculiarity of each opportunity of interaction. So as investment is a sociological construct that takes into account the social context, WTC model of variables attempts to capture both enduring influences. e.g., learner's personality and situational influences e.g. other interlocutors present (Macintyre et al. 1998).

Since the focus of the study are Saudi students in an a study abroad context, the English language efficiency becomes a key element of their social identity (Jackson, 2008). Ting-Toomey and Chung, (2005) emphasize that group membership can be developed through not only physical appearance, racial traits, skin, color but also through language usage. Given that Saudis typically speaker English as foreign language, their fluency, confidence, familiarity and proficiency in the language can involve struggles of power (Fairclough, 2001; Weedon, 1987). According to Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), power relations embedded within multilingual education practices can lead to inequality. The learners' communicative competence (Norton, 2000) and exposure to diverse interactions in social settings (Ritchie, 2002) suggest different abilities and degrees of identity negotiation. Thus, language for Saudi students is potentially not only a means of communicating facts, ideas, concerns, and hopes (Barton, 2007) but most importantly a means by which a student can realise the power relations in their context and define their identity.

Thornborrow (1999) also argues that the construction of social identities impacted by students' language establishes further boundaries among the students themselves. Language has a potential role in controlling the production, distribution and legitimation of relations of power in interaction (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001). For example, within a group of Saudi students, a student that is more fluent in the language can possibly hold greater power than those less fluent; yet, an Australian student that is not only a native speaker of the language but, also generally has greater communicative competence and familiarity with the sociocultural practice can have a greater advantage over the majority of Saudi students. As Norton and Toohey (2002) state,

> Language itself is not only a linguistic system of signs and symbols; it is
> also a complex social practice in which the value of and meaning ascribed

to an utterance are determined partly by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks it. Thus, language learners are not only learning a linguistic system; they are learning a diverse set of sociocultural practices, often best understood in the context of wider relations of power. (p.115)

2.2 Identity in academic writing

2.2.1 Academic writing

Supporting the creation of knowledge, academic writing is considered to be at the centre of teaching and learning in higher education (Coffin et al. 2003). Writing is how academics communicate their knowledge, publish contributions and establish their reputation. It is also the means by which students are assessed, and expected to consolidate and demonstrate their understanding (Hyland, 2009). Horowitz (1986, pp.449-451) identified seven categories of academic writing tasks expected from university students:

1. Summary of/reaction to a reading
2. Report on a specified participatory experience
3. Connection of theory and data
4. Case study
5. Synthesis of multiple sources
6. Research project
7. Annotated bibliography

Most importantly, these tasks are socially constructed (Canagarajah, 2002). They follow certain conventions of what is appropriate and expected in the university setting in terms of style and content (Berger, 2008). Bartholomae (1986) stresses that academic writing signifies the students' ability to recognise, produce and interact as a member of the academy. He describes:

> The students have to appropriate (or be appropriated by) a specialized discourse, and they have to do this as though they were easily and comfortably one with their audience, as though they were members of the academy, or historians or anthropologists or economists; they have to invent the university by assembling and mimicking its language, finding some compromise between idiosyncrasy, a personal history, and the requirements of convention, the history of a discipline. (pp.4-5)

Acting as though they were members of the academy is relevant to Fairclough's (1992) context of culture. A context of culture includes its dominant conventions that shape

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discourse production, its interpretation and its characteristics, to which members are expected to conform (Ivanic, 1998). Although certain generalisations can be made regarding these conventions, a social act can exist in a set of contexts embedded in each other (Ivanic, 1998). For example, when a student of mathematics writes, they write keeping in mind the context of culture suggested by their Mathematics department and discipline, the university, and the language. Therefore, the writing instructions and generic structures examined in this student's experience cannot be generalised; variations occur across the contexts of culture of different languages, countries, disciplines and institutions.

Dismissing the use of language to communicate with the world at large, the notion of 'discourse community' draws on the idea that when we write we do so with other members of our social group in mind (Hyland, 2012a). Barton (2007) refers to a discourse community as:

> The people the text is aimed at; it can be the people who read a text; or it can refer to the people who participate in a set of discourse practices both by reading and writing. (p.75)

Disciplines are governed by certain ideologies (Halliday and Martin, 1993). The differences of the epistemology contribute to the disciplinary differences in academic writing (North, 2005). So how knowledge is viewed, created and interpreted in a discipline dictates the rise of these conventions (Bruce, 2008). In this sense, as disciplinary differences demonstrate an interpretation of reality, having a unified approach also signals our membership of that community. For example, when a chemist writes, they are bound to conventions different from those available for a psychologist, yet it is an opportunity to write and present an approach to reality as a chemist. In other words, the variation of structures, purposes and conventions of academic writing across disciplines (Hyland, 2008) is an opportunity for a chemist, psychologist, philosopher and biologist to identify themselves as members of their discipline. On an even larger scale, not only do individuals belonging to different disciplines express themselves differently but also Silva (1993) found that students of different languages approach academic English writing differently. Relatable to Kaplan's (1966) claim that thought patterns and paragraph development in writing

differ across languages, Silva found that NES and ESL writers differ in their general textual patterns.

2.2.2 Writer's identity in academic writing

The concept of identity is relevant to every human activity (Ivanič and Camps, 2001). A person waiting for the bus conveys a representation of themselves without saying a word. They represent themselves, what is important to them and how considerate they are of others through what they are wearing, their eye contact, their smile, posture, etc. As identity is displayed in every human activity, academic writing is no exception.

As language functions not only to convey ideational content but also interpersonal meaning and textual function (Halliday, 1994), academic writing is an act which conveys not only disciplinary content but also the identity of the writer (Hyland, 2002b). Academic writing is no longer an objective and impersonal form of writing; it is seen more as a persuasive act where social relations are constructed and negotiated through language (Hyland, 2005). For example, views of self, others and personal assumptions surface regularly in the choices of examples, hedging and assertion a writer makes (Van Lier, 2004). The use of language can offer individuals the opportunity to act as members of their community by displaying their alliance with the conventions of the community and taking on its values (Hyland, 2012a). Hyland (2002b) explains:

> Writers have to select their words so that readers are drawn in, influenced and persuaded. Our use of these resources, and the choices we make from the alternatives they offer, signal who we are.

> (Hyland, 2002b, p.1093)

There are different approaches to understanding writer identity. Identity itself is "a devilishly difficult concept to define" (Atkinson, 2001, p.110) that has been frequently confused in the literature with the concept of 'voice'. Meanings associated with 'identity' and 'voice' tend to overlap. Matsuda (2001) defines voice as:

> The amalgamative effect of the use of discursive and non-discursive features that language users choose, deliberately or otherwise, from

socially available yet ever-changing repertoires. Simply put, voice is the quality that makes impersonation or mimicking possible. (p. 40-41)

On the other hand, 'identity' is argued to consist of the lexical, syntactic, semantic, visual and material aspects of writing (Ivanič, 1994). Ivanič (1998, p. 24-26) suggests three ways of thinking about writer identity: 'autobiographical self' as the aspect of identity that is associated with the writer's roots, history and experience; 'discoursal self' as the aspect of identity that relates to the writer's values, beliefs and relations in the social context; and finally, 'self as author' as the aspect of identity that relates to the writer's voice, as in their opinions and beliefs.

The issue in question is which of the two concepts 'voice' or 'identity' is broader and able to include the other. In addition to Matsuda's (2001) and Ivanič's (1994) definitions, metaphorical interpretations of these concepts are multiple and subject to argument. For example, Bowden (1995) views voice as a metaphor that has to do with feeling, hearing and sensing a person behind the written words. Ouellette (2008) defines identity in terms of how we see ourselves, how others define us and how we represent ourselves to others. Examples of the different metaphorical interpretations of these two concepts proposed by Stapleton (2002), Atkinson (2000), Stewart (1972), Elbow (1981), Shen (1989), Ivanič (1998), Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), Atkinson (2001), Matsuda (2001), Ivanič and Camps (2001), Matsuda and Tardy (2008) and Hyland (2008) suggest a definitional ambiguity. Issues of how far these metaphors can be extended and what aspects of writing they translate to can contribute to scholarly disputes. In fact, the ambiguity and overlap of these concepts sometimes extend to include other comparable notions of style, register, stance, evaluation and register as well.

Since this study looks at the features students use in their academic writing, the construction of these features is better recognised as 'identity' (Stapleton, 2002). Based on Matsuda's (2001) above definition of voice, it can be concluded that voice is rather the 'effect' of writer identity. Thus, voice is "the amalgamative effect" which is the result of writer identity represented in "the use of discursive and non-discursive features that language users choose" (pp.40-41).

The role of identity in academic writing has also been disputed (Tardy, 2012). While a sense of author identity has been considered an essential feature of good academic writing, others consider it unnecessary and sometimes even distracting (Matsuda and Jeffery, 2012). First of all, Stapleton (2002) claims that the discussion of voice and identity lend power to a notion far greater than it deserves, and its significance is contested as opposed to originality, argumentation and contribution. There is a lack of empirical research on the relationship between writer identity and the actual quality of writing (Helms-Park and Stapleton, 2003). Helms-Park and Stapleton, (2003) examined the relationship between the presence of voice and the effectiveness of undergraduate students' essays, and found no significance between voice and overall quality. In fact, they suggest that learners can benefit more from presenting valid, well-supported ideas in comprehensible text rather than focusing on developing an appropriate voice.

This controversy about the significance of the role of identity suggests that students' need to weigh up both the risks of resisting conventions on the one hand and the risks of adhering to them uncritically (Ivanič and Camps, 2001). Especially since the role of identity in academic writing is not clearly established among students, they can risk misapplying these conventions. According to Abasi et al.'s (2006) examination of some of the more widely used textbooks in EAP courses in North America (e.g. Hinkle, 2004, and Jordan, 1997), none of these resources explicitly devote a section to this important aspect of writing. Yet on the other hand, some textbooks encourage writers to make their own identity more evident by employing discursive features including first person (Hyland, 2012a). The conflicting advice and diverse conventions of identity across disciplines contribute to the on-going debate on the role of identity in academic writing.

A final aspect of identity contributing to this dispute is the fact that discourses are formed by ideologies (Schaffner, 1996). Elbow (1981) suggests that voice in writing is conceptualised in individualist terms. Individualism is an ideology that values one's individual goals, uniqueness and control assuming that individuals are independent of one another (Oyserman et al., 2002). However, ideologies differ across cultures and individualist view is not shared by all. While some societies perceive individualism as a source of well-being, others perceive it as a source of alienation (Hofstede, 1984).

According to social scientists, individualism is more prevalent in industrialised Western societies than in other more traditional societies in developing countries (Oyserman et al., 2002). Markus and Kitayama (1991) explain that:

> In many Western cultures, there is a faith in the inherent separateness of distinct persons…The essential aspect of this view involves a conception of the self as an autonomous, independent person; we thus refer to it as the independent construal of the self. Other similar labels include individualist, egocentric, separate, autonomous, idiocentric, and self-contained. We assume that, on average, relatively more individuals in Western cultures will hold this view than will individuals in non-Western cultures. (p. 226)

Linking the concept of writer identity to individualism suggests that those who belong to a western culture have an advantage over those from non-western cultures. Nevertheless, the relation between discourse and ideologies is not necessarily that simple. Rather, it is indirect; a person's attitudes, opinions and knowledge also play an important part, excluding a direct, simple link (Van Dijk, 1996). Ideologies are acquired, used and negotiated within specific social contexts (Schaffner and Kelly-Holmes, 1996).

Finally, according to Hyland (2012a) the concept of identity is complex, variously defined and rarely grasped. In fact, Atkinson (2000) states that it is particularly difficult to critique studies that have focused on identity as authors can claim the occurrence of misunderstandings over definitions. In order to avoid the problematic definitions which can be too broad and vague to critique and empirically test (Stapleton, 2002), the current study aims to explore the students' writer identity through Hyland's (2005, 2012a) view of identity and through identity roles derived from Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types.

2.2.2.1 Hyland's (2005, 2012a) writer identity in academic discourse

Hyland (2005, 2012a) presents a clear and practical view of writer identity. Hyland (2012a) states that writer identity can be constructed along two main paths. The first path is 'positioning' which refers to the relationship between the speaker and the message. This path entails taking a stance towards the issues and points of view

discussed in the text. The second path is 'proximity' which refers to the relationship between the self and the community, signifying the social conventions of a discipline. In other words, writer identity is constructed through the writer's expressed stance towards the content; yet, it must be achieved in a manner that reflects disciplinary orientation.

The designation of the two paths, positioning and proximity, in writer identity values not only the writer's propositions but also takes into account the social aspects of writer identity. Any type of identity is rarely the sole product of an individual's mind but is the result of an individual's affiliation to certain beliefs in their social context (Bruffee, 1986). Writer identity is no exception to this since it, sometimes referred to metaphorically as voice in writing, operates as part of social practice (Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999). "Evoking a social milieu" (Hyland, 2009, p.46), academic writers are influenced by their membership of a social group. They have to confront institutional conventions regarding meaning making (Lillis, 1997), aligning themselves with the social views of the group (Ivanič and Camps, 2001). As a result, they are signalling their alliance with the group on the one hand, at the same time contributing to the individualistic identity of the group that is unlike other groups on the other hand.

Based on the corpus analysis of 240 published research articles from eight disciplines, Hyland (2005) offers a model of interaction in academic discourse. His metadiscourse analysis produces evidence of repeated patterns of language. These repititions identify a range of the most frequent linguistic features contributing to the writer's identity. Although the ways writers choose to present their ideas and negotiate arguments can stem from various considerations, the frequency of certain language forms in Hyland's survey suggests that they are not merely personal choices but are based on shared conventions in a community. It indicates that these linguistic resources are a community-oriented utilisation of appropriate linguistic resources to express the writer's identity (Hyland, 2004a).

According to Hyland's (2005) model, writers express their positioning and manage their interaction through the concepts of 'stance' and 'engagement'. Stance conveys the writers 'evidentially' which is the writer's level of commitment to the propositions presented, 'affect' which is the writer's attitude towards what has been said, and 'presence' which is the extent to which the writer chooses to foreground or background

themselves. On the other hand, engagement conveys the writer's recognition of the presence of the readers and their inclusion as discourse participants. Hyland clearly specifies the key resources for achieving stance and engagement in writing (see Figure 2.1).
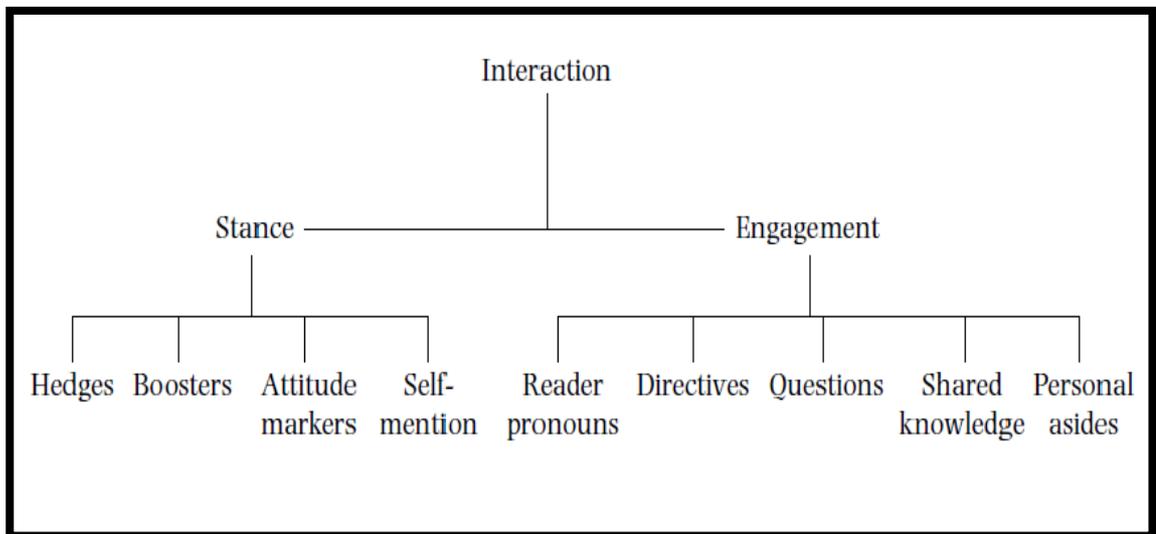
Figure 2.1: Key Resources of Academic Interaction (Hyland, 2005, p.177)

Based on Hyland's (2005) model, four main devices convey a writer's stance:

a. Hedges
b. Boosters
c. Attitude markers
d. Self-mentions

'Hedges' are described as the devices that indicate the writer's opinion rather than a fact indicating that a statement is based on the writer's reasoning or exact knowledge. Examples of hedges are words such as "probably", "perhaps", "might" and "possible".

In contrast to hedges, 'boosters' indicate the writer's certainty and assurance about a statement and information shared among group members. Examples of boosters are words such as "clearly", "obviously", "certainly" and "highly". Hyland also suggests that 'attitude markers' are the devices that indicate the writer's affective attitude such as agreement, disagreement, importance, interest or propositions. A writer's attitude can also be expressed through a text's subordination, comparatives and so on.

However, it is mostly expressed through the use of attitude verbs such as "disagree", "believe" and "prefer", the use of adverbs such as "unfortunately", "appropriately", and the use of adjectives such as "reasonable", "logical" and "unfounded". Finally, 'self-mentions', according to Hyland, are the first person pronouns "I", "me" and the possessive adjectives "my, mine" that indicate the writer's explicit presence, enabling the writer to indicate their own contribution.

Engagement is the other concept with which a writer expresses their position and manages their interaction. As Hyland (2005) explains, engagement is achieved through the employment of the following elements:

a. Reader Pronouns
b. Personal asides
c. Appeals to shared knowledge
d. Directives
e. Questions

Hyland suggests that through the use of 'reader pronouns', which are "you" and "your" or "we", "our" and "us", the writer may include the reader to signal group membership. Also, 'appeals to shared knowledge' is an element that can signal group membership. They are signalled by 'markers' that the writer uses to ask the reader to recognise something as familiar or contested, for example, "Of course, students have different levels of motivations to learn a new language". Another element of engagement is 'personal asides' which are the comments the writer makes by briefly interrupting the argument. Through such comments, the writer acknowledges an active audience. For example, "However, as I believe many Saudi Arabian students are aware learning a new language is not an easy task". 'Directives', according to Hyland, are the instructions the writer gives the reader. These directives include textual acts such as "look at figure 4" or "see the final section", physical acts such as "keep your data safe" or "set the temperature high", and cognitive acts such as "consider", "realise" or "imagine". Finally, Hyland describes the element of 'questions' as the questions the writer asks the reader to arouse their interest and encourage their exploration. Mostly these questions are rhetorical questions   asked to advance the writer's argument or arrive at conclusions.

Disciplinary differences in academic writing inform the study of writer identity and evoke an awareness of its variations. The rather recent attention to the investigation of variation across disciplines (Silver, 2012) indicates that different genres have different ways of using language to achieve tasks (Eggins and Martin, 1997). Accordingly, the conventions of writer identity common in the field of physics or biology, for example, may differ from those common in geography or philosophy. Hyland (2005) takes into account these disciplinary differences. He presents the density of the elements of stance and engagement in each of the eight disciplines normalised to a text length of 1000 words. The eight disciplines are soft and hard fields of sciences. They include sociology, philosophy, marketing and applied linguistics, physics, biology, engineering and mechanical engineering. In order to present a clear view of the disciplinary difference, below I present the average percentage of the elements of stance and engagement in the four soft sciences compared to the four hard sciences (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Key Resources of Academic Interaction in Soft and Hard Sciences

Resources of Academic Interaction	Av. in Soft Sciences	Av. in Hard Sciences
Elements of stance		
Hedges	17.80	10.25
Boosters	7.02	4.52
Attitude markers	7.85	4.47
Self-mentions	4.97	3.30
Elements of engagement		
Reader reference	4.07	0.925
Directives	1.87	2.00
Questions	0.72	0.075
Shared knowledge	0.60	0.32
Personal Asides	0.15	0.00

First, Table 2.1 shows that elements of stance are more salient in the soft sciences. This can be due to the different view of knowledge these disciplines hold. Epistemology is a major influence (Bruce, 2008). Whatever knowledge a writer communicates is a perceived world and not a metaphysical world (Rosch, 1978). In the hard sciences, a positivist vision of knowledge making is adopted. Precise and quantitative measures are applied, presenting writing as impersonal, as if they occurred without human agency (Ivanic and Camps, 2001). As a result, a writer is less obliged

to take on an authoritative stance. Hyland (2012a) suggests that all humanities disciplines are reiterative in that they are obliged to revisit and reinterpret material already studied. Van Dijk (1996) states that such opinion conclusions are unlike claims of truth:

> They [opinions] become more or less reasonable because of the argument adduced to support them. And the aim of the discursive argument is not truth or knowledge but the defence or the desired acceptance of the opinion.

> (Van Dijk, 1996p. 24)

Table 2.1 also shows that while the use of hedges is the most common in both fields, it is employed more in the soft sciences. This as well can be attributed to the process of knowledge making in both fields. Hedging being concerned with a writer's tentativeness regarding the possibility of a proposition, writers in the soft sciences are more likely to express their judgment of the propositions with tentativeness. Arguments carried in the soft sciences take more of an interpretative stance expressing an opinion the writer holds which demands a more personal stance. Given that they do not present conclusive truths, hedging and tentativeness become all the more essential.

Students' use of these linguistic resources may reflect that they are conforming to writing conventions and the discursive practices in their discipline. Hyland (2013) explains:

> The use of these forms reflects the wider discursive practices of the disciplines in which they occur, representing important conventions of field-specific argumentation…This should not really be surprising. We have repeatedly seen that disciplinarity lies in situated interaction, in ways of construing an accepted reality through discoursal distinctiveness, as much as it lies in specific objects of study.

> (Hyland, 2013, p. 121)

To conclude, text-oriented definitions of identity, as Hyland (2012a, 2005) are constructive in identifying and describing how a student's identity is manifested

(Matsuda, 2015). Other perceptions of identity, for example, Bowden's (1995) emphasis on feeling, hearing and sensing a person behind the written words, or Elbow's (1981) focus on intangible aspects of voice such as the sound, rhythm and energy, suggest criteria difficult to explore and particularly difficult to critique. While the validity of the criteria used to measure identity in many studies are questioned (Helms-Park and Stapleton, 2003), Hyland's (2012a, 2005) model offers a valuable framework for this study. Validated by their recurrence in Hyland's analysis of corpora, the Hyland's textual devices allow a well-informed and practical exploration of students' writer identity. Rahimivand and Kuhi (2014) describe Hyland's analytical model as:

> the most comprehensive and pragmatically grounded means of investigating the interpersonal resources in texts. It seems that, this model overcomes many of the limitations of other models and tries to move beyond exterior and superficial forms or assays about metadiscourse as a self-sufficient stylistic scheme.

> (Rahimivand and Kuhi, 2014, p. 1495)

Despite the value of Hyland's model in exploring Saudi students ID-AW, it can be argued that an understanding of identity appears rather partial focusing only on textual features such as, hedges, boosters, attitude markers…etc. Hyland's model has been disputed to be restraining our understanding of students' identity in academic writing. Melles (2008) explains:

> For someone like myself, more accustomed to seeing genre production and pedagogy as more than textual, this approach is something of a limitation.

> (Melles, 2008, p. 845)

Hyland's view though valuable and empirically useful; yet, as Matsuda (2015) points, its reduction of identity to textual features suggests that studying identity in written discourse requires only the understanding of textual features. Silva (1990) describes ID-AW as a social dynamic construct that is likely created as a result of a complex

interaction of factors and perceptions. Hence the view of identity as a sum of textual features does not necessarily compliment the view of identity as a dynamic entity. In addition, Fairclough (1993) states that regarding ID-AW as rigid conventional features would be an understatement that denies it its negotiable nature. This is especially crucial as the students in this study come from a different cultural background. Flowerdew and Wang (2015) describe that given the influence of globalisation and users of English as L2 outnumbering users of English as L1, it is important to realise the negotiable nature of identity and cannot be regarded as a rigid representation., that has been and.

Therefore, if authorial identity is the writer's construction of textual identity and their presentation of themselves as authors (Pittam et al. 2009), the exploration of students' ID-AW can benefit from a more holistic investigation of identity. Hyland's model looks at the 'textual" component of the students' ID-AW, while Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types looks the identity roles writers convey in their written content. Thus, both models can complement each other and offer a rather comprehensive model of exploring the students' ID-AW.

2.2.2.2 Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types

In an online tutorial where graduate students are trained to project themselves as academic writers, Svalberg and Gieve (2010) point out that although a student is less experienced, they are still expected to adopt a stance and express their views in order to create their own identity as a scholar. Svalberg and Gieve point out that an academic writer is expected to make not only their own voice heard, but also to channel other voices, such as those of the sources on which they draw. Given the different voices a student may channel, e.g. those of their written sources or their research participants, Svalberg and Gieve (2010) suggest that writers' own voice can be heard through the different types of written content. Svalberg and Gieve suggest that types of content include:

1. Writer's description
2. Writer's comment
3. Ideas or facts from published sources

4. Anecdotal illustration

5. Writer's own research evidence

I have found that the content types suggested can further serve our understanding of writer identity in academic writing as they suggest certain writer identity roles. According to Bartholomae (1986), one's identity as an academic writer is constituted in the different personas assumed in writing. For example, a writer's reference to their own previous research can suggest the writer's attempt to signal expertise, membership and impact on knowledge; while a writer's comments can suggest authority and criticality. These inherited characteristics found in a written text can capture a writer's identity (LeFevre, 1987).

These content types can also be related to Zimmerman's (1998) discourse identity. Although the author illustrates the notion of discourse identities with examples from spoken interaction, this metaphorical concept of identity is not limited to a certain space and can be applied in written text as well (LeFevre, 1987). These content types can also be related to Zimmerman's (1998) categories of identity. The content types as writer's description, comments and illustrations can project a momentary feature of writing. As these momentary incidents according to Zimmerman are tied to the situated identities, content types in writing can be tied to situated identity roles as well. Zimmerman (1998) argues:

> The play of discourse identities is tied to the situated identities of the parties which in turn link these local activities to standing social arrangements and institutions.
>
> (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 94)

Accordingly, the alignment of these content types orientates a writer to their situated identity role. It can thus be suggested that content types correspond to the following identity roles:

1. Reporter

2. Commentator

3. Holder of knowledge

4. Persuasive demonstrator

5. Contributor to knowledge (see Figure 2.3 below)

Figure 2.3: Content types and their acting identity roles

An identity role or situated identity is not a static concept. In fact, from a poststructuralist point of view, it can be argued that identity roles are multiple, socially situated, changing overtime, and that they are constructed through exchanges between the writer and reader (Davis, 2006). Roles may be optional, sometimes repeated, composed in a different order, and occupying different proportions of a text.

Thus, while Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model draws attention to the specific interactional resources utilised in a discipline, identity roles draw our attention to the content of the text and the writer's situated identities. First of all, a 'writer's description' suggests the writer's role as a 'reporter'. The role of a reporter is enacted when a writer presents a mere description of some sort of information. Whether it is achieved in a form of summary or a paraphrase, a writer here refrains from taking a critical perspective.

In contrast, a 'writer's comment' suggests a more critical writer's role, the writer taking on the role of 'commentator'. A commentator is different from a reporter. A commentator presents more than a description as the comments deliver criticality. Being a commentator, a writer ceases to be objective and detached (Canagarajah, 2002). They aim to add something new, establish a position, and contest previous ones. The writer's role as a commentator is valued and crucial for writers for according to Hyland (2012a), an academic reputation is based on such content.

The third content type is 'facts from published sources'. The writer's role here is as a 'holder of knowledge'. The writer's presentation of facts from published sources is an effort to be persuasive to readers. As a holder of knowledge, the writer sets up a conversation between themselves and the reader and between themselves and other researchers. The knowledge the writer presents is always filtered through acts of strategic selection and synthesis in order to craft texts in ways which will be persuasive to readers (Hyland, 2009).

'Anecdotal illustration' is the fourth content type a writer can present. Here the writer's identity role is as a 'persuasive demonstrator'. In this role, the writer may, for example, draw upon a real incident involving actual persons providing their own account of it. Anecdotal illustration has the limitation of being open to different interpretations (Campo, 2006) and not being representative (Moser, 2003). Nevertheless, the writer's presentation of knowledge from their own access to the external world is their attempt to be a persuasive demonstrator. It can be argued that the validity of the role of a persuasive demonstrator emerges from the perception of knowledge being personal and subjective (Canagarajah, 2002). Acknowledging that the writer's feelings, imagination, biases and values always influence the construction of knowledge, drawing on anecdotes is sometimes a valid means to persuade readers.

The final content type is the 'writer's own research evidence' which suggests the writer's role as a 'contributor to knowledge'. A writer's reference to their own work can convey expertise, membership of their community of practice and signal an original contribution to knowledge. However, this representation of self requires balancing between showcasing expertise and maintaining modesty (Tse, 2012). It is an opportunity to proclaim affiliation and alliances (Taylor, 1989) expressing not only expertise but also signalling group membership.

Ronald (1990) argues that much of the identity roles found in written texts are a negotiation between the writer's private and public self. Given the intersection of various communities, writers may struggle to identify their own positions when attempting to establish authority for themselves (LeFevre, 1987). The focus on writer's identity roles, in addition to Hyland's key resources of interaction, offers a more holistic view of the students' identity as writers. While Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model

draws attention to the specific linguistic resources utilised in a discipline, the content types draw attention to identity roles in writing.

2.2.3 ESL writer's identity

The UK has witnessed a huge expansion of higher education. University courses are no longer attended by a particular group of white and monolingual school graduates (Hyland, 2009). The growing diversity of the students entering academic discourse has introduced different identities, understandings and habits of writing. There may be cultural gaps between what the students value and are used to based on their educational experience elsewhere and what is now valued and expected of them in British academic culture (Cortazzi and Jin, 1997). As a result, many students writing in English as a second language do not find it easy to write their academic work in an acceptable form due to their lack of familiarity with the conventions and expectations of academic writing in English medium universities (Paltridge, 2004). Students' academic writing in higher education is seen as problematic and conforming to the conventions of writing as a complex matter (Lillis, 1997). Students in general may experience difficulties in writing for a variety of social and cultural reasons (Fernsten and Reda, 2011). However, ESL students' construction of writer identity can pose further difficulties.

There are several concerns about ESL students' construction of writer identity. To begin with, ESL students such as Saudi students come from an educational background with conventions and values different to those in the UK. Saudi academic culture relies on rote learning, memorisation and rejection of independent reasoning (Shahi, 2013). Such cultures often encourage students to consider texts primarily as repositories of factual information asking them to recall and reiterate informational content (Yasuda, 2011). Saudi writers may draw on discourse features different from what is appropriate in English. Cadman (1997, p.3) explains that, "A significant cause of difficulty may lie in the different epistemologies in which these students have been trained and in which their identities as learners are rooted".

Cultural identity can have a strong influence on writer identity. Cultural notions have an effective role in learning (Currie, 1997) as they make available certain ways of

understanding and perceiving ourselves (Hyland, 2012a). According to Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999),

> By ruling cultural influence and knowledge out of the picture one becomes able to assume that everyone is like me - in the sense of believing that, while we may have different preferences and make different choices, we must all basically think of ourselves in relation to society in more or less the same way.

(Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999, p. 65)

Shen's (1989) English writing experience showed that he had to modify both ideological and logical identities. He suggests that learning English writing is in fact learning the ideologies of Anglo-American society. Coming from a Chinese background, he had to abandon the humble, timid, modest Chinese self and the ideology of collectivism and take on a more authoritative, confident, assertive English self with an individualistic outlook. It can be argued that not all western students are equally influenced by individualism. However, even though the influence of individualism varies, it is a culture generally prominent is western societies (Heath, 1991; Hyland, 2012a; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002) in contrast to other societies where it is less prevalent. As mentioned previously, there is an individualistic view of the self that is implied in the educational discourses in western cultures (Heath, 1991). As this culture of individuality is not shared by all cultures (Markus and Kitayama, 1991), ESL students oriented to different or opposing beliefs are challenged when encouraged to criticise, evaluate and synthesize knowledge (Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999).

For many ESL students, the notion of writer identity is unfamiliar. Ivanič's (1998) study explores the writer identity of eight mature graduate students with English as their L1. It is shown that even though the world of academia was unfamiliar to them, the concept of writer identity did not seem foreign to them at all. In fact, it is even an obvious element in their writing. In contrast to this, Abasi et al. (2006) found that five ESL graduate students (two Iranians, one Korean, Mexican and Honduran) expressed unawareness of their writer identities. They exhibited little awareness of the textual identities they constructed; as one student states, "I haven't looked at my writings so

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consciously. I just write" (Abasi et al., 2006, p.106). It is not to be expected that all students have thoroughly considered their identities as academic writers. However, before they can create, maintain, or adjust an identity that corresponds to the conventions in their academic disciplines, some ESL students require awareness of their identity. Stewart (1972) describes:

> The development of an authentic voice is a natural consequence of self-discovery. As you begin to find out who you are and what you think and to be comfortable with the person you are, you learn to trust your own voice in your writing.
>
> (Stewart, 1972, cited in Bowden, 1995, p.174)

It can be argued that writer identity is not necessarily a novel concept to ESL students, but the ways in which it is constructed in academic English writing are. Matsuda (2001) describes his experience of finding his own voice in writing, saying it was not a process of discovering a true self, but instead a process of negotiating the identity that was expected by his readers. While Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999) argue that the notion of writer identity is rooted in an individualistic culture, Matsuda maintains that voice is not unique to practices in individualistic cultures. Voice can be found in any language; yet, the ways in which voice is constructed are different.

Another example of the diversity in academic writing culture is plagiarism. Plagiarism is sometimes used as a form of identity negotiation among ESL students. This potentially costly act in English academia can indicate ESL writers' struggle to develop writer identity. Ouellette (2008) examines the case of a Taiwanese ESL student who did not express any claims or stances of her own and who was also identified as a plagiarist. Ouellette states that even though in western ideology plagiarism is indisputably considered unethical, what is considered inappropriate textual borrowing varies across cultures. Thus, the plagiarism incident, according to Ouellette, could be perceived as a form of identity negotiation on the student's part. In the study by Abasi et al. (2006) referred to above, students identified as plagiarists were among the less experienced ESL writers. The students clarified that their previous educational history made them view their sources as authoritative and stating impersonal truths rather than being persuasive sources. The students in both studies

may not have used borrowed text with the intention to deceive, especially since imitation has always been a source of learning (Brooke, 1988). However, coming from a different cultural background and lacking their own authorial identity, they took on other authors' views and voice as their own and in doing so, their imitation of a successful text exceeded what was permissible.

A more visible illustration of the connection between cultural identity and writer identity is the use of the first person 'I'. Hyland (2012a) states that when comparing texts written by non-western background students with published Academic English texts, the professional writers used first person pronouns four times more than the students did. Claiming and arguing using first person 'I' has connotations of authority, individuality and personal responsibility. For students coming from epistemologies that favour imitation and reproduction of knowledge, the use of 'I' to clearly signal their stance can be very intimidating. Shen (1989) expresses his early reluctance to use 'I' in his academic papers and clarifies that the negative impression of disrespect and selfishness of the word "I" in his original Chinese culture required it to be hidden in his English academic writing. Students' reluctance to present a more visible, assertive and committed voice is also evident in their use of the passive voice. According to Hyland (2002a), there are cultural reasons for a preference for the passive voice. Respondents in his study explained they were more comfortable backgrounding themselves as opposed to adopting the personal authority that 'I' implies.

At the same time, regardless of the "mismatch between the social contexts which have constructed [students'] identities in the past and the new social contexts which they are entering" (Ivanič, 1998, p.12), the relevance of these circumstances to individual student writers' identity experience may be variable. The current study aims to avoid a stereotypical view and instead   attends to the individuality and diversity of each student's writer identity construction experience.

2.3 Communities of practice

2.3.1 Sociocultural theory of learning

Sociocultural theory was developed in the 1920s by the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (Brock et al., 2009). Concerned with young children's cognitive development, Vygotsky's work focused on understanding how human beings develop higher mental functions through the dialectical relationship that exists between an individual's mind and their social environment (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). According to Vygotsky, this relationship results in higher mental processes such as rational thinking and learning (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006).

Vygotsky stresses the role social interaction plays in the development of an individual and depicts learning as a socially situated activity (Ohta, 2000). He suggests that human development results from a dynamic interaction between individuals and society (Van Lier, 2004). Therefore, knowledge is viewed as less of a commodity and more of a process of becoming (Sfard, 1998).

Sfard (1998) suggests that educational research is caught between two metaphors, the acquisition metaphor and the participation metaphor, which convey different views of knowledge. The acquisition metaphor compels our thought of knowledge as an object to be filled with certain materials, implying that there is a clear end point to the process of learning. On the other hand, the participation metaphor presents knowledge and learning as a process of becoming a part of a community, thus shifting the focus to the connections between the individual and others. The latter view of knowledge is relevant to Vygotsky's (1978) view of learning as it stresses the dialectical nature of learning.

Second language learning is no exception to this view of learning. Developmental questions in second language learning research have gained more holistic perspectives through Vygotsky's sociocultural approach to language (Ohta, 2000). Such studies do not attend only to questions of the acquisition of grammatical and lexical forms (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). Researchers have become more aware of the ways learning to write responds to individuals acting as members of social groups (Hyland, 2008). Bartholomae (1986) argues that for writers to take on acceptable identities in academic discourse, they need to assume new cultural practices. The aim to explore

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the students' identity in academic writing in a manner that stresses the process of becoming part of the academic community is in line with Wenger's (1998a) concept of a 'community of practice'.

2.3.2 Community of practice

Communities are part of our lives; they can be work, home, school or club. 'Community' generally describes groups of people (e.g., a town, a school) connected by a common interest and defined by the roles they play in the group's activity (Riel and Polin, 2004). Members of a community are bound by what the community is about, what activities they engage in together and the shared repertoire they have developed over time from being in their community (Wenger, 1998b). It is a social configuration where members engage in and identify themselves with a common practice (Wenger, 1998a).

A 'community of practice' can never be defined precisely (Cox, 2005). Instead, communities of practice are considered to be a type of learning community (Wenger et al., 2002). Social learning theorists claim that communities provide a basis for sharing knowledge. A strong learning community fosters interactions and relationships based on mutual respect and trust (Wenger and Snyder, 2000). In a learning community, members are provided with a safe environment to engage in learning through interactions, observations and discussion with experts and other colleagues. It creates a social structure that supports community activities and helps individuals to acquire and share new knowledge (Li et al., 2009).

A community of practice includes the practical, the theoretical, the ideas, the actions and the reality (Wenger, 1998a). 'Practice' here is not the antonym of theory. Practice includes both explicit practices, such as language, documents, explicit procedures and regulations, and implicit relations, such as implied conventions, assumptions and sensitivities. It represents both what is said and what is assumed. Wenger (1998a, pp.72-85) describes three dimensions by which a community of practice is formed:

1. Mutual engagement: this involves a participant's competence, and the competence of others. It draws on what the participant does and knows and

the ability to connect meaningfully to the contributions of others. A shared practice connects participants in ways that are diverse and complex.

2. A joint enterprise: for a community of practice to function, participants need to be aware of, and follow their community's joint enterprise. Their understanding of their enterprise and its effects is uniform.

3. A shared repertoire: its participants need to generate a shared repertoire. This can includes routines, language, documents, concepts, artefacts and symbols. Most importantly for this study, it includes the discourse through which members are expected to create meaning. These resources also express the participants' membership and identities as members.

A particularly controversial aspect of community of practice has been the use of the term 'community'. In addition to Brown and Duguid (1991) who problematised the use of the term 'community' and its connotations, Cox (2005) argued that the concept of community of practice tends to imply sameness. According to Cox, a community of people differs as they have different skills and knowledge. However, it can be argued that although shared repertoires can be very heterogeneous, they do gain coherence due to the fact that they relate to the practices of a community. For example, within a university's academic community, members can include experienced lecturers, academic advisors, and students at different levels of education. Although they differ in the degree of knowledge and experience, the community's joint enterprise ensures that practices are negotiated according to mutual understandings. Wenger (1998a) describes this:

> Mutual engagement does not require homogeneity, a joint enterprise does not mean agreement in any simple sense… the enterprise is joint not in that everybody believes in the same thing or agrees with everything but in that it is communally negotiated.

(Wenger, 1998a, p. 78)

Another crucial characteristic of communities of practice is that they provide a basis for identity (Wenger, 1999). According to Wenger (1998a), learning is a process of becoming, hence an experience of one's identity. Wenger (1998a, p.149) views identity in practice as follows:

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1. Identity as a negotiated experience where we define who we are by the way we experience our participation and the way we perceive ourselves and others perceive us.
2. Identity as community membership as we define ourselves by the familiar and unfamiliar.
3. Identity as a learning path, as we define ourselves by where we have been and where we are going.
4. Identity as a nexus of multi-membership as we define ourselves from reconciling various memberships into one identity.
5. Identity as a relation between the local and the global. We define who we are by negotiating local ways of membership to broader constellations.

Identity denotes 'belonging'. Belonging in this sense is a result of shared interests and histories which develop in the context of a community (Wenger, 1999). Aligned with Bourdieu's (1990) view, an individual's habits result from their membership of a group and are thus indicative of their sense of belonging and mutual identity.

Since this study aims to explore students' social identities from Norton Peirce's (1995, Norton, 2001) viewpoint, it is assuring to find that Wenger's view of identity does not clash with that of Norton Peirce. Wenger's perception of identity as an experience that entails the negotiation of ways of being is similar to Norton Peirce's concept of power relations and investment in the social world. Both views assume one's identity as a negotiated experience in regards to existing relations. Also, Wenger's view of identity as a result of community membership where we define who we are by the familiar and the unfamiliar is similar to Norton Peirce's view of identity as being formed in the social world and not in isolation. Finally, Wenger's view of identity as defined by where we have been and where we are going matches Norton's concept of identity as influenced by one's understanding of his or her possibilities and affiliations in the future.

2.3.2.1 Wenger's (1998a) perspective of learning

Lave and Wenger (1991) refer to the process in which learning takes place as 'legitimate peripheral participation' (LPP). According to the notion of LPP, a

community consists of members who learn as they engage in the practices of the community. Hanks (1991) claims that LPP suggests that learning is less about being cognitive and more about social engagement. Lave and Wenger (1991) explain LPP as follows:

> A way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice… This social process, includes, indeed it subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills. (p.29)

Hence, when newcomers first join communities and become a legitimate part of them, they start to learn at the periphery while they gradually acquire knowledge and participate in more activities of the community. As they do, they move from legitimate peripherality to full membership of the community (Wenger and Lave, 1991).

It is worth noting that Wenger's (1998a) later work expanded the original work of Lave and Wenger (1991) which had focused on LPP. First of all, Lave and Wenger (1991) predominantly focused on individuals' learning and identity formation within a single community of practice (Haneda, 2006). Wenger (1998a) came to comprehend that people usually have multi-memberships and participate in multiple communities of practice. In addition, while Lave and Wenger (1991) examined learning as a social phenomenon and referred to the process of legitimate peripheral participation, Wenger (1998a) presents significant additions to this previously proposed learning theory.

Wenger (2000) explains that whether participants are newcomers or old-timers, learning is an interplay between one's competence and one's on-going participation as a member of that community. It is aligned with social constructivists' perception of knowledge which suggests knowledge as an experience of recontextualising previous understandings with new experience (Seifert, 2002). Wenger (1998a, p.4) suggests that learning can be characterised in the following way:

1. A central aspect of learning is that we are social beings.
2. Knowledge is a matter of competence with respect to valued activity.
3. Knowing is a matter of active participation in the world.
4. Our ability to experience the world and participation is meaningful.

In this view, learning is not necessarily an individual process achieved in conventional classrooms and educational institutions. Learners are social beings and our knowledge is a matter of active participation in the world. Learning, accordingly, can be achieved through a person's active, meaningful participation in social practice. In the same sense, a student does not only gain knowledge in their academic community in formal classrooms and from their teachers' lectures and course books but also, importantly, through their active participation in the activities of their community, whether formal or informal, such as encounters in corridors, conference halls, seminars, meetings and correspondence, all of which contribute to their identity as academic writers.

Wenger (1998a, pp.236-240) presents a learning architecture that forms a learning community. He suggests that in order to have a learning community, the practices in the community have to support the infrastructure components of a learning architecture, 'engagement', 'imagination' and 'alignment':

1. Engagement: the component of engagement includes doing things together, talking and producing artefacts (Wenger, 2000). For example, it can include providing occasions for exercising evaluations, making decisions, devising solutions, and applying skills.

2. Imagination: the component of imagination emphasises constructing an image of ourselves, communities and the world (Wenger, 2000). For example, it can include imagining a scenario of one's position in the community, trying new things and pushing boundaries.

3. Alignment: the component of alignment connects practice to the broader enterprise. It is the mode that ensures that members of the community would, for example, follow scientific methods or abide by ethical codes. Alignment thus includes having a common focus and interests, and standardised procedures, methods and policies (Wenger, 1998a).

So, while engagement is critical for learning, imagination expands possibilities and identities. However, in order for engagement and imagination to have effect, they have to be aligned with other processes, perspectives and policies of the community (Wenger, 1998a, 2000). Usually, these three components coexist as every social learning system involves them to some extent, yet the dominance of one or a combination of these components is possible (Wenger, 2000).

Wenger (1998a) pointed out that the existence of the infrastructure components of a learning architecture is no guarantee learning will occur. At issue is what defines learning as learning. For Wenger (1998a), an indication of learning is the occurrence of 'change'. He describes

> The difference between mere doing and learning or between mere entertainment and learning is not the difference in the kind of activity… It is that learning whatever form it takes changes who we are by changing our ability to participate, to belong, to negotiate meaning.

> (Wenger, 1998a p. 226)

2.3.3 Students' learning in the academic community

An academic community is a community of practice that governs its members' mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. Within the academic community, students are offered opportunities of participation. They are exposed to encounters with teachers, professors, instructors, other students and newcomers. They are likely to have conversations, receive feedback, be offered guidance and share experiences.

Wenger (1998b, p.6) suggests a number of functions a community fulfils regarding knowledge:

1. It is a channel for moving, exchanging and interpreting information.
2. It retains knowledge in living ways as it responds to local circumstances that a database, for example, cannot capture.
3. It can seek to be a dynamic, forward looking community as members collaborate in discussing new ideas and work on problems to push new developments.
4. It is home for identities. Identity is important as it helps sort out what we pay attention to, participate in and stay away from.

An academic community plays an active role in achieving these functions. Its members, including students, participate in discussions and debates that occur in the community's on-going lectures, seminars and meetings. Hence, an academic community is certainly a channel for exchanging and passing on knowledge. The knowledge of an academic community does not only exist in databases, manuals or

books. Members of the academic community have competence, experience and knowledge that are not recorded in artefacts. In addition, as an academic community revolves around knowledge, it is natural for it to aspire to be at the cutting edge, encouraging its members to keep their knowledge updated and to participate in discussions of new ideas. Finally, the academic community is certainly a home for identity. Students' participation in the activities of the academic community constructs their identity in relation to it. Their participation shapes who they are, how they perceive themselves and how they interpret what they do.

In relation to writer identity, when students gain access to institutions of higher education, they come into contact with dominant conventions governing the production of academic texts (Lillis, 1997). Students' participation in their academic community is most important for developing writer identity especially since community provides a way of understanding how meaning is produced (Hyland, 2009). Writer's identity is aligned with certain values and beliefs that support particular identities (Abasi et al., 2006; Hyland, 2002b; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999; Shen, 1989); and students' participation in their academic communities can have consequences for their identity in academic writing.

If writers need to assume acceptable identities in academic discourse (Bartholomae, 1986), participation in community practices can reform people's mental systems shaping them as members of the target community (Lantolf, 2000). In adopting the practices of a community, we come to adopt its perspectives and interpretations as we take on a compatible identity (Hyland, 2002b). Taking Sfard's (1998) perspective, students' participation and interaction in their academic community is not only an experience of becoming members, but also potentially an experience of constructing their identities in academic writing.

It is also worth remembering that participation in their academic community is not the students' only source of knowledge. They may receive formal education and instruction in the construction of writer identity, even if it is not referred to as such. Fuller and Unwin (2003) indicate that a shortcoming of the concept 'community of practice' is that it does not take into account the role of institutional formal education. However, Flowerdew (2000) argues that postgraduate students learn as much through participation as they do from more formal education. He explains that postgraduate

students are offered discipline-specific knowledge through their opportunities of interaction with other, more experienced, established members of their communities. Gee (1996) also argues that discourses are not mastered through formal instructional education. Gee states:

> Discourses are mastered through acquisition, not learning. That is, Discourses are not mastered by overt instruction, but by enculturation (apprenticeship) into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the discourse. (p. 139)

Becoming an academic is not a smooth, straightforward, linear or automatic process. It can also involve instances of inauthenticity, conflict and peripherality (Archer, 2008). It can be argued that students as newcomers on the periphery of the community can gradually progress through involving themselves with the activities of the community. The new shared understandings gained from active participation, when further expanded and combined with formal knowledge of the available discursive features of writer identity, can help develop how they construct their writer identity as members of their community. However, there is no clear movement of how individuals move to full membership (Wenger, 1998a).

2.4. Summary of frameworks

These frameworks together provide a coherent base for this study as their propositions do not clash and are aligned with each other. Table 2.2. presents a summary of the main features that define them and make them suitable for this study.

Table 2.2. Main defining feature of the frameworks

Concept	Description	Key Features
Theory of social identity (Norton Peirce, 1995, Norton 2000)	It is a theory of social identity that integrates the learner and social context. Associated with postsructuralism (Block, 2007), social identity is multiple and shifting. It presents an account of the interrelationship between identity, power relations and investment in interaction (Moyer, 2013).	• Language as a social practice • Identity is theorized as multiple, subject to change, a site of struggle and in constant negotiation • Investment in interaction subject to power relations, possibilities for the future. • Identity is influenced by imagined community and future possibilities
Writer identity (Hyland 2005, 2012a)	Writers negotiate the status of their claims and present their work so that readers are most likely to find it persuasive, and balanced with evaluation, certainty and caution (Knoch, 2009). Contributing to the negotiation of a successful reader-writer relationship, writers draw on linguistic features most reaffirmed in their discipline.	• Writer identity is social constructed • Writer identity performed by acts of authority and stance • Linguistic resources (e.g. hedges, boosters, attitude markers..etc) achieve disciplinary membership

Content types (Svalberg and Gieve 2010)	Students' voice is both necessary, and valuable. Students are expected to project themselves as academic writers in a way that respects the conventions of British academic culture. Students' voice can be heard through the different functions the content types serve.	• Writer identity realised through the conventions of British Academic culture. • Voice is conveyed through content types (e.g. writer's comments, writer's description, anecdotal evidence.etc.) • Content types suggest identity roles (e.g. a holder of knowledge, a persuasive demonstrator, a contributor to knowledge
Discourse and situated identities (Zimmerman, 1998)	Discourse identities project a momentary feature of interaction. The alignment of the features orients the individual to a situated identity role.	• Identity is a construction emerging from an actual discourse and social arrangement. • A set of aligned discourse identities orient the individual to situated identity. • Situated identities emerge from a given social knowledge.
Wenger's (1998a) Community of Practice	Focusing on informal and situated social interaction, community of practice suggests interaction achieves learning of what is needed to be known about the complexities of practice (Cox, 2005). Communities of practice are considered to be a type of learning community.	• Communities of practice provide a basis for identity. • The learning practices in the community support: engagement, imagination, and alignment. • An indication of learning is the occurrence of 'change'.

Having discussed in this chapter the main theoretical frameworks in this study, they are not only appropriate to achieve the task of the study, but they also efficiently

complement each other. Identity being a central construct in this study, it is found that that these frameworks perceive identity in a common view. See figure 2.4 below.

Figure 2.4: Theoretical frameworks' shared view of identity
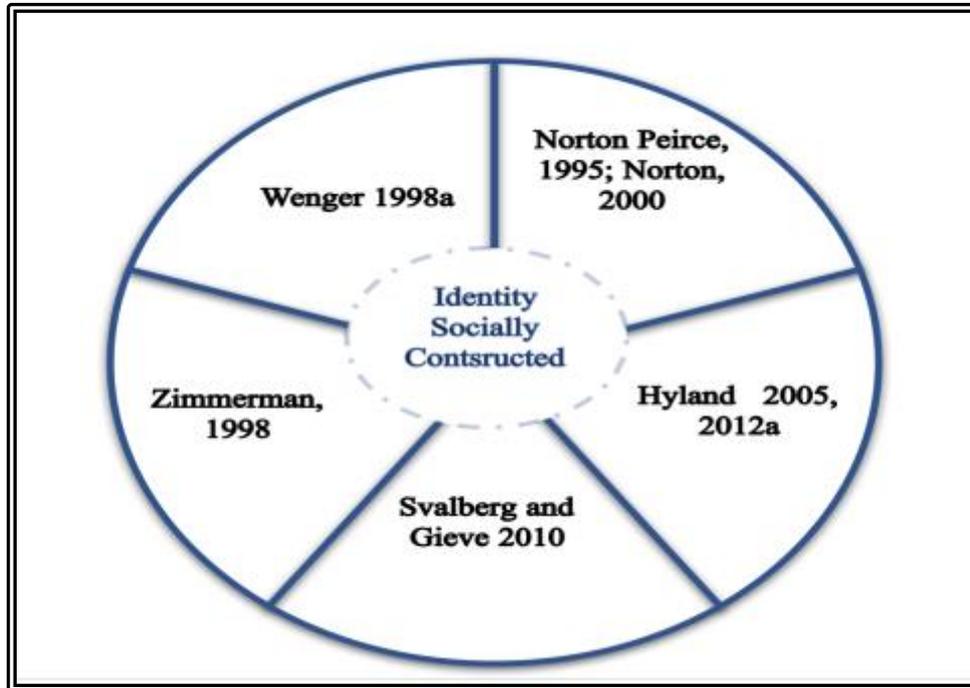
As shown above, the frameworks share a perspective of identity as being founded on social premise and not independent from it. This shared view is crucial as Kilbourn (2006) states:

> A fundamental assumption for any academic research is that the phenomena (data) that we wish to understand are filtered through a point of view (a theoretical perspective).

(Kilbourn, 2006, p. 545)

Therefore, it is rather important and assuring for a harmonised selection of theoretical frameworks can present a cohesive view of findings. Academic discourse, as in ID-AW, is a construct that is developed in contexts of culture (Fairclough, 1992). Most importantly, these contexts of culture become especially relevant when exploring the ID-AW of Saudi students, who typically come from a different educational culture. Therefore, the utilisation of Hyland (2005, 2012a) and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) is

an appropriate approach for this study. Mainly, they offer a view of ID-AW that takes into account the expectations of the disciplinary culture a writer belongs to. According to Rahimivand and Kuhi (2014), Hyland's model of textual devices stresses academic writing as a complex social practice that requires use of discourses that comply with academic expectations. This approach to ID-AW not only looks at how writers choose to state opinions, agreement, claims, and synthesize ideas, but also looks at how writers use language to establish their identity through the use of these devices. As these devices are derived from a wide corpora analysis, Hyland emphesises that a writer's utilisation of them shows awareness of social negotiation of knowledge and asserts their belongingness to academic community. Furthermore, the claim that the ways of writing respond to individuals acting as members of social groups (Hyland, 2008 and Svalberg and Gieve, 2010) had an important implication for this study for it directed its focus to the exploration of ID-AC.

Norton Peirce (1995, Norton, 2000) presents a view of identity that asserts identity as a negotiated interplay between individuals and the social contexts taking into account power relations (Block, 2007). This shift of focus from the individual to the individual within the social context harmonises with the views of Hyland (2005, 2012a) and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) of ID-AW that stresses identity as a socially constructed feature that cannot be understood in isolation from the social context. In this regard, the approach of Norton Peirce (1995, Norton, 2000) and Hyland (2005, 2012a) and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) in exploring identity is realised within the context of social community and is also alongside Bakhtin's account of language. Bakhtin (1981) states,

> we are taking language not as a system abstract grammatical categories but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated… develop(ing) in vital connection with the processes of sociopolitical and cultural centralization.

Bakhtin (1981, p. 271)

In other words, the exploration of students' ID-AW through Hyland (2005, 2012a), Svalberg and Gieve (2010) and Zimmerman (1998) suggests identity as academic interaction that emphasises the proximity to community-based expectations and a

display of social membership. Aligned with that, is the exploration of the students' ID-AC through Norton Peirce's (1995, Norton 2000) theory that integrates identity in the social context. In addition, as the study specifically looks at the experience of Saudi students', who are typically foreign to the educational culture, the centralisation of "sociopolitical and cultural" aspect of identity captured shared by these frameworks can be advantageous (see section 1.2. and 1.4.).

Aiming to look at the relation between ID-AC and ID-AW, Wenger's (1998) community of practice, where individual's engagement in social practices lies at the heart of Wenger's theory of learning, offers an appropriate approach to do so. Stressing the central role of a learner's social participation in their community, Wenger's COP attends to the situated aspect of (1995, Norton, 2000) and Hyland (2005, 2012a) and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010). Suitable for the student's experience in an academic community, the generation and acquisition of knowledge can be dynamic, explicit and tacit (Wenger, McDermott and Snyder, 2002). According to Wenger's (1998a) view, it can be assumed that informal and social interaction feeds into students' ID-AC and can enact their ID-AW. .Thus, as participants interact with each other, share information, views, experience and help each other solve problems, their social practice embody a COP's regime of competence (Smith et al. , 2017).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This methodology chapter describes the research design and methodological issues of the study. The chapter first presents an overview of the ontology and epistemology in reseach and a justification of the study's qualitative case study approach. Then, the sampling and prticipants are presented in the following esction. Next, the researh questions and the specific aims of the resaerch questions are discussed. Then, the research design is explained as in the research methods and data collection of the students' identity in academic community (ID-AC) and identity in academic writing (ID-AW), pilot study and phases of data analysis. Issues of validity, reliability, generalisabilty of the study are clarified. Finally, the chapter ends with addressing ethical considerations related to the research and the role of the researcher.

3.1 Methodological Perspectives

Researchers have long struggled to understand and reflect on the inevitable philosophical matters underpinning research (Wertz et al., 2011). However, as Pring suggests (2000), philosophical research backgrounds have to be addressed explicitly. There is a need for researchers to reveal the 'deeper meaning and commitments of what they say and how they conduct their research' (Pring, 2000, p. 90). To this end, an account of the methodological understandings of this study is provided below.

In this study, I aim to understand students' ID-AC and ID-AW, suggesting a view of reality as multiple and socially constructed, as opposed to the view of reality as single, objective and governed by causal laws. The focus of the study entails an interaction of phenomena, indisputably making the truth difficult to determine. Nevertheless, a sound understanding of the philosophical and empirical perspectives informing the inquiry can provide the basis for an understanding of how knowledge is revealed in this study.

3.1.1 A brief examination of ontology and epistemology

Ontology deals with the question "what is the nature of reality?" (Morrison 2002, p.18; Silverman, 2013). Reality is interpreted in different ways, and ontology thus shapes people's experiences and their own construct of reality. Beck (1979) argues that the purpose of social science is to present and demonstrate a view of social reality that can be perceived and shaped differently by people within that reality. Reality can be seen as objective and governed by causal laws, entailing that research is free from bias, subjectivity and values as the researcher takes on an objective role (Johnson, 1992). Another view is that reality is multiple and socially constructed hence indicating a different, more present role for the researcher. Such distinctions in the way of understanding reality leads to difference in research design (Nunan, 1992). It can be argued that the researcher is inseparable from the topic of inquiry as their approach to reality influences the choice of theories and frameworks employed in conducting the study and thus shaping the findings (Johnson, 1992).

This study is concerned with understanding students' socially negotiated experience established through interaction with others. The approach is informed by the critique of positivist approaches and adopts a constructivist view of reality that problematises

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an absolute truth and highlights the multiple socially constructed nature of reality that is constantly open to change and reconstruction (Johnson, 1992). Students' social identities are constructed across time and subject to power relations (Norton Peirce, 1995), and their identities in academic writing are argued to be rooted in social ideology (Elbow, 1981), self-perception (Shen, 1989) and a variety of social and psychological factors (Hyland, 2002b). Therefore, it was felt that as the exploration of students' social and writer identities could not be reduced to a single view of reality conveyed by positivist modes of inquiry; it would be better captured through a constructivist approach.

Epistemologically, this view of reality implies that the study cannot be free from bias, subjectivity and researcher's influence (Johnson, 1992). It opposes positivists' attempts to attain ontological objectivity, which would efface the researcher's thoughts, reflection, emotions and creation of meanings (Eisner, 1993). Although the positivist epistemological approach can be appropriate for specific types of research, it is inappropriate to matters involving culture (Ladson-Billings, 2003). Investigating fields of logical certainty is different from investigating social practices such as writer identity and social identity. As a researcher exploring social reality, I approach the study through attempts at informed interpretation of the participants' lived experiences. The study requires my interpretation, understanding and sense-making of participants' construction of meanings in their social world (Usher, 1996). Since it was not possible to exert control over events, interactions and dynamics, it is required to interpret the different possible outcomes of the individualised nature of social practices (Robson, 2002).

3.1.2 The interpretivist approach to research

Holliday (1999) suggests that an interpretive approach to research is useful within any social context. In this approach, the researcher has a central role in interpretation and is thus considered an active, not passive inquirer of knowledge whose subjectivity should be accepted (Thomas, 2013). Employing a scientific conventional explanation in this study would "diminish the very characteristics that make humans, human" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 18) as it would fail to offer the complex reality of human behaviour. The positivist's conventional emphasis on systematic measures fails to

account for the interaction of social phenomena and complex human behaviour as Cohen et al. (2007, p.18) explain:

> The difficulty in which positivism finds itself is that it regards human behaviour as passive, essentially determined and controlled, thereby ignoring intention, individualism and freedom.

The interpretive paradigm demonstrates the dynamic and interactive nature of the research that is required to capture participants' experience of their (ID-AW) and their (ID-AC) and can enable the researcher to gain insights into the participants' experiences in a non-cause and effect relationship (Johnson, 1992). Ladson-Billings (2003) explains that research concerned with manifestations of socio-cultural realities require contextualised understanding of the phenomena. Accordingly, in the current study, the exploration of the participants' ID-AW and ID-AC is not restricted to the input presented only by their written drafts or their interactions recorded in their logs but is also guided by a series of interviews where the students are offered the opportunity to express their perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and concerns. Therefore, this study is not concerned with objective reality, which exists without the meanings people bring to it (Morrison, 2002) but stresses the researcher's active role in excerpting, interpreting and synthesising meaning. According to Holliday (2002), it is through substantiated interpretations that builds gradual pictures to exemplify a more complex reality of social life.

3.1.3. Qualitative case study approach

Aiming to gain a deep understanding of the Saudi students' construction of ID-AW and ID-AC, this study is expected to benefit from a qualitative approach as it is concerned with the discovery of the phenomena in its natural – non-experimental – state (Seliger and Shokamy, 1989). Qualitative research places the researcher in the real world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) in order to understand the participants' individual experience in their particular context. Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 2) describe qualitative research as follows:

> Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense

of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meaning in individuals' lives.

Attempting to address how and why participants make choices in social practices, Mason (2002) suggests that qualitative research puts more emphasis on holistic understanding than on outlining surface patterns, trends and correlations. Conveniently, it entails understanding and presenting a holistic view of the topic with no attempt to control conditions of their environments. This study does not only aim to chart the participants' writer identity as product, but tackles the construct as a phenomenon that involves understanding of the participants' writing experience and the possible influences and dynamics and development of that writer identity. This holistic aspect of qualitative research better explores the complex nature of the participants' social identity and the strands of power relations involved as well. It was thus felt that it would be able to capture the various contexts including personal, institutional and political influences involved in both the students' ID-AC and their ID-AW.

Following the interpretive, qualitative approach, I found the case study method appropriate for this research project. To accomplish the objective of the research questions, I employ a multiple case studies approach. Yin (2003, p. 13) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". In the field of L2 writing and students' identity in academic English writing, several studies, such as Ivanic (1998), Casanave (2002) Abasi et al. (2006), Ouellette (2008) and Leki (2007), have advocated the qualitative case study as an effective method for gaining an insightful understanding of participants' writing experiences because it gathers data from various sources. Also, previous work in the field of social identity such as Norton Peirce (1995), Norton (1997, 2000), Schumann (1986) and McNamara (1997) have all employed a case studies approach to gain a better understanding of the participants' experience. In fact, Casanave (2002)

highlights the importance of conducting more in-depth case studies to understand the individual L2 writers' writing processes from a sociopolitical perspective.

In addition, my justification for choosing the qualitative case study approach for this study is based upon its many strengths and advantages. First of all, a case study approach is known as a research strategy for developing a comprehensive holistic view (Miles and Huberman, 1994), offering an in-depth understanding of how and why. They present the wholeness and integrity of human systems rather than being a loose connection of traits, and so can capture the whole dialectic of relations and dynamics conveyed in students' ID-AW and ID-AC. For example, case studies can help capture the Saudi students' social identities as they are understood and interpreted in relation to their beliefs, values, concerns and future possibilities. A case study can also take into account their interactions and reorganises their social identities. It can also enable the exploration of the participants' perceptions of what, how and why they construct their writer identity.

Case studies highlight specific events (Stake, 1988), enabling the realisation of unique features that may otherwise be lost in larger scale data (e.g. surveys). These specific events are especially significant for they are potentially key to understanding the holistic situation (Cohen et al., 2007). Although the study focuses on Saudi students, it aims to gain an in-depth understanding of their unique experience by capturing the individuality of each student's case. This attention to specific events is exemplified in the interviews following up on the participants' daily interaction logs and writer identity construction. These interviews aim to capture the specific power relationships, future possibilities, dynamics and influences in the unique circumstances of each student's case.

A case study, as described by Merriam (1998), is a single instance, a single unit of analysis, a single phenomenon, or a single social unit. This study applied a multiple case study design in which four individual cases collectively constituted a larger case. The study deals with four individual cases where it portrays each individual case with its unique characteristics and context. This examination of each individual case is designed to paint a more realistic picture of the participants' unique experiences of their own ID-AW and ID-AC. Thus, a case study is an intensive description of an individual case in its particular real-life context (Cohen et al., 2007; Stake, 1995). It

allows identifying participants' main tendencies yet also recognise that there is a diversity of perspectives within the social context as inconsistencies and conflicts arise (Bassey, 1999).

In addition, a case study approach supports a flexible methodology to suit the purpose of the study (Johnson, 1992). This allows the utilisation of a range of methods for collecting and analysing data fundamental in achieving the aims of this research. In order to understand the reality of students' experience of constructing ID-AW and ID-AC, I intend to gather materials through interviews, diaries and written drafts and stimulated recall interviews. It is argued that this flexibility of methodology tends to selectiveness in the collection of data which as a result entails bias, subjectivity in the interpretation of that data, and limitations in the reliability of the findings (Tellis, 1997). However, this argument tends to legitimise positivist methods of data collection and analysis to present a more reliable and unbiased reality of existence. Even though Johnson (1992, p. 32) asserts "Human beings cannot set their subjectivity aside", researchers using case studies can always aim to employ methods to minimise the influence of their personal preconceptions in their findings, interpretation and analysis. Using case study methodology in the design, questions and guiding framework of the study was a choice reflecting the researcher's values.

Finally, a valuable quality of case studies is that qualitative data delivered in case studies are considered products that may serve as an archive of rich descriptive material (Cohen et al., 2007), and that can be utilised and reinterpreted in future research (Adelman et al., 1976). The value of the data collected lies in its constituting a useful store for other researchers conducting research with similar or different purpose.

3.2 Research Sampling and Participants

As a researcher aiming to achieve robust understanding of the topic of my research, utilizing a well-defined sampling strategy was necessary. My aim was to recruit participants who can produce rich and insightful data about the phenomena under study (Dörnyei, 2007). Unlike experimental research, the focus of qualitative research is describing, understanding and clarifying a human experience (Thomas, 2013). It is less concerned with how representative the sample is. As this is a qualitative research that

does not aim to produce a statistically representative sample or state statistical conclusions, the objective of the sample selection is not to achieve generalisation of findings to a larger population objective (Cohen et al., 2007).

To begin with, the number of participants was a result of a strategic and pragmatic evaluation. As quantitative researchers place great importance on the generalisation of their findings, they tend to fail to appreciate the usefulness of studying small samples (Marshall, 1996). Given the nature of the study and the multiple interviews in the research methods employed (see section 3.4) placing emphasis on saturation, recruiting a minimum number of participants was not crucial. In fact, as this is a qualitative study, samples for qualitative studies are deliberately small (Marshal, 1996) for employing a large sample is found less appropriate for the purpose of qualitative research (Palinkas et al., 2013). Marshal (1996) suggests that in qualitative study, an appropriate sample can be in single figures; yet, most importantly, it is that which answers the research question. As a result, initially my aim was to recruit from three to five students depending on the availability of participants.

Morse and Niehaus (2009) indicate that the sampling strategies intend to increase the validity and efficiency of the study. To assure that the sample was appropriate, conveniently, purposive sampling is commonly used in qualitative research. Dawson (2002) states that purposive sampling is useful when description rather than generalisation is the goal of the research. This strategy suggests that the number of participants is less significant than the criteria employed to select them (Patton, 2002). Accordingly, sampling should comply with the aims and focus of the research methods to achieve further depth of understanding (Palinkas et al., 2013). Marshal (1996) also describes:

> The researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question. This can involve developing a framework of the variables that might influence an individual's contribution and will be based on the researcher's practical knowledge of the research area, the available literature and evidence from the study itself.

Marshal (1996, p. 523)

As the focus of the research is to understand the Saudi students ID-AC and ID-AW, it appeared useful to identify the more significant variables in sampling the participants given the focus of the research. The variables that may influence sampling criteria are presented in Figure 3.1 below.

Variables that can possibly influence understanding Saudi students' ID-AC	Variables that can possibly influence understanding Saudi students' ID-AW
Nationality	Field of study
First language	Language of previous education
Length of stay in the UK	Previous academic culture
Current status as students in the UK	Current stage of study in the UK
Time spent with academics	Frequency of producing written work

Figure 3.1 variables that may influence sampling criteria

Based on the focus of the study and the theoretical background in exploring the students' ID-AC and ID-AW, the list of variables suggested consequences to their inquired identities and hence likely to offer more insightful knowledge. Ideally, this research can immensely benefit from participants that are rigorously shown in table 3.1. below.

Ideal participants

- Saudi Arabian nationality
- Arabic is their first language
- Current students in the UK
- Fresh students (newly resided in the UK)
- Spend abundent time with other academics
- Students in Humanities and Social Sciences
- Arabic was the primary language of previous education
- Trained in Saudi academic culture
- Postrgaduate students (enrolled in Matsers program)
- Produce written work frequently

Table 3.1: Ideal characteristics of participants

In order to recruit participants for this study, I drew upon my network of contacts here in the UK. Although I consider myself very social and have established a good network of acquaintances here in the UK, unfortunately, gaining access to participants who are prepared to take part in a case study is not easy. As I contacted potential participants, it appeared that utilising multiple data collection methods played a role in daunting them. Potential participants were given information about the study, they were initially rather reluctant to take part especially as they became aware of the multiple data collection methods and the number of interviews intended to be carried out. The amount of time they were asked to commit to the study acted as a disincentive to their involvement. I found myself challenged to find individuals that met all the criteria above and were also willing to commit to my multiple data collection study. As they were also students with busy schedules and responsibilities, committing to take part in this study seemed understandably inconvenient for them. Noticing the role of the participants' availability and willingness to participate (Bernard, 2002), I found it necessary to devise a more flexible criterion for selecting the participants.

As Stake (1995) describes, researchers may opt for cases which are most available to them. Therefore, despite my initial view of the characteristics of the participants that the research can greatly benefit from, a flexible, more pragmatic approach was

required (Marshal, 1996). However, it was important that the level of flexibility applied took into account the validity, generalisability and reliability of the study (see section 3.7). This is a qualitative study that has no intention to generalise the findings to other Saudi students. The participants in this study do not represent the population of Saudi students. This study aims to understand the participants' experiences and perceptions and other Saudi students certainly may have different experiences. The aim to describe and interpret the participants' experiences suggests that flexibility in some aspects of the sample of participants does not necessarily risk the validity of the research as it nevertheless offers knowledge of the phenomena in its natural setting. Also, based on the theoretical backgrounds in exploring students' ID-AC and ID-AW, a researcher's interpretation of the more fundamental characteristics of the participants assured that a level of flexibility in selecting participants is acceptable (Schwandt, 1997).

At the beginning, I managed to recruit five Saudi female PhD students who fit the participation criteria. However, after conducting the first background interview and the stimulated recall interview, two of them, both PhD students in Education, could not continue to participate in this study. One of them suffered a family bereavement and sadly her interest in the study was understandably lost. As Bernard (2002) states, researchers should opt for participants who are able to openly communicate their experiences, thus it appeared wise to search for a substitute for her. The other participant also became unavailable due to her need to travel back to Saudi Arabia, making her participation difficult. However, luckily one more male participant agreed to participate in the study. A balanced sample of male and female participants would have been desirable but it is not necessary, for the sample does not pretend to represent the wider population (Dörnyei, 2007).

As I explained the importance of their participation to the success of my study and described how they might benefit from participating, they agreed to participate. It is claimed that people are more likely to agree to participate in research once they become more aware of what is expected of them and what use will be made of the information they offer (Bell, 1993). Finally, four Saudi students participated in this study. A brief introduction to the participants is presented in Table 3.2, listing them by

pseudonym, gender, age, field of study and length of stay in the U.K. when the data was collected.

Table 3.2: Participants

Name	Age (years)	Gender	Length of stay in UK (years)	Field of study	Stage in PhD program (year)
Adam	30	Male	4+	Marketing	Third
Farah	29	Female	3+	Education / Geography	Third
Jaleela	29	Female	4+	Psychology	Second
Dana	28	Female	4+	Education / Linguistics	Second

I became confident in my participants and looked forward to look closer at their experiences. I especially become empirically confident; for they are selected based on characteristics that attend to the purpose of the research. The participants are Saudi Arabian individuals speaking Arabic as their first language and received the majority of their education in Saudi Arabia. They are currently studying in UK universities in the fields of humanities and social sciences. The only short coming of recruiting PhD students that I discovered later on in the study was the amount of written work they produced during the data collection period. However, this is an issue discussed later on (see section 7.3.1).

It was necessary that the participants are specifically Saudi. This study focuses on Saudi students because they come from a unique cultural background that is not exactly shared with other nationalities (see section 1.4.). It is also suggested that writer identity has its roots in ideologies inherited in cultures (Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999). Even though the Saudi students' culture can sometimes be seen as similar to that of other Middle Eastern students, this study aims to address a gap in the existing body of literature and discover specifically Saudi students' ID-AW and ID-AC experiences in UK higher education. This is important not only for understanding the target population but also for the country in which they are studying (Ryan, 2005).

Saudis are most native speakers of Arabic language. However, it was necessary to emphasise this criterion. Language mediates one's experience and social existence

(Barton, 2007), thus a possible variation from Arabic can have its implication on the focus of the study. The original language is assumed to underline assumptions about tone's rhetorical (Kaplan, 1966) and social experiences (McNamara, 1997).

In addition, all the participants received the majority of their education in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi educational system draws upon memorisation and rejection of independent reasoning (Shahi, 2013). Thus, it is necessary that the participants were students in that educational culture to discover how they adapt to the conventions of academic English writing. Cultural gaps are suggested to occur between what is valued in the students' previous educational background and what is expected in British academic culture (Cortazzi and Jin, 1997). Having their academic culture developed in Saudi Arabia enables an understanding of the epistemologies and educational perceptions the students draw upon.

The participants are current students in UK universities. While searching for potential participants, Saudi students who were previously students in the UK became available. However, recruiting past students in UK universities to draw from past experiences can be less helpful for the aim of the study. The input of the qualitative data requires attention to particulars and a focus on participants' perspectives and experience (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). This may be difficult for previous students to do especially as the study aims to understand the process of the students' ID-AC and ID-AW and not the final product only. Furthermore, the employment of stimulated recall interviews requires that students' drafts are very recent products in order to elicit students' thoughts when they were writing. Therefore, the participants' current status as students was fundamental.

Finally, the participants are also students in the fields of humanities and social sciences. According to Halliday and Martin's (1993) contextualisation of genre, writers in different disciplines represent themselves in different ways. Drawing upon Hyland's (2005) survey, which suggested that writer identity is more evident and authoritative in the humanities and social sciences and in disciplines such as economics, education, communications, psychology and history, than in other pure and applied sciences, students from these disciplines were recruited. Having students that share the same discipline adds to the depth and understanding of the phenomena of identity in academic English.

3.3 The Research Questions

The study focuses on the experience of Saudi research students in British universities. Stressing the role of the students' active participation, it explores their ID-AC and their ID-AW. The study specifically intends to answer the following questions:

1. How do the Saudi students use or resist opportunities to interact in their academic community?
2. How do the Saudi students perceive themselves in their academic community?
3. How do the Saudi students construct their identity in academic writing?
4. Can the Saudi students' social identities in their academic community predict their identities in academic writing?

These questions aim to investigate our understanding of the issues listed in Table 3.3.

Research Question	To Understand
1. How do the Saudi students use or resist opportunities to interact in their academic community?	a. Saudi students' social identity in their academic community. b. When students' choose to invest / avoid opportunities of interaction. c. How power relations influence their investment in the community.
2. How do the Saudi students perceive themselves in their academic community?	d. How imagined communities and possibilities for the future influence their investment in the community. e. How successful or unsuccessful investment impact their identity.
3. How do the Saudi students construct their identity in academic writing?	a. Saudi students' identity in their academic English writing. b. The features students utilise to develop an authoritative, academic writer identity English academic writing. c. The identity roles students take on in writing. d. Why a student may / avoid choose a certain way of presenting their identity. e. Whether the choices students make are conscious choices.

| 4. Can the Saudi students' social identities in their academic community predict their identities in academic writing? | a. Whether the students' active participation in the community has impacted their identity in academic writing |
| | b. Factors that may influence the students' presentation of their identity in academic writing. |

Table 3.3: Aims of research questions

3.4 Research Methods and Data Collection

Research methods are the range of approaches used to gather data that will be the basis for interpretation, description and explanation (Cohen et al., 2007). An advantage of employing case studies is that they utilise a range of methods for collecting and analysing data rather than being restricted to a certain procedure (Nunan, 1992). Selecting the data collection methods was attentive to the specific aims of the research questions above and the analytical frameworks employed.

The data for this study came from semi-structured interviews with student participants. Other sources of data were from a set of background interview, diary of participants' interaction, and participants' written drafts.

3.4.1 Background information

The general background information interview conducted was semi-structured. I followed an interview guide but the participants were also encouraged to elaborate and expand on the issues raised (Nunan, 1992). The interview aimed to elicit basic personal and academic background information of each participant. This information, complemented by information attained from subsequent interviews, was used to create a profile of each participant. Having background information about the participants prior to conducting the main interviews helped me to retrospectively add some probing questions regarding their experiences. It can also provide further explanations when understanding the target phenomena.

In the general background interview (Appendix 1), questions aimed at specific aspects of the students' background such as:

a. The students' linguistic background

b. The students' attitude towards the language

c. The students' living circumstances here in the UK

d. The students' original expectations of living and learning in the UK

e. The students' current perceptions of the society and how they perceived themselves in the UK

After conducting the general background interview, different methods were employed to explore the Saudi students' ID-AC and ID-AW. The different methods utilised in this study are presented in Figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2: Research methods implemented in the study
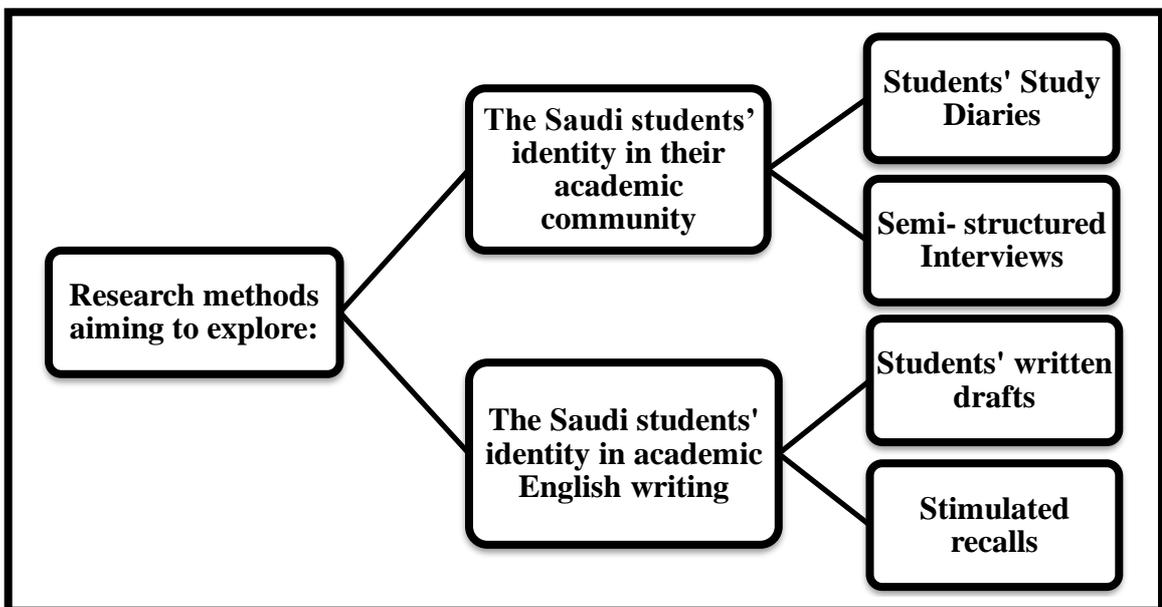
3.4.2 Identity in academic community

The investigation of the Saudi students' ID-AC is informed by Norton Peirce's (1995) and Norton's (2000) theory of social identity. Taking into account participants' investment in interaction, power relations and imagined communities and possibilities for the future, this investigation employed two research tools: the participants' interaction diary where summaries of interactions were recorded, and semi-structured

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interviews in which the participants were encouraged to talk more about the interactions they had recorded.

3.4.2.1 Students' interaction diary

Alaszewski (2006) suggests diaries are particularly useful for exploring social interaction. Diaries are known to be appropriate for looking at dynamic processes (Dörnyei, 2007) as they offer the opportunity to capture the participants' experience in a way that other methods cannot (Bolger et al., 2003). Being an important introspective tool (Burgess, 1994), Nunan (1992) notes that diarists make records of the situations in which they were involved, representing first-person observations of their experiences.

The interaction diary in this study is a modification of a plain paper sheets diary. I designed a diary that was organised to acquire fundamental information about the students' investment in their academic community yet in a manner that would not put the participant off. Keeping a study diary can be a daunting and time-consuming process. However, as it is comprised of tables and multiple-choice questions, the participants were likely to find it easier to complete. Each log sheet was designed as a single interaction record. For each entry, the student was asked to circle an option or write about their investment in community (Appendix 2: Student's interaction diary):

a. Mode of interaction

b. Type of interaction

c. Topic of interaction

d. Other party in interaction

e. Their reaction to the opportunity of interaction

f. Their interpretation of the event

g. Their feelings about their reaction

To avoid any confusion, I provided guidelines for diary keeping and explained what they were expected to do in these diaries (Appendix 3). It was also necessary to stress that events should be recorded as soon as possible and entries written clearly.

Participants were reminded not to worry about spelling and grammar mistakes; in fact, they were given the option to fill in the diaries using Arabic if desired. The number of entries was left to the participants, with no minimum or maximum. The participants were encouraged to contact me if they faced any difficulty in filling in their diary. Also, two example entries were provided (Appendix 4). I gave the participants blank hard copies of the diary sheets; however, they were also available electronically in case a participant preferred this mode. The three female participants preferred filling in the hard copy of the diary; while Adam, the only male participant, filled in the electronic version.

I maintained regular contact with the participants to make sure they remembered to fill in the diaries (Alaszewski, 2006). In fact, some of the casual conversations I had with the participants elicited potential entries they had not planned to record. Although each participant provided a different number of entries, some were not fully completed. It appeared that at the beginning, the participants were more enthusiastic about the diaries. The longer they kept it, the more difficult they found to keep it up. They started to feel they had nothing to write or nothing new to say. It should be noted that committing participants to consistently complete the diaries is a difficult matter. There were times when participants were too busy, on a break back in Saudi Arabia, did not interact with anyone, or did not remember to record. Nevertheless, these entries were fundamental to prompting interview questions to gain more information on their social identity.

3.4.2.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are the most often used technique in qualitative studies (Dörnyei, 2007). They are an essential source of case study information (Yin, 2009) as they can produce a lot of qualitative data quickly (Bernard and Ryan, 2010). Interviews are purposeful conversations (Richards, 2009) were interviewee recounts narratives of an experience (Seidman, 2006). It is a technique for gaining insight into the participants' thoughts, explanations, plans, motives and emotions contributing to the uniqueness of each case (Krizmanic, 1990). I adopted semi-structured format because it allowed me to adapt the main questions to explore different perspectives in more depth (Drever, 1995). It meant that interviewees and I could pursue topics of interest which may not have been foreseen when the questions were originally drawn up (Cohen et al., 2007).

The interviews in this study aimed to explore the diaries in more depth. The interview questions sought to clarify their responses, learn more about their reasons for responding in a certain way, and offer them an opportunity to elaborate further on their entries in a rather exploratory manner. In the beginning of the interviewing process, the interview started with questions to establish a background of the students' daily academic routine, then moved on to learn more about specific entries, for example, intended aspects of interaction, power relations and future possibilities of influencing their choice of interaction. The interview questions (Appendix 5), derived from Norton Peirce's (1995) view of social identity, were designed to explore the following:

a. Students' feelings when able or unable to invest in their community,

b. Students' motivation and explanation for their responses,

c. How power relations in interaction may have influenced their responses,

d. How their investment may have influenced their perception of themselves,

e. Their perception of and possibilities for themselves in the future.

Additional information was obtained by probing the initial responses to reveal more about the interviewees' opinions and reasoning (Keats, 2000). For example, when relevant, participants were probed to talk more about matters such as their future selves, their views of themselves, previous experiences, concerns and motivations in social interactions.

The interviews were scheduled to take place every month for six months. Hence, every student was scheduled to have six interviews in their diary entrees. Sometimes due to some unforeseen circumstances like the student having other commitments, the interviews were rescheduled to the student's convenience. Every interview situation is a unique situation where a researcher aims to enable the interviewee to speak about their feelings, perspectives and point of views (Legard et. al, 2003). Nevertheless, the researcher has an active role to ensure that the interview process ensures optimum benefit and valid results. Therefore, issues of interview process including the setting, equipment and transcription were taken into account.

Interview setting: The interviews were conducted in different locations. On one hand, it is recommended that the venue is left for the participant to choose (Legard et al.

2003). On the other hand, Easton et. al. (2000) argue that the researcher should arrange the venue of the interview to take place in a quiet room. To assure that the interviews were convenient for the participants' schedule and other commitments, the venue of the interviews in this study was left for the participants. Interviews took place in the university library, study rooms, participants' living rooms, study areas in the participants' school and in my home. All interviews took place at a quiet settings. It was important to ensure that distracting sounds such as phone ringing, people speaking in the background or outside noise do not interfere with the interview or even distract the interviewee. The interview was casual which had the advantage of putting the participants at ease about sharing the reality of their experiences. Interviews length varied depending on the number of diary entries a participant had made

Interview equipment: It is recommended that the interview is audio recorded allowing the researcher to pay full attention to what the interviewee is saying (Legard et. al, 2003). During the interviews, I used an audio recorder and kept another spare one as well in case the main recorder fails. As the participants were full time students with busy schedules, the failure to record the interview for any reason is most likely to result in cancelling the whole interview and being subject to a rescheduled interview. Easton et. al. (2000) suggest that researchers should check all equipment ahead of time to avoid failure. However, as ahead of time checks cannot prevent future possible errors, I found keeping another recorder further assuring. Nevertheless, checking the audio recorder ahead of time had another advantage. Using the recorder in advance during the pilot interview showed that any exterior noises are easily picked up by the device thus drawing my attention to the necessity of conducting the interview in a very quiet place and placing the recorder as close as possible to the interviewee.

Interview transcription: The interviews were conducted in English and Arabic depending on the preferences of the participants. It happened that participants switched to Arabic when they found it better expressed their thoughts. To ensure that the participants really understood my questions, I sometimes repeated the question in Arabic to avoid any language barriers or misunderstandings during our interviews. All the interviews were transcribed by myself. According to Seidman (2006), an interviewer who transcribes their own interviews comes to know their interviewees better. Although transcription is taken for granted within qualitative research

(Davidson, 2009), transcription is not a mechanical action but a process where researchers make choices keeping in mind the research inquiry and their role in the research process (Jaffe, 2007). In Richards (2003) criteria, it was important that my transcriptions were fit for purpose, adequate and accurate. To begin with, Richards suggests that one can start by asking what kind of information is desired from the transcripts without prejudging outcome. In my experience, especially in the earlier stages of the data collection, I found it very helpful to transcribe everything the interviewee expressed with no prior judgement of what may or may not be relevant. In fact, as the study explores the participant's social identity, it is important to stay open and receptive to what views and explanations given. What may first sound as insignificant or irrelevant, may later be considered as crucial when looking at the participant's whole experience. Also, transcribing the interviews myself assured that they are adequate and accurate. Tilley and Powick (2002) reveal that in cases of hired transcribers, there is risk of word alteration and omission in addition to risk confidentiality. It is not possible to record all features of the interview and a researcher must be selective in one way or another (Davidson, 2003). As I, the researcher, transcribed the interviews myself, it was useful to "keep things very simple" without risking the loss of useful information (Richards, 2003, pp. 200). In fact, Richards (2003) claims that achieving correctness of transcription is after all an illusion. Therefore, although transcriptions of the interviews do not utilise detailed transcription symbols such as short or long pauses, they attend to other simple yet effective features influencing the accuracy of the transcription. Easton et al. (2000) explain that it is important to be careful of mistakes that can change the meaning, such as mishearing a word or forgetting or misusing punctuation marks. For example, during an interview, a participant kept mentioning looking forward to "hangover". As I am aware of her cultural and language background, I confirmed with her whether she meant "hangover or hangout" to avoid misinterpretation. Also, as mentioned previously, the participants were given the option to speak in Arabic. Moerman (1996) states that to avoid complicated situations, it is recommended to use of interpreters if the researcher is not a native speaker of the language used by participants. Thus, hiring an interpreter was not necessary. I am a Saudi student and I speak Arabic as my native language. As I later discuss in study validity (see section 3.7.), an effective strategy to ensure that translated transcriptions represented the participant's view was to ask the participant

review the transcription of their interview. A sample of one transcribed diary interview is presented in Appendix 6.

3.4.3 Identity in academic writing

The investigation of the Saudi students' ID-AC is informed by Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model of keys of academic interaction and identity roles in writing based on Svalberg and Gieve (2010). First, the participants delivered written academic samples, and then they took a stimulated recall interview where they were encouraged to talk more about their writing.

3.4.3.1 Students' academic writing samples

Two writing drafts were collected from each participant. These drafts were product artefacts comprised of work already completed (Boling and Smith, 2008). It was difficult to predict when or how many drafts each participant would deliver. They were at different stages of their study and PhD students do not usually hand in written drafts on fixed dates. Within the data collection period, participants sometimes took time out for reading, researching, editing previously written drafts and time off from the university. Hence, during the period of six months, each participant delivered two written drafts. Since the participants were PhD students, they did not turn in written assignments but sections of chapters they were working on. They were drafts the participants had actually submitted to their supervisors for feedback.

The participants were reminded that these drafts had to be their most recent academic work in order for the forthcoming stimulated recall reviews to be effective. Also, the participants were reminded that their drafts should not have undergone any kind of proofreading or revision by anyone else to ensure the authenticity of their written drafts. These written drafts conveyed the participants' writer identity and were later utilised in the stimulated recall interviews to learn more about their drafts.

3.4.3.2 Stimulated recall interview

I conducted a stimulated recall interview for each written draft presented by the participants, hence two stimulated recall interviews for each participant as they

submitted two drafts. Stimulated recall interviews have been used extensively in the writing process, especially in studies with L2 students (Bosher, 1998). It is a verbal reporting method that utilises stimulation to assist the participants in articulating what they were thinking while performing a certain action (Lankoski and Björk, 2015).

Lyle (2003) argues that the stimulated recall interview has "considerable potential for studies particularly complex, interactive contexts characterised by novelty, uncertainty, and non-deliberative behaviour" (p. 861). Several studies of students' writing have made use of stimulated recall interviews, such as Bosher (1998) and Sasaki (2001). Generally classified as a method of introspection, stimulated recall interviews assume that humans have the ability to access their internal thought processes and can verbalise them; thus, what takes place in one's consciousness can be observed in the same way that one can observe events in the external world (Gass and Mackey, 2000). This aspect of stimulated recall interviews is most useful in this study. They can potentially provide more insight into understanding the participants' underlying perceptions, explanations and justifications of how they construct their identity.

As soon as I received the participants' written drafts, they were promptly analysed to conduct the stimulated recall interview soon after. Stough (2001) and Gass (2001) observe that stimulated recall should occur shortly after writing practice in order to reduce the potential of loss or distortion of the participant's memory. According to Dörnyei (2007), the interval between the task to be discussed and the interview should ideally not exceed two days. I emphasised the importance of this requirement to the participants and all interviews were conducted within that timeframe. Given that meeting within that timeframe could be challenging for the participants, it occasionally required me to travel to their preferred location. Most often, the use of videotapes is implemented in stimulated recalls as a recall or a probe technique (Lyle, 2003). Here, the participants were shown their written texts as a probe rather than a videotape and were asked to reflect on their use of hedges, attitude markers, self-mentions, etc. The participants were then asked to revisit a particular textual choice and to recall what he or she had been thinking or feeling.

These interviews aimed at understanding the participants' use of so-called 'identity markers', suggested in Hyland's (2005) model of key resources of academic

interaction. The interview (Appendix 7) started with questions that dealt with the participants' academic writing background:

a. Their thoughts on academic writing

b. What constitutes successful academic writing

c. Their view of themselves as academic writers

The participants were then asked questions about their most recent draft to specifically learn about the following:

a. The purpose of the draft

b. The availability of any guidelines or their awareness of any conventions

c. Their awareness of their usage of identity markers

d. Their purpose of using identity markers

e. Their awareness of the impact of their identity markers on the reader

As recommended by (Dörnyei, 2007), the students were given the choice to be interviewed in their first language as this might facilitate their reflection on the thoughts they had while writing. In some interviews, Arabic was used most of the time. The interviews were transcribed by myself; see Appendix 8 for a sample of a transcribed section of a stimulated recall interview.

3.5 Pilot Study

Piloting a case study was helpful in developing the research tools (Yin, 2009). The general background interview, the interview of the students' ID-AC and the stimulated recall were piloted. I interviewed two students who shared many of the characteristics of the target cases (they were Arabs though not specifically Saudis) and they were afterwards encouraged to provide feedback. I found that the semi-structured interview was an effective choice given the interview agenda. I also realised what needed to be changed, added or removed.   Some questions were unclear; others were leading the students to give a certain answer, and others needed to be rephrased, as the information they sought was too broad. The interview questions were edited, refined and re-piloted with two other students. I then felt more confident in the efficacy of the questions than I had been previously.

At first it was very difficult to find a student who had recently submitted written work to be probed in the stimulated recall interview. After the pilot interview, some of the questions were rearranged in a different order. It appeared that it was more helpful for the student to recollect their answers when the questions followed a logical rather than a random order. Piloting the interviews also provided me with the opportunity to practise and enhance my interviewing skills for probing, giving the participant enough time to answer and encouraging the students' feedback.

3.6 Data Analysis

Patton (2002) states that as "each qualitative study is unique, the analytical approach used will be unique" (p. 433). Analysis strategies vary depending on the purpose of the study and the types of data collected (Johnson, 1992). In order to answer each research question, different data analyses were used for the two types of data collected, data on students' ID-AC and data on their ID-AW.

3.6.1 Identity in academic community (ID-AC)

There were two phases of analysis as far as the students' ID-AC data was concerned. The data was collected from the students' interaction diaries and semi-structured interviews where the diaries were utilised. Thus, the main sources of data were the semi-structured interviews where the students opened up about their interactions.

Phase 1

The data was analysed using a thematic analysis approach. A thematic analysis is an analysis where a researcher looks for meaningful issues and variables in order to discover how they are patterned (Johnson, 1992). I followed Marshall and Rossman's (2006) analytical stages of first organising, engaging and coding the data; then creating categories and themes offering interpretations and understandings. Bernard and Ryan's (2010) theme indicators, including repetitions in the data, shifts in content, similarities and differences across data, and the participant's own indication of causal relations were all useful cues when looking for themes. Basically, the thematic analysis of data went through four basic stages:

1. The first stage was the stage where I aimed to familiarise myself more with the data on the participants' ID-AC. I organised, read and reread through the data

to comprehend what types of situations, interactions, responses and explanations the participants presented. These situations were diverse. They included discussions in groups, asking colleagues for information, participating in seminars, presenting at conferences, advising colleagues, asking for academic guidance and meetings with supervisors. An advantage to transcribing and collecting my data myself is not only knowing the participants better (Seidman, 2006), but also I experienced the analysis with some possibly initial analytic interests or thoughts (Braun and Clarke, 2006). During this phase, is where I also marked initial general marking ideas for coding to later take place. See Appendix 9 for a sample of initial general thoughts.

2. The second step involves the production of initial codes from the data. I start with examining the interesting extracts and noticing what was interesting giving labels to extracts. These labels, which are also known as codes, were very important to later realise patterns and identify themes (Seidman, 2006). In this phase, as I read, codes started to emerge marking interviewees' beliefs, concerns, actions, inclinations, oppositions, etc. Boyatzis, (1998) suggests that codes identify a feature of the data that strikes the researchers as interesting or meaningful way regarding the phenomenon. See Appendix 10 for a sample of initial codes on an example of interview extract.

3. This third step was necessary before searching for recurring themes. After breaking down the data into codes, I aimed to group the codes into more general categories. When relevant, such categories would be guided by Norton Peirce's (1995) and Norton's (2000) theory of social identity. These more focused categories came in handy in bringing the codes together (Appendix 11). However, these provisional categories still required "open[ness] to all possible theoretical directions" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46).

4. This fourth step begins when all data is coded and more focused categories are identified. It involves refocusing the analysis at the level of themes where different codes were sorted into potential themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I started comparing and contrasting categories. Several concepts emerged as I tried to make connections and realise patterns of behaviour. Sometimes, these concepts developed from the participants' own key words in expressing their

actions and response. When looking at the data, there were "word or short phrase that symbolically assigns summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). Recurring expressions such as "this helps me in the future", "My English is bad", "I am one of the group", "I don't care what they think" or "I am forced to participate" sometimes indicated possible patterns. Refining and developing themes was at some point iterative and interrelated. However, I found doing the analysis manually advantageous especially as sometimes depending on my memory, enabled me to better handle the complexity of the emergent intertwined issues. It was also important in determining the themes to first identify as many themes as possible until reaching saturation to eliminate redundancies (Hycner, 1985). See Appendix 12 for an example of a thematic map.

5. Given the nature of the participants' data on their ID-AC, I felt the helpfulness of including this final step. Defining themes appeared often less straightforward. Clarke (2005, p. 105) explains:

> We need to address head-on the inconsistencies, irregularities, and downright messiness of the empirical world - not scrub it clean and dress it up for the special occasion of a presentation or a publication.

Identifying when to break between themes and develop independent themes was sometimes difficult as boundaries became blurry and themes intertwined with one affecting others. Nevertheless, Bernard and Ryan (2010) suggest that a separation of categories is artificial, for it does not reflect the interconnected nature of human life. In this step, the themes were reviewed and revisited several times until they were finalised. Attempting to verify the themes formed, I formulated a theme excerpting cycle shown in figure. 3.3. to achieve further confidence in my themes. See Appendix 13 for an example of how this cycle was employed.
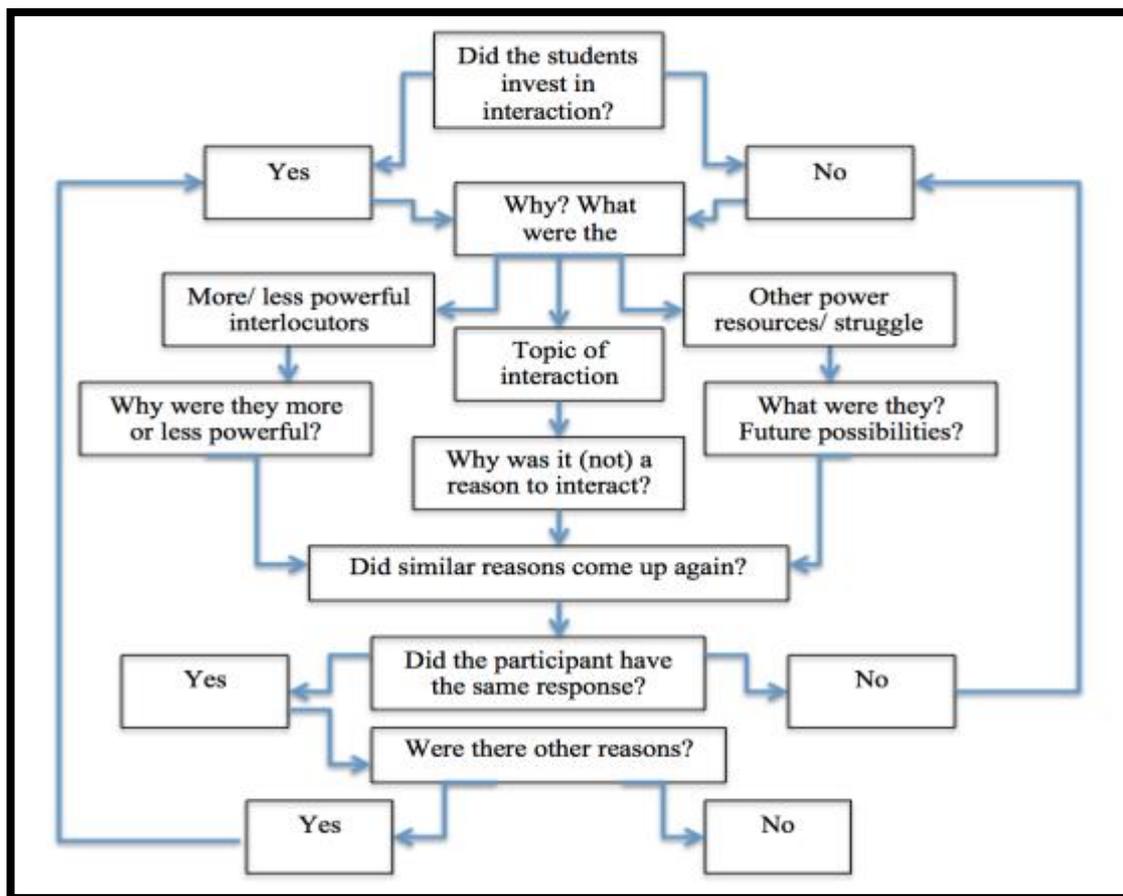
Figure 3.3: Example of a theme defining cycle

This five step process was very helpful for understanding the students' experience. It was especially helpful in answering the first research question: "How do the Saudi students use or resist opportunities to interact in their academic community?"

Phase 2

For the second research question – "How do the Saudi students perceive themselves in their academic community?" – the data was analysed from another perspective. While the themes captured the on-going dialogical relation between the different dynamics of power, future selves, investments in day-to-day interactions and the students' experience of interaction, understanding how the students perceive themselves suggests an identity role that a student takes on in the academic community. These identity roles were realised through Zimmerman's (1998) categorisation of social identity. The students' day-to-day interactions and incidents of investment a participant encounters are recognised as momentary discourse identities,

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for example, guidance receiver, questioner, presentation giver, advice giver, information seeker, experience sharer, and conversation avoider. The recurring themes identified in Phase 1 and the alignment of particular discourse identity sets suggested the students' situated identity role; for example, future post doc, child protection activist, and conservative Muslim.

The identification of the students' identity role from which an individual operates and chooses to interact provided answers to the second research question; in addition, they were fundamental in answering the fourth research question: "Can the Saudi students' social identities in their academic community predict their identities in academic writing?" The identification of these identity roles was later compared to the identity roles the students took on in their writing. Figure 3.4. below presents a summary phases of analysis of ID-AC data.

Figure 3.4: Summary of phases of students' ID-AC data analysis
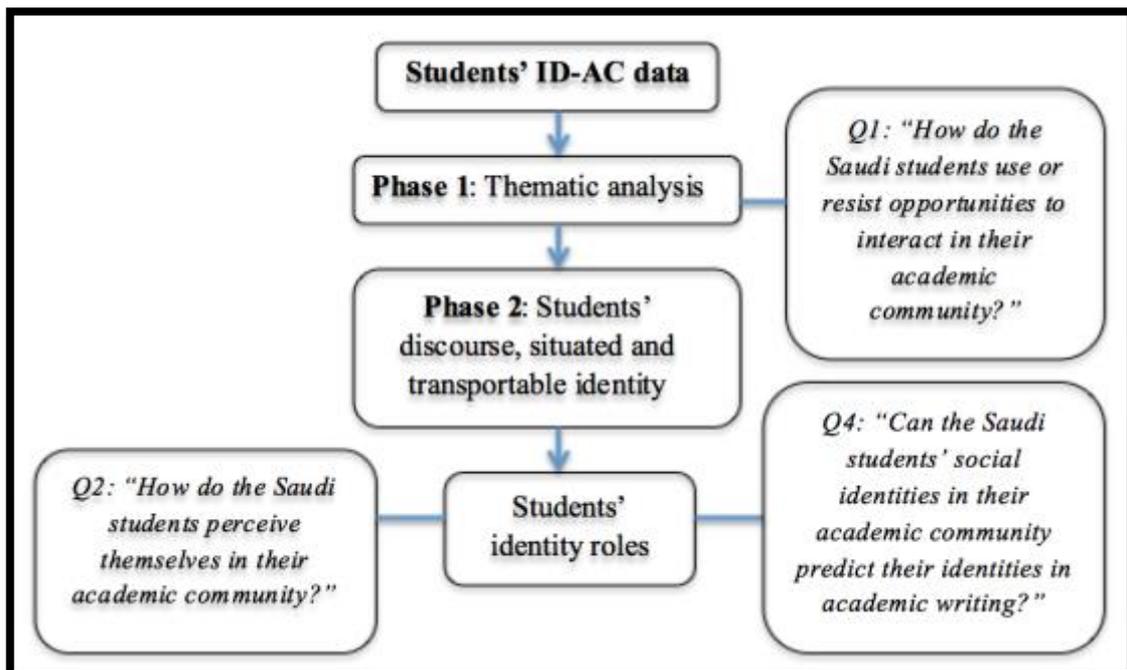
3.6.2 Identity in academic writing

The students' ID-AW data was collected from the written samples and stimulated recalls interviews. Keeping in mind the aim of the research questions, three phases of were involved in the analysis of this data.

Phase 1

This phase of analysis aimed to answer the third research question: "How do the Saudi students construct their identity in academic writing?" Identifying Hyland's feature of academic interaction in the students' drafts, metadiscourse was used as the analytical tool for analysing texts. While typical discourse analysis shows how language forms may be used (Lazaraton, 2009), metadiscourse narrows this focus to features of textual organisation (Bunton, 1998). It specifically embodies writer-reader interactions, making it a fundamental approach in which writers construct communication (Thompson, 2008). Referring to the linguistic devices writers employ to shape their arguments or organise stance towards either its content or the reader (Hyland, 2004b), metadiscourse analysis in this study refers to the analysis of the resources of academic interaction in the students' drafts (Hyland, 2005).

Fundamental in discourse analysis is that the data is authentic and has not been elicited experimentally (Lazaraton, 2009). The students' drafts were written as part of their studies and delivered to their supervisors and had not been produced specially for the study. They had not been edited, proofread or commented on by their supervisors yet. The students presented different types of draft. They included parts of literature reviews, discussion and findings chapters, as shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Participants' drafts collected

Student	Type of Academic Draft	Title of Draft
Adam	1. Section of a discussion chapter	Summary and discussions
	2. Section of a discussion chapter	Untitled, Headed: Results
Dana	1. Section of a literature review chapter	Incidental vocabulary learning through reading in second language learning
	2. Section of a discussion chapter	An evaluation of narrow reading vs. extensive reading
Farah	1. Section of an introduction chapter	Untitled, Headed: Medina and Prophet's Mosque: relationships and implications
	2. Section of an introduction chapter	Untitled, Headed: Central zone development and potential gentrification
Jaleela	1. Section of a literature review chapter	Untitled, Headed: Child maltreatment
	2. Section of a literature review chapter	Untitled, Headed: Child maltreatment and risk factors

The students' drafts were read carefully and immediately analysed. I followed Hyland's (1995) model of what to look for and how the writer may convey their identity, since Hyland presents a comprehensive and pragmatically grounded means of investigating the writer identity and overcomes many of the limitations of other models (Rahimivand and Kuhi, 2014). Following Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model of academic interaction, I looked at markers of stance and engagement. Hyland's emphasis on the constructs of positioning and proximity suggests the analysis of the students' written drafts should pay attention to the key resources of academic interaction that are institutionally appropriate in the students' disciplines (Hyland, 2012a). Based on that view, hedges, boosters, attitude markers, self-mention and reader reference are the most common devices of writer's identity in social sciences (see Section 2.2.2.1.). These devices were specifically important in academic writing because academic writing as a social practice reflects disciplinary culture, and using these devices can show the writers' efforts and awareness of the community's social negotiation of knowledge (Hyland, 2004b).

I could not afford to be selective at the time of data collection, as I did not know what or when exactly the students would have something authentically written. However,

although it is claimed that the writers' display of their positioning is more likely to occur in discussions, Hyland (2012a) argues that students can always present a stance towards the message they are conveying. As soon as I received these drafts, I analysed them and sought to find the devices shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Devices of writer identity detected in students' drafts

Device and % in Hyland 2005 corpora	Function / Purpose	Examples
Hedges *1.45%*	They are ways in which authors can tone down risky claims and signal a tentative assessment of information and convey respect for other colleagues' views (Hyland, 2000). They are expression of uncertainty that offer a more guarded stance and less commitment, typically indicating the writer's opinion and own reasoning rather than a fact.	"probably", "perhaps", "might" "possible"
Boosters *0.58%*	They are devices indicating the writer's certainty about shared information among group members. They allow writers to express conviction, involvement and solidarity with an audience (Hyland, 1998). They are the ways in which writers can make assertions and emphasise what they believe to be correct (Hyland, 2000).	"clearly", "obviously", "certainly" "highly" "definitely"
Attitude markers *0.64%*	They are the devices indicating the writer's affective attitude such as agreement, disagreement, importance, or interest to propositions, such as the attitude verbs. They are ways in which a writer can express affective values and emphasise the propositional content without commitment to it (Knoch, 2009).	"disagree", "believe" "prefer", "unfortunately", "appropriately", "reasonable", "logical" "unfounded"
Self-mentions *0.42%*	They are the most visible indicators of authorial identity. They are utilised to promote both the writers and their works (Rahimivand and Kuhi, 2014). They signal the writer's explicit presence and their own novice contribution.	"I", "me", "we" "my, mine", "our", us,
Reader reference *0.29%*	They reflect the writers' negotiation and inclusion of readers into the discussion (Hyland, 2005b). Explicitly referring to a relationship with readers, they are ways to signal membership.	"you", "your" "we",

At first, it was difficult to determine these devices in the students' drafts, because as pointed out by Hyland (1996, p. 437) "the choice of a particular device does not always permit a single, unequivocal pragmatic interpretation". There was the possibility that

these devices were multifunctional, realising more than one category simultaneously (Thompson, 2008). Therefore, it was important that the devices had the propositional purpose intended in Hyland's model. I read the drafts and marked the devices several times. I was careful to examine each of the devices within their sentential context. On the other hand, I also looked for other devices that could possibly serve the same propositional purpose. For example, Hyland states that hedges convey the writer's tentativeness; however, considerable tentativeness and caution can be achieved by phrases such as "It is suggested", "it appears" or "it can be assumed". Hyland also emphasises the use of first person pronoun to signal the writer's own contribution, yet an interesting signal of writer identity is a proposition presented without any attribution to source or the writer's exclusive use of passive voice.

Once I was confident about the devices identified, they were counted several times and the frequency of each device was calculated in every 1000 words. This approach allows comparison of the students' ID-AW to that of the more established members of the discipline in Hyland's study and to what extent the students conform to the discursive practices in their discipline (Hyland, 2013).

Phase 2

Shortly after receiving a student's draft, the writer underwent a stimulated recall interview. The purpose of the interview was to provide the student with an opportunity to explain and reflect on their writing. I had already gone through the draft and identified Hyland's devices (Phase 1 of analysis). Prompted to reflect in more detail on the devices of writer identity they incorporated in their drafts, the students revealed factors, beliefs and attitudes which revealed their identities as writers. The students also shared their perspectives on academic writing and how they viewed themselves as writers which all came to enrich the understanding of their experience of the construction of writer identity. I also learnt from them about the context of the text, the focus of the draft, the audience they had in mind for the text, their awareness of any requirements, conventions or guidelines for the text that may have impacted how a text was written.

Probing was a fundamental aspect of stimulated recalls. Yinger (1986) argues that the subjects take the opportunity to share what they are currently thinking and report a new rather than a recollected view. After conducting these interviews, I was aware that

students' might have reported present reflections rather than recollections. However, this does not diminish the method's success as a stimulus (Lyle, 2003). The students shared views that reflected strong convictions and perceptions they may not have revealed if they had not been evoked by the use of their own writing as a stimulus.

After finishing the interview with each participant, they were transcribed and read thoroughly. Similar to the thematic analysis of the students' ID-AC interviews, I started to define and develop categories. Applying provisional categories, I grouped some concepts together to create larger concepts. As I became more familiar with the transcriptions, I was able to eliminate unimportant and redundant concepts and identify the important ones to link them to theoretical models.

Phase 3

Based on Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) categories of written content types, the students' drafts were analysed using content analysis, a flexible method for analysing text data (Cavanagh, 1997). The content analysis used here was guided by a structured process (Hickey and Kipping, 1996) where all instances of a particular phenomenon were identified, categorised and ranked in order for comparison (Curtis et al., 2001).

I started by reading the transcript and highlighting all text that on first impression appeared to represent the content types. Using the definitions of each type of content (Section 2.2.2.2), the next step in the analysis was to categorise all highlighted passages using the content types. However, content types were sometimes difficult to recognise. When interpreting content, I had to be aware of parallels in content (Wood and Kroger, 2000). It was sometimes unclear which type of content it was best to categorise a passage as. As I especially questioned some of the content analysis, having this second opinion ensured consistency of the analysis. After familiarising her with content types, I used the assistance of a friend who is a previous PhD student in linguistics to check content types. We went through the available drafts then and assured that we agreed on the content type assigned. I went through each draft several times carefully and made changes to the preliminary labels of content types I had assigned to some segments.

As the analysis proceeded, the claims I made about segments were rechecked and refined across other segments of the same content type. These content types across the

drafts suggest a momentary incidental act. Accordingly, a writer's description, comments or facts from published sources, for example, can be seen as Zimmerman's (1998) momentary discourse identity. Once I was confident about the analysis, the alliance and salience of certain content types in the students' writing brought about their situated identity role such as a reporter, holder of knowledge or commentator.

Because the study design and analysis did not result in data that could be compared meaningfully using statistical tests of difference, rank order comparisons of frequency of codes were used (Curtis et al., 2001). The identity roles were ranked based on their percentages in the text. Figure 3.5. below presents a summary phases of analysis of ID-AC data

Figure 3.5: Summary of phases of students' ID-AW data analysis
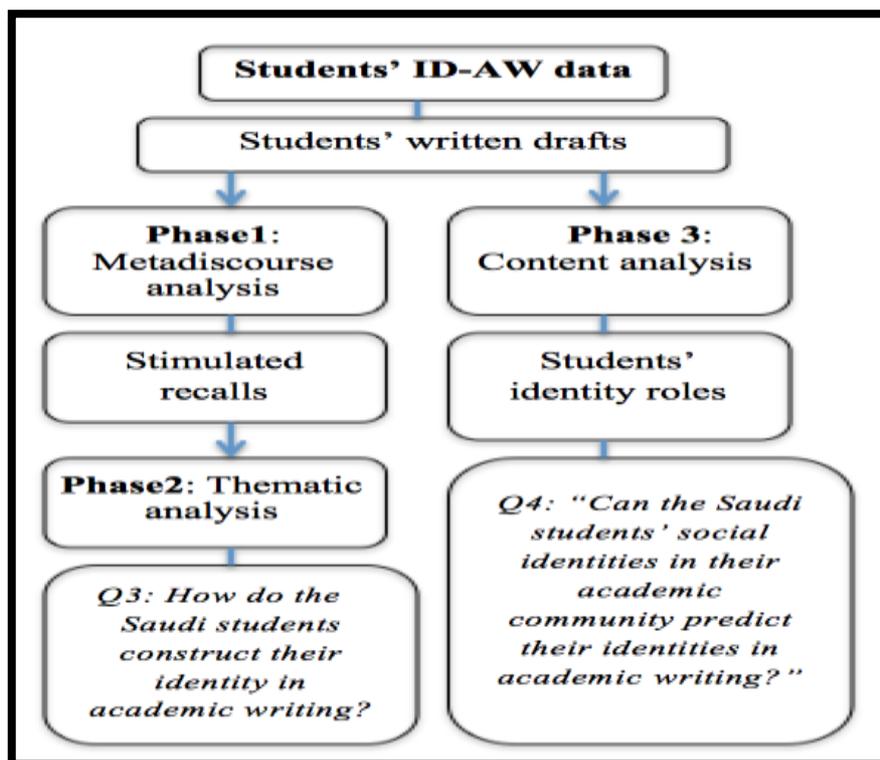
3.7 Validity, generalisability and reliability

Validity and reliability are of great importance to the quality of case study research (Yin, 2003). However, qualitative research has been criticised for its weak reliability and validity measures and case studies especially have been attacked for their lack of

statistical generalisability. In this study, different research strategies were used in order to ensure the quality of the current research project.

Validity

Validity is the extent to which a study actually investigates what it purports to investigate (Nunan, 1992, Cohen et al., 2007), for example the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena which it claims to investigate (Silverman, 2001). Therefore, a way to ensure the validity of a study is through methods which accurately reflect reality (Cho and Trent, 2006). The research methods used in this study aimed to investigate the construct according to the theoretical background of the study. The theoretical basis informing the study's investigation of students' ID-AC and ID-AW is reflected in the interview questions, inquiries in interaction diary and the stimulated recall interviews.

Establishing the validity of the transcripts can be essential to achieving trustworthy qualitative research (Poland, 1995). Returning transcripts to participants for their review is one strategy to achieve that (Silverman, 2001). Some of the transcripts were read and validated by the students; other students were not available or not interested to do the same. When students were able to validate the transcripts of their interviews, it was useful especially in interviews where Arabic was used. The participants were encouraged to speak Arabic if they desired to or felt they can better express their view. It was rare when the students spoke in Arabic and mostly one participant "Farah" who sometimes found it easier to express her opinions in Arabic. Therefore, the return of the transcripts for the participant's review was particularly essential when the transcripts featured translation from Arabic. Showing the students a translated transcript ensured that my translation represented their perspectives and nothing was lost in translation. There are different measures that can be adopted to ensure the validity of the translation. For example, Harkness and Schoua-Glusberg (1998) suggest that back-translation where text is translated back into the source language to compare accuracy can be very useful. However, back-translation was not necessarily useful for the interviews in this study. The participants do not use standard Arabic but rather a Colloquial form of Arabic that can be easily lost in back translation. Behling (2000) thus states that knowledge of the society and the culture is even more important than knowledge of the language. Therefore, being a native speaker of the students'

language and understanding their background culture was an advantage in translating especially that the students were shown the translated transcription as a reliability measure.

However, the most prevalent criticism of the interpretive approach in research is the subjectivity of its interpretations. Complete separation of the researcher from the research is difficult, as "Human beings cannot set their subjectivity aside" (Johnson, 1992, p. 32) and so the design, questions and guiding framework are a reflection of the researcher. Hitchcock and Hughes (1995) note that data only speaks through the interpretation of the researcher.

Being a Saudi student myself, the interpretation of the Saudi students' experience is undeniably value-laden as a result of my knowledge and own personal experience of being a PhD student in the UK. At the same time, I found my personal experience useful for it helped me better understand the students' experiences. Knowledge itself is argued to be tentative while absolute truth can never be attained. Nevertheless, as a researcher, I indeed strove to minimise the influence of my personal preconceptions, interpretation and analysis, for example by providing a description of the findings and thereby an, as far as possible, unbiased view of the participants' reality (Dilthey, 1977). I also avoided making any generalisations attending instead to each student's unique case (Hughes, 2003).

Generalisability

Generalisability and transferability of the findings to similar settings is an aspect of validity (Cohen et al., 2007). Since the concept of validity was originally developed in the positivist paradigm where validity is measured via quantifiable data, qualitative research has faced validity critique in the past (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In fact, the findings of the current study are not generalisable. Saudi students have different backgrounds and perceptions of their experience, making it impossible to claim that the findings of this study can be generalised to other populations. Similar studies of Saudi students at UK universities may produce different findings. Therefore, it is important to state that through out the study, the utilisation of phrase "the Saudi students" specifically refers to the sample of Saudi students in this study and not to Saudi students in general. Guba and Lincoln (1981) warn of overgeneralising the findings of a case study when in fact "they are but a part, a slice of life" (1981, p. 337)

Yet the study could expand our understanding of Saudi students' experiences in the UK. Nunan (1992) suggests that the accumulation of case studies allows theory building via tentative hypotheses gathered from the accumulation of single instances. Yin (2009) notes that case studies do not aim to achieve the generalisation achieved by quantitative studies but rather another type of generalisation:

> The fatal flaw in doing case studies is to conceive of statistical generalization as the method of generalizing the results of your case study... [In case study research], the mode of generalization is analytical generalization, in which developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study.

(Yin, 2009, p. 38)

Analytical generalisation to theoretical models, as intended in case studies, is different from statistical generalisation of findings to populations. Accordingly, this study aims to achieve understanding of four individual cases enabling other researchers to establish how applicable the findings may be to their own context. As Robson (2002) remarks, case studies suggest perceptions that can help researchers with similar cases or situations. They may compare and contrast my interpretations of the cases with their own, possibly leading to future research.

Reliability

Reliability in research is known to be the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out (Kirk and Miller, 1986). Reliability is an issue in any case study. The students in this study are each a unique case. I approached them at a specific time and in a specific setting so that any replication of the study giving the same results is difficult if not impossible. Also, even if the cases with all their dynamics were to be replicated, there is always space for the researcher's alternative interpretation of the same data yielding different results, thus making the concept of reliability less useful in this type of research.

Nevertheless, there are a number of strategies that enhance the reliability of this study. The interviews were carried out in comparable conditions. No interview was conducted in an abnormal setting regarding conditions, such as ambiance, lighting, recording tools and atmosphere. The interviews were conducted in a consistent way

where I used my interview schedule and asked the questions in a similar order and wording.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

A major dilemma researchers face is the requirement to strike a balance between their eagerness to pursue truth and, at the same time, not threatening their participants' rights and values (Cohen et al., 2007). For a researcher, their study is most important, but as Dörnyei (2007) points out, there is more to life than research and if there is a clash between the study and the participants' interests, the participants' interest are a priority. Recruited on a voluntary basis, the students were comfortable with participating in this research. As a researcher, I had an obligation to respect the rights, needs and desires of the participants, based on the ethical concerns applying in a qualitative study. The primary principle of research ethics is that no mental or physical harm should come to the participants as a result of their participation in the study (Dörnyei, 2007). Rossman and Rallis (2011) explain that the ethic of individual rights and responsibilities:

> Upholds the unconditional worth of human beings… All people are with fundamental rights that may not be denied even for the greatest good for the greatest number.

(Rossman and Rallis, 2011, p. 69)

To ensure ethical standards and the participants' rights, official consent was obtained from the University of Leicester, allowing me to proceed with the study. I then obtained the students' signature on a consent form where they formally agreed to take part in the study, yet not denying them the right to withdraw from the study at any time (Appendix 14).

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) point out that all participants should be protected from harm and embarrassment. Johnson and Christensen (2004) also note that participants should be informed about the purpose of the study and the main features of its design and that no harm should be caused as a result of their participation in the study. The participants in this study were assured of privacy and confidentiality with the use of pseudonyms as the primary precaution. They were also informed about the purpose of

the study and what their participation entailed. Although some ethical issues, such as consent, anonymity and confidentiality, can be anticipated in advance (Mason, 2002), the participants were provided with an information sheet (Appendix 15) which underlines several ethical principles I was keen to make clear. In that form, I state my name and all my contact information. I then clarified the focus and aim of the study.

How much information to give participants can be an issue given the concern that the amount of information may result in bias and influence responses. However, I believe that the quality of the responses were not affected, especially as they are assured that there was no correct response and their privacy and anonymity would always be protected. The information sheet also emphasised that they would remain anonymous as any identification in research reports would be by pseudonym and that their confidentiality would be protected.

Confidentiality also includes the protection of the data stored in electronic or non-electronic forms. The recordings and written data are being kept in a safe place and secure from any possible violation of the participants' privacy. Additionally, they were reminded that although they had participated voluntarily, they had the right not to answer questions. Finally, they were made aware of any potential risks of participating in the study, which in the case of this study is none.

The participants understood that the interview would be recorded and the recordings transcribed for the purposes of analysis. It was pointed out that this might entail my use of other researchers for assistance; this occurred in the case of the written drafts where another PhD student checked my analysis. They were also made aware that the transcripts may be used as research documents and may be published. The participants were told that they had the right to review their information and transcripts (Silverman, 2013). In fact, this was an advantage for the study as it added to its credibility. However, not all participants reviewed their interviews as participants were sometimes unavailable.

Participating in the interviews did not impose any financial burden on the students. They were not required to travel. I took it upon myself to go to them to make the process more convenient for them. However, by the final interview I offered them gift

cards as an indication of gratitude and appreciation for their participation and time spent.

3.9 Role of the Researcher

In qualitative studies, a researcher takes on the role of an instrument of data collection (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003), meaning that data is mediated through this human instrument. Eisner (1998) states:

> Each person's history, and hence world, is unlike anyone else's. This means that the way in which we see and respond to a situation, and how we interpret what we see, will bear our own signature. This unique signature is not a liability but a way of providing individual insight into a situation.

(Eisner, 1998, p. 34)

Therefore, it is important for me as a researcher to describe aspects of myself that may have created any biases, or influenced assumptions and expectations (Greenbank, 2003). First of all, I am a Saudi PhD student studying in the UK. As Arabic is my native language and I received most of my education in Saudi Arabia, I do share the features of the participants in this study.

Unluer (2012) claims that researchers who undertake qualitative studies take on a variety of roles when they are in the research setting. These roles can range from that of an insider being a complete member of the target group being studied to a complete stranger or outsider (Adler and Adler, 1994). Being a Saudi PhD student studying in the UK, I was an insider in many ways.

I believe this was an advantage for the study. My position as a Saudi student experiencing living and studying in the UK helped establish a good relationship with the participants. I believe I had a better chance of developing rapport and maintaining interpersonal relationships than a researcher who was an outsider. As pointed out by Bonner and Tolhurst (2002), this established intimacy promoted both the telling and the judging of truth.

First of all, the participants and I shared a similar linguistic background as we were all native speakers of Arabic. It presented the opportunity to sometimes use Arabic in interviews. It was specifically advantageous because the participants had the option of switching between Arabic and English to better express their ideas and also offered me the opportunity to ask a question in Arabic when necessary. It also assisted my understanding of the difficulties they found in English writing compared to Arabic. Being an insider also helped me gain a common understanding of their ID-AC as I was aware of the specifics of Saudi culture and what Saudi students may find challenging, foreign or convenient when socialising in their academic community. A great deal of this previous knowledge takes an outsider time and effort to acquire (Smyth and Holian, 2008).

Although there are various advantages to being an insider-researcher, there are also challenges associated with it (Unluer, 2012). DeLyser (2001) states that familiarity can lead to a loss of objectivity and to making wrong assumptions. As the researcher, I had to be cautious in this study about the research process and not to base knowledge on prior assumptions that could create a bias. I was also cautious not to influence the students with my opinions when interviewing them. Regarding this, Yin (2003, p. 69) states that:

> An investigator should be a good "listener" and not be trapped by her or his own ideologies or preconceptions… A person should be unbiased by preconceived notions, including those derived from theory. Thus, a person should be sensitive and responsive to contradictory evidence.

CHAPTER FOUR

SAUDI STUDENTS' ID-AC FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three chapters reporting findings, analysis and discussion. It focuses on the Saudi students' identity in the academic community (ID-AC). Given four parallel case studies, each case is briefly introduced with the student's background, followed by data from their diaries in which they recorded their interactions in their academic community and the follow-up interviews designed to provide information in response to research questions one and two.

Research question one: how did the Saudi students use or resist opportunities to interact in their academic community? This is discussed based on the students' own interpretation of their experience of invested or avoided interactions. Drawing on Norton Peirce's (1995, Norton, 2000) theory of social identity based on poststructuralism, the students' ID-AC is presented in recurring themes that conceptualise how the existing power relations and their future possibilities mediated their interactions.

Research question two: how did the Saudi students perceive themselves in their academic community? This is examined through the identity roles the students took on in their interactions. Drawn from the recurring themes discussed in answering research question one, the analysis of the students' identity roles is informed by Zimmerman's (1998) categorisation of discourse identities and situated identities. The discourse identities are exemplified by the students' specific modes of subjectivity in interactions, while the situated identities are those roles that prescribe the students' discourse identities.

4.1. Case Study 1 "Adam"

4.1.1. Introducing Adam

Adam was a 30-year old single student from Saudi Arabia. He was the only male participant in this study. Adam's parents wanted him to have the education they did not have. As a young child, they had made him take additional English courses in order to improve his language skills, something he was interested in as well. He contributed to developing his English language skills by reading English books and watching English television programmes.

Adam said that he had always had a picture in his mind of what his life might be like in the UK if he lived there. He had heard from his cousins how life was different there from life back in Saudi Arabia, so he developed an interest in what he calls "the western way of life" (Adam, DI, 1). He read about it and felt that the movies he watched had opened his eyes to what it was like to live there. Adam said he was never intimidated by life in the UK. He stated that he was excited about living here now and knew that he would get along with everyone very easily.

This was not the first time Adam had lived outside Saudi Arabia; he had lived for a couple of months in Egypt and for five months in Jordan. Adam had been living   in the UK for six years at the time of the first interview. During the study, he lived alone in private accommodation where he only had short encounters with his neighbours. Comparing his life in the UK to his life back home, Adam referred to the independence and individuality he experienced in contrast to life in Saudi Arabia:

1	I have my own space here; I have my own life where I can do
2	anything that I want no one will observe or look at me in a wrong
3	way; I have no problems with anyone. Back home the culture is
4	different everyone looks at you and everyone judges you and
5	everyone they want something bad about you not to attack but to
6	you know gossip about this and talk about this. So here you know I
7	can wear whatever I want. I can do whatever I want. I came from a
8	place... You know I come from a big family. But I always wanted

9   to move and find my own space and even now when I go back home

1 0   I don't care anymore. I became more independent. (Adam, DI, 1)

Adam was a third year PhD student in Marketing. He had earned his Master's degree in Computer Science from the university where he was currently doing his PhD. Adam can be described as interactive and sociable. Spending most of his weekdays at the PhD students' office at his school, he enjoyed the company of his peers at the University, and the academic staff from his department.

4.1.2. How did Adam use or resist opportunities to interact in his academic community?

Adam's diary indicates that he seized every opportunity available to him in order to interact with others in his academic community. Table 4.1 below is a summary of his interactions.

Table 4.1: Summary of Adam's invested or avoided interactions in his academic community

Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided	Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided
D.I. 1		**D.I.2**	
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
		▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
		▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
D.I. 3		**D.I. 4**	
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Presenting at conference	➢ Invested		
D.I. 5		**D.I. 6**	
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Supervision session	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested		

▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	via Skype
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor ➢ Invested ➢ Invested

Adam's interactions included discussions, debates and informal conversations. Table 4.2 below presents featured examples of the type, topic and interlocutors in each category of interaction.

Table 4.2: Examples of Adam's featured interactions in his academic community

Category of interaction	Type of interaction	Interlocutor in interaction	Reaction	Topics of interaction (examples)
Interaction with supervisor	Discussion in supervision sessions	Supervisor	Invested	• Post-doc position • Discussion of chapters previously sent • Chapter I worked on
Interaction with colleague	Informal conversation	Other PhD students	Invested	• Statistical analysis • Business modelling
Interaction with instructor	Discussions	Instructors from his department/ Visiting scholars	Invested	• Interaction and coexistence in social life • Problems in my report • Writing up thesis
Interaction with colleague	Discussions	Other PhD students / New students	Invested	• APG seminar • Outputs of qualitative data analysis
Interaction with supervisor	Debate	Supervisor	Invested	• Theory I used in my thesis • Suggestion about my work
Interaction with instructor	Presenting at a Conference	Other presenters and attendances	Invested	• Presented at conference with my co-author

Adam's investment can be understood through two basic themes: his 'long term goals' in his academic community; and 'overcoming power relations' in his community.

4.1.2.1. Adam's investment in interactions to reach his future goals

Adam's investment in interactions can initially be seen as being driven by his desire to share what he knew and learned from others; as he mentioned:

11	It comes naturally to me. If I have information and there's a
12	conversation and there's a discussion about this; I go and discuss. I
13	share what I know. I love to share what I have. Maybe that is the
14	only reason. What I mean is that it's very natural to me to adapt and
15	get involved in a conversation. I don't think much about it…I stop
16	him when he says a word I don't know and asked him to spell it for
17	me. I will learn till I die. The fear; I'm not scared to take initiative.
18	There are differences between people and there's always someone
19	better than you. It's an experience is a daily thing. We learn from
20	our experience. (Adam, DI, 1)

However, Adam gave explanations during the interviews of what his investments in interactions entailed for him. His plans for the future go beyond obtaining his PhD degree in his field of study. He stated that his goal was to apply for a position as a post doc in his department. He mentioned a few times "I love doing research. I will continue to do research." (Adam, DI, 1). The fact that this goal was relevant to his current academic community can explain his investments in interactions. Adam's investments with both less and more powerful interlocutors were most likely influenced by this future goal.

Adam stated his intention to act in the future as a post doc where he could supervise students. This throws some light on his investment with less powerful interlocutors. He took the opportunity to interact with less experienced members of his academic community such as new students in terms of offering advice and helping them in their studies. He described his goal as follows:

21   I would love to supervise Masters students or PhD students. I'd love to

22   keep going in writing publications and participate in conferences (Adam,

        DI, 1).

Adam's interactions featured many occasions where he was enthusiastic to invest in interactions with other students. He mentioned that:

23   It feels good to be able to help and give suggestions to others. It is also nice

24   that they ask for my help. I felt like I've learned too, I can prove what I was

25   talking about… I like to help others, why not? You can show how much

26   you learned and know. (Adam, DI, 3).

On another similar occasion he also stated that:

27   As I said, I hope I helped and I was informative and useful to him. This of

28   course makes me feel happy that he came to me. He thinks that I can help

29   and make suggestions for him and that makes me feel great. He has my

30   email, my mobile number if he needs anything or anything. (Adam, DI, 4)

Adam was found helping other students (line 23), offering information (line 27), and making suggestions to them (line 29). Adam's investment here was perhaps influenced by his understanding of the possibilities and affiliations in the future (Norton, 2000). According to Adam's long-term goal to be a post doc, he envisioned himself in the future researching, supervising students and presenting at conferences (lines 21, 22). An imagined community may compel an individual to take advantage of opportunities that they may otherwise not seek (Kanno and Norton, 2003); hence Adam's imagined identity may influenced his current interactions. His interactions can be better understood as investment in what he believed to be his possible future self. As Kanno and Norton (2003) explain this:

> It [imagined communities] is a way of affirming that what has not yet
> happened in the future can be a reason and motivation for what learners do
> in the present.

<div align="right">Kanno and Norton (2003, p. 248)</div>

In addition to that, according to Norton and Gao (2008, p.110), "an investment in the target language is in fact an investment in the learner's own identity" and learners'

exchange of information can be seen as reorganisation of the sense of who they are (Norton, 2000). Adam's investments with the less powerful interlocutors helped construct his identity on two levels. On the first level, successful investment in this type of competing interaction where knowledge was involved could be fulfilling for Adam's identity as he mentioned (lines 24,28,29) it made him "feel great". The use of disciplinary knowledge creates a space for individuals to perceive themselves as competent and establish ownership of their discipline (Trent, 2008) and Adam's interactions with other students contributed to creating positive feelings and confidence in his identity as an expert in his knowledge and a future post doc (line 26).

On the second level, Adam also explained that:

31   Being social and in contact you become motivated. You are pushed.

32   By time, you feel more confident in your department, in your school,

33   in your field. You are more confident to go to conferences to give

34   Presentations (Adam, DI, 2).

As he suggested, over a period of time Adam became more capable and confident across other sites of interaction. This gradual development in his identity (line 32) enabled him to proceed from initial interactions with the less powerful interlocutors and to more successful interactions with the more powerful interlocutors in his field.

Adam's interactions with more powerful interlocutors were also influenced by his long-term goal. Interactions with more established academics and members of his field might have been more challenging for Adam:

35   It's normal to me. It's just the style. Sometimes the style with

36   academics and professors is more serious. But it wouldn't affect my

37   ideas or thoughts or decision to interact or not. (Adam, DI, 4)

Adam's reference to a change of "style" (line 25) when interacting with "academics and professors" indicated the less comfortable nature of such interactions compared to interactions with the less powerful interlocutors. Foucault (1991) explains that engagement in interactions in discursive fields entailing exposure to competing positions may not be a comfortable experience. Hence, when the competing positions were held by more powerful, established members of the academic community, Adam suggested

his change of style. Following Weedon's (1997) argument, Adam was drawn to the discursive practice in order to meet his interests and gain a wider range of symbolic resources (Norton and Gao, 2008). In Adam's case, a resource included the "good image" that could facilitate his future achievements. He described it as follows:

38   Give(s) the image that you are a good student sometimes. I mean if

39   you ask clearly and know your problem and you can say it to other

40   people, professor or colleague, maybe they will think… I feel that I

41   give a good image about myself. (Adam, DI, 2)

Investing in what Adam referred to as "good image" was particularly important for him. Adam believed it might contribute to his achieving his plans for future:

42   Because they might be one of my examiners. Maybe. I don't know

43   it's something inside me, For example, one of the secondary reasons

44   I might want to work at the department. I also like to socialise with

45   people a lot that may help in future research and having a good

46   reputation. It's networking (Adam, DI, 2).

According to Adam, it was important for him to make a good impression on other established members in his field as they may be his PhD examiners (line 42). Additionally, as he intended to apply for a post-doc position in his department, making a good impression on others could play a significant role in obtaining that position (line 44). Furthermore, Adam believed that it might facilitate his plans to carry on publishing, doing research and attending and presenting at conferences (line 45). Therefore, Adam's perception that achieving a "good image" could help him to achieve his future goals possibly prompted him to invest in interactions with those who could be considered as more powerful interlocutors in his community.

4.1.2.2. Adam's attempts to shift power relationships in the academic community

Adam's interactions indicate that his perception of power changed as the perception of himself as a member of an academic community developed. Weedon (1987) suggests that discourses do not exist in bipolar relations of power and powerlessness but rather in

a continuum of power relations that are gradual and subject to shifts and changes. Adam reflected on his investment in interactions in his community:

47   You know before when I first came, my voice would even sound

48   different. I was more scared more hesitant. I always had the fear of

49   not being able to get my message across. But now even my voice is

50   more stable and confident when I speak. When I saw, I got used to

51   people here and on the nature of their conversations it encourages

52   me. Even if I were wrong. PhD every day is a new discovery. I was

53   making fun of myself this morning. I was a person and now, I'm a

54   different person. So yes, of course we learn we change and develop.

55   Who I am now is accumulative. (Adam, DI, 2)

Looking at Adam's explanation, we can infer that Adam's perception of the power relations has changed based on:

1. Growing his own symbolic capital of power in the academic community.

2. Experiencing repeated investments in interactions with more powerful interlocutors in the academic community.

First of all, Adam presenting at conferences and participating in seminars increased his academic value and symbolic capital of power. As Bourdieu's (1991) postulates, symbolic capital in an academic community can include institutional position, number of publications, contributions to the discipline, academic qualifications, years of experience and academic affiliations. One source of Adam's growth in symbolic capital was investment in interactions. Being known as effectively helpful and informative to others suggested his new more powerful perception of himself (lines 23, 24, 25, 28, 32, 33, 50, 54).

Secondly, Adam's experience of repeated investments in interaction with powerful interlocutors in the academic community helped him overcome more powerful relations. Adam's reference to his repeated investments as in the "accumulation" aspect of his identity (line 55) can refer us to Bourdieu's (1991) concept of "linguistic habitus". It can explain Adam's experience of increased confidence and powerfulness which he drew from successful interactions. He suggested (lines 47, 48,4 9) that he at first felt less empowered, and this was reflected in his voice. However, the more he was encouraged

to engage in conversations (lines 50, 51), the more confident he became. His sense of relative powerlessness diminished and he gradually overcame the constraints of the inequality of power between himself and others (line 50, 54).

The power relations did not necessarily change. Bourdieu (1977) explains that individuals seldom share equal rights in interactions as an utterance's value can be determined in part by the value ascribed to the person. Therefore, Adam did not share equal rights with others (line 18, 19, 60); however, when he experienced academic growth and development, he was being socially empowered in the academic community where the value of the utterances was partly influenced by how powerful he was (line 61). Adam's feelings of less empowerment were replaced by a sense of being more powerful as when he said: "Now, I'm a different person". He also described it as follows:

56	It (my perception of myself) is accumulated.	After
57	each conversation or experience I'm improving my knowledge, my
58	information. So yes you learn and get better (Adam, DI, 4). There's
59	a big difference on how I was before in the past and how I am now.
60	I can't be complete; I'm Adam still learning. But yes, I have more
61	confidence in myself. (Adam, DI, 6)

Adam could not be in a position of complete power, yet his experiences of repeated investment provoked more confidence and development (line 60, 61). In fact, with reference to his cumulative identity, the role of repeated interactions can also suggest a further view of effective investment. While repeated discursive practices can constitute an individual's view of the world and themselves (Weedon, 1997), Norton's (2000) view of investment does not discuss the frequency of investment in shaping one's identity. According to Adam, the more he invested in interaction, the more he was able to grow and negotiate a more confident perception of himself (lines 57, 58). In other words, while investment in interaction may lead to the reorganisation of one's perception of identity in a community (Norton, 2000), a single investment may not be as influential as repeated on-going investments. Hence, if a single investment could result in a slight empowerment of Adam, the more he invested, the more empowered he became.

4.1.3. How did Adam perceive himself in his academic community?

Adam's interactions suggested two main situated identities: the knowledgeable future post-doc and the successful PhD student, as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: **Example of Adam's discourse and situated identity in academic community**

Example of Discourse Identity	Situated Identity
Discussion with a colleague, academic debate with colleagues, helping a colleague with analysis, presenting at a conference, explaining to new students, discussing academic job prospects, offering advice to other students	The future post-doc
Meeting with supervisor, discussions with visiting scholar, asking more experienced tutors questions, seeking clarifications in weekly seminar meetings	The successful PhD student

The future post-doc

Adam mentioned his intention to apply for a post-doc position in his department. Though it was a role that had yet to come about, several of Adam's interactions with both less and more powerful interlocutors can be seen to be shaped by that future role. Adam had expressed his intention to be a post-doc, being involved in research and supervising students in his department, stating:

62   I enjoy helping other students (Adam, DI, 2). Research is part of me.

63   And I don't think I will stop after I finish my PhD. I want to publish

64   paper and go to conferences and this is an idea has for the future. I

65   am busy now with my PhD but I have plans for papers in the future.

66   (Adam, DI, 3)

This imagined identity in a post-doc role prompted Adam to both offer and seek knowledge from others. First, Adam invested in interactions with less experienced members of his academic community, such as new students or students struggling in their studies where he took the opportunity to offer his knowledge to discuss, teach and offer advice. As he described in meeting to a colleague:

67	He asked for 5 minutes meeting with me and he sent me the
68	document in order to give my opinions about his model. It took two
69	hour. The model was wrong and I said that to him in a very gentle
70	way so he won't feel bad. After that he started to discuss with me
71	and trying to convince me that he is right and the model too. But no.
72	I started to explain everything to him, and I found out it wasn't his
73	work and someone else made it for him. I asked him to go and read
74	about it then to discuss everything for me. (Adam, DI, 2).

75	I was trying to explain to him that all methods of qualitative data
76	analysis will come out with same conclusion. However, it differs in
77	their data collection and analysis procedures. I was giving examples
78	of what I was saying. Felt like what I've learnt was good and I can
79	prove what I was talking about. (Adam, DI, 6)

Such interactions can be seen as influenced by his imagination of the role he would like to have in the future (Dörnyei, 2009). Above, Adam explained that he spent a couple of hours with a student, offering an explanation and advice on their studies. Given that these actions are typically carried out by a post-doc, having common dispositions creates in the individual a common sense of identity, belonging and acceptance (Wenger, 2004).

Adam exercised influence on other students, in terms of presenting himself as knowledgeable; this type of expert power is determined by the value of one's knowledge in relation to others (French and Rave, 1959). In other words, it is a role that requires others recognising him as more knowledgeable compared to themselves. According to Adam (lines, 24,28, 67), the students were the ones who came to him and asked for his guidance and help. Since the use of disciplinary knowledge creates a more proficient perception of oneself and establishes ownership of the discipline (Trent, 2008), Adam's use and display of knowledge was an opportunity to establish ownership of his discipline and his identity as a post-doc as well. For example, in (lines 73,74,77,78), Adam appeared not only to share his knowledge, in the same manner as a post-doc, he also offered illustrative examples and demanded the student read them and then return to him for further discussion.

Second, Adam's identity as a future post-doc also prompted interactions where he asked other more powerful interlocutors for their knowledge. For example, he stated:

> *80*   We [Adam and a peer interlocutor] were discussing the differencing
>
> *81*   and he was explaining them to me. He was talking about the
>
> *82*   coexistence in social life. I was thinking to study this and make it
>
> *83*   related to my topic. There is a very nice idea behind it, I shared it at
>
> *84*   the end and I suggested writing up a conference paper about it
>
> *85*   (Adam, DI, 5).

> *86*   We had Dr Neela visited our uni for a talk, and I had the chance to
>
> *87*   invite her for coffee. We were discussing the thesis writing up phase.
>
> *88*   And she was telling me about her experience with it. It is good to
>
> *89*   network and helps if I want I do future research. (Adam, DI, 6)

When Adam discussed a topic or invited a guest speaker for a cup of coffee, he mentioned that it was his way "to gain knowledge" (Adam, DI, 6). However, his future identity as a post doc engaged in research and getting his work published may have strongly influenced his interactions as well. For Adam, these interactions also could influence his possibilities and affiliations in the future (lines 83,84,88). Although Foucault (1991) claims that interactions entail the risk of exposure to competing positions, such interactions resonated with Adam's desire to network and expand his circle of influence from his colleagues to other more established members (line 89).

The successful PhD student

Adam also had interactions where he invested in what he believed gave "a good image" of himself as a successful PhD student. Being able to confidently ask questions and discuss ideas was important because it left a good impression of him as a successful, confident student (lines 38,39,41) on others who may be future PhD examiners, future pot-doc decision makers, or future research partners.

However, Adam was especially cautious in presenting himself as a successful student to his supervisor. According to him, it could help him obtain his PhD as he explained:

119

90	It's about the outer look. She looks at me from there. She is
91	observing me from there. She can understand me in how I'm
92	doing in my progress. And I do believe that this is the role of the
93	supervisor in the research. It's like two hands trying to clap
94	together. There should be harmony. There should be a
95	professional way of managing your supervisor. My supervisor is
96	familiar with my research but in some angles it was not and that
97	cost me a lot of readings as well. I take her opinions seriously
98	but not do everything she asks for. I discuss things with her "I
99	didn't do this because I feel it's not correct" and I go discuss.
100	And many times I'm correct. There's always space for
101	discussion, for debate. But when you show your supervisor that
102	you are trying, not giving up they believe more in you and help
103	you pass this important time. (Adam, DI, 3)

When Adam invested in interactions to discuss or debate, he was also investing in his "outer look". It was important for Adam to show his supervisor that he was a hard working student (line 101,102,103) if he wanted to pass his studies. Adam's focus on his supervisor's perception of him may have been drawn from the Saudi educational culture where the teacher's role is perceived to be fundamental in the student's success (Algamdi and Abdaljawad, 2005).

In fact, Adam's emphasis on the role of his image on the success of his studies can be seen as contradictory. Adam had described himself as independent from his studies and an advocate of the conventionist view of knowledge where knowledge is free from the researcher (Johnson, 1992). He stated, "It's not me. It's about the work. When I go to my viva, I'm defending the work" (Adam, SR, 2). He was of the view that everyone had the right to produce knowledge since the scientific validity of claims does not depend on the person who puts them forward (Luukka, 2002). If Adam consistently viewed himself as independent from his studies, the supervisor's view of him as a successful student was expected to be less influential, but he stated:

104	When I had a debate with my supervisor regarding some issues in
105	my topic, I felt proud. I won that debate and she even told me I
106	now trust you more and more. And she even said that if an
107	examiner on the final viva asks you this, this is how you should
108	answer that question. I felt happy. It made me feel confident that I
109	can do it. This happened twice before. I'm more confident now.
110	(Adam, DI, 6)

Given the legitimate power of his supervisor as a superior in the hierarchy (French and Raven, 1959), Adam expressed feelings of happiness and pride (line 105,108) when his supervisor recognised him as a successful PhD student (line 120). From a poststructural view of identity, it can be argued that Adam's behaviour was not necessarily contradictory. Block (2007) suggests identity as contested in nature as an individual can become half of what they were and half of what they have been exposed to. Aligned with that suggestion, Adam's contested views can be rooted in the contrasting Saudi educational culture and his current educational culture.

4.2. Case Study 2 "Farah"

4.2.1. Introducing Farah

Farah was a third-year PhD student, in her early thirties. She had taught at a university in Saudi Arabia which sponsored her PhD degree in Geography. Farah was a mother of three boys and had been living in the UK for almost four years.

Along with her three children, Farah lived in a house where she had minimal contact with her neighbours. When she first came to the UK, her brother had helped her and her children to settle down. Farah was worried about her stay in the UK, she stated:

111	Of course I worried. Everything different, the people, the language,
112	everything not like in Saudi you have family for help. You know
113	in Saudi I live near my mother and family. Here I'm alone with my
114	children and doing PhD. (Farah, DI, 1)

She went on to explain:

115	I'm not scared, but I worried especially at the beginning because
116	of my sons and how they go to school. Even now when we go
117	back to Saudi they don't want to come back to the UK. Especially
118	on the first few days, everybody was very sad here. Back home
119	they have cousins, friends. They go out, not like here (Farah, DI,
120	1, translated).

The English language is another challenge for Farah. She struggled with English in Saudi Arabia and in the UK:

121	Not my language. Not easy. My sons now speak very good but me
122	back home teaching English was not good. I understand of course
123	but sometimes pronunciation is difficult for me. I say the word they
124	don't understand me (Farah, DI, 1).

Farah preferred to study at home most of the time. However, she did occasionally go to the study room allocated to PhD students in her department and sometimes in the library.

She attended mandatory workshops in addition to workshops she chose to attend to help her with her studies. Some of her interactions pertained to other interactions she mentioned later during interviews.

4.2.2. How did Farah use or resist opportunities to interact in her academic community?

Farah's diary indicates that she invested, avoided and tried to avoid opportunities to interact. Table 4.4 below is a summary of her interactions.

Table 4.4: Summary of Farah's invested or avoided interactions in her academic community

Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided	Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided
D.I. 1		D.I.2	
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested		
D.I. 3		D.I. 4	
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Tried to avoid	▪ Presenting at conference	➢ Avoided
▪ Attending/presenting at conference	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided
D.I. 5		D.I. 6	
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested		

Farah's interactions included discussions with her supervisor, instructors at training sessions and other students. Table 4.5 below presents featured examples of the type, topic and interlocutors in each category of interaction.

Table 4.5: Examples of Farah's featured interaction in her academic community

Category of interaction	Types of interaction	Interlocutors of interaction	Reaction	Topics of interaction (examples)
Interaction with supervisor	Discussion in supervision sessions	Supervisor	Invested	• About data collection • Problems I have in the chapter
Interaction with colleague	Discussions / informal conversation	Students in study area	Invested	• About writing and PhD work • About Saudi Arabia
Interaction with colleague	Discussions/ informal conversation	Students in study area	Avoided	• Other students' research • Something about PhD
Interaction with instructor	Discussion in workshop /training session	Teaching instructors	Invested	• Ways of getting disclosed information • What is legal in data collection
Interaction with colleague	Study groups in workshop	Other PhD students	Invested	• Steps to research • Techniques for interviewing
Interaction with instructor	Presenting at Conference	Other instructors, academics and students	Avoided	• Saudi conference • PG conference

Farah's investment in her academic community can be understood through two basic themes. The first is that her interactions are driven by her cultural dispositions. The second is that her interactions are driven by her academic progress, I will discuss this below.

4.2.2.1. Farah's identity was driven by her cultural dispositions

Farah's comments suggested that her cultural values played an influential part in her choice to interact in her academic community. This was reflected when she avoided opportunities to interact because of two main issues she referred to:

1. Her perception of her hijab as controversial in the English community.

2. Her eagerness to preserve the values of her original Saudi community.

First of all, Farah remarked on her identity as an outsider based on her appearance which was another source of worry:

125	Farah: Was thinking like they are racism.

126	Researcher: Why would you think they are racist?

127	Farah: I heard some stories to Saudi students in America before.

128	Researcher: Why do you think they may be racist to you?

129	Farah: Especially me because I'm Muslim wearing abaya[1] and
130	hijab[2]. But now at uni it's fine. But outside sometimes it's not
131	ok. People here understand; they're educated but outside
132	sometimes it's not ok, I feel worried. (Farah, DI, 1)

Farah viewed her hijab as a subject of controversy (line 129) and perhaps a reason for people's prejudice as she mentioned "racism" (line 125) as one of her original concerns. Farah's concerns can be rooted in the latest global events. For example, the 9/11 terrorists attack played a major role in heightening Islamophobic perceptions of Muslims in the West (Zempi, 2014). According to Zempi (2014), a popular perception of the hijab suggests that it is a symbol of Islamist extremism and self-segregation. Also, post-terrorist attacks, Muslims have been the subject of negative media that portray Muslims in less than favourable ways. As Moore (1995) suggests, the media have played a crucial role in shaping the public perceptions and propagating anti-Muslim imagery; there are few positive images of Arabs, Muslims or Middle Easterners in general. Therefore, when

---

[1] Abaya: a simple, loose over-garment, essentially a robe-like dress, worn by some women in parts of the Muslim world.

[2] Hijab: Headscarf that Muslim females wear to cover their hair.

Farah was asked why she assumed that she might be the subject of prejudice, she suggested that she was most likely to be prejudiced saying "especially me" (line 129) referring to her physical appearance that indicated her religious and cultural affiliation. In fact, a study on gendered Islamophobia suggests that women are more vulnerable to complex patterns of bias motivating violence (Perry, 2014). Though Perry's study was largely carried out in the US, its findings are likely to be replicated across Western nations.

Concerned about her appearance, her avoidance of interactions was a rather a comfortable and a less threatening reaction. For example, when talking about her plans to publish and present her research, she mentioned her greatest distress saying:

133   Farah: I want to do publish. But I'm afraid to present the work.

134   Researcher: Why? What scares you from presenting?

135   Farah: I have to present my work in front of many people
136   understanding the topic and my English is not very good and I
137   don't want to travel alone. I have my kids. Also maybe I feel
138   different because I wear hijab. (Farah, DI, 4, partly translated).

Farah's expressions as "I feel worried" (line 132) or "I'm afraid to present the work" (line 133) might have presented avoiding interaction as a more convenient option. Since identity consists of an individual's conscious and unconscious sense of self, emotions and desires (Weedon, 2004), physical differences or appearance become signifiers of whether or not an individual belongs (Mirza, 1997). In Farah's case, her appearance suggested an identity of a conservative Muslim different to others in her community (line 138) and thus entailed her feelings of worry. Therefore, it can be suggested that Farah's avoidance of interaction was a precautionary strategy in order to avoid feeling different from others (line 138).

It may seem that Farah's concern about her appearance was exaggerated, especially as she had never experienced any incident where she was rejected or mistreated due to her appearance. She had never actually presented in a conference and experienced what she feared, nor did she mention an encounter where she experienced prejudice inside or outside the academic community. Below, we will come across the cases of Dana and

Jaleela who both wear the hijab, a less conservative form of it than Farah's, and they did not share Farah's concerns and anxieties. Nevertheless, and although the hijab has now become more and more familiar in western communities, it continued to be a constant concern for Farah. Churchill and Dufon (2006) argue that students, studying abroad, themselves play a role in creating their own perceptions of their experience. Farah's perceptions and expectations of others' prejudice and anticipation of rejection by others contributed to shaping her experience.

Farah's thoughts and attitude to opportunities to interact can perhaps be understood through the notion of imagined communities (Norton, 2001). As a desired imagined community may compel an individual to take advantage of opportunities that they may otherwise not seek (Kanno and Norton, 2003), a feared imagined community may also compel an individual to avoid opportunities of interaction. Farah assumed an imagined community where Muslims were mistreated, rejected and subjected to prejudice (line 127, 129). Within that imagined community, Farah took on an identity as an outsider motivated by feelings of discrimination.

It can be argued that as students interact, they are offered the opportunity to reorganise their view of themselves and how they relate to their social world (Norton Peirce, 1995). Interestingly, Farah had been a resident in the UK for more than three years; yet, her perception of how her hijab, and in consequence herself, were perceived, resisted much reorganisation. If interaction can reorganise an individual's sense of themselves (Weedon, 1987; Norton Peirce, 1995), Farah's avoidance of opportunities to interact offered her little opportunity to reorganise a sense of herself.

Farah's second concern, which also prompted her avoidance of interaction, was her eagerness to preserve the values of her original Saudi community. This standpoint was indicated in Farah's comments which revealed why she avoided interactions:

1. Given the gender segregation she was used to in Saudi Arabia, Farah did not want to interact with the opposite gender.

2. Being a mother of three children, she wanted to act in accordance with her own values and expressed resistance to the norms of the host culture.

Gender segregation: During one of the interviews, Farah mentioned an incident when she was still studying at the university's English Language Institute where her female friends pleaded for gender-segregated classes. Farah described her point of view and said:

139	I was against this. If you want this stay in Saudi Arabia, don't come
140	here. Don't come here and apply your rules. You are in this country
141	respect their rules and system or stay in Saudi Arabia. When they
142	come to our country they respect our rules. It's very good they
143	respect us and give us prayer room. (Farah, DI, 5, partly translated)

Accordingly, Farah claimed that she respected the values and the culture of her host community and strived to abide by its understandings and not force her own convictions on others (line 140). However, despite her strong objection to other Saudi students' intentions, Farah did not react to interactions accordingly. In two other incidents Farah was discouraged from interacting by the same Saudi value she claimed to be against. In the first incident, she regretted interactions with male interlocutors and explained:

144	Farah:	Also I don't like the Saudi men in my office see me talking
145		to other men. Yes, Saudi people talk a lot.
146	Researcher:	Do you care what they think or say?
147	Farah:	Yes. It's important what other people think. It's important
148		your reputation. (Farah, DI, 3, partly translated)

In that incident, Farah regretted interacting with a group of male Nigerian students near the prayer room because she was spotted by some Saudi students. Her wariness of their presence and of the interlocutors being male reflected the values of conservative Saudi Arabian culture where gender segregation is common. In another incident, she also avoided interaction in the study area, but with Saudi male students as she described this as follows:

149	I don't know. It is different with Saudi men. It's like something in
150	their genes. They look at you. You feel uncomfortable. (Farah, DI,
	4)

Farah appeared ambivalent about where she stood regarding these values, still searching for her identity in the community. She was against those who aimed to maintain their Saudi values (line 139). Yet, she strived to preserve them herself. It can be argued that she objected to students imposing their Saudi customs on others in the host country; yet, believed in her right to individually maintain her values. Nevertheless, it was a value she lived by in Saudi Arabia and perhaps was a site of struggle. Being in a site of struggle it was possible as Elias and Scotson (1994, p. 95) describe:

> The more secure the members of a group feel in their own superiority and their pride, the less great is distortion… and the more threatened and insecure they feel, the more likely is it that internal pressure, and as part of it, internal competition, will drive common beliefs towards extremes of illusion and rigidity.

Therefore, although this value was a "fundamental component of the modelling of [her] human purposive behaviour" (Barth, 1993, p. 34) in Saudi Arabia, Farah may struggled to define how she related to these values in an environment where such values were not a fundamental component of behaviour. Farah's wish to respect and accommodate to the host culture, and her wish to maintain Saudi custom and values seem to indicate that she is struggling with her identity in two communities, the UK/International academic community and the Saudi community. In addition to that, Nordby (2003) claims that an individual's actions are not believed good or bad according to values, but rather according to an individual's beliefs about interpersonal relations and the norms people should conform to. It is possible that this value did not necessarily reflect Farah's own personal belief about interpersonal relations which can explain condemning her other Saudi colleagues for trying to impose this value in the UK (line 141).

Furthermore, Weedon (1987) suggests that the distribution of social power can depend on how individuals interpret the world. However, it is possible that how they interpret the world is yet in question and is itself a site of struggle. Farah's perception of how she experienced the world indicated a struggle between what she was used to, was expected

to do and believed. According to Wenger (1998a), meaning as in how we experience everyday life is a matter of negotiation; hence, it is an on-going process that suggests one's readjustment to various perspectives.

Resistance to assimilation: Individuals can absorb into the target society and assimilate to a new culture (Berry, 2005). Farah seemed aware of this as she expressed a fear of assimilation. She spoke about not going to a conference that had taken place recently and also about conferences in general, saying:

151	I am busy with work and home with my family. I want to go to
152	seminar, and conference but I don't want to go to the party or
153	coffee, dinner or Christmas. (Farah, DI, 3)

In addition to her preoccupation with her work, Farah's comment suggests tension between her desire to participate in academic activities and concern about socialising with the members of her academic community. She did not want to assimilate to the cultural values of the UK that are conveyed in such activities. This concern may have resulted in her avoiding some of her university's social gatherings, hence opportunities to interact. Schumann (1986) argues that it is the learners' preservation of their own life style and values that minimises interaction with members of another culture, which can also explain Farah's avoidance of interactions.

Farah was concerned about assimilating to the culture especially as she was accompanied by her three children. She had concerns that she or her children would take on the identity of this new culture and would assimilate to the norms of the host culture:

154	I was worried about the language. My sons because I don't know
155	there is good school. I want Muslim schools for my sons, I don't
156	like to teach them about Christmas or other religion or talk about
157	dating or something like that. (Farah, DI, 1)

Farah expressed clearly that she did not want her children to assimilate to the norms of the host culture (line 156). As Wittgenstein (1953, 1980) states, an individual's values can be especially important when they dictate the form of life, as in what interests them, how they want to live their life and the activities they participate in (Nordby, 2003). The issues Farah rejected, such as parties, dinners, coffee breaks, Christmas celebrations and

dating, are social events that reflect a life style Farah perceived as foreign to her and her children's identity. Since she was concerned that her interactions may result in her compromising her own cultural values, as a result, opportunities to interact were avoided. Bourdieu (1991) explains that individuals entering a new field bring with them a set of dispositions that cause them to interact differently. Farah appeared to mainly define herself in terms of allegiance to her original Saudi culture. Thus, she wanted to take advantage of opportunities without assimilating to the host country's values. For example, she hoped for opportunities where she could take advantage of a seminar but without sharing a cup of coffee; also she wanted to find a good school for her children but feared they would pick up the host country's cultural values in that school.

Similar to most international students, Farah's values were incompatible with values of the host culture (Liberman, 1994). In Farah's case, her appearance, preference for gender segregation and resistance to assimilation mostly prompted a mode of subjectivity where she avoided opportunities to interact.

4.2.2.2. Farah's academic progress prompted investment

Farah's academic progress appeared to prompt her investment in interactions. Despite her cultural perceptions that appeared to sometimes hinder her interactions, Farah did not always avoid opportunities to interact. She invested in interactions where she was less concerned about the cultural values discussed above.

Farah talked about attending an academic training session on data collection, a problem she faced in her research, and she described having a discussion with an instructor during the academic training session. Although the instructor was male, Farah's comments did not refer to her cultural values emphasising gender segregation or her concerns of what others might think of her. Farah did not seem to find it challenging to ask, discuss or share her thoughts in topics relating to her research:

158	If it's important to your topic, you don't ask, why? You are student
159	you come to this workshop to learn not to just say yes and you
160	don't really understand. (Farah, DI, 2)

Similar to this interaction was a discussion she had in the study area. She shared some information she had gained from her supervisor with her colleagues in the study room and explained her interactions as follows:

161   If I have something to say, I say. If I know this something my
162   friend doesn't know I tell them. (Farah, ID, 2).
163   A lot of things in my PhD many times I succeed because my
164   friends here give me advice on this problem, or this idea you
165   know.   We are here need other students' ideas, I give them ideas
166   too. (Farah, DI, 3)

Aligned with the view of power relations as unfinalisable (Marchenkova, 2005), her cultural values manifested themselves in a dialogical relation with the elements of the power relations existent in her context. In other words, the influence of those cultural values was not always equal in different sites. The cultural values, preferences and concerns Farah drew upon in some interactions became less influential when   interaction might improve her academic skills or her academic progress in general. Interactions then became of great value and importance (line 158) and her cultural dispositions were less relevant.

At first, Farah's comments may not suggest anything exceptional. Indeed, students are expected to value their academic performance (Chen, 1999). However, these comments did not seem in line with her concern for cultural values. Farah's comment on her cultural values (line 147) and her other comment (line 161) suggest that her identity in this regard was far from fixed. According to Norton Peirce (1995), identity in this sense can be better understood as integrated in social context. When Farah invested in interactions where she valued her academic performance, this might present an alternative identity where she was less concerned with cultural values. Therefore, she found it important (line 158), required (line 165) and valuable (line 166) to invest in interaction.

In fact, Farah's valuing of her academic performance enabled her to partially overcome her concern about her English language difficulty as well. She talked about interacting with an instructor in a workshop and said:

167	I ask questions I need to answer and try to make myself clear.
168	Sometimes I prefer not to ask him and go after the workshop or
169	class and ask him alone and tell him I have some questions. (Farah,
	DI, 3)

Farah had previously suggested that she did not find English easy and though she understood others, she found pronunciation and getting others to understand her challenging (line 123,124). According to Weedon (1987), language is the place where an individual constructs a sense of their self and subjectivity. Farah's language impacted her as she realised the disadvantage and vulnerability her command of English caused her. Thus, she tried to make herself clear (line 167) or asked the instructor privately (line 169) to lessen her feelings of vulnerability.

Farah's decision to invest in less than comfortable interactions was prompted by her understanding that through her choice of investment she would acquire what Norton and Goa (2008) refer to as a wider range of symbolic resources. In Farah's case these resources included knowledge that could assist her in her research and facilitate her progress. So even if language potentially plays a role in controlling the production of power (Heller and Martin-Jones, 2001), Farah chose to have a powerful position and invest in interaction despite her language ability.

A discussion Farah avoided, that took place in the study room served to emphasise this. She justified her lack of interest in the discussion, as follows:

170	They open subjects I don't want to join. They talk about something
171	outside my field of study; it won't help my project so… My
172	language also is not helping me; I don't feel my English is strong
173	enough. (Farah, DI, 4, partly translated)

It appeared that Farah's language prompted different subject positions. In some interactions where she found interaction worthy, she fought for her right to interact despite her relatively powerless position. On the other hand, even though the discussion that took place in the study area among her colleagues was an academic one, it did not necessarily relate to her studies and so Farah did not find it worth the effort to express herself clearly in English. She used her low proficiency to justify her choice not to

interact (line172); while most likely, the fact that she considered the interaction not worthy of her investment (line 171) was probably the more influential factor. Baxter (2003) argues that individuals can occupy multiple positions that enable the adoption of a relatively powerless position in one site and a more powerful one in another. Accordingly, Farah's focus on her academic progress enabled her investment in relevant interactions she may otherwise have avoided but dissuaded her from engaging in others.

4.2.3. How did Farah perceive herself in her academic community?

Based on Farah's interactions, her discourse identities suggested her roles being a culturally conservative Muslim and a PhD student (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6:   Example of Farah's discourse and situated identity in academic community

Example of Discourse Identity	Situated Identity
Avoidance of presenting at a conference, avoidance of interaction with Saudi males, interaction with male interlocutors in general, avoidance of gatherings in her department, e.g. Christmas celebrations, social events.	The culturally conservative Muslim
Meetings with supervisor, discussions with instructors, asking other colleagues for help, going to workshops.	The PhD student

Culturally conservative Muslim

Farah intended to resist the interactions that may have put her Saudi or Islamic values at risk. Since individual's values can be accountable for creating difference from others (Furnham, 1997), Farah appeared to maintain her values and hence emphasised the differences that divided her from others. This may have caused her feelings of alienation (Nathan, 2005) and also limited her interactions. According to Churchill and DuFon (2006), students who are able to create social networks increase their exposure to situations that advance their development. However, Farah confining herself to situations that agreed with her cultural values caused her to limit her exposure to interactions with members of her host country.

Farah's cultural values sometimes entailed avoiding interaction with Saudi males or males in general as her observance of a conservative Saudi culture conveys gender

segregation and discourages unnecessary interaction between them. In addition to that, being a Muslim and realising her hijab was controversial, Farah assumed a prejudiced disposition from non-Muslims, which also influenced her decisions whether to interact. As Kinginger and Whitworth (2005) state, one's perceptions of the host culture influence one's willingness to interact; her feelings of foreignness made Farah take on an identity as outsider. She described it as follows:

174	I don't go everyday. The office there is very noisy; I can't do work.
175	Like we are in a pub or something. I don't talk with them. I have
176	Nigerian friend Fumi she also complains about them. She now
177	goes to the library. They are very noisy group in the office, no
178	respect. And I think sometimes they don't respect us because I am
179	quite, don't talk and not British. (Farah, DI, 5)

Nathan (2005) claims that acceptance within a student community has less to do with personality and more with having shared circumstances and demographics. Since the conscious and unconscious sense of self can suggest one's mode of subjectivity (Weedon, 2004), Farah's sense of self emphasised what she did not share with others. Here reference to herself as being not British (line 179) can suggest a recognition of her distinct cultural and religious dispositions. It possibly fed into her acts preserving her identity as a conservative Muslim. For example, when she avoided an early Christmas celebration in her department taking place in the PhD students study area, her avoidance appeared to her as an act of preserving her identity. She described it as follows:

180	Christmas and that stuff, every day they have many celebrations!!
181	They know I'm Muslim so Christmas is not mean important to
182	me… Also if I stay my children will ask, I want my children like
183	me understanding red lines. I tell them, we are Muslims. I am a
184	daughter of a sheikh[3] and they are the grand children of that
185	sheikh… Living here has many benefits. I get my degree, good life,
186	good experience, easy transportation I can go here and there. But
187	also every day I live here not easy for me to raise my children. In
188	our religion, Islam we have red lines. I tell my sons you can have
189	fun, friends but remember we have red lines. I become very sad
190	and angry I find my son's Facebook saying "in a relationship" and
191	he put picture of his girlfriend and all his friends comment
192	"congratulations". I become mad and I wanted to cry just thinking
193	what to do. It is very scaring your children forget they are Muslims;
194	they are Saudis. He's a teenager, I can't be tough on him; I don't
195	want him to hate me. I have to be patient. (Farah, DI, 5, partly
196	translated)

In a social context that does not support Farah's values, as in the UK society, holding on to her cultural identity deprived her of opportunities to interact. Thus, when Farah avoided such social events, she was also avoiding opportunities to interact. Her intention to maintain her own traditional life style (line 183,188) led to fewer interactions with members of her host culture (Schumann, 1986).

Farah's language ability was another factor that caused her to feel as an outsider. However, although Farah claimed she found her language skills an obstacle, it appeared that her concern was not always her English and the production of correct forms of the language. While she attributed her avoidance to her language ability in one site (line 172), she was able to overcome that difficulty in others (line 169). It was possible that while Farah's less fluent language prompted her feelings as an outsider, her feelings were probably due to a lack of common interests with fellow students and academics and ways of expressing her view of the world to those around her as well. According to

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[3]A man respected for his reverence and religious learning

136

Kramsch (1998), language offers its speakers ways of expressing and thinking about the world differently from speakers of other languages.

The PhD student

Unrestrained by her cultural disposition or language difficulty, Farah invested in interactions that might advance her role as a PhD student. As one's value can prompt one's reorganisation of power relations that can help overcame struggles (Calhoun, 1994), Farah's valuing of her success in her PhD study may have prompted her reorganisation of her cultural dispositions. She explained her discussion with an instructor at a workshop:

197   Researcher: You mentioned, not wanting to talk with male students.

198   So, how did you feel here?

199   Farah: No, I'm not a hypocrite.

200   Researcher: No, I didn't say that. I just want to understand more.

201   Farah: My religion and standards are always important for me. I did

202   not have double standards. When I ask the teacher, I want

203   to understand, I'm not chatting or socialising for fun and

204   good time. It's different. I think it is different because it is

205   my future. I study in the UK. So, yes of course I have male

206   teachers, friends, not like Saudi Arabia.   I can

207   be flexible without changing my standards. (Farah, DI, 2,

       translated)

According to Farah, overcoming her cultural dispositions did not indicate contradiction (line 199, 202). Perhaps it can suggest that identity roles can be better conceptualised through the social world and existing power relations and not in isolation (Norton Peirce, 1995). Farah's cultural values and view of herself as an outsider were negotiated when investing in interaction related to her PhD. These cultural dispositions were less powerful given the importance of the information she gained from these interactions (line 205). In fact, she claimed her reorganisation of these power relations as she suggested being flexible (line 207).

According to Farah, her success in her studies went beyond the mere value of success itself. She also stated:

208	Farah: It's a lot of things. Coming to the UK. I pay expensive price.
209	Everything for my PhD, my future.
210	Researcher: What do you mean by high price?
211	Farah: If I'm single student is different from being a mother with three
212	boys. I change my life, my sons' lives when we come here. They
213	come to new schools, new friends, very difficult at the beginning
214	specially. Ok, now is better, but again when going back to Saudi I
215	don't know because again we are going to relocate so everything
216	new again. I know my children make sacrifice for me, my PhD.
217	Sometimes I am just stressed or don't have enough time to spend
218	with them because I go to the library. They are now can understand.
219	But I need to finish and go back home. (Farah, DI, 6, partly
	translated)

Farah's success was significant given her children's presence with her in the UK. According to Farah, her study abroad was at the expense of her children's convenience and life in Saudi Arabia among their friends and cousins (line 117, 119, 213). Farah mentioned several times that her children felt forced to come and live in the UK and they found it hard to adapt given that it was a new environment where they had no friends or cousins like back home in Saudi Arabia. Her realisation of her children's sacrifice was also evident in her disinterest in attending conferences that entailed her children to travel along with her (line 137). As Nathan (2005) assumes that academic achievement is every student's priority, Lee (1984) emphasises that international students' academic success is further significant for it may involve other important values including family, pride and friends' faith in them. Farah's realisation of her children's sacrifices possibly added greater value to her identity role as a PhD student seeking success. The high price (line 208) she exchanged in return for the opportunity to get a PhD perhaps made investing in interactions facilitating her success more important.

4.3. Case Study 3 "Jaleela"

4.3.1. Introducing Jaleela

Jaleela was a 29-year-old single Saudi female. Being abroad for the first time, when she first came to the UK her mother and her brother stayed a few months with her to help her adapt and get used to the new environment. Jaleela was a second-year PhD student in Psychology, specialising in children's' mental health. Jaleela had been living in the UK for five years, spending the first year in a language institute to get the required IELTS score for her Masters degree. As a child, Jaleela's parents enrolled her in private schools in order for her to learn English from an early age. She explained:

220	I have always been in private schools back in Saudi Arabia. And
221	the reason I went there was to learn English from an early age. But
222	the problem is that the English courses were not that good. But my
223	parents did care about us learning English. (Jaleela, DI, 1)

Jaleela had experienced living in student halls before. She believed it would be better if she wanted to focus on her studies; however, although she was in a student hall she rarely had contact with any other students. Later on, Jaleela moved to private accommodation and lived alone where she did not have any encounters with neighbours either. Unlike Adam who was never intimidated by life in the UK, Jaleela was worried. In addition to the challenges of being independent for the first time, she described other issues:

224	Also, everything was new for me. I was expected to take
225	responsibility of myself and everything. The English accent itself
226	was a challenge for me. I remember I was confused about some
227	things. I was very worried how they would react to me and I wasn't
228	that confident to wear my hijab here. But it got better with time.
229	I'm now more comfortable and confident. (Jaleela, DI, 1)

She eventually wore her hijab as she lived in a city that is very multicultural and has a large number of Muslim inhabitants. Jaleela believed her life in the UK was challenging, yet she also spoke of upsides:

139

230	My existence here and being responsible for everything changed a
231	lot in me. I learned many things. I'm now more independent I make
232	my own decisions and I feel that my personality has evolved here.
233	The freedom I have here makes life easier and better. But back in
234	Saudi this is not really acceptable. I can't live alone back in Saudi.
235	But still I love my life in Saudi; I love my family life I have back
236	there. But if I had to choose, I'll choose my life here in the UK.
237	(Jaleela, DI, 1)

Jaleela occasionally worked in the study area in her department where there were other PhD and Masters students, both from her department and also from other departments. She also sometimes studied at the library and at home.

4.3.2. How did Jaleela use or resist opportunities to interact in her academic community?

Jaleela's interactions included invested and avoided opportunities to interact. Table 4.4 below is a summary of her interactions.

Table 4.7: Summary of Jaleela's invested or avoided interactions in her academic community

Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided	Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided
D.I. 1		D.I.2	
▪ Giving a presentation	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Presenting at conference	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested		
D.I. 3		D.I. 4	
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Presenting at conference	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
		▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided
D.I. 5		D.I. 6	

▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided	▪ Presenting at conference	➢ Invested

Jaleela's interactions included discussions with her supervisor, participating in a seminar, discussions with instructors at training sessions and other students and presenting at a conference. Table 4.8 below presents featured examples of the type, topic and interlocutors in each category of interaction.

Table 4.8: Examples of Jaleela's featured interaction in her academic community

Category of interaction	Types of interaction	Interlocutors of interaction	Reaction	Topics of interaction (examples)
Interaction with supervisor	Discussion in supervision sessions	Supervisor	Invested	• Study progress • Discussion of data collection in Saudi Arabia
Interaction with colleagues	Discussions/ informal conversation	Other Masters and PhD students	Avoided	• Something very specific to their studies • Industrial psychology
Interaction with colleagues	Discussions/ informal conversation	Other PhD students	Invested	• Critical writing • Looking for Proof-reader
Interaction with instructor	Discussions in workshop	Teaching instructor / other students	Invested	• Literature review and how to be critical • Using Nvivo
Interaction with instructor	Discussion in a Seminar	Instructors, visitors, students	Invested	• Departmental Seminar
Interaction with instructor	Presenting at a conference	Other presenters and attendances	Invested	• Children's rights conference in London • Saudi Conference in London • Conference in Ireland

Jaleela's investment in her academic community can be understood through two basic themes. The first is where existing interlocutors and topic of interaction appeared to

mediate her investment. The second is where interactions were found as opportunities for her to take on a more powerful position in interaction.

4.3.2.1. Interlocutors and topics made Jaleela's silence a more convenient choice

Jaleela had occasions where she avoided opportunities to interact. These incidents revealed how she perceived herself in her academic community and the power relations that may have prompted her resistance to interact. She was found to avoid interactions and take on a less powerful position when she encountered British interlocutors, more fluent speakers of English or when the topic of interaction was not of any interest to her.

British interlocutors: Jaleela avoided a discussion that was taking place in the study area of her school. Jaleela's inclination to resist opportunities to interact seemed rooted in negative experiences and the expectations she had.

At first she claimed that the conversation itself "was not interesting" hence she avoided the opportunity to interact. However, she went on to say:

238	I'm not friends with them, they are a Masters and PhD student.
239	They're both British. They were talking about something very
240	specific to their studies. So not important for me. (Jaleela, DI, 1)

Jaleela's reference to the fact that the interlocutors were British students (line 239) can indicate a possible explanation as to why she avoided interaction. Jaleela had an opinion of British people that can be traced back to when she was in Saudi Arabia and then when she was a Masters student here in the UK. When discussing her expectation of living in the UK, she had previously mentioned the following:

241	I was worried a little bit. It's an English society; I heard they can
242	be very stiff and rigid. They are not easy to befriend. (Jaleela, DI, 1)

As a Masters student, Jaleela also mentioned the following:

243   I didn't have a lot of contact with British people. They are not very

244   friendly. They are snobby and not helpful. (Jaleela, DI, 1)

Jaleela had her dispositions regarding how she would find British people before coming to the UK. According to Bourdieu (1977), individuals enter a new field with a set of dispositions and Jaleela came in with expectations of British people being stiff, rigid, and not easy to befriend (line 242). As an individual's feelings and dispositions are subject to reinforcement when they are met by related experiences as well as by their own self-contemplations (Bourdieu, 1990), Jaleela's opinions were perhaps later reinforced by her negative experiences during her Masters study when she justified her lack of contact with British people by suggesting they were snobbish and unhelpful (line 244).

Although her dispositions may be reinforced by experience, it can be argued that Jaleela possibly took on a role in her negative experience with British people. Preece (2009) claims that the ways in which students relate to their community can facilitate or obstruct their experience as newcomers to higher education. Churchill and Dufon (2006) suggest that the perceptions students have may contribute to a sense of rejection, to reduced contact and hence to disappointment in their experience. In other words, how she perceived herself in relation to the world in which she found herself possibly led to a sense of rejection and a consequent refusal by her to interact with British people. While positive attitudes develop as a result of positive experience (Gardner, 1985), Jaleela's negative experiences may have led to her further developing a negative attitude. So, when she viewed British people as stiff, unhelpful or unfriendly, she also developed a sense of herself as uncomfortable, unwelcomed and at a disadvantage in her new context.

Jaleela's negative experiences likely confirmed her expectations and in turn accounted for how she related to British people, including her resisting opportunities to interact with them (line 239). Since subjectivity is reconstituted in discourse (Weedon, 1987), it can be claimed that for Jaleela to change her perceptions, her subjectivity must be reconstituted in positive successful discourses with British interlocutors so she can reorganise a more positive sense of herself in relation to British interlocutors.

Fluent speakers of English: Jaleela's resistance of opportunities to interact was not limited to opportunities to interact with British interlocutors. She also avoided interaction that took place in the study area in her school with non-British interlocutors where she explained that:

245	I feel that I'm less than them because of the language and
246	all…They talk about a lot of things, they are sometimes noisy I
247	can't focus…I don't come to the office all the time;
248	I feel not like they are my friends, just like colleagues; we don't
248	have a relationship. They are friends together and go out and so on.
249	But they are OK. (Jaleela, DI, 3)

These interlocutors were Masters and PhD students from her department and also other departments. Compared to the British interlocutors, these interactions did not concern native speakers of English. In fact, they involved Indian, Polish, Chinese, Cypriot and Hungarian colleagues, all of whom were non-native speakers of English. Yet, she referred to their language ability and felt a sense of inferiority (line 245) because she viewed them as more fluent in English than she was. It can be argued that given the significant status of speakers of English as a Second Language (ESL), they can be as overwhelming as speakers of English as a Native Language (ENL) (Yano, 2001). However, Jaleela herself was an ESL speaker, which suggests that her concern with their language and her reference to her inferiority as in feeling less was perhaps a reference to a deeper power struggle than the correctness of language forms. Kay and Kempton (1984) reiterate the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis:

> Structural differences between language systems will, in general, be paralleled by   non-linguistic cognitive differences, of an unspecified sort, in the native speakers of   the two languages.

> (Kay and Kempton, 1984, p. 74)

Although this theory has been subject to question as several experiments have supported it while others have invalidated it (Lucy, 1996), it is likely to be relevant to Jaleela's mode of subjectivity, which seems to be further indicated because of two issues. First of all, Jaleela was not necessarily less fluent than the other students. She obtained her

Masters in the UK and, unlike Farah, did not state any difficulties in expressing herself. Second, on another interaction where she took the opportunity to interact with a colleague in the same study area, Jaleela described that colleague:

250	She is like a post-doc, like a research assistant, not a PhD student.
251	Sometimes she can help me I ask her what do you think of this? Is
252	this a good idea? So she is not always I ask her. But because she
523	understands my difficulty and knows about my problem with my
254	supervisor, I ask her opinion. She helped me a lot with that report.
255	(Jaleela, DI, 2)

According to Jaleela, this specific interlocutor was a Pakistani Muslim colleague who has been living in the UK for most of her life. Compared to the group of Masters and PhD students whom Jaleela avoided interacting with due to their language fluency, this interlocutor was probably more fluent in English given the number of years she had been resident in the UK. Yet, Jaleela found it easier to interact with her and even seek her advice and support at times (lines 251, 252). Aligned with the principles of poststructuralism, discourses constitute how individuals identify within its relations of power (Weedon, 1987). Jaleela found more commonality with the Pakistani Muslim colleague, though a fluent speaker of English, more than the rest of the ESL colleagues. Therefore, Jaleela's struggle for power (line 254, 258) was not necessarily due to the English language itself as she claimed (line 245). Since language offers its speakers unique ways of expressing the world around them (Kramsch, 1998), Jaleela was likely referring to the possibilities and manner in which they think, behave and perceive the world. Also, her reference to the fact that she did not have a relationship with them while they were friends together (line 248) can suggest her avoidance as a result of her perception of the group of colleagues in her office as a coherent and more powerful group that found common ways of experiencing the world. In consequence, it may have prompted her feelings of inequality and shallowness in relation to them. As Mennell (1994) describes the issue of the balance of power between outsiders, as in Jaleela, and more established counterparts:

> Processes of differentiation create problems of coordination… [Forcing] groups of people together in closer interdependencies creates new concentrations of power resources, new inequalities.

<div align="right">Mennell (1994, p. 183)</div>

Churchill and Dufon (2006) claim that feelings of shallowness that learners find in their relationship may cause their feelings of rejection and result in reduced interaction. Jaleela's appearance was probably an additional source of shallowness in her relationship with her colleagues. Her previous reference to her concern with how others may react to her appearance (line 227) puts forward Jaleela's realisation of her inability to conform to the form of dress or appearance as a further contributor to her feelings of shallowness with her colleagues. On the other hand, since an experience of social cohesiveness and feelings of identity can offer individuals a source of power (Pride, 1971), Jaleela may have experienced a sense of herself with the other Muslim Pakistani interlocutor where she was more accepted, and found common ways of experiencing the world. As a result, she found it easier to interact with her than with the other colleagues.

Topic of interaction was not of interest to her: Jaleela also avoided interactions that in her perception were uninteresting. If individuals invest in interactions with the understanding that they would acquire a value in return (Norton Peirce, 1995), Jaleela experienced interactions that lacked value to draw her interest. She talked about a seminar that took place in her department where she avoided asking questions or participating in the discussion and explained her avoidance of a discussion:

256	It is not the field of my study. It's still psychology but not my
257	specific field. I am interested in child abuse but this talk was about
258	industrial psychology or like that. (Jaleela, DI, 4)

Jaleela's indication of what she was interested in (line 257) can suggest the interaction was uninteresting or valueless in her view. This lack of interest can eliminate one's motivation to subsume effort and desire to interact (Gardner, 2001). Especially, that given the suggested concerns Jaleela had with British and non-British interlocutors, it can be argued that finding interactions valuable was necessary for her to interact and overcome her possible negative attitude towards interlocutors. As Norton Peirce (1995)

argues, power relations can limit the opportunities to interact, and so there had to be an exchange value for Jaleela to invest in interaction. She described this in another avoided interaction:

256	Jaleela: Actually, I wanted them to shut up; let alone me going to
257	share and contribute. A lot of the times they discuss things
258	loudly.
259	Researcher: But it was research related?
260	Jaleela: So? It's common room not everybody in the room is
261	interested to hear or wants to discuss other students' research.
262	I think it's a distraction and disrespectful to other students.
263	They can go to the cafeteria or whatever. (Jaleela, DI, 5)

Jaleela found the interaction distracting, disrespectful (line 262) and even wanted them to end their discussion (line 256) but perhaps that was because the interaction was originally uninteresting to her (line 261). This can signify the role of Jaleela's initial motivation and genuine interest in her decision to interact. Weedon (1987) explains that:

> Where other positions exist but are exclusive to a particular class, race or gender, the excluded individual will have to fight for access by transforming existing power relation.

> (Weedon, 1987, p. 95)

Thus, even though the concept of investment emphasises the relations of power and their effect on an individual's interaction, capturing both the individual and social aspects of a context (Norton Peirce, 1995), it is still necessary to be also seen as a concept that complements the psychological concept of motivation. The previously mentioned opportunities to interact with the British interlocutors or her colleagues lacked that symbolic or material resource for her to overcome the power relations. This became even more apparent when Jaleela invested in interactions that involved similar interlocutors in the following discussion as we learn more about Jaleela's invested interactions and her exercise of her right to speak.

4.3.2.2. Sites of interaction Jaleela's investment was more opportune

Jaleela described occasions where she took on a more powerful position by investing in interaction. Certain relations of power including her strong knowledge, being an advocate of child protection or her future identity offered Jaleela an opportunity to reorganise a sense of herself as a more powerful member of her academic community.

Power of her knowledge: Jaleela volunteered to present at three different conferences. Realising that she can resist opportunities to interact in her academic community, volunteering at conferences may appear unexpected. Jaleela was excited about giving presentations, she commented:

264	I read a lot about my topic. So my knowledge and reading gives
265	me confidence. I'm a student and here to learn. But I think my
266	knowledge in this topic gives me the courage. (Jaleela, DI, 1)

Jaleela's knowledge offered her feelings of confidence and power (line 266). If social control is mostly exercised through the competent experts who define, describe and classify knowledge (Cameron, 2001), according to Trent (2008), the use of disciplinary knowledge is an opportunity to perceive oneself as competent and established ownership of discipline. This type of power is what French and Raven (1959) refer to as expert power. Jaleela's knowledge, whether thought of positively by others or not, gained her the confidence to take on a more powerful position and present herself as an expert. Because if Jaleela's knowledge was seen as claims, then, following Foucault, every claim of truth within a particular discourse is seen as an exercise of power and so is hers (Heizmann and Olsson, 2015).

Unlike the interactions where Jaleela struggled to fit in, felt excluded or unaccepted, presenting at these conferences drew upon her expert power that offered her a more powerful position in interaction. She viewed these conferences as a site where she identified herself in relation to her knowledge of the discipline and not other considerations. She described her experience of presenting at a conference:

267	I feel confident and comfortable about myself. In my masters level
268	I used to feel less confident because I'm not a native speaker. But
269	now, I just care about presenting my information, whatever… It is
270	not always the most important thing [to be fluent in the language]
271	if you have strong knowledge people don't care, you just be
272	confidant (Jaleela, DI, 2). If I present something wrong or any
273	mistake, I don't care. I just want to present my information as clear
274	as I can; I don't care now. It's OK; I just want to share what I know.
275	I feel strong because I have the knowledge to talk about my topic
276	(Jaleela, DI, 4).

Participants at such conferences are identified by their membership of the discipline and their generation of shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998a). The cultural or language matters Jaleela was concerned about on other occasions became less important. As Jaleela suggested, participating in these conferences, she did not feel like an outsider (line 269). Her expert power was not threatened by not being British or not being fluent in English (line 273). In fact, presenting at these conferences was an opportunity for her to take on a more powerful position as any other knowledgeable person in her field (line 269, 271, 274).

As Jaleela's expert knowledge was an attribute she always possessed may raise the question as to why such power was not used across other interactions where she took a more powerless position. In this regard, her resistance to interactions and investment in other interactions may explain the nature of her expert power. It has been claimed that power is an entity and individuals are able to use it to influence others (Schultze and Stabell, 2004). Nevertheless, Jaleela's expert knowledge power was not necessarily an entity relevant across all interactions; it was relational to the social context. As Foucault (1977) suggests, power itself is not possessed but rather a strategy exercised within a network of relations where the effect of the power is manifested. Therefore, Jaleela's power of her knowledge was only applicable or relevant in relation to a particular context and among particular people.

Advocate of child protection: Jaleela was very passionate about her topic of research and took advantage of available platforms of interactions including participating in departmental seminars, a small presentation during a workshop and discussions where she can express her enthusiasm about her topic of research. As her study focused on child abuse, she considered herself an advocate of child protection. She described herself:

277	I become more supporting this type of vulnerable people. I'm an
278	advocate for children everywhere; not only in Saudi Arabia, not
279	only nationally but internationally too. (Jaleela, DI, 4)

Jaleela seemed to take on a responsible role towards abused children everywhere (line 278). This commitment to her cause possibly enabled her to take a more powerful position in interactions. It is claimed that a desire for change or improvement of a current situation is the most common reason people take on active roles regarding a cause (Fienieg et al., 2011). This can be aligned with what Jaleela also described about her presentation at another conference:

280	I feel strongly people they must understand child protection. They
281	must understand how people must treat children,
282	so I am trying to raise the awareness. Beside my PhD, it is mostly
283	raising the awareness about child protection.
284	It making me more proud because I am participating in
285	international concept not only national in Saudi Arabia. A lot of
286	people don't understand how important this is. The society,
287	mothers, teacher, everybody must be aware of children right. Child
288	abuse has to stop. (DI, 6)

Jaleela felt strongly about this cause (line 280) which meant that it could be an incentive for her to invest in interactions that serve it (line 282). Jaleela's commitment to this cause and her description of herself as "an advocate for children everywhere" (line 278) feasibly empowered Jaleela to invest in interactions. Turner (2007) claims that almost every human behaviour and commitment to social interaction is driven by one's feelings and emotions. Also, as the individual's moral worth in social interactions can be a source

of pride and shame (Scheff, 1994), the morality of Jaleela's cause was a source of her pride (line 284) and thus may have offered her a more powerful position in interaction (line 287). Therefore, when Jaleela invested in such interactions, she was also renegotiating her sense of identity. She invested in her identity as a morally worthy person in her community (line 277, 288) experiencing feelings of pride in herself (line 284) as she tried to raise others' awareness (line 282, 283) of a worldwide phenomenon (line 279, 285).

Her possibilities for the future: Jaleela, being a research student, aimed to be an active member in her academic community in the future. Discussing her investment in interactions, such as giving a presentation and participating in discussions, Jaleela mentioned that this could facilitate her plans for the future. For example, she commented on her presentation:

289	It is an opportunity to meet people. Especially like the conference
290	in Dublin there were experts working with child protection. It was
291	very interesting for me to meet these type of people. It's good to
292	know people from your field if you need any help or resource for
293	your study. Also, good for the future to have bigger network. This
294	is important for research and publication. (Jaleela, DI, 2).

In Jaleela's perception, participating in a conference was an opportunity to expand her network (line 289). This was especially valuable for it can sustain her intention to publish research in the future (line 294). Jaleela suggested a desired identity which involved having a bigger network of acquaintances and having research published. As expanding her network was important for her future identity (line 294), it may thus prompt her investment in present interactions. According to Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011), a person's future ideal self serves as a powerful motivator. Jaleela's consideration of her future self can be relevant to Norton's (2001) "imagined community". As an imagined community is found to offer an individual a range of identity options and possibilities (Norton, 2001), Jaleela's imagined identity as a researcher with greater contributions to her discipline enabled her to invest in interaction that possibly affiliated her with experts in her field (line 291).

Although it can be argued that expanding one's network does not necessarily lead to future research, the effectiveness of an imagined community is not particularly dependent on how accurate one's imagination is. Imagining a future should not be confused with withdrawal from reality, as Simon (1992) pointed out, studies have shown that imagined communities can be of a private nature, yet continue to fundamentally affect a learner's investment (Kanno and Norton, 2003).

4.3.3. How did Jaleela perceive herself in her academic community?

Based on Jaleela's interactions, her discourse identities suggested her role as: the foreign student, the knowledgeable child protection activist, and a future academic researcher as shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Example of Jaleela's discourse and situated identity in her academic community

Example of Discourse Identity	Situated Identity
Avoiding discussions with other ESL students, avoiding discussions with British interlocutors s	The foreign student
Presenting at a conference, discussions in a seminar, discussion with colleagues, contacting conference speakers	The knowledgeable child protection activist
Presenting at a conference, discussion with colleagues, supervisor meetings, discussion in workshops	The future academic researcher

The foreign student

Jaleela stressed the fact that some interlocutors were British or more fluent speakers of English. She was also concerned about how others may react to her appearance as a Muslim (line 225, 228, 239, 245). As a process of social comparison which involves awareness of the relative status of one's identity (McNamara, 1997), Jaleela had a view of herself as being foreign in terms of being a non-native speaker of English and a Muslim.

Since subjectivity involves how one understands their relation to the world (Weedon, 1987), Jaleela's identity role as a foreign student was not the only way available for Jaleela to identify herself in comparison to others. According to McNamara (1997), in

social comparisons individuals can maximise a sense of their positive distinctiveness by establishing comparisons that favour their group membership. In other words, when an individual identifies himself or herself by asserting difference, they do so at the expense of similarities (Weedon, 2004). So, while Jaleela chose to focus on the aspects that distinguish her from others and identify her as foreign, she had the option to focus on aspects where she could have established group membership rather than insisting on her otherness. For example, recognising a sense of power by identifying with a "large Muslim community" or with the growing "international multicultural student community" may have prompted in her positive feelings of acceptance that could have facilitated investing in interactions she avoided.

It can also be argued that how Jaleela identified herself was not only dependent on how she felt about herself in comparison to others. Calhoun (1994) states that understanding identity entails problems interrelated between self-recognition and recognition by others. Therefore, if Jaleela's self-recognition drew upon her expectations of what British people would be like prior to coming to the UK (line 241) and her view of herself as less than her other more fluent colleagues (line 245), her experience of British people and feelings of shallowness (line 238, 248) perhaps constructed Jaleela's identity as a foreign student.

The knowledgeable child protection activist

Jaleela stated that she perceived herself as an "advocate for children everywhere". Unlike her identity as a foreign student, sometimes challenged by a foreign language and culture, her identity as child advocate stimulated her fight for power. Driven by her desire to raise people's awareness of child abuse and empowered by her knowledge, she invested more in her identity as an activist. She described presenting at a conference:

295	Jaleela: [They were] different people from different fields come
296	together, I went there to present there because first they
297	accepted me to present there and second thing is when I present
298	any topic and people who attend my session, specially my
299	session, they will come because this interest them and they want
300	to know; so they will ask me something inside my project. So
301	the general public must become aware about policy and the

302	changes that is happening for the child protection in Saudi
303	Arabia.
304	Researcher: How does that make you feel about yourself?
305	Jaleela: I feel proud to present such a kind of topic and I feel that I
306	achieved something that people understand more and more
307	because of me make it a little bit easier for them, that's enough.
	(Jaleela, DI, 6)

Since Jaleela believed in the importance of people being aware of her research topic (line 301, 302), this may function as a motivating value for her identity as a child protection activist which in turn may have prompted her investment in opportunities to share her knowledge of the issue. It is argued that some motivations can be difficult to integrate in behaviour (Clay and Snyder, 1999). Yet, serving Jaleela's cause (line 301) was highly dependent on her sharing of her knowledge (line 299,300), making investment in interaction a more available choice. Jaleela's identity role can be aligned with Haig's (2014) view that the concepts of cause and information are closely connected; for the usefulness of information is likely to be dependent on how it can help change the future and serve that cause.

This identity role may have offered Jaleela a sense of empowerment. First of all, since the most powerful interactions are those that incorporate disciplinary knowledge and have a firm institutional basis (Weedon, 1987), Jaleela's confident display of her knowledge (line 300) can offer her a more powerful position. Second, the likely rewarding and positive feelings resulting from affiliating herself with a positive cause was a possible opportunity to positively renegotiate her identity (line 305).

The future academic researcher

Similar to Adam who viewed himself as a future researcher in his academic community, Jaleela took on a researcher's identity role and aspired to continue that role in the future as well. She described her experience giving a presentation at a conference:

308	I was worried first. I'm not native speaker; the people also know
309	I'm not a native speaker so they understand… But I was also
310	excited that I have the chance to share my information and
311	knowledge. It was very interesting. I was encouraged by everyone.
312	I like presenting my project; I'm excited about it. When I first
313	walked on the stage I was scared because it was a big audience.
314	But when I started giving the presentation, I started to feel
315	comfortable and I presented my presentation. (Jaleela, DI, 2)

Jaleela expressed her investments were not necessarily a comfortable equal power experience. For example, she mentioned her awareness of her non-native speaker status (line 308) and was inhibited by the presence of a big audience (line 314). This in return can suggest a rather worthy exchange value Jaleela found in interaction. She further stated:

316	Jaleela: I was happy; I feel very good after the presentation. Maybe
317	because I saw that they liked my topic and I come from Saudi
318	Arabia. Not many people from Saudi Arabia. I answered
319	some questions… Every time I do presentations I feel strong
320	and confident in my knowledge. I learn from this from other
321	people's projects. I'm more confident I have more and bigger
322	network. This is important.

323	Researcher: Why? Why is it important?

325	Jaleela: It's good to know people from your field for the future. If you
326	need any help or resource for your study. It gives you push to
327	research in the future and go to more bigger conferences (Jaleela,
	DI, 2).

As Jaleela suggested, it can be indicated that presenting in the conference was worthy of her investment. First, she appeared to see it as an opportunity to display her knowledge and confidence in her topic (line 310, 319, 320). This can be especially important as according to Luukka (2002), within the scientific community, communication of knowledge is fundamental for it is the only means of legitimising one's scientific knowledge. In addition to that, Jaleela's interaction resulted in the expansion of her

network (line 322). This was important because it contributed to a stronger and more confident sense of herself (line 321). According to Luukka, (2002) participating in discourse can earn academics respect and help establish reputation in their community. But most importantly, expanding her network was associated with her role as a researcher in the future (line 326). Since recognition in a scientific community is established through academic achievements (Becher, 1989), Jaleela conveyed that expanding her network and affiliating herself with more established members can facilitate her future academic achievements (lines 326, 327). A future imagined identity is likely to have a strong impact on one's present investments (Norton, 2001). This can explain Jaleela's positive feelings about interaction (line 321) and her eagerness to affiliate herself with other more established members (line 325).

Although her view of how affiliation with more established members of the academic community might assist her future studies might be debatable, it was yet influential for it was based on Jaleela's particular convictions. It's an image that is likely psychologised and influenced by one's own observations and experience (Mennell, 1994). In fact, it was a view shared by Adam as well who believed that having a good image among more established academics would facilitate his plans to publish future research.

4.4. Case Study 4 "Dana"

4.4.1. Introducing Dana

Dana is a 28-year-old single female PhD student working on research in Education. As a child, she used to take extra English classes to learn English. She lived abroad for a couple of years. She loved to watch movies, listen to songs and read stories in English. As her first degree was English language and linguistics, it was common for Dana to use English with her friends at her place of work. Dana completed her MA in TESOL at the same university where she was doing her PhD.

Dana used to come to the UK during the summer. She did not have many concerns or worries about studying in the UK. She was excited about living the student life as she heard about it from friends and had high expectations of herself once she became a student here. She recalled:

328	Actually I thought it will be more easier, I will have lots of friends,
329	I will hangover [hangout], I will be more fluent. I don't know; I
330	will be like a native speaker maybe. (Dana, DI, 1)

Nevertheless, Dana had her concerns about adapting in a society with different cultural and religious values. But the main concern Dana had was about her ability to keep up with the requirements of the educational system here in the UK. She commented:

331	I think at the beginning it was challenging a little bit but now it's
332	easy; maybe because we get used of living here. At the beginning,
333	I thought that being from a different culture or a religion would be
334	an obstacle but later on you'll find out it's really ok. I thought the
335	English people were tough I thought the Americans are more
336	friendly than them so I thought it would be very complicated. I was
337	very worried about how hard would it be for me to study in this
338	educational system…I was terrified and worried that it may be too
339	difficult for me to keep up. Because you know I had no idea what
340	it's like (Dana, DI, 1).

Dana lived alone in private accommodation. She rarely had any encounter with her neighbours and the only ones she socialised with were other Saudis. Comparing her expectations of life in the UK and what she was experiencing Dana explained:

341	Actually, lets divide it into two parts. The academic and the non-
342	academic. For the academic it was good, teachers were good,
343	friendly and offer help and lots of things when you seek help they
344	help you. And the non-academic I prefer if I have foreigner friends
345	but I don't know I'm used to have Saudi friends… I think it affects
346	my language otherwise I'd be very fluent using the language all the
347	time (Dana, DI, 1).

Dana realised a change in her own personality as a result of being a student in the UK for a long time. She mentioned it was different from how she thought of herself back home in Saudi Arabia and said:

Dana occasionally went to study in the student study area at her school with other PhD

348	I think I am more confident, more strong, more independent, you
349	have to solve your own problems, you have to take your own
350	decisions. It is completely different from our country. I feel more
351	independent here and I don't really need anyone. (Dana, DI, 1)

students from her department.

4.4.2. How did Dana use or resist opportunities to interact in her academic community?

Dana's diary entries suggest her investment, her avoidance and her attempts to avoid some opportunities to interact. Table 4.10 below is a summary of her interactions.

Table 4.10: Summary of Dana's invested or avoided interactions in her academic community

Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided	Category of Interaction	Invested/ Avoided
D.I. 1		D.I.2	

▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleagues / instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Avoided		
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleagues / instructor	➢ Avoided		

D.I. 3		D.I. 4	
▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Invested	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Avoided
▪ Volunteering for an instructor	➢ Tried to avoid	▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Avoided	▪ Volunteering for an instructor	➢ Invested
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested	▪ Presenting at conference	➢ Avoided
▪ Interaction with instructor	➢ Invested		

D.I. 5		D.I. 6	
▪ Interaction with instructor / colleagues (seminar)	➢ Avoided	▪ Interaction with supervisor	➢ Tried to invest
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Invested		➢ Avoided
▪ Interaction with colleagues / instructor		▪ Interaction with instructor	
▪ Interaction with colleague	➢ Avoided		
	➢ Invested		

Dana's interactions included discussions with her supervisor, instructors at training sessions and other students. Table 4.11 below presents featured examples of the type, topic and interlocutors in each category of interaction.

Table 4.11: Examples of Dana's featured interaction in her academic community

Category of interaction	Types of interaction	Interlocutors of interaction	Reaction	Topics of interaction (examples)
Interaction with supervisor	Discussion at supervision Sessions	Supervisor	Invested	• Feasibility of research questions • Follow up meeting
Interaction with colleague	Discussions	Other students at the study room	Invested	• Theory presentation in literature review • How to organise thesis chapters

Interaction with colleague	Study groups in training sessions	Other PhD students	Invested	• Comprehension and vocabulary teaching
Interaction with instructor	Discussion at training course	Teaching instructors	Invested	• Qualitative data analysis • Research ethics
Interaction with instructor	Asking questions at training course	Teaching instructors	Avoided	• Some question / thought about the lecture
Interaction with instructor	Discussion at a seminar	Visiting professor	Tried to avoid	• Mixed methods in research
Interaction with instructor	Interview for someone's study	Instructor	Invested	• A study by my MA instructor
Interaction with instructor	Interview for someone's study	Instructor	Tried to avoid / Avoided	• A study by a visiting instructor
Interaction with instructor	Pod-cast discussion	Instructor and other PhD students	Invested	• Different topics in language learning
E-mail	Blogging for group discussion	Instructor and other PhD students	Invested	• Topic of previous discussion

Dana's investments in her academic community can be understood through two basic themes. The first is through the influence of more powerful interlocutors on her decision to invest or avoid interactions with them. The second is through her perception of her interactions with her peers.

4.4.2.1. More powerful interlocutors mediated Dana's interaction

It was especially difficult to extract a recurring theme for Dana's interactions with the more powerful interlocutors in her community. It could not be claimed that they were mainly goal-oriented since other interactions were of a different kind. Dana displayed inconsistency when she chose to invest in interactions. However, it can be claimed that the interlocutors mediated her investment and on some occasions caused a struggle on

how she interacted. Dana's interactions with the more powerful interlocutors including more established members of her community can be grouped into: invested interaction she may have found relevant to her study or comfortable to invest in; and avoided interactions she may have found to be irrelevant and safer to avoid.

Invested Interactions: To start with, Dana's invested interactions included several meetings with her supervisors and instructors at academic training sessions. In these interactions, she invested in opportunities that were directly related to her PhD research. She explained her investment in a discussion with a supervisor:

352	I feel good I asked and discussed things, these topics are very
353	confusing me. I had the chance to ask and check if I understand
354	right. We are all still learning actually.
355	But I have to ask if something not clear… Sometimes if you don't
356	ask your supervisor and go ask your friends or go to Google to
357	search it you get more confused, everyone has different projects
358	but the supervisor is best source for us students. (Dana, DI, 2)

It can be argued that finding Dana investing in opportunities that benefit her studies was expected of any student since academic achievement is a student's priority (Nathan, 2005). Dana's interactions here involved instructors who are considered experts intrinsically exercising social control and more power (Cameron, 2001). Yet, an exchange value can prompt one's investment (Bourdieu, 1977; Norton Peirce, 1995). Dana's understanding of the value of her investment possibly facilitated her investment despite the more powerful interlocutors. For example, when she asked questions, or discussed and shared her knowledge, she was aware that her investment served her interest as it helped her clear her confusion (line 353), check her understanding (line 353) and answer her questions (line 355). According to Weedon (1987), individuals are more accepting of their subjectivity in a discourse when it attends to the individual's interest as in the value Dana found in interaction. This is further supported when discussing her avoided interactions including participating in seminars, giving presentations at her school and presenting at a conference.

In addition to interactions relevant to her research, Dana also mentioned something else that appeared as influential. She commented on her interaction with her supervisor:

359	My supervisor is very nice. He is open, friendly, always listening;
360	giving advice even on small things I don't know about. I never feel
361	stupid. If I can say that. (Dana, DI, 3)

Dana's reference to her supervisor's positive qualities, such as being a good listener and friendly (line 359) can indicate that her positive feelings may have facilitated and played a role in her investment. In fact, in reference to the differences between British and international students, Macrae (1997) points out that an international student anticipates having a strong, personal, and friendly relationship with their supervisor. The influence of such positive feelings on Dana was further emphasised in another discussion in a workshop where she invested in interaction and asked for answers. She said:

362	I get this information for my work and become better…So I force
363	myself. You are taking advantage of this chance to ask someone
364	who is expert in this area and not just be confused. (Dana, DI, 4)

Even though these topics were worthy of her investment as it was helpful for her research (line 362), Dana had to force herself to interact (line 363). This can further suggest that Dana's account of the interlocutors influenced her investments. As she had to force herself to interact, it can be indicated that her feelings towards the interlocutor could prompt how she interacted. This was even more evident in two other interactions where she invested in one interaction and avoided the other. In both events, she was asked to volunteer to carry out interviews as part of a study. In the first study, Dana explained that she wanted to avoid it given that she was too busy with her own studies; however, she agreed to invest in that opportunity. She explained:

364	I was very embarrassed, we were in class and no one volunteered.
365	So, when he came and asked me I said ok! It felt awkward or
366	difficult to say no… I wanted to say no; everyone then said yes. I
367	just said yes. I will feel worried that I look bad in front of him,
368	others maybe my supervisor as well. (Dana, DI, 3, partly translated)

Dana later mentioned that she emailed the instructor and withdrew from the study, hence avoided it, because she claimed that she was very busy and needed to focus on her studies. It may have been the case that volunteering for the interview would have distracted her from her studies. However, she had agreed to take part in another study that was conducted by her instructor during her Masters study. When asked to explain her different reactions, she justified her decision saying:

369   Maybe, if I didn't like the instructor (who was conducting her
370   study) I wouldn't have volunteered. She teached me a course
371   before and I know her; she's very nice. (Dana, DI, 4)

Thus again, Dana appeared to invest in opportunities to interact where she was more comfortable and had positive feelings about the interlocutors. Since individuals are drawn to a situation where they are emotionally comfortable (Preece, 2009), positive feelings can derive one to invest in interaction (Turner, 2007).

There are rarely equal power relations in interaction and these more powerful interlocutors such as Dana's instructors obtained what French and Raven (1959) refer to as expert power. However, Dana's positive feelings towards them may have presented a less power struggle than having negative feelings towards them. This is further shown in the following examples where Dana found her interactions with the more powerful interlocutors irrelevant and safer to avoid.

Avoided Interactions: Dana sometimes explained her avoidance of interactions briefly saying for example, "not important for my research" (Dana, DI, 1), "I don't know…There's no specific reason for that" (Dana, DI, 3) or "I prefer to stay and work on my thesis" (Dana, DI, 5). Although such short justifications did not explain much as to why she did opt to avoid these interactions with more power interlocutors, compared to her other invested interactions, it can be suggested that they lacked an exchange value that may prompt Dana's interaction. In addition to that, looking at Adam and Jaleela's invested interactions, their possibilities for the future played a role in their investment in interaction. Dana, on the other hand, did not reveal much about her future academic ideal self. She commented on not going to a departmental seminar as in avoiding interaction and said:

359	Dana: maybe I am less present and less active but I'm ok with that.
360	If it's not very important for my research I think I should focus
361	on what can benefit my work
362	Researcher: what benefits your work?
363	Farah: like focusing on writing and finishing, ending this with
364	success.
365	Researcher: what about your future, any thoughts?
366	Dana: Yeah, of course.
367	I don't want to think now about details. But I will go back to my
368	college and have a good position there. (Dana, DI, 5)

Dana's future self was focused more on finishing her PhD and resuming her job as a teacher back in Saudi Arabia (line 363, 367). As an imagined community may compel a learner to seek opportunities they may otherwise not seek (Kanno and Norton 2003), the absence of that imagined identity relevant to the current academic community might have contributed to her avoidance of such interactions. A future self that involved research may have influenced her investments in opportunities to interact. For example, Adam and Jaleela's future selves as researchers having academic contributions prompted their investments, including presenting at conferences and expanding their network to facilitate their future possibilities. Since educational imagination entails experimenting and exploring possibilities and reinventing the self (Wenger, 1998a), Dana's lack of that educational imagination may have prompted her resistance and disinterest to explore new possibilities conveyed in investing in interaction.

In addition to that, Dana also avoided valuable interactions. For example, she avoided interactions with instructors that may have benefited her study at a training session. She justified her decision:

369	I didn't want to ask the question that is maybe obvious or make me
370	look naive. It's not very important for me to know the answer, but
371	I think there's something afraid that I might look silly or naïve or
372	I don't know very much (Dana, DI, 3).
373	I feel not shy but maybe cautious and afraid to say something not
374	very smart or something. (Dana, DI, 4).

Institutional discourse, such as those taking place at academic training sessions, can be sites of contest and challenge (Weedon, 1987). Dana's explanations as to why she avoided interactions can suggest that they were also potential sites of distress to her. She mentioned her concern of appearing naïve (line 370), unknowledgeable (line 372), and inexperienced (line 373). As legitimate power and control are usually exercised through the experts who have the authority to describe, classify and prescribe behaviour to others (French and Raven, 1959; Cameron, 2001), Dana's realisation of their power to mark her participation as legitimate or not appeared to have prompted her avoidance of interaction. She further commented:

375	Makes me feel I have to read and learn more. I feel that I need to
376	read more and work harder. I think I should know about other
377	things. It gives you more confidence and you can make
378	informative participation… I have this fear, the fear of speaking
379	in public; I don't know. I keep thinking about my language, about
380	my information, I don't know if I am judged by people. If like
381	they are saying she's saying brilliant things or she's stupid.
382	(Dana, DI, 4).

According to Dana, interacting as a member of the academic community means having a high level of expertise (line 375, 376). As Bourdieu, (1977) claims, an utterance's value and meaning is partly determined by the value of the person who speaks, Dana drew on possible insecurities such as her language or knowledge to become cautious of how others may judge her and thus avoided interaction (line 373, 380). Unlike Farah and Jaleela who invested in interactions valuable for their academic progress despite their language or cultural insecurities, Dana accounted for her feelings of distress and inferiority vis-à-vis the more powerful interlocutors.

In retrospect, Dana's concern about how others perceived her can be similar to Adam's investment in his good image. Adam invested in interactions to contribute to his good image while Dana avoided interactions out of fear of creating a bad image of herself as in being naïve, silly, not doing very much or being stupid. This echoes Weedon's (1987) claim that discourse can also render one's power fragile. Thus, silence and resistance of interactions for Dana was found as a shelter for power.

In fact, although Dana previously mentioned that she felt positive about interactions with her supervisor (line, 359), there was still an occasion where she avoided asking her him a question; she stated:

383	I'm not sure maybe I asked the same question before or not. I'm
384	not really sure but if I did ask it or he mentioned it to me if I search
385	in my notes I might find it. But what if I asked it before? I don't
386	want to ask again because that looks just lazy; maybe I will look
387	lazy or just wanting spoon-feeding information. (Dana, DI, 6)

Dana still found it difficult to ask him a question that could make her look lazy or dependent (line 387). This point of view is common among some overseas students who find that lecturers can negatively interpret a student's eliciting help through a direct question or expressing negative comments (Cortazzi and Jin, 1997). But most importantly, it can further emphasise Dana's account for her supervisor's legitimate power to view her as a lazy student. Although her avoidance of interaction with her friendly supervisor can be contradictory to other occasions where she invested in interactions with him, subjectivity is a site of struggle and contradictions are aligned with the on-going negotiation of one's identity (Norton Peirce, 1995).

As feelings of insecurity create greater rigidity in negotiating power relations (Elias and Scotson, 1965), Dana's attention to the legitimate power of the interlocutors perhaps made it difficult to negotiate her subject position. Individuals are capable of renegotiating ascribed identities given by themselves or others (Blommaert, 2006) and subject positions are open to change and reversal (Weedon, 1987). However, as Weedon (1987) explains, an excluded individual will have to fight for access by transforming existing power relations. Therefore, in order for Dana to achieve that, she was required

to overcome her concerns and fight for her right to participate in interactions rather than appearing too focussed on how she was perceived by those interlocutors. According to Mennell (1994), the greater the power ratio between the more established members of a group and outsiders, the harder for the outsiders to escape their subject position. However, this power ratio can be dependent on how Dana identified herself compared to the more established members. Unfortunately, it included her view of herself as naïve, silly and unknowledgeable suggesting her difficulty to invest in interactions. To conclude, for Dana to invest in interaction it was important to either realise the value of the investment as serving her own interests or at least being emotionally pleasing. As Preece suggests (2009):

> Individuals are drawn to subject positions and discursive practices which they identify as emotionally satisfying and/or fulfilling their own interests.

<div align="right">(Preece, 2009, p. 32)</div>

4.4.2.2. Interactions with peers were sites of displaying disciplinary knowledge, learning and identification

Dana's interactions with other PhD students from her school with whom she shared a working space suggest her investment in opportunities to interact. In fact, her investments with her peers can be seen as a site for her to showcase knowledge, learn and identify herself with the students' community.

Showcasing her disciplinary knowledge: on several occasions, Dana invested in opportunities to interact where she engaged in discussion to share or display her knowledge of her discipline with interlocutors of equal status such as other PhD students. She commented:

388	I am usually talkative, I think of myself as an extrovert so I like to
389	discuss, ask, share my thoughts with others because I have input
390	and I would like to add it to the conversation. I also have interest
391	to hear their comments so I love joining discussions. (Dana, DI, 1).

In fact, these interactions were not only ones that conveniently took place in her study area but also included interactions where she had volunteered to participate, as in discussions for a pod-cast and for a language learning blog. She explained:

392	Sometimes you think oh I'm not really good or others are better or
393	know better. But you discuss things with others and you realise that
394	you have a lot of answers and information others don't know. I feel
395	good because I share and learn and I have something useful to
396	share with others and they can benefit too (Dana, DI, 2)

Dana mentioned that she was an "extrovert" (line 388) explaining how she found it easy to interact with her peers. Yet, although the interactions were with her peers, it is difficult to assume they all shared equal power. According to Foucault (1980), power relations as found in knowledge produce ways of interacting among peers. Dana realised the existing unequal power relation as she seemed cautious of she was perceived compared to her peers (line 392). However, as demonstrating knowledge can offer an individual admittance to a scientific community (Luukka, 2002), Dana may have experienced power when she realised her ability to contribute to discussions and share her knowledge in her community (line 395). This type of interaction enables an individual to establish disciplinary knowledge (Trent, 2008) and offers an opportunity for reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the community (Norton Peirce, 1995). When Dana shared her disciplinary knowledge, it was an opportunity for her to establish ownership of her discipline (line 394).

In addition to that, Todd (1997) suggests that when international students find difficulty in facing the expectations of the educational environment, they need constant reassurance that their performance is appropriate. Given that Dana had resisted interactions with more powerful interlocutors worrying she would be found unknowledgeable or inexperienced, displaying her knowledge among her peers can be her way to fulfil her need for reassurance that her performance was appropriate (line 396).

Learning and seeking knowledge: In addition to occasions where she displayed her knowledge, some of Dana's interactions were occasions when she sought knowledge from her peers. She stated:

397	It was an interesting discussion… Even if not important for my
398	work, but even if they are not very important to me, I enjoy. (Dana,
399	DI, 1). We are all helping each other and learning from each
400	others…This is an advantage of going to the office and not working
401	at home. It's a chance to benefit and learn from each other. I share
402	my ideas and thoughts with everyone; some things I know already
403	and others don't and I learn from them. (Dana, DI, 3)

As there cannot be equal power relations (Foucault, 1980), Dana invested in interactions where she asked for help, advice and input from her peers even when not relevant to her research (line 397). She did not resist sharing her own speculations and uncertainties and learning from others (line 401). However, as mentioned previously, Dana was not always open to interaction for she avoided interactions with more powerful interlocutors including one with her supervisor.

It can be argued that unlike the more powerful interlocutors, her peers did not have the legitimate power (French and Raven, 1959) to impose their beliefs or judgement on her. It can be suggested that the mutual status of being students Dana shared with them prompted positive feelings in interaction. She indicated that it was common for them to easily learn and share knowledge amongst each other (line 391). It can be argued that such mutual giving and receiving among individuals helps them to recognise each other as participants in a community and can also be fulfilling to their social lives (Wenger, 1998a). This mutual recognition and social fulfilment may have contributed to Dana's acceptance of her subjectivity and investment in opportunities of interaction with her peers.

Identifying herself as a member of the students' community: In addition to displaying and seeking knowledge from her peers, Dana commented on a discussion suggesting investment as an opportunity to display her community membership:

404	I like to be one of the group. It's one of the best things about
405	studying here in the UK and coming to school (study area for PhD
406	students) is you get the chance to be part of the student
407	international PhD student community. I really miss living in
408	student hall for that whole feeling, so why not ask and learn stuff
409	from others. (Dana, DI, 3)

Dana mentioned that prior coming to the UK, she had been looking forward to experiencing being part of that community of students including having friends and speaking English more fluently (line 329). Suggesting the implied membership of a student community when interacting, Dana experienced a satisfying feeling (line 404) when engaging in interaction. This desire to be identified as an active participant in the "international PhD students' community" (line 407) appeared to prompt her interaction. Yashima (2002) argues that an international posture including one's desire and openness to interact with international partners has a positive influence on one's behaviour. This identification possibly provided Dana with an integrative orientation sustaining her motivation to invest in interaction (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). Dana explained her interaction as an approach to belong to the group (line 404). Her desire to embrace the role of an international student entailed her investment in interactions among her peers.

Apparently, Dana had distinct views of the international PhD students' community and the academic community including the more powerful interlocutors. While she looked forward to identify with the student community, she described her own position to the academic community and said:

400	I like my work and I like what I research. I haven't thought about
401	the community. (Dana, DI, 5)

It can be claimed that her feelings were due to her view of interactions in the academic community as sites of displaying expertise, knowledge and judgment from more powerful members. It is claimed that the high expectations some overseas students have of the more established members of the academic community can prompt their reluctance to participate in interactions including discussing, criticising, and raising questions (Todd, 1997). Hence despite being an academic researcher, her reluctance to invest in interactions with more established members possibly impelled the academic

community as irrelevant to Dana (line 400). In contrast to that, identifying with the student community (line 404) may have helped her to find it more acceptable to display knowledge and learn from one's peers (line 408).

4.4.3. How did Dana perceive herself in her academic community?

Based on Dana's interactions, her discourse identity suggested her role as the interactive international student, the less established academic member, and a PhD student (see Table 4.8).

Table 4.12: Example of Dana's discourse and situated identities in her academic community

Example of Discourse Identity	Situated Identity
Having discussion with colleagues, helping other colleague, participating in study groups, participating in pod-cast discussion, blogging for a group discussion	The interactive international student
Avoiding interview for someone's study, avoiding asking supervisor, avoiding sharing thoughts in a training course, avoiding giving a presentation in her department, avoiding presenting at conference	The less established academic member
Having discussion at supervision sessions, asking at academic training sessions, asking her colleagues for help	The PhD student

The interactive international student

Dana appeared to actively interact with her peers as she easily invested in interactions with them. When she interacted with her peers, she embraced the role of an international student, recognising her belonging to a community of international students. She explained her interaction and said,

402   Dana: We like give support to each other.

403   Researcher: How? What do you mean?

404	Dana:	It's like, we are more like friends. Friendly relationship.
405		Most of us are away from our family, country; we have many
406		many things in common. What else? I mean we come to the
407		UK to get a degree and also we make good relationship with
408		each other. I think a lot of times this group of students make it
409		easier for each other. We have different topics of research but
410		we help each other if we can. (Dana, DI, 5)

Dana's identity as an international student possibly enabled her investment in interaction. Firstly, when an individual has a positive outlook on their referent group, positive influence is exerted on the individual (French and Raven, 1959). It can be claimed that Dana's positive outlook positively influenced her willingness to discuss issues, ask for help or participate in student activities. According to French and Raven (1959), the referent power of the community is based on the individuals' desire for identification and feelings of oneness. Dana looked forward to her experience as a student in a foreign country and had the desire to become identified with the community of students. For her, providing support for other students as in engaging in interaction was an approach to display belongingness and identification with that group (line 408, 409,410).

Secondly, unlike her interactions among the more powerful interlocutors, Dana did not refer to her lack of knowledge or her concern on how her peers perceived her. She described a discussion with her colleague:

411	She was asking a question and I told her my opinion and someone
412	had a different opinion. But that is what I know. I mean as far as I
413	know, this is the right thing to do regarding what she was asking
414	me… I know this kind of information before... We are all helping
415	each other and learning from each other. (Dana, DI, 1)

Dana appeared to display her knowledge despite other competing dispositions (line 412). Individuals seldom shared equal rights in interaction (Bourdieu, 1977). Yet as an individual's positive identification with a community can prompt behaviour similar to the members of that community (French and Raven, 1959), Dana's positive identification with the community of international students entailed her behaviour as a

member of that community including discussing, sharing, learning and benefiting from each other (line 410, 415).

In addition to that, Wenger (1998a) suggests that when an individual is a full member of the community, they can handle themselves competently and find it easier to interact. Dana's reference to herself and her peers by "us, we" (line 405, 415) can suggest her perception of herself as a full member of the community of international students. As a result, it can be argued that Dana's view of herself regarding her community resulted in her finding it easier to invest in interactions with her peers.

The less established academic member

Dana's identity among her peers was different from her identity among the more established members of the academic community. Being aware of the relative status of her identity (McNamara, 1997) vis-à-vis the more powerful members, she was concerned that they would view her as naïve, stupid or silly. Since legitimate power is based on characteristics and others' acceptance of this power (French and Raven, 1959), Dana's concern about how they perceived her indicated her acceptance of their legitimate power. As a result, when more powerful interlocutors were present such as teachers, guest speakers and visiting scholars, she appeared more cautious about her investments in interaction. She avoided participating in some discussions, giving presentations at her school and presenting at a conference. She commented on an avoided interaction:

Viewing herself as a less established member of her academic community, Dana took a

416	It's ok. I sometimes regret not saying what I have on mind.
417	Especially when other people, others sometimes share really
418	obvious thoughts and stupid questions. So, I say to myself I should
419	say what I wanted and not think too much. (Dana, DI, 1)

more challenged and hesitant stance in interaction (line 419). Unlike her interactions with her peers where she was not concerned with competing positions, she was cautious when interacting with more powerful interlocutors. She explained:

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420	Researcher: Do you wish you acted differently?
421	Dana: Maybe I want to participate and (what you said) take the
422	opportunity and not stop from sharing ideas. Maybe I
423	shouldn't care what others' opinion on my thought.
424	Researcher: So, do you regret not taking part?
425	Dana: Not regret. I don't feel bad. If I do it, good. If I don't, it's ok;
426	not regret.
427	Researcher: Does it influence how you see yourself as a member of
428	your academic community?
429	Dana: We all have good and bad day... I have good and bad days.
430	Researcher: So, does it influence how you see yourself?
431	Dana: I don't think so, because it's normal not to discuss. Not
432	everybody was taking part in the discussion. A lot of
433	students were silent. (Dana, DI, 6)

As an utterance's value and meaning can be partly determined by the value of the person who speaks it (Bourdieu, 1977), Dana worried that her participation in interactions would be valued based on her identity as less competent and less established than others as she was concerned with their opinion (line 423). It can also be argued that since Dana was concerned of how others perceived her, her indifference to interact (line 431) and contentment in not interacting (line 425) were a strategy to shelter her power. While learners invest in interactions with the understanding that they will acquire a symbolic value (Norton and Gao, 2008), Dana's avoidance of interaction being a less established academic member suggested she understood the risk of losing face rather than the value in these interactions.

The PhD student

Dana did not avoid all interaction with more powerful interlocutors. Like most international students, she highly valued her academic performance and was concerned about the issue of academic performance (Chen, 1999). She clarified several times that

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her PhD research was an important priority. In order to be more attentive to her PhD studies, she invested in interaction with her peers and with more powerful established members of her academic community despite her concerns about being less established. In addition to that, she avoided interactions that lacked value and could potentially distract her from her studies. She explained an avoided interaction:

434   Dana: I don't have time to go to every seminar. If it was important I
435   go and try to go. But if it is not important for my research, I
436   prefer to work.   I think I should focus on my work. I can go
437   and not benefit and wish I stayed and studied.

438   Researcher: So, you don't wish you acted differently?

439   Dana: It's more important for me to focus on my study. I don't want
440   to act differently this is better for me. (Dana, DI, 1)

Recognising her role as a PhD student who aimed to succeed in her studies, she understood her investment in interactions with more powerful interlocutors had high exchange value. Her identity as a PhD student was exemplified by her desire to interact in what serves her goal or avoid those that distracted her (line 436, 437).

In addition, Dana did not refer to her ideal future self-regarding the academic community. But she revealed that her main aim was to obtain her PhD, suggesting her ideal self was based on her successful completion of her studies. This ideal self perhaps prompted her behaviour (Ushioda and Dörnyei, 2012) including her investment in interactions helpful to her studies.

Nevertheless, this identity was a site of struggle for Dana. The Rare occasions where she avoided interaction that may benefit her academic performance can indicate that her identity as an attentive PhD student was a site of struggle. For example, although Dana invested in interaction, she commented on her investment:

| 441 | Researcher: So, who was at the lecture, were there any instructors |
| 442 | there? |

| 443 | Dana: No only students. |

| 445 | Researcher: So yeah, did the fact that there were only students make |
| 446 | any difference to whether you would interact or not? |

447	Dana: No, I don't think… maybe if there were any instructors or
448	professors around I will be afraid. Maybe, but I wanted
449	answers to my question. (Dana, DI, 3)

Since discourse is always a part of a network of power relations (Weedon, 1987), Dana did not always find it easy to interact. Dana's expressed hesitance and possibility of avoiding interaction if more powerful interlocutors were present (line 447) can suggest that her identity as a PhD student was a site of conflict. Although Dana realised the value of interaction (line 449), her identity as an attentive student aiming to succeed in her study was challenged by her identity as a less established member of her community (line 416, 447, 448).

CHAPTER FIVE

SAUDI STUDENTS' ID-AW FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter is the second of three chapters reporting findings, analysis and discussion. It focuses on the Saudi students' identity in academic writing. Each of the four cases is briefly introduced with an analysis of the student's written drafts, followed by a discussion of their stimulated recall comments to provide information in response to research question three: how did the Saudi students construct their identity in academic writing?

The metadiscourse analysis of the students' drafts draws on Hyland's (2005, 2012a) devices of writer identity and the students' interpretation of their writing experience and recollected thoughts on how they used these devices. Similar to the students' identity in academic community (ID-AC), their identity in academic writing (ID-AW) is presented in recurring themes.

Following that, each case study is presented with the identity roles the students took on in their written drafts. Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) categories of written content types allowed for further content analysis. A structured process of identifying and ranking the content types for comparison demonstrated Zimmerman's categorisation of discourse and situated identities. The discourse identities are reflected by the students' employment of a specific content type, while the situated identities are reflected by the identity roles that prescribe the students' discourse identities.

5.1. Case Study 1 "Adam"

5.1.1. How did Adam construct his identity in academic writing?

Tables 5.1. and 5.2. below present a summary of Adam's first and second written drafts including examples of his usage of Hyland's (2012a) devices of writer identity.

Table 5.1: Summary of Adam's first written draft and his usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• *"Summary and Discussions"*	
Type	Section of a discussion chapter	
Length	A four-page draft (1057 words)	
Aim	To discusses the major findings of his data and highlight the contributions of the study.	
Guidelines	Adam did not have any guidelines to follow.	
Hyland's devices	**Examples**	**Percentage in draft**
Hedges	• *"Emotional expressions <u>could </u>be difficult"* • *"Components <u>may</u> corporate together"*	*0.47%*
Boosters	• *"<u>Positively,</u> body gestures can impact customers"* • *"<u>Indeed,</u> these findings provide evidence".*	*0.47%*
Attitude markers	• *"There was no any <u>clear </u>difference"* • *" X received <u>significantly </u>higher ratings"* • *"<u>Unfortunately</u>, it was not clear".*	*0.66%*
Self mentions	None	*0%*
Reader reference	None	*0%*
Other identity markers	Use of Passive voice: • *"Analyses <u>were performed</u> to assess the level of variance"*	

• *"Participants were asked to carry out the task"*	

Table 5.2: Summary of Adam's second written draft and his usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• Untitled, Headed: *"Results"*	
Type	Section of a discussion chapter	
Length	Three page draft (1182 Words)	
Aim of the draft	To present and discuss the findings of data collected.	
Guidelines followed	Adam did not have any guidelines to follow.	
Hyland's devices of writer identity	**Examples**	**Percentage in draft**
Hedges	• *"Findings can be attributed to their"* • *"The results of this study may possibly be used in other studies*	*0.4%*
Boosters	• *"Markedly, it was noticed that participants matched expressions"* • *"Indeed, these empirical findings also lend support"*	*0.5%*
Attitude markers	• *"Likewise, Figure 4 presents the results"* • *"Not surprisingly, it was found that"*.	*0.67%*
Self mentions	• *"The results will be used in our next study"*	*0.08%*
Reader reference	*None*	*0%*
Other identity markers	Use of Passive voice: • *"Associations were found between participant's level of education and their answers"*	

Adam presented two drafts he had submitted to his supervisor. Neither of the drafts had been proofread and he was interviewed within two days of writing them. The first one was a summary and discussion draft where he discussed the major findings of his data and highlights of the contributions of his study. The second one was also a discussion draft, yet untitled, where he discussed the findings of his data and employed several figures. Adam presented comparable data to Hyland's corpora. His usage of attitude markers was 0.66% and 0.67% compared to Hyland's 0.64%. Also, while boosters accounted for 0.58% of expert writers' text in Hyland's corpora, Adam's usage of boosters in his first and second drafts were 0.47% and 0.5%. Although this appears as comparable to Hyland's corpora, it does not necessarily assume Adam's understanding of writer identity or an aware employment of these textual devices; especially that Adam's drafts lacked any self-mentions or reader reference. Adam's comments during the stimulated recall interviews provided insights into his construction of ID-AW. Interestingly, it revealed his reluctance to pay attention to his identity as a writer, and showed the on-going influence of his previous epistemological background on his current approach to writing. There were two basic themes: first, his reluctance to pay attention to his identity as a writer, and secondly the on-going influence of his epistemological background.

5.1.1.1. "It's not me. It's about the work"

To begin with, Adam had a view of what academic writing is. He explained:

450	About professional academic skills. Skills about organizing
451	statements in such a way that you present what you're thinking
452	about in a more obvious and direct way. You give a more details,
453	the required details and any citation as well. That is important.
454	

Adam referred to what he viewed as fundamental aspects of academic writing including achieving clarity, presenting details, and correct referencing (line 452, 453). However,

Adam did not mention his writer identity as part of academic writing. According to Tables 5.1 and 5.2, Adam employed hedges, boosters and attitude marker. However, as he commented on his drafts, it can be argued that his employment of such devices was a deliberate effort to construct his identity as a writer.

First of all, as shown in tables 5.1 and 5.2, Adam used passive voice and avoided the use of self-mentions. Commenting on that, Adam indicated a specific view of his identity as a writer. He explained:

454	I did this like with intention not to say "I" or "myself" or
455	something here because I'm aware like it's about the work I
456	have to be. I don't want to say passive but yes everything in the
457	passive tense or voice. I wanted my reader to think about the
458	results and the thesis itself not me. Like this is a very good
459	thesis. The thesis is me. I'm the one who wrote the thesis or the
460	document but I want the reader to think that the document is a
461	very good document. Forgetting about me. My name is on it.
462	Like as long as my work is good I'm good. As long as my work
463	is not good, I'm not good. Me and the paper are the same.
	(Adam, SR, 1)

Adam indicated that his usage of passive voice and lack of self-mentions was deliberate (line 454). It was a rather confident choice because according to him, he wanted the reader to think only of the results and knowledge he put forward and not of him as a writer (line 458). If knowledge making is presented as an empirical process that involves researching, thinking, and writing, Adam's comments suggest that he took a conventionist approach to knowledge making. As a result, his writing is rather impersonal. As Ivanic and Camps (2001) point out, this view of knowledge-making is usually associated with few references to people as agents, and is characterised by the use of passive voice, and no first-person references.

As a researcher conducting a quantitative study, Adam found it more convenient to take on an objective role that was free from obvious subjectivity and positioning. He justified his avoidance of self-mentions and said:

464	I'm aware of that and do it on purpose. I do believe it's better
465	this way. I don't want to claim that I did everything. The
466	findings suggest not me who is suggesting this. The value is not
467	in me it's in the work. This is the result that I came out with. In
468	my viva, I will not defend myself I'm defending the work.
469	(Adam, SR, 2)

Adam had a clear view that he was separate and influential in the process of knowledge making (line 465, 466). It is a view relevant to the conventionist view   that understates human agency, subjectivity and researcher's views (Johnson1992). Adam's expressed confidence and deliberate actions (line 464) seem to reveal such conventionist view. It suggests an authority of impersonality emphasising the factual nature of knowledge and offering writers such as Adam a confident justification for their lack of self-mentions and usage of passive voice. His constructivist orientation and the fact that he is discussing quantitative research contribute to making it likely for him to pay less attention to himself as a writer.

Nevertheless, Adam appeared to use attitude markers frequently (as shown in tables 5.1 and 5.2). In fact, in his first and second draft, attitude markers in Adam's drafts accounted for .66% and .67% of the text respectively which is very close to what Hyland's corpora analysis. Although attitude markers serve to construct a writer's identity and indicate the writer's affective attitude such as his agreement, emphasis or interest (Hyland, 2005), Adam assured me that their meaning was separate from his personal attitude. He defended his choices:

470	No, no, no. It's not what I think it is what the data the results
471	suggest. I wanted him to think about the results. I want him to
472	think that this is a valuable work, not a valuable writer. It's an
473	achievement through the results. (Adam, SR, 2)

In addition to his conventionist view to knowledge, Adam appeared to resist what might suggest his identity as a writer (line 470). He appeared to fear that the reader's attention to his writer identity could detract from the value of his work (line 472, 466). This little attention to writer identity was further evident when he mentioned:

474	I think it is important to think about your reader and what the
475	reader thinks of you. But your results and are more important.
476	It's important that your English is good but your results and
477	findings is more important. This is what I want the chapter to do.
478	(Adam, SR, 1)

Adam indicated that the ideas he put forward were the most important aspect of a chapter then came the matter of achieving the reader's engagement. Since students learn to prioritise dominant conventions (Lillis 1997), Adam's choice to invest in what he viewed as fundamentally rather than marginally important is understandable. In fact, in line with Adam's view, Stapleton (2002) argues that academic discussions highlighting the importance of voice have given the notion far greater importance than it deserves.

> It is my hope that the truly great efforts that have been expended in deciphering voice and all of its related nuances will now be turned to the most important aspect of writing: ideas.
>
> Stapleton (2002, p. 189)

Adam's argument for the prominence of ideas may have overlooked that originality of ideas can be better conveyed when features of writer's identity are appropriately integrated.

5.1.1.2. The on-going influence of Adam's previous epistemological background

Adam came across as aware of his rather conventionist approach and the fact that he deliberately avoided expressing his identity as a writer. Some of his comments during the interviews revealed the background which may have shaped how he thought of himself as a writer.

To begin with, Adam had consistent use of hedges across both drafts (see tables 5.1 and 5.2). However, he was not always consistent in his explanations of his use. For example:

479	Researcher: (it can be attributed), what were your thoughts here?
480	Adam: It can be attributed but you can't be 100% sure. You can't
481	be so straight or solid. You use "can". Actually, I might

482	include this in my limitations sections. Every statement like
483	this can be a whole research after me. (Adam, SR, 2)

Again in relation to another incident, he said:

484	Researcher: What about here (13) why did you use (may) here?

485	Adam: I know because maybe under different conditions it won't
486	cause the same thing. (Adam, SR, 1)

Adam here expressed his awareness of the important role of hedging and tentativeness in his writing. However, on a different occasion, where 'can' was used as a hedge, he was less certain:

487	Researcher: So, can I ask you about (can impact) what were your
488	thoughts?

489	Adam: I'm aware of this because the kind of investigation I did
490	through my study which is to compare models say this. I
491	use "can" because I am 100% sure about this.

492	Researcher: So, you used "can" because you are 100% sure?

493	Adam: Never thought about it this way to be honest. I come from a
494	place where everything is straightforward. Even my
495	supervisor thinks I'm so straight to the point. (Adam, SR,
	2)

Adam here appeared less confident about his choice of hedging in his writing (line 493). Most importantly he referred to the influence of background on how he wrote (line 495). Adam, as mentioned previously, came from a diverse educational background. He repeatedly referred to his epistemological background when explaining his writing.

To begin with, Adam referred to his educational background in Saudi Arabia. Adam had a single incident of self-mention in his second draft. However, when asked to elaborate on that he explained:

496	Researcher: Here you used "our" (*the results will be used in <u>our</u> next*
497	*study*)?
498	Adam: Let me see. Oh no that's a mistake. I think I will remove that.
499	
	Researcher: Are you sure? Why?
500	
	Adam: Yes. I learned this in my undergrad. Last night I was
501	looking for articles and I found a chapter on technical
502	writing in computer science. I swear it was like a
503	flashback. There they were telling me and now I did it.
504	(Adam, SR, 2)

Adam completed his undergraduate degree in computer science, in Saudi Arabia. The learning culture in Saudi Arabia is different from Adam's current learning culture in the UK. As collective societies in contrast to individualistic western societies tend to emphasize   memorization and imitation (Hyland 2012a), coming from that different epistemology may have made it problematic for Adam to accept the expression of his identity as a writer. As Yasuda (2011) suggests, students coming from such learning cultures can be challenged from seeing writing as an interactive practice. When Adam referred to his undergraduate degree (line 501), it suggested the influence of technical writing in computer science on his writing for humanities as a marketing student. This on-going influence is evident as he suggested that he still followed their instructions (line 504) although he received such instruction at a different stage of study, culture and discipline.

The influence of his background appeared to overpower the expectations of his current PhD. For example, Adam commented on his usage of attitude markers and said:

| 505 | It is common in my field. I think it is the way my supervisor |
| 506 | writes as well. I see others use it. (Adam, SR, 1) |

Here he justified his use of attitude markers by referring to the influence of how his supervisor wrote. It is possible that his awareness of how his supervisor wrote have contributed to his own deliberate choice of attitude markers. However, it appeared that sometimes despite his supervisor's advice, Adam was confined to his way of writing

which was influenced by his pervious background. This was shown in his comment on his use of passive voice. He said:

507 Adam: I come from a place where everything is straightforward.
508   Even my supervisor thinks I'm so straight to the point.
509   I'm influenced by computer science.

510 Researcher: What kind of advice you get from your supervisor?

511 Adam: to give a flow, give a story of what I'm writing about and
512   cross-referencing. It's like to put a reader in a more
513   involvement status maybe.

514 Researcher: Do you think you followed that advice?

515 Adam: I'm influenced by technical writing in computer science. I
516   think I'm very influenced by that. My supervisor, she
517   comes from a psychology background. (Adam, SR, 1)

The on-going influence of the conventions in computer science on Adam's writing (line 494, 501, 509, 515) can be specifically problematic. First of all, academic writing in soft sciences employ language choices that put the writer in the text, in contrast to the hard sciences where that may not be necessary as precise and quantitative measures are applied (Hyland 2012a). According to Cadman (1997), a major cause of the difficulty students face in presenting their identity is the different epistemologies in which they have been taught.

Adam appears to realise the conventions of writing in computer science are different from these conventions in his current discipline. Yet, his comments suggest his preferences for his identity as a writer that is rooted in his previous discipline. As he indicated his awareness and deliberate choices (line 454, 464, 485, 489), it also suggests that the concept of writer's identity was not a novel unexplored concept for Adam. His identity as an academic writer appeared as a choice of Adam as he tended to ignore his supervisor's advice (line 517).

Finally, Adam's identity being rooted in his previous discipline makes it more challenging for him to assume the new identity and rather more convenient to maintain his current identity as a writer. According to Gale (1994), the acquisition of an appropriate academic voice can be further complicated by   previous experience and conceptions of the academic writer's voice. As he continued to follow the conventions of his previous background and to disregard the suggestions of his supervisor, Adam displayed resistance to creating a new more appropriate identity in his current discipline. He may have found it safer to maintain his views of writing. He said:

518   I do believe that this kind of way of writing discussion maybe it's like

519   it has less influence or less risk than when I say I claim this. I believe

520   it's safer. You don't claim, the results claim.   (Adam, SR, 2)

Perhaps the combination of different epistemologies, conflicting advice in textbooks and style guides and   different expectations among supervisors (Hyland 2001), meant that he found it safer to maintain his rather subtle identity (line 519), especially as it has been long encouraged by conventional wisdom promoting objectivity (Hyland 2012a). Adam explained:

521   I'm not hiding from something. You don't know me, that's why I refer

522   to my work. I'm behind this of course. My name is at the very first page.

523   The value is not in me it's in the work. This is the result that I came out

524   with. I think it is the way that I learned through the years, what I have

525   developed through these years. (Adam, SR, 1) Again, it's not me. It's

526   about the work. When I go to my viva, I'm defending the work. (Adam,

527   SR, 2)

Adam's focus on his result and work rather than his identity as a writer to ensure the quality of academic writing (line 523, 526, 527) was a safer (line 519, 520) and a more conventional choice for Adam (line 525). Especially since this view is very prevalent in academic disciplines, and   is one to which student writers often feel obliged to conform (Hyland, 2012a). It is aligned with the impersonal factual view of knowledge that Einstein (1934) in his "Essays in Science" recommends. He asserts:

When a man is talking about scientific subjects, the little word 'I' should play no role in his expositions

Einstein (1934: 113)

5.1.1.3. Adam's identity roles in writing

In addition to Adam's usage of Hyland's devices, the content of Adam's drafts suggested that he took on two primary identity roles as shown in tables 5.3 and 5.4 below:

Table 5.3: Adam's discourse and situated identities in the first draft[4]

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Writer Description 40%	*"Only a few within-group differences were captured in participants' choices to their salesmen"*	Reporter
Writer comment 37.6%	*"These findings contradict the results of Ryan, (2004), as they were affected by experience."*	Expert commentator
Facts from published sources 16%	*"Smith's (2009) findings that saleswomen can positively impact on users' usage, attitude and satisfaction"*	Holder of knowledge
Writer's own research 3.6%	*"The results related to the participants' expectations and attitudes are corroborated by the work of Adam (2009)"*	Contributor to knowledge

Table 5.4: Adam's discourse and situated identities in his second draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Writer Description 57%	*"The results revealed that the following facial expressions have been matched accurately by participants"*	Reporter of knowledge

---

[4] The total does not sum up to 100% (here and coming tables) because of the students' usage of figures, tables or long headings

Writer comment 36%	*"This can be accredited to the mismatching between frustration with expectations"*	Expert commentator

Adam presented himself in his drafts mainly as a reporter and an expert commentator. Given the nature of the first and second draft, he provided descriptions that are followed by his comments. Even though his role as a reporter providing description is more prominent than his role as the commenter, nevertheless, he fairly balanced between these two roles in both drafts as their percentages are comparable.

Interestingly, Adam did not perceive a tension between his conventionist view of the objectivity of knowledge and his role as a commentator, where he revealed his own stance, providing explanations and justifications that might support his findings from his point of view. As expressing claims can require a level of tentativeness (Hyland 2004), this subjectivity was expressed by hedges and attitude markers in his comments.

Adam also employed tables and figures in both his drafts, and he commented:

528   That by the discussion of each chapter when I discuss the results when
529   I present the results. Here's the table, here's what I found. I make
530   comparisons. So it is easy for the reader to understand everything.
531   (Adam, SR, 2)

Although Adam claimed the writer's attention should be directed more towards the ideas and less towards the reader (line 474), his comment above (line 530) suggests that he is concerned about his reader. Adam was also inconsistent when he played the role of a contributor of knowledge. While he claimed his independence from his work (line 472), he cited a paper he previously published with a colleague and commented on that:

532   It's a paper I published and the topic is related of course. It's not
533   showing off, but when you mention your own published work this
534   is good. Good for the paper to be cited and good for me now as a
535   student. The reader or examiner can realise I have this paper.
536   (Adam, SR,1)

Adam deliberately took on the role of contributor to knowledge. Although it was not a prominent role, he was the only participant whose draft featured his own previous research. Given that it signalled expertise and ownership of the discipline, Adam anticipated it would have a positive influence on the reader (line 531). This is similar to his investment in his identity as a successful PhD student when he interacted with more powerful interlocutors. He explained that investing in his good image as a successful student could facilitate succeeding in his studies.

5.2. Case Study 2 "Farah"

5.2.1. How did Farah construct her identity in academic writing?

Farah presented two drafts she had submitted to her supervisor. Neither drafts had been proofread and she was interviewed within two days of writing them. Both drafts were sections of the Introduction chapter. Yet they also included discussion of the literature in her study. Below (Tables 5.5. and 5.6.) I present a summary of Farah's first and second written drafts, including examples of her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity.

Table 5.5: Summary of Farah's first written draft and her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title	• Untitled, Headed: Medina and Prophet's Mosque: relationships and implications	
Type	Literature Review chapter	
Length	A six-page draft (2027words)	
Aim	To present relevant literature and the aims and objectives of her study	
Guidelines	Farah did not have any guidelines to follow.	
Hyland's devices	**Examples**	**Percentage in draft**
Hedges	• *"It <u>might </u>be understood that down town or city centre, inner city point out to same area"* • *"City centre of Medina <u>might</u> be called the old Medina".*	*0.29%*
Boosters	• *"<u>Generally</u>, the mosque (Masjid) is the most significant feature of the city"* • *"<u>In a very general</u> sense, each one of them was interested"*	*0.17%*
Attitude markers	• *"The biggest expansion project had an <u>important</u> implication on landscape"*	*0.2%*
Self mentions	None	*0%*

Reader reference	None	0%
Other identity markers	None	

Table 5.6: Summary of Farah's second written draft and her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• Untitled, Headed: Central zone development and potential gentrification	
Type	Literature review discussion	
Length	A four-page draft (2100 words)	
Aim of the draft	To present background of the study and discussion of relevant literature	
Guidelines followed	Farah did not have any guidelines to follow.	

Hyland's devices of writer identity	Examples	Percentage in draft
Hedges	• *"Several actions that <u>could</u> play an active role in the figure and structure of area"* • *"It <u>might</u> be noticed that religious importance reflected on direction of streets".*	*0.63%*
Boosters	• *None*	*0%*
Attitude markers	• *<u>"Unfortunately</u>, part of residential area did not survive"* • *"<u>Similarly</u>, both them consider as religious duty for every Muslims"*	*0.27%*
Self mentions	None	*0%*
Reader reference	None	*0%*
Other identity markers	None	

Farah's drafts were unedited and not proofread by anyone. In her drafts, Farah seemed to struggle to present correct grammatical and meaningful sentences. There were so many sentences that could be seen as lexically or grammatically ill formed. Farah's writings included problems in the syntax, word choice, verb tense, articles, and spelling mistakes causing the reader to a lot of the time experience incomprehensibility.

I checked with Farah whether there were any recurring typos but she seemed to be satisfied with what was written. She then commented on that and said:

528	My Grammar, weak, very very weak. I don't know why maybe because
529	I didn't learn English early. I was not intermediate level (during the
530	English language course); I was above beginner, upper beginner and
531	with my age it's not easy. Also, in vocabulary, the synonyms I'm not
532	good. But Word helps me. (Farah, SR,1)

Most ESL students, including myself of course, have our on-going struggles in writing. But some errors can be more acceptable than others. Nightingale (1988) suggests that very few students reach higher education make simple errors that can be corrected by remedial instruction. Yet, it is possible that Nightingale underestimates the number of ESL students with sever language problems currently in higher education.

Zamel (1983) suggests that language related difficulties do not seem to interrupt the on-going writing process. She argues that students consider how to make meaning first then consider how to order ideas and how they can best be expressed. However, this might not be an accurate description of Farah's experience. For example, Farah mentioned that she used "Google Translate" and "Microsoft Word" (line 532) to translate sentences from Arabic to English to make up for her lack of English vocabulary. Nevertheless, some of these translations may result in sentences that are not as meaningful in English as they were in Arabic, for Google cannot always select contextually meaningful and appropriate vocabulary. Yasuda (2011) argues that writing expertise depends more on the students' recognition of how some lexical items are contextually meaningful than on their possession of greater lexical diversity. In other words, it depends more on vocabulary depth than on breadth.

Interpersonal aspects of academic writing, including the student's identity as a writer, are central to academic argument and to university success (Hyland 2002a). It could be argued that Farah's mastery of these aspects would have been facilitated if she had had better mastery of the more basic writing skills. Hyland (2002a) argues that effective academic writing depends on appropriate language choices that express both meaning and an impression of the writer that is central to the academic argument. As Farah indicated, because of her low proficiency (line 530), she experienced difficulty in managing the presentation of information in her writing. This raises the question of whether a student's language proficiency is more urgent than achieving an appropriate writer identity.

An interpretation of Farah's drafts and interviews revealed two recurring themes. The first suggests Farah was wholly dependent on her supervisor's instructions for the construction of her ID-AW. The second reveals the influence of thinking and writing in Arabic on her identity in academic English writing.

5.2.1.1. Farah's dependence on her supervisor's instruction

Farah's comments suggested that she was bound to follow writing instruction she received. When asked to comment on the absence of self-mentions in her draft, she justified her view:

533	Because I or we gives the researchers personal view. We don't use that
534	in writing it can be bias. And the researcher should not show if he or
535	she is with or against. But this is what I learned at the language institute,
536	we don't use I or we. I can say 'this paper' or 'the researcher'. (Farah,
537	SR, 1, partly translated)

Farah's self-assurance in her decision to use self-mentions in her drafts, appeared contingent to its compliance with instruction she received at the language institute (line 536). For example, unlike Adam who was confident in using the passive voice despite his supervisor's advice, Farah perhaps found more self-assurance when following the instructions.

This also appeared in her usage of hedges. Her first draft only featured .29% hedges while her second draft featured .63%. Farah commented on her hedges in her writing, she said:

538   Because I'm not too sure, because when I say 'it could be' this means
539   that this is mostly like this but maybe it can be something else, because
540   I'm not sure %100 that it is a fact. I use it could be or might be because
541   what I say is not true %100 for that I used could because I'm not sure
542   for something, I have suspicions about this. (Farah, SR,1, partly
543   translated)

However, in addition to her awareness of the purpose of using hedges, she later added:

544   Sometimes I write this to avoid my supervisor critical maybe if I
545   write 'it is' he will say 'give me evidence, why are you too sure?'
546   (Farah, SR, 2)

In addition to Farah's use of hedges for tentativeness (line 542), she expressed attentiveness to her supervisor's feedback. She realised that when she did not hedge, she was obligated by her supervisor to justify her stance (line 544) while hedging presents a more cautious stance and requires less argument.

Farah appeared to justify her choices either based on insights she gained during her study at the English language institute or from her supervisor. It can be suggested that students in the Arab cultures are known to be more dependent and reliant on the teacher's instructions as the teacher is seen as the main source of knowledge and information (Raddaoui, 2007).

Nevertheless, this reliance on supervisor's feedback appeared to have a negative influence on Farah's development of her identity as a writer. For example, commenting again on the lack of self-mentions in her second draft, she mentioned:

547   This what I've learned to be objective and this is scientific and this is
548   how to write scientifically. 'I' can be used in the informal. But

| 549 | academic this is what we use. Is it OK? Are we allowed to? My |
| 550 | supervisor didn't tell me anything. (Farah, SR, 2, partly translated) |

Farah's faith in her supervisor's advice did not necessarily facilitate development of her identity developing her identity as a writer for two considerations. First of all, it can be argued that a student at PhD level is expected to be more autonomous and independent. Second, Farah mentioned that she rarely got feedback from the supervisor and said:

551	He just gives me a general feedback of what I should include or exclude
552	in the future. He doesn't give specific comments on what is good or
553	bad about the work I send him. Sometimes it worries me because I'm
554	not sure whether I'm doing a good or a bad job. (Farah, SR, 1, partly
555	translated)

When she did not receive specific comments on her drafts (line 552), her supervisor did not appear to realise the Farah's expectations of him (line 550). This represented a missed opportunity for her to develop her academic writing skills including how she presented herself as a writer. When constructing identity, writers draw from their repertoire of available resources and what they have experienced in writing (Ivanic and Camps 2001). Her textual choices were drawn from a repertoire that was based on instruction she received.

5.2.1.2. The hazards of constructing English drafts in Arabic

Farah managed to write her second draft without any usage of boosters. When asked about that and whether it was a deliberate choice, she explained:

556	Farah: No reason. But when I write maybe I don't need. I don't think
557	it was important because the meaning I want to explain is
558	there.

| 559 | Researcher: What do you mean "the meaning is there"? |

| 560 | Farah: I'm sure the meaning is there because you know I use Google |
| 561 | translate and I wrote this in Arabic first. Not everything |

| *562* | but generally. Of course, I check the meaning is the same |
| *563* | but what I want to say is this. (Farah, SR, 1, partly translated) |

Later on, Farah explained that she couldn't do without translating. It was a strategy to ensure that her writing was acceptable. As mentioned previously, translation software cannot compensate for selecting contextually meaningful vocabulary. More importantly, it may have deprived Farah of the opportunity to use the textual devices used in English (e.g. boosters) to better present her identity as a writer. As Hyland (2008) points out, what is considered logical, relevant and well organized in writing can often differ across cultures. Therefore, contrary to what she expected (line 563), what appeared to Farah as logical and comprehensible in Arabic is not necessarily so when translated to English. Some of these translations may result in sentences that are not as meaningful in English as they initially were in Arabic

In fact, Farah's reliance on translation can also explain another aspect of her writing. She tended to extensively present descriptive paragraphs which lacked any of her own comments. It was an issue brought up by her supervisor. She explained when discussing her weaknesses in writing:

564	Last time he told me the first three pages I haven't talked about my
565	topic and started talking about my topic in the fourth page. I was giving
566	an introduction to my topic and the area I came from because the people
567	don't know about it. He said no. He said I should start directly talking
568	about the topic.
569	I keep on writing without getting to the main important idea. So he said
570	that I write things I can use later in other chapters but this is the wrong
571	place for it. (Farah, SR, 1, partly translated)

It can be argued that the fact she tended to write in Arabic and translate to English (line 561) can also explain why she wrote as she described (line 569). Kaplan (1966) claimed that logic and thought patterns are evolved out of culture suggesting that they are not universal and vary from one culture to another. Hence, what is considered a logical pattern of thinking in one culture may be considered awkward in another. Accordingly, the rhetorical differences between English and Arabic may have contributed to Farah's

English writing. Therefore, while Farah's supervisor was dissatisfied that it took her three pages to reach the main idea she intended to convey, it is possible that she was drawing on her own cultural aspects of logic. Her way of writing and negotiating her ideas can be seen as her own evaluation of the elaboration required to assure the understanding of the reader.

Although Applebee (1984) claims that higher level reasoning skills can contribute to development of writing skills, it cannot be suggested that Farah's problems with writing were due to a lower level of reasoning skills. What can be suggested is that her writing skills were a result of a type of reasoning perhaps more relevant to her previous culture.

Hence, Farah not only wrote in Arabic, but also seemed to incorporate an Arabic mind-set. This was further indicated from several comments she made regarding the difficulties she encountered in writing. She explained:

572   Farah: My problem is how to be critical. How to be critical is important
573   here (in the UK).

574   Researcher: Why is it difficult to be more critical?

575   Farah: It's because of a lot of things but mainly how we learn in Saudi
576   Arabia. They did not raise us how to criticise and think of
577   details. When we were students at school, they encouraged us
578   to write a lot and the best student is the one who writes the most
579   pages. (Farah, SR, 1, partly translated)

She also mentioned:

580   English culture is different from Arabic culture. English cultures give
581   details, details, details. We as Arabs I think more generalise. We like
582   to generalise more than to go deep and give details. They here like to
583   give details… I think here they have doubt in everything even if they
584   are sure they like to open doors and open arguments. What if this? What
585   if that? We don't. We take things and believe they are unquestionable
586   (Farah, SR, 2) Here they think of everyone as unique. Sometime you

587   hear very silly ideas, but then they can make big ideas from that. (Farah,

588   SR, 2, partly translated)

Farah seemed to realise that writer's criticality was required in academic English writing. Yet, according to her, it was difficult to achieve that in her writing. She claimed that her struggle was due to the impact of the Saudi educational system that encourages students' reproduction of information rather than developing critical thinking (line 576). Coming from such an educational system that undervalues creativity and criticality (Abdelhamid, 2010), it can be difficult to adapt to the requirement of western educational contexts which reinforces an analytical, questioning and evaluative stance to knowledge (Hyland, 2012a). Thus, being trained in a different epistemology may explain why Farah found aspects of academic English writing challenging.

In addition, Farah also referred to the general Arabic culture itself as another reason she was challenged (line 580). Farah here did not refer to the rhetorical differences but to a deeper value of the broad culture that governs the conventions of the education itself. She described that while Arabs tend to generalise, and avoid questioning (line 582, 586), the English culture appreciates details, initiating arguments, and uniqueness (line 583, 585, 587). In doing so, Farah was suggesting that the difficulty she faced in writing was inherited in the broad culture of thinking. In fact, her views of the aspects that contrast both cultures are comparable to the characteristics of individualistic and collective societies. Elbow (1999) considers being critical in writing as an ideal metaphor for individualism.

> Critical thinking is the prime too of the individual thinker on guard against the herd or the tribe, using logic, critique, and doubting as tools to uncover flaws in those views that were so tempting and seductive to the surrounding culture.
>
>   (Elbow, 1999, pp.330)

Farah's Saudi society is not known for its individualistic views. Like many eastern societies, it tends to be collectively constructed. In other words, Farah implied that the values she inherited from her collective society had implications in her writing (line 582, 586). According to Hyland (2012a), students, like Farah, who have grown up in different educational environments developed different expectations about learning, conventions

of expression, and conceptions of self which can contribute to the challenge of adhering to the expectations of the new environment.

5.2.1.3. Farah's identity roles in writing

The content of Farah's drafts suggested she predominantly played two identity roles. As shown in the tables below (5.3 and 5.4), Farah was a reporter of knowledge and a holder of knowledge.

Table 5.7: Farah's discourse and situated identities in her first draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Writer Description 56%	*"Ahwash systems were an open free space surrounded by numbers of houses and they linked by the city through gate which used in the past."*	Reporter
Facts from published sources 36%	*"Medina space increased from 250 Ha to 1300 Ha after the last enlargement which was in 1978 (Alhusayen ,1999)"*	Holder of knowledge
Writer comment 5.6%	*"Compared with the above influences, Building the prophet mosque was the more important"*	Expert commentator

Table 5.8: Farah's discourse and situated identities in her second draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Writer Description 48%	*"Central zone characterise permanently that significant religious, residential and tourist centre for both visitors and pilgrims"*	Reporter
Facts from published sources 30%	*"It has been declared royal decree by establishing the Executive Committee for development of the central area of Medina (Ateyah, 2002)."*	Holder of knowledge

Writer comment 20%	*"It could be said from the state perspective central zone development is a project to developing and upgrading the central area for many reasons"*	Expert commentator

The identity roles Farah took on focused on presenting   descriptions and facts from published sources. Although they were roles that can indicate knowledge and provide the reader with guidance, they were less critical. Farah was a less of a commentator in both drafts. She expressed her struggle in achieving that. She even claimed that her own children would not experience such difficulty and explained:

589   My sons at school here they don't memorise anything. Not like
590   us when we were school students. We memorised and go write.
591   Here [at the UK schools] they give them things that make them
592   think like evaluate, argument, give reasons, evaluate. They want
593   to stimulate their brains; they give them even imaginative
594   questions. For example, they tell them 'imagine you have power
595   what power would you want and why? This is something we
596   haven't learned this. So I think it is about how we have learned
597   and how we live our life. (Farah, SR, 2, partly translated).

 Farah's experience were similar to those discussed by Yasuda (2011) who claims that the culture of schooling that encourages students to consider texts as factual information expecting of them to recall and reiterate informational content may prevent its learners from seeing writing as a social interactional action. Farah was aware of the need to be more critical in her writing. Her reference to her children's different schooling experience suggested that her struggle to write effectively was not due to a lack of understanding of the conventions of academic English writing. Her children's educational practices, which is based in the western culture, reinforce students to analyse, and argue, reflecting an individualistic view of self (Shirely Brice Heath, 1991).

For Farah, adopting these conventions entailed an alteration of how she thought and even lived her life (line 597). Shen (1989) points out, a new self entails accepting the different

rules of composition and the values that underpin these rules. While this can be possible, Farah's struggle with her English language and utilisation of translation software frequently makes such alteration challenging. The struggles she faces as a language learner could prevent her from incorporating available identity resources and perhaps result in misusing them.

5.3. Case Study 3 "Jaleela"

5.3.1. How did Jaleela construct her identity in academic writing?

Below (tables 5.9. and 5.10.) present a summary of Jaleela's first and second written drafts including examples of her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity.

Table 5.9: Summary of Jaleela's first written draft and her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• Untitled, Headed: Child maltreatment	
Type	Literature Review chapter	
Length	A four-page draft (1560 words)	
Aim of the draft	To discusses the major definitions and theories used in the study	
Guidelines followed	Jaleela did not have any guidelines to follow.	
Hyland's devices of writer identity	**Examples**	**Percentage in draft**
Hedges	• *"Definitions of child maltreatment <u>can be</u>"* • *"This <u>could be</u> due to the lack of awareness of alternative disciplinary methods"*	*0.3%*
Boosters	• *"It <u>is fundamentally</u> difficult to define,"* • *"<u>Generally</u>, there is an obvious lack of public awareness with regards to"*	*0.2%*
Attitude markers	• *"It is <u>important</u> to know what the definition of the child"* • *"Therefore, it is <u>worthwhile</u> to know under which category is falling"*	*1.4%*
Self mentions	• *"In my opinion, corporal punishment is not associated with the Islamic religion"*	*0.17%*
Reader reference	None	*0%*

Other identity markers	Missing several resource citations

Table 5.10: Summary of Jaleela's second written draft and her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• Untitled, Headed: Child maltreatment and risk factors	
Type	Literature review discussion	
Length	A four-page draft (1057words)	
Aim of the draft	To discuss the main theories in the literature relevant to her study	
Guidelines followed	Jaleela did not have any guidelines to follow.	

Hyland's devices of writer identity	Examples	Percentage in draft
Hedges	• *These factors <u>can</u> increase the possibilities of becoming a victim"* • *"The factors <u>may</u> increase the vulnerability"*	*.88%*
Boosters	• *"<u>Of course</u>, it is very challenging to make any absolute numbers"* • *"<u>Generally</u>, all category is subdivided "*	*.26%*
Attitude markers	• *"<u>Sadly</u>, physical punishment still remains as an acceptable"* • *"<u>Similarly</u>, four domains were grouped together"*	*1.2%*
Self mentions	• *"In <u>my</u> opinion, the early experiences of child abuse can cause an internalizing disorder."*	*.08%*
Reader reference	None	*0%*
Other identity markers	Missing several recourse citation	

Jaleela presented two drafts she submitted to her supervisor. Both drafts had not been proofread and she was interviewed within two days of writing them. Both drafts were sections of the literature review chapter discussing theories used in her study. Jaleela's usage of Hyland's textual devices showed interesting variations. To begin with, her drafts varied in the usage of hedges as her first draft features 0.3% hedges while her second draft features 0.88%. Also, while her usage of attitude markers is consistent presenting 1.4% and 1.2% in both drafts, this percentage exceeds the expert writers' 0.64% in Hyland's corpora. Most interestingly, Jaleela's use of self-mentions in both drafts can suggest her intention to foreground her identity as a writer. Nevertheless, her comments during the stimulated recall interviews suggested a key recurring theme that stresses her struggle to practically apply the theoretical knowledge she has on academic writing. Jaleela's responses during the stimulated recall interviews can suggest a gap between what she aims to achieve and how she achieves it.

5.3.1.1. Jaleela's tensions between writing preferences and writing expectations

When asked to recall her thoughts and intention when writing her draft, Jaleela made a statement that can encapsulate her identity as a writer. She stated:

598	I think about my reader a lot. I need him or her to understand
599	what am I writing… and know that I have knowledge and have
600	read a lot. I had to read a lot of books, articles and did a lot of
601	research and created a reading list before I can start writing. But
602	I don't like to write. My supervisor asked me to write at least 200
	words. (Jaleela, SR, 1)

Jaleela indicated that she thought about her reader. However, her consideration included presenting herself as a knowledgeable person by displaying what she has read to the reader (line 599). Jaleela's comments on her usage of Hyland's devices suggested her misconception of her readers' expectations of her identity as writer.

First of all, though both Jaleela's drafts were sections of the literature review chapter, her usage of hedges in her first draft was .3% while .88% in her second draft. Jaleela recalled:

| 603 | Researcher: Now here you wrote (this could be) what were your |
| 604 | thoughts here? |

| 605 | Jaleela: Because it could be, maybe and maybe not. You can't be sure |
| 606 | (Jaleela, SR, 1) |

Jaleela made similar comments indicating her deliberate tentativeness in her statements. However, she also stated:

| *607* | Researcher: So what about "can" here? |
| *608* | Jaleela: here I think just like that "can". Yeah. |

609	Researcher: was it important? Did you write it on purpose?
610	Jaleela: You can delete it. Both are same meaning. No big
611	difference. The information is clear is most important
612	thing. (Jaleela, SR, 2)

This inconsistency in Jaleela's comments on her awareness of her hedging can suggest her unawareness of how she presented herself as a writer. It can also explain the variation between the percentages of hedges in each of her drafts. Jaleela did not always hedge to achieve tentativeness; she may have done it habitually (line 608). Certainly, not all writers' choices are aware reflective choices. Hyland (2004) states that some rhetorical choices may reflect conscious choices while others can also indicate unreflective habitual practices.

Another choice indicating her possible unreflective and unawareness of her ID-AW were her citation of references. Jaleela's first draft featured three non-cited prepositions. Jaleela commented:

| 613 | Not my idea. I think it doesn't need reference. |
| 614 | I feel it's a general idea. (Jaleela, SR, 1) |

Again, on more detailed information that also lacked citation she also commented:

615	Who reads this information knows it. No not my idea, of course. But it
616	is well known I think. I'll ask my supervisor if I need to. I still haven't
617	got feedback from him. (Jaleela, SR, 1)

Jaleela appeared uncertain about not referencing reported information. Citation usually allows students to display their knowledge of the field's disciplinary research and establish membership (Hyland, 2004). Jaleela may intended to display her knowledge as well (line 599). However, the lack of proper citation can be seen as a problem in her identity as a writer. Ouellette's (2008) examination of a Taiwanese student plagiarist's essay revealed that her plagiarism is greater than mere copying and pasting. It is in fact a negotiation of her writer identity that she struggled to present.

In addition to that, given the influence of her Saudi educational background, Jaleela's lack of citation can be considered from a different perspective. She may have treated the knowledge and words of others as collectively owned. She mentioned that it was a well-known idea (line 616). Canagarajah (2002) suggests that in some cultures, when statements have a well-known status, borrowing such statements is taken for granted.

Since the importance of source documentation can be justified in an individualistically oriented culture not in others (Ramathan and Atkinson 1999), this can suggest that Jaleela's identity was perhaps rooted in her previous culture of learning in Saudi Arabia. Describing her strengths and weakness in academic writing, she mentioned:

618	Jaleela: the strongest point is I can paraphrase quickly. Since college,
619	I'm good in summarising. The weakness point is critical thinking.
620	I cover each point in general but I found that it's not enough to
621	put the general idea. You have to show the reader you read more
622	and critique more. I wanted to be critical. I read so many books
623	on critical thinking.

| 624 | Researcher: I mean is it challenging, easy? |

| 625 | Jaleela: I forget.   That's why.   I read lots of books but   I |
| 626 | forget how. (Jaleela, SR, 1) |

Jaleela's perception of her weakest and strongest points in writing can be indicative of the influential role of her previous educational background on her identity as a writer. As cultures have different conceptions of the presentation of effective and credible academic writing (Hyland, 2012a), cultures of schooling that encourage students to consider texts as repositories of factual authoritative information (Yasuda, 2011) as in Saudi Arabia are most likely to prompt developing her skill in "summarising". It can assist memorisation and recall informational tasks, Jaleela mentioned that it was her strongest ability in writing since she was in college in Saudi Arabia and continues to be (line 619). In addition to that, such educational cultures pay less attention on students' critical thinking (Ahmed, 2010) which can explain Jaleela's challenge to be more critical (line 620, 621) in her writing. Most importantly, her identity as a writer being rooted in a previous culture, which places greater value on recalling of information, can explain her inattentiveness to her usage of hedges and documentation of references which are characteristics of more critical academic writing.

However, it can be claimed that the on-going influence of Jaleela's previous background was further amplified by the lack of guidance into how to better construct her identity as writer. Jaleela was not passive about developing her writing skills. She mentioned her personal effort to improve her academic writing (line 623). However, despite her reading on how to become more critical, she yet continued to present more general ideas (line 621) because she could not grasp and apply how to become more critical (line 626). According to Bruce (2008), when information is yet inoperative, as in Jaleela's exposure to information, writers tend to follow their instinct in their writing. As a result, Jaleela continued to be rather less critical and inattentive to her discoursal choices. Hence, the influence of her previous educational background continued.

Jaleela appeared to experience tension between acting upon what she knew best (e.g. summarising and presenting information to the reader), the expectation she became aware of through information she received (e.g. reading about criticality) and applying it in her writing. Another example describing Jaleela's misinterpretation of writing instruction was shown in her usage of the phrase "in my opinion" in both her drafts. This expression is not very common in academic writing in her discipline. But she explained:

| 627 | My supervisor. He always says write your opinion. Write your opinion. |
| 628 | Write what you think. So, I write 'in my opinion'. (Jaleela, SR, 1). |

She also justified her choice:

| 629 | Because who reads it knows it is my opinion. I say in my opinion. |
| 630 | (Jaleela, SR, 2). |

Jaleela's possible unawareness of the textual resources available for her expression of opinion interpreted her supervisor's instruction to state her opinion (line 627) to the employment of the phrase "in my opinion" in her writing. Read et al. (2001) argue that for some students, the conventions of writing appear vague as a type of "code to be cracked". Furthermore, being exposed to information may still not be adequate. Jaleela's readings (line 626), expectations of instructors (line 627) and previous conventions (line 619) perhaps contributed to the confused misinterpreted view of her identity as a writer. As Hyland (2004) suggests, with conflicting textbook advices and varied expectations of instructors, students, as Jaleela, are more in need for consciousness raise about these instructions available.

As a result, given the tension between how she intrinsically wrote and how she interpreted writing instruction, it can be claimed that as a writer, Jaleela aimed to centrally display her knowledge of information to the reader. Her possible undeveloped repertoire of discursive features in writing may contributed to her identity as a writer where she tended to focus on presenting the reader with her knowledge yet utilising discursive features that were less appropriate to the meaning (line 608, 613) or in her discipline (line 628).

5.3.1.2 Jaleela's identity roles in writing

In addition to Jaleela's usage of Hyland's devices that exemplify a writer's identity, the content of Jaleela's drafts suggested she played two different roles as shown in the tables below (5.11 and 5.12) although both her drafts were literature reviews.

Table 5.11: Jaleela's discourse and situated identities in her first draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Writer Description 46.1%	*"Physical punishment still remains as an acceptable method of disciplinary Practice in Saudi Arabia"*	Reporter
Writer comment 34.2%	*"It is vital to improve the awareness in society using various communication strategies like media."*	Expert commentator
Facts from published sources 18.8%	*"All category is subdivided to represent certain violence types, violence settings, and violence nature (Butchart Phinney Harvey, Mian, Fürniss, & Kahane, 2006)"*	Holder of knowledge

Table 5.12: Jaleela's discourse and situated identities in her second draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Facts from published sources 66%	*"Caregivers who are responsive, supportive, and stable, are vital for stabilizing the mental health of children (Aldowaish, & Kattan, 2012)"*	Holder of knowledge
Writer Description 22%	*"There is an obvious lack of public awareness to the importance of child mental health and how it impacts upon the child's development and social wellbeing"*	Reporter
Writer comment 12%	*"In my opinion, the early experiences of child abuse can cause an internalizing disorder development"*	Expert commentator

Even though both her drafts were literature review drafts, Jaleela took on different roles in each draft. Jaleela's first draft consists of 34% of her comments, but more prominently 46% of the content was writer description which presented her more of a reporter. On

the other hand, the second draft featured a lot of facts from published sources which suggests her role as holder of knowledge at 66% of that draft. Interestingly, she rarely commented on these facts as her comments here composed only 12% of the draft. She described:

631   Researcher: did you achieve what you wanted to achieve in this
632   draft?

633   Jaleela: All my writings are weak because I'm not very critical. I need
634   to make a lot of changes. Maybe I'm now more informative
635   and a bit more critical. I tried to show the reader that I read
636   a lot. (Jaleela, SR, 2).

Since students tend to gradually acquire the discourse competencies to better participate in their groups, Jaleela's may have realised that playing the role of a holder of knowledge prominently did not adhere to the expectations of discourse in her group. This can be indicated by her description of her draft as "weak" for it according to her lacked critical thinking (line 633).

It can be argued that being a holder of knowledge or a report of knowledge in most of her drafts was not a deliberate choice. It was possibly a choice that was most suitable to her strengths and weaknesses in writing (line 619, 620). Despite her effort to improve her writing skills, Jaleela explained:

637   I have good ideas and information but writing them together is
638   problem. I can't express my opinion in writing. (Jaleela, SR, 2).

Weedon (1997) suggest that although in principle one is open to all forms of subjectivity, some forms are more available. Aligned with that, Jaleela appeared to have the ideas that can enable her to play a commentator's role (line 638), yet the difficulty she experienced in achieving that followed that her role as a holder of knowledge displaying expertise and familiarity was a more available option. Nevertheless, taking on a more objective stance in writing as in playing the role of a holder of knowledge and a reporter does not exclude the presentation of original ideas. She may attempt to sound her voice through others' words. In other words, it is possible that Jaleela found weaving her writing with

description or facts from published resources could still put for the reader her point of view as a writer.

5.4. Case Study 4 "Dana"

5.4.1. How did Dana construct her identity in academic writing?

Below (Tables 5.13. and 5.14.) present a summary of Dana's first and second written drafts including examples of her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity.

Table 5.13: Summary of Dana's first written draft and her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• Incidental vocabulary learning through reading in second language learning	
Type	Literature Review chapter	
Length	A six-page draft (1038 words)	
Aim of the draft	To present an overview of the background literature	
Guidelines followed	Dana did not have any guidelines to follow.	
Hyland's devices of writer identity	**Examples**	**Percentage in draft**
Hedges	• *"It <u>can</u> be argued that it plays a critical role in mastering a second language"* • *"To find methods and strategies which <u>may</u> help learners".*	*1.15%%*
Boosters	• *"It is <u>clear</u> that vocabulary is one of the main components"* • *"Learning a few words is <u>highly</u> unlikely to result in successful language development"*	*0.38%*
Attitude markers	• *"Nation (1997) <u>interestingly</u> posed a question"* • *"Did not <u>adequately</u> control text difficulty"*	*1.5%*
Self-mentions	• *"<u>I</u> suggested that knowing the meaning"*	*0.19%*

	• *"I concur that fostering continuous reading"*	
Reader reference	None	*.0%*
Other identity markers	Use of Passive voice. • *"It is suggested that 'reading is important"* • *"It is believed that no language acquisition can take place"*	

Table 5.14: Summary of Dana's second written draft and her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity

Title of Draft	• An evaluation of narrow reading vs. extensive reading	
Type	Section of a discussion chapter	
Length	A four-page draft (1144 words)	
Aim of the draft	To present a discussion and evaluation of arguments	
Guidelines followed	Dana did not have any guidelines to follow.	
Hyland's devices of writer identity	**Examples**	**Percentage in draft**
Hedges	• *"This may mean that"* • *"This may affect the beginner learner".*	*1.8%*
Boosters	• *"It is clear that if learners become accustomed"* • *"Indeed, I think people need to acquire"*	*0.34%*
Attitude markers	• *"This may affect the beginner learner severely"* • *"Learners motivation can dramatically affect"*	*1.31%*

Self-mentions	• *"<u>I</u> suggest that we can not merely depend on reading"*	*0.17%*
	• *"<u>I</u> believe that there are few benefits"*	
Reader reference	None	*.0%*
Other identity markers	Use of Passive voice. • *"Several studies have been conducted"* • *"It is suggested that narrowing reading"*	

Dana presented two drafts she submitted to her supervisor. Both drafts had not been proofread and she was interviewed within two days of writing them. The first draft was section of the literature review chapter while the second was a section of the discussion chapter. Dana's use of Hyland's identity devices was relatively consistent in both drafts. Although one is a section of a literature review chapter while the other was section from her discussion chapter, her usage of hedges, boosters, attitude markers, self-mentions and lack of reader reference was consistent in both drafts. Being that consistent, it can be argued that Dana's choice of incorporating these textual devices are deliberate. Dana's comments during the stimulated recall interviews revealed that she experienced difficulties in her writing. Yet, her choices in both her drafts were governed by an understanding and awareness of the conventions of writing in her discipline.

5.4.1.1. Awareness of conventions contributes to conscious rhetorical choices

Dana's comments during the stimulated recalls suggest that how she presented herself as a writer as in using Hyland's (2012a) resources of interaction was based on an aware and conscious view of herself as a writer. Dana explained her views about academic writing:

639	Academic writing for me I think consists of too many things together.
640	To write academically, you need to have lexical items, to be careful
641	of grammatical rules. In addition to that you have to pay attention to
642	writing attributes that include critical thinking, arguing, all these
643	things will help you to write comprehensive. In addition to that you
644	need to be active reader and active writer and to do all these things

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645	together you need to practice… I'm aware of critical thinking and
646	arguing. You have to have a purpose. Well, it's include too many
647	levels. First of all we have to be aware
648	you are writing to an audience and put this in mind. We are trying to
649	convey a message. In addition to this, it's more like communication
650	you are communicating with someone and be relevant to the topic.
	(Dana, SR, 1)

Dana's perception of academic writing suggested her attentiveness to her identity as a writer. In addition to the different aspects of academic writing she mentioned (line 641, 642), Dana expressed the importance of her identity as a writer as she was aware of the expectations of her reader (line 648). Her academic background and conducting a PhD in language teaching may have drawn her attention and offered her insightful perspective on her own writing. Nevertheless, Dana's conscious rhetorical choices revealed her awareness to the conventions in her discipline and her awareness of her abilities as a writer.

First of all, Dana expressed her awareness of the conventions of her discipline. Her usage of hedges in both her drafts was 1.15% and 1.8% compared to Hyland's corpora at 1.45%. Dana had the most percentage of usage of hedges amongst the other students in this study. She commented:

651	I think to hedge is one of the aspects of the language. In order to write
652	in the humanities you have to be tentative. I think its related to
653	criticality and also a part of writing as a member of humanities as a
654	discipline we a can see as I told you it's being part of the community
655	so we have to know the tools in writing in this community. (Dana,
	SR,1)

Similarly, she commented on the usage of boosters in her draft and said:

656	Yeah, I used it on purpose, either to show the reader that I'm
657	convinced or I'm against that idea so I was definite why I'm using all
658	these adjectives. (Dana, SR, 1). It shows the writer identity and it
659	show the reader how to certain the writer. This is why you can see

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660   some adjectives It shows your membership of the community also.
             (Dana, SR, 2)

While Hyland (2004) suggests that it is common that rhetorical decisions can reflect unreflective practices, Dana was making deliberate choices to make her representation clear. She viewed hedging as a tool to indicate her tentativeness (line 652). But it was also her way to signal her membership to the community (line 653). This was similar to her comment on her usage of boosters as well. In addition to her awareness to its function in signalling her certainty (line 657, 659), it was also her way to show membership to her community (line 660). If language serves as a tool to gain membership in a community of practice (Kramsch, 1998), Dana realised that there were certain language resources (e.g. hedges. Boosts or self-mentions) to achieve that and can present her identity as a writer in her academic community.

Dana's awareness may be a result of her field of study. However, when probed to explain her awareness of these aspects of writing she described:

661   Dana: It helps [supervisor's comments] but it's our role as a
662   student. It's a different system what we have back home
663   and what we have here in UK, you have to be more active,
664   more independent as a student, you have to depend on
665   yourself you have to be more autonomous.

666   Researcher: like what do you do?

667   Dana: You have to read guidance and how to write in different
668   disciples. For example in humanities you read for Hyland.
669   He can provide you with texts in writing in this discipline,
670   like to what extent you have to be critical to argue and
671   how evidence much you need to support your writing.
672   (Dana, SR, 1)

Therefore, in addition to her supervisor's comments (line 661), Dana had her own autonomous effort where she educated herself about the conventions of writing in her discipline (line 665, 667). This might have enabled her to make clearer choices about her writing. Although it is argued that genre based pedagogies can constrain students'

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creativity (Yasuda, 2011), it appeared to have enhanced Dana's knowledge and enabled her to better explain and justify her rhetorical choices. For example, Dana's drafts featured a percentage of 0.17% and 0.19% of self-mentions compared to Hyland's 0.42%. She commented on that:

673	It attracts your attention to you pay more focus on the idea.
674	You would feel like the writer is guiding you through the idea more
675	than others. (Dana, SR, 1)

Unlike Jaleela who misinterpreted her supervisor's advice, or Adam and Farah who refused to incorporate self-mentions in their writing, Dana was able to justify her usage of "I" in her draft (line 673) and explain the impact it leaves on the reader (674).

Dana's awareness and justified choices does not suggest the absence of difficulties she can face as a writer. In fact, it can be claimed that as Dana was aware of the conventions of her discipline, she became more aware of her weaknesses as a writer coming from a different background and aiming to adhere to the norms of the new context. She mentioned:

673	Dana: Criticality, critical writing, I need to be more analytical. I'm fine
674	with grammatical, even the vocab. But I get lost and the reader
675	sometimes can't follow the idea.
676	Researcher: Why do you think that?
677	Dana: one reason for this decline, maybe because our education back
678	home. We ignore focusing on these skills. When the teacher
679	approached the writer she focus on the grammatical rules and
680	vocab, that's it. Ignoring the meaning, the criticality, the
681	thinking, arguing. (Dana, SR, 1)

Dana, as Jaleela and Farah, revealed that she faced difficulty in achieving criticality in and developing arguments in her writing (line 673, 675). Even though she had exhibited her of awareness of her rhetorical choices, she yet revealed her struggle to be more critical. It is possible that despite her knowledge of forms, being more critical entails the incorporation of purpose, attitude, disposition (Canagarajah, 2002) that her knowledge

of textual forms may not compensate for. In addition to that, as she mentioned (line 678), coming from a different epistemological orientation that focussed on grammatical and lexical correctness rather than developing criticality perhaps contributed to her struggle. As Dana can be seen as a writer that aspired to signal community membership through her writing (line 654, 660), being critical and expressing stance to propositions is important in her academic community. Dana may have realised that, as Hyland (2012a) suggests, it can be a complex and not easily picked up understanding, which can explain her effort to become a better writer. She explained:

682	So, he gives me guidance that I need to rewrite, clarify it or I need
683	to fix this or that. But it's your task, or your own responsibility
684	to modify your writing and work on it. It's a complex thing.
685	(Dana, SR,2)

Being a PhD researcher in language teaching and realising the problematic aspect of conflicting epistemologies, she was less dependent on her supervisor instructions (line 661, 683) than Farah and Jaleela were. She took on a more independent and responsible role (line 664, 683) and made autonomous effort (line 665) to develop her skill as a writer. Although Saudi educational culture suggests the central role of the teacher as a source of knowledge (Barnawi, 2009), her awareness of the complexity of writing (line 685) may have derived her independent efforts that have enabled her to make more aware choices in her writing.

5.3.1.2 Dana's identity roles in writing

In addition to Dana's usage of Hyland's devices that exemplify a writer's identity, the content of Dana's drafts suggested she played three main roles as shown in the tables below (5.15 and 5.16) although both her drafts were literature reviews.

Table 5.15: Dana's discourse and situated identities in her first draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Facts from published sources 40%	*"It is believed that " no language acquisition can take place without knowledge of the vocabulary of the language" Krantz (1991:9)"*	Holder of knowledge
Writer comment 32%	"Learners need not only the structure of the sentences but also the words which may act as a component in building up the utterances"	Expert commentator
Writer Description 25%	"many studies have been conducted which support the claim that second language acquisition can occur through reading."	Reporter

Table 5.16: Dana's discourse and situated identities in her second draft

Discourse Identity	Example	Situated Identity
Writer Comment 39%	*"If we narrow the reading texts, learners would be more active and positive in the learning process"*	Expert commentator
Facts from Published sources 36%	*"Krashen (2004) supported his claim by mentioning the effect of "the first few pages" when a subject read a novel"*	Holder of knowledge
Writer Description 23%	*"In the mid 1970s, many studies were conducted in order to prove the assumption that reading is essential"*	Reporter

Dana's drafts were of a different kind. The first was a section from her literature review chapter while the other was from a discussion. In both her drafts, Dana had the same three roles which included a holder of knowledge, an expert commentator and a reporter of knowledge. It can be argued that the nature and the different expectations of each of

the drafts may have resulted in the prominence of each role. In the first draft, Dana mentioned her goal to "discusses the major definitions and theories used in the study" which can explain the prominence of her role as a holder of knowledge. But she also added:

686	Sometimes I try not to copy but have another article as a model.
867	For example, I try to copy the structure sometimes or select
688	grammatical… or words, sometimes sentences, and structure (Dana, SR, 1)

Dana's attempts to assimilate the structure of her writing to a published article in her field draft (line 686) can suggest her consideration to the expectations and conventions of a discourse community. As Hyland (2004) states, the way the writers present themselves, negotiate ideas, and engage with readers is linked to the norms and expectations of the community. Therefore, this can be seen as an effort to establish alliances with the practices of her community which is also a practice that can facilitate her learning (Wenger 1998a).

Similar to her awareness of her rhetorical choices and use of Hyland's (2012a) devices, she might be aware of the roles she was presenting the reader. She mentioned:

689	I'm trying to be critical. Especially here in the UK and foreign countries
690	they pay attention to criticality and want students to be more critical in
691	literature review or even a paragraph or essay. (Dana, SR, 1)

Dana's comment on the importance of being critical in academic writing can explain her role as an expert commentator in her first draft. Although it was a literature review chapter where students can be tempted to report knowledge and published facts objectively, Dana's awareness to the value of criticality in her academic community resulted that 29% of her literature review draft was her comments.

Furthermore, her role as an expert commentator was even more prominent in her second draft where it constituted 40% of her draft. She described her draft:

692	I was thinking 'will the reader be able to understand the message I'm
693	going to convey?' This was the main goal. When I was writing this, I
694	was clear I want the reader to hear my voice. So I was analytical and
695	critical in some sections to help them to hear my voice. You have to be
696	able to contribute to knowledge, to use other researcher's knowledge
697	and construct something solid so you are able to add something to
698	knowledge. (Dana, SR, 2)

Dana's role in her second draft as an expert commentator and a holder of knowledge were comparable. In her comment, she indicated her goal to enable the reader to understand her argument (line 693). Her approach to do that was by being more critical (line 695), by featuring published resources (line 697) and being able to contribute to knowledge (line 698). When she mentioned how she wanted to achieve her goal in the draft and contribute to knowledge, it implied her aim to present a reconstructed view of reality rather than a descriptive reflective view of reality.

By the end of this chapter, this study has explored the experience of the four Saudi students' ID-AC and ID-AW. Chapter four has looked at the events of students' social practice and elicited their identity roles in their academic community. In a parallel approach, chapter five also looked at the students' constructed identity and the identity roles in academic writing. As the study attends to the individuality of each participant, exploring the students' ID-AC and ID-AW revealed that the students' identity roles in their academic community and academic writing stems from diverse power relations and dynamics. These identity roles are most useful in the coming chapter which aims to link between the students' ID-AC and ID-AW.

CHAPTER SIX

SAUDI STUDENTS' ID-AC AND ID-AW

Introduction

This chapter looks at the experiences of the students' social identity in academic community (ID-AC) described in Chapter Four and identity in academic writing (ID-AW) in chapter five. It aims to present an overall view of their learning experiences. As newcomers can become members of a community by participating in practices in their community (Lave and Wenger, 1991), this chapter focuses on whether Saudi students' social identities in their academic community could predict their identities in academic writing, thus answering research question four 'Can Saudi students' social identities in their academic community predict their identities in academic writing?'

Drawing on Wenger's (1998a) claim that learning is a matter of active participation in the world, each student case begins by recapitulating the student's social interactions in terms of engagement, imagination and alignment which facilitate learning (Wenger, 1998a). Participation in the academic community is arguably most important for developing writers' identities (Hyland, 2009). However, academic writing can be less straightforward than often assumed (Lillis, 1997).

6.1. Case Study 1 "Adam"

6.1.1. Can Adam's social identities in his academic community predict his identity in academic writing?

Adam invested in all the opportunities of interaction he encountered in his community. These interactions offered him the opportunity to share information and experiences, which contributed to his identity as a future post-doc and a successful PhD student. Table 6.1 below summarises how components of a learning community: engagement, imagination and alignment, were found in his interactions.

Table 6.1: Summary of engagement, imagination and alignment in Adam's interactions

Component of social learning	Adam's social interaction
Engagement	Adam's interactions were sites of joint tasks, knowledge display, and an exercise of evaluation. For example, when Adam had debates or discussions with colleagues, he stated that he appreciated such discussions, because they offered him an opportunity to display his knowledge and prove his progress and understanding. Also, during meetings with his supervisor, Adam mentioned sharing his ideas and preferring his own ideas rather than those of his supervisor. This exercise of judgement and evaluation signals that his interactions were sites of engagement.
Imagination	Adam imagined being a post-doc in future. Hence, in some of his interactions he took on the identity of a future post-doc. Wenger (2000) suggests that images are essential in our sense of self and the interpretation of our participation in the social world, so when Adam helped new students or took part in disciplinary discussions to display his knowledge, these interactions corresponded to his targeted "good image" of himself being employed in the university as a post-doc.

Alignment	Adam's interactions had a common focus that was aligned with the interest of his academic community. The momentary day-to-day discourse identities supported by both his identity roles were aligned by his desire to share his knowledge and expertise. For example, the recurring themes of his interactions indicate that his investment in interaction with less powerful interlocutors (e.g. colleagues or new students) in offering advice and helping them in their studies, and his investment in interaction with more powerful interlocutors (e.g. visiting instructors or supervisors) were all opportunities to display his knowledge and present himself as confident and competent in his community.

Since a community of practice includes both explicit and implicit practices, such as language, conventions and assumptions (Wenger, 1998a), it can be argued that Adam's participation in his community may have developed in him a shared repertoire regarding their discourse and making meaning. Adam stated that:

> *699*   Every day is a new discovery. I believe that when you see how
> *700*   others communicate, how they answer questions, and how they
> *701*   raise questions this will indeed influence you. The atmosphere,
> *702*   the style for sure influences me. (Adam, ID, 3)

Adam explained that as he experienced other people's interactions in his community, he was gradually influenced by their discourse (line 701). He mentioned previously "By time, you feel more confident in your department, in your school, in your field" (line 32) "I was a person and now, I'm a different person. So yes, of course we learn, we change and develop. Who I am now is accumulative" (line 54,55).

Hyland (2009) argues that a community provides a way of understanding how meaning is produced. It can be argued that Adam's participation may have developed his identity as a writer. Adam described this as follows:

703	I'm not a good writer yet. But if you compare this year to last
704	year, I was completely different in terms of writing skills and I
705	believe next year I'm going to be better…. I look at others' PhD
706	theses. I do have a diary; I save notes and phrases; I start
707	following some others' style. You sound more like them. Yeah
708	why not use them. But most importantly, I read books, for
709	example, writing guides. (Adam, SR, 2)

Adam's invested interactions with different interlocutors could be argued to be opportunities to learn and to negotiate his competence. His experience of interaction and realisation of how others interacted influenced his competence (line 702), and his efforts to sound more like members of his community in his writing (line 707) seem to demonstrate that his active participation influenced his identity as a writer.

Looking at Adam's identity roles in his written drafts, Adam's drafts featured 'reporter' and 'expert commentator' as prominent roles. These roles entail displaying his knowledge, expertise, familiarity and criticality in writing. These identity roles can be viewed as possible extensions of his social identity roles as a knowledgeable, successful PhD student and a future post-doc in his academic community. However, although, as Vygotsky (1978) claims, learning is a socially situated activity, there is no guarantee that learning through social participation will always occur (Wenger, 1998a).

In contrast to the assumption that Adam's identity roles in his academic community influenced his academic writing, it cannot be concluded that Adam's ID-AW is an extension of his ID-AC. Adam invested in every opportunity to interact and he claimed that he advanced with every interaction. However, the examination of his conscious reflections during the stimulated recalls may suggest otherwise. There appears a mismatch between Adam's practice as an academic writer and his comments on his identity as a writer. In practice, Adam's identity roles included a commentator, reporter and contributor to knowledge. His usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity suggests close comparability with Hyland's corpora as shown in his usage of boosters and attitude markers.

However, his conscious thoughts as revealed in his comments suggest that his identity as a writer is not the most important one of his interests. As mentioned in section 5.1.1

he valued achieving clarity, presenting details, correct referencing and considered identity as a writer was of secondary importance to him despite his supervisor's advice. Adam also seemed to consciously hold on to a conventional approach to his writing and a view of writing as independent of him as a writer. It has been suggested that students' epistemological backgrounds and their education can influence how they perceive and approach their writing (Hyland, 2012a; Shen, 1989; Yasuda, 2011). It could be argued that Adam's educational background in Saudi Arabia, his background in computer science, and the fact that he was conducting a quantitative study may have influenced his commitment to an impersonal style of writing, as he claimed to focus more on his results and work rather than his identity as a writer.

According to Hyland (2012a), writers' decisions reflect clear sites of identification. Given Adam's practice and conscious thoughts on his identity as a writer, he experienced different sites of identification. Although his ID-AC suggests his membership of his academic community, his ID-AW suggests his multimembership (Wenger, 1998a). Membership in a community can be signalled by what is familiar and foreign to an individual (Wenger 1998a). Adam's familiarity with the values of his previous academic community suggests his uninterrupted membership of that community. Adam's previous background and current academic community valued different forms of individuality. His comments expressing his resistance to creating a new, more appropriate identity in his current discipline, as in his thoughts on using self-mentions in his writing and his disregard of the supervisor's advice, were affiliated with the values of his previous computer science academic community.

According to Wenger (2000), the ability to move on from one community to another and experiencing multi-membership is an inherent aspect of one's identity. Adam's mentioned effort to improve his writing may indicate his awareness that disciplines have different social conventions. It shows that, according to Hyland (2009), members gradually acquire specialised discourse competencies as they aim to embed their talk and writing in a social world. Most importantly, it suggests that Adam's ID-AW may have started at the periphery and gradually acquired knowledge as he participated in more activities of the community (Wenger, 1998a). However, though Adam was aware of the importance of communicating as a member of his community, he was not fully aware of the actual values and conventions of his community.

To conclude, although progress in an individual's ability to participate and to negotiate meaning is an indication of learning (Wenger, 1998a), it is difficult to determine that Adam's ID-AW is a result of his active participation in his community. Adam's ID-AC and ID-AW were not perfectly aligned. In other words, his ID-AW did not precisely reflect his ID-AC where he appeared affiliated with the practices of his community. There can be different claims explaining his ID-AW (Archer, 2008) and its being misaligned with his ID-AC. The influence and effectiveness of an individual's interaction to support learning is difficult to determine (Cambridge et al., 2005). Also, Adam mentioned reading writing handbooks to improve his skills. Since textbooks and style guides often give conflicting advice (Hyland, 2001) and explicit conventions are rarely taught (Tang and John 1999), they can also explain Adam's misalignment in his identities.

Finally, since understanding what is important in a community indicates one's sense of identity (Wenger, 1998b), holding the values of his previous community identified Adam with his previous community. He adopted a voice aligning him with the conventions of his current field. However, it does not entail an identity transformation (Hyland, 2009). Therefore, Adam's active and competent membership of ID-AC did not predict his ID-AW.

6.2. Case Study 2 "Farah"

6.2.1. Can Farah's social identities in her academic community predict her identity in academic writing?

Farah investment in interaction was mediated by her conservative cultural values, language ability and desire to succeed in her study. Even though she avoided opportunities for interaction, her interactions were possible opportunities for learning as the components of engagement, imagination and alignment varied. Table 6.2 below summarises how components of a learning community: engagement, imagination and alignment were yet found in her interactions.

Table 6.2: Summary of engagement, imagination and alignment in Farah's interactions

Component of social learning	Farah's social interaction
Engagement	As a PhD student, Farah was able to invest in occasions such as meetings with her supervisor, workshops with other students and discussions with instructors on training courses. Although these interactions supported her engagement as they featured knowledge emergence, joint tasks and devising solutions, her identity as a conservative Muslim on many occasions prompted her avoidance of interaction opportunities that were also opportunities of engagement and seeking mutuality in interest and competence.
Imagination	Farah did not refer in her comments to a desired self-image in the future. She suggested experiencing difficulties in coping with the expectations of her new academic community, and her concern was focussed more on her current academic performance. Her community supported this imagined self and a lot of the time she was able to invest in interactions that could develop her knowledge and skills to perform better academically.

Alignment	Farah's interactions in her academic community were not always aligned with the focus of the community. For example, practices available in the community were not always aligned with her engagement as a conservative Muslim. Although Farah was prompted to overcome her cultural values to invest in interaction necessary for her academic progress, she avoided some opportunities for participation as well because they were not aligned with her values and visions as a conservative Muslim. However, as engagement, imagination and alignment do not have to be equally dominant (Wenger, 2000), her interactions still had the potential to help her learn and to influence her identity as a writer.

Farah mainly took on the role of a holder of knowledge and a reporter narrating and conveying her familiarity and expertise of the literature with a lesser role as a commentator in both her written drafts. Her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity revealed a varied usage of hedges and boosters between her two drafts. While Vygotsky claims that social interaction is vital for the individual's development (Ohta, 2000), Farah's social interactions may have influenced her development. Exploring Farah's ID-AC and her ID-AW suggested that her social identity roles made it more challenging for Farah to learn through her social interaction.

First of all, Farah's identity role as a conservative Muslim and how she related to her community presented a challenge to learn through social participation. To begin with, it prompted her avoidance of some interactions, making her participation less regular. While regular interactions can help individuals assume attitudes, values and ways of using language (Lave and Wenger, 1991), Farah possibly avoided opportunities to acquire implicit attitudes and values, which could have influenced the values she incorporated in her writing. Although Farah was aware of the importance of these roles, she faced difficulty commenting and becoming more critical in her writing. According to her, she lacked the more appropriate values her children were learning in UK schools to achieve that. Accordingly, since the assumption of a new value system is necessary for a writer to take on identities that fit with the academic discourses of the university

(Bartholomae, 1986), Farah's identity as a conservative Muslim hindered the acquisition of new values by her avoiding some opportunities of interaction.

It can be argued that non-participation can be a source of social learning as well (Wenger, 1998a). However, given Wenger's (1998a) concepts of peripherality and marginality, Farah's forms of non-participation were more likely cases of marginality. When she avoided an interaction and chose not to participate, she was aligning herself with conservative cultural values she cared to preserve. Unless she altered her values, this non-participation closed off future participations and prevented her from learning to better participate in the future.

Farah's identity role as a conservative Muslim and her inclination to preserve the values of her original Saudi community not also deprived her of opportunities to acquire new values but as a result it may have also contributed to the on-going influence of the Arabic and Saudi culture of learning in her writing. Bakhtin (1981) claims that one's outsideness presents an opportunity for self-expansion and new ways of perceiving the world. However, Farah's reservation of her values inhibited such self-expansion and reserved the values that encourage memorisation and passing on what has been received as established knowledge, inspiring her prominent roles as a reporter and holder of knowledge in her writing. She explained her difficulty in writing as being due to societal values that may be described as the values of a collective society. She stated that:

710	We don't use our brains. We don't think or think with our
711	emotions. We don't give ourselves or we don't think of
712	different dimensions or consequences. We take things as
713	intuitive or unquestionable; that's on the level of family or
714	government or school. They give us something, we take it and
715	we don't argue or don't ask why. We take things as a fact
716	without any doubt. (Farah, SR, 2, partly translated)

It can be claimed that Farah's identity as a writer was significantly influenced by the conventions of her previous educational culture in Saudi Arabia, and what is considered logical in Arabic. Similar to Shen's (1989) Chinese cultural background that shaped her approach to English writing, Farah's persistent Arabic Saudi cultural background appeared to shape hers. In fact, Farah's reliance on translating her written texts from

Arabic to English was a further contributor to the on-going influence of her cultural background.

On the other hand, Farah also took on the role of a PhD student. This identity role, in contrast to her identity as a conservative Muslim, prompted her investment in interaction. However, there were some practices that may have limited the influence of Farah's few social interactions on her identity as a writer. First of all, learning is an interplay between one's competence and one's on-going participation as a member of a community (Wenger, 2000). However, Farah's language disadvantage may have negatively influenced her learning through participation. Interaction within a community is generally characterised as meaning negotiation involving language (Wenger 1998a), and Farah's language mediated her experience of invested interactions. For example, when asking instructors, she tried to make herself clear by talking privately to the instructor. According to Littlewood (1981), these strategies could be interpreted as the learner's effort to compensate deficiencies in their repertoire, so even when Farah invested in interactions, language mediated the nature of her experiences (Barton, 2007) and perhaps the effectiveness of these interactions. Language is central to most experiences of negotiation and meaningful communication in communities of practice (Tusting, 2005). In this sense, community participation requires communicative competence that goes beyond simple linguistic competence and includes situationally and socially appropriate language (Cammish, 1997). As Littlewood explains:

> In a course of a discussion conducted in a normal speed, it would be completely impossible to devote conscious attention and effort to the construction of every sentence. This must occur automatically in response to the ideas we want to express at specific moments.
>
> (Littlewood, 1992, p.42)

In addition to that, despite Farah's social interactions as a PhD student, she continued to value approaches to learning other than social interaction. She utilised approaches more relevant to her previous experience of the Saudi educational system. For example, given the valued role of the teacher in students' success in the Saudi educational culture (Algamdi and Abdaljawad, 2005), Farah relied on instruction she received during her study at the English Language Institute or advice from her supervisor. Her commitment

and confidence in the direct instruction she received suggests her reliance on explicit teacher instruction. For example, when questioned about the lack of self-mentions or usage of hedges in her writing, she defended this as an application of previously received instruction that encouraged the impersonality and importance of tentativeness in her writing. Gee (1996) argues that discourses are not mastered by overt instruction, but rather by social interaction. However, directly received instruction reinforced Farah with a sense of confidence in her practice including her view of her identity as a writer. Farah justified her undervaluing of writer identity and said:

717	Here they want you to go search for information and go to the
718	library and think. But I think it is bad because as a student you
719	don't have time and sometimes the supervisor understands this.
720	So if something is very important they tell you. No, stop. This
721	is wrong. (Farah, SR, 1, partly translated)

Farah's faith in the authority of her supervisor's instructions (line 720) implied that an important aspect of good academic writing would be brought to her attention. In other words, given Sfard's (1998) metaphors of learning, Farah identified more with the view of learning that presents it as an object with a clear end point. Therefore, despite any possible effective interactions, Farah relied on instructions rather than social participation in the academic community in her writing.

To conclude, Farah ID-AW suggested that her ID-AC was an ineffective source of learning. Farah's identity roles as a conservative Muslim provoked avoiding interaction. Hence, it provoked an on-going influence of previous academic values and avoidance of acquiring new values. On the other hand, while this did prompt her interactions, her language disadvantage and tendency to rely on direct instructions limited the influence of social interactions on her learning. As Heath (1983) suggests, there is always tension between the familiar knowledge and practice of the home and the knowledge of a different community (Canagarajah, 2002).

Finally, Farah's ID-AC and ID-AW emphasised that, according to Wenger (1998a), it is sometimes necessary to offer learners alternative forms of participation to support their learning. It could be claimed that Farah's power struggles exemplify Jackson's (2008) claim that one cannot assume that individuals will develop a sense of belonging in a new

linguistic environment, and especially if they fight to stay true to their current sense of self, habits and modes of behaviour. Therefore, Farah's social interactions were learning experiences of lesser value than could benefit her ID-AW.

6.3. Case Study 3 "Jaleela"

6.3.1. Can Jaleela's social identities in her academic community predict her identity in academic writing?

Jaleela invested in many interactions when she identified herself as a knowledgeable child protection activist and a future academic researcher. However, that level of enthusiasm in participation was not always the same. She also avoided some opportunities for interactions in her community when she perceived the potential interlocutors as more powerful or the topics as uninteresting. Table 6.3 below summarises how components of learning, engagement, imagination and alignment were placed in her interactions.

Table 6.3: Summary of engagement, imagination and alignment in Jaleela's interactions

Component of social learning	Jaleela's social interaction
Engagement	Jaleela's identities as a knowledgeable child protection activist and future researcher were supported by different tasks that ensured her engagement. Whether through participating in conferences, seminars or group discussions, she invested in opportunities to communicate her knowledge and raise other's awareness of the topic. Also, as a future academic researcher, these were sites to suggest solutions and display her knowledge. On the other hand, her identity as a foreign student prompted her avoidance of some possible interactions, including those with British interlocutors or more fluent speakers. Although some were potential opportunities to display knowledge, belonging and judgement, her identity as a foreigner viewing herself as an outsider inhibited her engagement.
Imagination	Jaleela's interactions supported her imagination. Her imagined future self as an active researcher enabled her to participate in interactions that affiliated with her desired future self. Acting as her future self within her academic community was convenient, as it

	offered her a platform to present, discuss and build a larger network of colleagues that, in her perception, could be important for achieving future research success.
Alignment	Jaleela's interactions as a child protection activist and a future academic researcher supported a common focus and direction. Discussion of new ideas, raising awareness and her aim to learn and display her knowledge were aligned with the interest and focus of an academic community. However, this cannot be said about her identity as a foreign student. Unless she foregrounded her activist or future researcher roles, she was focussed on what distinguished her from others, such as her appearance, language and culture, and was more comfortable in investing in interactions with interlocutors she felt more comparable with. Her academic community, however, offered interactions with British inter-locutors and more fluent speakers of English that inhibited her interactions.

Jaleela's ID-AW was mainly characterised by the tensions she experienced between doing what she felt she could do best and applying the new conventions she became aware of. Jaleela was confident in summarising and presenting information to the reader in contrast to being more critical and providing her opinion. In her first draft, Jaleela was mostly a reporter describing and less of a commentator, while in the second draft, she was dominant as holder and reporter of knowledge, with 66% of her draft consisting of facts from published resources and 22% descriptions. Jaleela's confusion was indicated in her usage of Hyland's devices of writer identity. For example, although she used hedges, she struggled to justify her usage, as it was revealed that they were not always the result of a deliberate choice. Her usage of self-mention, her misinterpretation of her supervisor's advice to write her opinion, and the missing references seem to represent a negotiation of her writer identity as well. Wenger (1998a) claims that an individual can have competing identities that can offer alternative ways of participation. Looking at Jaleela's ID-AW and her ID-AC, it appears difficult to establish whether her ID-AC

predicts her ID-AW, especially seeing that her social participation offered competing contributions to her learning experience.

First of all, Jaleela's identity role as a foreign student prompted her avoidance of opportunities of interactions. Her non-participation prompted by her social role as foreign student can be seen as a form of marginality rather than useful peripherality. For example, her avoidance of British interlocutors had taken this form of marginality since she did her Master's degree. Wenger (1998a) states that in such cases of non-participation, the maintenance of such positions closes off opportunities for the future and renders participation as marginal and less as learning opportunities.

Identifying herself as a foreigner implied her self-recognition as different and unlike other members of her current community. It can be argued that this view of herself is also reflected in her identity as a writer. According to Shen (1989), who discusses her own experience, her Chinese cultural background shaped her approaches to her writing in English. Similar to Farah who also avoided opportunities of interaction due to feelings of foreignness, Jaleela may have avoided new opportunities to acquire implicit attitudes and values, which could have influenced the values she incorporated in her writing. Her prominent role as a reporter of knowledge and her tendency to summarise and paraphrase rather than achieving criticality may suggest an on-going approach to learning relevant to her Saudi educational background. Although she realised this and aimed to be more critical in her writing, her identity roles in writing were more affiliated with the values of her previous home educational culture. Weedon (1987) claims:

> These ways of thinking constitute our consciousness, and the positions with which we identify structure our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity. Having grown up within particular system of meanings and values, which may well be contradictory, we may find ourselves resisting alternatives.

> Weedon (1987, p. 33)

On the other hand, Jaleela took on the role of future academic researcher and a child protection activist that granted her investment of interactions. Her identity role as a future academic researcher suggested her participation as a form of peripherality. Jaleela found a sense of confidence and power when displaying her knowledge and an opportunity to build a bigger network where she is affiliated with academic researchers

that can possibly facilitate her future research. This role also offered her the opportunity to perceive herself as competent and establish ownership of a discipline, including how she aimed to present herself as a writer. Participation in the academic community can develop someone's writer identity since academic writers develop their identities by understanding how meaning is produced in their community (Hyland, 2009). She commented as follows:

725	She [colleague] is very helpful. We discuss my project, my
726	writing. She gives me advice and I sometimes worry about my
727	writing like "is this normal?" She gave me tips I benefit from
728	sometimes you need this push to better in research writer… I
729	want to ask her if she can do proof reading for my paper before I
730	submit it. She has more experience of course. (Jaleela, DI, 2)

Jaleela aimed to develop herself as a writer (728) by seeking advice (line 726) and discussing her writing with a colleague (line 725). Jaleela's construction of identity as a writer was partially a process of becoming a future academic researcher. Her identity roles in writing as a holder of knowledge, reporter of knowledge and commentator can be seen as an extension of her participations in her community as a future academic researcher who aims to display knowledge, expertise and membership.

However, Jaleela's identity as a child protection activist also mediated her experience as a writer and while it enabled her to take advantage of interaction opportunities, it was not necessarily a useful learning experience that influenced her ID-AW. She described this:

731	I want to give a presentation. I don't care. If it's a presentation,
732	conference. But in writing, you know because I'm going back
733	home for Christmas my supervisor asked me many times "don't
734	forget to write" he said you have only wrote 5% of what you
735	should submit in February. (Jaleela, SR, 1)

First, as a child protection activist, she wanted to display her strong knowledge and help others benefit from what she knew about this topic. However, it could be argued that it distracted her from writing. Her devotion to that role suggested her focus on her

participation in spoken events and negligence of her writing. She mentioned she read widely, but rarely wrote drafts, which was an issue that concerned her supervisor. According to Canagarajah (2002), when one reports knowledge, it gets reconstructed according to different factors including the audience and the context of communication. Jaleela's lack of enthusiasm for writing suggests that she was more comfortable in her dynamic role as an activist and the circumstances of that practice. However, this does not facilitate her construction of an appropriate ID-AW.

In addition, Jaleela's identity as a child protection activist prompted her experience of active participation in community activities, presenting information, devising solutions and raising critical awareness. However, the interactions prompted by this role cannot explain her difficulty in achieving criticality and stating her opinions in her writing. It is expected that her identity as an activist might suggest a more critical expert commentator identity in writing while she mainly took on the role of a reporter and a holder of knowledge in her drafts.

Most spoken language exists in real time and is accompanied by hesitation, pauses and redundancy, allowing interruption and feedback (Barton, 2007), while written language, which does not provide the same opportunities as spoken language, does not help Jaleela to become more critical in her writing. However, since students' participation in their academic communities can have consequences for their identity in academic writing as it is aligned with values of the academic community (Hyland, 2002b; Ramanathan and Atkinson, 1999; Shen, 1989), it can be more expected of Jaleela to acquire these values through verbal interactions.

To conclude, despite the claim that learning is a matter of engagement and opportunities to participate in a community (Wenger, 1998a), Jaleela's interactions were not always effective sites of learning. It may be claimed that while interactions prompted by her identity as a future academic researcher may have prompted her attempts to become a better writer, her identity as a child protection activist and her identity as a foreign student appear to have limited the process of becoming a full member of her community. Fuller (2007) claims that a successful path from legitimate to full participation appears with minimal changes to practice. However, establishing that Jaleela's ID-AW echoed her social participation based on her identity as future researcher only can be disputed, especially since her ID-AW was influenced by other factors such as her supervisor's

instruction. Finally, learning changes our ability to participate and negotiate meaning (Wenger, 1998a). Despite Jaleela's social interactions in her academic community, the difficulties she faced in her academic writing including her ID-AW have persisted since she completed her Master's degree, implying that the influence of her participation in the activities of her academic community, if any, on her ID-AW is minimal.

6.4. Case Study 4 "Dana"

6.4.1. Can Dana's social identities in her academic community predict her identity in academic writing?

Dana's interactions featured invested and but also some avoided opportunities of interaction. As a less established academic member of her community, she was concerned about how others may perceive her and opted to avoid interactions. However, she actively interacted with her peers and with more powerful established members of her academic community. She appeared driven by her aim to succeed in her studies and desire to embrace her role of an international student. Table 6.4 below summarises how components of a learning community: engagement, imagination and alignment were found in Dana's interactions.

Table 6.4: Summary of engagement, imagination and alignment in Dana's interactions

Component of social learning	Dana's social interaction
Engagement	As an attentive PhD student, Dana invested in opportunities to participate in a conference, taking part in discussions with her supervisor or training instructors in addition to asking her peers for guidance and academic support. Also, Dana's desire and openness to seek and display knowledge and identify herself as a member of the students' international community enabled her to take advantage of interactions. These were important opportunities to show and acquire mutuality with other fellow students. On the other hand, she sometimes perceived herself to be a less established academic member, which prompted her avoidance of interactions. Dana's non-participation can be seen as a cover or shield that provided protection from risks of losing face.
Imagination	Dana did not refer to an imagined future self. Regarding her academic community, Dana' imagination of herself was oriented to the view of herself as a successful holder of the PhD degree; hence

	her identity role as an attentive student. This image of herself was supported by academic interactions she found useful to become a better achieving student. Also given her desire to identify herself with her international community of students, her interactions with her international peers offered an opportunity to better orientate her with an image of herself in her new community.
Alignment	Dana's interactions are aligned with the expectations and goals of interactions in her community. For example, discussions with her supervisor, presenting at a conference and discussions with instructors were aligned with the community's expectations and common desire among students to succeed in their studies. Also, her interactions in which she aimed to identify herself as an international student exemplified a common inspiration among international students seeking convergence and experiences of mutuality.

It was difficult to establish whether Dana's ID-AC predicts her ID-AW. Dana's ID-AW on the one hand can be seen as a matter of participation and becoming part of a community. Her prominent identity role as a holder of knowledge and an expert commentator appeared to extend her social identity roles. However, on the other hand, it can also be seen as a process of acquisition where the process of learning is facilitated through formal education.

To begin with, both her social identity roles as an interactive international student and as an attentive PhD student likely facilitated her ID-AW. Dana looked forward to her international friendships as she interacted with her peers and recognised her belonging to a community of international students. Although little work has been done on the influence of the social network of friends on foreign students (Furnham, 1997), Bochner et al. (1977) suggest that foreign students' network of friendships can facilitate the academic and professional development of the student. Most importantly, Dana's interactions can be argued to be sites of social, meaningful participation that had the potential to alter her identity as a writer. Her desire to identify with the group of

international students suggests openness that, according to Bakhtin (1981), could offer opportunities for self-expansion and negotiating meaning. Similarly, as an attentive PhD student, her eagerness to succeed in her studies shown in her investment in interactions to advance her academic achievement may have provided new opportunities to acquire implicit attitudes and values, which could have influenced the values she incorporated in her writing. This was illustrated by the identity roles she took on in her academic community and how she presented herself as a writer. She mentioned that achieving criticality and developing arguments in her writing were most difficult for her and that her Saudi educational background was the main contributor to that difficulty. Nevertheless, she took on the role of an expert commentator in 32% and 39% of her drafts. This suggests that as an individualistic society leans towards encouraging its learners to be more analytical, critical and voiced (Hyland, 2012a), Dana may have assumed cultural practices and acquired more individualistic values through her social interactions.

Dana was also identified as a less established academic member. Although this role made her sometimes avoid interaction, it can yet be argued to be a meaningful form of non-participation. According to Wenger (1998a), non-participation can be an opportunity for learning and enables future participation. When Dana avoided interactions with more powerful interlocutors, she was worried that being a less-established member would render her contributions less valuable. Unlike Farah and Jaleela whose non-participation was a site of marginality, Dana's non-participation was a site of peripherality that enabled future interaction. Dana was still able to interact when feeling less vulnerable and more confident in her contribution to the interaction.

However, it may still be difficult to claim that Dana's ID-AW was a matter of social participation only. Dana clearly was influenced by her formal education. She had been a TESOL Master's student in the UK, was conducting PhD research into applied linguistics, and mentioned reading resources including Hyland and Wenger. It may be claimed that since writers draw from their repertoire of available resources (Ivanic and Camps, 2001), it is possible that Dana's repertoire and identity as a writer were a matter of that formal education and awareness raising. She was the only participant to use self-mentions and confidently justify her informed decisions, mentioning her awareness of

the role of "I" in writing in the humanities, thereby showing her knowledge of writer identity and awareness of the interactional resources available to be incorporated in texts.

In other words, while knowledge can be seen as an object to be filled with certain materials and as a process of becoming part of a community (Sfard, 1998), it is difficult to claim that Dana's ID-AW was a consequence of one but not the other. It can be argued that students' participation in their academic community is what enables an understanding of how meaning is produced (Hyland, 2009). However, comparing that to Jaleela's experience, who dynamically participated in the activities of her community, Dana still found it difficult to incorporate values governing her criticality, including using self-mentions.

To conclude, Dana's ID-AC and ID-AW suggest that her ID-AC can initially predict her ID-AW. Learning being an interplay between one's competence and one's on-going participation as a member of that community (Wenger, 2000), one may propose that Dana's identity as a writer was an interplay between the knowledge of writer identity she had accumulated through her formal education and her active participation in her academic community. However, recognising that participation was not her only source of knowledge prevents one making that claim. Dana's ID-AW revealed that the choices made were informed and aware ones that were based on the formal education she received and direct guidance from instructors. While Gee (1996) argues that writers cannot master discourses through formal instructional education, it is difficult to rule out its influence on Dana's ID-AW, especially that despite active participation, there is no guarantee that learning occurs (Wenger, 1998a).

6.5. Can Saudi students' social identities in their academic community predict their identities in academic writing?'

The Saudi students' ID-AC was continuous and dynamic. Their participation revealed how they perceived themselves to be and what is important to them in their academic community. While all living experiences are sources of learning (Wenger, 1998b), there is no guarantee that learning will actually occur (Wenger, 1998a). Thus, it is difficult to establish whether the students' ID-AC directly and exclusively predicted their ID-AW.

Looking at the students' ID-AW, it becomes inevitable to recognise that participation is not the only source of knowledge for students. The academic community is characterised by formal education where students have direct access to study materials and direct instruction. While writing is argued to respond to individuals acting as members of social groups (Hyland, 2008), the students' ID-AW echoed factors other than how they acted in their social groups.

Having that said, it was noted that students' level of openness as they participate in the activities of their academic community might have had a positive influence on the students' ID-AW. Outsideness might have presented greater opportunities for self-expansion (Bakhtin, 1981). It was noted that Dana, who aspired to embrace her role as an international student and sought mutuality with other members, and Adam, who was looking forward to a future where he is more like the more established members of his community, displayed no resistance to the values of their academic community and faced less difficulty achieving an appropriate ID-AW, including being more critical in their writing. On the other hand, Farah and Jaleela, who stressed feelings of foreignness and emphasised cultural differences, had greater difficulty in constructing their ID-AW even after they became aware of some of the conventions expected of them. This may indicate that although it is argued that students tend to become more receptive to cultural differences during study abroad (Jackson, 2008), such students may still have a more resistant attitude towards taking on new values. Kim (2001) claims that this degree of openness entails a formation of one's psychological orientation to accept the differences of the others. However, this is not necessarily an easy process for students especially, as in the case of Farah, if they aim to stay true to their current sense of self, habits and modes of behaviour.

Therefore, it cannot be concluded that community interactions are effective in facilitating learning (Cambridge et al., 2005). Although it can be claimed that openness and active participation can be effective in acquiring identities aligned with the expectations of the community, the exploration of the students' ID-AW suggest that how they approached their writing was intertwined with other influential factors. Therefore, given the holistic lens employed to explore the Saudi students ID-AC and ID-AW, refraining from claiming the students' ID-AC predicted their ID-AW is the more prudent approach.

6.6. Factors that influenced the students' identities in academic writing

The students' identity in their academic writing emerged from a number of factors. These factors emerged from the students' comments during their interviews; yet other factors may also have influenced the students' identities as some interviewees might have been more observant of their writing. As student writing occurs in a number of contexts simultaneously (Nightingale 1988), the factors can be viewed as influences that relate to a context (Bruce 2008). In this study, the factors that are revealed to have influenced the students' identity in their academic writing can be situated in three contexts: the epistemological context, the pragmatic context and the situational context (see figure 6.1 below). As Archer (2008) suggests, these factors do not operate in any unitary way to influence writers. The study revealed that they had varied non-equal impact on each student.

Figure 6.1: Contextual factors influencing students' writer identity
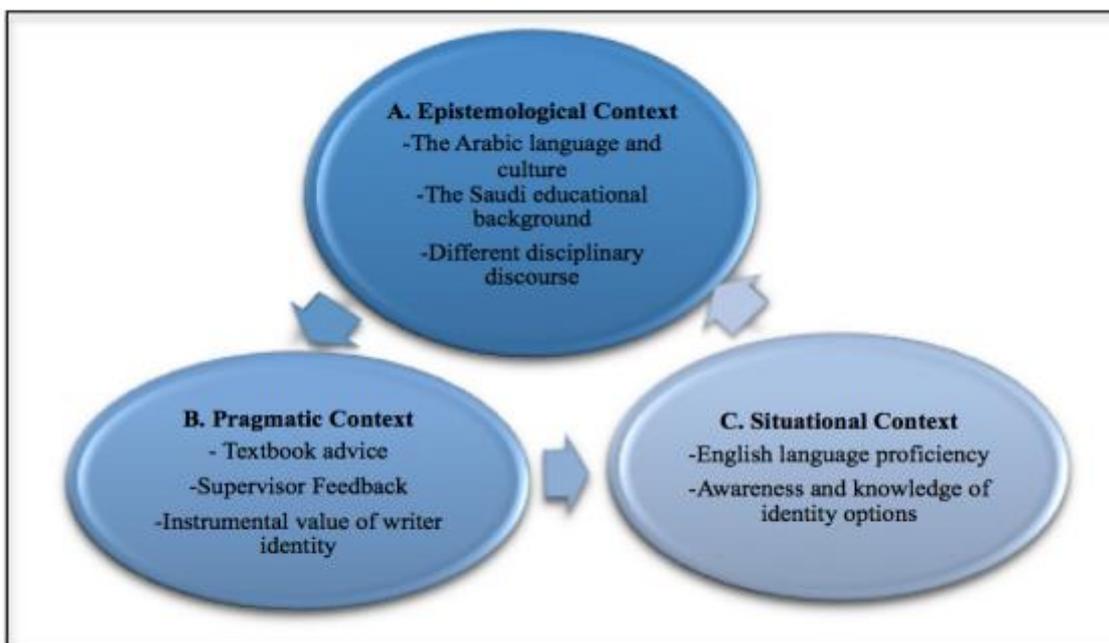
First, the epistemological context relates to how students view, use and report knowledge in their writing based on the different epistemologies in which these students have been trained and in which their identities as learners are rooted, and this may cause difficulties. The first factor to play an epistemological role is the students' Arabic language. This factor was more obvious in the case of Farah whose way of writing can be seen as a translation of the Arabic cultural aspects of logic and transferring the expectations of academic Arabic writing to English. According to Hyland (2008), what is seen as logical, engaging, relevant or well organised in writing often differs across cultures. Hyland suggests there are different ways of organising ideas in different languages. Languages such as Arabic and English have their characteristic rhetorical organizations of expository and argumentative prose (Kachru 1997).

Second, is the influence of the previous Saudi educational background. Jaleela, Farah and Dana's comments revealed that their struggle to be more critical in their writing was due to their educational background in Saudi Arabia. While students are encouraged to approach texts as factual information in Saudi Arabia, the students' attempts to achieve criticality in the western educational context which reinforces an analytical, questioning and evaluative stance to knowledge (Hyland 2012a) posed a challenge for them. Cadman

(1997) argues that the gap between the epistemological orientations of different cultures is the central problem for international students.

The final epistemological factor lies in the difference in disciplinary discourses. This was indicated by Adam who, even though he was a student in the humanities, approached his writing with the view of discourse he had gained from a background in hard sciences. Research notes major discourse differences among academic disciplines (Hyland 2005, 2012a, Becher 1981 in Nightingale). In order to project an identity as an academic, a writer is expected to approach discourse as a member of their own discipline (Hyland 2012a). However, the students' orientation to a different discipline can impact their current approach to discourse.

The second context of factors is the pragmatic context. Pragmatic context factors are factors that can be described as the more practical and reflect current realities rather than previous experiences. The first factor is the conflicting textbook advice on writer's identity. Adam and Farah stated that according to what they had encountered in handbooks, usage of self-mentions is an informal practice that is discouraged in academic writing. Thus, their avoidance of employing any self-mentions in their writing can be seen as a reflection of textbook advice. Abasi et al.'s (2006) examination of some of the more widely used textbooks in English for academic purposes courses in North America shows that almost none of these resources explicitly devote a section to writer's identity Hyland (2001) suggests that the absence of clear direction in writing pedagogy and the conflicting advice in textbooks and style guides can predict that the extent to which writers can explicitly improve their writing can be problematic for students.

The second pragmatic factor is the supervisor's feedback on the students' writing. For Jaleela and Dana, supervisor feedback played a positive role in raising their consciousness about their identity as writers. They were both directed by their supervisor to pay more attention to their identity as writers and how they expressed their ideas. On the other hand, while Farah mentioned her faith in her supervisor's instructions, she rarely received feedback from them, thus her identity as a writer had never been brought to her attention. It might be argued that students at this level should be more independent. But given that conventions can be confusing and advice conflicting much of the time, students seek reassurance in the supervisor's guidance.

The final pragmatic factor is the students' perception of the value of writer identity in a PhD thesis. A student is most likely to focus on what they perceive to be important and fundamental in their study, not what is controversial and debatable. Adam and Farah's views of the role of the writer's identity in PhD thesis success may have encouraged their disinterest and indifference to the notion, and their focus on only what they believed to be critical for their success. According to Lillis (1997), the priority from the students' point of view would be to learn how to conform to dominant conventions in order to pass courses. In other words, students would be uninterested in conforming to conventions that may play a minor role in their passing their course or succeeding in their PhD. It could be argued that these students' perceptions of the role of writer identity in their writing as marginal is a result of the interaction of other factors.

The final context of factors is the situational context. These situated factors describe the students' status as learners which influences how they approach their identity in academic writing. The first factor is the students' English language proficiency. The study found that a certain level of language proficiency is important to construct an appropriate writer identity. Nightingale (1988) suggests that people learning to write in a second language need to learn the language first and develop critical awareness of the positioning power of discourse and genre once proficient. Even though the author emphasises the importance of language proficiency, she contributes failure to produce correct language is attributed to the difficulties of the subject content, not a lack of knowledge of correct forms. Nightingale doubts teachers in higher education can condemn the students' lack of basic skills and making simple errors. This, however, was not true about Farah's drafts where incorrect forms not expected at a PhD level were frequent. Farah's drafts suggest the possibility that some students reach PhD level with weaker English language proficiency. There may be a level of language proficiency students have to obtain in order to better comprehend and utilise the identity options available. A certain language proficiency seems to be necessary for constructing a writer identity. Without this, the meanings of the resources available to writers can easily be unintentionally misused or misunderstood.

The second factor is the students' knowledge of identity options. As the level and the quality of awareness appear to be important factors (Svalberg 2007), the students' construction of their identity a writers can suggest their level of awareness of identity

options. Dana showed the greatest level of awareness of writer identity in academic writing. She was the most aware and confident with identity in writing as she was influenced by her supervisor's advice and by her reading different resources including Hyland to learn how to write academically. Jaleela, on the other hand, presented a lower level of awareness. Her supervisor brought it to her attention but she did take it beyond her supervisor's advice which is illustrated in her lack of awareness of the functions of hedges and self-mentions in her own writing. Adam also became aware of writer identity through his supervisor's advice, yet he showed little interest to become further knowledgeable and aware of identity options. Lastly, Farah expressed her unawareness and unfamiliarity with writer identity, and relied on teachings of her prior education. Adam also became aware of writer identity through his supervisor's advice, yet he was discouraged to become further knowledgeable and aware of identity options.

The identification of these specific factors as influential on how the students wrote and thought about their identity in writing has the potential to further contribute to the conversation on ideology of individualism in educational practices of the western culture. The different factors can be seen to support Matsuda's (2001) argument that challenge about constructing an appropriate writer identity is not tied exclusively to individualism and is more related to being deprived of discursive options that help construct an expected writer identity. However, the examination of the students' social identity roles suggest that students' identity in academic writing can be argued to be a process of becoming part of the academic community, as in being more able to assume new cultural practices and thought systems. Although all the students described difficulties, Adam and Dana were less challenged by the need to be more critical in their writing than Farah and Jaleela. Looking at their social identity roles, Adam and Dana did not refer to feelings of foreignness or resistance to the cultural practices as Farah and Jaleela did. Farah, as a conservative Muslim and Jaleela as a foreign student appeared to maintain the differences that divided them from others causing feelings of alienation. According to Vygotsky, human beings develop higher mental forms through the dialectical relationship with their social environment (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). Farah and Jaleela's identity roles may thus have inhibited their adoption of a more individualistic mental system. As a result, it may have inhibited the reinforcement of an individualistic view of self which can be reflected in their ability to think critically, argue, and evaluate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS, CONTRIBUTIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter is the final chapter and comprises five sections. Firstly, it summarises the main findings regarding the research questions. Following the summary, section two focuses on its main contributions and implications   as I   briefly suggest how findings could influence further understanding of the Saudi students' experience and what pedagogical implications it may have. The third section is on the limitations of the study. Finally, the chapter ends with section four which presents recommendations for future research.

7.1. Overview of the research questions

This study examines the dynamic trajectory of four Saudi students' identities in academic writing in relation to their identities in their academic community. This is explored with the understanding that these students come from a cultural and educational background that expects different modes of identity than their universities in the UK. Since such expectations are culturally and ideologically rooted, the study aims to find out whether their social identities are indicative of their identities in writing.

The findings in this study can be better reviewed and comprehended based on the theoretical frameworks employed and how they theorise frame. Kilbourn (2006) emphasises,

> there is no such thing as a value-free or unbiased or correct interpretation of an event. Interpretations are always filtered through one or more lenses or theoretical perspectives that we have for ''seeing''; reality is not something that we find under a rock.

Kilbourn (2006, p. 545)

In other words, drawing upon the theoretical frameworks of social identity (Norton Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2000), writer identity in academic discourse (Hyland, 2005, 2012a), content types in writing (Svalberg and Gieve, 2010), discourse and situated identities (Zimmerman, 1998) and community of practice (Wenger, 1998a), the findings presented by each research question is in a sense saturated with a particular theoretical outlook on the nature of ID-AC and ID-AW. The research questions attend to three key points of inquiry which are shown in Table 1.1. The exploration of the three key points concisely found the following.

7.1.1. The Saudi students' identity in the academic community

As far as the Saudi students' social identities are concerned, the study utilised diaries of interaction and the follow up semi-structured interviews that draws upon the Norton Peirce (1995), Norton (2000) and Zimmerman (1998) theoretical frameworks of social identity. The findings being supported by and faithful to the events and experiences

(Pawson et al. 2003), it can be asserted that the knowledge on the participants' identity in academic community are presented a comprehensive and accurate exploration of the participants' interactions.

The study looked at when students choose to invest (or not) in opportunities of interaction and how power relations influenced their investment in the community. Although dominant approaches in language learning emphasise the language learner separate from the context (King, 2016a), the findings revealed that interaction of the Saudi students in this study were intertwined with dynamics and power relations inseparable from the social context. Students' interaction or non-interaction were not "static phenomena, but rather it is dynamic and highly dependent upon the here-and – now of contextual factors" (King, 2016b, p. 140-141) It revealed that the students' dynamic engagement in social interaction emerge from their identity roles in their academic community. In other words, the students' recurring occasions of investment and avoidance of interactions are mainly mediated by dynamics aligned with the identity roles they took on.

The findings also emphesised the dialectic and individual nature of investment. Despite the Saudi students' shared characteristics as in their epistemological, cultural, and linguistic background, their experiences and priorities suggested that each's investment is subject to different power relations in a way that cannot be generalised. While there is space for learners to renegotiate their identities, the possible identities the students can negotiate in their community were mediated by the relations of power. Sometimes, the cultural and linguistic identity of the students influenced investments in interactions. The culture and teachings of Islam, the role of cultural practices and values, were found significant in influencing the ways that students engage in interaction. This cultural identity manifested itself in the students' inclination to preserve their own cultural values and in the students' physical appearance. In addition to the cultural identity, the impact of the students' status as ESL speakers suggested that the language factor played a significant role as well in that language usage prompted feelings of foreignness and shallowness in relation to others. Despite the linguistic diversity found in an academic community, the language factor sometimes contributed to a power struggle inhibiting their investment in interaction where they perceived themselves as less proficient than others in their community.

In addition, it revealed that a shared value among the students was their focus on progressing in their study and obtaining their Phd degree. It was shown that desire for success can drive students to even overcome or attempt to overcome power struggles in order to invest in interaction. In addition to that, some of the students' investments in interaction were influenced by perceptions of how these interactions may facilitate future goals and how relevant they were to future imagined self.

Some of the students' interactions were more fulfilling to their objectives such as their commitment to a cause, desire to display knowledge, desire to help others, and desire to share a mutual identity. At other times, investment in interaction was mediated by dynamics including the interlocutors, the topics of conversation, and the particular settings where interaction took place. Finally, investment was utilised as a strategy used by the student to renegotiate powerful relationships and earn a more powerful status in their academic community,.

7.1.2. The Saudi students' identity in academic writing

The students' identity in academic writing was explored through Hyland's (2005, 2012a) outlook on identity and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types in writing. Despite the limitations acknowledged (see 7.3.), the findings in this study have achieved the purpose of "generating understanding" (Stenbacka, 2001, p. 551) of the students' ID-AW.

The findings suggested that the students varied in how constructed their identities as writers. First of all, not all discoursal choices made by the students reflected aware conscious choices. The students' comments on their writing indicated that they had instances of doubt, conflict and inauthenticity. This inconsistency sometimes suggested that the students were unaware of the concept of writer identity. The findings revealed that their identities as writers were dependent on them recognising what was significant for them to achieve as academic writers. While awareness of the conventions of writing and expectations of writer identity was sometimes displayed, achieving an adequate writer identity was not always the students' priority. Sometimes, the most significant aspect of writing for a student was achieving clarity, presenting details, and correct referencing. At other times, the student's desire to display knowledge and comprehension of the content was a priority.

An analysis of the findings identified that while some discoursal decisions can reflect the student's reflective choices, sometimes the identities students presented were consequences of the different epistemologies in which their identities as writers were rooted. First of all, Saudi educational background and the cultures of schooling in Saudi Arabia were clearly strong influences. Sometimes the students' achievement of criticality, skills of developing arguments and using citation were influenced by values the student acquired as students in Saudi Arabia. The values of Saudi society, including those emphasising the role of the teacher in the learning process, had also influenced the students' identity as writers. The students sometimes indicated their reliance on writing guidance received from supervisors or during writing courses as it offered them a sense of self-assurance that their rhetorical choices complied with academic expectations. Nonetheless, this dependence on guidance appeared to have negative consequences for the student's developing their writer identity.

The students were not always reliant on advice; they sometimes made autonomous efforts to better present themselves as writers. These included reading about writing, asking for feedback, and imitating other writers. However, despite such efforts, the findings suggest that for the students to become proficient academic writers was not a straightforward process. It was especially reflected in the tension the students experienced between what they theoretically became more aware of (from received instruction or guidelines) and applying those insights in writing. A significant manifestation of the students' struggles in presenting an adequate writer identity was their utilisation of translation programs to compensate for poor language skills. The translation of Arabic written content inevitably influenced the display of writer identity as it resulted in English written text yet in an Arabic pattern of thought and style.

7.1.3. The influence of the Saudi students' ID-AC on their ID-AW

The final key question looked at how the students' social identities were reflected in their identity in academic writing. In other words, adopting Wenger's (1998) community of practice, the study questioned whether the students' active participation in the community had impacted their identity in academic writing.

While learning is argued to be a matter of active participation in the activities of a community, the students' journey of constructing their ID-AW was more of a dynamic

process than smooth sailing. At some events, active participation in community activities showed possible influence on the ways the students presented their identities as writers. For example, Dana's interactions as an interactive international and attentive PhD student can be argued to be sites of meaningful participation that possibly influenced her identity as a writer. She took on an obvious role as an expert commentator in her drafts conveying an individualistic point of view she possibly acquired through her social interactions. Exploring Adam's experience also showed that participation in activities of the community might help a student develop a shared repertoire regarding discourse and meaning making. Despite his previous educational backgrounds and his claim to dismiss attentiveness to conventions of writer identity in his field, his efforts to assimilate to other writers' style in his field along with his engagement in activities of the academic community seem to have helped him develop an understanding of and sensitivity to how meaning is produced in his academic community. Accordingly, the participants' ID-AC can be seen as a form of peripherality, and a stage in the students' gradual progress.

However, it was yet difficult to establish that the students' learning was a mere impact of their active participation in their academic community. As discussed in 6.5, students' previous practices, values, language skills and perceptions were significant as well, which makes drawing outright conclusions about causality difficult. In addition, the link between students' ID-AC and their ID-AW was not necessarily straightforward and complex to establish due to subsequent shortcomings in Wenger's theoretical framework. Students' ID-AC offered an array of interactions and events of social practice which were useful in exploring the students' ID-AC. However, this was not directly useful when attempting to establish its link to their ID-AW. Within the array of the students' active participation, it was not always clear what constitutes and sustains learning (Amin and Roberts, 2008). Smith et al. (2017) further explain,

> The idea that learning happens through people's engagement in social practices lies at the heart of Wenger's CoP theory. Nevertheless, as important as social practices are to embodying and sustaining learning and knowledge within a CoP, an articulation of the epistemic and discursive practices typical of the communities that make up a social practice is missing from the literature.

Smith et al. (2017, p. 221)

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Active participation did not influence the construction of a writer identity equally for all students possibly because what represents learning in Wenger's framework continues to be not clear (Smith et al., 2017). For example, the students' active participation occasionally presented competing influences on their writing. As in Jaleela's identity role as a future academic researcher, it can be found that her sense of belonging to a community can prompt her to develop understanding of discourse conventions. Yet, in her other identity role as a foreign student, she experienced marginality due to feelings of shallowness and foreignness in relation to other members of her community. Her non-participation being a form of marginality was mirrored by the tension she experienced between being aware of the conventions of the community and applying these conventions. Thus, the complexity of students' social practice blurs what embodies learning and may had a direct influence on ID-AW.

The study also reveals that if active participation was to be useful form of learning and sustaining knowledge, it was not the most appropriate form of learning for all students. Farah, showed that her social practice as a conservative Muslim and being less fluent in English reduced her opportunities to learn from social participation. Challenged by the boundaries of her true sense of self and preferences, Farah struggled to achieve a sense of belonging to the academic community and invest more in social practice. In fact, it was found that the cultural values also influenced the student's reliance on the supervisor's direct instruction diminishing the role of active participation.

Learning is argued to be an interplay between one's competence and one's on-going participation as a member of that community (Wenger, 1998a). The findings indicated that Dana's identity as a writer is possibly the result not only of her social practice, but rather an interplay between knowledge accumulated through formal education and her active participation in her academic community. She had knowledge of the available discursive features of writer identity and made her share of autonomous efforts to attend to her identity as a writer. Also, it could be gathered that her enactment of her social identity roles were learning opportunities especially since they emphasised a sense of openness to self-expansion. Such openness can possibly facilitate the adoption of new cultural practices and more individualistic values. However, the complexity of the link between ID-AC and ID-AW which the research has involved stresses Storberg-Walker

(2008) view that the interpretation of Wenger's framework rendered academics justifiably sceptical of its theoretical and analytical strength.

7.2. Contributions of the study

7.2.1. Theoretical contributions

This study addresses the gap in the existing body of literature regarding international students' experience in UK higher education. The focus of the study on the experience of Saudi students' construction of writer identity and their participation in academic community can contribute to an understanding of an experience of growing number of Saudi students in the UK. It has provided insights into the Saudi students' study abroad experience while it attends to the individuality of each student's case.

First of all, the exploration of the students' ID-AC confirmed Norton's theory of social identity and investment. It was shown that the participants' interactions could be understood with the help the theory of investment as they were highly mediated by their perceived symbolic value and by power relations. The study's attendance to the individuality of each student revealed that interactions were sometimes mediated by views of imagined future goals (e.g. job prospect, future research), desire for mutual identification, language disadvantage, cultural dispositions, feelings of foreignness, fear of rejection, desire to acquaint with more experienced members, display of knowledge and desire for success. The students' identity roles in their academic community allows us to see the impact of power relations and the shifting nature of identities.

How the students perceived their identity as Saudis in their community revealed that social identity is constructed in terms of intergroup. The study identified the relative nature of the students' identity as Saudis. How the students perceived their identity as Saudi in their community revealed that social identity is constructed in terms of intergroup. Contrasting Farah and Jaleela's views with Dana's illustrated that, as proposed by McNamara (1997), the students' social identity can be partially dependent on the intergroup setting in which they find themselves. Schumann (1986) suggested a model of learners' acculturation consisting of social variables indicating the relationship between the language learners' group and the target language group. Although

Schuman's theory has been problematized (Norton 1998), Schuman's consideration of students' minority, foreign and distinct helped explain students' interactions in the current study.

The study revealed the significant role of the students' English language proficiency to their social identity. Language mediated the students' interactions in two respects. First, Jaleela and Farah were sometimes inhibited from investing in interactions. Although as postgraduate students they were expected to be proficient English speakers, they viewed themselves as less proficient speakers of the language. Secondly, the students' English language mediated their view of world around them. Jaleela resisted interactions with other ESL students, claiming they were more fluent than her, and it emerged that she was rather daunted by the fact that people think differently. While a common language is often assumed to signify a common culture and identity (Weedon 2004), it was found that the other interlocutors' use of the language reflected common attitudes, values and ways of viewing the world Jaleela and Farah did not necessarily share, which contributed to the their feelings of foreignness.

The study also indicates that the Saudi students' inability to conform to the form of appearance or behaviour of other students sometimes contributed to their avoidance of interaction. As Churchill and Dufon (2006) argue that feelings of foreignness cause reduced interaction, this study shows that these feelings may reduce a students' interaction in two respects. First, by raising the student's concern of how others may react to the foreign (to the larger community) values or appearance. This was exemplified in Farah's concern of others' reaction to her wearing hijab and Jaleela's realisation she is not British sometimes prompted avoidance of interaction. According to Mirza (1997), physical differences can become a defining issue and a signifier of whether you belong or not. Secondly, investment in interaction may be felt to entail the opposition to one's original community values, as shown in Farah's choice to avoid interaction with male interlocutors. Nathan (2005) suggests, the individual's preservation of their values can lead to feelings of alienation and limited interactions. Being conservative of the Saudi culture that is foreign to the student's new academic community may limit the extent to which the student can accept the new norms of social practice and the attributes of interaction.

The Saudi students' construction of ID-AW suggests that the extent to which the students used Hyland's (2005, 2012a) devices of writer identity varied. The investigation of the students' construction of their ID-AW reveals the different factors that influenced the students' ID-AW. It was found that the influential factors are categorised into three contexts: the epistemological, the pragmatic and the situational context.

The students' utilisation of these devices was not necessarily a reflective, aware usage. Similar to Abasi et al. (2006), which showed student differential level of awareness of the construction of authorial identity, the study in fact suggests the Saudi students' three different types of lack of awareness. First, is the lack of awareness of the notion of identity in academic writing. Based on Adam and Farah's views, writer identity is not very significant in their academic writing as they attained different ideas of what is worth communicating in their writing. As Read et al. (2001) claim that students are challenged to understand what is required of them when writing, Adam and Farah's view of writer identity as marginal in their writing indicated their lack of understanding of the role of identity in academic writing.

Second is the lack of awareness of available options and resources to construct writer identity. This is found in Adam, Jaleela and Farah's views on the usage of self-mentions in academic writing. Their comments revealed their unawareness of discoursal options available to present themselves in writing. It clarifies that while writers have different devices to construct their identity (Hyland 2001), how the students chose to construct their identity depends on how they make use of those options'

Third is the lack of awareness of the functions of the devices of writer identity the students utilised. The students' comments did not always indicate full awareness of the functions of the resources they had utilised in their writing. This was especially revealed in Jaleela's comments which showed uncertainty about the purpose of utilising hedges in her writing and indicated her indifference to their role in her writing.

An additional theoretical contribution of the study is the originality of the methodology designed for this study. The study adopted a qualitative methodology that investigated their social identity and identity in writing to correspond to comparable identity roles. The methodology of the study carefully incorporated four theoretical frameworks to achieve different goals. First, Hyland's (2005, 2012a) model of writer identity was

utilised to explore the students' usage of identity devices and proximity to writing in their discipline. Second, Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types were utilised to draw attention to the content of students' writing. Third, Norton Peirce's (1995) theory of social identity was utilised to capture students' social identity ass reduced to their day-to-day interaction. Finally, Zimmerman's (1998) categorization of discourse and situated identities was applied to the students' ID-AC and ID-AW to present identity roles.

7.2.2. Pedagogical contribution and implications

The study provides some pedagogical benefits for the field of academic English writing at the university level. Students' understanding of what is considered logical and engaging can differ from what is considered logical and engaging in English (Hyland, 2008). The study makes useful suggestions to writing instructors as well as PhD supervisors to improve their students' writing quality in terms of their identity as academic writers.

First, effective writing education programmes have a great responsibility of prompting students to be more reflective about their writing (Tang and John 1999). The study implies that writing tutors should to have a greater role in guiding students' construction of identity in academic writing as follows:

a. *Initial beliefs:* Writing tutors need to be aware of the students' initial beliefs about academic writing to substitute appropriate understanding of academic writing (Reid, 2008). While students can have different expectations and perceptions of academic writing, tutors can discuss with students what is involved in academic writing. While most writing instructors focus on grammar and ignore essential academic writing features that include developing augments, and voicing ideas (Schuemann, 2008), students can benefit from a broader discussion of values, ideology, and culture underlining academic discourse.

b. *First language influence:* Writing tutors should pay attention to the students' L1 discourse. They should prompt students to think critically about the possible negative impact of using the conventions and values of L1 discourse in English writing and can also consider the possible effective ways of utilizing it. Students' awareness of the possible influence of L1 academic writing can help them make more cautious decisions about how they write and limit the L1 interference.

c. *Writer identity:* Writing classes should incorporate the aspect of writer identity in their teaching. This entails making students aware of the importance of a professionally acceptable voice in writing. Subsequently, an awareness of acceptable professional voice in a community is an awareness of disciplinary differences. Communities having different ideas of what is worth communicating, how it can be communicated and what readers are likely to expect (Hyland 2008) should be brought to the students' attention. For example, open-discussion of what is identity in academic writing can be beneficial for students who are explicitly directed to the concept.

d. *Rhetorical options:* Writing tutors should guide the students towards an awareness of the options available to better construct their identity. The students' understanding of these options has the potential to offer them greater confidence to approach the writing task and decide how best to present themselves (Fernsten and Redan, 2011, Tang and John, 1999).

e. *Discourse functions:* Tutors need to make the functions of the choices clear for students. Sometimes, students' comments suggested a lack of comprehension of the actual purpose of the identity resources utilised. In academic writing courses, little attention is given to how devices function to influence interaction in writing and how they relate to a particular discipline (Hyland, 2004a). Lack of awareness of the functions of these rhetorical options can affect students' ability to manipulate them more confidently in writing (Hyland, 2001).

f. *Expert models*: Finally, tutors can make the students more aware of identity features by demonstrating the features of expert texts. Teachers can deconstruct texts as they also discuss ideologies and values for to understand the expectations of the audience. This practice can make the students more aware of the features to be found in expert texts in their own disciplinary communities and enable the students to communicate as insiders. It can draw the students' attention to the idea that we communicate as members of social groups with their own conventions (Hyland, 2008).

The study revealed the influential role the students' supervisors can have in how a student can perceive their identity as writer. As academic discourse is open to

contestation (Ivanic, 1998), individual supervisors and writing tutors can differ considerably in their interpretation of academic conventions and the importance they attach to them (Read et al. 2001) especially since students in writing courses can belong to different academic disciplines. While the priority from the students' point of view is to learn how to conform to dominant conventions in order to succeed in their studies (Lillis 1997), a student's PhD supervisor can have a great impact on the student's approach to their identity construction. Being the more established members of the discipline, students' PhD supervisors are encouraged to help students as follows:

a. *Explicitness*: Supervisors need to be more explicit about the notion of writer identity in their feedback. Although the students are at a graduate level, the study has indicated that the supervisor's directions on the students' writing can have great impact. As Read et al. (2001) show, the majority of students act only on advice given to them in a direct manner rather than in a standardised format.

b. *Feedback:* Supervisors' could make use of a recall approach to feedback on the students' drafts to help students better construct their identity in writing. It can encourage the students to think more reflectively about their writing as it draws attention to some of their choices. Moreover, it can prompt students' exploration of other writers' identities in similar contexts and how they attempt to conform to these conventions.

c. *Handbooks:* Supervisors can also help direct their students to useful current resources that are relevant to their writing tasks. Dana's awareness of writer's identity was partially a result of readings recommended by her supervisor. Given the contrasting textbook advice on students' identity in writing, their supervisors can direct them to literature which gives guidance appropriate to the particular discipline.

d. *Expert voice:* Supervisors can encourage students to assume a more dominant and equal status in their writing. Given that students write for an audience that knows far more about the subject than they do (Read et al. 2001), it can be difficult for students to write as expert writers in their discipline. However, acknowledging the students' sense of expertise can prompt them to write as knowledgeable insiders.

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e. *Myths*: Supervisors can clarify to the students some of the myths they hold about academic writing. The study found tat students have a common belief that writers should avoid using "I" in academic writing. When students continue to hold such beliefs, they can be more resistant to explore and incorporate identity options in the academic writing.

f. *Autonomy:* Finally, supervisors can encourage their students to take on a more active role in learning about the conventions and expectations of identity in academic writing. As Saudi students tend to generally be more dependent on the advice of the teacher in their learning journey (Taj, 2009), supervisors should encourage the students to exert more time and autonomous effort to improve their identity in writing.

g. *Active participation*: supervisors can encourage their students to be more active members of their community. With the students' aim to keep up with the demands of their studies and the time constraint, PhD students tend to prioritise academic study and invest less in participating in academic community activities. Keeping in mind the social theory of learning being a matter of active participation (Wegner, 1998a), students can benefit from engaging in activities of their academic community.

It can be argued that the role of the supervisor should focus content issues and not language use. Whether it is due to the supervisor's time constraint or their own insufficient awareness of writer identity or the conventions of their discipline, supervisors can minimally impel and stress the students' autonomy in exploring the conventions of their discipline (as mentioned in f. above). The discussion of whether a supervisor should focus on content rather than language including the student's writer identity actually contributes to the debate conversation on whether identity is considered an essential feature of good academic writing (Tardy, 2012, Matsuda and Jeffery, 2012, Stapleton, 2002, Helms-Park and Stapleton, 2003). As the role of write identity is an on-going dispute, the supervisor's choice of contesting conventions by investing only on content can entail risks.

7.3. Study Limitations

The design and conduct of the current research study had several limitations. It is important that a researcher makes their study's limitations explicit so other researchers can judge to what extent the findings can be useful to other people and situations (Creswell, 2005).

7.3.1. Limitations of the Research Design

Students' ID-AC diary: The participants in the study kept a diary to record opportunities of interaction they encountered in their academic community and where then followed by interviews where they are offered the opportunity to further elaborate on the evets. Although these diaries where very useful and indispensable aspect of the research design, they did nevertheless have their downside. First, it is important to note that students' diary of interaction did not provide a full picture of the students' interaction. While the participants were shown examples of how a diary entry may be filled, some diary entries appeared to be superficial and provided minimal information. There can be many explanations to participants providing less quality entries; yet it is possible that keeping the diaries became time consuming and most probably irritating for the respondent (Lingsom, 1979). Perhaps the routine of writing a log turned into a burden and the time spent on the diary was restricted by other ongoing life activities such as their reading, submission of drafts and life events. Thus, though diaries can be a good source of data, but the students can easily feel burdened by filling in entries.

Another downside of utilising student diaries was that they are an "unfortunate reality imposes an unavoidable bias" (Gilmore, 2016, p.205) as they are the participants' personal accounts and perspective of the experience. Certainly, this is a basic aspect of a diary; however, it also became evident that participants being in control over what is recorded in the diary is dependent on what the participant views as worthy of being reported. "They are partial and reflect the interest and perspective of their authors" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 127) while the researcher has limited control over how and what is kept. For example, as the students were interviewed on their diary entries, they were likely to refer to other interactions they did not record in their diary thinking it is less significant. It suggests that though diaries are useful, conducting

interviews to give the student the opportunity to speak about their experience can be of greater benefit and more informative.

Stimulated recalls: The study also showed limitations to the stimulated recall. The stimulated recall was designed to explore the participants' thoughts on their academic writing and their discursive choices. Stimulated recalls being as an introspective method based on the assumption that individuals can observe their internal processes and can verbalise those processes (Gass and Mackey, 2000), the participants' responses did not necessarily convey the recall expected. as Calderhead (1981) suggests, there is an extent to what participants are aware of their own thinking and are able to communicate it. Although the interviews certainly provided useful information, the students did not always demonstrate that they were observant of their internal thoughts. In fact, the interviews sometimes were more of an opportunity for the participants to reflect on their writing rather than to recall. Especially given that the participants were asked to verbalise their written choices, there is the probability that their writing process has reached an automatic unconscious level that is not necessarily accessible to an individual. When employing stimulated recalls, there is a danger that the participants report their general ways of thinking and acting, and their expectations rather than remembering a specific process of thinking (Eskelinen,1993). This was specifically shown when a participant gives contradictory explanations to their textual choices or contribute their choices to general epistemological factors. As Gass and Mackey (2000, p. 5) describe "there is a danger that individuals may create plausible stories for other descriptions of mental activity".

Data collection time frame: the data collection spread over a six-month period which provided rich information for the study. As a researcher, I was confident in this deliberate time frame I set based on assessment of the feasibility of executing the research (Bickman and Rog, 2009). Six months appeared reasonable taking into account the time to complete a PhD thesis and most importantly keeping in contact with participants. In fact, during the six-month period, there was always the concern a participant may pull out of the study for any reason. Thus, alongside some pragmatic considerations as in the time I have available to collect the data and the time the participants can continue to be available for the study (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls, 2014), six-month period initially appeared appropriate.

However, as the study looked at the influence of the participants' ID-AC and ID-AW, this time frame may had its consequences on the findings of the study as I discuss in the following section. Within this period, it was difficult to determine how the students' social identity and active participation in their communities influenced how they constructed their writing. The six-month period was not long enough to witness discernible identity change. In addition, within this time frame, the participants did not provide the plentiful written drafts I expected as I also discuss in the following section. Certainly, the data collected within this time was rich and diverse. Yet, given the focus of the study, a six-month period perhaps limited the findings to what was gathered within that time frame.

Participants: The students in this research were PhD students whom had been students in the UK for at least two years. Although they provided rich information concerning their social identity, it showed to have consequences and limitation to the data presented. First of all, the students are not fresh students in the UK. They have been in the UK for a long time; as a consequences, they have become more accustomed to their approaches to social interactions and established ways to adapt to the norms of social interaction.

In addition, the students in the study were at different stages of their study and delivered drafts which included literature reviews, data finding, and discussion of findings. Although this was efficient to deliver insights into how students constructed their identity in academic writing, it suggests that ideally students enrolled in the same taught course or students able to present the same type of academic drafts can offer a more comparative perspective.

7.3.2. Limitations to the Research Findings

ID-AW: The study yielded sufficient data on the participants' ID-AW. Each participant turned in two separate written drafts and stimulated recalls were conducted within two days of presenting their written drafts. However, it can be argued that the text database can be described as limited in size compared to Hyland's (2005) corpus analysis of 240 published research articles. There are variety of considerations that result in the size and success of data (Dillman, Smyth, and Christian 2009). Ideally, a larger size of text database may have been useful yet the size of text based data can be seen as a consequence of the timeframe of the study and the participants being research students.

Nevertheless, most importantly, a limited text database in this study does not threat the significance of the findings of the study. Unlike quantitative studies where size of data can jeopardize the possibility to generalise findings (Pinsonneault and Kraemer, 1993), this study does not aim to achieve an understanding of each participants' experience and not generalise the findings. Therefore, the findings of the study are limited to size of text database made available by each participant at the time of the data collection.

ID-AC and ID-AW: Another limitation of the study is that the findings do not establish the students' writer identity as a link to their social interaction. The participants' social interactions with other instructors, more experienced students and newcomers have shown that their academic communities offer its members' mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire. Nevertheless, the findings were not able to determine the relation between the students' ID-AC and their ID-AW and confidently indicate that the students' ID-AW was an impact of their active participation in their academic community. Certainly, Wenger (1998a) sheds light on the potential of individual's learning in social context; however, it can be a challenging to examine (Smith et al., 2017).

Though the shortcoming in the finding may be attributed to the timeframe being not long enough, there were other aspects that contribute to the complexity of the of the link between ID-AC and ID-AW. Despite the popularity of communities of practice research, the utilisation of this approach in this study has also revealed some of its shortcomings. For example, while the participants' interactions in their academic community revolved around Wenger's aspects of learning framework, engagement, imagination and alignment, Gherardi (2008) suggests the need for a shift to consider how actions are repeated and normatively sustained in a community. It is argued that an academic community provides a way of understanding how meaning is produced (Hyland, 2009); yet, the participants' experience of social interactions did not necessarily indicate how knowledge of ID-AW can be acquired and communicated.

In addition to that, Amin and Roberts (2006) suggest that the efficiency of a community of practice can vary depending on different aspects including the nature of the target knowledge. Accordingly, although community of practice can be a useful approach to learning, it may not be appropriate for students aiming to learn about appropriate identity in academic writing. Mutch (2003) describes that community of practice does not take

into account pre-existing circumstances as the students' habits and formal instructions. Alongside that, the findings of the study have shown that the participants' ID-AW can be influenced by an array of epistemological, pragmatic and situational factors stressing the difficulty in establishing a direct link between the students' ID-AC and ID-AW..

Certainly, newcomers as the participants in this study can acquire knowledge through social interaction with other members of the community marking their progress from legitimate peripheral participation to full members of their community (Wenger, 2000). However, the findings of the study indicated various factors that shape the students' ID-AW rendering the link between their ID-AC and ID-AW rather complex. It can be argued that the construction of ID-AW is an intricate process, especially since Wenger (1998a) emphasises that movement to full membership is not necessarily clear.

Generalisability: Generalisability involves the extent to which researchers can make some wider claims based on their study (Mason, 2002). Although this study focused on Saudi students, it aimed to attend to the individuality of each student participant in this study. The students have different backgrounds and perceptions, making it difficult to claim that the findings of this study can be generalised to other populations. This study aims to achieve an understanding of four individual cases at a certain time and space.

Nevertheless, it can also enable other researchers to establish how applicable the findings may be to their own context. Therefore, readers may find some points applicable to similar contexts allowing for comparison and contrast. Although it is difficult to generalise the findings of this study, an accumulation of similar case studies could allow theory building via tentative hypotheses gathered from the accumulation of single instances (Nunan, 1992).

Also, since the approach of the study was interpretivist, the analysis and presentation of the Saudi students' experience is certainly value-laden. Being the researcher and a Saudi student experiencing studying and living in the UK myself may have influenced the objectivity of the findings of the study. Issues of validity and reliability have been discussed in Chapter Three, but during the course of this study it became undeniable that despite all intentions to preserve an unbiased and impartial perspective, a researcher's analysis is nonetheless "interpretive". Croker (2009) suggests that when researchers go into a research setting they take their own intellectual baggage and life experiences with

them. However, sharing the students' cultural background, religious understanding and similar life experience was sometimes also useful in that it helped me better understand the struggles and perspectives of the students.

Finally, the generalisabilty of the study is influenced by the different definitions and understandings of writer identity available in the literature (Elbow 1981, Matsuda 2001) which have been discussed in Chapter Two. Therefore, the findings of the study are specific to the definition of writer identity utilised. The study is based on Hyland's (2012a) model and Svalberg and Gieve's (2010) content types; different perceptions and definitions of writer identity may have provided different findings.

7.4. Recommendations for Future Research

This study presented promising results about the four Saudi students' ID-AC and ID-AW. Nevertheless, future research can benefit from shortcomings that emerged in this study. To begin with, as the six-month time frame may had its consequences on the findings of the study, similar future qualitative research on Saudi students can benefit from adopt a longitudinal case study over one year. A longer timeframe can perhaps present the possibility of establishing a more evident link between the students' ID-AC and ID-AW. Smith et al. (2017) claim that despite its importance in Wenger's framework, no studies have explored the time variable in establishing a functioning community of practice. Accordingly, future research can explore how a timeframe can contribute to the effectiveness of Wenger's framework.

While this study was challenged to link the students' complex ID-AC to their ID-AW, a study that can operationalise Wenger's (1998a) framework can be useful for future research. Wenger describes his framework as "A new conceptual framework for thinking about learning is thus of value not only to theorists but to all of us – teachers, students, parents…- who in one way or another must take steps to foster learning… In this spirit, this book is written with both the theoretician and the practitioner in mind" (Wenger, 1998a, p. 9-10). However, Storberg-Walker (2008) argues that moving Wenger's (1998) community of practice into the applied realm remains problematic and too broad to import. Instead, a future study that aims to operationalise Wenger (1998a) in the academic community providing exact elements that can be observed and perhaps measured can be useful.

In addition, a more rigorous sample of participants can further benefit this topic of research. Ideally, post graduate students enrolled in Masters course for example, can provide greater input. For instance, students enrolled in taught course can usually offer a greater size of text database unlike research students whose delivery of written text is subject to the stage and requirement of their study. Also, in exploring the students' ID-AC, it may have been worthwhile to recruit students that were newcomers in their academic community. Unlike the participants in this study that have developed their approaches to interaction and adapted to their community, newcomers can possibly offer a better view of how one's identity develops and adapts in a new learning context.

In addition, it may be useful to follow up some the findings of this research in more detail. For example, the findings of the study revealed an array of epistemological, pragmatic and situational factors that can influence the Saudi students' ID-AW. In this regard, further research on Saudi students can contribute to the pedagogy of ID-AW by aiming at providing deeper understanding of these factors and how do they interact. Also, another finding in the study that can be worth exploring in future research is the variation found in the students' awareness and value of writer identity. In this regard, future research can benefit from extending its focus to include the perspectives of the student's supervisors and PhD examiners. Supervisors' thoughts on the students' writing performance can be useful in suggesting potential pedagogical issues, gaps and challenges students encounter in their writing. Also, given the debate on the instrumental value of writer identity in PhD theses (While Helms-Park and Stapleton, 2003), future research acknowledging examiners' point of views on the role of writer identity in the success of PhD students' theses can illuminate the discrepancy in students' perception of ID-AW.

Finally, as this research focused on Saudi students' experiences, this area of research can yet benefit from additional similar studies on other Saudi students perhaps bringing new insights or enabling the accumulation of similar findings. In fact, this area of research can benefit from a wider range of participants that include students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to expand our understanding of writer identities constructed by different groups of writers. For example, more qualitative studies with students from different nationalities, disciplines, age-group and cultural, linguistic, and educational backgrounds can be beneficial. Such exploration can bring more awareness

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of different perspectives regarding the study abroad students' experience. It would also offer an opportunity to contrast and compare the experiences of international students.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: General background interview guide

Background Information Interview Guide

1. Introduce yourself? (name- age- what they are studying)

2. Can you talk about your education back home? What did you study? What kind of a student were you?

3. How was your English language ability?

4. Growing up, was learning English a priority from your parents' perspective?

5. How often did you use English back home? Did you use English at work, with friends, family?

6. Have you lived in other foreign countries before? If yes, where, and how was it?

9. How long have you been in the UK so far?

10. Where do you live? Student, private accommodation?

11. Who do you live with?

7. Before you came to the UK to study, did you have any expectation of how your life here may be?

8. And did life turned out to be the way you expected?

12. How would you describe the general society here?

13. Why do you think you perceive this society in this way?

14. How well do you think you fit in? Can you expand on that?

15. How would you describe your life here compared to your life back home?

16. Has your life here changed since you first came to the UK?

17. Has living here been challenging or easy? How?

That has been very interesting. Thank you for your time and effort. I appreciate it.

Appendix 2: Student's interaction diary

Date:
Mode of interaction opportunity (circle): **Telephone call   E-mail   Correspondence   Face to Face** **Other (specify)**
Type of interaction (circle):   **Debate   Informal Conversation   Supervision Session   Discussion** **Conference   Lecture   Seminar   Study Groups** **Other (specify)**
Topic of the interaction:
With who:
My reaction (circle): **I avoided it   I tried to avoid it   I tried to take the opportunity** **I took the opportunity   I noticed it too late   Other (specify)**
What happened, how can I explain your reaction:
How I felt about it:
Any comments:

Appendix 3: Guidelines for diary keeping

Guidelines on how to fill in your diary

First of all, I would like to thank you for agreeing to take part in this study. Here are some guidelines that may help you fill in your diary:

➢ Through this diary, I hope to understand more about your interaction in your academic community. Any verbal or written encounter with a member of your academic community is considered as interaction. Therefore, speaking, debating, discussing, arguing, writing, or emailing, is considered interaction.

➢ I would like you to record any significant opportunity of interaction you may have used, initiated, avoided or resisted in your academic community.

➢ It is important that you try to record such opportunities as soon as possible to avoid forgetfulness.

➢ There will be a slot to insert the date of the interaction, type of interaction, the general topic of the interaction, with whom it was, your reaction and how you felt about it.

➢ You don't have to fill in your diary every day. Just as there will be days when you encounter several opportunities of interaction, it is understandable if some days you had none.

➢ Some entries may be very brief, containing only the basic information. On some other days perhaps you want to write more.

➢ Please try to write as clearly as possible.

➢ Don't worry about any grammar or spelling mistakes.

➢ If necessary, you may express yourself in Arabic.

➢ Please be honest and feel free to be expressive and write whatever you believe is relevant as there space for any of your comments.

➢ The first two are an example of how your diary may be filled.

➢ If on any day you feel confused about how to record an event, please contact me on 07957949980 or email me st266@le.ac.uk

Again, thank you for taking the time and effort to fill in this diary. I appreciate it

Sarah Taj

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Appendix 4: Two examples provided for diary entries

Example 1:

Date: 13/2

Mode of interaction opportunity (circle):

Telephone call E-mail Correspondence (Face-to-Face) Other (specify)

Type of interaction (circle):

Debate (Informal Conversation) Supervision Session Discussion
Conference Lecture Seminar Study Group
Other (specify)

Topic of the interaction:

How can we proofread for each other?

With who:

Lin, my Chinese colleague at the office.

My reaction (circle):

I avoided it I tried to avoid it I tried to take the opportunity
(I took the opportunity) I noticed it too late Other (specify)

What happened:

Lin asked if I can proofread her work and I suggested that we do it
for each other on regular basis. It was a long discussion.

How I felt about it:

It was interesting. I felt good exchanging ideas with her.

Any comments:

/

Example 2:

Date: 13/2

Mode of interaction opportunity (circle):

Telephone call E-mail Correspondence (Face-to-Face) Other (specify)

Type of interaction (circle):

Debate Informal Conversation Supervision Session (Discussion)
Conference Lecture Seminar Study Groups
Other (specify)

Topic of the interaction:

Ethical issues in research.

Who with:

My friend Lin and our head of department Dr. Schmit.

My reaction (circle):

I avoided it (I tried to avoid it) I tried to take the opportunity
I took the opportunity I noticed it too late Other (specify)

What happened:

Lin and our head of department were talking about the ethical
regulations for conducting research in our school. They had different
opinions. I was mostly nodding my head because I agree to what Lin
said.

How I felt about it:

I did not feel comfortable at all. I was worried Dr.Schmit would ask
about something I don't know about.

Any comments:

I wish I can be more confident around everyone. I think I should
have pushed myself to share my opinion. I don't remember them
saying anything I didn't understand.

Appendix 5: Student's ID-AC interview questions

The Students' Identity and Investment in their Academic Community Interview Guide

General information:

1. What do you do every day?

2. Where do you study?

3. Who do you usually see every day?

4. How would you describe yourself compared to other members of your academic community?

Specific diary entry

5. How did you feel here (…) when you took advantage of that opportunity to (discuss / debate/…)?

6. Why do you think you were able to (discuss/ debate/…..)?

7. Did it make any difference that it was with (………)? If yes, how?

8. How does it make you feel about yourself?

9. Do you wish you acted differently? If yes, in what way?

10. Does it influence how you see yourself as a member of your academic community?

11. How do you generally see yourself as a member of your academic community?

12. Do you think that has any effect on your academic achievement?

13. Do you wish you were any different in your academic community? If yes, how?

14. How do you see yourself in the future as a member of your academic community?

Appendix 6: A sample of a transcribed diary interview

Interviewer: Thank you Adam for this interview, you sent me those diary entrees. Can we talk about them please?

Adam: Yeah. Yeah

Interviewer: ok let's start, you said you felt bad here (Dr. ▮▮▮), why is that? Can you tell me more about this?

Adam: Well I gad spend some time on statistical analysis and I spent much time on it and wrote a report on that statistical test. There's a Dr In our department who knows more about this. I wasn't sure about what I did. So I discussed with him cuz he's like better than me he has better knowledge than me. And he told me, showed me some books and showed me his thesis... I understood what he said, I felt really bad for the work I done and the effort I paid. I felt really disappointed.

Interviewer: So you felt bad that it was not what you expected? Not from your interaction with your friend?

Adam: Yeah I was hoping it was the other way and would match what I had done. But it was informative and useful of course and I felt more sure of the data but I felt that what I did was a waste of time.

Interviewer: Why do you think you were able to discuss this with this colleague?

Adam: He used to be a PhD student in our department we had the same supervisor. Now he passed and finished two months ago. He's a dr. that's why I wrote Dr or he is more of a colleague.

Interviewer: Did it make any difference that it was with a previous colleague?

Adam: Actually at that time I was about to knock on a professor's door and to ask him. I'm willing to, about the same problem. I feel more trusted with these people to ask and if I have any problem I go and ask. How can I do this, how can I do that.

Interviewer: How does it make you feel about yourself?

Adam: It makes me feel like, well, for example, are you trying to say that I'm trying to give them a better image about myself?

Interviewer: No, I'm not suggesting anything, I'm interested to know how it makes you feel about yourself.

Adam: Sometimes if I go to discuss things with people in higher education, I haven't done it much in my life, you give the the image that you are a good student sometimes. I mean if you ask clearly and know your problem and you can say it to other people, professor or colleague maybe they will think... I feel that I give a good image about myself.

Interviewer: Can I ask you why is giving a good image about yourself important for you?

Adam: because they might be one of my examiners. Maybe. I don't know its something inside me, For example, one of the secondary reasons I might want to work at the department. I also like to socialise with people a lot that may help in future research and having a good reputation. It's networking.

Interviewer: Do you wish you acted differently?

Adam: I asked everything I need and I got all the answers that I need but I felt bad because I wanted different answers.

Interviewer: Does it influence how you see yourself as a member of your academic community? When you discuss things and you mentioned that you have knocked on the doors of professors?

Adam: If you go and ask questions, well first of all, it's not professional. What's professional is that you send an email and ask for a ten minutes five minutes appointment. But some professors we have personal relation with them. You see them here or there or in the cafeteria so I may say I have that questions. As PhD student, we call professors by their name. So being social and in contact you become motivated, you are pushed. By time, you feel more confident in your department, in your school. You are more confident to go to conferences to give presentations. But before I was not confident or not able to go and ask for help or be more active about my work and study.

Appendix 7: Stimulated recall interview guide

The students' Identity in Academic Writing Interview Guide

On their academic writing in general

1. What do you think of academic writing? / What are your thoughts on academic writing?

2. Are you aware of any of the conventions, guidelines or principles of academic writing in your field?

3. How do you generally see yourself as an academic writer?

4. What do you think are your strong points about your academic writing?

5. What do you find more challenging in academic writing?

6. What are so of the comments you usually get from your supervisor about your writing?

On their specific drafts

7. Are there any guidelines you followed when you wrote this draft? If yes, what were they?

8. Did you think about your reader when you wrote this?

9. Did you have any particular idea of how you want your reader to think of you in this section? [For example, I visited my friend when she was sick, I want her to think of as caring]

10. Do you think you achieved that? If yes, how?

11. Why did you choose to use this / these expression(s) (---------)?

12. Do you think you achieved this in this (....) section?

13. How do you think your reader thinks of you?

Appendix 8: A sample of a transcribed stimulated recall interview

Jaleela Identity in Academic Writing Interview

On her academic writing in general

Interviewer: Hello Jaleela, thank you for your time and taking this interview.

Jaleela: no it's ok

Interviewer: What do you think of academic writing? What are your thoughts on academic writing?

Jaleela: Academic writing uses different styles including summarising, paraphrasing, critical thinking while you writing.

Interviewer: what do you think it involves? Are you aware of any of the conventions of academic writing?

Jaleela: a lot of reading... from books, journals... Good writing skills, hmm, grammar, good English, a lot of practice. Academic writing is important for clear... explicit topic. Using formal sentences without using personal statement like. I, we, make the academic writing looks better.

Interviewer: In your opinion, what makes a good PhD thesis?

Jaleela: Your idea... It has to be unique. And your field benefits from it.

Interviewer: How do you generally see yourself as an academic writer?

Jaleela: Challenging... Challenging or challenged?

Interviewer: You mean writing is challenging?

Jaleela: Yes, My main problem with my supervisor... I don't write.

Interviewer: what do you mean?

Jaleela: I don't write. I read and read but don't write. My supervisor told me to write at least 200 words a day... I have good ideas and information but writing them together is problem.

Interviewer: What do you think are your strong points about your academic writing?

Jaleela: hmm, no strong points, really.

Interviewer: why would you say that?

Jaleela: it is my problem. Really. A lot of things. But the strongest point is I can paraphrase quickly. Since college, I'm good in summarising. The weakness point is critical thinking. I cover each point in general but I found that it's not enough to put the general idea. You have to show the reader you read more and critique more. I wanted to be critical. I read so many books on critical thinking

Interviewer: I mean is it challenging, easy?

Jaleela: I forget. That's why. I read lots of books but I forget how

Interviewer: I remember you did mention that you presented a paper at a conference before.

Jaleela: Yes, but I had my supervisor correct it... my friend... not just mine.. me.

Interviewer: What do you find more challenging in your writing? What are your weakness points if you have any?

Jaleela: Generally writing in English is not that easy especially it's not my first language I took hours to write something can make sense. The weakness point is critical thinking until now and need someone check my writing after me and they must be native speaker.

Interviewer: What are some of the comments you usually get from your supervisor about your writing?

Jaleela: my supervisor is very relaxed and tells me don't worry. But he wants me to do more, to write more.

Interviewer: Do you think about your readers when you write?

Jaleela: hmmm, I think too much (a lot) about my reader because I need him/her understand what am I writing. So I make sure that my writing is clear and straight foreword to the point ... I need him/her know that I have knowledge and have read a lot, I had to read a lot of books articles and did a lot of research and created a reading list before I can start writing. But I don't like to write. My supervisor asked me to write at least 200 words]

Interviewer: Do you think it is important to express your attitude and opinion in your writing?

Jaleela: Yes important.. my problem. Really... my problem. I want to give a presentation. I don't care. if its a presentation conference, but in writing.. you know because I'm going back home for Christmas my supervisor asked me many times "don't forget to write" he said you have only write wrote 5% of what you should submit in February.

On her written draft,

Interviewer: Ok Jaleela, you sent me this draft you recently wrote...and I would like to ask you some questions about that.

Interviewer: First of all, are there any guidelines you followed when you wrote this draft?

Jaleela: No just a draft about some definitions discussion.

Interviewer: Are there any academic writing guidelines you intended to follow in writing this paragraph?

Jaleela: Yeah of course. What do you mean?

Interviewer: I mean was there any rule, convention you kept in mind to be careful of when you wrote this?

Jaleela: I wanted to be clear. Coherent.

Interviewer: Did you have any particular idea of how you want your reader to think of you in this section?

Jaleela: I don't know.. I'm just here sharing some information and discussing definitions.

Interviewer: Do you think you achieved that?

Jaleela: Yes.. I think so.. I haven't sent it to my supervisor yet.

Interviewer: ok let's see here

Interviewer: You state here (1) two statements with no referencing. There isn't any reference here? Why's that?

Jaleela: no need I think.

Interviewer: Is it your idea or is it common sense in your field?

Jaleela: Not my idea. I think it doesn't need.. I feel it's a general idea.

Interviewer: did you read it somewhere or is it your idea or is it common?

Jaleela: I of course read it or something.. I feel it's a general idea.

Interviewer: Ok, Why did you choose (2) this expression here?

Jaleela: Yes. It is difficult. I know and I'm sure it's difficult.

Interviewer: Ok if I asked you to choose to say (fundamentally difficult) or (can be difficult)... Which one would you choose?

Jaleela: Both.... same meaning... no big difference.

Interviewer: Again here (3) you didn't refer this... any reason why?

Jaleela: wait... oh no I think I forgot. You told me to send it to you as soon as possible.

Interviewer: ok, so you just forgot?

Jaleela: Yes yes.

Interviewer: Ok, here (4) no referencing? Is this your own idea?

Jaleela: not my idea.. of course.. but it is well known I think.

Interviewer: but you have specific information here about categories and divisions...

Jaleela: I don't know. I'll ask my supervisor. [Who reads this information knows it. No not my idea, of course. But it is well known I think. I'll ask my supervisor if I need to.. I still haven't got feedback from him..]

Interviewer: Now here (5) why did you say this (this could be)?

Jaleela: Because it could be, maybe and maybe not. You can't be sure.

Interviewer: Can you say anything else instead for example?

Jaleela: could be, should be... ahmmm sorry not should be... may be.

Interviewer: You write here (6) (in my opinion). Why did you state that?

Jaleela: My supervisor.

Interviewer: what? Did he write it for you?

Jaleela: No he my supervisor. He always says write your opinion. Write your opinion. Write what you think. So I write 'in my opinion'.

Interviewer: are you comfortable with it? I mean was it challenging easy to write that it's your opinion?

Jaleela: Not challenging.. but I forget.. that's why.

Interviewer: You say (7) why that choice of word?

Jaleela: because it is important. Child abuse. People need awareness, mothers, caregivers.

Appendix 9: for a sample of initial general thoughts.

1. Not relevant to my research — Seminar, ~~others~~
2. a lot of people
3. Not smart — Avoided / out of comfort zone!

1. Embarrassed — Volunteer.
2. Everyone said yes. — tried to avoid.
3. Did know the problem (had to not wanted to!)

1. Casual / general Topics — Volunteered
2. Relaxed not worried — PhD students
3. Not all Relevant (1) Enjoyable

1. Nice / friendly Instructor — Interview
2. Hard to Say no. — Volunteer

1. Relevant — Training
2. Confused + had to ask — Analysing Data.
3. Important for work — Major motive → success P

1. information she knows — Colleague / But why?
2. office experience — other stronger / subject of people

1. No info → No Confidence — Seminar — less Confident
2. Silly, Naive — X Avoided — Knowledge
3. Not influence my view

1. Good effect now — Volunteered
   L future / Push self — Took
2. Preference good, friendly — Partner / students

Appendix 10: Initial codes on an example of interview extract

Handwritten annotations (top, red):
* Avoided interaction... (not going to the celebration) | * Role Model?
* We are Muslims ———→ Tension | * Emphasis she is different

Typed interview extract with handwritten codes:

Christmas and that stuff, every day they have many celebrations!!

They know I'm Muslim so Christmas is not mean important to me...

(different) / Separation

Also if I stay my children will ask, I want my children like me

understanding red lines, I tell them, we are Muslims. I am a daughter

of a sheikh and they are the grand children of that sheikh... Living

here has many benefits. I get my degree, good life, good experience,

easy transportation I can go here and there. But also every day I live

here not easy for me to raise my children. In our religion, Islam we

have red lines I tell my sons you can have fun, friends but remember

we have red lines I become very sad and angry I find my son's

Facebook saying "in a relationship" and he put picture of his

girlfriend and all his friends comment "congratulations". I become

mad and I wanted to cry just thinking what to do. It is very scaring

your children forget they are Muslims, they are Saudis. He's a

teenager, I can't be tough on him; I don't want him to hate me. I

have to be patient.

Handwritten marginal codes:
* fear of assimilation
* Loss of identity
* Challenge to raise them
* Role model for her kids
* negative feelings! fear

Handwritten summary (bottom):
* Sense of separation: Muslim ≠ Xmas / Redlines / Girlfriend...
* Fear of assimilation / loss of identity.
* Role model for her children.
* Challenge raising kids in the UK.

Appendix 11: for example of focussed categories

Example of Participants' Responses	Initial codes	General category
You know before when I first came, my voice would even sound different. I was more scared more hesitant. I always had the fear of not being able to get my message across. But now even my voice is more stable and confident when I speak. When I saw, I got used to people here and on the nature of their conversations it encourages me. Even if I were wrong. PhD every day is a new discovery. I was making fun of myself this morning. I was a person and now, I'm a different person. So yes, of course we learn we change and develop. Who I am now is accumulative. (Adam, DI,2)	• Ongoing change (hesitant vs confident) • Affiliation/ familiarity (used to people, encouraged) • Accumulative (his development before & now, gradual)	*Moving to full membership*
It is an opportunity to meet people. Especially like the conference in Dublin there were experts working with child protection. It was very interesting for me to meet these type of people. It's good to know people from your field if you need any help or resource for your study. Also, good for the future to have bigger network. This is important for research and publication. (Jaleela, DI, 2).	• Values the opportunity /positive feelings • Desire to expand network • Future career goal (resources, research)	*Ideal future self*
I was very embarrassed, we were in class and no one volunteered. So, when he came and asked me I said ok! It felt awkward or difficult to say no... I wanted to say no; everyone then said yes. I just said yes. I will feel worried that I look bad in front of him, others maybe my supervisor as well. (Dana, DI, 3	• Brought around interaction • Negative feelings (embarrassment, worry, awkward)	*Moral Obligation*

Appendix 12: An example of a thematic map
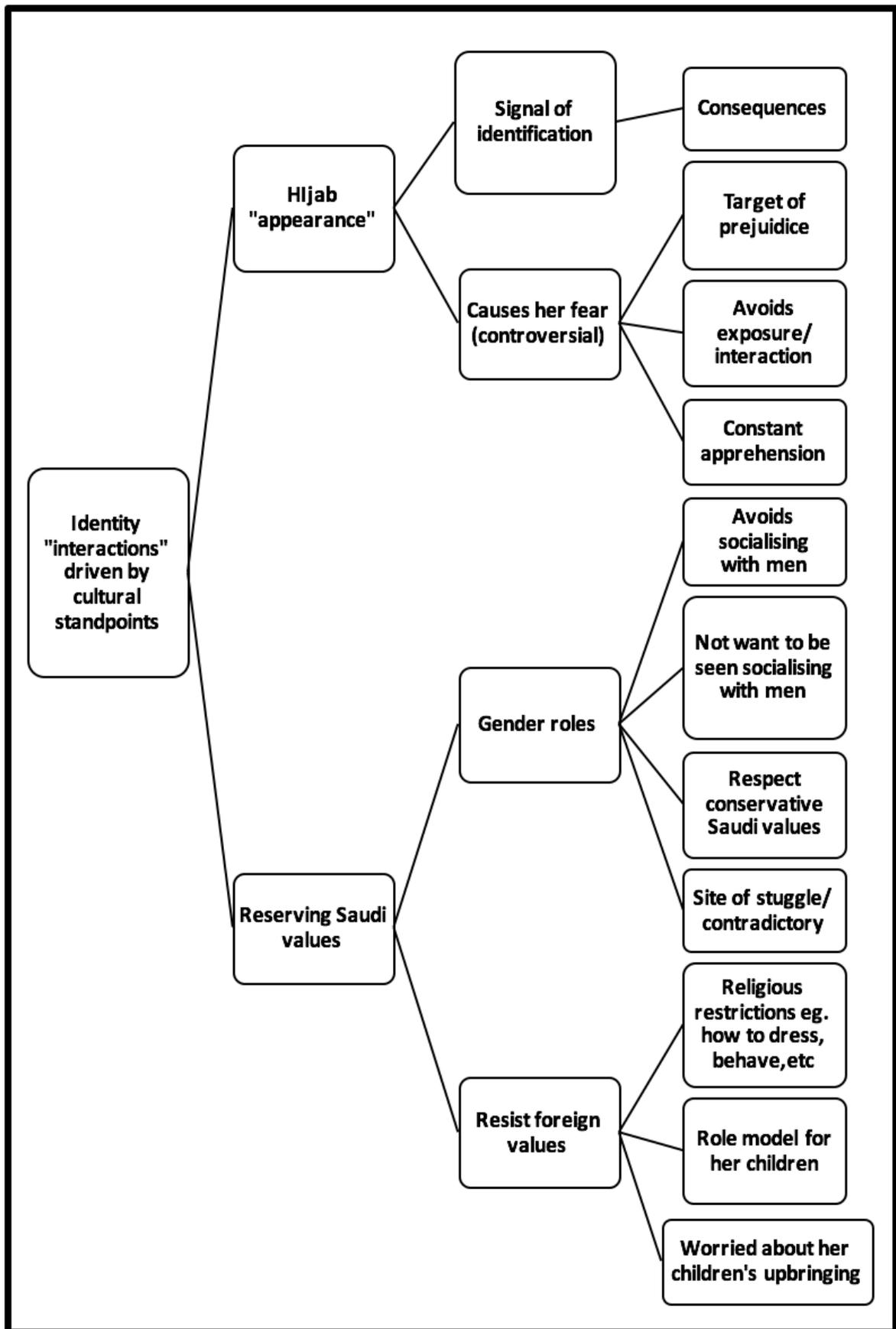
Appendix 13: An example of how a thematic cycle was employed.
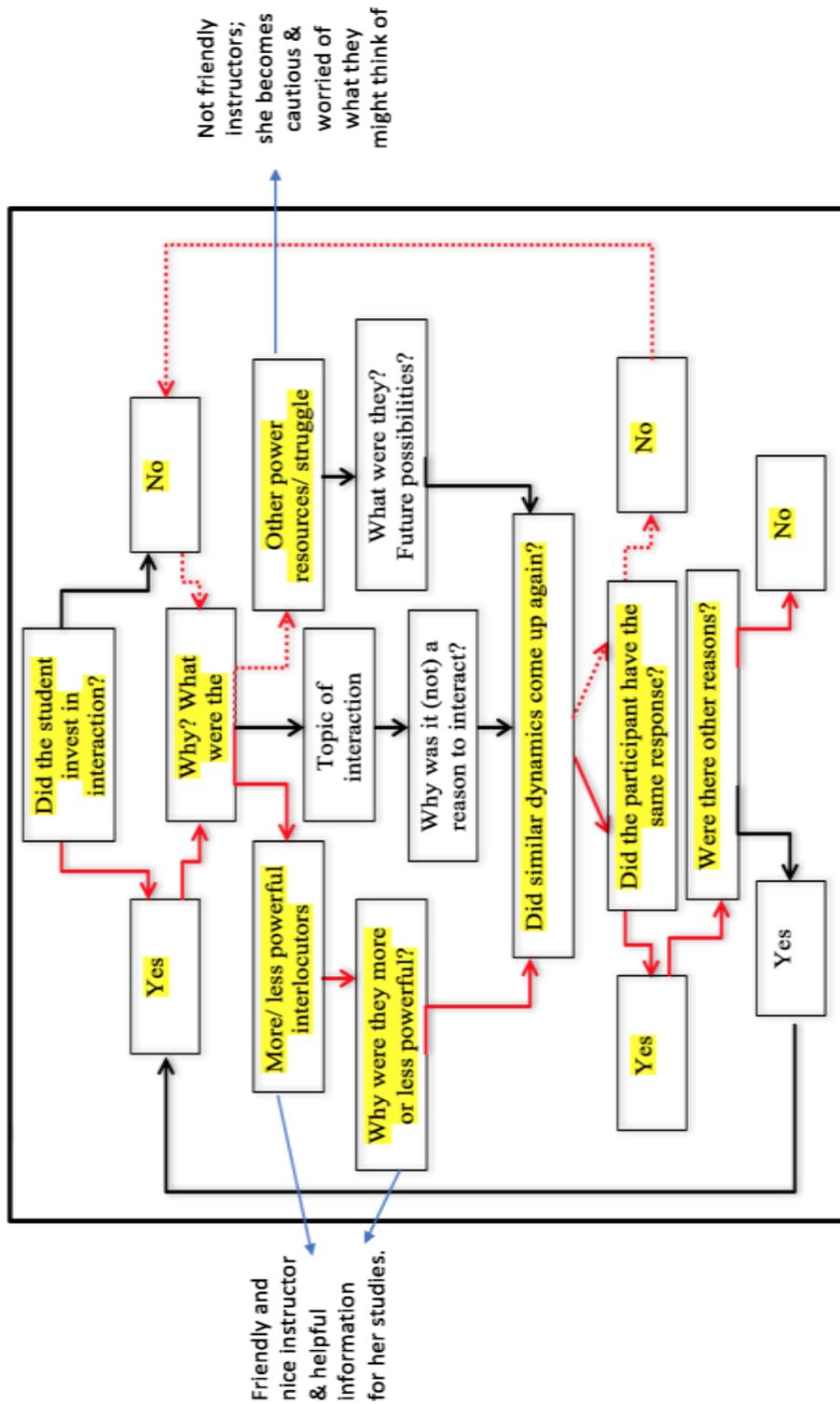
Appendix 14: Participant's consent form

CONSENT FORM

Saudi Students' Social Identities and Their Identity in Academic Writing:
A Qualitative Study of Saudi Students in the UK

Researcher's name: *Sarah Taj*

- I have read the participant Information sheet and the nature and the purpose of the project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the project at any stage and that it will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand that data will be stored with the researcher, and that I can request them at any time.
- I understand that I may contact the researchers if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Leicester, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Your signature means that this study has been discussed with you, that you have read and understood the participant's information sheet, that your questions have been answered and that you voluntarily agree to take part in the study. This informed consent document is not a contract. You are not giving up any legal rights by signing this document. You will be given a signed copy of this paper to keep for your records.

Participant's Printed name: ....

Signature: .... ……………………….**Date:** ....

Contact Details (email)...

Appendix 15: Participant's information sheet

INFORMATION SHEET FOR STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Saudi Students' Social Identities and Their Identity in Academic Writing: A Qualitative Study of Saudi Students in the UK

Introduction and Background Information

This letter details what will happen during the course of the study. If you agree to participate in this research study, this sheet contains all the basic information you will need.

Researcher's name and contact information

This study is being conducted by Sarah Taj. Phone no. 07957949980 email: st266@le.ac.uk.

Aim of the study

Writer's identity is an important aspect of English academic writing. Unfortunately, ESL students experience difficulty in presenting an appropriate academic identity in their academic writing. This study aims to explore Saudi students' identity in academic writing and its relation to their identities and interaction in their academic community.

Procedure and your role as a participant in the study

- In summary, as a participant you will keep occasional diary notes (you choose how often and how much you write); let me have a few recent drafts of your written work; participate in occasional interviews at times that are convenient to you.
- I will give you a printed diary which will also be available electronically. You should use it to keep a record, for a period of six months, of your interaction in the academic community, including any opportunities to speak, debate, discuss, write or email within your academic community.
- I will interview you once a month for six months about the entries of your diary.
- I will ask you for a copy of the most recent drafts of your academic work.
- I will interview you about your drafts.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Your privacy will be protected. The data will be stored with me. Any information gained during this study may be published but you will not be identified with your actual names, as you will appear under a pseudonym.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may decide to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. You may decline to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable. You will be told about changes that may affect your decision to continue in the study

Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks to you during this study.

Benefits

During this project, you will be asked to reflect on and discuss your academic writing. In this way your participation could help you improve your academic writing.

Participant's Questions and Concerns

You may contact me if you require further information or have concerns about the research. My phone no. is 07957949980 or email me at st266@le.ac.uk. You may also contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Leicester, if you wish to make a complaint relating to your involvement in the research.

Thank you,

SARAH TAJ

Signature: .... Date: ....

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